

DISPUTATIO INTER MAXIMUM ET THEODOSIUM EPISCOPUM CAESARIAE BITHYNIAE

Tomus continens relationem | de dogmatibus quae mota
sunt inter sanctum Maximum et Theodosium episcopum
Caesariae Bithyniae seu consules qui cum eo erant.

f. 35^v

5 Quae mota sunt de immaculata nostra Christianorum fide
atque subintroducta contrariorum nouitate, inter abbatem
Maximum et Theodosium episcopum Caesariae Bithyniae,
necessarium duxi manifesta facere omnibus uobis qui in
orthodoxia consistitis, ut cum certius de his scire uisi fueritis,
10 glorificetis magis ac magis amatorem hominum Deum qui *dat*
uerbum in apertione oris timentium se, ne forte more solito
ueritatis inimici, huic contraria diffamantes, corda uestra
conturbent.

15 Igitur nono kalendas Septembrias quae nunc transacta est
quartae decimae indictionis, exiuit ad eum in exilium in quo
positus seruabatur, id est ad castrum Bizya, praedictus
episcopus Theodosius ex persona ut dixit Petri
Constantinopolitani praesulis missus, necnon et Paulus ac
Theodosius consules ut fassi sunt et ipsi ex persona
imperatoris directi, et cum ascendissent ad praedictum
20 monachum Maximum in locum in quo retrusus habebatur,
sederunt et praeceperunt etiam et ipsi sedere. Aderat autem
cum illis etiam episcopus Bizya.

25 Et dicit ad eum Theodosius episcopus: «Quomodo habes
abba?»
Et Maximus ad eum: «Sicut praedestinavit Deus ante omnia
saecula prouisoriam fore circa me dispensationem, sic habeo.»
Theodosius: «Ergone praedestinavit Deus ante omne saeculum
quea circa singulos sunt?»
Maximus: «Si praesciuit, utique et praedestinavit.»
30 Theodosius: «Quid est hoc ipsum quod asseris «praesciuit» et

9/10 Eph. 6,19 25/42 cf. Ioh. Dam., ed. Kotter, vol. 2, p. 103,
44, 2-6 29/31 cf. Rom. 8,29

6 maximum a. corr. cod. 8 horthodoxia cod. a. corr. m. tert. 27
Thodosius cod. a. corr. m. sec.

Volume containing a record of the teachings which were discussed by the holy Maximus and Theodosius, bishop of Caesarea Bithynia, and¹ the consuls who were with him.

I have considered it necessary to make known to all of you who stand firm in orthodoxy the matters which were raised concerning the immaculate faith of Christians and the innovation introduced by those contrary (to it), between father Maximus and Theodosius, bishop of Caesarea Bithynia. (I have done this) so that, when you are more informed about all of this, you may all the more glorify God, who loves mankind, who *puts words into the mouth* of those who fear him, so that enemies of the truth, slandering it in their usual way, do not disturb your hearts.

Therefore, on the ninth day before the Kalends of September² of the fourteenth induction which has just passed, Bishop Theodosius whom I mentioned set out, sent under the authority, as he claimed, of Peter the bishop of Constantinople, to Maximus in the place of exile where he was held, that is, to the fort in Bizya. The consuls Paul and Theodosius³ also (went with him), directed by the authority of the emperor, as they claimed. And when they had gone up to the monk Maximus, whom I have mentioned, into the place in which he was being held in concealment, they sat down and ordered him also to sit. And the bishop of Bizya was with them as well.

And Bishop Theodosius said to him: "How are you, father?"

And Maximus (replied) to him: "As God pre-ordained before all ages that there be a providential dispensation concerning me, that's how I am."

Theodosius: "What then? Did God pre-ordain circumstances which concern individuals before all time?"

Maximus: "If he had foreknowledge, he certainly also pre-ordained."

Theodosius: "What is this assertion that he had foreknowledge and he pre-ordained?"

¹ Literally *seu* "or".

² I.e. August 24, 656.

³ *Consul* was an honorific title granted to two men appointed by the emperor each year to fulfil public duties such as the provision of banquets, distribution of consular diptychs (until 541), and organisation of public games (*ODB*, p. 525).

«praedestinavit?»

Maximus: «Praescientia est cogitationum et sermonum et operum quae ex nobis sunt, praedestinatio uero eorum est quae ex nobis non accidunt.»

Theodosius: «Quae sunt illa quae ex nobis sunt, et quae quae ex nobis non sunt?»

Maximus: «Vt liquido patet, omnia sciens dominus meus probando interrogat seruum suum.»

Theodosius: «Per ueritatem Dei, ignorans et discere uolens percontatus sum differentiam eorum quae sunt ex nobis, et quae non sunt ex nobis, et qualiter quaedam sub praescientia Dei, quaedam uero sub praedestinatione consistant.»

Maximus: «Ex nobis sunt uoluntaria omnia, id est uirtutes et uitia. Non ex nobis autem sunt illationes accidentium nobis poenarium modorum uel his contrariorum. Neque enim ex nobis est uel nocens languor uel laetificans sanitas, licet operatrices horum causae ex nobis existant; utputa intem | per antea causa est languoris, quemadmodum temperantia causa est sanitatis, et regni caelestis causa mandatorum custodia, quemadmodum et ignis aeterni, horum transgressio.»

Theodosius: «Ergone propter hoc tribularis in exilio isto quoniam digna quaedam hac tribulatione gessisti?»

Maximus: «Rogo ut Deus hac tribulatione remetiatur excessus meos quibus ei peccavi in praeuaricatione iustificatiuorum mandatorum suorum.»

The < o > dosius: «Non est etiam probationis causa tribulatio multis illata?»

Maximus: «Probatio sanctorum est, ut scilicet per tribulationes uitae hominum manifestentur affectus eorum qui sunt circa id quod est naturaliter bonum, sibimet insinuantes ignotas

f. 36

56/57 cf. Rom. 5,3-4

36 non] om. cod. a. corr. m. sec. 41 praescientia] praesentia
cod. a. corr. m. sec. 42 quadam cod. a. corr. m. sec. 50/51
nota mg. cod. 56 Thedosius cod. 59 hominum uitae cod. a.
corr. m. tert.

Maximus: "Foreknowledge pertains to the thoughts and speech and works which are from within us, but predestination pertains to what happens from outside of us."

Theodosius: "What are those matters which are from within us, and those which are not from within us?"

Maximus: "As it seems clearly, my lord who knows everything is interrogating his servant to test him."

Theodosius: "By the truth of God, I asked in ignorance, wishing to learn the difference between those matters which are from within us and those which are not from within us, and how some things are subject to the foreknowledge of God, but others to predestination."

Maximus: "Everything voluntary is from within us, that is to say, the virtues and vices. But circumstances brought upon us, as punishments or rewards, are not from within us. For harmful illness or gladdening health are not from within us, although the operating causes of these do originate from within us; for example, intemperance is the cause of illness in the same way as temperance is the cause of health, and keeping the commandments is the cause of the kingdom of Heaven, in the same way as transgressing them is the cause of eternal fire."

Theodosius: "What then? Is this why you are tried by this exile, because you have done something worthy of this suffering?"

Maximus: "I pray that, by this suffering, the Lord reassess my failings, by which I sinned against him in transgressing his commandments which offer sanctification."

Theodosius: "Isn't suffering borne by many for the sake of testing?"

Maximus: "Testing is proper to the saints, precisely so that through the sufferings of peoples' lives may be shown their dispositions, which concern what is naturally good, thus making known to them virtues which are unknown to everyone, as in the case

omnibus uirtutes suas, ut in Iob et Ioseph, siquidem alter ad manifestationem absconsae fortitudinis temptabatur, alter uero ad declarationem sanctificatoriae pudicitiae probabatur. Et omnis sanctus non sponte tribulatus, ad quasdam huiuscemodi dispensationes tribulatur, ut per infirmitatem qua permittitur molestiam pati, superbum et apostatam draconem conculcet, id est diabolum. Patientia enim, probationis opus est in unoquoque sanctorum.»

The < o > dosius: «Per ueritatem Dei, bene dixisti, et confiteor utilitatem, et quaerebam in talibus semper disputare uobiscum. Sed quia pro alio capitulo ego et domini mei futuri patricii profecti sumus et per tot interualla locorum aduenimus, rogamus te quae a nobis proferuntur suscipere et totum orbem laetificare.»

Maximus: «Quae sunt haec domine? Vel quis ego et unde sum ut in his quae protenduntur mihi consensus meus totum laetificet orbem?»

Theodosius: «Per ueritatem Domini nostri Iesu Christi, quod dico tibi ego et domini mei futuri patricii ex ore domini nostri patriarchae ac pii domini orbis audiuimus.»

Maximus: «Iubete domini mei dicere quae uultis et quae audistis.»

Theodosius: «Rogat imperator et patriarcha per nos cognoscere a te qua pro causa non communices throno Constantinopolitano.»

Maximus: «Habetis super hoc praeceptionem in scriptis a piissimo imperatore uel patriarcha?»

The < o > dosius: «Non debueras domine nobis incredulus esse; licet enim exiguis sim, sed episcopus audior, et isti domini mei pars senatus existunt. Nec uenimus ad temptandum te,

66/67 cf. Lc. 10,19 67/68 cf. Rom. 5,4

63 probatur cod. a. corr. m. sec. 64 tribulatus] post hanc vocem
forsan supplendum sit in hoc saeculo (cf. gr.) 69 Thedosius cod.
88 Thedosius cod.

of Job and Joseph; since the former was tested to show his hidden fortitude, but the latter was put to the test to demonstrate the chastity which made him a saint. And every saint who has suffered involuntarily is tested in accordance with such arrangements, so that through the weakness which allows him to suffer hardship, he might trample on the proud and apostate serpent, that is the devil. For endurance in each of the saints is the result of having been put to the test."

Theodosius: "By God's truth you have spoken well and I confess its usefulness, and I always wanted to dispute with you in such matters. But because I and my lords, the patricians elect,⁴ have come for the sake of another small point, and we have come from such a distance, we ask you to take up our offer, and to make the world happy."

Maximus: "What is your offer, lord? Or who am I and from where, that my consent to what is offered to me may make the whole world happy?"

Theodosius: "Through the truth of our Lord Jesus Christ, what I am telling you, my lords the patricians elect and I heard from the mouth of our lord the patriarch and of the orthodox ruler of the world."

Maximus: "Lords, bid (him) to tell me what you wish and what you heard."

Theodosius: "The emperor and the patriarch ask through us to know from you why you do not enter into communion with the throne of Constantinople."

Maximus: "Do you have an order in writing concerning this from the most orthodox emperor or from the patriarch?"

Theodosius: "You shouldn't doubt us, lord, for although I am lowly, I am called⁵ the bishop, and these my lords are part of the senate. Nor have we come to test you: far from it!"

⁴ I.e. the consuls Paul and Theodosius.

⁵ Latin *audior*, lit. "I am heard", a literal translation of the Greek idiom ἐπίσκοπος ὄκοντι (PG 90, 140B).

- absit.»
- Maximus: «Quoquomodo uenissetis ad seruum uestrum, ego absque omni reuerentia dico causam ob quam non communico throno Constantinopolitano. Verumtamen etsi aliorum esset fas percontandi qua pro causa, uestrum non esset qui me causam certius nostis.
- Scitis noui | tates quae factae sunt a sexta inductione transacti circuli inceptas ab Alexandria per nouem Capitula a Cyro qui nescio quo pacto illic factus est praesul, quae uidelicet firmata sunt a throno Constantinopolitano, necnon et alias immutationes additionesque ac diminutiones quae factae sunt in concilio a Sergio, Pyrrho ac Paulo qui ecclesiae Byzantii praefuerunt; quas uidelicet nouas adinuentiones esse, omnis noster orbis agnoscit. Hac pro causa non communico ego seruus uester ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Tollantur offendicula quae posita sunt a praedictis uiris cum eisdem ipsis qui posuerunt haec, quemadmodum dixit Deus: *Et lapides a via proicite*, et planam et detritam atque ab omni spinosae hereseos prauitate liberam uiam Euangeli gradiantur, et tum inueniens quemadmodum erat incedo et ipse absque omni hortatu humano. Donec autem super offendiculis positis et his qui posuerunt ea gloriantur praesules Constantinopolitani, nullus sermo uel modus est qui mihi persuadeat illis communicare.»
- Theodosius: «Nunquid malum quid confitemur ut separare te huius rei causa[m] conueniat a communione nostra?»
- Maximus: «Quia unam operationem dicentes deitatis et humanitatis Dei et Saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi, confunditis tam theologiae quam dispensationis sermonem. Si enim credere oportet patribus qui asserunt **Quorum est operatio**

f. 36^v

107/108 Is. 62,10 **108/109** cf. Is. 40,4 **120/121** Ps. Bas.
 Caes., *Adv. Eunomium* IV, I (CPG 2837), cf. ACO ser. II, i, p. 262, 4; Apoll. Laod., c. *Diodor. ad Heracl.* (CPG 3656), ed. Lietzmann, *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule*, pp. 235-236 (fragm. 117) = *Doc. Pat.*, ed. Diekamp, c. 12, XX, p. 77, 12.

92 uenissetis] uenissetis *cod. a. corr. m. tert.* 102 Paulo] paul*o *a. corr. cod.* 108 ab] *supra l. cod.* 116 causam *cod.* 118 humanitates *cod. a. corr. m. sec.*

Maximus: "In whatever way you have come to your servant, I tell you without any fear⁶ the reason why I do not enter into communion with the throne of Constantinople. However, even if it was right for others to ask (me) the reason, it is not right for you, who know the reason more certainly than I.

You know the innovations which have been made from the sixth indiction of the past cycle,⁷ beginning in Alexandria with the nine Chapters of Cyrus⁸ who was made - I don't know how - patriarch there. They have of course been ratified by the throne of Constantinople, as well as some changes and additions and deletions which were made in a council⁹ by Sergius, Pyrrhus and Paul who presided over the church of Byzantium,¹⁰ (and) which our whole world of course recognises as new inventions. For this reason I, your servant, am not in communion with the church of Constantinople. Let the offending (chapters) proposed by the said men be removed, together with those same men who proposed them, according to God's words: *And throw the stones from the path.* And let them walk the level and smooth path of the Gospel, free from every evil of thorny heresy, and upon finding that it was so, I myself also (will) advance without any human encouragement. But while the bishops of Constantinople pride themselves on those offending articles which have been proposed, and those who proposed them, there is no word or means to persuade me to enter into communion with them."

Theodosius: "Whatever evil do we confess that makes it appropriate for you to separate yourself for its sake from our communion?"

Maximus: "It is because in saying there is one activity of the divinity and humanity of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ, you confuse the language of theology and of the

⁶ Latin *reverentia*; cf. Greek ὑποστολῆς "reserve" (PG 90, 140C).

⁷ I.e. from 647, the year the *Typus* was issued.

⁸ I.e. the *Satisfactio* between Cyrus and the Theodosian party in Egypt (CPG 7613) dated 3 June 633.

⁹ Latin *concilium*; this is an incorrect translation of the Greek adverb συνοδικῶς, which can also mean "by synodical letters", such as the *Letter of Patriarch Sergius to Cyrus of Alexandria* (CPG 7605) which contains an analysis and rejection of the *Satisfactio* (see Winkelmann, no. 40).

¹⁰ The patriarchate of Constantinople was held by Sergius I (610-638), Pyrrhus (638-641), Paul II (641-653) and Pyrrhus (second term) in 654: see Van Dieten, pp. 1-105.

una, horum et substantia una, quaternitatem facitis sanctam
Trinitatem quasi congenita uerbo facta carne ipsius, quae
etiam careat cognata identitate quam nobiscum et cum ea quae
se peperit naturaliter habet.

125 Et rursus perimentes operationes, et unam uoluntatem
asseuerantes deitatis ipsius et humanitatis, adimitis eius
bonorum distributionem. Si enim nullam habet, secundum illos
qui hoc sanxerunt, operationem, perspicuum est quod licet
uelit misereri non possit, detruncata nimirum eius operatione
bonorum, si dumtaxat operatione naturali excepta, nihil eorum
quae sunt operari uel agere constat.

130 Alias autem et carnem facitis voluntate quidem concreatricem
omnium saeculorum et eorum quae sunt in eis, Patri et Filio
ac Spiritui Sancto, natura uero creatam, uel ut uerius dicamus
135 non habentem initium voluntate, si diuina uoluntas sine initio
est utpote quae sit deitatis sine initio existentis, natura uero
recens, quod non solum omnem sensum excedit, sed et
omnem impietatem. Non enim dicitis absolute tantum unam
uoluntatem, sed et istam diuinam. Diuinae uero uoluntatis
140 nemo potest initium excogitare temporale uel finem, nam nec
diuinae naturae | cuius est substantialis uoluntas.

Rursus autem aliam introducentes nouitatem, adimitis
145 omnimodis omnia significantia et commendantia diuinitatem et
humanitatem Christi, legibus et typis sancientes neque unam
neque duas in eo uoluntates aut operationes dicendas, quod rei
est essentiam non habentis; nihil enim eorum quae sunt, si
intellectuale est, priuatur uoluntatem habente uirtute ac
operatione; si sensuale, sentiente operatione; si germinabile,
crescente ac alente operatione; si penitus inanimale est, et ea
150 quae ex more dicitur uita caret, operatione ac

f. 37

130 si] correxi e gr., sed cod. 135 uolunte cod. a. corr. m. sec.
138 ipietatem cod. a. corr. m. sec. absolute] absolute cod. a.
corr. 139 uero] uoro cod. a. corr. m. sec. 146 si] siue cod. a.
corr. per rasuram

economy.¹¹ For if one ought to believe the Fathers who say: ‘Those who have one activity have also one substance’, you make the holy trinity a quaternary, as if Christ’s flesh were made one being with the Word, and were lacking even the cognate identity which he has with us by nature, and with the woman who bore him.

And again, by destroying the activities, and asserting one will of his divinity and humanity, you take away the blessings he has bestowed (on us). For if he has no activity, according to those who ratified this, it is clear that he cannot be merciful, although he wants to, since the activity of his blessings is surely cut short, if in fact without natural activity, nothing which exists remains to have an activity or to perform.

But in another way,¹² you also make the flesh, with regard to the will, the actual co-creator with the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, of all ages and of those which are in them; but with regard to the nature, (you render) the flesh created,¹³ or as we may say more truly, not having a beginning in respect to will, if divine will is without beginning, since what is of deity exists without beginning, but (making the flesh) recent with regard to nature. This exceeds not only all sense, but also all impiety. For you do not speak simply of only one will, but also of that will as being divine. But no-one is able to think up a temporal beginning or end of divine will, since there is no (beginning or end) of the divine nature whose will is according to substance.¹⁴ But again, introducing another innovation, you take away completely everything signifying and preserving the divinity and humanity of Christ, sanctioning with laws and decrees¹⁵ that neither one nor two wills or activities are to be spoken of in him, which is characteristic of something without essence; for nothing which exists, if it is rational, is deprived of a willing power and activity; if it is sensual, of a sentient

¹¹ I.e. *dispensatio* - this is a short-hand translation for the theological term which refers to the Incarnation as a dispensation of divine purpose. The terminology appropriate to describe the Incarnation is here contrasted with that appropriate to the Trinity.

