

Victor of Pboou at the Synod of Ephesus 431 AD

Anthony Alcock

An account of the role played by Victor of Pboou¹ at the Synod of Ephesus is part of an extensive Coptic text first published and translated by U. Bouriant *Actes Coptes du Concile d'Éphèse* Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française 8 (1892) pp. 1-142, where the story occupies pp. 1-56, the first two pages being missing. Twelve years later a study, with German translation, based on Bouriant's text was made by W. Kraatz *Koptische Akten zu ephesinischen Konzil 431*, which appeared as fasc. 2 of *Texte und Untersuchungen* 26 (1904) pp. 1-220: translation pp. 4-132 and commentary pp. 132-220. Kraatz has also made use of the Greek texts of the synod acts collected and published by Mansi, cf. below §18.

There is no evidence that this story is anything other than a work of Egyptian fiction,² but of course fiction does not necessarily mean untruth. The purpose of the story may have been to glorify the role of the Egyptian monks at Ephesus in defending the Virgin Mary as the Mother of God.³ After all, the Egyptians were to be rebuffed and, from their perspective probably humiliated, eighteen years later at the second Synod of Ephesus and two years after that at Chalcedon. The text may have been written at Pboou, but there is no evidence that book production was ever an activity there.⁴ In the absence of a colophon it is not known who commissioned the book or who wrote it and for whom and when it was written. The story seems to have been added as an elaborate preamble to the Coptic translation of the Acts themselves.

Kraatz (pp. 141ff.) provides evidence that Victor was an historical figure and cites Cyril's letter to Theodosius,⁵ in

-
- 1 There were clearly several ways of pronouncing this place name, and I have chosen to use a transcription of the form that occurs once in the part of the text I have translated here: ΠΒΟΥΥ. After Tabennese it was the second of the Pachomian monasteries. On the etymology of the name ('heap of stones') cf. Černý p. 344.
 - 2 Interwoven into the story are documents from the Synod, published for ease of reference by Kraatz.
 - 3 Θεοτόκος : A term first used by Origen, it seems to have become a sort of slogan for Cyril. In fact, it was also used by Nestorius in his first homily on the temptations of Jesus, published in F. Nau *Le livre d'Héraclide* (1910) p. 345. Nestorius not only used the title in his works but even remonstrates with his friend Scholasticus for suggesting that he had not used it. Interestingly enough, the name Scholasticus occurs in a list of recipients of gifts made by Cyril to the Emperor's entourage in Constantinople, cf. *Héraclide* pp. 367ff.
 - 4 There is no mention of Pboou in the Geographical Index of A. van Lantschoot *Receuil des Colophons des Manuscrits* (1929).
 - 5 Theodosius II was Emperor from 408 to 450. He appointed Nestorius to the see of Constantinople in 428. He is best remembered for collecting the laws made from the time of Constantine, which formed the basis of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* of Justinian in the 6th cent.

which he describes Victor as ὁ ἀγαπητὸς μοναστής, to confirm that he was at the Synod.⁶ He also says that Victor arrived at Ephesus after him (ἀφιγμένον εἰς τὴν Ἐφεσίων πρὸς με), which suggests that Cyril sent for him, and that he was the target of unspecified slanderous abuse by his opponents. Victor is described several times as ἀρχιμοναχός⁷ (chief monk) and is portrayed as one who enjoyed the privilege of 'frankness of speech' (παρρησία) with the Emperor, cf. §4ff. below.

The other side of the 'story' of Ephesus is presented in a text written by Nestorius in about 451, of which a Syriac translation has survived, the *Bazaar*⁸ of *Heracleides* translated with notes by G.R. Driver and L. Hodgson (1924). Another source that provides a brief 'Nestorian' account of the Synod of Ephesus has been published by M. Brière 'La légende syriaque de Nestorius' *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 15 (1910) pp, 1-25.⁹

The pagination (in brackets) is that of the manuscript, which was probably once part of a book in the White Monastery library, and the paragraph numbers are those of Bouriant.

The notes I have made on various language points can safely be ignored by any serious students of Coptic. They are intended only for those with a limited knowledge of the language, at whom this translation is principally aimed.

I have reduced the elaborate titularies of certain characters in the story gradually to the bare name, e.g. 'Victor', 'Theodosius' and so on. In the case of Nestorius, the only 'descriptions' used are 'that' (used contemptuously) or 'heretic' or 'impious'. The copies of documents cited in the text are italicized to indicate that they have been added to the narrative by the writer of the text. The 'slogans' chanted by the crowd at Constantinople are also italicized.

Egyptian place names are preferred to Greek forms, and so the form Rakote is used instead of Alexandria. Latin and English forms of personal names are also used, e.g. -us for -os, John for Johannes and Cyril for Kyrillos, and so on.

Abbreviations

CD = W.E. Crum *Coptic Dictionary* 1939

6 Mansi 5, 253. For evidence that Shenoute, who is not mentioned here, was also at Ephesus, see J. Leipoldt *Schenute von Atripe* (1903) p. 90

7 This term is not given in Lampe.

8 The Greek word used is *πραγματεία*, which can mean 'treatise' (the meaning here) and 'commerce'. The Syriac translator understood the second meaning and so used the word ܩܝܠܐܢܐ 'commerce'.

9 The texts attributable to Nestorius in various languages have been collected and published by F. Loofs *Nestoriana* (1905).

Lampe = G.W.H. Lampe *Lexicon of Patristic Greek* 1961

Moulton and Milligan = J.H. Moulton and G. Milligan *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* 1929

LSJ = H. Liddell, R. Scott and H.S. Jones *Greek-English Lexicon* 9th ed. 1940

Till = W. Till *Koptische Grammatik* 1961

Mansi = G.D. Mansi *Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio* 1692-1769

Černý = J. Černý *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* 1975

1. . . . (3) *that we might depart from Rakote to Ephesus. So everything that relates to*¹⁰ *your holiness, may you leave it behind you. God will regulate it. There is nothing to equal faith. I pray that you will be well in the Lord, the beloved whom I love.*¹¹

2. The reverend father Apa Victor received this letter and left the great monastery of Pboou for Rakote on Paremhotep 26 in the fourteenth year of the cycle.¹² He arrived at Rakote on Parmoute 5, a voyage of only ten days. After the week of Holy Pentecost, he was asked by the Archbishop to make his way to Constantinople, having received a memorandum¹³ about the things to do in the city. The respectful chief monk¹⁴ heeded the request made to him and departed from Rakote for the palace on Pashons 5 and arrived on the 25th of the same month, having spent 24 days at sea.¹⁵

3. The copy of the memorandum given to Victor by Archbishop Cyril and which ordered him to return to Egypt to look after his monasteries after he had completed his duties at Constantinople: *God willing, after the Holy Feast we will hasten to depart from Rakote for Ephesus. Your reverence having already preceded us, may he be vigilant everywhere, for I believe that there are some who wish to harm us or there are bishops and clerics with us who wish to petition the pious Emperor (4) that they may be heard in the Synod through the agency of the office of the great eparchs or the archon of the land, in short all those of whom it is thought that they will disrupt the Synod. For this reason be vigilant and take care, so that if this happens you will call out: 'May the teaching of faith be upright' and then those who wish to accuse a bishop or a cleric will hear their judgement in the Synod or in Constantinople. For we do not wish to be heard by the archon of Ephesus or in the courtroom of Asia lest we being abroad be distressed by many tribulations. For this reason also ask that nobody be sent to Ephesus except an orthodox zealot who has the support of the archon there so that he might vigilant about the good order of the city and keep us safe without molestation¹⁶ as foreigners and help the Synod lest they be badly handled. If Nestorius asks for Irenaeus the Count,¹⁷ whom he made illustrious, do not under any circumstances let him come to Ephesus in person, because he supports him¹⁸ and will be eager to please him and will ignore us and will not prosecute the attacks that will be made by some upon us and will protect Nestorius and*

