

with great military escorts, and this did not, so they considered, tend to peace. It did not impress the heathen. It was to be deprecated, 'lest we' (*i.e.* we Christians here in Africa) 'should seem to introduce the pride of the world.' Faustinus was not the inheritor of the Papal *charisma*, and did not understand matters as well as the African bishops themselves. So that they say one could only defend his position on the supposition that God could inspire one man with wisdom to the depreciation of innumerable bishops.

Much capital has been made out of this letter by one or two slight perversions of its terms. It has been assumed, for instance, that the 'one man' to whom the Africans here objected meant the Pope himself. But this is impossible. Not only is it the fact that Faustinus, *as the bishops said*, 'opposed the whole assembly,' and so, obviously, supplied the subject of their remark, but the Africans knew well that in all such cases the Pope never did act alone, he received appeals in Synod; so that the remark about the 'one man' being unequal to a number of bishops cannot apply to his Holiness. Again, a great many writers in defence of their theory have translated the words 'lest we should seem to introduce the pride of the world,' as though, again, the bishops were speaking of the Pope instead of themselves as a body in Africa. Archbishop Laud deliberately turns the 'we' into 'he.' Canon Bright understands it of the Pope, and likewise Mr. Puller—a most unreasonable supposition.

III. Once more, it is constantly argued that the Africans, instead of merely doing their best by earnest entreaty ('*impendio deprecamur*') to secure a particular mode of procedure, or to limit it to the case of bishops, were resisting the doctrine of Papal jurisdiction in itself. But the whole of the contemporary history forbids such a supposition. The ideal of Church government was, to the African mind, that priests should never be allowed to appeal beyond Africa, and that the cases of bishops should be managed by Papal commissions consisting of African bishops. Rome did not consent to bind herself to the former arrangement, but she had employed the latter. St. Augustine's visit to Mauritania—in the very year of the first council, in which the bishops promised

to act in obedience to Zosimus' interpretation of the Nicene canons—is a case in point. The Pope sent St. Augustine, as his commissioner, with some others, to settle the affairs of these Mauritanian Bishops on the spot. St. Augustine was strictly the Pope's legate for the occasion. He tells us himself that he was 'enjoined by the venerable Pope Zosimus, Bishop of the Apostolic See;' and his friend St. Possidius, himself an African bishop, says in his Life of St. Augustine that he (Augustine) went to Mauritania, 'compelled by the letters of the Apostolic See, for the termination of other necessities of the Church,' *i.e.* not merely for a conference with the Donatist bishop Emeritus. St. Augustine gives a glimpse of the cases he had to settle in another passage. They were questions of precedence between bishops. Thus the ideal of Church government in the eyes of the North African Church was not that there should be no appeal to Rome in the case of bishops—not that they should act independently of Rome, but that the authority of the Apostolic See should be exercised through the medium of an episcopal commission, consisting of African bishops, and not by a legate sent from Rome itself. It was a question of procedure, not of the right of jurisdiction itself.

If this letter on which so much has been built is genuine, there is another argument to be derived from it to show that they could not have meant to withdraw their dependence on the Apostolic See. One of the signatories was the celebrated Anthony, who himself just about the same time prosecuted an appeal to Rome against St. Augustine. The Primate of Numidia favoured the appeal, and St. Augustine acted on the supposition of an appeal being a legitimate course of action. The only answer that has ever been given to this is that which was suggested in the '*Defensio Cleri Gallicani*,' and which, corrected of its tremendous blunder, appears in Mr. Puller's '*Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*.' The '*Defensio*' (I forbear to call it Bossuet's, as it is uncertain how far it is his handiwork¹), in a passage of much bitterness against

¹ Mr. Puller here, as always, calls it Bossuet's, and indulges in some sarcasm against Lupus, who, however, turns out to be accurate, whilst 'Bossuet' commits a huge blunder. I suspect that Bossuet's handiwork is mainly visible in such passages as that on Hormisdas' Formulary.

Christianus Lupus, the eminent canonist, says that if Lupus had read the letter attentively he would have discovered 'that it was written in the beginning of Celestine's reign [which is true], before the replies had arrived from the East about the Nicene canons, at which time we have seen that appeals were permitted by the Africans,' &c.

Now we know for certain that the answer about the Nicene canons arrived in the end of the year 419. Mr. Puller himself admits this. We know also that St. Celestine did not begin his reign until 422. Thus we are told by Bossuet (if it be his writing) that a letter written in 422 or 423 was prior in point of time to some replies given in 419!

Mr. Puller adopts another argument, or rather, the same argument with the omission of this blunder. He says that the interval during which the African Fathers promised to accept appeals to Rome lasted for five years. There is not a word in the records to justify this assertion. It is a pure assumption, and not only does it rely on no foundation of fact, but it apparently contradicts the record. The African Fathers promised to obey St. Zosimus' interpretation of the Nicene arrangements 'for a short time . . . until we had investigated the statutes of the Nicene Council.' The statutes of the council had arrived in 419. Does Mr. Puller suppose that the African Fathers were still poring over those statutes some four years afterwards? Yet he says that during that interval, which he describes as 'five or, as some say, seven years,' 'appeals to Rome from Africa in the case of bishops in accordance with the agreement' were permitted, the agreement being that they should be permitted until they had investigated the Nicene statutes, which had arrived four years since, during which interval they had held council after council, and yet had never, so far as any records go, mentioned the subject! All is plain enough if we suppose that they had learnt something further from Rome, *i.e.* either that the genuine copy of the Nicene Council was that which was preserved at Rome, or that the Sardican canons were a due appendix to the Nicene.

But, on the theory against which I am contending, we have to suppose that Bishop Anthony, strongly disapproving

of appeals, yet himself prosecuted an appeal to Rome and induced the Primate of Numidia to back his appeal, and that St. Augustine followed the matter to Rome (all of which is admitted history); and all this was done on the ground that they were living in an interval in which appeals were permitted, but which was shortly to be closed as contrary to the admitted and vital principles of Church government! We have also to suppose that a month or so after the first council had decided upon this interval St. Augustine went off to Mauritania to act as Papal legate, although (on the same theory) the Pope had no jurisdiction in that country. The African bishops behaved, on this theory, much as schoolboys who have a little leave to do a number of things they wanted to do, and take full advantage of the leave; whereas all is plain and natural on the supposition that the African bishops believed, as St. Augustine did, that when Rome had spoken the case was at an end, and not till then, in the case of bishops. On the further matter, as to priests, they wished for an arrangement which would have modified the exercise of the Pope's jurisdiction, without attacking the root principle of that jurisdiction.

IV. But, in point of fact, the gravest suspicion rests on this letter, which has been made to do such service against the principle of appeals. Had such a document been handed to St. Augustine for inspection he must have disclaimed it as no Catholic document. In his conference with the Donatists he objected to the production of documents without dates.¹ The Donatists replied that many councils had no date. St. Augustine to this replied that such might be the case with schismatical councils, but not with Catholic documents. He quoted the prophets in his behalf, who say in whose reign they prophesied. He more than once enunciated this vital principle, that you have no right to bring a document into court, purporting to be that of a Catholic council, unless it has the name of the consul and the day.

This letter, on which Dr. Pusey so much relied, has no date.

¹ Cf. *Breviculus Collationis cum Donatistis*, 3ii diei, cap. xv. 27: 'Catholicorum concilia consules et dies semper habuisse.'

Further, it comes before us as emanating from a universal synod of Africa—the peer of the great meeting of 419.¹ Yet we have no record of this synod. This would not be fatal if we had the date, but there is no date.

Further, when we examine the list of signatories we discover that their number is fifteen. It adds that there were others—viz. those whom they represented, as would be natural, but it only gives fifteen names. Now fifteen was the exact number of legates fixed upon shortly before to represent a universal synod. But the president was never counted in, so that though fifteen is the right number, there ought to be at least one other name mentioned to make the account correct.

But when we examine the list of signatories we find that it differs altogether from that of the fifteen who were appointed. Why is this? The 'Defensio Cl. Gall.' (Bossuet) says that other legates had been appointed. It is curious that we have no record of this, whilst the names were so carefully recorded, with the provinces, in the unquestioned list issued by the unquestioned universal synod.

But whose names are wanting? Why, instead of St. Augustine, St. Alypius, and Restitutus, the three bishops who had hitherto represented Numidia, we find one bishop of that province, and that is Anthony, the name of the scandalous bishop who had appealed to Rome against St. Augustine. This was the man who is supposed to have represented Numidia instead of those three saints, and to have signed the heated letter against appeals!

I submit that this is an insufficient foundation on which to rest the position that the Church of North Africa repudiated the supreme jurisdiction of that see which it called in every letter, I had almost said in every other sentence of some letters, 'the Apostolic See.' She accepted St. Innocent's letters with all their Vatican teaching, whilst her subsequent writers never allude to this discussion as involving any such repudiation.²

¹ In my letter to the Bishop of Lincoln (1893) there is a misprint on this subject. The 'not' should be erased on p. 38 as the argument requires.

² There is a forged letter which does, but the forgery has been exposed with ample evidence. See also note at the end of Appendix II.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE COUNCIL OF EPHEBUS.

I. A PECULIAR importance attaches to the Council of Ephesus, from an historical point of view, from the fact that it is the first of the Ecumenical Councils of which we have anything like a full and unquestioned narrative. Accordingly, I shall proceed to test the theory of independent national Churches by the history of this council.