¹² Latin *alias* cf. Greek ἀλλως τε δὲ, "let us put it another way" (PG 90, 141B).

¹³ Latin *creatam* cf. Greek κτιστήν "creator" (PG 90, 141B).

¹⁴ Latin *substantialis* cf. Greek οὐσιώδης "proper" (PG 90, 141C).

¹⁵ Latin *typi* for Greek τύποι (PG 90, 141C), such as the *Typus* of Emperor Constans II of 647/648 (CPG 7621).

- o <p>portunitate, et indicant omnia quae sic sunt opitulatiua sensibus sensualium; operatio enim talium est subici utique uisui per apparitionem suam, auditui per sonum, odoratui per odorationem quandam amplexibilem, gustui per quosdam humores, et tactui per reciprociam impressionem; sicut enim operationem uisus dicimus «uidere», ita et uisorum «uideri», et cetera omnia secundum eundem aspicimus fieri modum. Si 155 igitur nihil eorum quae sunt est omni penitus <naturali> operatione destitutum, Dominusque noster et Deus (propitius esto Domine) nullam habet naturalem uoluntatem uel operationem in utrisque ex quibus et in quibus et quae est, quomodo poterimus aut esse aut uocari Dei cultores, 160 secundum nullum modum existere cum uoluntate uel operatione dicentes qui adoratur a nobis Deum? Expresse nanque a sanctis patribus edocemur cum dicunt: **Quod enim 165 nullam uirtutem habet, neque est neque aliquid est, neque est quaevis eius omnino positio.**»
The <o>dosius: «Quod factum est per dispensationem, ne accipias ut ratum dogma.»
- 170 Maximus: «Si non est ratum eorum dogma qui hunc recipiunt Typus qui sancit et lex nullam dicendam Domini uoluntatem uel operationem, quarum detruncatio inexistentiam indicat eius qui fuerit his priuatus, qua pro causa barbaricis et sine Deo gentibus me absque honore tradidistis? Qua pro causa damnatus sum ad habitandum Biz<y>en, et conseruorum meorum alter quidem Perberin, alter uero Mesembriam?»
Theodosius: «Per Deum qui me iudicaturus est, et quando factus est dixi, et nunc id ipsum dico, quia male et ad laesionem multorum factus est Typus. Verum occasio facta est 175 ut exponeretur, alterna lis orthodoxorum super operationibus 180

165/167 Ps. Dionysius, *De divinis nominibus* VIII, 5, ed. Suchla,
Bd. 1, p. 203, 2-4.

151 oportunitate cod. 152 enim] mim cod. a. corr. m. sec. 153
apparitionem cod. 158 naturali] suppleui e gr. 168 Theodosius
cod. 173 fuerat cod. a. corr. m. sec. 175 Bizyen] restitui ex 15,
22, 593, 595, bizen cod. 177 Theodosus a. corr. cod. 180
orthodoxorum cod. a. corr. m. tert.

activity; if it is able to grow, of a growing and increasing activity; even if it is completely inanimate, and lacks what is called "life",¹⁶ it is not deprived of activity and propensity. And they point to all aids to the senses of sensual beings as being thus, for the activity of such aids is to be subordinated; for example, to sight through its apparition; to hearing through sound; to smell through some perceptible odour; to taste through certain liquids; and to touch through reciprocal impression.¹⁷ For just as we call the activity of sight "to see", so also (we call the activity) of images "to be seen", and we perceive that everything else happens according to the same mode. Therefore if nothing which exists is completely devoid of all [natural] activity, and our Lord and God - be propitious Lord - has no natural will or activity in each (of those natures) from which and in which and which he is, how can we either be or be called worshippers of God, when we say that the God whom we adore exists in no way with a will or an activity? For we are expressly taught by the holy Fathers when they say: 'For what has no power, neither exists, nor is anything, nor has any disposition whatsoever.'"

Theodosius: "Do not accept as ratified dogma what was done for the sake of an arrangement."¹⁸

Maximus: "If the *Typus* and the law permitting that no will or activity of the Lord should be spoken of, the removal of which¹⁹ entails the non-existence of him who has been deprived of them, is not the ratified dogma of those who accept it, for what reason have you handed me over without honour to barbaric and godless people? For what reason have I been condemned to dwell in Bizya, and one of my fellow-servants in Perberis and the other in Mesembria?"²⁰

Theodosius: "By God who is going to judge me, I said when it happened, and now

¹⁶ The Greek word order gives a different sense: "it is not deprived of a so-called activity and propensity." (PG 90, 141D).

¹⁷ The Greek reading is preferable here: διὰ τῆς ἀντίστοιχης "through resistance of a surface" (PG 90, 141D); cf. Latin *per reciprocam impressionem*.

¹⁸ Literally in Latin and Greek "through the dispensation" (PG 90, 144A).

¹⁹ Sc. will or activity.

²⁰ Modern Nesebûr in Bulgaria. Anastasius had been transferred from Trebizond to Mesembria by the time the dispute between Maximus and Theodosius of Caesarea Bithynia took place in August 656.

et uoluntatibus altercantium; et ut omnes pace mutua fruerentur, considerauerunt quidam huiusmodi uoces silentio comprimendas.»

Maximus: «Et quis fidelis suscipit dispensationem taceri facientem uoces quas dici per apostolos et prophetas | atque doctores Deus omnium dispensauit? Et inspiciamus domine magne, in quod malum deueniat tractatum capitulum istud. Si enim *Deus posuit in ecclesia, primo apostolos, secundo prophetas, tertio doctores ad perfectionem sanctorum* dicens

185 f. 37^v

190 in Euangelio apostolis et per eos his qui post ipsos sunt: *Quod uobis dico, omnibus dico*, et iterum: *Qui recipit uos, me recipit. Et qui uos spernit, me spernit*, manifestum est ac perspicuum quod qui non recipit apostolos et prophetas et doctores, sed spernit uoces eorum, ipsum Christum spernit.

195 Inspiciamus autem et aliud. Deus eligens excitauit *apostolos et prophetas* atque *doctores ad perfectionem sanctorum*. At uero diabolus falsos apostolos et falsos prophetas, et falsos doctores contra pietatem eligens excitauit, quo et uetus lex impugnetur et euangelica. Falsos autem apostolos et falsos

200 prophetas et falsos doctores solos hereticos intelligo, quorum sermones et cogitationes peruersae consistunt. Sicut ergo is qui ueros apostolos et prophetas et doctores recipit, Deum recipit, ita et qui falsos apostolos et falsos prophetas et falsos doctores recipit, diabolum recipit. Igitur qui pariter cum scelestis et immundis hereticis sanctos eiecit (suscipite me dicentem ueritatem) Deum liquido cum diabolo pariter condemnauit.

205 Itaque si examinantes nouitates quae temporibus nostris effectae sunt, eas ad hoc deuenisse inuenerimus summum malum, uidete ne forte pacem prae*tendentes*, apostasia

185/186 cf. Eph. 4,11 188/189 I Cor. 12,28 189 Eph. 4,12

190/191 Mc. 13,37 191/192 Mt. 10,40 192 Lc. 10,16

195/196 Eph. 4, 11-12; cf. I Cor. 12,28 200/201 cf. Act. 20,30

202/203 cf. Mt. 10,40; Mc. 9,37 210/212 cf. II Thess. 2,3-4

190 euangelio cod. 198 excitauit a. corr. cod.

206 Deum] deum qui cod. a. corr. m. sec.

again I say the same, that the *Typus* was evilly contrived, and to the detriment of many. But the need arose to publish it — that is to say, the altercation of the orthodox over activities and wills —, and certain people perceived that such words should be suppressed by silence, so that all may enjoy mutual peace."

Maximus: "And what person of faith takes up an arrangement that silences the words which the God of all arranged to be said through apostles and prophets and teachers? And let us examine, great lord, what evil that point may bring about when it is treated? For if *God placed in the church first apostles, second prophets, third teachers, to perfect the saints*, saying to the apostles in the Gospel and through them to those who came after them: *What I say to you, I say to all*, and again, *The one who receives you, receives me. And the one who spurns you, spurns me*, it is clear and obvious that he who does not receive the apostles and prophets and teachers, but rejects their words, rejects Christ himself.

But let us examine yet another point. God raised by election *apostles* and *prophets* and *teachers*, *to perfect the saints*. But the devil also raised by election false apostles and false prophets and false teachers against piety, in order that the old law and the Gospel law be attacked. But by false apostles and false prophets and false teachers I understand the heretics alone, whose speech and thoughts are perverted. Therefore, just as he who receives true apostles and prophets and teachers receives God, so also he who receives false apostles and prophets and teachers receives the devil. Therefore, he who has rejected the saints equally with the accursed and impure heretics - accept that I am speaking the truth - has equally condemned God, it is clear, with the devil.

And therefore if, in examining the innovations which have been effected in our times, we find that they have arrived at this utmost evil, beware lest perhaps, under the guise of peace, we are discovered to be listless with apostasy and to preach it, which

repperiamur languere et praedicare, quam praecursuram fore
Antichristi aduentum sacratissimus dixit apostolus. Haec
absque subtractione dixi uobis, domini mei, ut parcatis
uobismetipsis et nobis. Iubetis ut haec scripta in libro cordis
mei habens, ingrediar et communicem in ecclesia in qua haec
praedicantur, et fiam communicator eorum qui ueraciter
quidem Deum, falso uero diabolum cum Deo eiciunt? Ne fiat
mihi a Deo qui propter me secundum me factus est, *absque*
peccato.» Et genu flexo dixit: «Quicquid iusseritis in seruum
uestrum facere, facite. Ego his qui haec recipiunt nunquam
communicabo.»

Et ceu gelidi facti super his quae dicta fuerant, deorsum
capita summi <t>entes, siluerunt per multam horam; et
annuens atque abbatem Maximum Theodosius intuitus dixit:
225 «Nos fide dicimus tibi dominum nostrum imperatorem quod te
communicante, tollat Typum.»

Maximus: «Multum adhuc distamus ab inuicem. Quid
faciemus de confirmata synodice uoce unius uoluntatis in
electionem omnis operationis a Sergio, Pyrrho ac Paulo?»

230 Theodosius: «Illa charta deposita est et projecta.»

Maximus: «Deposita est ex lapideis parietibus, | non tamen ex
intellectualibus animabus. Suscipient damnationem horum quae
Rom <a> e synodice prolata est per pia dogmata seu regulas,
et soluitur *medius paries*, atque hortatione non indigebimus.»

235 Et ait Theodosius episcopus: «Non est firmata synodus quae
Rom <a> e celebrata est, quoniam sine iussione facta est
imperatoris.»

Maximus: «Si synodos quae factae sunt iussiones imperatorum
firmant et non pia fides, recipe synodos quae contra omousion
factae sunt, nam iussione principum sunt

f. 38

218/219 Hebr. 4,15; 9,28 234 Eph. 2,14

217 eiciunt] *scripsi*, eicitint *cod.* 223 summitentes *cod.* 228
confirmata *cod. a. corr. m. sec.* 230 carta e corr. *cod. m. sec.*

233 rome *cod.* 235 ait] it *cod. a. corr. m. sec.* 236 rome *cod.*

238 Si] om. *cod. a. corr.*

Scholion 233 pia] beati scilicet papae Martini

the most holy apostle said would be a precursor of the advent of the Antichrist. I have said this to you, my lords, without reserve²¹ so that you may spare yourselves and us. Do you command that, having this written in the book of my heart, I enter and be in communion with the church in which this is preached, and that I enter into communion with those who truly indeed reject God, but falsely reject the devil along with God? May it not be done to me by God, who on my account, for my sake, was made *without sin*." And on bended knee he said: "Whatever you order to do to your servant, do. I will never be in communion with those who accept this."

And bowing their heads, they were silent for a long time, as if they had been turned to ice over what had been said. Theodosius, looking and nodding at father Maximus, said: "We tell you in faith that our lord the Emperor would cancel the *Typus*, if you were in communion."

Maximus: "We are still a long way from a mutual agreement. What will we do about the synodical statement of one will in rejection of any activity, which was agreed upon by Sergius, Pyrrhus and Paul?"²²

Theodosius: "That document has been taken down and thrown out."

Maximus: "It has been taken down from the stone walls, not however from rational souls. Let them take up the condemnation of those men²³ which was made public at Rome by the synod through righteous teachings and canons,²⁴ and *the barrier is removed*, and we will not need encouragement."

And Bishop Theodosius said: "The synod which was held at Rome was not ratified, because it was held without the order of the emperor."

Maximus: "If it is the orders of emperors which confirm synods which were held, and not orthodox faith, accept the synods which were held against the "homoousios"

²¹ Latin *subtractione*; cf. *reverentia* previously in translating the same Greek word ὑποστολῆς (PG 90, 145A).

²² I.e. the Ecthesis (CPG 7607) posted in the narthex of Hagia Sofia and accepted by the decree of the synod in Constantinople in November 638 (see Grumel, no. 292).

²³ Or "of those terms" (*horum*).

²⁴ I.e. the Lateran synod of 649.

patratae, primam uidelicet in Tyro, secundam in Antiochia,
tertiam in Seleucia, quartam in Constantinopoli sub Eudoxio
Arriano, quintam in Nice quae est in Trace, sextam in Sirmio,
et post haec multo post septimam in Epheso secundam cui
Dioscorus praefuit. Omnes enim has imperatorum iussio
aggregauit. Attamen omnes damnatae sunt propter impietatem
infidelium dogmatum ab eis confirmatorum. Quare autem non
abicitis eam quae depositum Paulum Samosatenum sub sanctis
et beatis Dionysio papa Romano, et Dionysio Alexandrino,
atque Gregorio miraculorum patratore qui eidem praefuit
synodo quoniam non est iussione facta imperatoris? Qui
praeterea canon promulgat solas illas approbandas synodos
quae imperatoris iussione sunt congregatae? Verum et si
omnino iussione imperatorum synodos aggregarietis, illas nouit
sanctas et probabiles synodos pius ecclesiae canon, quas
rectitudo dogmatum approbavit. Sed et bis, quemadmodum
nouit dominus meus et alias docet, fieri synodos in omni
provincia per singulos annos regula sancit, iussionis imperialis
nullam memoriam faciens, ad tuitionem salutaris fidei nostrae,
et correctionem omnium capitulorum quae diuinae non
conueniunt ecclesiae legi.»
Et dixit Theodosius episcopus: «Ita est ut asseris, dogmatum
quippe rectitudo synodos roborat. Verumtamen non recipis
libellum Mennae in quo unam uoluntatem et unam
operationem Christi dogmatizauit?»
Maximus: «Ne det Dominus Deus. Vos non recipitis sed eicitis
omnes doctores qui post sanctum Chalcedonense concilium
decertauerunt aduersum Seueri execrabilem heresim, et ego
habeo recipere libellum Mennae, qui post concilium fuit per
quem liquido sentire dinoscitur cum Seuero, et Apolinario, et

247 eis] forsan iis a. corr. cod.

for they were carried out by order of the rulers; the first namely in Tyre,²⁵ the second in Antioch,²⁶ the third in Seleucia,²⁷ the fourth in Constantinople under the Arian Eudoxius,²⁸ the fifth in Nike which is in Thrace,²⁹ the sixth in Sirmium,³⁰ and after these, much later, the seventh, being the second in Ephesus, at which Dioscorus presided.³¹ For emperors' orders convened all of these councils. All however were condemned on account of the impiety of the teachings they confirmed which were contrary to the faith. But why don't you reject the council that deposed Paul of Samosata under the holy and blessed Dionysius, pope of Rome, and Dionysius of Alexandria, and Gregory the Wonder-Worker, who was in charge of the same synod,³² since it was not held at the emperor's order? Besides, which canon declares only those synods to be approved which were convened by the emperor's command? But even if you do in fact convene the synods by the emperor's order,³³ the upright canon of the church recognises those synods as holy and approvable which the correctness of their teaching approved. But also, as my lord knows and elsewhere

²⁵ In 335 (see M. Simonetti, *EEC*, p. 855).

²⁶ In 341 (see O. Pasquato, *EEC*, p. 49).

²⁷ In 359 (see M. Simonetti, *EEC*, p. 767).

²⁸ This council held in 360, confirmed the Council of Rimini (359) (see M. Simonetti, *EEC*, p. 195). Eudoxius of Antioch had called a pro-Arian Council in Antioch in 357, which approved the formula of Sirmium (357). He was called in at the Council of Constantinople to replace the homoiousian patriarch of Constantinople, Macedonius.

²⁹ This seems to be the council of 359 (see Mansi, 3, 309-312).

³⁰ This council, held in 357, proscribed the terms "homoousios" and "homoiousios" which had created such division in the church (see M. Simonetti, *EEC*, p. 783).

³¹ The so-called "Robber Synod" of 449 (see M. Simonetti, *EEC*, p. 275).

³² Paul of Samosata, the monarchian bishop of Antioch, was condemned at a number of synods between 264 and 268 for heresy and immorality (M. Simonetti, *EEC*, p. 663). Dionysius of Alexandria was invited to the first council, but declined on the grounds of ill health, and died soon afterwards, in 264 or 265 (P. Nautin, *EEC*, p. 238). Gregory the Wonder-Worker took part in the first synod against Paul; when the last one was held, he may have already died (H. Crouzel, *EEC*, p. 368). According to Eusebius, *HE VII*, 7, Pope Dionysius (259/260-267/268) never received the letter of the Synod of Antioch in 268 which condemned Paul (B. Studer, *EEC*, p. 237).

³³ Cf. Greek continues from the previous sentence: ή δλως κελεύσει βασιλέως πάντως τὰς συνόδους ἀθροίζεσθαι (PG 90, 148A) "or that, generally speaking, synods are convened at all on the order of an emperor?"

- Macedonio, et Arrio, ac omni heresi, et accusat concilium, immo perfecte reicit per ea quae dogmatizauit?»
Theodosius: «Quid ergo penitus non recipis unam operationem?»
- 275 Maximus: «Et quis dicit unam operationem ex probabilibus magistris ecclesiae?»
Et attulit Theodosius scripta quae falso ab eis ferebantur esse sanctorum Iulii Romani et miraculorum factoris Gregorii atque Athanasii testimonia et legit ea.
- 280 Et dixit Maximus: «Timeamus nunc Deum | et ne uelimus irritare illum in hereticorum prolatione testimoniorum. Nullus enim ignorat haec impii esse Apolinarii. Ergo si alia forsan habes, ostende. Nam haec proferentes plus credere cunctis persuadetis quod, secundum ueritatem, impii Apolinarii et nequam cum eo sentientium opinionem renouassetis.»
f. 38^v
Et profert idem episcopus Theodosius sub nomine Chrisostomi duo testimonia. Quae agnoscens abba Maximus ait: «Haec Nestorii sunt qui personalem in Christo dualitatem uesane dogmatizauit.»
- 290 Et statim furore feruescens Theodosius dixit: «Domne monache, Satanas locutus est per effrenatum os tuum.»
Maximus: «Ne tristetur dominus meus contra seruum suum,» et mox sumens ostendit ei easdem uoces esse Nestorii, et in quibus sermonibus eius iacerent.
- 295 Theodosius: «Deus nouit, frater, haec testimonia patriarcha mihi dedit. Verum ecce alia quidem horum dixisti Apolinarii, alia uero Nestorii.»
Et producto sancti Cyrilli testimonio quod ait, **Vnam atque cognatam per utramque demonstrans operationem**, dixit:
300 «Quid ad haec dicis?»