10 Coptic **ⲭⲓ ⲉⲗⲟⲩⲛ ⲉ**- cf. CD 749a

11 This formula is used at the end of all Cyril's letters in this text.

12 The tax cycle instituted by Diocletian in 287 (5 years) and modified in 312 (15 years)

13 ὑπομνηστικόν

14 ἀρχιμοναχός

15 Kraatz (p. 135) has a note on the times and concludes that they are quite realistic.

16 ἐπήρεια

17 Later Bishop of Tyre.

18 **ⲉϥⲏⲡ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ**

fight on his behalf. This therefore is a good thing, that Lausus¹⁹ is not sent alone or with Irenaeus. We are foreigners and are extremely afraid lest there be attempts to stir the people against us or the monks in that place that they might be able to prevent the Synod from taking place when we all come together. Nestorius will lay many traps (5). He is coming to Ephesus at the request of the Emperor: if he drives us away with his wiles, he will accuse us of having fled of our own accord and stir up trouble and rebellion against us.

4. When Victor arrived in the capital in the evening of Pashons 25, news²⁰ was sent to the Emperor, who summoned or rather asked Victor to come to him. On the following day, Pashons 26, Victor made his way to the palace to see the God-loving Emperor and was overjoyed to see him, and he too rejoiced over Victor's presence. The Emperor spoke in measured terms: "We are blessed and God has made us worthy to see that your reverence is as well as we could wish. We hope that we are represented in your holy prayers: Even though you are far way from us in distance, you are near to us to us in the warmth of your spirit." Victor replied, in the full extent²¹ of his wisdom, seeing his great love: "The gifts that God has given to world are great, for we rejoice in the health of your holy Majesty who progresses daily in the piety and the upright faith in God. This is why Christ has strengthened your empire with great power so that you will strengthen the holy doctrine of his Church, you being the model for the whole world so that it (6) might resemble the progress of the holy faith." The Emperor then made a sign with his hand to speak²² and asked him why he had come. Victor then started to tell the story²³ of how, on his arrival, he saw the city in turmoil because of the seed of blasphemy Nestorius had sown there. A great miracle then happened providentially: on the day when Nestorius left the city, he went to the Synod, where met the Victor. When he spoke about the Synod, the Emperor eagerly accepted what he said, replying: "I truly believe that God has sent you to me as an angel to tell me what has to be done about this matter." He then said to him: "I am not concerned for myself as much I am concerned for the affirmation of your Majesty, for the stability of the whole world is the well-being of the upright faith of our piety. So I call upon your Majesty not to allow any human opposition to prevail against the work of the Synod: the law of the Church is one thing and the law regulating public matters another. Ensure that the decision of the bishops accords with the rules of the Church and the symbol of faith established previously by the

19 Eunuch at the court of Theodosius II, who acquired a palace and an art collection and to whom Palladius dedicated his history of Egyptian monks

20 Typographical error: **ΠΟΥΩΩ** for **ΠΟΥΩ**.

21 This is not the 'literal' meaning of **σκοπός**, which I think here has the meaning 'scope', as in the contractual phrase 'scope of the work', meaning the full extent of it.

22 A sort of discourse marker

23 Coptic: **εβινε ετμητε νοϋστορια εβολ** Lit. 'bring out into the middle the story'

318,²⁴ so that those who reject the decision will have to answer to God. (7) For your part, remain impartial. Just let them preside over the Synod without disturbance and write a rescript²⁵ banning Irenaeus. Choose a Christian whom you swear to impartiality and whose only concern is the upkeep of order. Tell him not to give an opinion on anything except what the faith requires and instruct all judges and high officials to suspend their legal activity. If anyone has a dispute with his neighbour, he is to come to Constantinople, where your Majesty can hear the case."

5. The Emperor, grateful for this useful advice, instructed compliance with this request. After prayer, he embraced Victor joyfully and left in peace.

6. On the following day the Emperor ordered Victor to come to him. Victor obeyed and made his way to the palace because he was quite insistent that the Count be sent to the Synod with the Emperor's letter so that the bishops should not be molested.

7. On Victor's arrival at the palace, the Emperor ordered the quaestor to be summoned with the rough copy²⁶ of the rescript he was to send to the Synod that it might be read and 'proofed' before a fair copy of it was made. When the quaestor began to read out, Victor stopped him²⁷ when he saw that at the beginning of the letter strength and confirmation were being afforded to Nestorius, for it said:

The victorious Caesars Theodosius and Valentinian, to be honoured in perpetuity, write to Nestorius and Cyril and to the other pious bishops . . .

At this point Victor cried out outspokenly:²⁸ "The beginning of the letter is not correct. If you make Nestorius the premier bishop, then he is not the one being judged but rather he will be the judge, and which of you will reproach his neighbour?"²⁹ For this reason the Synod too is a failure because it has come to an end,³⁰ for many disputes will arise in its assemblies if the leading heretic is a judge." The Emperor replied: "What is fitting and what do you recommend?" And Victor replied: "According to rank and bishopric it is fitting to give priority of place to the see of Rakote and, also for reasons of length of service.³¹ Cyril has been in office longer than Nestorius. And so it is fitting

24 The number of participants at Nicaea, the only Synod, as far as I know, that can be identified by the number of participants alone.

25 σάκρα

26 σχεδάριον

27 Lit. 'took the word from his mouth'

28 παρρησία

29 The reasoning seems to be that Nestorius is a contestant in this Synod and, as such, cannot be the president of it.

30 I understand **εσκη** to mean 'failure', but I am by no means sure of my translation.

31 Lit. 'time'

that no name be written lest any scandal arise but to write only thus:

The Emperors write to the holy Synod that has assembled at the metropolis of Ephesus." After these words the Emperor ordered the quaestor to expunge the names on the document and write to the Synod as follows . . .³²

8. . . .³³ (11) *the beloved bishops³⁴ and Victor, whom I love in the Lord. Greetings. At all times we follow the teaching of the pious and God-loving Emperors. We left Rakote, myself and the worshipful bishops with me. Many of them sailed to Ephesus. Our ship found it hard because of strong winds. It was only with difficulty that we were able to reach Lycia because God had decided that we should sail there. We sailed along the islands and arrived at Ephesus on the Saturday a day before Pentecost.³⁵ Our ship was unable to moor in the harbour, there being no way of approaching it. I embarked with my clergy on a small vessel and made my way into the city. And so we were received there by the multitude with great joy because they were all very Christian³⁶ and they led me to the church. After prayer I went to the lodging that had been prepared for me. On the same day the one who had stirred up matters against himself and the holy faith came. There was no disturbance or unpleasantness when he came. But that evening Nestorius sent two worshipful bishops to say to us: "Come and celebrate with us the mass that is usually held at the lighting of the lamp." There were many bishops in our midst, Egyptians and foreigners, as well as my pious father Flavian,³⁷ who cried aloud in unison: "This business of mass is simply not fitting. What is fitting is that we decide upon the matter that has united us all here and find the formula³⁸ that is worthwhile and that those who wish to please God can then adopt it. Because some have said that it is fitting that the Synod hold a Mass and that Nestorius meanwhile³⁹ be tolerated and not be opposed until the formula is delivered once and for all, we have decided jointly that if we do anything of this sort those who remain steadfastly pious will rebel against us and cause us a lot of trouble. For this reason we removed ourselves en bloc from the service as with a single mind. We said to Bishop Memnon:⁴⁰ "You are the only one worthy to conduct the service. " He became extremely afraid that he might conduct the service while the Synod remained outside and that Nestorius⁴¹ might be*

32 As ill luck would have it, the next two pages are missing.

33 Another letter, probably from Cyril.

34 Comarius and Potamon, who are mentioned together with Dalmatius in Letter 23 of Cyril

35 I am not sure how Bouriant or Kraatz understand the phrase $\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}$ $\pi\lambda\omega\kappa$, but it may be translated as 'it not being the completion (of Pentecost)!'.