It must be remembered that that theory regards the most complete severance from the Apostolic See as compatible with membership in the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church; and that it appeals especially to the Church of those four General Councils which St. Gregory compared to the four Holy Gospels. I propose, therefore, to show, from a review of the council, that nothing but the most complete misinterpretation of the Acts of this council could enable anyone to consider the above theory as in harmony with the teaching of the early Christian Church.

The council was concerned with the question of the union of the two natures in the One Divine Person of our Redeemer. Was it a substantial or an accidental union? The whole question of the world's salvation hung upon the answer. Both St. Celestine, the Pope, and St. Cyril of Alexandria emphasise this fact. St. Celestine, in his letter to Nestorius, says, that 'we complain that those words have been removed [*i.e.* by Nestorius] which promise us the hope of all life and salvation.' St. Cyril again and again strikes the same note. Dr. Salmon would have done well to have remembered this in his criticisms¹ on this great champion of the faith.

¹ *Infallibility of the Church*, p. 312.

Up to the time of the Council of Ephesus expressions¹ had been used concerning the union of the two natures in Christ which were meant in an orthodox sense, but which were liable to misinterpretation. St. Ignatius had spoken of Christ as 'bearing flesh;' Tertullian had described Him as 'clothed with flesh;' and the early Fathers had often used the word 'mixture' (*κρᾶσις*) of the union of the two natures.

But a term had been in use which, if rightly understood, safeguarded the truth of the *ἔνωσις* of the two natures. I mean, of course, the term *Θεοτόκος*, or Mother of God, as applied to our Blessed Lady. The term had not been as thoroughly sifted, and authoritatively explained by the Church, as it was destined to be, owing to the heresy of Nestorius; but, as the Patriarch of Antioch bade Nestorius reflect, it had been in frequent use.

II. Nestorius had entered upon his career as archbishop with the boast that if the emperor would give him the earth cleared of heretics, he would give him heaven in exchange, and that if His Imperial Majesty would assist him in putting heretics to rout, he would assist him to do the same with his Persian foes. He was inexcusably cruel to his heterodox subjects, but he soon himself plunged into a heresy which cut at the root of the Christian faith—attributing to our Divine Lord a human personality, and thereby denying the substantial union between the two natures. His writings found their way into Egypt, which was in the patriarchate of Alexandria, presided over at that time by the great St. Cyril. St. Cyril was consequently bound to take notice of the danger, and a correspondence ensued between him and Nestorius. St. Cyril at length appealed to the Pope. He held off from this final step as long as he could, from the same feeling as St. Celestine himself expressed when he said that he could have wished never to have seen the letters of Nestorius, 'lest I should be compelled to pass judgment on so serious a matter.'

III. St. Celestine was a man full of zeal for the faith and of great piety, judging from his letters. Dr. Wordsworth appeals to him as the best judge of Cyril's character and

¹ Cf. *Cath. Dict.* 'Council of Ephesus.'

conduct, although he mistakes his share in the affair of Nestorius. He says: 'Perhaps there could not have been a more impartial judge of the parties in the struggle than the Bishop of Rome. Celestine was a calm spectator of the controversy, and in a review of it it may be well to enumerate his letters as indicative of his bearing with regard to it, and also as a summary of its history.'¹

We shall presently see that St. Celestine was by no means a mere 'spectator of the controversy,' and that his letters by no means bear out Dr. Wordsworth's general review of the Council. But that writer shows a true instinct in taking the Pope's estimate of St. Cyril, in preference to that of the latter's enemies, whom Dr. Salmon follows,² for St. Celestine's estimate is that of all after time. 'The bishop of Rome,' says Dr. Wordsworth, 'did not suppose Cyril to have been actuated by any unworthy motives in this controversy.' In this matter Dr. Pusey is at one with Dr. Wordsworth.³

St. Celestine, on being appealed to by St. Cyril, at once convoked a synod, as was customary with the bishops of Rome, and gave St. Cyril a full and emphatic answer. He authorised him to act for him judicially. So far St. Cyril's action towards Nestorius had been an office of charity, not an act of jurisdiction. He did not think that he would do well even to excommunicate him from his own Church without consulting Celestine, although he says he might legitimately have done that much. When he wrote to the Egyptian monks he was writing to people within his own jurisdiction, but he had now laid the matter before one who could deal with cases that concerned the whole Church, and with the question of deposition as well as excommunication.⁴ The correspondence that passed between Alexandria and Rome on this occasion is, however, so important that, at the cost of repetition, I will give a summary of the two letters.⁵

IV. St. Cyril begins with giving his reason for breaking the silence which he had kept as long as he dared. The ancient

¹ Wordsworth's *Church History*, vol. iv. pp. 232-3.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ Pref. to St. Cyril's Works. *Lib. of the Fathers.*

⁴ Cf. *Antifebronius vindicatus*, pt. i. p. 506. ⁵ Mansi, t. iv. p. 1011, seq.

customs of the Churches (he says) persuade us to communicate such matters to your Holiness; I, therefore, write of necessity. Nestorius (he says) from the commencement of his episcopate has been disseminating amongst his own people, and the strangers who flock to Constantinople from all quarters, absurd ideas, contrary to the faith. He has sent Nestorius' homilies to Celestine. It was in his mind to tell Nestorius at once that he could no longer hold communion with him; but he thought it better to hold out to him a helping hand first and exhort him by letters. Nestorius, however, only tried in every way to circumvent him. At last a bishop, named Dorotheus, exclaimed in Nestorius' presence, 'If any one shall call Mary the mother of God, let him be anathema.' A crisis was reached by this expression; a great disturbance arose amongst the people of Constantinople. With few exceptions they refrained from communion—nearly all the monasteries and great part of the senate—for fear of receiving harm to their faith. He had found, moreover, that Nestorius' writings had been introduced into Egypt, and in consequence had written an encyclical to the Egyptian monasteries to confirm them in the faith. Copies of this finding their way to Constantinople, Nestorius had resented Cyril's action. He accused Cyril of having read the Fathers wrongly. Cyril says he wrote direct to Nestorius, with a compendious exposition of the faith, exhorting him to conform to this. All the bishops, adds Cyril, are with me, especially those of Macedonia. Nestorius, however, considered that he alone understood the Scriptures. While all orthodox bishops and saints confess Christ to be God, and the Virgin to be the mother of God, Θεοτόκος, he alone who denies this is supposed, forsooth, to be in the right. The people of Constantinople now began, says St. Cyril, to look for aid outside their province. St. Cyril felt that a 'dispensation was entrusted to him,' and that he should have to answer on the day of judgment for silence in this matter. He does not, however, feel that he can confidently withdraw himself from communion with Nestorius before communicating these things to His Holiness.

'Deign, therefore, to decide what seems right (τυπῶσαι τὸ δοκοῦν), whether we ought to communicate at all with him,

or to tell him plainly that no one communicates with a person who holds and teaches what he does. Further, the purpose of your Holiness ought to be made known by letter to the most religious and God-loving bishops of Macedonia, *and to all the bishops of the East*, for we shall then give them, according to their desire, the opportunity of standing together in unity of soul and mind, and lead them to contend earnestly (ἐπαγωνίσασθαι) for the orthodox Faith which is being attacked. As regards Nestorius, our fathers, who have said that the Holy Virgin is the mother of God, are, together with us who are here to-day, involved in anathema; for although he did not like to do this with his own lips, still, by sitting and listening to another, viz. Dorotheus, he has helped him to do it, for immediately on coming from the throne he communicated him at the holy mysteries.' He (St. Cyril) has therefore sent his Holiness the materials for forming a judgment.

V. St. Celestine in a beautiful letter, in answer, expresses his joy in the midst of sadness at Cyril's purity of faith. He endorses his teaching, and embraces him in the Lord, as present in his letters. Still (says the Pope) we are of one mind concerning Christ our Lord! He compares Cyril to a good shepherd, and Nestorius not even to a hireling, but to a wolf, who is destroying his own sheep. Our Lord Jesus Christ, whose own 'generation' is questioned, shows us that we should toil for one sheep; how much more for one shepherd! We ought, therefore, 'to shut him out from the sheep, unless there is hope of his conversion. This we earnestly desire. But *if he persists*, an open sentence must be passed on him, for a wound, when it affects the whole body, must be at once cut away. For what has he to do with those who are of one mind amongst themselves—he who considers that he alone knows what is best, and dissents from our faith? Let then all those whom he has removed remain in communion [with the Church], and give him to understand that he cannot be in communion with us if he persists in this path of perversity in opposition to the Apostolic teaching. *Wherefore assuming the authority of our See, and acting in our stead and place with delegated authority (ἐξουσία), you shall*

execute a sentence of this kind (ἐκβιβάζεις ἀπόφασις), not without strict severity, viz. that unless within ten days after this admonition of ours he anathematises, in written confession, his evil teaching, and promises for the future to confess the faith concerning the birth of Christ our God, which both the Church of Rome and that of your Holiness, and the whole Christian religion preaches, forthwith your Holiness will provide for that Church. And let him know that he is to be altogether removed from our body. . . . We have written the same to our brothers and fellow-bishops John, Rufus, Juvenal, and Flavian, whereby our judgment concerning him, yea rather, the judgment of Christ our Lord, may be manifest.'