298/299 Cyril. Alex., *Commentarii in Iohannem IV*, 2, ed. Pusey,
vol. 1, p. 530, 18-19

272 *om. cod. signum interrogationis a. corr.* 285 *renouasetis*
cod. a. corr. m. sec. 290 *domine cod. a. corr. m. sec.* 292
Maximus] in mg. cod.

teaches,³⁴ the canon sanctions that synods should be held twice each year in every province, making no mention of imperial command, in order to preserve our saving faith and to correct all points which do not conform to divine ecclesiastical law."

And Bishop Theodosius said: "It is as you assert: indeed the correctness of the teaching confirms synods. However, do you not accept the booklet of Mennas in which he propounds one will and one activity of Christ?"³⁵

Maximus: "May the Lord God forbid that. You do not accept, but reject all teachers who struggled against the accursed heresy of Severus after the holy Council of Chalcedon, and I have to accept the booklet of Mennas who lived after the council, through which he is recognised clearly as sympathising with Severus and Apollinaris and Macedonius and Arius and every (other) heresy, and accuses or rather fully rejects, the council, through what he has propounded?"

Theodosius: "What then? Do you completely reject one activity?"

Maximus: "And which of the approved teachers of the church speaks of one activity?"

And Theodosius adduced writings which were falsely said by them to be testimonies of the saints, Julius of Rome, Gregory the Wonder-Worker and Athanasius, and he read them.

And Maximus said: "Let us now fear God and not wish to provoke him in producing the testimonies of heretics. For no-one is ignorant of the fact that these belong to the impious Apollinaris. Therefore if by chance you have others, show them. For by producing these, you persuade the rest to a stronger conviction³⁶ that you have in truth renewed the unorthodox belief of the impious Apollinaris, and of those agreeing with him."

And the same Bishop Theodosius adduced two testimonies attributed to Chrysostom. Father Maximus, recognising these, said: "These are from Nestorius who in his madness propounded the duality of persons in Christ."

And immediately Theodosius, boiling with rage, said: "My lord monk, Satan has

³⁴ Cf. Greek καὶ διδάσκεις διδάσκει "and teaches others" (PG 90, 148A). This was first stipulated by Canon 5 at Nicaea in 325, but was frequently repeated. See N. P. Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* (London-Washington, 1990), p. *96, n. 1.

³⁵ The *Logos dogmatikos* attributed to Patriarch Menas written in 552 (see Grumel, no. 243).

³⁶ There is no equivalent of *credere* in the Greek text (PG 90, 148C).

- 305 Maximus: «Sunt quidam ostendentes illud in ueritate per additionem positum in interpraetatione Euangeli quae facta est ex hoc sancto patre a Timotheo Helluro. Verum sit secundum uos eius. Scrutemur igitur sensum paternarum uocum, et cognoscamus ueritatem.»
- Theodosius: «Hoc non permitto fieri; simplices enim uoces necessarium habes recipere.»
- 310 Maximus: «Dic mihi differentiam, deprecabilis factus, <simplicium> uocum ad uarias.»
- Theodosius: «Vt sicuti est recipias uocem, et ne scruteris sensum ipsius.»
- 315 Et Maximus: «Euidenter, inquit, nouas et [ex]extraneas ecclesiae etiam super uocibus introducitis leges. Si secundum uos non oportet scrutari uoces Scripturarum ac patrum, abicimus omnem Scripturam, ueterem scilicet atque nouam. Audiui enim dicentem Dauid: *Beati qui scrutantur testimonia eius, in toto corde exquirunt eum*, praesertim cum nemo sine scrutinio possit exquirere Deum. Et rursus: *Da mihi intellectum et scrutabor legem tuam, et custodiam illam in toto corde meo*, tanquam scrutinio agente ad cognitionem legis atque scientiae, cum desiderio persuadeat dignis ex corde eam custodire per completionem sanctorum quae in ea posita sunt mandatorum. Et iterum: *Mirabilia testimonia tua, ideo scrutata est ea anima mea*. Quid autem *parabolas* et
- 320 *aenigmata* et obscuros sermones scrutari nos uult prouerbialis sermo? Quidue Dominus in parabolis loquens uult intelligere discipulos suos, parabolarum edocens sensum? quid etiam praecipiens: | *Scrutamini Scripturas, utpote testimonium perhibentes de se?* Quid et primus apostolorum Petrus docere uult, *De qua salute exquisierunt atque scrutati sunt prophetae,*
- 325
- 330

f. 39

316/317 Ps. 118,2 318/320 Ps. 118,34 323/324 Ps. 118,129
 324/325 Prou. 1,6 326/327 cf. Mt. 13,18; Lc. 8,11 328 Ioh.
 5,39 330 I Petr. 1,10

309 simplicium] suppleui e gr. 312 extraneas] correxi,
 exextraneas cod. 325 obscuros cod. a. corr. m. sec. 329
 perhibens cod. a. corr. m. sec.

spoken through your unrestrained mouth."³⁷

Maximus: "May my lord not be upset with his servant," and at once taking them, he showed him that these same words were Nestorius's, and in which of his speeches they occurred.

Theodosius: "God knows, brother, the patriarch gave me these quotations. But look, you have said that one of them in fact comes from Apollinaris, and the other from Nestorius."

And when the quotation from St Cyril had been produced which says: "Demonstrating a single and cognate activity through each," he said: "What do you say to this?"

Maximus: "There are those who show that this was placed, in fact, as an addition by Timothy Aelurus to that holy father's commentary on the Gospel. But let it be his³⁸ as you say. Let us then examine the meaning of the father's words, and let us know the truth."

Theodosius: "I shall not allow this to happen, for you ought to accept the plain words."

Maximus: "Tell me, I entreat you, what differentiates (plain) words from those which are complex?"

Theodosius: "That you accept the word as it is, and do not scrutinise its meaning."

And Maximus said: "It is clear that you are introducing new rules foreign to the church even concerning words. If, as you say, it is not fitting to examine words of Scripture and the Fathers, we reject all Scripture, both Old and New (Testaments). For I have heard David say: *Blessed are those who examine his testimonies; they seek him with their whole heart*, particularly since no-one is able to seek God without examination. And again: *Give me understanding and I will examine your law, and I will guard it with my whole heart*, as if³⁹ scrutiny leads to an understanding of the law, and with desire for knowledge⁴⁰ persuades the worthy to guard it with their

³⁷ Anastasius has elaborated on the basic meaning here of the Greek τοῦ χαλινοῦ "bridle" (PG 90, 148D), which came by metonymy to mean "that place in the mouth where the horse's bit rests".

³⁸ Sc. Cyril's.

³⁹ Latin *tanquam*; cf. Greek ὡς "because" (PG 90, 149B).

⁴⁰ I have followed the Greek punctuation rather than the Latin, which reads: "for an understanding of the law and of knowledge, with longing..." (PG 90, 149B).

dicens? Quid uero Paulus diuinus apostolus dicens: *Si opertum est Euangelium, sed in his qui pereunt est opertum, in quibus <Deus> saeculi huius excaecavit oculos mentis eorum ut non luceat eis illuminatio scientiae Christi?* Vt appareat, similes nos
335 uultis esse Iudeis, qui simplicibus ut dicitis uocibus, id est sola littera ueluti quadam mole mentem obruentes, euulsi sunt a ueritate, uelamen habentes in cordibus suis, ut non intelligent spiritum qui proprie est et occultatur in littera.
340 Vnde et ait: *Littera quidem occidit, spiritus uero uiuificat.* Certus efficiatur dominus meus quia ego nullatenus patiar suscipere uocem absque sensu qui reiacet in ipsa, ne fiam manifestus Iudeus.»
At uero Theodosius hoc audito ait: «Vnam operationem Christi subsistentiale debemus dicere.»
345 Maximus: «Inspiciamus malum quod ex hoc gignetur, et fugiamus externam hanc uocem; hereticorum enim est tantum qui deorum multitudinem colunt. Si enim subsistentiale Christi dixerimus unam operationem, cum non aptetur aliquando secundum subsistentiam Patri et Spiritui Filius, haud dubium quin nec secundum subsistentiale operationem, cogemur quemadmodum Filio, ita et Patri et Spiritui subsistentiales operationes tribuere, et secundum uos quattuor operationes habebit beata diuinitas, tres segregatiuas personarum in quibus est, et unam communem significatiuam societatis quae est secundum naturam trium subsistentiarum, et secundum patres, si dumtaxat eorum doctrinam recipimus, quadripartita erimus deitate languentes. Naturalem quippe non subsistentiale omnem esse decernunt operationem. Et si hoc uerum est sicut reuera est, quattuor naturas, et quattuor natura deos, differentes ab inuicem subsistentia et natura, dicere
350
355
360

331/334 II Cor. 4,3-4 339 II Cor. 3,6

333 Deus] suppleui e gr. 340 efficitur a. corr. cod. 355
societates cod. a. corr. m. sec. 357 deitate] e eratum est in dei,
forsitan nominis sacri gratia 360 ab inuicem] in mg. cod. m. sec.

heart, by fulfilling the holy commandments which are contained in it. And again: *Marvellous are your decrees; therefore my soul has examined them.* But why did the saying from Proverbs want us to examine *parables* and *mysteries* and obscure sayings? Or why did the Lord, speaking in parables, wish his disciples to understand, when he taught them the meaning of the parables? Why did he even command: *Examine the Scriptures*, on the grounds that they revealed testimony of him? And what did Peter, the chief of the apostles, wish to teach, when he said: *The prophets made search and inquiry concerning this salvation?* What indeed of Paul the holy apostle who said: *But⁴¹ if the Gospel message is hidden, it is hidden in the case of those who perish, in whom [the God] of this age blinded the eyes of their minds so that the illumination of the knowledge of Christ would not shine on them?* As it appears, you wish us to be similar to the Jews, who, with plain words as you call them, that is with the letter alone blocking their minds like some obstruction, have been shut out from the truth, having a veil over their hearts, so that they cannot understand the spirit which belongs, and is hidden, in the letter. So he also said: *The letter indeed kills, but the spirit gives life.* My lord may rest assured that to no degree do I allow a word to be accepted divorced from the meaning which lies behind it, lest I become an obvious Jew."

But when he heard this, Theodosius said: "We ought to speak of one hypostatic activity of Christ."

Maximus: "Let us examine the evil which stems from this, and let us avoid this strange expression, for it is the sole property of heretics who worship many gods. For if we have spoken of one hypostatic activity of Christ, although the Son is not ever similar to the Father and the Spirit in respect of hypostasis, there is no doubt that (the Son is not similar) in respect to hypostatic activity. We will be forced to attribute hypostatic activities in the same way to the Son as to the Father and the Spirit. And according to you, the blessed godhead will have four activities, (that is) three distinguishing ones of the persons in which it is, and one common one signifying the group which is of three hypostases according to nature; and according to the Fathers, if indeed we accept their teaching, we will suffer from the sickness

⁴¹ I have transposed "But" which precedes "it is hidden" in the Latin.

apparebimus. Verumtamen quis dixit aut contemplatus est
 seorsum habitam operationem cuiuspiam eorum quae sub
 aliqua specie rediguntur, et sub communi diffinitione speciei
 natura taxantur? Nunquam enim aliquando fit id quod natura
 commune est, unius et solius cuiuslibet proprium.
 365 Subsistentia nanque indicia utputa nasi prolixitas seu
 breuitas, aut oculorum albedo, aut calitum, et quaecunque
 sunt talia quae deputatiua accidentia sunt numeris ab inuicem
 differentibus. Omnis enim homo ut aliquid natura existens, sed
 non ut quis subsistentia dinoscitur operari secundum
 catigoriam rationem quae tam singulariter | quam
 communiter intelligitur necnon et dicitur, utputa animal
 rationale mortale, quod est generalis secundum nos rationis.
 370 Omnes enim eandem percipimus uitam, et eandem
 rationabilit^{<at>} em, et efflex[s]um, et deflexum, et sedere et
 stare, et loqui et tacere, et uidere, et audire, et tangere, quae
 sunt rationis quae communiter in nobis intelligitur. Non itaque
 375 oportet innouare uoces non habentes uim, uel sacrae
 Scripturae, uel patrum, aut naturalem, sed exteram et uersutiis
 hominum adiuuentam. Verumtamen ostende mihi hanc positam
 380 in quo quis patre, et iterum sensum eius qui hanc dixit
 inquiremus.»
 Theodosius: «Quid ergo? Non oportet omnimodis in Christo
 dicere unam operationem?»
 385 Maximus: «Secundum sanctam Scripturam sanctosque patres
 nil tale dicendum suscepimus, sed quemadmodum duas naturas
 Christum ex quibus et est, ita et naturales eius uoluntates et
 operationes conuenientes sibi cum sit natura Deus, idem ipse
 simul et homo, credere iussi sumus et confiteri.»
 390 Theodosius: «Vere, domine, et nos confitemur et naturas et

f. 39^v

386/389 cf. *Syll. 3/8, 262/267, 512/517*

365 proprium] proporu*um cod. a. corr. m. sec. 371 categoricam
 cod. e. corr. m. sec. 374 percipimus] an corrigendum in
 participamus? (*vide gr.*) 375 rationabilitem cod. efflexum cod.
 377 intelligitur] correxi e gr., intelliguntur cod.

of a fourfold God.⁴² For in fact they declare every activity to be natural, not hypostatic. And if this is true, as indeed it is, we will appear to speak of four natures, and four gods by nature, different in hypostasis and in nature from each other. However, who has spoken of or contemplated a separately-held activity of any of those things which are grouped in a certain category, and arranged by nature under a common definition of kind? For it never happens that what is common in nature is proper to any one sole individual. For hypostatic hall-marks such as the length or shortness of the nose, or brightness of the eyes, or baldness, and any such characteristics which are defining, are incidentals which are different from each other in number. For every person in so far as that person is something by nature, but not in so far as he is someone by hypostasis, is recognised to have an activity, according to the rationale⁴³ of his category, which is both individually and communally understood and spoken of as well; as, for example, a rational and mortal animal, which is characteristic of the generic rationale in us. For we all receive the same life, and the same capacity for reason, and the same ebb and flow and (capacity) to sit and to stand and to speak and to be silent and to see and to hear and to touch, which are characteristic of the rationale commonly understood in us. And thus it is not fitting to invent words which do not have the force either of holy Scripture or of the Fathers or of natural (reason), but (are) foreign and invented by human wiles. However, show me this posited in any of the Fathers, and again we will examine the meaning of the one who said this."

Theodosius: "What then? Is it not fitting to speak in any way of one activity in Christ?"

Maximus: "According to holy Scripture and the holy Fathers we have undertaken to say no such thing, but in the same way as two natures (of) Christ, from which he <also> is,⁴⁴ so also we have been ordered to believe and confess his natural wills and activities, which are appropriate to him, since the very same one is by nature

⁴² Source unknown; possibly Cyril or Sophronius.

⁴³ I have translated Latin *ratio* (Greek λόγος) as "rationale" here. The word has a range of meanings, and sometimes may be better translated by "reason" or "rational principle".

⁴⁴ There is no equivalent to "also" in the Greek.

operations diuersas, id est diuinam et humanam, atque ipsius
cum uoluntate deitatem, sed et cum uoluntate humanitatem,
quoniam sine uoluntate nullatenus erat anima eius; duas autem
non dicimus, ne hunc sibimet pugnam inferentem
introducamus.»

395

Maximus: «Ergone duas naturas dicentes, repugnantes eas
infertis propter numerum?»

Theodosius: «Non.»

400

Maximus: «Ergone naturis designatus numerus non diuidit, sed
cum in uoluntatibus et operationibus dicitur, diuisionis habet
uirtutem?»

405

Theodosius: «Vtique in his diuisionem habet, et patres
numerum in uoluntatibus et operationibus non dixerunt, fugientes
duiisionem, sed alteram et alteram, atque diuinam et
humanam, duplam, duplicem, et uti dixerunt dico, et ut fassi
sunt fateor.»

410

Maximus: «Propter Dominum, si quisquam tibi dixerit alteram
et alteram, quot intelligis? <Vel diuinam et humanam, quot
intelligis?> Vel «duplam» aut «duplicem», quot intelligis?»

415

Theodosius: «Noui qualiter intelligam, duas autem non dico.»
Tunc conuersus abba Maximus ad principes dixit: «Propter
Dominum, si audieritis unam et unam, et aliam ac aliam, aut
bis duas, aut bis quinque, quid intelligentes his qui hoc
dicerent responderetis?»

420

Et dixerunt: «Quoniam adiurasti nos, unam et unam, duas
intelligimus, et alteram et alteram duas intelligimus, et bis
duas, quattuor intelligimus. Similiter et bis quinque decem.»
Et quodammodo reueritus Theodosius responsionem eorum ait:
«Quod non est a patribus dictum | non dico.»

f. 40

Et accepto protinus abba Maximus libro gestorum sanctae ac

408/409 Vel - intelligis?] suppleui e gr.

God, and also human at the same time."⁴⁵

Theodosius: "Truly, lord, we also confess both different natures and different activities, that is, the divine and human, and that his divinity has a will but the humanity also has a will, since his soul was by no means without a will; but we do not speak of two, lest we should introduce him as being at war with himself."

Maximus: "What then? When you speak of two natures, do you introduce them as opposed on account of their number?"

Theodosius: "No."

Maximus: "What then? Is it the case that the number assigned to the natures does not divide them, but when it is spoken of with regard to wills and activities, it has the force of a division?"

Theodosius: "Indeed it maintains division in these cases, and the Fathers did not speak of a number in the case of wills and activities, because they avoided division, but they spoke of one and another one, and the divine and the human, double (and) twofold, and as they spoke, I speak, and as they confessed, I confess."

Maximus: "By the Lord, if anyone said to you one and another one, how many do you understand? [Or a divine and a human (will and activity), how many do you understand?] Or double or twofold, how many do you understand?"

Theodosius: "I know how many I would understand, but I do not say that it is two." Then father Maximus turned to the rulers and said: "By the Lord, if you heard one and one, or one and the other, or twice two, or twice five, from your understanding what would you answer those who said this?"

And they said: "Since you adjure us, we understand by one and one, two, and we understand by one and another one, two, and we understand by twice two, four. Similarly also by twice five, ten."

And Theodosius, made rather afraid by their answer, said: "What is not said by the Fathers, I do not say."

And at once, taking a book of the proceedings of the holy and apostolic Roman

⁴⁵ This paragraph is very similar to a passage from the *Testimonia* which is repeated twice in the *Syllogisms*, and provides support for seeing the hands of Maximus and Anastasius the Apocrisiarius in the authorship of both works.

apostolicae synodi Romanae, monstrauit sanctos patres duas uoluntates et operationes saluatoris nostri et Dei Iesu Christi aperte dicentes, quem acceptum ab eo Theodosius consul legit, sed et omnia sanctorum testimonia patrum.