36 Is this perhaps a veiled insult levelled at Nestorius ?

37 Bishop of Ephesus

38 $\tau\acute{o}\pi\omicron\varsigma$. I follow Kraatz's choice of term.

39 $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$

40 Bishop of Philippi

41 Contemptuously referred to as $\pi\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma$ ('that one', similar to Latin *iste*). cf. also § 10.

playing a trick, for it was on the day of the lamp-lighting that he suggested having the service. So he ordered his clergy to go alone to attend the service. I learned ⁴²that some had written to Constantinople about me, saying that I had brought a number of Parabolani⁴³ with me from Rakote and ships laden with wheat. They levelled many other spiteful accusations against me, and it has become necessary for me to inform your Worship about this. I was not accompanied by any Parabolani and I did not bring a single artab of wheat to Ephesus. But God is my witness that in Ephesus that we have made small donations to the baker that he might provide us each day with a sufficiency of bread. For we are here, each of us, with a servant and necessary clerics (13) whose duty it is to follow us. Because the reverend bishops have not yet arrived at Ephesus nor the Bishops of Antioch or Jerusalem, we have so far been unable to do anything. The reverend bishops assembled, in particular, are somewhat downhearted⁴⁴ because they want to finish the matter quickly, But I said to them: "In short, some of the bishops have been moved from their eparchy and they are all on the way, so it is right that we be patient in the meantime. So do not leave the place to those who speak calumny that they may write some things in place of others. For our goal is as follows: to fight with all propriety and obedience⁴⁵ on behalf of the truth and struggle in the appropriate way when we see some who oppose the glorious faith of Our Saviour Jesus Christ with violence.⁴⁶ I pray that you are well in the Lord, my beloved whom I love.

9. After several days had passed, there was still no news in Constantinople about whether the Synod had started.⁴⁷ For they were blocking the roads and making sure that no ship sailed on the sea to those places, and the bishops became troubled, especially when they saw Candidianus the Count⁴⁸ assisting Nestorius. They wrote a memorandum to this effect and sent it to Constantinople. When the document arrived, the bishops Comarius and Potamon and the chief monk Victor had to go to see the Emperor. The *praepositus* informed⁴⁹ the Emperor that the bishops and Victor wanted (14) to see him and he said: "Let Victor be patient for a moment.⁵⁰ I want to see him alone. As for the bishops, bring them in." The bishops entered with the memorandum. The Emperor was not pleased to receive it from them and he refused to look at it. He then ordered them to withdraw. When they

42 Coptic: **ⲕⲓⲉⲓⲙⲉ**.

43 The origin of these medical 'social workers' is unknown, but they seem to have been steadfast supporters of Cyril and enjoyed certain privileges. The *Codex Theodosianus* places them under the supervision of the imperial governor of Egypt. There is no mention of them after Justinian.

44 Typographical error: read **ⲗⲫⲣⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲛⲏ**

45 For the form **ⲥⲙⲏⲧ** cf. CD 364b

46 Translates freely: **ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲥⲙⲟⲧ ⲉⲙⲏⲧⲣⲉⲩⲭⲓⲛⲟⲩⲛ̅**

47 Lit. 'assembled' (**ⲁⲥⲥⲟⲩⲱⲉ**).

48 Described in the Syriac text known as the *Bazaar of Heracleides* 1, 3 as 'Count of the Household'.

49 Typographical error: **ⲉⲩⲙⲁⲛⲉ** read **ⲥⲩⲙⲁⲛⲉ**.

50 The third occurrence of the phrase **ⲗⲛⲉⲭⲉ ⲧⲁⲓⲱⲥ** (**ἀνέχεσθαι τέως**)

were outside the door, they were distressed that the Emperor had refused to receive the document from them. Victor took the document and went to the Emperor. He greeted him and then told him what was fitting for his empire. He then went straight to the matter of why the Emperor had not been willing to accept the document from the bishops. The Emperor replied: "It was not even brought⁵¹ to me by the Count, but is merely a document of the sort that they have written by themselves.⁵² So I was unwilling to look at it. But look at the reports⁵³ brought to me today by Count Candidianus, in which he reproaches the bishops for stirring up rebellion in the city." Victor replied: "If you have listened to the words reported by a single man, it is rather more fitting to hear the words of the great Synod." When Victor's speech was over,⁵⁴ the Emperor stretched out his hand, took the memorandum and turned to a eunuch. Victor, however, would have none of this⁵⁵ and, with great frankness, said to the Emperor: "Please be good enough to read it here and consider (15) what it means." He then stretched out his hand and took it from the Emperor's hands and called to a brother named Theodosius, who was with him: "Come and read it to the Emperor." As the brother was reading, the Emperor decided about each point in it, accepting Victor's defence of each one.

10. The copy of the memorandum sent by the Synod concerning the actions of Count Candidianus. *On Paône 22 Candidianus quietly arrived at Ephesus and nobody knew that he had come because he did not let anyone go to meet him. He arrived at night because he did not want to make a loud entrance. At dawn the following day he went to Nestorius and spent many hours with him, conversing with him and receiving instructions from him, as events have shown. He then went to the Synod. Equally, he spoke about how his journey to Ephesus had been. He began to ask after Claudius, Philotheus, Eusebius the scholastic and Chazarius the priest, Sarapion, Romanus the deacon and his companion Zoilus the monk, saying: "I have received orders from the Emperor to drive them from the city." We replied: "The Emperor is pious, orthodox and Christ-loving. He has ordered a Synod to be convened so that a good formula of the faith might be found by the fathers. He has decreed that the laity and monks should (16) not take part⁵⁶ in the Synod. But he has made no such instructions about clerics, for whom faith is a vital matter. Moreover, we have been sent to ensure good order and not to let the Synod be disrupted. You make it obvious that you did not receive these orders from the Emperor but from*

51 **ΑΝΗΝΝΕΓΚΕ** the Coptic form of the aorist of Gk ἀναφέρω, a key lexical item in this exchange, cf. n.34

52 One of the rare instances of a Greek preposition combined with a Coptic pronoun: **ΚΑΤΑΡΟΟΥ**. On this phenomenon cf. Till § 239. The exchange reveals something of the protocol that one might expect in these circumstances: official documents have to be submitted to the highest official in the empire through the official channels.