It would be impossible to express with greater clearness the claim involved in the Papal supremacy, as understood at this hour, than is done by these two letters. 'Confirm thy brethren' was the divine injunction to the Prince of the Apostles; 'I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not; thou, in thy turn, confirm thy brethren.'¹ Celestine was now exemplifying this law of the Church's life, and in doing so he did but add one more to the number of saintly Popes who had already been conspicuous for the support they rendered to the rest of the orthodox bishops in the defence of the great mystery of our Faith: e.g. St. Dionysius supporting one bishop of Alexandria previous to the Arian struggle, St. Julius another, the great Confessor Bishop of Alexandrias in the midst of that struggle; St. Damasus supporting the bishops in general in the struggle with the Macedonian heresy; and now, St. Celestine 'confirming' St. Cyril. And in each

¹ Dr. Döllinger parodies the Church's application of this text to the successor of St. Peter when he calls it 'far from being a guarantee of infallibility for every single dictum on an article of ecclesiastical doctrine.' No theologian ever laid down such a childish principle, nor did the Church ever call on Dr. Döllinger to believe it. He insinuates the same absurdity when he says, 'the exhortation that Peter should strengthen his brethren by no means involves a promise that he would really do so in every single instance.*' Our Lord promises the security arising from his own prayer; and that security need not be, and never was, stretched to include 'every single instance,' of whatsoever kind.

It will be admitted, however, that in the subject-matter of Celestine's letter, the very foundations of our holy Faith were concerned.

* *Declarations and Letters on the Vatican Decrees*, Eng. trans, p. 12.

case the support was rendered by the See of St. Peter less in the way of argument than by a simple faithfulness to the tradition of the Church: more, that is, in a divine than a human way, more by authority than by dialectic skill. The Church lives on authority, not on argument, even as our Lord 'spake as one having authority,' and not as the Scribes and Pharisees with their subtle dialectic. St. Agatho, when he sent his legates to the Sixth Council, said that they were not versed in subtle interpretations of the Scriptures—such as had so frequently led the East astray—nor were they illustrious in eloquence, but they had something better, viz. a full knowledge of the 'tradition of the Apostolic See, as it has been maintained by my predecessors, the Apostolic Pontiffs.' This was real history, and this they possessed. Nestorius expressed his contempt for the Holy See when condemned by it, and affected to despise St. Celestine. He called him 'one too simple to fathom the force of the doctrines.' But, as Dr. Pusey well remarks,¹ 'It did not occur to Nestorius that divine truth is seen by simple piety, not by proud intellect.' The letters of Celestine are by no means devoid of argumentative power at times; they are, however, more the letters of a man of strong character in high authority than of the dialectician or the orator. He writes as one steeped in the writings of prophets, evangelists, and apostles, but his piety is of a masculine character, and his Scriptural quotations are full of point. This particular letter to St. Cyril played a most important part in the history of Christian doctrine, for it was referred to as authoritative by the council itself, and as determining their synodical act.

VI. The two letters together, St. Cyril's and St. Celestine's, contain the following important points.

(i.) It was an 'ancient custom,' according to St. Cyril, for such important matters as the deposition of an heretical archbishop to be referred to Rome. St. Cyril says that he writes to Rome 'as a matter of necessity.' He does not even separate Nestorius from communion with his own patriarchate until he has written to Rome.

(ii.) He asks St. Celestine to prescribe what he judges best

¹ *Introd. to some Works of Cyril*, p. 64. *Lib. of the Fathers*.

in the matter; to give the *formal decision* on this important case, and to notify his decision to all the bishops of the East. Canon Bright merely calls this writing in 'very deferential terms'¹ to the Bishop of Rome. Would it not surprise some of his readers to know *how* deferential the terms of St. Cyril's letter were? He uses a word which occurs again and again in the Acts of the councils in reference to the relation of the Pope to the condemnation of Nestorius, asking him *τυπῶσαι τὸ δοκοῦν*—words which are a sort of refrain for a year to come; they form the key-note to the proceedings at Ephesus. Bossuet remarks upon this expression, that 'it signifies, in Greek, to declare juridically; *τύπος* is a rule, a sentence, and *τυπῶσαι τὸ δοκοῦν* is to declare one's opinion judicially. The Pope alone could do it. Neither Cyril, nor any other patriarch, had the power to depose Nestorius, who was not their subject: the Pope alone did it, and no one was found to exclaim against it, because his authority extended over all.'

(iii.) St. Celestine adopts throughout his letter to Nestorius, sent with the above letter to Cyril, the same tone of authority as he uses in writing to Cyril. He writes with affectionate anxiety for Nestorius, but with the authority of office. He has no doubt about his prerogative of infallibility in such a matter, and does not hesitate to express his conviction.

Dean Church, in defending² his position, and that of others who appeal to the early Church, says that he finds only a mitigated measure of authority 'in the early and undivided Church, and there was no such thing known as infallibility.' And this he calls 'a certain fact,' including in the early and undivided Church the time of the great councils.

But St. Celestine, on being appealed to by St. Cyril to formulate the decision as to Nestorius' excommunication and deposition, at once assumes his infallibility³ in such a grave matter. The Vatican decree does not go beyond his words, when he says of his own sentence on Nestorius, that it is not so much his, but rather it is 'the divine judgment of Christ our Lord;' and again to the Patriarch of Antioch he says,

¹ *Dict. of Chr. Biog.* art. 'Cyril,' p. 766.

² *The Oxford Movement*, by Dean Church, p. 185.

³ As to the matter of faith.

'and let your Holiness know this sentence is passed by us, yea, rather by Christ [our] God.' Just as afterwards the synod, writing to the clergy of Constantinople, calls the executed sentence, being that of Pope and council together, 'the just sentence of the Holy Trinity and their [*i.e.* the bishops' and legates'] divinely inspired judgment.'

(iv.) And again, Celestine is here pronouncing judgment as to what is preached by the 'whole Christian religion,' and decides to cut off Nestorius *from the common unity*.

VII. Dr. Wordsworth speaks of this all-important letter as being simply a statement of 'the orthodox doctrine of the Western Fathers' upon the controversy!¹ Celestine, however, states that he is giving the doctrine of the Church of Rome and Alexandria and 'the whole Christian religion,' or, as he expresses it in his letter to Nestorius (going over the same ground), 'the universal Church.' Canon Bright² describes it thus:

'Celestine gave Cyril a commission of stringent character (Mansi, iv. 1017). He was "to join the authority of the Roman See to his own," and on the part of Celestine, *as well as for himself*, to warn Nestorius that unless a written retraction were executed within ten days, giving assurance of his acceptance of the faith as to "Christ our God," which was held by the Churches of *Rome and Alexandria*, he would be excluded from the communion of *those Churches*, and provision would be made by them for the Church of Constantinople, *i.e.* by the appointment of an orthodox bishop.'

Now, St. Celestine does not say exactly 'join the authority of the Roman See to his own,' which Canon Bright gives as a quotation. There is nothing in the Latin or Greek exactly corresponding to 'his own;' words which would suggest something more than the Papal decision as the source of authority.⁴ Neither does Celestine bid St. Cyril warn Nestorius 'on the part of Celestine *as well as for himself*.' He simply constitutes St. Cyril his 'plenipotentiary,' as Dr. Döllinger

¹ *Church History*, vol. iv. p. 210.

² *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, art. 'Cyril,' p. 766.

³ The italics are mine.

⁴ Greek *σολ*, Latin 'adscitâ'—simply terms with which a legate might be commissioned to act.

accurately expressed it.¹ Neither, again, does Celestine speak of the faith held by the Churches of Rome and Alexandria simply, but he adds that it is that of the entire Christian world or religion. And further, which is of much greater importance, he tells Nestorius in the same batch of letters which Cyril was to read and forward, that he will exclude him, not from the communion of 'those Churches' only, but from the communion also of the entire Christian Church. This latter point is of supreme importance, and it is strange that Dr. Bright should omit it.² In this very letter Celestine speaks of Nestorius being separated from 'our body,' by which from the contextual use of 'our,' he could not mean simply his own, nor only his own and Cyril's, but the whole body of the Church. Anyhow, in his letter to Nestorius, which St. Cyril was to read and forward, and which covers the same ground, the Pope says expressly that by this sentence, unless he retracts, he is cut off from the communion of 'the whole Catholic Church ('ab universalis te Ecclesiæ Catholicæ communione dejectum).'³ This is a vital point, and it is surely not fair to tell the reader that Celestine bade Cyril warn Nestorius that he was to be cut off from the communion of 'those Churches' (viz. Rome and Alexandria) when, as a matter of fact, he was telling him that he was to be cut off from the communion of the whole Catholic Church. They are words, too, which recur, for in writing to the clergy and people of Constantinople the Pope repeats the sentence in full, which Cyril is to pass on Nestorius. And while he speaks again of the faiths held, not only by the Churches of Rome and Alexandria, but by 'the whole Catholic Church,' he says that Nestorius is to be 'excommunicated from the entire Catholic Church.' The same occurs once more in the Pope's letter to John of Antioch. The Pope there again speaks as clothed with supreme authority, calling his sentence 'the sentence passed by Christ our God,' and it cuts Nestorius off from 'the roll of bishops' ('episcoporum cœtu').

St. Celestine thus comes before us at the Council of Ephesus as the foundation of the Church in a crisis of her life

¹ 'Bevollmächtiger,' *Lehrbuch* (1843), p. 121.