- 425 Tuncque respondens Theodosius episcopus dixit: «Deus scit, nisi quia personaliter anathemata posuit synodus haec, plus quam omnis homo receperissem illam. Sed ne moras hic faciamus, quicquid dixerunt patres, dico, et in scriptis continuo facio duas naturas, et duas uoluntates, et duas operationes, et ingredere, nobiscum communica, et fiat unitas.»
- 430 Maximus: «Domine, non audeo ego suscipere consensum a uobis in scriptis super huiuscmodi re cum sim monachus purus, sed postquam Deus ad compunctionem uos excitauit <***> in scriptis transmittite, id est imperator et patriarcha synodusque ipsorum. Ego enim nec his peractis communico dum recitantur anathematizati inter sanctam oblationem; timeo enim condemnationem anathematis.»
- 435 Theodosius: «Deus nouit, non reprehendo te quia times, nec aliis quisquam; sed da nobis consilium propter Dominum, si est hoc possibile fieri.»
- 440 Maximus: «Quod consilium habeo super hoc dare uobis? Ite, perscrutamini si tale quid aliquando factum sit et post mortem solitus sit quispiam a crimine quod in fidei causa contraxit, atque ab illata contra se qu[a]uerela seu damnatione, et consentiant imperator ac patriarcha imitari Dei condescensionem faciatque imperator quidem iussionem rogatoriam, patriarcha uero synodicam deprecationem ad papam Romanum, et profecto si repertus fuerit mos ecclesiasticus hoc praecipiens ob rectam confessionem,
- 445 450

437 cf. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, p. 538, n. 13.

434/435 *post excitauit ceciderunt plura siue in exemplari, siue in textu Anastasii (uide gr.)* 445 *quaerela cod. e. corr. m. sec.*

Scholia 421 *synodi*] id est Martini papae

447 *iussionem*] epistolam imperatoris adulorie iussionem dicunt

synod,⁴⁶ father Maximus demonstrated that the holy Fathers openly spoke of two wills and activities of our Saviour and God Jesus Christ. The consul Theodosius accepted the book from him, but also all the testimonies of the holy Fathers, and read them.⁴⁷

And then in answer Bishop Theodosius said: "God knows that if this synod had not placed (them) personally under anathema, I would have accepted it more (willingly) than anyone else. But lest we delay here, whatever the Fathers said, I say, and I declare directly in writing two natures and two wills and two activities. And come, enter into communion with us and let there be unity."

Maximus: "Lord, I do not dare to accept an agreement from you in writing over an issue of this kind, since I am a mere monk, but after⁴⁸ God has stirred you to compunction [to accept the words of the holy Fathers, as the canon demanded, you must write to the pope of Rome concerning this]: you, that is, the emperor and the patriarch and their synod. For I will not communicate even when these actions have been taken, while the men under anathema are mentioned in the holy anaphora,⁴⁹ for I am afraid of being condemned and anathematised."

Theodosius: "God knows that I do not blame you for fearing that, nor does anyone else; but advise us, before God, if this can be done."

Maximus: "What advice do I have to give to you on this? Go and find out if such a thing has ever happened, and anyone was absolved after death from a crime which he committed involving the faith, and from the charge or sentence brought against him. And let the emperor and patriarch imitate the forgiveness of God and let the emperor indeed make an invocatory command,⁵⁰ but let the patriarch make an entreaty by synodical letter to the pope of Rome. And certainly, if an ecclesiastical

⁴⁶ I.e. the Acts of the Lateran Council of 649.

⁴⁷ Cf. PG 90, 153B: ἦν λαβὼν βίβλον τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐξ αὐτοῦ Θεοδόσιος ὁ ὄπατος, ἀνέγνω καὶ αὐτὸς πάσας τὰς χρήσεις τῶν Πατέρων: "The consul Theodosius, taking from him the book of the proceedings, also read all the testimonies of the holy Fathers."

⁴⁸ Cf. Greek ὅλλα ἔταν "but if" (PG 90, 153C); some manuscripts have ὅλλα ἔπαν "but since".

⁴⁹ On the reading of the diptychs after the offering at the eucharistic table, see F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (Oxford, 1896), p. 538 n. 13.

⁵⁰ Latin *iussionem rogatoriam*: a terminus technicus.

- conueniet uobiscum proculdubio super hoc.»
 Theodosius: «Hoc profecto fit. Sed da mihi uerbum quod si
 me miserint uenias mecum.»
- 455 Maximus: «Domine expedite tibi conseruum meum qui est
 Mesembri < a > e accipere tecum magis quam me. Ipse enim
 et linguam nouit, et uerebuntur eum dignius eo quod per tot
 annos cruciatus fuerit propter Deum et rectam fidem quae
 tenetur in sede ipsorum.»
- 460 Theodosius: «Iurgia diuerso habuimus ad inuicem modo, et
 ideo non gratauerit accipio pergere cum illo.»
- Maximus: «Domine, iam quia uisum est hoc fieri, exitus fiat
 eorum quae putata sunt, et sequor uos quoquaque iusseritis.»
- 465 Et in his surrexerunt omnes cum gaudio et lacrimis, positisque
 in terra genibus oratio facta est, et unusquisque ipsorum sancta
 Euangelia preciosamque crucem, et imaginem Dei ac
 saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi atque dominae nostrae quae illum
 peperit sanctissimae Dei genitricis, salutauerunt, | ponentes
 nihilominus manus suas ad certificationem eorum quae dicta
 sunt.
- f. 40^v
- 470 Deindeque cum pusillum confabulati fuissent ad inuicem de
 uita quae secundum Deum agitur et diuinorum obseruantia
 mandatorum, conuersus Theodosius episcopus ad abbatem
 Maximum dixit: «En omnia soluta sunt scandala, et facta est
 pax per Deum et fiet, sed propter Dominum ne c[ae]les me:
 475 non dicis per quemcunque modum unam uoluntatem et
 operationem in Christo?»
- Maximus: «Non mihi possibile est hoc aliquando dicere. Et
 dico causam: quoniam extranea uox est sanctis patribus,
 duarum diuersarum naturarum unam dicere uoluntatem et
 480 operationem. Deinde uero et per omnem modum qui dicit hoc,

463/469 cf. Ioh. Dam., ed. Kotter, vol. 3, p. 164, II, 65; p. 196,
 III, 131.

451 conuenit a. corr. cod. proculdubio] in mg. cod. m. sec. 455
 mesembrie cod. 474 caeles cod. 477 aliquando hoc cod. a.
 corr. 479 naturum a. corr. cod.

precedent is found instructing this because of a confession of orthodoxy, he will be reconciled with you over this matter without a doubt."

Theodosius: "Indeed, consider it done. But give me your word that if they send me, you will come with me."

Maximus: "My lord, it is more expedient for you to take with you my fellow servant who is in Mesembria than to take me. For he himself also knows the language, and they will respect him more worthily⁵¹ for the fact that he was tortured for so many years on account of God and the orthodox faith which is upheld in their see."

Theodosius: "We had various quarrels⁵² with each other, and for that reason I do not welcome the idea of going with him."

Maximus: "My lord, because it has now seemed right that this should be done, let there be an end to the previous imputations, and I (will) follow you wherever you command."

And at these words everyone arose with tears of joy, and knelt down on the ground⁵³ and prayed, and each of them kissed the holy Gospels and the precious cross, and the image of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of Our Lady, the most holy mother of God who bore him, signing with their own hands, no less, as certification of the proceedings.

And then, when they had discussed with each other for a little while the life which is led in God and the observance of the divine commandments, Bishop Theodosius turned to father Maximus and said: "Look, all scandals are resolved, and peace has been made through God and it will be made, but in the Lord's name, do not conceal from me: don't you say in any way at all that there is one will and activity in Christ?"

Maximus: "It is not possible for me ever to say this. And I shall tell you the reason: since it is a saying foreign to the holy Fathers to speak of one will and activity of two different natures. But furthermore, he who says this will find in every way that

⁵¹ Cf. Greek ὡςίως "as he deserves" (PG 90, 156A).

⁵² Latin *diverso modo*, literally meaning "variously".

⁵³ The equivalent for "on the ground" is absent from the Greek (PG 90, 156A).

inueniet iure occurrentem sibi prauitatem: primo, quoniam si
dixero naturalem, timeo commixtionem; secundo, quia si
dixero subsistentiam, diuidio a Patre ac Spiritu Sancto
Filium, et tres uoluntates inducere apparebo mutuo sibimet
485 <non> congruentes, quemadmodum et subsistentias; tertio,
490 quoniam si dixero uelut unius unam uoluntatem et
operationem, cogor et uelut unius Patris, et uelut unius
Spiritus dicere, licet nolim, uoluntatem et operationem, et
inuenietur sermo in multitudinem deorum cecidisse; quarto, si
dixero affectualem, Nestorii infero personalem divisionem;
495 quinto, si dixero praeter naturam, corrumpo existentiam
uoluntatis; corruptio quippe est naturae, id quod praeter
naturam est, quemadmodum patres dixerunt.»
Theodosius: «Vnam propter unionem saluatoris nostri
uoluntatem per omnia et omnino dicere debemus, sicut et
Sergius et Pyrrhus bene ut reor intelligentes scripserunt.»
Maximus: «Si iubes domine, suscipe duo super hoc uerba
mea: primo, quia si propter unionem una Dei et saluatoris
nostri, sicut Sergius, Pyrrhus et Paulus scripserunt, uoluntas
500 effecta est, alterius uoluntatis secundum illos erit Filius Patri
propter naturam sed non propter unionem, secundum Filium
habenti uoluntatem, si non id ipsum est unitio et natura;
secundo, quia si propter unionem una secundum ipsos
saluatoris nostri uoluntas effecta est, causam profecto suam,
505 unionem habebit, et non aliam eorum naturam ex quibus
existit, et affectus, non naturae, secundum ipsos erit aperte
uoluntas; naturam enim non affectum ueritatis ratio no[n]uit;
tertio, si propter unionem, ut fassi sunt, una saluatoris nostri
uoluntas effecta est, qua uoluntate aiunt ipsam fuisse
510 unionem effectam? Non enim ea quae per illam effecta est

485 non] suppleui e gr. 494 propter] scripsi nisa gr. et 498, 501
etc., praeter cod. 498 quia] qua cod. a. corr. m. sec. 503 quiaj
qui cod. a. corr. m. sec. 507 nouit] correxi, nonuit cod. 510
illam] correxi, illum cod.

distortion⁵⁴ [meets him head on],⁵⁵ first because if I call (the will and activity) natural, I am afraid of confusing them. Second, because if I call (them) hypostatic, I divide the Son from the Father and the Holy Spirit, and I will appear to introduce three wills [in]congruent to each other, and similarly three hypostases. Third, because if I speak of one will and activity as of one (being), I am forced, although I do not wish it, to speak of the will and activity as of one Father and of one Spirit, and the expression will be found to have sunk into a multitude of gods. Fourth, if I say it is dispositional, I infer Nestorius' division of persons. Fifth, if I say it is beyond nature, I corrupt the existence of the will; for what is beyond nature is a corruption to the nature, as the Fathers said."⁵⁶

Theodosius: "By reason of the union, we ought to speak of one will of our Saviour, through everything and altogether, as both Sergius and Pyrrhus, in my opinion, wrote with correct understanding."

Maximus: "If you command it, my lord, let me say a couple of words on this point. First, if, because of the union, one will of God and our Saviour was effected, as Sergius, Pyrrhus and Paul wrote, the Son will have a different will, according to them, from the Father,⁵⁷ who has a will in conformity with the Son's, through nature but not because of the union, if union and nature are not the same thing. Second, if, through the union, one will of our Saviour was effected, according to them, indeed it will have as its cause the union and not either of the natures out of which he exists, and according to them the will clearly will be dispositional, not natural; for the rationale of truth understood [the union] as being natural, but not dispositional.⁵⁸ Third, if what they said is true, that one will of our Saviour was

⁵⁴ Greek reads τὴν ἀτοπίαν "absurdity" (PG 90, 156C).

⁵⁵ Cf. Latin *iure occurrentem* "meeting (him) rightly".

⁵⁶ This resembles certain formulations of the Cappadocians, but none provided a close match to Maximus' citation. The closest we found was Gregory of Nyssa, *Antirrheticus adversus Apollinarium*, vol. 3, 1, ed. F. Mueller (Leiden, 1958), p. 207, 8-9. However, it does closely resemble *Syll. 399/400*.

⁵⁷ On this subject, with reference to the Agony in the Garden, see Maximus, *Opus.* 7, PG 91, 81C-84A, and *Opus.* 3, PG 91, 48A-C, where Maximus cites Gregory of Nazienzen's *Sermon 30.12*.

⁵⁸ This is the opposite of the Greek (in all but one manuscript) which reads: σχέσιν γάρ, ἀλλ'οὐ φύσιν δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας τὴν ἔνωσιν ἐπίσταται λόγος "as being dispositional, but not natural." (PG 90, 157A).

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fatebuntur utique, si dumtaxat ueritati operam dederint et quod est irrationabile fugerint. Quarto, si propter unionem una saluatoris uoluntas effecta est, liquet profecto quod ante unionem aut cum multis uoluntatibus fuerit, aut penitus absque uoluntate. Et si quidem multarum erat uoluntatum, diminutionem multarum pertulit ad unam nimirum uoluntatem contractus, et conuertibilitatis perspicue passionem suscepit, multarum quae sibi naturaliter inerant uoluntatum diminutionem. At uero si modis omnibus erat absque uoluntate, meliorem natura esse monstrauit unionem, ex qua adquisiuit uoluntatem qua natura carebat; et iterum conuertibilis palam profecto fecit, quod natura sibi non inerat, sed adquisiuit affectu. Quinto, si propter unionem una saluatoris nostri secundum utraque ex quibus est uoluntas effecta est, recens factus est uoluntate Deus, idem ipse propter unionem natura permanens sempiternus, et uoluntate homo sine principio, permanens natura recens, quod est impossibile, ne dixerim impium. Sexto, si propter unionem una naturarum uoluntas effecta est, non est quippiam propter eandem causam una naturarum effectum natura.»

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Et reciso inter haec Theodosius episcopus sermonis super his habiti impetu dixit: «Quid igitur sit propter unionem, si nihil horum factum est propter eam?»

Maximus: «Incarnatum sine mendacio factum eum qui sine carne fuerat demonstrauit, ipsumque natura Deum et omnium conditorem, natura factum hominem eidenter ostendit, non conuersione naturae aut diminutione cuiusquam eorum quae naturae sunt, sed uera susceptione, intellectualiter animata carne, id est indiminuta humanitate, ab omni progenitorio secundum naturam crimine munda, et quod est secundum

515 uoluntate] uolunte *cod. a. corr. m. sec.* 518 inerant naturaliter *cod. a. corr.* 520 unionem *cod. a. corr. m. sec.*
 521/523 translatio Anastasii non est optima 523 unionem] *an corrigendum* unionem? cf. 498, 503, 510, 514, 520, 526, 529.
 528/530 Anas. non bene intellexit 529 quippiam] *Anas. intellexit* *et non et* 530 effectum sic *cod.* 534 nota *mg. cod.* mendatio *cod. a. corr. m. tert.*

effected through the union, by which will do they say the union itself was effected? For they will certainly not say (that it was effected) by that will which was effected through the union, if they pay attention to the truth, of course, and avoid what is irrational. Fourth, if, because of the union, one will of the Saviour was effected, it is perfectly clear that before union he either had many wills or was absolutely without will. And if indeed he had many wills, he sustained the diminution of many wills, contracted, to be sure, into a single will, and he clearly undertook the experience of change, (namely) the diminution of the many wills which were in him by nature. But if he was altogether without will, he revealed that the union was stronger than the nature, through which union he acquired a will which the nature lacked; and again, he plainly demonstrated in fact that he was changeable, acquiring by disposition what was not inherent in him by nature. Fifth, if through the union one will of our Saviour was effected, according to both of those out of which he exists, he, God, was made new in will, the same being remaining eternal in nature because of the union, and (he was made) man without a beginning in regard to will, remaining new in nature; which is impossible, not to mention impious. Sixth, if through the union one will was effected in the natures, [why was one nature of the natures not effected by the same cause?]"⁵⁹

And with the strength of his arguments on these points depleted amidst this debate, Bishop Theodosius said: "Therefore, what was (achieved) on account of the union, if none of these achievements happened through it?"

Maximus: "It demonstrated that the one who had been without flesh was made incarnate without deception, and clearly showed that he was God by nature and creator of all, made man by nature, not by a change of nature or diminution of anything belonging (to him) by nature, but by true assumption of the rationally ensouled flesh, that is with undiminished humanity, pure from any original sin"⁶⁰

⁵⁹ I have followed the Greek rather than the Latin which is corrupt and reads: "not a single thing was effected by one nature of the natures for the same cause" (PG 90, 157B-C).

⁶⁰ Latin *progenitorio...crimine*: literally "ancestral sin".

liberationis rationem mirabile reuera et cunctis ingenti stupore
habendum, totum in hominibus Deum, eundem integrum
manentem intra sua, totum in diuinis hominem, eundem ipsum
integre manentem a propriis non decidentem. Receptio enim
545 in inuicem naturarum, et naturalium quae sibi insunt, iuxta
deiloquorum patrum nostrorum doctrinam, et non translatio
uel casus propter unionem effecta est, <quod proprium
est> eorum qui confusionem maligne faciunt unalitatem, et
550 ideo innouationibus multimode confusionem inducunt, et
propter defectionem constantiae rationis suae persequuntur
pios.»

Quibus auditis Theodosius episcopus uisus est cum reliquis
qui secum uenerant quod dictum fuerat suscepisse. Et iterum
555 idem episcopus ad abbatem Maximum: «Fac,» inquit,
«karitatem, quid est quod dixisti nobis, quia nullus ut quis
subsistentiam, sed ut quid naturam operatur? Asstat enim mihi
non intelligenti quod dictum est.»

Maximus: «Nullus ut quis subsistentiam operatur, sed ut quid
naturam, utputa, Petrus | et Paulus operantur, sed non Petrice
560 et Paulice sed humane, ambo quippe homines naturaliter iuxta
communionem et diffinitiuam naturae rationem, sed non
subsistentialiter secundum id quod proprie facit. Similiter
Michahel uel Gabrihel operantur, uerum non Michahelice uel
565 Gabrihelice sed angelice, ambo quippe angeli. Et ita in omni
natura multa numero praedicante communem sed non
annihilatam operationem aspicimus. Ergo qui dicit
subsistentiale operationem, ipsam naturam cum una sit
infinitam operationibus inducit effectam, secundum
570 multitudinem atomorum quae sub ipsam rediguntur a semet
differentem; quod si admiserimus bene se habere, in ipsa omni

f. 41^v

547/548 quod - est] *suppleui e gr.* 562 id quod proprie facit]
Anastasius non bene intellectus

according to nature, and what is truly marvellous, and to be regarded in great amazement by all, by reason of the mutual interchange, wholly God in his human (properties), remaining entirely the same within his own (properties), wholly man in his divine (properties), remaining entirely (the same), not lapsing from his own properties. For according to the teaching of our holy Fathers,⁶¹ who speak of God, the union brought about the mutual interpenetration of the natures and of the natural properties which are in them, and not the transference or lapse [which is characteristic] of those who maliciously turn the union into a confusion; and on that account they⁶² introduce confusion by their innovations in many ways, and because of the lack of consistency in their argument, they persecute the orthodox."

When Bishop Theodosius heard this, it seemed that he and the others who had come with him had accepted what was said. And again the same bishop said to father Maximus: "Do me a favour,⁶³ what did you say to us, that no-one as far as he is a person acts hypostatically, but as far as he is something, acts naturally? For [it occurs]⁶⁴ to me that I cannot understand what was said."