53 ἀναφορά: meaning II.5 in LSJ

54 This is by no means a literal translation: 'When the words grew . . .' The same idiom occurs on p. 21

55 Lit. 'did not allow this' (**ἄπεσανεχε**)

56 As such the word **ΜΕΣΑC** is meaningless. Kraatz suggests a form of μετέχω

Nestorius. You have been sent here not to help 'that one' but to ensure the good order of the city." We added: "We can testify that the city has been orderly, until the day of your arrival. To be sure, the Synod has been very quiet. Do not let anyone find you causing disorder in the city. The pious Emperor has given you no instructions to persecute the clergy."⁵⁷ He said nothing in reply and did not let the bishops speak. He issued an order that they leave the city, threatening to expel them from the Church. He fixed a deadline⁵⁸ in the decree to the effect that if they had not left the city within three days, they would be expelled with the full force of the law. On hearing this we were resolved to die for the true faith of our fathers, for it was impossible that this had been ordered by the Emperor. God forbid that this should happen through the pious Emperor ! Because, as we said before, the Count was sent to serve Nestorius. On the following day clerics of Dalmatius Bishop of Cyzicus seized clerics and servants John Bishop of Proconnesus. They thrashed them so grievously that they almost killed them. John (17) made his way to the Synod and brought a charge against the hooligans. The bishops were very distraught about what had happened. They told the Count to punish the wrongdoers, instructing him: "If the clerics are responsible for the disruptive behaviour, send them to their bishop, Dalmatius. If he finds them guilty, he can reprimand them. If the servants caused the trouble, threaten them a little, and this will frighten others. They will stop causing trouble in the city. Since there are some here called Zeuxippites,⁵⁹ who go around gratuitously slandering people to cause trouble, a written charge of public disorder was made against us. The Zeuxippites brought Bishop John and the clerics of Dalmatius to the praetorium and, instead of punishing the instigators of the violence, John was seized and expelled from the city. The Count said: "My Lord Dalmatius told me he was not a real Christian and deserved to be expelled from the city." The bishops replied: "It is not your place to decide anything of the sort, for you have been sent to watch over the state of the city and not the judges of ecclesiastical affairs. The Church is competent to decide about matters that relate to it after the formula of the faith has been settled." These things happened, and still they detained the bishop. The Synod sent bishops to the Count, saying: "Please let the bishop and the clerics go and not appear to be doing Nestorius (18) favours. It is not fitting for the Emperor to assemble us here and for you to persecute those whom Nestorius wishes to expel." When he heard this, he replied: "If my lord Dalmatius does not request it, I will not release them," which prompted our immediate reply:⁶⁰ "Do not show yourself to be complaisant with Nestorius in this way. We know our Emperor to be pious and orthodox. He has given no instructions that any of the things you are now doing should be done." After this speech, he ordered the bishop to be released but not to remain in the city. As for the imperial letter, the Count was reluctant to read it to the Synod for the sake of Nestorius but found a pretext, namely that the Bishop of Antioch had not yet come. The bishops who had gathered were especially dispirited because they had been detained fifteen days longer than the agreed date of Pentecost. Their resources were also dwindling, and we were sure that Nestorius had written to the Bishop of Antioch that he should delay his journey and not arrive too quickly in the city, so that the Synod would

57 The threatening tenor is only slightly veiled.

58 προθεσμία

59 An appropriate translation would be 'teamster', originally of someone who drove teams of oxen or mules and now used of truck drivers in the USA.

60 Coptic : **ⲗⲟⲥⲁⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲏⲟⲩⲱⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲗⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ** 'so that we then replied to him in our turn'.

be held up on the grounds that not all the bishops of the Orient were present. So, please be good enough to go into the palace and inform the Emperor and prostrate yourselves before him without drawing his attention to the reports that have been sent to deceive⁶¹ him: they are deceitful and say nothing of the truth out of sympathy with his slanderer. Send the order of the Emperor and his officials to us as soon as possible, for we are unable to send anyone through whom we report what is to happen.⁶² We (19) call upon you to pray intensively on our behalf to God that human power is unable to destroy the Synod. The entire Synod has decided, as we said earlier, regardless of minor wearisome difficulties⁶³ it has suffered from Nestorius, that these difficulties will lead to death and eternal banishment and will betray the holy faith.⁶⁴ Candidianus has said much to unsettle us, and not only said, but has done things as if carrying out the Emperor's orders. May your holinesses be good enough to ask the Emperor to write to Candidianus and tell him to concern himself only with good order. Indeed, the city was perfectly peaceful until the Count arrived. The worshipful Bishop Memnon has made a written statement: "Let the soldiers be calm and not destroy the city and I will be completely responsible for order and peace." Know also that Candidianus has placed the harbour entrance under surveillance and has ordered soldiers to the harbour for the sake of those about to sail so that nobody will be able to deliver correspondence about what is to happen here. The order sent from the Emperor has not yet been given to us.⁶⁵ We do not know what has happened to the one sent to bring it to us. There is a rumour that he has been detained. Or perhaps he is being closely surveilled.

11. After reading the memorandum, the Emperor began to weep when he realized how precipitate and harsh the Count had been towards the bishops. He said: "Will we no longer find (20) anyone who will act justly? Especially as I have made him swear on the Gospel⁶⁶ that he will remain impartial but to concern himself only with the good order of the city. At the same time⁶⁷ he has sent me reports in which he accuses bishops of disrupting the city, who have hastily gathered to deliberate before the arrival of the Bishop of Antioch, though they had heard that he was on his way. It is clear that they did so out of hostility."

12. The pious father then answered frankly: "It is your Majesty who ordered the Synod to take place and who fixed a date. and so the Bishop of Antioch is clearly at fault, for not only has he not come but, even if he is approaching, he has not even sent word to those who have been detained for fifteen days after Pentecost. As we can see, the distance is not great, and yet many bishops have arrived in Ephesus on time from faraway countries because they respect the order of your Majesty.

61 Typographical error: **ΜΝΙΤΖΑΛΘΟ** should read **ΜΝΙΤΖΑΛΖΟ**.

62 Probably the meaning

63 Coptic **ϢΝΚΟΥΙ ΝΖΙϢΕ**

64 Probably the meaning

65 **ΝΑΥ** is a typographical error for **ΝΑΝ**.

66 A literal translation: 'I having already given him the Gospel and made him swear . . .'

67 An adversative element, as in ὅμως, would fit the sense here.

And even though I myself do not belong to the number of bishops who have gathered here, for I am a monk, when my name was mentioned, I made my way and left everything behind me. I followed the voice that summoned me, not as one afraid of it but as one afraid rather⁶⁸ of the judgement of God and the order of the holy Majesty. Only one bishop forced me greatly. He compelled me to meet your Majesty before the deadline. I came more than eighty stations lest anyone reproach me before God and your Majesty, for you write that anyone who is summoned to the Synod and does not hasten, without any excuse, to Ephesus in accordance with the date we have set, clearly does not have a good conscience. This person has no (21) defence in the sight of God or ourselves. Thus, the Bishop of Antioch is greatly at fault, for he has not had the courtesy so far to attend the Synod, though his journey is only of twenty stations."

13. (26) The Emperor replied: "He has neglected to attend at the appointed time but has written to be excused for not attending because there is a famine in Antioch and the whole of the Orient. For this reason I have written to him more than once that he is under an obligation to attend and I do not believe that he should be censured for having been delayed out of such necessity." The monk replied frankly: "In my view, if the Bishop of Antioch had any concern for the faith, he would not be censured for neglecting his city in times of famine when the entire world is at risk from the collapse of the true faith, as the Bishop has no public duty to the city, for he does not provide it with nourishment - it is the authorities who are responsible for public affairs and care for the upkeep of the city." As he continued to speak, it became clear that the Bishop was at fault, and he added: "What has your Majesty decided? I understand that you wanted to send a letter to the Synod."

14. The Emperor said: "According to the reports we have received from Candidianus, we have learned that the bishops deposed Nestorius out of enmity and that fourteen metropolitans wrote to depose him while another seventy wrote demanding that Cyril and Memnon be deposed. It is the opinion of most that the deposal should be accepted and confirmed. But at the same time I will merely say that the documents (22) of the two sides will be invalid and void, even if they have been carried out, since they have not waited for each other. They are still gathered together for a Synod, they and Nestorius and the Bishop of Antioch, and it is not fitting that they depose him, without having called him, and decide between them, uncontested, what the teaching is. If they find him teaching things outside the upright faith, he can be deposed by a single vote. I myself will confirm his deposal."