² The same misleading expression (Rome and Alexandria) occurs in this writer's latest work, *Waymarks*, &c. p. 221.

when the reality of our Lord's redemption was at stake, for this was the real point at issue, as he himself and St. Cyril distinctly stated. He is the 'confirmer' of the brethren. He feeds, or governs, the sheep of Christ, supplying them with the *τύπος*, or authoritative judicial sentence, the form which was to govern their action. He resumes in himself the apostolic government of the Christian Church, and uses the Archbishop of Alexandria, occupant of the second throne in Christendom, to execute his sentence.

VIII. The execution, then, of the Pope's sentence having been entrusted to Cyril, the latter at once wrote to John, Bishop of Antioch, on the state of things. He entreats him to consider what he will do. St. Cyril must have been well aware that he was treading on delicate ground, for Nestorius had been recommended for the See of Constantinople by the Patriarch of Antioch, and the event proved how little John was to be depended upon. Cyril says (M. iv. 1051):

'We shall follow the decisions given by him [Celestine], fearing to lose the communion of such [*i.e.* the whole West], who have not been and are not angry with us on any other account; considering, too, that the judgment and movement is not about matters of little moment, but on behalf of the very faith, and of the Churches which are everywhere disturbed, and of the edification of the people.' In other words, it was an *ex cathedrâ* judgment; it was on a matter of faith.

John of Antioch began well, and wrote to Nestorius, on receiving the Papal decision, urging him to submit, on the ground that, although the time given by the Pope, viz. ten days, was indeed short, still it was a matter in which obedience need not be a matter of days even, but of a single hour; and that the term 'Mother of God,' although capable of abuse, was one which the Fathers had used, and which, therefore, Nestorius could consent to use, attaching to it his own doubtless orthodox meaning. The letter, although urging obedience, differs in its tone from Cyril's, and gives us already a glimpse of a spirit that subsequently led John of Antioch into schismatic action at Ephesus.

St. Cyril wrote also to Juvenal of Jerusalem exhorting

him to assist in writing both to Nestorius and to the people in accordance with the prescribed decree (*ὁρισθέντα τύπον*), i.e. the Papal decision, and suggested that pressure should be brought to bear upon the emperors.

Meanwhile Cyril had summoned a synod at Alexandria, and in conjunction with the bishops, he drew up twelve anathematisms, which he forwarded to Nestorius with the Papal sentence.

IX. Nestorius tried to turn the subject. He artfully appealed to the Pope to know what ought to be done about certain supposed disseminators of Apollinarian errors, with which he ceaselessly charged St. Cyril, and drew up in reply twelve counter-anathematisms, full of erroneous doctrine. But he had devised yet another plan for staying the execution of the sentence—like all heretics, he appealed to the civil power. In this he was probably prompted and joined by others, for there were at that time in Constantinople some disaffected spirits connected with Antioch.

This city—that first heard the name of Christian applied to the followers of Jesus Christ—honoured by the Church as one of the three Sees of Peter—the third ‘throne’ in Christendom—had long proved a nursery of heretical teaching and religious dissension. Nestorius himself came from Antioch. Whilst there he had come across Theodore of Mopsuestia, the pupil of Diodorus, Bishop of Tarsus, who was the fountain, so far as we can trace things upwards, of all the mischief which occasioned the Council of Ephesus. In opposing Apollinarianism Diodorus had lost the balance of faith, and taught that the union of Godhead and Manhood in the Redeemer was not of substance with substance, but of two personalities; a union of name, authority, and honour. Theodore imbibed his error, and so great and lasting was the magic of Theodore’s name that his memory had to be condemned in the Sixth Council. Nestorius had come under Theodore’s influence. John of Antioch, in urging Nestorius to obey the Papal decision, alluded to Theodore’s withdrawal of certain erroneous expressions as an encouragement; being both of Antioch, they understood the value of such an appeal.

But there was another of Theodore’s pupils, the Bishop Julian, a fellow-countryman of Nestorius, who entered into the lists with St. Augustine in favour of Pelagianism, and, with the usual modesty of heretics, compared himself to David, and Augustine to Goliath. This Julian had been deposed by the Holy See for his Pelagian teaching, and previous to the emergence of Nestorianism had found his way to Constantinople with some others in the hope of moving the emperor to call a council to reverse the sentence of the Pope. Two successive Bishops of Constantinople had refused to present him at Court. But it seems, from Celestine’s letter to Nestorius, that the latter was on too friendly terms with Julian to please the Pope, and that but for his fear of Celestine he would have presented Julian to the emperor. When the See of Constantinople was vacant, Celestine had been anxious about its future occupant for this very reason, lest he should be one that would use his privilege of introduction in favour of such ecclesiastical ‘lepers’ as Julian, and lead his Imperial Majesty to call a council for no adequate reason, and so simply disturb the peace of the Church. St. Augustine and the African Church had expressed themselves satisfied with the ruling of the Holy See in regard to Pelagianism. The expression ‘*Roma locuta est; causa finita est*,’ though not the actual words of St. Augustine, are the exact equivalent of what he did say. ‘The rescripts have come,’ i.e. from Rome (which are St. Augustine’s words) is the same as ‘Rome has spoken,’ and the ‘case is finished’ are his actual words. Capreolus, Bishop of Carthage, writing in the name of the African Church to the synod, goes out of his way to press this point, that the bishops of Africa had accepted the decision of the Holy See, and that the Synod of Ephesus had no right to re-open matters already settled by such authority. He speaks of novel doctrines which ‘the authority of the Apostolic See and the judgment of the bishops agreeing together has defeated,’ and submits that to treat these as open questions would be to discover a lack of faith. As a matter of fact, the Synod of Ephesus did allude to their case, not to re-open it, but to signify in express terms their adhesion *en bloc* to the decisions of the Holy See.

Julian, however, hoped much from a council, and seeing his opportunity in the appointment of Nestorius to the See of Constantinople, appears to have drawn him into a favourable inclination towards himself, which led him to sound Celestine as to what could be done in regard to such as Julian.¹ There was, indeed, a natural affinity between their heresies. 'Where Pelagius ends, Nestorius begins,' said St. Prosper; and 'Nestorius erred concerning the head, Pelagius concerning the body,' said a council of Western bishops.²

Nestorius then, probably assisted by Julian, turned to the emperor, and made for a general council. St. Cyril had sent four Egyptian bishops to Constantinople to deliver the above-mentioned letters of Celestine and himself to Nestorius with all due circumstance, and Nestorius seems to have been aware of their contents. But before they could reach Constantinople he had represented to the emperor that the Church was in a state of disturbance, and needed the remedy of a general council. Dr. Littledale says that '*the Pope joined in a petition to the emperor to convoke a general council as the only means of settling the dispute*'³—a flight of absurdity which we may leave to Canon Bright to correct, who says that 'Celestine and Cyril were obliged to acquiesce in the decision of the emperor to convoke an œcumenical synod to meet at Ephesus on the following Whitsunday (June 4th, 431) at the request of Nestorius.' It is going a little beyond the facts to say that the Pope and St. Cyril were 'obliged' to acquiesce. The state of things in Constantinople, owing to the presence of Julian and other deposed bishops, may have made Celestine reluctant; but the letter to the synod is full of rejoicing at its gathering. However that may be, St. Celestine gave his consent, and St. Leo's summary of the Council is that it was 'convoked by the precept of Christian princes and the consent of the Apostolical See'—a more adequate summary than Canon Bright's,⁴ who does not mention 'the consent of the Apostolical See.'⁵

¹ *Ep. Celest. ad Nest.*

² Cf. Chr. Lupus, *Append. to Scholia on the Canons of Ephesus.*

³ *Petrine Claims*, p. 98.

⁴ Bright's *Notes on the Canons of the First Four Councils*, p. 110.

⁵ Preface to *Notes*, &c. p. 6.

Nestorius appears to have worked his plan well. He accused St. Cyril of Apollinarianism, and of generally disturbing the peace of the Church. And it is important to remember that it was to settle the question between Cyril and Nestorius that the emperor, Theodosius II., summoned the metropolitans of the East and a certain number of attendant bishops to Ephesus. It was with no idea of settling matters between Rome and Nestorius, for the emperor had received no intimation of the sentence passed by Celestine. The idea in the mind of the emperor was that Cyril should be on his trial as a disturber of the peace and a restorer of Apollinarianism, and he probably expected Nestorius to take the prominent position. He disliked Cyril, and specially resented his attempt to secure the sympathy of the Empresses on the side of orthodoxy. He was just then growing jealous of Pulcheria's increasing influence, and Cyril had written her a long and magnificent letter on the doctrine of the Incarnation. We know also from a letter of Cyril's that Nestorius hoped to be president. The Council was thus, as Dr. Pusey has well remarked, a 'device of Nestorius,'¹ although it had been seconded by the monks who had been ill treated by him, and had urged the emperor in their despair to convoke a general synod. They did not know what had been done at Rome.