Maximus: "No-one as a person acts hypostatically, but as something acts naturally, as for example Peter and Paul act, but not as Peter and Paul, but as human beings, since both are human beings by nature, according to the [common]⁶⁵ and definitive rationale of nature, but not hypostatically according to what each does personally. Similarly Michael and Gabriel act, but not as Michael and Gabriel but as angels, for both are angels. And so in every nature predicated in a great number of persons, we observe a common activity but not an activity reduced to nothing.⁶⁶ Therefore he who speaks of a hypostatic activity introduces that very nature, although it is one, as

⁶¹ This doctrine of "the exchange of properties" is one of Maximus' standard theological arguments.

⁶² Sc. the heretics.

⁶³ This idiomatic Greek expression Ποίησον ἀγάπην (PG 90, 160A), has been translated literally by Anastasius: *Fac karitatem...*

⁶⁴ Cf. Latin *asstat.*

⁶⁵ Cf. Latin *communionem.*

⁶⁶ The best reading of the Greek is ἀλλ' οὐκ ἕτομωμένην τὴν ἐνέργειαν "but not an individualised activity" (PG 90, 160 B2).

natura quoquomodo existendi rationem co<r>tumpimus.»

Et his dictis dum inuicem oscularentur, Theodosius consul dixit: «En facta sunt omnia bene; putasne consensurus est imperator rogatoriam facere iussionem?»

575 Et dicit abba Maximus: «Vtique facit, si uoluerit imitator esse Dei et humiliari cum eo propter communem omnium nostrum salutem, perpendens quia si Deus qui natura saluat non saluauit donec uolens humiliaretur, quomodo is qui natura saluandus est homo, aut saluabitur aut saluabit non humiliatus?»

580 Et dixit Theodosius consul: «Spero quia Deo saluante mihi memoriam, hunc eundem ei dicam sermonem; et adquiescet.» Et cum in his se mutuo salutassent, abierunt cum pace, data ab episcopo abbati Maximo quadam pecuniae quantitate et tunica et casula quae fuerant sibi transmissa. Et tunicam quidem statim eademque hora tulit Bizyensis episcopus. Ast in Regio non solum quantitatem sibi pecuniae datae, uerum etiam et aliud quodcunque ex beneficientia quorundam habere uidebatur una cum reliquis eius uilibus rebus ac uestibus abstulerunt.

585 Postquam uero abierunt praedicti uiri, sexto idus Septembrias praesentis quintae decimae indictionis exiuit rursus Paulus consul in Bizyen ad abbatem Maximum, iussionem ferens continentem secundum hanc formam: «Iubemus gloriae tuae ire Bizyen et adducere Maximum monachum cum honore multo atque blanditie tam propter senectam et infirmitatem, quam eo quod sit a progenitoribus noster, fueritque illis honorabilis. Et ponite hunc in ue<ne>rabili monasterio sancti Theodori quod reiaceat iuxta Regium, et uenire et nuntiare nobis, et mittemus ad eum ex

576 cf. Phil. 2, 8

571 corumpimus cod. 599 uerabili cod.

made infinite in its activities, differing from itself according to the number of elements which are combined under it. If we allow that it is so, we corrupt the rationale of the mode of existence in that very nature."

And when this was said, while they were embracing each other, the consul Theodosius said: "Look, everything is arranged well; do you think the emperor is going to consent to make an invocatory command?"⁶⁷

And father Maximus said: "He (will) indeed do so, if he wishes to be an imitator of God and to be humbled⁶⁸ with him for the sake of the common salvation of us all, considering that if God who saves by nature did not save until he was humbled willingly, how can man who by nature needs to be saved, either be saved or save when he has not been humbled?"

And the consul Theodosius said: "I hope that, if God prompts my memory, I will say the same to him, and he will agree."⁶⁹ And after these words, when they had said mutual farewells, they went away in peace, after the bishop had given father Maximus an amount of money and a tunic and cloak which had been sent to him. And the bishop of Bizya in fact at once took away the tunic in the same moment. But in Rhegium they took away not only the sum of money that had been given to him, but also whatever else he was seen to possess as a result of certain people's generosity, together with his remaining meagre possessions and clothing.

But after the men whom I have mentioned departed, on the sixth day before the Ides of September of the current fifteenth indiction,⁷⁰ the consul Paul went out again to father Maximus in Bizya, bearing an order in this form: "We order your Honour to go to Bizya and to bring back the monk Maximus with great honour and blandishment, both because of his seniority and infirmity, and since he is one of our forebears, and he was honoured among them. And put him in the venerable

⁶⁷ This is a *terminus technicus*; cf. n.48 above.

⁶⁸ Some Greek manuscripts add καὶ συγκενθῆναι "and to be emptied out" (cf. PG 90, 160B).

⁶⁹ Cf. Greek πείθεται "he will be persuaded" (PG 90, 160C).

⁷⁰ I.e. 8 September 656.

605

persona nostra patricios duos qui debeant illi declarare quae nobis placuerint nos ex animo amantes et a nobis amatos, et uenire nuntiatur nobis aduentum eius.» | Igitur cum idem consul adduxisset eum et posuisset in iam nominato monasterio, regressus est nuntiare.

f. 42

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Et in crastinum uenient ad eum Epiphanius et Trohilus patricii cum multo amictu et phantasia, necnon et Theodosius episcopus, et ascendunt ad eum in catechumenum ecclesiae ipsius monasterii, factaque consueta salutatione, sederunt, cogentes et ipsum sedere. Et orsus habitum ad eum sermonem Trohilus dixit: «Dominus orbis iussit nos uenire ad te, et dicere uobis quae uisa sunt diuinitus roborato imperio suo, sed dic nobis primitus si facias iussionem imperatoris, an non.» Maximus dixit: «Domine, audiam quid iusserit pium eius imperium, et necessario respondebo. Nam ad id quod ignotum est mihi, qualem responsionem daturus sum?»

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At uero Trohilus perseverabat asseuerans: «Non potest esse ut dicamus aliquid nisi primum dicas utrum facias uel non facias iussionem imperatoris.»

620

Et cum uidisset eos insistentes peramplius dilationi suae et amarius intuentes ac asperius respondentes cum omnibus qui cum eis erant, et ipsis quoque dignitatibus saecularibus eleuatis, respondens abba Maximus ait: «Quia non patimini dicere seruo uestro quae placent domino et imperatori nostro, ecce dico audiente Deo ac sanctis angelis et omnibus uobis, quoniam quicquid iusserit mihi super quacunque re cum hoc saeculo destruenda et corrumpenda, prompte faciam.»

625

Et confessim surgens Trohilus dixit: «Orate mihi, ego uadam. Hic enim nihil facit.»

630

Et multo uehementique facto tumultu ac multa turbatione et

monastery of St Theodore which is situated near Rhegium,⁷¹ and come and inform us. And we will send to him as our representatives two patricians – two men who love us sincerely and are beloved by us – who must declare to him what pleases us, and come to announce to us his arrival." Therefore when the same consul⁷² had brought him and placed him in the said monastery, he went back to announce it.

And on the following day the patricians Epiphanius and Troilus came to him cloaked in great mystery,⁷³ and also Bishop Theodosius, and they came up to him into the catechumen's place in the church of the monastery itself. And when they had given the customary greeting, they sat down, compelling him to sit too, and Troilus began to converse with him, saying: "The lord of the world ordered us to come to you, and to tell you what seems right to His divinely-established Power, but first tell us if you obey the command of the emperor, or not?"

Maximus said: "Lord, I will hear what his devout power has ordered and I will reply as necessary. For what reply would I give to what I don't know?"

But Troilus persisted, asserting: "It is not possible for us to say anything unless you say first whether or not you will follow the command of the emperor."

And when he saw them being much more insistent at his delay, and glaring at him more unpleasantly and answering more harshly, together with all who were with them, and that they themselves were also important in secular offices, father Maximus said in answer: "Because you refuse to tell your servant what pleases our master the emperor, see, I say in the hearing of God and the holy angels and all of you, that whatever he commands of me concerning any matter whatsoever which will be destroyed and brought to nothing together with this age, I will do readily."

And immediately Troilus rose and said: "Pray for me, I am going, for he is doing

⁷¹ R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, Part 1: *Le Siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat Oecuménique*, Tom. III: *Les Églises et les Monastères*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1969), pp. 150f. identifies this monastery of St Theodore at Rhegium with Procopius' church of St Theodore in Rhesion, and with Anna Comnena's church of the same name at Bathys Rhyax. Janin claims that Rhegium, being located more than twenty kilometres from the capital, could not be reached in a day as described here and in the *Vita Maximi*, nor would the inhabitants of Constantinople have travelled so far for their Sunday procession. The church St Theodore, he concludes, was instead located at ancient Macrikey, or closer, at the aghiasma of St Paraskevi.

⁷² Cf. PG 90, 161A: ὁ αὐτὸς ὄπατος "the consul himself" (PG 90, 161A).

⁷³ This is a very literal translation in Latin of the idiomatic Greek expression μετὰ πολλῆς περιβολῆς καὶ φωνασίας "enveloped in great pomp" (PG 90, 161A).

confusione, dixit eis Theodosius episcopus: «Dicite illi responsa et cognoscite quid fateatur. Nam sic regredi nihilque dicere et nihil audire, rationabile non est.»
Et tunc Epiphanius patricius ait: «Hoc tibi per nos significat imperator dicens: Quoniam totus occidens et qui in oriente subuersiones operantur ad te spectant, et omnes propter te simultates exagitant nolentes conuenire nobiscum in causa fidei, Deus compungi te faciat ut communices nobiscum in Typo qui expositus est a nobis, et exibimus per nos ipsos ad Chal <c>em et osculabimur te, et supponemus uobis manum nostram cumque omni honore ac gloria introducemos uos in magnam ecclesiam, et cum nobis ipsis sistemus ubi ex more imperatores stant, et faciemus pariter synaxin et participabimur intemeratorum et uiuificorum sacramentorum uiuifici corporis et sanguinis Christi, et praedicabimus te denuo patrem nostrum, fietque gaudium non modo amatrici Christi et regiae urbi nostrae, sed et in toto terrarum orbe. Scimus enim certissime quod te communicante sancto huic throno, cuncti uniantur | nobis qui propter te tuumque magisterium se a communione nostra sciderunt.»

Et conuersus ad episcopum abba Maximus, cum lacrimis ait: «Domine magne, diem iudicii exspectamus omnes. Nostri quae ordinata sunt et diffinita supra sancta Euangelia et uiuificam crucem atque imaginem Dei et saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi et sanctissimae quae illum genuit semper Virginis matris.»
Et summi <s> so deorsum uultu episcopus, mitiori uoci dicit ad eum: «Et quid habeo facere, postquam aliud quid placuit <piissimo imperatori>?»
Et dixit ad eum Maximus abba: «Et quare tetigisti sancta Euangelia et hi qui tecum erant cum non sit in uobis eorum

f. 42^v

637 simultates] simulantes *a. corr. cod.* 640 Chalcem] correxi *e gr.*, chalem *cod.* 656 summisso] scripsi, summiso *cod.* 658 piissimo imperatori] suppleui *e gr.*

Scholion 643 synaxin] collegium

nothing."

And when a great and violent disturbance ensued, and great upset and confusion, Bishop Theodosius said to them: "Tell him the answer⁷⁴ and see what he says. For to leave in this way, having said nothing and heard nothing, is not reasonable."

And then Epiphanius the patrician said: "The emperor makes this plain to you through us, saying that: 'The whole of the West and those in the East who are causing subversion look towards you, and they all stir up strife on your account, refusing to be reconciled with us in the cause of faith. May God compel you to enter into communion with us on the terms of the *Typus* which has been published by us, and we will go out of our own accord to Chalke⁷⁵ and we will kiss you and we will lay our hand on you, and with every honour and glory we will lead you into the Great Church. And together⁷⁶ we will stand where the emperors stand by tradition, and we will celebrate a synaxis together, and we will partake of the pure and life-giving sacraments of the life-giving body and blood of Christ, and we will speak of you again as our father, and there will be joy not only in our royal city which loves Christ, but also in the whole world. For we know most certainly that when you are in communion with this holy throne, all of those who have separated themselves from our communion, on account of you and your teaching, will unite with us.'"

And turning to the bishop, father Maximus said, as he wept: "Great lord, we all await the day of judgement. You know what has been ordained and defined concerning the holy Gospels and the life-giving cross and the image of our God and Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ and of the most holy, ever-virgin mother who bore him."

And lowering his gaze, the bishop said to him in a gentler voice: "And what am I to do, [since]⁷⁷ something else was pleasing [to the most pious emperor]?"

And father Maximus said to him: "And why did you and these men with you swear

⁷⁴ Latin *responsa* "answers".

⁷⁵ The vestibule at the main entrance of the Great Palace of Constantinople (*ODB*, pp. 405f.)

⁷⁶ Latin *cum nobis ipsis* "with us ourselves".

⁷⁷ Latin *postquam* "after".

665

quae dicta sunt exitus? Vere omnis caeli uirtus hoc mihi facere minime persuaderet. Quam enim rationem redderem ut non dicam Deo, conscientiae meae quod [si] propter humanam gloriam, quae secundum sui rationem nullam habet saluandi substantiam, fidem abnegarem eius qui fouet eam?»

670

Et in sermone isto surgentes omnes, furore instabiles reddit, euulsionibus et impulsionibus atque direptionibus debilitauerunt eum, a capite usque ad unguis sputis certatim madefacientes. Quorum, usquequo lota sunt uestimenta quibus circumamictus erat, foetor longius exhalabat.

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Et surgens episcopus dixit: «Non oportebat ita fieri sed audire ab eo tantummodo respcionem, et ingredi et nuntiare domino nostro bono. Canonicae quippe res alio disponuntur modo.» Et cum uix eis episcopus ut quiescerent persuasisset, rursus sederunt, et denis milibus iniuriis et maledictionibus inexcogitabilibus dehonestantibus eum, cum furore multo et asperitate dixit Epiphanius: «Dic, malorum extreme, uorax ciuium, quasi nos et ciuitatem nostram sed et imperatorem hereticos habeas haec prosecutus es uerba? Vere plus quam tu Christiani sumus atque orthodoxi, et Dominum nostrum ac Deum confitemur habere et diuinam uoluntatem, et humanam uoluntatem, et animam intellectualis, et quia omnis intellectualis natura utique habet ex natura uelle ac operari, quoniam uitae proprium motus est, et intellectus proprium, uoluntas; et uoluntatis eius capacitatem nouimus, non secundum deitatem tantum, sed et secundum humanitatem. Quin et duas ipsius uoluntates et operationes non abnegamus.»

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Et respondens abba Maximus dixit: «Si ita creditis quemadmodum intellectualis naturae ac Dei ecclesia, quomodo me cogitis communicare in Typo qui solam eorum habet

663 si] supra l. m. sec. cod. humanam] hunam cod. a. corr. m. sec.

664 rationem sui a. corr. cod. 664/665 Anas. non bene

intellexit 673 kanonicae cod. a. corr. m. tert. 680 horthodoxi a.

corr. cod.

on the holy Gospels, since you had no means of escaping what was said?⁷⁸ Truly all the power of heaven could not persuade me to do this. For what reason could I give – I do not say to God but to my conscience – if, on account of human glory which has no substance⁷⁹ according to its own rationale, I denied the faith [which saves] the person who cherishes it?"

And at these words everyone rose, rendered powerless⁸⁰ with rage, and they injured him, pulling and pushing and shoving⁸¹ (him), drenching him with spit from head to toe in the struggle. Until the garments which he wore were washed, the stench that they gave off spread afar.

And the bishop rose and said: "You shouldn't have done this, but you should only have heard his answer from him, and gone and announced it to our good lord. For canonical matters are managed in a different manner." And when with difficulty the bishop had persuaded them to be quiet, they sat down again, and, denigrating him⁸² with countless insults and unthinkable curses, Epiphanius said with great rage and harshness: "Tell us, most evil one, devourer of citizens,⁸³ have you uttered these words, as if you consider us and our city and also the emperor as heretics? Truly we are more Christian and orthodox than you, and we confess that our Lord and God has both a divine will and a human will and a rational soul, and that every rational nature is indeed able to will and have an activity out of (its) nature, since motion is characteristic of life, and will is characteristic of intellect; and we acknowledge his capacity (for operation) of the will, not according to divinity alone but also according to humanity. No indeed, we do not deny that he has two wills and activities."

In answer father Maximus said: "If you believe as rational natures and the

⁷⁸ Or "since in your case you did not fulfil what was said".

⁷⁹ Latin has "for saving" here, not in the next clause as I have placed it, following the Greek (PG 90, 164B).

⁸⁰ Latin *instabiles* cf. Greek ἀναστάντες "out-manouvered", governing ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ "at these words" (PG 90, 164C).

⁸¹ Latin *direptionibus*: "with snatching hands".

⁸² Sc. Maximus.

⁸³ Latin *uorax ciuium*, cf. Greek φογοπόλις "hoary old glutton" (PG 90, 164C). Anastasius mistook the etymology of the second part of the expression.

diuisionem quae uos confitemini?»

Et dixit Epiphanius: «Ob dispensationem factum est hoc, ne laedantur populi huiuscemodi subtilioribus uocibus.»

695 Et respondens abba Maximus dixit: «E contra, omnis homo sanctificatur per districtam fidei confessionem, non autem per diuisionem quae in Typo est posita.»

Et dixit Trohilus: «Et in palatio dixi tibi, quia non interemit, sed taceri iussit, ut pace fruamur omnes.» |

700 Et respondens abba Maximus dixit: «Silentium uerborum, interemtio est uerborum. Per prophetam enim dicit Spiritus Sanctus: *Non sunt loquelae neque sermones, quorum non audientur uoces eorum.* Ergo sermo qui locutione non praedicatur, nullatenus est.»

705 Et dixit Trohilus: «Habe in corde tuo ut uis; nemo te prohibet.»

710 Et dicit abba Maximus: «Sed non circumclusit Deus corde totam salutem dicens: *Qui non confitetur me coram hominibus, nec ego confitebor eum coram Patre meo qui est in caelis.* Et sacer apostolus docet dicens: *Corde enim creditur ad iustitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem.* Si ergo Deus ac Dei prophetae atque apostoli iubent confiteri mysterium sanctorum uocibus, quod est magnum et horrendum, atque totius mundi salutare, non est opus quoquomodo taceri uocem id praedicantem, ut non imminuatur tacentium salus.»

715 Et respondens asperiori uerbo Epiphanius dixit: «Subscripsisti in libello?»

Et dixit abba Maximus: «Etiam, subscripsi.»

720 «Et quomodo,» inquit, «ausus es subscribere et anathematizare confitentes atque credentes sicut intellectuales naturae et ecclesia catholica? Vere iudicio meo introducimus te in urbem, et sistemus te in foro uinctum, et mimos ac mimas, et

f. 43

701/702 Ps. 18,3 707/708 Mt. 10,32 709/710 Rom. 10,10

691 confitemini] profitemini cod. e corr. m. sec. 694 abba
Maximus] in mg. cod. m. sec.

Scholion 704 Habe] Secundum antiquos paganorum persecutores

church of God do, how is it that you force me to enter into communion on the terms of the *Typus* which contains only the division⁸⁴ of what you profess?"