15. Victor replied: "How are we to know that Nestorius has been deposed by fourteen bishops when no minutes taken by the Synod have reached your Majesty? How would they be able to send them

68 ΝΤΟϚ

if the entrance to the harbour is blocked to shipping ? So, it is necessary for your Majesty to delay writing for now, because you know that Church law is different.⁶⁹ Send and have the minutes taken by the two parties brought to us, and the truth of the matter will become clear forthwith. You will find the signature of each one on the documents. The place where most bishops sign must be upheld, and you will confirm it, so that you do not find that you have been deceived by lies. If your Majesty is satisfied, I will go to Ephesus myself and bring you the whole truth. The Emperor was persuaded by these words to write a rescript to the Synod but to send for the documents of the two parties. After a long discussion to settle the matter, they prayed and embraced each other and Victor returned to his quarters.

16. While they refrained from writing a rescript to the Synod in order to send for (23) the minutes that had been taken, a letter was sent by the Archbishop about some members of the Constantinople clergy who had arrived before us at Ephesus, having gone to the Synod to accuse Nestorius, and had been driven out of the city by Candidianus.

17. Cyril wrote to Comarius and Potamon and Victor:

Beloved, whom we love. Greetings in the Lord. Clerics of the Church of Constantinople who arrived before us have come to Ephesus, bringing charges against Nestorius that he has perverted the faith handed down to us by our fathers and the Scripture inspired by God. They are very fearful now that they know that someone from the palace has been sent to drive them out and take them as prisoners to Constantinople. Men of this sort are exactly what the Synod needs. not that we may investigate⁷⁰ the charges against him but that we may search truthfully for the words of faith. So please let nothing of this sort happen lest there be any stumbling block to the formulation of the holy teaching if one persecutes those who are able to reproach him should he deny it. I pray for your well-being in the Lord, beloved whom I love.

18. Many days later the magistrates advised the Emperor to send the rescript to the Synod to nullify what they had done. He ordered the letter to be written and appointed the official Palladius to take it to Ephesus to the Synod. This is a copy of the rescript:⁷¹

19. *The Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian (24), victorious and triumphant, the ever to be honoured Augusti, write to the Synod which has assembled in the metropolis of Ephesus. The great Count and Domesticus Candidianus has reported to our Worships and informed us of many disturbances and unworthy deeds that took place at Ephesus, when the bishops had not yet gathered together, as we ordered, even though the great city Antioch and many other bishops of the metropolis had approached the city on their way.⁷² Wherever they had*

69 The difference between state law and canon law was made earlier in §4

70 This word occurs more than once in the the following rescript: γυμνάζω. I have used the translation provided by LSJ II, 2.

71 Where there are comparable Greek texts in Mansi they have been added by Kraatz to his text (p.25). This rescript can be found Mansi IV 1377ff.

72 The Greek is a little clearer: 'Even though the Bishop of Antioch was about to come together with other

already gathered, they were still not in agreement with each other and they had still not deliberated about one formulation of the faith. Nor did they practise the things relating to the faith, as is written appropriately in all the imperial documents which we sent to you. And it is clear that some are filled with hatred against others in such a way that those who have been pleased to make a show of great zeal use calumny in the belief that they have been able to show that they have acted with great discernment. For this reason we have decided to pronounce all of these things null and void together with those things that relate to the faith. As we ordered before the examination, what the plenum accepts will be confirmed. In future we will not let disputes and disagreements arise such as have arisen and incensed us to the point where we have ordered that the teachings be re-examined by the whole Synod and have sent from the palace Candidianus to oppose those who have written them beyond what is fitting.⁷³ And so that none of the bishops who have assembled at Ephesus will be able to go somewhere else, whether to me in the residence or to his own city. Nobody should hope to go wherever he pleases without fear. These documents are enough to recommend to your Worship not to add anything to what has been decided in violation of what we have ordered. May your Holiness know that we have written to all the most illustrious magistrates of the eparchy that each of you will return to his eparchy or city and will not be received without our order. For it is fitting that every thing pleasing to God should be done without dispute and that they should be investigated truthfully and confirmed by us without regard for anyone, either Nestorius or quite simply anyone else. Our principal concern is the truth and the holy teaching.

20. When the Synod read this letter, they wrote a report to the Emperor and sent it with the same official after having told him the names of the followers of Nestorius.

21. *The Synod of Ephesus writes by the grace of God and the order of your Majesty: to Theodosius and Valentinian (26): Your Majesty, wishing to confirm piety, has authorized the Synod to conduct an enquiry into the dogma of faith, and we have been at pains to follow the the ancient traditions of the apostles, the evangelists and the interpretation of the 318 bishops who assembled at Niceea. In full agreement and firmly convinced we have informed your Majesty in our reports of our actions, by which we deposed Nestorius, because we found that his thoughts were alien. Even at Ephesus he did not conceal his lies so that he would need others to accuse him, but he shouted them aloud daily, rejecting the upright faith in favour his own corrupt belief. We have shown all this to your Majesty in detail in the minutes we took. But since Candidianus valued his friendship with Nestorius more than his piety to God, he was eager to 'seize' ⁷⁴ your ear before you had read the minutes or the before one was sure of what had happened. Thus he hastened to inform your Piety of matters relating to the friendship and the favouritism shown to Nestorius before your Majesty knew the truth from reading the minutes taken, in which we showed that we did not do ⁷⁵ anything out of enmity towards Nestorius but wished merely to preserve the pious teachings, which had been badly preached by Nestorius, who had convicted himself in his own letters and explanations, which he had published. This is why we condemned and deposed him while the Gospel was in our*

metropolitans . . . !

73 Coptic: ΜΠΒΟΛ ΜΠΤΕΨΨΕ.

74 ἀρπάζειν

75 ΜΠΕΝΓΥΜΝΑΖΕ.

midst and revealed that the Lord of the world is with us. We pray to God that those are not honoured who value friendship with human beings more than their friendship with God. We see the same thing with John Bishop of Antioch, who wishes to favour a friendship than to work for the benefit of the true faith. He was not at all afraid of the threats of your Majesty. He was not moved by eagerness for the faith, which was given to us from the beginning, by staying away from the Synod for 21 days after the opening. The number of days, which was determined by your Majesty, compelled us orthodox to attend the Synod through having faith to seek the truth relating to piety and recognizing the alien thinking in which John will be and in which Candidianus has revealed himself to be. For not all men value human friendship more than divine friendship. The suspicion we had of John was not vain or deceitful, for on his arrival in the city (28) he revealed himself to be of the same mind as Nestorius, whether by offering him friendship or by holding the same erroneous belief. But your Majesty will learn from our reports what really happened. As we said, earlier we are being prevented by Candidianus from revealing matters relating to the faith and piety. But all of his zeal was reserved for Nestorius. We therefore ask your Majesty that the zeal for God is revealed by the holy Synod and that he send for Candidianus and five bishops of the Synod so that he will know what happened. For they are wretched who think that they can guide the impious to this faith and cover up their error, as some of the bishops thought who had been converted by Nestorius. Others subscribed to it and added to it, unaware of the evil hidden in it. But when they were asked honestly about his manner of speaking, they found that he was clearly unremittingly blasphemous. They have become estranged from him and returned to the Synod. It is they whom he accuses, with us, of having abandoned him and John Bishop of Antioch. There are Thirty-seven of them, most of whom are liable to ⁷⁶ serious charges and are afraid of being condemned by the Synod (29), and, as we have said, they have attached themselves to Nestorius. Some of them have been condemned, such as Pelagius,⁷⁷ for impiously overturning dogma. Some were deposed many years ago. Some for wicked reasons, after having been found guilty,⁷⁸ deserved to be punished by the Synod, attended by all the bishops of the world with one thought and one mind. The Bishop of the great city of Rome is with us in the Synod and the Bishop of Africa, sent by the Archbishop Cyril, with whom they are one mind. There is of course a great distance between them, but they agree with us in the same vote against them. None of the bishops agrees with Nestorius or John of Antioch, because he is a stubborn wretch who conceals his impiety in the garb of his speech. Those with him are afraid of the punishment imposed on them by the Synod. In our distress we have written these few words to your Majesty because of the many tribulations we have suffered at the hands of Irenaeus the Count, who is disrupting the Synod after and has seized them⁷⁹ with fear. In the face of the bishops he goes around with wiles and confuses with threats, and indeed some are in fear of their life. But then we told your Majesty in (30) detail (to see) if⁸⁰ you would give us what we asked for; and so five bishops in the