X. But on arriving at Ephesus some time before Pentecost, in the hope, doubtless, of influencing the inauguration of the council, Nestorius was rudely undeceived by the attitude which Memnon, the bishop of the diocese, assumed at once towards himself and his episcopal sympathisers. The doors of St. Mary's Church were closed against them. They complained to the emperor that they could not celebrate the

¹ Dr. Pusey's account of the council, written quite at the end of his life as a preface, or a continuation of his son's preface, to some works of St. Cyril, is, probably, the best account of the council that any Anglican has written. He very successfully clears St. Cyril from the aspersions on his character which Dr. Salmon repeats. In that particular point Dr. Wordsworth and Dr. Bright are honourable exceptions to the usual Anglican view of the great saint. Even Dr. Newman, in his Anglican days, falls far below these three writers in the matter (*Histor. Sketches*), and Dr. Salmon ought not to quote his estimate of Cyril as that of 'Cardinal' Newman without noticing the preface which he prefixed as Cardinal (Salmon's *Infallibility of the Church*, p. 307, 2nd edition).

liturgy of Pentecost in the churches of Ephesus. Bishop after bishop, on arriving, must have strengthened Nestorius' conviction that the Papal sentence was accepted, and that the bishops had come, as Count Candidian, the imperial commissioner, afterwards complained,¹ not so much to investigate, as to execute a sentence already passed. Accordingly, as we shall presently see, Nestorius absented himself from the synod.

The day of Pentecost had come, and John, Patriarch of Antioch, had not arrived. Day after day passed, and no Bishop of Antioch. At length bishops came with a message from him that they were not to wait.² Some bishops had already fallen ill, many felt the fearful pressure of the want of accommodation, and at last some of them died. As they said the Requiem Mass of one bishop after another, the survivors must have felt keenly the cruelty of the Patriarch of Antioch's procrastination. They knew it to be of set purpose. The synod, in its report to the emperor, assured His Majesty of their conviction that John had delayed from a desire not to be present at Nestorius' condemnation. He allowed friendship to gain the day over zeal for the truth. Accordingly, the bishops began to 'cry out'³ against Cyril for not beginning; and Cyril yielded to their wishes, himself convinced that John of Antioch did not wish to be present.

On the sixteenth day after Pentecost the synod began its sessions. Dr. Salmon's caustic remarks on the disorderliness of the councils of the Church certainly do not apply to the sessions of this council. He ignores the judicial, orderly, and even majestic tone of the synod itself, and takes his description from circumstances that took place outside the walls of the church, and he relies too unreservedly on the accounts of the schismatics, and further includes in the 'councils of the Church' the Robber Council of Ephesus which succeeded the Œcumenical Council.⁴ No wonder he can speak so slightly of councils, when he confuses 'concilia' and 'conciliabula,' and prefers the accounts of heretics to the narratives of the synod itself. The letter of the synod to the Pope would have

¹ Cf. *Acta Conciliabuli adv. Cyrillum*.

² 'if I delay.' Cf. p. 341.

³ Cf. *Ep. Cyr. ad Cler. Const.*

⁴ *Infallibility of the Church*, p. 313 et seq.

quite spoilt his thesis, if he had taken that for his authority instead of the letter of the schismatics to the emperor.

XI. Who, then, presided over the council that now met in the Church of St. Mary? According to Dr. Salmon, 'the theory had not yet been heard of in the East which would ascribe the headship of all councils to the Bishop of Rome, present or absent,'¹ and, accordingly, he denies that Celestine was in any sense president at Ephesus. The Bishops of Chalcedon, who asked for delay that they might understand, and thus give an intelligent adhesion to the Tome of St. Leo, thought otherwise, for they speak of the Council of Ephesus as that 'of which the most blessed Celestine, the president of the Apostolic chair, and the most blessed Cyril of great Alexandria, were the governors or presidents,'² whilst the Council of Chalcedon, in its definition of faith, expressly says that the Council of Ephesus was presided over by 'Celestine and Cyril.' And the emperors, in their letter after the Council of Chalcedon, confirming the sentence against Eutyches and the monks who sympathised with him, speak of the Ephesine synod as the occasion 'when the error of Nestorius was excluded, under the presidency of Celestine, of the city of Rome, and Cyril, of the city of Alexandria.' The Empress Pulcheria uses the same expression. We have, too, a large number of letters from various bishops to the Emperor Leo, written after the Council of Chalcedon, in reference to the troubles at Alexandria under Bishop Timothy, most of which allude to the Council of Ephesus, and attribute the presidency to Celestine as well as to Cyril.³ For instance, certain European bishops (and we presume that Dr. Salmon will not rule their witness out of court, coinciding as it does with the 600 bishops of Chalcedon, almost all of them Eastern) depose that the Council of Ephesus was gathered together 'under Celestine, of blessed memory, the successor of the holy and venerable Peter, the guardian of the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and under Cyril, Pontiff of Alexandria, of holy memory.' And the bishops of the province of Isauria speak of Cyril, 'who formerly governed the Church of Alexandria, and openly fought against the folly of Nestorius, and was partaker with blessed

¹ *Loc. cit.*

² *Κυβερνήται*.

³ Mansi, t. vii. 539-623.

Celestine, the Shepherd of the *Safe Church* of the Romans.' This latter, however, does not necessarily involve presidency. But Julian, Bishop of Cos, in his letter to the emperor, calls the Council of Ephesus that over which presided the thrice blessed 'and most holy Fathers, Celestine, Pontiff of the Roman city, and Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria.' And again, the bishops of Upper Armenia call the council that 'of which the presidents were Celestine and Cyril . . . who chiefly shone for them against the wicked blasphemy of Nestorius.' These are but specimens of the letters of the bishops to the same effect.

St. Celestine, then, was the real president of the council, but he presided through St. Cyril, who sat in his name. Canon Bright says that Cyril presided 'not in virtue of the commission from Celestine to act in his stead, which had already been acted upon in the Alexandrian Council of November—but as the prelate of highest dignity then present, and as holding the proxy and representing the mind of the Roman bishop, until the Roman legates should arrive.'¹ But the Acts expressly state, again and again, that Cyril held, not 'the proxy,' but 'the place' of Celestine.² And it does not follow, because the original commission had been 'acted upon' in November, that it had been exhausted in June. Its very terms imply its continuance until the sentence was executed or remitted.³

St. Cyril's position was probably due to two causes: first, as the Bishop of Alexandria, the second 'See of Peter,' he was the natural representative of the Bishop of Rome; and, secondly, he had been originally commissioned by Celestine to act 'in our stead and place,' in 'the affairs' of Nestorius. Those 'affairs' were not yet finished, and there had been no limitation in point of time, nor subsequent withdrawal, in respect of his commission. That Cyril considered himself to be acting as the representative of Celestine, by his commission, appears from his question to Celestine, asking him what he should do in case of Nestorius' retractation. The commission did not express his duty in that event; and Cyril accordingly wrote, as we know from Celestine's letter,⁴ to know what his

¹ *Dict. of Chr. Biogr.* p. 706.

² *E.g.* Mansi, t. iv. p. 1123.

³ *Cf.* p. 309.

⁴ *Ep. Cel. ad Cyr.* in fine, Act ii.

duty would be under such a happy circumstance. He wanted to know whether he should treat Nestorius as no longer a bishop, now that the ten days' grace had elapsed. It is certain from this that St. Cyril considered Celestine's sentence as final, and that he only consented to deal with Nestorius as a bishop by reason of Celestine's permission, which accorded to the heretic a fresh opportunity of retractation. St. Celestine says that he leaves that matter to Cyril, in conjunction with the synod. 'It belongs to your Holiness,' are the Pope's words, 'with the venerable counsel of the brethren, to put down the disturbances that have arisen in the Church, and that we should learn that the matter has been completed (God helping) by the desired correction.' St. Celestine also says that if Nestorius continues in his sin, he will reap the fruit of what will be his own act, *manentibus statutis prioribus*, the previous decisions remaining in force.

It is therefore clear that the Pope's sentence was not so much suspended as devolved upon the council. Had the emperor been orthodox, and not caught by the wiles of Nestorius, he would not have been as keen about the council as he was. The Pope, however, acted in accordance with the rule which St. Gregory the Great also afterwards laid down in such matters, viz. that of submitting to the imperial wishes when they did not run counter to the canons. He expresses the fullest confidence in Cyril and the council, that they will execute the sentence he had passed, with the more solemn apparatus of a conciliar adhesion to the *τύπος* which he had sent to Cyril, Nestorius, and John of Antioch.¹ He looked upon Cyril as the teacher of the council, and virtually owns the commission originally given as still running. The council, therefore, acted with the full permission of the Pope in utilising the imperial convention for giving Nestorius every chance of repentance before executing the original sentence; and St. Cyril acted under commission from the Pope.

There is a letter extant, written by two Alexandrian clerics towards the end of this century, and used by the episcopal legates from Pope Anastasius to the emperor of the same name, which confirms the account here given of St. Cyril's

¹ τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν πάλαι δρισθέντα. *Ep. ad Syn.* M. iv. 1287.

position. In this letter they say that, 'whenever in doubtful matters any councils of bishops are held, His Holiness, who presides over the Church of Rome, used to select the Most Reverend Archbishop of Alexandria to undertake the charge of his own place.' In the case of the Ephesine Council, it was doubly natural that the Patriarch of Alexandria should be 'selected' by Celestine as being the foremost champion of the truth assailed, and as having already had to deal with it in Celestine's name.

There were also peculiar circumstances in this case which would have rendered it difficult for St. Cyril to have assumed that presidency with any chance of success, unless he had had such a special intimation of the Pope's wish in the matter, or felt that he was but continuing on the ground of the original commission from Celestine to execute his sentence. For that it was for this purpose that the council, despite the ideas of the emperor, considered itself convoked, will presently appear.