And Epiphanius said: "This was made for the sake of an arrangement, lest people be harmed by rather subtle words of this kind."

And in answer father Maximus said: "On the contrary, every person is sanctified through the strict confession of faith, but not through the division⁸⁵ which is found in the *Typus*."

And Troilus said: "I also said to you in the palace that the *Typus* did not destroy, but ordered silence, so that we all may enjoy peace."

And in answer father Maximus said: "The silencing of words is the destruction of words. For through the prophet the Holy Spirit says: *For there is no speech or words of which their voices will not be heard.* Therefore a word which is not proclaimed in speech in no way exists."

And Troilus said: "Believe what you want in your heart; no-one forbids you."

And father Maximus said: "But God did not enclose all salvation in the heart when he said: *The one who does not confess me before men, neither will I confess him before my Father who is in heaven.* And the holy apostle teaches with the words: *For one believes in the heart for justification, but confession is made with the mouth for salvation.* If therefore God and the prophets and apostles of God command us to confess the mystery of the holy things in words, which is greatly to be feared and is for the salvation of the whole world, there is no need in any way to silence a word which proclaims it, lest the salvation of those who have been silenced be lessened."

And in answer Epiphanius said more harshly: "Have you put your signature to the tract?"⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Latin *diuisionem* cf. Greek διατίπεστιν "abrogation" (PG 90, 165A). Anastasius possibly read διατίπεστιν.

⁸⁵ See my note on "division" above.

⁸⁶ I.e. the Libellus of Anastasius the Disciple adduced at the Lateran Synod, cf. *RM*, n. 29. It contains a condemnation of the *Typus* of 648, and was adduced at the Lateran Synod. The subscriptions to a document adduced in the *Acts of the Lateran Synod* in ACO ser. II, I, p. 57, include the names of Maximus and two Anastasii. This libellus, which also condemns the *Typus*, is presented to the synod by John, priest of St Sabas, Theodore, a priest of the holy Lavra in Africa, Thalassius, a priest of the Armenian monastery in Rome called Renati, and George, a priest of the monastery of Cilicia on the Aquae Salviae in Rome. See Winkelmann, no. 125 for a brief entry on the *Libellus* of Anastasius.

prostitutas meritrices et omnem plebem adducemus ut unusquisque ac unaquaeque et alapis c<a>edat et conspuat in faciem tuam.»

725 Et ad haec respondens abba Maximus ait: «Sicut dixistis fiat si confitentes duas <naturas ex quibus Dominus est, et congruentes ei duas> naturales uoluntates et operationes ei qui est Deus natura in ueritate simul et homo anathematizauimus. Lege domine gestorum s[an]ceriem ac libellum, et si ut dixistis inueneritis, facite quod uultis. Ego enim et conserui mei, et quotquot subscipserunt, eos qui secundum Arrium et Apolinarium unam uoluntatem et unam operationem dicunt, anathematizauimus, et non qui confitentur Dominum nostrum et Deum in utrisque ex quibus in quibusque

730 et quae est, natura intellectualem, et ideo secundum utranque cum uoluntate ac operatione nostrae salutis.»
735 Et dicunt: «Si cum hoc conferimus, neque manducabimus neque bibemus; sed surgamus et prandeamus, et ingrediamur atque dicamus quae audiuius. Iste quippe uenundauit se Satanae.» Et cum surrexissem, pranderunt. Et ingressi sunt cum ira uigilia exaltationis pretiosae ac uiuificae crucis.

740 Et in crastinum diluculo, exiuit Theodosius consul ad praedictum | abbatem Maximum et abstulit ab eo quicquid habebat, dicens ei ex persona imperatoris: «Quia noluisti honorem, *prolongatus est a te*. Et uade ubi dignum temet ipsum fore iudicasti, habens quoque iudicium discipulorum tuorum, tam scilicet eius qui est Mesembri<a>e, quam eius qui est Perberis quique fuit notarius beatae memoriae auiae nostrae.» Dixerant autem et patricii, Trohilus uidelicet et Epiphanius, quia «Modis omnibus adducemus etiam ambos discipulos tuos, id est tam

f. 43^v

744/745 Ps. 108,17

722 meritrices] sic cod.; an corrigendum meretrices? 723 caedat]
correxi, cedat cod. 726/727 naturas - duas] suppleui e gr. 729
saeriem cod. 748 mesembrie cod. cf. 752

And father Maximus said: "I have indeed put my signature to it."

"And how," he said, "did you dare to put your signature to it, and anathematise those who confess and believe as rational natures and the catholic church do? Truly in my judgement we (will) bring you into the city, and we will tie you up and stand you in the forum, and we will produce actors and actresses and meretricious prostitutes and the entire crowd, so that each man and woman may deal you blows and spit in your face."

In reply to this father Maximus said: "Let it be done as you have said, if we have anathematised those who confess two [natures out of which the Lord exists, and congruent with him, two] natural wills and activities in him who is God by nature, in truth, and at the same time man. Read, my lord, the series of acts and the tract, and if you find it as you said, do as you wish. For I and my fellow servants, and whoever put their signature to it, anathematised those who speak of one will and one activity, following Arius and Apollinaris, and not those who confess our Lord and God, in both (the natures) out of which and in which and which he is,⁸⁷ to be rational in nature, and for that reason to have a will and an activity for our salvation according to each nature."

And they said: "If we debate this, we will neither eat nor drink, but let us arise and have lunch, and let us go in and say what we have heard. For he has sold himself to Satan."

And when they had got up, they had lunch. And it was in a rage that they entered the Vigil of the Exaltation of the precious and life-giving cross.

And on the next day at dawn, the consul Theodosius went out to father Maximus whom I have spoken of, and took away from him whatever he had, saying to him by the authority of the emperor: "Because *you refused honour, it has been removed from you;* and go where you judged you would be worthy, bearing the sentence of condemnation also passed on your disciples, both the one in Mesembria and the one in Perberis,⁸⁸ <and> who was the notary of our grandmother of

⁸⁷ An allusion to the Creed of Chalcedon.

⁸⁸ I.e. Anastasius the Apocrisiarius and Anastasius the Disciple, respectively. This is the only information we have in these documents as to the disciple's official function in the imperial court.

755 eum qui est Mesembri <a>e, quam illum qui est Perberis, et probabimus etiam ipsos ac uidebimus et ipsorum quoque prouentum. Veruntamen ut scias domine abba quoniam, si saltem modicam requiem sumpserimus a confusione gentium, coniungi uobis habemus, per sanctam Trinitatem, et papam qui nunc est tollemus, et omnes ibidem loquentes et reliquos discipulos tuos et omnes uos conflabimus unumquenque in apto sibi loco, ut conflatus est Martinus.» Et sumptum eum iam dictus Theodosius consul militibus tradidit, et duxerunt eum usque Salambriam.

760

765 Et manserunt ibidem per duos dies, quousque perrexit ad castra unus ex militibus et dixit cuncto exercitui quia «Monachus qui blasphemat Dei genitricem huc uenit.» Hoc autem egerunt ut commouerent exercitum aduersus praedictum Maximum abbatem quasi blasphemauerit Dei genitricem. Et post duos dies rediens miles ille, tulit eum in castra, et compunctus diuinitus praetor, immo loci seruator praetoris, misit ad eum primores bandorum, presbyterosque ac diaconos 770 et reuerendos signorum custodes.

775 Quos cum intuitus esset iam nominatus abba Maximus aduenisse, surrexit et misit metanoeam, et miserunt et illi uice reciproca, et sederunt, iubentes et ipsi sedere. Et quidam ualde senex honorabilis dixit ad eum cum reuerentia: «Pater, quoniam scandalizauerunt nos quidam in sanctimoniam tuam quod non dicas Dei genitricem dominam nostram sanctissimam uirginem, adiuro te per sanctam et consubstantialem Trinitatem quo ueritatem dicas nobis, et detergas a corde nostro scandalum hoc, ne laedamur iniuste scandalizati.»

780 Et missa metanoea surrexit, et extensis in caelum manibus cum lacrimis dixit: «Qui non dicit dominam nostram

752 mesembrie cod. cf. 748 754 uerumtamen a. corr. cod. 768
locis a. corr. cod. 773 reproca a. corr. cod.

Scholion 768 praetoris] Teodorum dicit Coloniae facientem locum
comitis ... fratrem imperatoris

blessed memory.⁸⁹ But both the patricians, namely Troilus and Epiphanius, had said: "We will certainly produce both your disciples as well, that is the one in Mesembria and the one in Perberis, and we will try them too, and we will see the result in their case as well. But so that you may know, lord father, if we have even a brief respite from the confusion of the people, by the holy Trinity, we will refrain from uniting with you, and we will remove the man who is now pope and all people who speak there, and your remaining disciples, and we will put all of you to the test by fire, each in his own place, as Martin was tested by fire." And the consul Theodosius, whom I just mentioned, took him and handed him over to soldiers, and they led him as far as Selymbria.

And they stayed there for two days until one of the soldiers reached the camp and told the whole army: "The monk who blasphemes against the mother of God is coming here." But they did this to incite the army against father Maximus, whom I have spoken of, as if he had blasphemed against the mother of God. And coming back after two days, that soldier took him to the camp, and the general,⁹⁰ spurred on by God, or rather the acting general,⁹¹ sent to him the leaders of the garrison⁹² and priests and deacons and revered custodians of the colours.⁹³

When father Maximus, whom I mentioned, saw them arrive, he arose and prostrated, and they also prostrated in their turn, and they sat down, ordering him to sit down too. And a certain very old and honourable man said to him with reverence: "Father,

⁸⁹ This is Constans II's grandmother, who was properly Eudokia, the first wife of Heraclius. After her death in 612, the emperor's second wife, and niece, Martina was treated as the mother of Heraclius (son of Eudokia) known as Constantine, who was co-emperor for a brief time in 641 with her own son Heraclonas. Constans II succeeded his father Constantine in September 641, and Martina and her son were mutilated and sent into exile (J. Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom* (London, 1987), pp. 215f.).

⁹⁰ Latin *praetor* is the equivalent of Greek στρατηγός (PG 90, 168C).

⁹¹ The scholiast identifies the acting general as follows: "He means Theodore of the colony (or perhaps 'of Colonia'), who was taking the place of the *comes*, and brother of the emperor."

⁹² A *bandon* was, in theory, a unit of two or three, but no more than four, hundred horse; see I. Sevcenko, *Byzantium and the Slavs in Letters and Culture*, Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1991), p. 486 and n.28. In *ODB*, p. 250, it is described as a small military detachment, sometimes ethnic.

⁹³ The bearers of ensigns were members of the staff of the *excubitores*, or select imperial body-guard (*ODB*, p. 647).

superlaudabilem, sanctissimam, intemeratam et omni naturae
intellectuali uenerandam, naturalem ueraciter matrem Dei
effectam qui fecit *caelum et terram, et mare et omnia quae in*
785 *eis sunt*, sit anathema et cata Thema a Patre et Filio et Spiritu
Sancto, consubstantiali et super|substantiali Trinitate, ac omni
supercaelesti uirtute, atque a choro sanctorum apostolorum,
prophetarum, et infinita plebe sanctorum martyrum, omnique
spiritu in iustitia consummato, nunc et semper et in saecula
790 saeculorum, amen.»

f. 44

Et flentes omnes, orauerunt ei dicentes: «Deus confortet te
pater et dignum te faciat absque offensa hunc *perficere*
cursum.»

795 Et his dictis congregati sunt multi milites auscultaturi multa
bona uerba quae mouebantur. Et cum contemplatus esset
quidam domesticorum praetoris quod multus coaceruaretur et
aedificaretur exercitus ac reprahenderet quae fiebant, quid
suspicatus Deus scit, praecepit eum rapi et emitte extra castra
800 duobus milibus donec collectionem fecissent et uenissent qui
deberent ducere illum Perberis. Verum clerici diuina moti
dilectione pedites duobus illis miliariis abierunt et uenerunt et
salutauerunt eum et orauerunt illi, et manibus suis gestantes
imposuerunt eum supra iumentum, et reuersi sunt cum pace ad
805 loca sua; et ipse abductus est Perberis in custodiam qua
continuis uexationibus tenebatur.

810 Et hoc quoque sciendum quia in Regio praetendebat
Trohilus ad abbatem Maximum dicens, quod consiliarius
Iohannes scripserit sibi de accidentibus quibusdam quae sibi
consulerent ac placerent, «licet hoc fieri interim discipulorum
tuorum inordinatio prohibuerit». Aestimo autem quod non
scripserit iam dictus consiliarius Iohannes ad Trohilum sed ad

784/785 Ex. 20,11; Ps. 145,6; Act. 4,24, etc. 792/793 II Tim.
4,7

808 accidentibus] Anas. non bene intellexit gr. συμβάσεως

Scholion 808 Iohannes] Hunc sanctus papa Martinus a Chersone
anathematizauit in epistola ad sanctum Maximum destinata

since certain people have caused a scandal for us against Your Holiness, (saying) that you do not call Our Lady the most holy virgin, the mother of God, I adjure you through the holy and consubstantial Trinity to speak the truth to us, and remove this scandal from our hearts, lest we are harmed, because we have been wrongfully scandalised."

And after prostrating, Maximus arose and, with his hands stretched to heaven, weeping he said: "Whoever does not say Our Lady (who is) worthy of all praise, most holy, inviolate and venerable to every rational nature, was truly made the natural mother of God *who made heaven and earth and the sea, and everything which is in them*, may he be anathema and katathema⁹⁴ from the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, the consubstantial and supersubstantial Trinity, and every power above heaven, and from the choir of holy apostles and prophets and the innumerable crowd of holy martyrs, and every spirit perfected in justice, now and always, forever and ever, amen."

And they all wept and prayed for him, saying: "May God strengthen you, father, and make you worthy *to complete this course* without stumbling."

And with these words many soldiers gathered to hear the many good words which were being exchanged. And when one of the general's officials⁹⁵ observed that a sizeable part of the army had gathered, and was being instructed, and was criticising what was happening, he, suspecting God knows what, ordered Maximus to be taken away and sent two miles from the camp until they had performed the liturgy, and those who had to take him to Perberis had come. But the clergy, moved by divine solicitude, went out two miles on foot, and came and greeted him and prayed for him and, carrying him in their arms, put him on a beast and went back in peace to their own places, and he himself was led off to Perberis into custody, where he was held, enduring constant hardship.⁹⁶

And this should also be known: that in Rhegium, Troilus claimed to father

⁹⁴ The anathema was a statement of removal from communion; the katathema a curse.

⁹⁵ The term *domesticus* designated a broad range of officials, ecclesiastical, civil and military (*ODB*, p. 646): we see it used here in a provincial military context to designate an official in the general's administration.

⁹⁶ Cf. Greek ἐν τῇ συνεχούσῃ αὐτὸν φρουρᾷ "(And he led) him (off to Perberis) under constant guard" (PG 90, 169A).

Mennam monachum, et ille deinceps id dixerit palatinis.

- 815 Gloria tibi unigenite Deus, Verbum Patris et une consubstantialis Trinitatis, qui eos, qui propter te cum te pelluntur et patiuntur, uerbo et opere confortas et sapientes facis in Spiritu Sancto, eos uero qui tui, et reuera proprie semper uirginis matris tuae, inimici et ueritatis calumniatores sunt, semper confundis. Gloria tibi Trinitas sancta, increata, sempiterna, sine initio, infinita, inconuertibilis, et supersubstantialis ac impartib[bi]lis Deus noster. Gloria tibi, gloria tibi, gloria tibi, eadem et sola beata Trinitas, spes et salus uniuersorum qui in orthodoxa fide adorant te, et seruiunt tibi in ueritate usque in finem.
- 820 Sola intemerata et sanctissima proprie natura, sine mendacio ac ueraciter Dei mater, et post partum iterum uere uirgo casta, iuua.
- 825

813 *une] uocatuum intellige* 817 *kalumniatores cod. a. corr. m.
tert.* 820 *impartibilis cod.* 822 *horthodoxa cod. a. corr. m.
tert.* 824 *mendatio cod. a. corr. m. tert.*

Scholion 812 Mennam] Hic est qui et genere et mente Aegyptius est et uere ueritatis inimicus.

Maximus⁹⁷ that John the consiliarius⁹⁸ had written to him⁹⁹ [concerning a certain agreement which had been offered and was acceptable to them],¹⁰⁰ "although the disorder created by your¹⁰¹ disciples prevented this from being effected in the meantime." But I think that John the consiliarius, whom I mentioned, did not write to Troilus but to the monk Mennas,¹⁰² and he reported it in turn to those in the palace.

Glory to you, the only-begotten God, Word of the Father, and one of the consubstantial Trinity, you who comfort in word and deed those who are driven out with you and suffer on your account, and you who make them wise in the Holy Spirit. But you always confound those who are your enemies and (enemies) of your ever-virgin mother, properly and in truth, and who are slanderers of the truth. Glory to you holy Trinity, uncreated, eternal, without beginning, infinite, unchangeable, and our supersubstantial and indivisible God. Glory to you, glory to you, glory to you, the same and only blessed Trinity, hope and salvation of all who worship you in orthodox faith, and who serve you in truth to the end.
Help (us, you who are) alone inviolate and most holy, properly in nature, without deception and in reality, mother of God, and truly chaste virgin again after giving birth.

⁹⁷ Greek reads: "Troilus, referring to father Maximos, said..." (PG 90, 169A).

⁹⁸ The "consiliarius" was an official adviser, a rank that originated in imperial Rome: *Lexikon des Mittelalters* III (Munich-Zurich, 1986), p. 160. The scholiast explains further: "The one whom holy Pope Martin anathematised from Cherson in the letter he sent to holy Maximus." The Greek gloss in A is more specific, and explains the term *conciliarius* as σύμπονος ἔγουν σχολαστικός "assistant to the magistrate, that is, an advocate."

⁹⁹ Sc. Troilus.

¹⁰⁰ Sc. the senate. The Latin reads less correctly: "about certain events which were in his interest and pleasing to him...".

¹⁰¹ Sc. Maximus's.

¹⁰² The scholiast adds: "This is the one who is an Egyptian in race and mentality, and a true enemy of the truth".

**EPISTULA ANASTASII AD THEODOSIUM
GANGRENSEM**

**Anastasii Apocrisiarii epistola ad Theodosium
Gangrensem**

Exemplar propriae scriptionis epistolae sancti patris nostri ac doctoris Anastasii presbyteri et apocrisiarii magni nominis senioris Romae, noui scilicet confessoris, uel quod magis fatendum est, multum certatoris et martyris ueritatis, scriptae una cum subiacentibus testimoniiis sacris et syllogis|mis cum ipsa quae abscisa est eius sancta dextera manu, admirabili prorsus ingenio, immo diuina uirtute et gratia, postquam passus est ipse et patres qui cum eo fuerunt in misero Byzantio propter uerbum tantummodo ueritatis, et quod noluissent uel etiam, ut uerius dicatur, non potuissent eis communicare in tam publica ipsorum perfidia et manifesta impietate secundum sanctum et magnum in theologia Gregorium qui in sermone suo quem in se fecit et aduersus Arrianos affatur: «Quasdam dimisimus bestias sanctorum corporibus quod quidam inhumanitatem publicauerint, unum accusantes tantum, ne impietati cederent nec communione polluerentur, quam ut uenenum serpentis fugientes, non corpus laudentem, sed profunda quaeque animae offuscam.» Missa praeterea est a tertio exilio, id est Lazico, ad Theodosium, presbyterum Gangrensem et monachum, in sancta Christi nostri ciuitate constitutum.

f. 44^v

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Superscript< i >o. Domino meo per omnia sanctissimo Deo honorabili patri spiritali ac magistro Theodosio presbytero, Anastasius exiguis misericordia Dei presbyter et monachus seruus seruorum Dei. Data uero est cum Deo in sancta Christi Dei nostri ciuitate

17/22 Greg. Naz., *Adu. Arianos et in seipsum* [=Or.33], 4, (CPG 3010), ed. Moreschini, *Sources Chrétiennes* 318, pp. 162-164, 1-8

tit. non inuenietur in codd. latino uel graeco 3/25 non inuenietur in cod. graeco 4 apocrisiarii] apocrissiarii e corr. cod. 8 syllogismis] sylogismis cod. e corr. m. sec. 9 dextra a. corr. cod. 26 Superscriptio] scripsi, Superscripto cod.