76 ΕΥΘΗΠΕ

77 A British monk who is said to have taught that man did not need grace to be saved. Ephesus ratified the condemnation of this teaching at the Synod of Carthage in 418.

78 ΜΗΝΙΣΑΠΕΧΤΙΟ

79 Text ΕΚΡΩΝΟΥ, which I have understood here as ΕΛΙΘΩΠΟΥ, cf. CD 826a

80 ΕΩΧΕ cf. Till § 434: the indirect use.

Synod are about to come and tell you what we have formulated. All the bishops in the Synod have condemned and deposed the heretic Nestorius, in accordance with canon law, more than 200 of us from all parts of the world, including those in the west who agree with us. Only some have signed he report, but all of us are of the same mind, except that the venerable Palladius is too busy to wait for all the bishops to sign. Almighty God will watch over the Empire of the pious and victorious Augustus for many years. Writtem on Epip 7.

22. *The names of the bishops with Nestorius: John of Antioch, Macarius of Laodicea, Julian of Aradus, Alexander of Apamea, Diogenes of Augusta, Apringius of Chalcis, Plato, Alexander of Hierapolis, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Heliades, Melitius of Necocaesarea, John of Damascus, Paul of Emessa, Musaeus of Irenopolis, Marcellianus, Helladius of Tarsus, Zoses of Esbuntis, Maximin of Anazarbe, Helladius of Ptolemais, Hesychius of Gabala (Lydia), Philip of Theodosianopolis, Gerontius, Asterius, Antiochus, Dorotheus of Marcianopolis, James, Sabinus of Trajanopolis, Fritillas of Heraclea, Icarius, Ampelius, Hetherius of Tyana, Anastasius,⁸¹ Trakyllius . . .,⁸² Himerius of Nico (31) media, Basil.*

These are the supporters of the Nestorian teaching, who go through the city stirring up sedition and disturbance, threatening physical violence, so that all the orthodox in the city are frightened and have not been able to curb them in their audacity.

23. After the Emperor had read this report submitted by the Synod, he was very grieved that his order had not been followed that they should convene and deliberate again.

24. All this happened before the report of the deposal arrived in Constantinople. Many days later the rumour began to spread about the things that had happened in Ephesus. At the same time Nestorius was deposed by the Synod, but he rejected the deposal. By order the document was attached to the doorpost of the house where he was living. The clergy at Ephesus went around the whole city, shouting: "Know that Nestorius has been deposed on this day Paône 28 by the holy assembly of bishops.

25. Copy of the deposal sent to Nestorius and attached to the door of his house.

26. *The Holy Synod that has assembled at Ephesus by the grace of God and the order of the Emperor writes to Nestorius: Know that because of your impious preaching and your disobedience of canon law you have been deposed on this day Paône 28 so that you are estranged from all Church office.*

27. The Holy Synod being responsible for the condition of the Church at Constantinople, has written a letter to Nestorius' stewards with instructions about Church property⁸³ (32) to watch over it

81 A presbyter named seven times in the text, only once with a title, 'the poisoner' § 41. He is quoted in Socrates *Historia Ecclesiastica* Bk 7 c. 32.

82 Kraatz somewhat bizarrely quotes the following from the 'manuscript' ΤΡΑΚΗΛΙΟΣ ΝΖΥΜΕΡΟΣ ΝΝΕΙΚΟΜΗΔΙΑ, but still has dots to indicate that it is missing.

83 There is a reference to the safekeeping of church property in the Greek document published by Kraatz (p. 39), but I can find no ancient source to confirm that Nestorius had sequestered any of it. This sort of accusation, founded or otherwise, may not have been uncommon, cf. W.H.C Frend 'Popular religion and Christological controversy' in G.Cuming and D. Baker (ed.) *Popular belief and practice* (1972) p. 23

and not to spend any of it by order of Nestorius, for he has been deposed.

28. *The Holy Synod that has assembled at Ephesus by the grace of God and the order of the Emperor writes to Lamprotatos and Eucharis, the venerable priests and stewards, clerics of the Church of Constantinople: May your Reverences know that, because of the impious teachings of Nestorius and his disobedience of canon law we deposed him yesterday, Paône 28, in accordance with canon law. Watch over church property so that you will be able to give an account to the bishop appointed over the church of Constantinople, in accordance with the ordinance of God and the order of the Emperors.*

29. Because of the things that were done at Ephesus by the Synod in the matter of the impious Nestorius, when there were still rumours in the capital before the official letter of deposal arrived, Archbishop Cyril wrote a letter in which he set forth everythings he had done against Nestorius.

30. Cyril' s letter to Bishops Comarius and Potamon and Victor the father of the monks.

Beloved, whom I love in the Lord. Greetings. We were hoping that when Nestorius came to Ephesus, he would repent of the blasphemies he has uttered since the day he was consecrated bishop and that he would ask forgiveness from the Holy Synod, even if it dangerous for me to forgive someone of this sort. For it is not fitting to forgive someone as wicked as this (33) who has preached such perversities and whose intention it is⁸⁴ to destroy the entire world and destroy the upright and holy faith of the Church. If someone dares to utter blasphemies before pious Emperors, he rightly suffers the punishment of the laws. And how much more this is true of the impious man whose intention it was to destroy the holy mystery by completely removing from it the providence⁸⁵ that the good only-begotten son of God fulfilled for our sake, having deigned to become human to save us all and redeem us from sin and death for heaven. But we are truly astonished at the obduracy of this man, for he has not repented or wept for what has dared to bring forth against the faith and Our Saviour Christ. When he came to Ephesus, he began to sow perverted seeds and revealed himself as one who thinks blasphemous thoughts. Well-known reverend metropolitan bishops went to him to debate with him and to shut his mouth⁸⁶ with divinely inspired Scripture, teaching him that God had been born of the holy virgin Mary. His reply to them was shameless⁸⁷: "I am not going to say of someone aged two or three months that he is God, compounding his blasphemous utterances by stripping the only-begotten one totally of his humanity." The pious Emperors gave the Synod a deadline, viz. Pentecost. The first letter of (34) the Emperor to summon us was of this type.⁸⁸ For this reason we made our way to Ephesus before the appointed deadline. The orders of our worldly rulers could simply not be ignored. We had heard that John Bishop of Antioch was on his way and we waited for him for sixteen days, even though the whole Synod said aloud: "That one does not wish to convene with us. He is afraid that Nestorius, who has been removed from his church, will be deposed, and so he is ashamed of what has been revealed in him.