The circumstances that rendered the position peculiarly difficult for St. Cyril were these. At the first session, the imperial letter, which called the bishops together, appears to have been read, at the suggestion of Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem, by Peter, the Alexandrian notary, and the question was then asked how long an interval had elapsed since the day fixed by the emperor for the meeting of the synod. Memnon, Bishop of Ephesus, gave the number of days, and immediately upon this St. Cyril proposed that without further delay they should proceed to business, speaking of a 'second decree' which, he says, had been read to them by Count Candidian, the imperial representative. But there is no account (cf. Act I.) of this decree having been read. There is, therefore, a hiatus in the record, which has been either mutilated or abbreviated. But the account of the schismatic synod held by John of Antioch on his arrival, supplies a key to the missing portion of the record. That synod laid the greatest stress on the infringement, by Cyril and Memnon, of the imperial decree. Count Candidian told them he had been induced to read that decree under great pressure. He wished to wait for John before reading it, probably a device for putting off the synod; but Cyril compelled him to read it,

on the ground that otherwise they could not know the emperor's desires. Now they knew, apart from this, that the emperor desired them to meet at Pentecost, and that all the metropolitans available were to attend. *The decree, therefore, could not have related solely or principally to that point.* The copy, as we have it, is without the same formal ending as that which was read by Peter, and so we cannot be sure that we have the whole of it. Indeed, its recovery at all is of later date, and the two copies are not in perfect agreement. And Nestorius' letter to the emperor adds one point which is not in the decree as we have it.

It would seem, then, as if this decree (*θέμισμα*) were something to be distinguished from the letter (*γράμμα*) read by Peter, and contained some fuller provision for the ordering of the council, which was set aside by the council itself. The letters of the schismatics to the synod, to the emperors, to the empress, to the clergy of Constantinople, and to its senate, all speak of the violation of this imperial decree. In the letter of the schismatics to the emperor they speak of John's absence from the synod under Cyril as contrary to his order, and add that the council had also infringed the imperial decree, as though in some further way.

In point of fact, we learn from St. Cyril that Nestorius had hoped to preside at the council. The emperor, we know, considered Cyril the guilty party. And it seems probable that Nestorius, by accusing Cyril of Apollinarianism, and by his dexterous management of the emperor, hoped to turn the council into an occasion of examining Cyril. Count Irenæus, in writing to the Orientals, says that if the right order, *i.e.* that which the emperor prescribed, had been observed, the constitution of the council would have been different, and the 'Egyptian' (as he called St. Cyril) 'would not have had it in his power' to condemn Nestorius. We may presume that only two bishops would have attended each metropolitan,¹ and those only such as, according to Nestorius' conceit, understood such matters,² and we know that Count Irenæus also meant that Cyril *would not have sat as judge, being himself one of those under trial* (*οὐδὲ κρῖναι ὡς εἰς ὧν τῶν κρινομένων ἡδύνατο*),

¹ Cf. the imperial letter read by Peter.

² Cf. *Ep. Nest. ad Imper.*

nor, continues the count, 'would he have been able to touch the matter at all, acting as he did contrary to the judgment of the most noble Count Candidian'—from which it is evident that Candidian's contention was that Cyril could not sit as judge of Nestorius. In fact, the imperial decree must have resembled that of Constantine in regard to the Council of Tyre, and the order of Theodosius later on, by which he assigned the presidency of the Robber Council to Dioscorus.

All this was contrary to the canons. And accordingly, at the Council of Ephesus, St. Cyril, either ignoring that part of the decree which related to the mode of procedure, and in obedience only to the rest, or by the expressed desire of the council, or producing the commission he had received from Celestine, continued to occupy the president's seat; and the council preferred the canons, and the Papal appointment, to the imperial decree. Candidian left the council on the ground, as he said afterwards,¹ that he considered the imperial decree was not going to be obeyed. He had been compelled by Cyril to read the decree against his wish. And he must have seen very plainly that the condemnation of Nestorius was a foregone conclusion. There is no reason, on this interpretation, to suppose that Count Candidian told a barefaced lie, as the scholiast notes in the margin; but merely that he was an Erastian, and sympathised with Nestorius. He would have liked Cyril to have been placed, as it were, in the witness-box; he would have liked a discussion as to what the Church believed on the doctrinal question; whereas there was to be no real discussion, but all would be settled by acclamation, and bishops would simply testify to the faith in which they had been baptised, and for the guardianship of which they had been consecrated to their high office. So he complained that there was no real investigation. In fact, the synod, as we shall see, did not exhibit the features of a debating club, nor enter upon Biblical criticism, but simply gave its judgment, bishop after bishop, as to the heterodoxy of Nestorius and the orthodoxy of Cyril, and (which was as important a point as any) as to whether Nestorius had continued teaching his heresy since the Papal judgment, so that its provisions remained in force.

¹ *Acta Conciliab. adv. Cyrillum.* Mansi, iv. 1262.

In concluding this part of the subject, I must express my astonishment at the utterly unhistorical position which Dr. Salmon has taken up in regard to another point; and that too, whilst he is so vigorously opposing the infallibility of the Holy See on the grounds of history. He gives what he considers a convincing proof against the existence of any belief in that doctrine, drawn from the history of these early councils. He says:

'*The only one of the great controversies in which the Pope really did his part in teaching Christians what to believe, was the Eutychian controversy. Leo the Great, instead of waiting, as Popes usually do, till the question was settled, published his sentiments at the beginning, and his letter to Flavian was adopted by the Council of Chalcedon. This is what would have always happened if God had really made the Pope the guide to the Church. But this case is quite exceptional, resulting from the accident that Leo was a good theologian, besides being a man of great vigour of character. No similar influence was exercised either by his predecessors or successors.*'¹

It would be impossible to pen a sentence in more flagrant contradiction to the evidence afforded by the history of the Council of Ephesus.

In the letters of the bishops from all parts of Christendom, which Dr. Salmon will find collected by Labbe, after the Council of Chalcedon, the name of Celestine is of constant occurrence, and always as having been the κυβερνήτης, or pilot, in the matter of Nestorius, whilst the bishops themselves speak of him as 'the guardian of the faith' (cf. Act II.), and the council, as we shall see presently, relies on his letter as the τύπος on which it framed its judgment.

Here, then we leave the various parties concerned: Cyril in the performance of his duty, presiding over the council in St. Mary's Church at Ephesus, with some 200 bishops round him; Nestorius remaining in his own house, prepared to ignore the council—he, as St. Celestine said, who appealed to it, not appearing; John of Antioch remaining at an easy distance from Ephesus out of friendship to Nestorius, in whose con-

¹ Salmon on the *Infallibility of the Church*, p. 426, 2nd edition. Cf. *supra*, p. 278.

² Mansi, iv. 1287.

demnation he was loth to join; Candidian, the Imperial commissioner, having left St. Mary's in disgust at the turn that things were taking; and the people of Ephesus, who had inherited an affectionate devotion to the Mother of God (who had lived nearly four hundred years ago in their midst, and under whose patronage their great church was placed), in a state of the greatest excitement, waiting for her great foe to be condemned; and far away the good Pope lifting up his hands on the mountain, and preparing to send fresh legates to assist the maligned bishop, to whom the Papal sentence had been entrusted.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE ACTS OF THE COUNCIL.

I. So far, then, we have seen that Pope St. Celestine had, at the request of St. Cyril, decreed the sentence of deposition against Nestorius, and then left its execution (if Nestorius should remain obdurate) to St. Cyril and the council; and that the Council (which was, as Dr. Pusey truly observes,¹ in its origin 'the device of Nestorius to ward off his condemnation,' but was agreed to by the Pope) at length met at Ephesus in the Church of 'St. Mary, Mother of God'—'an ill-omened scene' (remarks Dean Milman²) 'for the cause of Nestorius.'

It proceeded to summon Nestorius to answer to the charges against him. Dr. Littledale, in the first edition of his 'Plain Reasons against joining the Church of Rome,'³ gravely informed his readers that 'the Third General Council of Ephesus disregarded the synodical deposition of Nestorius by Pope Celestine, and allowed him to take his seat as Patriarch of Constantinople.' We have already seen that the Pope had not deposed Nestorius at all, but devolved the execution of his sentence on the council. As to the second assertion, as Father Ryder pointed out,⁴ it is 'quite curiously untrue, even for Dr. Littledale.' Nestorius was summoned, but in vain. Three times summoned, he refused to appear. He eventually grounded his refusal on the absence of John of Antioch. The council considered the question of summoning him a fourth time,⁵ but the

¹ S. Cyr. Alex. *Tomes against Nestorius*. *Lib. of the Fathers*, Preface by Dr. Pusey.

² *Hist. of Latin Christianity*, vol. i. p. 208.

³ *Catholic Controversy*. Burns & Oates, 1881.

⁴ P. 191.

⁵ Mansi, t. iv. p. 1138.

threefold summons satisfied the requirements of the canons. They accordingly, after reciting the Nicene Creed, proceeded, in obedience to canonical requirements, to place his teaching before them side by side with the teachings of St. Cyril.