Letter of Anastasius Apocrisiarius to Theodosius of Gangra

Copy of the actual written letter of our holy father and teacher Anastasius, priest and apocrisiarius of great renown of older Rome, indeed a new confessor, or (which is a much greater thing to say) one who strove much, and was a martyr for the truth. He wrote this, together with the attached holy testimonia and syllogisms,¹ with truly admirable skill with his holy right hand which was cut away, or rather by divine power and grace after the suffering he and the fathers who were with him in wretched Byzantium (endured), simply on account of the word of truth, and because they did not want, or even – as may be said more truthfully – were not able to communicate with them in their very public perfidy and obvious impiety. According to the holy Gregory, great in theology, who in the sermon which he wrote about himself and against the Arians, said: "What beasts have we let loose upon the bodies of the saints, in that certain people have revealed their natural inhumanity, accusing them of one thing only: that they would not yield to impiety nor be defiled by communion (with the impious), which we flee as the poison of a serpent, as not wounding the body but injuring the very depths of the soul?"² It was sent, moreover, from the third place of exile, that is from Lazica, to Theodosius the priest from Gangra,³ a monk established in the holy city of our Christ.⁴

Dedication:

To my lord the most holy in all, honourable to God, spiritual father and teacher, Theodosius the priest, the humble Anastasius, by God's mercy priest and monk, servant of the servants of God. [Let it be delivered] with God's help⁵ in the holy city of Christ our God to my lord Theodosius, the priest from Gangra.

¹ These are translated below.

² I have followed the original Greek of Gregory's text. Note that this is a question in the original, but not in the Latin version.

³ A city in Paphlagonia (modern Çankırı, Turkey), as identified by A. Di Berardino, 'Gangra', *EEC*, pp. 336f.

⁴ I.e. Jerusalem. J.-M. Garrigues, 'Le martyre de S. Maxime le Confesseur', *Revue Thomiste* 76 (1976), p. 447, n. 76, comments on the connection between Theodore of Gangra and Theodore Spudaeus and the association of Spoudaei in Jerusalem.

⁵ Cf. Latin *Data uero est cum Deo*: "Truly it was given with God".

domino meo Th<e>odosio presbytero a Gangris.

35 *Memoriam iustorum cum laudibus* diuinitus inspiratum
nobis facere iubet Prouerbium. Ego igitur exiguis
memoriam iustorum illorum et praecipue Maximi reuera
megisti (hoc enim Maximus nomen insinuat) sermone
meo in praesentiarum facere uolens, et digne illius
uirtutem atque scientiam sicut et pro Christo Deo gestum
martyrium eius laudare minime ualens, hoc solum
significare per hanc epistolam Deo honorabilibus uobis
40 consideraui, quod et ipsi maxime nosse, prout didici,
desiderastis, id est quando beati illi in Domino
dormierint.

45 Notum igitur facio uobis, pluribus ex his quae hic nobis
illata sunt malis silentio ob multitudinem eorum et
sermonis fastidium, necnon et tempus incongruum
traditis, quod cum ueni<s> semus ad amicorum Christi
regionem Lazorum sexto idus Iunias quintae inductionis,
50 statim separauerunt nos ab inuicem praeceptione illius qui
tunc praeesse his qui illic erant sorte meruerat, diripientes
omnia usque ad unam acum et filum, quaecunque ad
necessarias utilitates tam ex uobis quam ex aliis Christi
amicis adquisieramus. Et sacratissimum quidem | illum
uirum, dominum aio Maximum abbatem, neque in
subiugali, neque in uehiculo sedere ualentem pro eo quod
55 in infirmitate positus esset, cum plectentes uirgulas ex eis
quasi lectulum texuissent, baiulantes detulerunt, et
inclauserunt in castro Schemari uocitato, iuxta gentem
eorum qui dicuntur Alani, dominum uero Anastasium
abbatem et me peccatorem, super equos impositos,
60 duxerunt et incluserunt, illum quidem in castro Scotori

f. 45

32 Prou. 10, 7

31 Theodosio] correi nisi 27, Thodosio cod. 46 uenissemus]
scripsi, uenissemus cod. 57 Schemari] scemari a. corr. cod.

The divinely inspired proverb orders us to *remember the just with praises*. Therefore I, in humility, wish to make a commemoration of those just men, and especially of Maximus, truly "the greatest one" – for the name Maximus [generally] implies this–, in my present discourse. Since I can in no way worthily praise his virtue and knowledge and so too, his witness for Christ God, I decided to inform you, who are honourable to God, through this letter, simply of what you yourselves also longed most of all to know, as I found out: that is, when those blessed men fell asleep in the Lord.

Therefore I make known to you, consigning to silence most of the evils which we endured here on account of their multitude and our aversion to speak (of them), and also the unsuitable time, that when we came to the region of the Lazicans, friends of Christ, on the sixth day before the Ides of June⁶ in the fifth indiction, they immediately separated us from each other by the order of him who was then in authority over those who were there, snatching away everything down to the last needle and thread, whatever we had acquired for our basic wants both from you and from other friends of Christ. And when they had woven from plaited branches a sort of little stretcher, since Maximus was not able to sit on a beast nor in a vehicle on account of his weak condition, they carried off that most holy man – I mean, the lord father Maximus–, with shouts, and shut him up in the fort called Schemaris,⁷ near the people who are called the Alani. But the lord father Anastasius, and me, a sinner, they led off on horses and imprisoned, him in a fort called Scotoris⁸ in Apsilia which is near Abasgia, but me in another camp whose name was Buculus,⁹

⁶ I.e. June 8, 662.

⁷ The fortress of Muri (Tsikhe-Muris) in Lechkhumi near Tsageri (Kekelidze, p. 36), where there was a monastery of St Maximus in the eighteenth century (see G. C. Berthold, *Maximus the Confessor: Selected Writings*, The Classics of Western Spirituality [New York, 1985], p. 31, n. 32).

⁸ Scotori (=Codori) was a fortress on the back of the river of the same name, on the border between Abasgia and Apsilia (Kekelidze, pp. 25-28).

⁹ A fortress in Misimiana, a region of Alania in the north Caucasus (Kekelidze, pp. 25-28). Devreesse, *La lettre*, p. 11, n. 6, notes that Bouchloon was mentioned by Agathias, *Hist.* III, 15.

dicto Apsiliae quae est prope Abasgiam, me autem in
altero castro cuius nomen Buculus erat regionis quae
Mesimiana uocabatur in iam dictorum confinibus
Alanorum, quod uidelicet castrum idem Alani captum
nunc retinere noscuntur. Dein post paucos dies, sumptis
tam me quam beato Anastasio a praedictis castris, illum
quidem miserunt ad castrum nuncupatum Suanias, cum
iam semiuius esset tam ex multitudine tormentorum ac
uerberum quae in Byzantio sustinuimus, quam ex
necessitatibus atque angustiis quae hic sunt nobis illata.
Vnde et in medio uiae, ut quidam aiunt, ut autem alii
asserunt mox retrusus est in castro Suaniae ad quod
destinatus fuerat, obiit. Argumentor igitur quod circa
undecimo uel nono kalendas Augustas dormierit in
Domino. Quinto decimo nanque kalendarum Augustarum
deducti sumus utriusque per iussionem tunc principis in id
quod dicebatur Mucurisin praesentandi in medio amici
Christi exercitus, cum ille iam ut praetulimus semiuius
existeret, et ex tunc eum ultra non uidi. Continuo quippe
destinauerunt ipsum quidem, ut dictum est, in castrum
Suaniae, me autem in castrum quod dicitur Thacyria iuxta
Hiberiam. Hinc igitur conicio quod circa undecimo
kalendas uel nono kalendas Augustas quintae inductionis
in Domino, sicut dictum est, obdormierit.

Porro Christi Dei martyr dominus uidelicet abba
Maximus cum esset custodiae mancipatus in castro
superius memorato, diuina sibi facta uisione, aduocauit
quosdam ex his qui erant in castro, et dixit ad eos:
«Tertio decimo die Augusti mensis huius instantis quintae
indictionis, feria septima, assumet me Dominus,» quod et

70 illata] *sic cod.*; *expectaueris* illatae 73 fuerat] *in mg.*; est a.
corr. cod. 83 kalendas^{1]} hic des. cod. graecus 89 quintae]
quintaedecimae a. corr. cod.; cf. 92

of the region which is called Mesimiana on the borders of the Alani people, whom I have already mentioned, which is in fact the same fort captured and now held by the Alani. Then after a few days, when both I and the blessed Anastasius had been taken from the forts which I mentioned, they sent him to the fort called Suania,¹⁰ although he was but half alive, both from the great number of tortures and beatings which we had suffered in Byzantium, and the constraints and straitened circumstances which had been brought upon us here. He died on the road for this reason,¹¹ according to some, but others assert that it was soon after he was shut up in the fort of Suania, to which he had been dispatched. Therefore I claim that he fell asleep in the Lord around the eleventh or the ninth day before the Kalends of August.¹² For on the fifteenth day before the Kalends of August¹³ we were both led by command of the man who was then chief, to that place called Mucuris,¹⁴ to be presented to the Christ-loving army. Anastasius was already half dead, as we said before, and from that point on I did not see him again. At once they dispatched him to the fort of Suania, as I said, but me they dispatched to the fort which is called Thacyria,¹⁵ next to Iberia.¹⁶ From this I conclude, therefore, that on about the eleventh or ninth day before the Kalends of August¹⁷ of the fifth induction, he fell asleep in the Lord, as has been said.

Furthermore, the martyr of Christ God, namely the lord father Maximus, when he was transferred to the custody of the fort mentioned above, saw a divine

¹⁰ Or Suaniae; Latin *Suanias*.

¹¹ I.e. due to the fact that he was half-dead.

¹² I.e. 22nd or 24th July, 662.

¹³ I.e. 18th July, 662.

¹⁴ Latin *Mucurisin*; Mukuris or Mucoris, mentioned in sixth-century sources, was a part of Lazica between the rivers Rioni and Ckhenistqali (Kekelidze, pp. 29f.)

¹⁵ According to Kekelidze, p. 34, this is the fortress Takveri in the gorge of Lechkhumi.

¹⁶ Georgian Iberia in the Caucasus corresponds with K'art'li, the eastern part of the medieval Georgian kingdom. The theme of the same name stretching along the eastern Byzantine frontier and into central and northern Armenia was only created in the rule of Basil II in the early eleventh century (*ODB*, p. 971).

¹⁷ See n. 12 above.

factum est. Igitur tertio decimo die praedicti Augusti
mensis, praeteritae quintae inductionis, secundum diuinum
eius uaticinium, feria septima, praesentibus derelictis
perrexit ad Dominum. Porro et aliud miraculum quod
diuinitus in sancto eius monumento efficitur, quodque
usque in praesens qui castrum illud et eius circaregionem
inhabitant | intuentur et praedicant, et ad quosdam etiam
principum atque magnatum peruenit, dignum est et uobis
quoque sanctissimis et per uos omnibus qui ibidem sunt
sancti <s>, per litteras fieri manifestum, in gloriam et
laudem Dei qui facit mirabilia in sanctis suis et *glorificat*
memoriam eorum *qui se orthodoxe ac sincere glorificant.*
Id est, tres lampades luciferae per singulas noctes
sanctum sancti illius martyris Maximi monumentum
illustrant. Haec de memorabili hoc viro, beatoque
Anastasio, Deo honorabilibus uobis et per uos omni
sanctae Dei quae illic in recta fide degit ecclesiae breuiter
annotau, quatinus et uos, his cognitis, glorificetis *Deum*
qui est mirabilis in sanctis suis.

110 Interea et quae mihi peccatori et exiguo post haec
contigerunt, et in quibus sim, pari modo perpaucis
manifestabo. Cum enim fecisset duos menses in castro
praedictae Thacyriae in infirmitate reiacens, et pauxillum
quid requiem fuisse adeptus, rursus misit me tunc
princeps ad partes Apsiliae et Mesimiana custodiae
mancipandum in castro Phustas, et ut absolute dicam
septem mensibus duxit et circumduxit me per omnes
praedictas regiones, nudum et discalciatum et peditem, et
frigore ac fame et siti depresso, uolens profecto et me
quoque ab hac detergere uita. Sed nescio quid super me

f. 45^v

101/102 I Reg. 2, 30 108/109 Ps. 67, 36

100 sanctis] *scripsi*; sancti cod. 102 orthodoxe] horthodoxe a.
corr. cod. 103 lampades] lampadae uel lampadaes a. corr. cod.
114 tunc] *supra l. cod.* 115 Mesimiana] *scripsi nisa* 63,
misimiana cod.

vision, (and) summoned some of those who were in the fort, and said¹⁸ to them: "On the thirteenth day of August of this present fifth¹⁹ indiction, on the seventh day of the week,²⁰ the Lord will take me up." Which is what happened. Thus on the thirteenth day of the said month of August of the fifth indiction which has passed, in accordance with his divine prophecy, on the seventh day of the week, he left behind present things and proceeded to the Lord. Furthermore, it is fitting to make known to you, most holy people, another miracle which is also effected by divine power at his holy tomb, and which those who live in that fort and the area around it see up to the present day and speak about, (and which) has even come to the attention of certain of the chiefs and magnates; and (it is fitting to make it known) through you to all holy people who are there, through letters, for the glory and praise of God *who performs miracles in his holy ones, and glorifies the memory of those who glorify him* sincerely and according to orthodox belief. That is, three shining lights illuminate the holy tomb of that holy martyr Maximus each night. I have briefly outlined these things concerning that honourable man, and the blessed Anastasius, to you who are honourable to God, and through you to every holy church of God which lives in the right faith there, so that you, when you know these things, may glorify *God who is marvellous in his holy ones.*

However I will also very briefly make known likewise the things which happened afterwards to me, a humble sinner, and my current condition. For when I had done two months in the fort of Thacyria, which I have mentioned, and I was lying ill, having had very little rest, the man who was then chief again sent me to the regions of Apsilia and Mesimiana to be handed over to custody in the fort of Phusta,²¹ and not to mince words,²² he led me for seven months around through all the regions I have described, naked and unshod and on foot, and oppressed by

¹⁸ Although we may note that Maximus was "speaking" with his tongue cut out.

¹⁹ In Latin, *quintaedecimae* before correction; cf. the next sentence.

²⁰ I.e. Saturday 13th August, 662.

²¹ There is a tradition among the people of the village of Alexandrovskaia, near Sokumi, that they live in the region of ancient Phusta (S. Qaukhchishvili, *Georgica IV* [Tbilisi, 1941], p. 54).

²² Latin *absolute*.

humili praeuidens Deus, qui omnia salubri prouidentia
sua producit, usque nunc conseruauit me in hac multarum
tribulationum et miseriae uita. Post aliquot itaque dies
pellitur illinc praedictus princeps. Deindeque succedens
125 alius uisus est compati, inter quae duxit me iuxta domum
suam receptionum a iam memorato castro Phustensium. Et
post annum, ex diabolica operatione motus, destinat me
ad praedictum castrum. Sed Deus qui remetitur his qui
aliis remetiuntur, eadem die qua me pepulit, pulsus est
130 hinc, et efficitur profugus in Christi amatorum regione
Abasgorum, et consilio accepto a Christi amicis qui illic
erant principibus magis compatiendi quam me minimum
persequendi, et orationem a me potius quam gemitum
135 percipiendi, ipsi quippe amici Christi principes Abasgiae
compatiuntur humili mihi quanquam nescierint me,
repromisit quidem illis quod si exiret inde et restitueretur
in principatu, omnia quae forent ad solacium et
refrigerium meum perficeret. Dein post paucos dies
nescio unde adiutus egreditur quidem iterum et recipit
140 principatum, nil tamen eorum quae pollicitus est Deo et
crebro dictis Dei amicis principibus in opus perduxit. E
contrario autem manibus nequam | deductus uirorum,
repromi <s> sionum quidem oblitus est, tolli autem me
145 a castro Phustensium et maturius in Schemareos castrum
mitti praecepit.

f. 46

Factum interea est, cum ducerent me in iam nominatum
castrum, ut ille iterum pelleretur et esset profugus ubi et
primum fuerat. Excitauit autem Deus spiritum suum in
uiro boni aemulatore qui Dei habeat in se timorem pariter
150 et amorem, et uere pheronime uigilantem secundum

128/129 cf. Matth. 7, 2; Marc. 4, 24; Luc. 6, 38

137 solarium a. corr. cod. 141 principibus a. corr. cod. 143
repromissionum] scripsi, repromissionum cod. 144 chemareos a.
corr. cod.

cold and hunger and thirst, wishing in fact to wipe me too out from this life. But God, foreseeing I know not what concerning my humble self, who supplies everything through his saving providence, has preserved me up until now in this life of misery and many trials. And therefore, after several days, that chief was driven from there. And then he was succeeded by another, who seemed to have compassion, since he led me to near his own home, when I was delivered from the fort of Phusta just mentioned. And after a year, stirred by the activity of the devil, he dispatched me to the fort which I've mentioned. But God who gives back in equal quantity to people what they give to others, on the same day on which the chief drove me out, he was driven out²³ from here, and was made an exile in the region of the Abasgians, who love Christ. Advised by the friends of Christ, who were chiefs there, to have compassion rather than persecute me in my lowness, and to accept prayers from me rather than groans,²⁴ those very Abasgian leaders and friends of Christ had compassion on my humble self although they did not know me. He indeed promised them that if he could leave there and be restored to the leadership, he would carry out everything for my comfort and refreshment. Then after a few days, aided from I know not where, he indeed went out again and regained the leadership, but he carried into action none of those things which he had promised to God and to the leaders and friends of Christ whom I have often mentioned. On the contrary, once delivered from the hands of men, that wretch in fact forgot his promise (and) instead ordered me to be removed from the fort of the people of Phusta and to be sent more quickly to the fort of Schemaris.

However, when they led me to the fort just named, it happened that he again was driven out and was in exile where he had been originally. But God stirred his spirit in a man who was an imitator of good, who was equally possessed of fear and love of God, and truly like his name possessed a mind vigilant with regard to God,

²³ There is a switch in subject here from "God" to "he", i.e. the chief.

²⁴ Literally "to accept prayer from me rather than a groan".