84 Coptic: ⲟⲓⲛⲱⲩ.

85 οἰκονομία

86 Coptic: ⲛⲥⲉⲱⲧⲁⲙ ⲉⲣⲱⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ.

87 Lit. 'he used a voice filled with shame'.

88 Presumably meaning that it had a deadline.

We know the truth from his visible negligence. The first of the bishops with him and under his control to arrive from the east said: "John has instructed us to tell your Worship that if he is late, you are to do what you have to do." The Synod convened on the Egyptian⁸⁹ month Paône 28 in the great church of Mary and bishops were sent to find Nestorius that he might attend in person to defend his utterances and writings. At first he said: "I will be there and I will see what I have to do." He was summoned for the second time by means of a supplementary letter,⁹⁰ the Synod having sent bishops to him. He then did an inappropriate thing: he took soldiers from Candidianus and stationed them at (35) his door with weapons of war to keep away those wanting to see him. The reverend bishops who had been sent stood outside his door, saying: "We have not come to say anything that is distressing to hear,⁹¹ it is the Holy Synod who calls him." Not wishing to come, he used various excuses because he was suffering from an attack of⁹² conscience. We then called him a third time by means of a third letter and bishops from his eparchy were sent to him. But he made use of soldiers because he did not want to come. The Synod now sits in accordance with canon law. His letters and writings were read aloud and found to be full of blasphemy. Well-known reverend bishops testify that in this city of Ephesus that when he spoke with us he said clearly that Christ is not God. This is why we deposed him and brought a verdict of condemnation against him in accordance with canon law. Your Worship should know this and say what should be known so that there should not be any trickery on his part or on the part of those helping him here. We had to let this be known. But we also have a letter from John of Antioch to Nestorius in which he accuses Nestorius of introducing novel and godless teachings into the Church and undermining the message given to the Church in the Gospels and by the apostles. Nestorius, unable to excuse his blasphemy, found excuses: "I asked them to wait four days until John arrived, but they refused." Now, although the venerable bishop was near the city, he would not enter." What else does his statement made through the bishops with him mean: "If I am late, do what you have to do." ? As we have said, he did not wish to enter, knowing that the Synod would depose Nestorius as impious and a blasphemer against Jesus Christ. Since we now know that reports were sent from Candidianus, please⁹³ tell the Emperor that the deposal papers are not yet complete. This is why we were not able to send the report to the Emperors. God willing, we will send the report and the minutes if we are allowed to send the one who is able to bring them to you. If the report and the minutes are late, know that we have not been allowed to send them. I pray for your health, beloved whom I love.

31. When this letter⁹⁴ was read aloud, rumour went around Constantinople that Nestorius had truly

89 Expressed in the parallel Greek text as κατὰ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς.

90 παραναγνωστικόν

91 Coptic **ⲉⲓⲙⲟⲕⲓ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲙⲉⲓ**: For parallel examples with the Qualitative **-ⲙⲟⲕⲓ** cf. CD 163b, from which it is clear that the Coptic construction is used to translate the Gk Verbal Adjective. It is not without interest to compare the translations made in French and German: *amer à entendre* and *hart zu hören* (parallel to English), where the infinitive has a 'gerundive' sense.

92 Gk. ἐπιπλήσσειν

93 The imperative form of νήφειν 'to be self-controlled'

94 I have omitted the Coptic expression 'of this sort' (**ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲙⲓⲛⲉ**) because it makes little sense in English.

been deposed. For no news came to the city because the roads were blocked and the sea approaches were being controlled. When the monks in the city learned of this, they came to the middle of the square, chanting and glorifying God for confirming the upright faith. This is the antiphon⁹⁵ that they sang to a pleasant melody:

*The king of peace is he whom God will bless. The faith of your fathers is the faith through which you made everyone submit (37) to you. Let it simmer inside you, the faith in which God rests, for it is the faith that will watch over you.*⁹⁶

And when the antiphon first was finished, they sang this one:

He was not a messenger or a herald, he who came to save us, but the Word of God who willingly became man. He was God who was born incarnate from Mary the Holy Virgin. Let us go and worship him.

After they had finished their chanting and crying aloud in the middle of the city, they began to sing: *Christ, you are the strength of Christians, you are victorious at all times.*

36. They then raised their voice against the impious Nestorius:

You are scorned where you are. You are accursed before God, Jew. The Christian is victorious at all times. Give this Jew now to the Jews. Give this traitor to the Jews. The gift of God, Cyril, this name will be forever. Bishop of orthodoxy, you will continue to be victorious⁹⁷ at all times. Theodosius, your empire will last for generations. Remember that you are the son of the apostles.

37. When they reached the palace, they shouted out: "Let your fathers be taken to the Emperor. Let our voices be taken to the Emperor " They remained, crying aloud at the palace gate, and the Emperor ordered the monk Dalmatius to be brought to him. When he entered, he spoke with him in a fitting manner. At the same he caused the Emperor to read aloud the letter sent from Ephesus. The Emperor ordered him and he left. Some days later, through God's love for man, the copy of the deposal was brought in secret together with the report. There being great apprehension about this matter, the bishops did not bring these documents to the Emperor. It was the steadfast Victor, whose thoughts were fixed on God, who volunteered⁹⁸ to take them to the master of the world. But, with fitting discernment and reverence, he took the documents and handed them over to the Emperor. When the Emperor saw them, he asked: "Who brought these documents to the city ? Was it not you who told me several days ago that the roads were blocked and the sea approaches were being guarded ? How then was it possible to bring them into the city ? Who on earth brought them ?" Victor replied: "Do not ask me how they were brought in. I do not know. But at the same time, if the

95 Short chant sung as a refrain. According Socrates *Historia Ecclesiastica* Bk, 6 ch. 8 the antiphon was introduced by Ignatius of Antioch.

96 The Coptic does not use the word 'faith' as often as I have used it.

97 On the Coptic periphrastic construction: **εκεϥωπε εκχραειτ** cf. Till § 332

98 Lit. 'did not refuse' (**νηεϥπαραιτει**)

roads and the sea are blocked, one thing I do know is that God arranged for them to be sent to the city in secret, as if they had fallen from the sky, so that there would be no trouble from your Majesty and your ignorance.⁹⁹ So they are now in your hands. Please be sure to read them so that you know what they say. Whatever God puts in your heart, you will do it and hasten to dismiss the Synod. For they say that there is distress in that city. There is now no longer any need to write to them and to wait for letters from them because all relevant information is in these documents, and we will say no more. This matter relates not to man but the Lord of All, Christ. So, it is enough if you guide matters in a way pleasing to God because our strength is the establishment of the world in the upright faith." He then prayed and instructed Victor to leave him.

38. After four days the Emperor had read the deposal document in his possession carefully, and the people of the city assembled at the great church. It was the Sabbath, and they called upon the Emperor to read out the text. The entire city was full of discord and strife between the orthodox and the Nestorian heretics. The people continued to be extremely vocal, and the Emperor sent Dometianus the *referendarius*,¹⁰⁰ who defensively explained¹⁰¹ to the people: "The deposal that has been sent to the Emperor by the Synod, God willing, tomorrow on the Lord's Day, I have ordered that they be given to the church that they may be read aloud."

39. The following day the people gathered at the great church and cried aloud in unison: "Theodosius, you are and will continue to be victorious at all times. Nestorius has fallen. The Synod has laid him low. She who gave birth to God incarnate, the Blessed Virgin Mary, has deposed Nestorius." After the reading of the Gospel, they cried aloud in unison: "Christ our God has conquered Nestorius ! Cross, you have been victorious ! Let us hear the writings of the Synod There is only one faith and one Synod. Let Nestorius the Jew be burned together with Anastasius and Irenaeus. Let Irenaeus the poisoner be burned. Let poison be rejected. Remove shame from the palace. Give the goods of the Church to the poor. Reject the Tigris and the Rhone. Long life to Pulcheria. She has strengthened the faith. Tell the people what is in the Synod documents. Let our words be taken to the Emperor." After they had finished their prolonged period of shouting.¹⁰² Maximianus the priest explained to the people: "The Emperor has received good news from Africa. There is a consultative assembly in the consistory, deliberating.¹⁰³ I call upon you to let us give them

99 Victor seems to be saying diplomatically that it is better for the Emperor not to know, in the spirit of the modern phrase 'plausible deniability'.