II. The mere fact that the bishops did so seems to some writers to indicate that they did not regard the Holy See as infallible in its judgments. But this is to forget that it was St. Celestine's expressed desire that they should satisfy themselves as to the heterodoxy of Nestorius. And his desire that they should thus give to his judgment a rational adhesion in no way indicates any doubt on his part as to his judgment being, as he himself called it,¹ that of our Lord Himself. It is in strict accordance with Catholic teaching that the bishops should be called upon to act thus. Those who oppose the Catholic Church in these days seem strangely unwilling to take her doctrine as to her claims from her own lips. She does not claim for the Holy See, as Dr. Bright² seems to make her claim, an apostolical authority which concentrates, *in the sense of excluding*, all other authority; she does not claim infallibility for the Vicar of Christ as isolated from the body, but as its head, one with the body. This is so important that we will give the Catholic doctrine on the subject, as it is luminously expounded by one who, for his writings on this subject, received the special blessing of Pius IX. Father Bottalla says:³

'We maintain, with St. Cyprian and all the Fathers, that the bishops are as the circumference of a circle, so that in order to have perfect unity in the Church they must cleave to each other so far as to keep the pale of Christ's Church entirely closed against schismatics and heretics. Moreover, we maintain that *the bishops must cleave to the centre of the circle, so that they may be gathered into a perfect unity*;⁴ and finally, that the chair of St. Peter and consequently the Pope, is the centre and the source of episcopal unity. In this view it is impossible to say that the circle is the centre alone, or that a centre of a circle could exist without any circumference. We cannot say that a human body is the head alone detached

¹ Mansi, t. iv. p. 1050.

² *Church History*, p. 336.

³ *Infall. of the Pope*, p. 141.

⁴ Which implies an act of judgment.

from the rest, or that there could be a human head separated from a body acting in its normal manner. In like manner we cannot say that the Church without bishops is the whole, or that the Pope might act as Pope in a state of isolation from the episcopal body. . . . If the Church be indefectible, it must be indefectible in unity of government as well as in unity of faith. In no case, then, can we conceive the Pope as in formal isolation from the episcopal body. . . . What is the province of the episcopal element in the monarchy of the Church? It is certain, not only that the episcopal body can never be superseded in the Church by the Pope, but also that it can never be deprived of its inherent jurisdiction in the general government of the Church, although there is no difficulty as to restrictions and limitations being placed by the Pope upon the exercise of their jurisdiction, should necessity require such a course. Moreover, the bishops, either in their own dioceses or in the oecumenical councils, are the natural judges of questions concerning faith, although under the guidance, and subject to the judgment, of the Roman Pontiff. . . . The power given to the aristocratic episcopal body was not intended by Christ to control or to reform the government and the teaching of the supreme ruler of the Church, but to give efficacy to his action on the whole body, to diffuse to every part the streams of divine life, and to draw tighter the bonds of unity which link together the whole structure.'

The bishops, then, according to what some writers will persist in calling the Ultramontane theory, have a real function to perform in a general council. As Benedict XIV. says:¹ 'Bishops in a general council assist (*assident*) the Supreme Pontiff, not as mere counsellors, but also as judges.' But as Fénelon said:² 'To judge after the judgment of the Pontiff is to join one's own judgment with that of the Pontiff. On this understanding the bishops in olden times subscribed the decrees of the general councils. Their submission was a judgment and their judgment was submission.'

The bishops, then, at the Council of Ephesus were called upon to pass judgment on the teaching of Nestorius, not with

¹ *De Syn. Diac.* lib. xiii. c. 2, n. 2, 469. Romæ, 1755.

² *Instr. Pastor.* April 20, 1715.

the idea that the τύπος, or judicial sentence formulated by St. Celestine, could be revised, but to execute it, and to add the weight of their collective judgment to that of the Holy See. Their united judgment would give to the sentence an extension of weight, without adding to its intrinsic authority.¹

Dean Milman's sarcasm is the simple truth: 'The Bishop of Constantinople was already a condemned heretic; the business of the council was only the confirmation of their [Cyril and Celestine's] anathema,' &c.²

Or, as Dr. Pusey correctly says: 'The mind of the Church had been expressed in the previous year.'

And St. Celestine had told St. Cyril that, in spite of his having fixed so short a time for Nestorius to consider the question of retracting, he did not regret a certain delay which resulted from the apparatus of a council being called into action.

III. Accordingly the members of the council, after reciting the Nicene Creed, and listening to Cyril's second letter to Nestorius, drawn up in synod in obedience to the commission entrusted to him by the Pope, for the most part one by one, stamped its contents with their episcopal approval.³ Nestorius' letter was then read and solemnly condemned as containing heretical matter, by most bishops in turn individually, and by the rest collectively. Dr. Salmon's sweeping accusations against the councils of the Church do not hold in regard to at least this session of the Council of Ephesus. 'There was,' he says, 'no idea then but that what one council had done another council might improve on'—an assertion which he makes by way of proving that 'there was no suspicion of its infallibility,' i.e. of that of the Nicene settlement.⁴ It is difficult to understand how anyone could make the assertion in the face of all that is said to the contrary in the Acts of the Councils, or after reading the answers of the individual bishops in the first session at Ephesus.⁵

It was next proposed by the Bishop of Jerusalem that the

¹ 'Extensivè non intensivè'—Bellarmine.

² *Hist. of Latin Christianity*, vol. i. p. 206.

³ Mansi, t. iv. pp. 1138-70.

⁴ *Infall. of the Church*, p. 312.

⁵ Mansi, t. iv. pp. 1170-78.

letter of St. Celestine should be read, which sentenced Nestorius to excommunication from the universal Church. It was accordingly read, and received without discussion.¹ The place which this letter held in their estimation is seen in the report which the synod wrote to the emperors, in which they speak of it as having 'preceded their own judgment in the condemnation of the heretical dogmas of Nestorius,' and as having been indited by way of 'providing for the safety of the Churches and of the holy and life-giving faith as handed down to us by the holy Apostles, Evangelists, and holy Fathers,'² and the supreme part which it played in the final condemnation of Nestorius is further stated, as we shall presently see, in the very terms of their own sentence. Further letters of St. Cyril's were then read, which, according to the declaration of Peter, the Alexandrian notary, were 'in conformity with' the Pope's letter just read.

The actual delivery of the Pope's letter and of those of St. Cyril, which executed the Papal sentence, was then sworn to by proper witnesses, viz. the bishops who delivered them.

One important point yet remained to be established. The Papal sentence was conditional on Nestorius' continued obstinacy. If he retracted, the council was authorised by the Pope³ to deal with the matter as it might think best. Had Nestorius, then, continued to teach the same heresy? He had. He had uttered his blasphemies in Ephesus itself. It was enough. It only remained to read some of the writings of the holy Fathers, whose teachings the Pope had delivered,⁴ and, further, the opposed 'blasphemies' (as they called them) to be found in Nestorius' commentaries—together with a letter from Capreolus, Bishop of Carthage, in the name of the African Church, begging that 'the authority of the Apostolic See'⁵ might be respected, and all novelties repudiated—and they could now proceed to deliver the sentence. The terms of the sentence are of supreme importance for determining the place which the Holy See occupied in the judgment of the

¹ Mansi, t. iv. p. 1179.

² *Ibid.* t. iv. p. 1239 c.

³ *Ep. Cel. ad Cyr.*, Mansi, t. iv. p. 1292.

⁴ *Cf. Relatio Syn. ad Imperat.*, Harduin. p. 1099.

⁵ Mansi, t. iv. p. 1207.

Catholic bishops at Ephesus. Did they or did they not act in obedience to the Pope? The terms of the sentence leave us in no doubt on this point. There are words in that sentence which are decisive, and which define the Eastern idea of Papal authority. The Fathers of the council speak of themselves as acting in obedience to the Holy See. They say they acted under necessity. They speak of Nestorius' disobedience to their summons having compelled them to enter on the investigation of his impious teachings in his absence; of their having convicted him from his letters and commentaries, and his utterances even in the city of Ephesus itself; and they proceed to say that 'necessarily compelled by the canons and by the letter of our most Holy Father and fellow-minister Celestine,'¹ they had concurred after many tears in the sorrowful sentence to the effect that our Lord Jesus Christ, whom he had blasphemed, pronounces by this holy synod that he is deprived of his episcopal dignity and excluded from the assemblies of the Church.

'Necessarily compelled by the canons and by the letter of our most Holy Father and fellow-minister Celestine!' Such was their position.

First, the canons. The reference is to their having acted in the absence of Nestorius. In several places they speak of their having satisfied the requirements of the canons through their threefold summons of the heretic. They had given him the opportunity of answering the charge brought against him, four bishops having repaired to his house to acquaint him of the position of things; and John of Antioch had expressly commissioned two bishops to tell the synod not to wait for him. 'Do your work,' were his words, 'if I delay.' There had therefore been no violation of canon law. By the canons they were free to act, and indeed compelled, although the guilty party was not present.

Secondly, the womb out of which their entire action and their final judgment sprang was the letter of the Pope.² They

¹ Mansi, t. iv. pp. 1211-12.