155 Deum possideat mentem, qui cum Deo nunc praeest
regioni, et Deum imitante condescensione seu
compassione motus, reduxit me a via crebro dicti
Schemareos castri, et constituit me quasi quinque signis
longius a diuinitus custodienda domo sua, in loco
monachos ueraciter condecente, praebens necessarias
largissime corporis utilitates. Pro quibus omnibus
Christus uerus Deus, per intercessiones quae illum
secundum carnem genuit Dei genitricis semperque
160 uirginis Mariae ac omnium sanctorum, *protegat* eum una
cum amandis filiis suis atque honorabili horum ac prorsus
laudabili matre, *ab omni caterua malignantium et a*
multitudine operantium iniquitatem, donans illis bonorum
refectionem, *ut semper omnem sufficientiam habentes,*
165 *abundent in omne opus bonum*, et statione faciat eos quae
a[d] dextris futura est dignos, atque diuinam illam et
mitem uocem expertos quae dicet: *Venite benedicti Patris*
mei, haereditate percipite praeparatum uobis regnum ab
origine mundi, quia <h>ospes fui, et collegistis me et
170 *cetera, amen.*

175 Obsecro autem sanctissimos uos eadem pro ipsis
postulare in sanctis orationibus uestris, et maxime cum in
sanctis et colendis oraueritis. Digni quippe sunt quibus
haec pr<a>estetis. Filii enim germani existunt sanctae
Christi Dei nostri Anastaseos. Denique Stephanum, qui
in sanctis est, filium uidelicet beati Iohannis presbyteri
qui cimiliarcha sanctissimae illius ecclesiae fuit,
uenientem in hanc regionem, ut asseruit, ad requisitionem
humilitatis meae, ipsi cum omni studio et gaudio
susceperunt et honorauerunt, et omnem subuentionem ad

180

160/163 Ps. 63, 3 164/165 II Cor. 9, 8 165/166 cf. Matth.
25, 33-34 167/169 Matth. 25, 34-35

154 chemareos *a. corr. cod.* 166 *a dextris]* correxi, ad dextris
cod. 168 haereditate] correxi, haeriditate cod. 169 hospes]
ospes *e corr. cod.* 174 praestetis] correxi, *cum Devreesse;*
prestens cod.

who with God now governs the region. And imitating God, moved by condescension or compassion, he led me back along the road from the fort of Schemaris, which has been often mentioned, and he settled me at about five miles distance²⁵ from his house, which was under divine protection, in a place truly fitting for monks, bestowing the necessary provisions for the body most generously. On behalf of all of these, may Christ the true God, through the intercessions of the mother of God and ever-virgin Mary who bore him in the flesh, and of all the saints, *protect* him together with all his beloved sons and their honourable and entirely praiseworthy mother, *from all the malicious crowd and the throng of evil-doers*. May God give them the refreshment of good things, *so that they, always having every sufficiency, may abound in every good work* and may he make them worthy to stand one day at his right hand, and may they experience that divine and gentle voice which will say: *Come, blessed of my father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world, because I was a guest and you welcomed me*, et cetera, amen.

I beg you most holy people, make the same requests for them in your holy prayers, and especially when you pray in the holy and sacred (places). The people for whom (you) offer these (prayers) are worthy indeed. For they are true brothers of (the church of) the Holy Resurrection of Christ our God.²⁶ Then indeed, they received and honoured with all zeal and joy Stephan, who is among the saints, namely the son of the blessed priest John who was cimiliarch of that most holy church,²⁷ when he came to this region, as he asserted, to search for my humble self, and

²⁵ Latin *signis* "mile-posts". The author of the *Hypomnesticon* relates that Gregory's estate was at Zichachoris, and that Anastasius ended his days in the camp of Thousumes, situated above the villa Mochoes, in the border region of Apsilia.

²⁶ Garrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 447, n. 76, seems to understand this sentence as referring to the brothers Theodore and Theodosius, who are also described in *Hypomnesticon*, p. 90 as "germane brothers", and took it to mean that they belonged to the Church of the Holy Resurrection in Jerusalem. However, syntactically this is impossible, although we must allow for the possibility of error in Anastasius' translation.

²⁷ I.e. Stephan of Dora was the Palestinian sent by Sophronius to Rome c. 640. His father was the treasurer of the Church of the Holy Resurrection in Jerusalem.

requisitionem mei tribuerunt, tanquam homini profecto
sanctae Christi Dei nostri Anastaseos. Vnde et subsidium
eorum habens, inuenit me sanctus ille Stephanus, cui
faciat Dominus Deus misericordiam *in illa die iustus*
185 *iudex*, sed et his qui miserunt eum, quoniam reuera *opus*
euangelistae fecit. Sicut enim equus spiritualis
ascensorem habens, ipsum scilicet Deum iuxta Scripturam
quae ait: *Ascendens super equos tuos, et equitatus tuus*
190 *sanitas*, totam Lazicam et Apsiliam et Abasgiām
discurrens, sine timore tam quae ueritatis, quam quae
subintroductae nouitatis erant, annun*tiauit*, ac multorum
utilitatis atque salutis et meae ipsius quietis et
consolationis causa uiri est facta prae*sentia*, et nequam
195 nomen, quod ueri apostatae ueritatis nobis imposuerunt,
ex tunc dissipatum est, et euidens multis ueritas facta est.
His itaque bonis hic proprio aduentu correctis, nobilis ille
uir, kalendis Ianuarii octauae inductionis quae modo
200 praeteriit, apud Christi amicum Abasgiae principem
dormiuit in Domino. Cui omnes qui hunc nouerunt, ut
sancto requiem exoptarunt.

Quapropter oportebat quosdam ex uestratibus, Dei
amatoribus et secundum scientiam zelum Dei habentibus,
huc uenire, et quae ueritatis et pro ueritate sunt
testificari, ut et orthodoxia magis conualeceret, et
205 introducta nouitas per amplius argueretur, sed et ego
humilis consolatione ac refectione potirer, et uenientes
bonam a Christo Deo, pro quo etiam causa est,
mercedem perciperent. Et maxime cum usque ad
Hiberiam illinc, ut didici, ueniant, cuius rei gratia et huc
210 minime uenient?

f. 46^v

184/185 II Tim. 4, 8 185/186 II Tim. 4, 5 188/189 Hab. 3,
8 202 cf. Rom. 10, 2

204 orthodoxia] horthodoxia a. corr. cod. 207 pro] hic inc.
iterum cod. graecus 208 perciperent] reciperen a. corr. cod.

they gave him all support in the search, as to a man truly of (the church of) the Holy Resurrection of Christ our God. Whereupon, by their aid, holy Stephan found me. To him may our Lord God *the just judge* show mercy *on that day*, but also to those who sent him, since he truly *performed the work of an evangelist*. For like a spiritual horse, having for its rider God himself, according to the Scripture which says: *Mounting on your horses and your riding (is) salvation*, he travelled through all of Lazica and Apsilia and Abasgia, (and) he fearlessly proclaimed both what was true and what had been introduced through innovation. And the presence of the man brought profit and salvation to many, and brought me peace and consolation, and the evil reputation which the true apostates of truth had imposed on us was dissipated from that point on, and the truth was made clear to many. And thus when these good people had been set straight by his own arrival here, that noble man, on the Kalends of January of the eighth induction which has just passed,²⁸ fell asleep in the Lord at the house of the leader of Abasgia, who was a friend of Christ. All who knew him prayed for rest for him, as for a saint.

On account of this it was fitting that certain of those of you who love God and have zeal for God in accordance with wisdom, should come here and give testimony to what is true and on behalf of the truth, so that both the orthodox faith might grow stronger, and the introduced innovation might be exposed more fully; but also so that I, in my lowliness, might grow stronger by consolation and convalescence, and that those who come might receive a good reward from Christ God for whose sake they come.²⁹ And especially since they have come as far as Iberia from there, as I found out, why don't they come here too?

²⁸ I.e. January 1, 665.

²⁹ The Latin *pro quo etiam causa est* is not clear; the Greek text recommences at this point in the sentence.

Obsecro igitur sanctissimos uos, si possibile fuerit,
transmitti mihi, per quenquam fidelem uirum ex his qui
ad Hiberiam uenient, codicem eorum quae canonice gesta
sunt a sancta et apostolica synodo, quae per sacram
215 praceptionem sancti martyris et apostolici ac summi
papae Martini in seniori Roma est celebrata, quatinus
multo magis sacra sanctorum patrum dogmata et quae
olim et nunc exortae sunt hereticorum abominationes
evidenter hic positis efficiantur. Hoc enim tantummodo
220 etiam inuiti et nolentes faciunt bonum, qui Deum et nos
iniuste persequuntur, quia in diuersa loca et regiones nos
exulantes, agunt ut et sanctorum patrum orthodoxia quam
et nos praedicamus per amplius manifestetur, et propria
225 cacodoxia in omni loco et regione publicetur et arguatur,
secundum illum sancti Dionysii Athenarum episcopi et
martyris ueritatis affatum, quem ait: «**Nouit Deus malum
uel bonum,**» id est, ut bonum, «**et apud eum causae
malorum, uirtutes sunt benefacientes.**» Bonum enim
ueraciter est paternam quidem orthodoxiam, ut dixi,
230 manifestare et confirmare, hereticam uero cacodoxiam
publicare ac redarguere, quanquam per exilia id et alias
tribulationes dignatur. Sic enim ab initio uerbum quidem
dilatum est ueritatis, porro impietatis minoratum
disparuit, persecutionem et exilia seu alia dira patientibus
235 tam sanctis prophetis, quam apostolis ceterisque
magistris.

Ergo si, ut flagitaui, a Deo compuncti sacrum codicem
miseritis, si quidem uoluerint qui hunc portaturi sunt |
huc uenire, ad famosissimum et Deo custodiendum
240 patricium et cum Deo magistrum Gregorium sponte

f. 47

226/228 Ps. Dion. Areop., *De diu. nom.* IV, 30, ed. Suchla, Bd.
1, p. 175, 11-12

222 orthodoxia] horthodoxia *a. corr. cod.* 227 uel] sic *cod.*;
Anastasius Bibliothecarius legit uel intellectu ἦ, non ἔ 229
orthodoxiam] horthodoxiam *a. corr. cod.*

Scholion 224 cacodoxia] nequam opinio sicut horthodoxia recta
opinio; doxa enim non solum gloria sed et opinio interpretatur.

Thus I beseech you, most holy people, if it is possible, to transmit to me, through one of the believers who are coming to Iberia, a codex containing what was passed according to canonical decree by the holy and apostolic synod, which, through the sacred command³⁰ of the holy martyr and apostolic and highest pope Martin, was celebrated in older Rome,³¹ in order that the holy teachings of our holy Fathers, and the abominations of the heretics which have arisen in the past and the present, may be made much more evident to those placed here.³² For even unwillingly and inadvertently, those who unjustly persecute God and us, do this good and only this: by banishing us to diverse places and regions, they bring it about that the orthodox faith of the holy Fathers, which we also preach, is revealed further, and the actual heresy is held up to scorn and refuted in every place and region, according to that saying of the holy Dionysius, bishop of Athens and witness to the truth, which says: "God knows [evil and the good in it];"³³ that is, how good, "and in it the causes of evils, have the power to do good." For it is truly good to reveal and confirm the orthodox faith of the Fathers, as I said, but (also) to make known and refute heretical belief, even though it is achieved through exiles and other hardships. For thus from the beginning the word of truth indeed was disseminated further, and the word of impiety diminished and disappeared, when the holy prophets and the apostles and other teachers suffered persecution and exiles or other dreadful fates.

Therefore if, as I requested, you are compelled by God to send me the sacred codex, if indeed those who are to carry it are willing to come here, let them willingly meet the most famous patrician Gregory, who is protected by God and a *magistros*³⁴

³⁰ Latin *praeceptionem*, a terminus technicus; cf. *praeceptum*, *Ep. Max. 37*.

³¹ I.e. the Acts of the Lateran Synod of 649.

³² In Lazica and especially Thousumes there seem to have been many supporters of the dyothelite cause. The existence of a cult of Maximus in Georgia is evidenced by the existence of two early *Lives* of the saint, from the tenth and twelfth centuries.

³³ Our Latin and Greek texts both mean "bad or good"; I have followed the Greek of the original text of Dionysius the Areopagite.

³⁴ A high-ranking dignity (*ODB*, p. 1267).

245 occurrant, suscipientes ad eum palam epistolam a laudabili patricio et praetore Hiberiae, at uero si fortassis hucusque uenire noluerint, tribuant eum praedicto laudabili praetori Hiberiae qui debeat illum mittere praelato domino nostro et amplissimo patricio et cum Deo magistro Gregorio, quatinus hoc facientes, percipiatis <***> qui ex ipso profecerint bonam a Christo Deo nostro mercedem.

250 Praeterea misi ad praesens, cum hac epistola mea, Deo honorabilibus uobis, et per uos sanctissimae ac orthodoxae quae illic est ecclesiae, rotulam habentem testimonia ex dictis sancti Hypoliti episcopi Portus romani ac martyris Christi Dei nostri, quo et per ea nosse habeatis quam concorditer cum aliis omnibus sanctis patribus et ardue duas saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi praedicet naturas et operationes, refellat autem eos qui unam operationem, et naturam unam diuinitatis et humanitatis eius dogmatizant, utpote «conuertibilitatem simul et commixtionem, confusionemque» ac diuisionem utriusque ipsius naturae annuntiantes. Quaerite sane diligenter huiuscemodi sacrum patris illius librum secundum superscriptionem quae testioniis praeminet. Si enim inueneritis eum, multa et necessaria poteritis ex ipso legere testimonia super eisdem saluatoris nostri naturis et operationibus. Hunc quippe librum Byzantii nobis, antequam passi fuissemus, delatum, cum hunc totum uellemus transcribere, subito iuxta consuetudinem suam, insistentes aduersarii latronum more rapuerunt, et non ualimus ex ipso plus quam haec octo testimonia tollere.

255

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265

270

258/259 Ps. Hippol. apud Doct. Patr. p. 324, 15 = Syll. 177/178

247 *aliquid cecidisse uidetur, forsan eorum 251 orthodoxae]*
horthodo& a. corr. cod. 252 Hypoliti] sic cod.

with God. (They should) of course take him a letter from the praiseworthy patrician and praetor of Iberia. But if by chance they do not wish to come as far as here, let them give the codex to the praiseworthy general of Iberia, whom I have mentioned, who ought to send it to Gregory whom I've spoken of, our lord and most generous patrician and *magistros* with God, in order that, by doing this, you may receive a good reward from Christ our God, because they will benefit from this (book).³⁵

Moreover, I am now sending, along with this letter of mine to you who are honourable to God, and through you to the most holy and orthodox church which is there, a little scroll containing *testimonia* from the sayings of the holy Hippolytus, bishop of the Port of Rome and martyr for Christ our God.³⁶ I have done this in order that through them also you might know how he preaches two natures and activities of our Saviour Jesus Christ, in agreement with all other holy Fathers and with enthusiasm, but he refutes those who teach one activity and one nature of his divinity and humanity, as advocating "the changeability as well as the commixture, and confusion" and division of each of his natures. Indeed, search carefully for a holy book of this kind belonging to this father, under the dedication which precedes the sayings, for if you find it, you will be able to read many essential pronouncements from it concerning those same natures and activities of our Saviour. This book was in fact passed on to us at Byzantium before we suffered, and although we wished to copy all of it, at once our enemies, entering in the manner of thieves, snatched it, in their usual fashion, and we were not able to copy more than these eight extracts from it.

³⁵ There is something omitted in the Latin here, probably because the Greek reads with difficulty.

³⁶ I.e. *Testimonia* of Pseudo Hippolytus, or *Contra Beronem et Heliconem haereticos* (CPG 1916), which are translated *infra*. About this author, who wrote under the name of the early third-century Bishop of the Port of Rome, little is known. On the genuine Hippolytus, and a second author of the third century whose works appear under the same name, see P. Nautin, "Hippolytus", EEC, pp. 383-385. The contents of the *Testimonia* reveal that the author is a contemporary of Maximus (if not Maximus himself).

275

280

Quod uero me in medio eorum quae dicta sunt latuit,
dicere non pigritabor. Hoc plane est, quia cum
euangelizatus fuisse a sanctae memoriae domno
Stephano de unitate atque concordia quae ibidem omnium
per orthodoxam confessionem ad inuicem et ad Deum
effecta est, spirituali, acsi coram Deo dico, laetitia sum
repletus, et gratificos hymnos pro tali ac tanto bono,
misericordi Deo, licet peccator retuli, et referens non
cessabo, petens hanc usque in finem immobilem
conseruari ad benignissimae misericordiae suae gloriam
et salutem nostram.

285

290

Vosque Deo honorabiles et omnes qui uobiscum sunt
sanctos, ac per uos totam sanctam quae illic est Dei
catholicam et apostolicam saluto ecclesiam, postulans mei
peccatoris scilicet et uincti memoriam fieri in sanctis ad
Deum directis orationibus uestris | in sanctis atque
colendis locis, ac pretiosis mihiue desiderandis syllabis
uestris fulciendo ac me minimum consolando, atque
orando ut dignus efficiar uisione uultus uestri, quamuis
sit temerarium dictu, priusquam et ipse hanc miseram et
multarum tribulationum uitam excedam.

f. 47^v

Sch. cf. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, p. 538, n. 17

273 fuisse] correxi; fuisse cod. 275 orthodoxam]
orthodoxam a. corr. cod. 277 hymnos] ymnos cod. e corr. m.
sec. 278 referens] refferens a. corr. cod. 287 mihiue] que
supra l. cod. 289/290 quamuis sit] correxi, quam iussit cod.
Sch. diceret] forsan corrigendum diceretur

291 Scholion. Obiit autem et ipse sanctus Pater noster et martyr
Anastasius, qui hanc scripsit epistolam, die Dominico, hora tertia,
quinto idus Octobrias, cum in sancta collecta diceret, «Sancta,
sanctis,» inductione decima.

But I will not be slow to tell what has escaped my notice in the course of what has been said. It's this in fact: when I was informed by lord Stephan of holy memory about the unity and agreement brought about there among everyone, mutually and with God, through orthodox confession, I was filled with spiritual joy as if, I say, before God; and although I am a sinner, I offered to God, who is merciful, hymns of thanksgiving on account of the nature and magnitude of the blessing, and I will not cease to offer them, seeking that this be conserved unchanged to the end, for the glory of his most benevolent compassion and for our salvation. And I greet you who are honourable to God, and all the holy people with you, and through you the entire holy, catholic and apostolic church of God there. I request that I, sinner and prisoner, be mentioned in the holy prayers you direct to God, in the holy and revered places, and that you sustain and comfort me in my humility with your precious letters,³⁷ which I long for, and pray³⁸ that I be made worthy of the sight of your face, although it is a bold thing to say, before I too leave this wretched life of many sorrows.

Scholion

But our holy father and martyr Anastasius who wrote this letter himself died too, on Sunday in the third hour on the fifth day before the Ides of October³⁹ when "Holy things for the holy" was being said in the holy assembly, in the tenth induction.

³⁷ Latin *syllabis* from *syllaba* "syllable, verse" or *syllabus* "list, syllabus".

³⁸ Latin *orando*; Greek omits this verb, and the infinitive ἔξισθηναι "to be made worthy" depends on the participle αἰτούμενος "asking" (Devreesse, *La lettre*, p. 16, ch. 7).

³⁹ I.e. October 11, 666.