100 The imperial go-between in the matter of petitions.

101 Gk. ἀπολογίζεσθαι 'render an account' (LSJ q.v.)

102 Coptic: **ΝΤΕΡΟΥΟΥΩ ΔΕ ΕΥΜΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΙΩΚΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ**

103 This seems to be the meaning, but one that is difficult to extract from ἐγκρατεύεσθαι 'exercise self-control'

the documents in the evening so that they can give us their answer by morning." They then gave voice in unison: "Because of the faith Theodosius has been victorious and he will remain forever victorious because of the faith.¹⁰⁴ He has been victorious. The Jews have been expelled and the barbarians have fallen. We will stay here until evening." While the people were still shouting, Dometianus came in and explained to the people: "The pious Emperor sent me with these documents of the Synod to the clergy, having left them the opportunity to decide what is fitting in this matter, because the the deposal of Nestorius, Cyril and Memnon are written in them." When (41) the people heard about the deposal of Cyril and Memnon, they shouted aloud in unison: ¹⁰⁵

The God of Bishop Cyril is one.

Cyril is Bishop. Nestorius anathema.

Cyril and Memnon have not sold the votive offerings¹⁰⁶ to the church.

Cyril and Memnon have not taken the wealth of Christ.

You have been victorious.

Christ has been victorious.

He will continue to be victorious forever.

The bishops are orthodox. The Emperors are orthodox.

Long life to the Emperors.

A single Synod of orthodox bishops. A single faith. A single Synod.

The orthodox bishops have deposed Judas. The Holy Trinity has vanquished Nestorius the traitor. The holy bishops have annihilated the Antichrist. The Emperor has been victorious and will continue to be victorious forever.

Nestorius and Anastasius have denied Christ.

The wealth of Christ has been taken by them to fight against Christ.

Give back to the Church what belongs to it. Return the riches of the Church to the Church.

They battling against the faith for wealth.

They have taken what belongs to God.

They have declared war on God, the pagans and Jews, they who have taken the votive offerings of the Church.

Why are they fighting against the faith ?

The Emperors are Christian. Why do they let them fight against the faith ?

Christ has been victorious and will continue to be victorious forever.

104I have followed the epanalepsis of the Coptic and placed the translation of Ⲅⲧⲃⲉⲛⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ at the beginning and the end of the sentence.

105The rest of the text I have translated consists largely of what the crowd shouts out. It can probably be dismissed in terms of factual accuracy, but the anti-Semitic/Jewish tone is unmistakable: untrustworthy people could so easily be stigmatized as 'Jews'.

106 Word play: ἀνάθεμα (anathema) and ἀναθήματα (votive offerings), which are both written ⲁⲛⲁⲑⲉⲙⲁ in Coptic.

40. The clergy of the Church of Constantinople explained to the multitude: "In the documents sent to us the matter is clear that only Thirty, among whom are heretics and some who have been deposed, have spoken in favour of the deposal of Cyril and Memnon. The majority, 264 bishops,¹⁰⁷ have deposed Nestorius."

41. At that point the people once again became vociferous and said in one voice:

God is one. The God of Cyril and Memnon is one.

They have not taken money.

Bishop Cyril has not scorned Christ.

Cyril and Memnon have not denied Christ.

The Thirty are Jews.

The Thirty man-worshippers have no country or city or faith.

Let the clergy anathematize them and Nestorius.

Long life to Pulcheria. Long life to the orthodox.

The Great Synod belongs to the orthodox.

Let them take our voices to the Emperor.

Because of the prayers of the saints the Emperor has been victorious.

The prayers of the saints have vanquished Nestorius.

The prayers of the Synod have overturned Nestorius.

Let Irenaeus be burned alive.

Take away this shame from the palace.

The Great Synod has deposed Nestorius.

Let the clergy proclaim Cyril bishop and Nestorius anathema.

Let the clergy proclaim Memnon bishop and the Thirty Pelagians.

The clergy then proclaimed:

Cyril and Memnon are the bishops of orthodoxy.

Nestorius and the Thirty are impious Pelagians. Let them be anathema.

The people cried out:

There is only One God, the God of Cyril the Patriarch.

Long life to the Emperor.

Let the clergy watch Anastasius the poisoner, for Cyril has not forgotten to anathematize him.

Bishop Cyril has not stolen money.

There is only One God, the God of Cyril the orthodox.

Christ has been victorious. Money has been shamed.

Give the Jew to the Jews.

The Christian is affirmed forever.

You, Cross, have been victorious.

¹⁰⁷ This would seem to suggest that at least 294 bishops attended the Synod.

Give the goods of the Church to the poor.

Let the clergy proclaim Nestorius anathema.

The following day, when Cyril's name was read on the diptych,¹⁰⁸ the people cried aloud:

Let this name live forever.

Let the name of Cyril live for generations.

Let Cyril come to see how many he has instructed.

Let Cyril come and know that he is glorified and in what way.

Let Nestorius and Irenaeus be anathema.

Let Anastasius be watched.

Let the goods of the Church be given back.

Let the treasures of the Church be given back to it.

Let the property¹⁰⁹ of the Church be given back to it.

It was Magistrus who judged Anastasius.

Christ Our Lord, it is you who are victorious.

Let our voices be brought to the Emperor.

The God of Cyril the orthodox is One.

Let the Holy Synod bless the city.

Let the orthodox bless the city.

He who was born of the Blessed Virgin Mary has vanquished Nestorius.

She who gave birth to God incarnate has overcome the impious Nestorius.

Cyril and Memnon (44) have watched over the faith.

Anastasius was concealed by the son of Lucius.

Long life to the orthodox¹¹⁰ and the orthodox Emperors.

They struggle for the faith.

We will be here day and night.

Let our envoys reach the Emperor.

We will bring the documents of the Thirty heretics here.¹¹¹

Jews have no name.

Let Nestorius and John be anathema.

Let Nestorius be burned alive.

Why is Claudianus in custody ?

Claudianus was attacked because he is orthodox.

Let our voices be brought to the Emperor.

108 A name of a bishop on a diptych usually meant that the church in question was in communion with that bishop.

109 CD 817b

110 Fem. Pulcheria ?

111 For a critical analysis perhaps ?

Christ, you are victorious.

Let Cyril's name be written on the diptych.

Let the names of Cyril and Memnon be written on the diptych for us here.

The Christian will be victorious at all times.

Christ has been victorious and will continue to be victorious.

Cyril is the gift of God. This name will be forever.

After they had finished anathematizing the impious Nestorius, the document of deposal was read out, viz. this one, the famous rescript ¹¹²at the beginning of the documents, brought by Victor, who had sent it to the Synod through Candidianus. They were unable to convene to decide, except that they found the confidence through the letters of the Emperor to decide on matters of dogma without fear. The Count was forced to read the rescript to them. After sixteen days the time limit had elapsed, and when they saw what was in the imperial letter, they unilaterally threw Candidianus out of the Church. They then sat to decide the dogma of faith "according as the memorandum will very clearly instruct you."¹¹³

112 Described as 'shining'.

113 I have put this section in quotation marks because of the switch of pronoun from 3rd to 2nd.