² The preposition by which they express their obedience to the canons is *ἀπό*; that by which they express their obedience to the letter of the Holy Father is *ἐκ*. That the words 'necessarily compelled' apply to the letter, as well as to the canons, is clear from the conjunctions used.

were compelled to act by reason of the letter of him who was at once their 'Holy Father' and their 'fellow-minister,' in other words, their equal in sacerdotal dignity,¹ but their superior in authority. He had been asked by St. Cyril *τυπῶσαι τὸ δοκοῦν*, to formulate the dogmatic decree. He had given the *τύπος* in the letters written to Cyril, Nestorius, the clergy of Constantinople, and John of Antioch, but especially in the letter to Nestorius which was read in synod. The council *could* do nothing else than yield obedience to this letter. This the bishops declare they have done. Their action in condemning the Archbishop of Constantinople *in his absence* from the synod was covered by the canons; their action in condemning him at all was, they averred, a simple necessity after the letter of the Pope. Although exercising a real judgment on the subject, as the record shows they did, they were yet under a moral impossibility of differing from the Papal sentence; they were, they say, 'necessarily compelled [*ἀπό*] by the canons and by [*ἐκ*] the letter of the Holy Father;' and in delivering this sentence, which they thus declare to be in its origin and power that of the Pope, they profess to be acting with the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is, they say, His sentence. What Celestine said of the sentence as it passed from his lips, that it was 'the judgment of Christ, who is God,' the Ephesine Council also said of its execution and promulgation by themselves. Pope and council together claim the prerogative of infallibility: the Pope in defining the relationship of Nestorius' teaching to the Christian faith, the council, in judging after the Pope, 'necessarily compelled' by His Holiness' decision.

Bossuet, who frequently soars above the mists of Gallican prejudices, rightly says² that the council was not necessary, but it was expedient, on account of the trouble that Nestorius was able to create through his influence at court. The council, therefore, was careful to note that its decision did not derogate from the compulsory nature of the Papal decision, but presumed it; it was, though the act of free men, not, in every sense, a free action; it was a matter of duty to join themselves as members to their head,³ it was their own assertion

¹ *συλλειτουργοῦ*.

² *Def. Decl. Cleri Gallicani*.

³ Mansi, t. iv. p. 1200 c.

of their membership in the teaching body. The obligation which was thus laid upon them by the canons could only refer to Nestorius' disobedience to the synod, which compelled it to enter upon the question *without his own defence*. No canon had dealt with his dogmatic error; but the canons provided for the judicial treatment of a heretic. But the letter of Celestine, which laid them under this obligation to obedience, had respect not only to the deposition of Nestorius, but to his heresy,¹ for it provided that his deposition should follow on his refusal to retract his error in regard to the matter of faith within ten days. And although the Pontiff had left the execution of his sentence, including its delay (if deemed advisable) to the synod, he had not left it open to them to acquit Nestorius in the event of his obstinate adherence to his error. This obstinacy had now been established by competent witnesses, and the council, having complied with the provisions of the canons in summoning him three times, was 'necessarily compelled,' in obedience to the Papal sentence, to depose and excommunicate the archbishop. But how, as Ballerini asks, could the Ephesine Fathers be 'necessarily compelled' by the letter of Celestine, unless they were 'necessarily compelled' to preserve a unity of faith with the Roman Pontiff?

Now, how do those writers deal with this momentous utterance of the council who maintain the independence of national Churches?

It is not put in evidence at all by Canon Bright in his article in Smith's 'Dictionary of Christian Biography' on St. Cyril, nor in that by Mr. Ffoulkes on the Council of Ephesus; neither does it appear in Canon Bright's 'History of the Church,' where the sentence on Nestorius is thus described: 'And the prelates proceeded to depose and excommunicate Nestorius in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom he has "blasphemed"' (p. 333).

There is no allusion to the letter of Celestine here.

It does not appear in Canon Robertson's 'History of the Church'—a work which has figured much on the list of books recommended to candidates for ordination in the Established

¹ Cf. Ballerini, *De Vi et Ratione Primatus Rom. Pontif.* c. xiii. § 11.

Church. Dean Milman¹ quotes a part of the sentence, but omits the crucial words 'by the letter of our Most Holy Father and fellow-minister Celestine.' He even gives the Greek in a foot-note, with the same omission, marking that there is an omission. Dr. Wordsworth seems to go a step beyond these writers. He omits the crucial word 'compelled.' His version of the synod's sentence is:² 'They then declared that in accordance with the canons of the Church, and with the letter of their Most Holy Father and brother-minister, Celestine, bishop of the Roman Church,' &c.

'In accordance with' is certainly not an accurate translation of 'necessarily compelled by,' nor is it even a fair paraphrase of the same. A very strong and exhaustive term is here used in the Greek.³ And not content with a word which contains the idea of tremendous force, they add to it the adverb 'necessarily.'⁴ And it must be remembered that the Greek is the original here; that it was drawn up by Easterns, and that it was the Greek which the Eastern Fathers actually signed.

The sentence thus expressed and signed, the Fathers issued forth from their oecumenical synod. The citizens of Ephesus were in an ecstasy of joy. They had waited for the sentence in eager expectation, not as doubting the truth, but as looking forward to its confirmation. And upon the council's leaving St. Mary's at the close of the day, they burst into the wildest applause, and attended the orthodox bishops home with every token of honour, Cyril coming in, as well he might, for the lion's share of their attention. Torchlight processions and incense accompanied the members of the synod to their residences, and the very ladies of Ephesus turned out to manifest their joy at the vindication of the glory of their sex, the 'great Mother of God, Mary most holy.'

Candidian, the emperor's legate, on the contrary, soon had the notices from the city walls torn down. The synod had defeated his hopes; but he was bent on causing trouble, as the event proved. Dr. Littledale thinks that he makes a

¹ *Hist. of Lat. Christianity*, vol. i. p. 211 (4th and revised edition).

² *Church History*, vol. iv. p. 216.

³ κατεπευχθέντες, which is a strong form of ἐπειχθέντες.

⁴ ἀναγκάως. Cf. St. Irenæus on the necessity of agreeing with Rome, p. 86.

point against the 'Petrine claims' of Rome when he adduces the fact that 'no practical impression was made on Nestorius or the bishops of his party' ¹ by the Papal sentence; and Dr. Salmon holds ² that the mere fact that the decision of a council was not received at once on all sides is fatal to the infallibility of oecumenical councils—an argument which would summarily dispose of our Lord's Divinity. One of the most recent theories about our Lord's miracles is that since everybody did not at once yield assent to His claims, no miracles could have been worked; and Dr. Salmon's is only the same argument applied to the Church. Certainly Nestorianism did not cease to be; indeed, it seemed for a moment as though after the council's judgment it might gain the upper hand. But what of that? These writers have failed to appreciate one of the leading facts of human history, viz. the fall of man. Men who could repudiate the truth concerning the Incarnation could and did rebel against the Holy See and against any number of councils. Nestorius, then, and his followers, instead of submitting to Pope or councils, had their weapons ready; and John of Antioch was to be led into serious sin before the ultimate triumph of the great Patriarch of Alexandria.

St. Celestine, foreseeing or being fully acquainted with the difficulties of the position, had sent three legates to reinforce the council. There is no evidence that St. Cyril knew of their near approach. By the time of their arrival the emperor's party had sufficiently exerted themselves to prevent the further use of St. Mary's by the orthodox bishops, who accordingly met in the house of Memnon, the Bishop of Ephesus. The Papal legates had instructions from St. Celestine not to mix themselves up with any discussions, but simply to act as judges and to carry out his sentence. Accordingly, in this new session the bishops submitted their action in the previous session to the judgment of the legates, and asked them to confirm it. Philip, legate of 'the Apostolic throne,' as the Acts describe him, said, in his opening speech, that Celestine had 'long ago decided' the present matters by his letters, ³ but that he now sends fresh letters for 'the

¹ *Petrine Claims*, p. 98.

² *Infallibility of the Church*, p. 426, c.

³ Mansi, t. iv. col. 1282, b.

confirmation of the Catholic Faith.' Cyril proposed that the letters of the Pope should be read 'with the honour that befits them.' They were accordingly read in Latin and Greek, Philip having first said that it was in accordance with custom that the letters of the Apostolic See should be read first in Latin. The Papal letter speaks of the synod as being a witness to the presence of the Holy Spirit, and expresses the conviction that the same Lord who presided over the Council at Jerusalem will be present at Ephesus and teach them. All bishops have received the Holy Ghost; all have received a common command to preach the name of the Lord in place of the Apostles whom they succeed. He then refers to Timothy having been left by St. Paul at Ephesus, and compares them to Timothy. The Pope's expression suggests a similar relationship between himself and the bishops in synod to that which existed between St. Paul the Apostle and St. Timothy, Bishop of Ephesus. He ends with the assurance that they will see that what *he has decided* concerning Nestorius is 'in behalf of the security and freedom from trouble of all the Churches,' and that they will therefore not hesitate to give in their adhesion to 'what was long ago decided by us,' which he has sent his legates to execute.¹

This letter, on being read, elicited applause from the bishops, who, taking up the injunction in the last sentence, cried out, 'This is a just *decision*,' and the synod exclaimed that it thanked 'Celestine, a new Paul' (in allusion to the Pope's reference to St. Paul's admonition to Timothy), 'Cyril, a new Paul' (Cyril who had represented the Pope), 'Celestine, the guardian of the faith (*τῷ φύλακι τῆς πίστεως*), Celestine of one mind with the synod,' 'one Celestine, one Cyril, one faith of the synod, one faith of the whole world.'

These utterances as to the unity of the Church contain a volume of theology, and taken together with what had preceded them they exactly illustrate the idea of the Church's action in a general council as described above (p. 330.)

The Pope appears in them as the source of infallibility; the council's action is stated to be the sequence of his; it is an actual exercise of judgment in the shape of an intelligent

¹ Mansi, t. iv. col. 1287, b.

adhesion to the Papal sentence; and the result of all is the exhibition of the Church's unity as a whole.

This, too, is the description of the situation given almost in so many words by Projectus, one of the episcopal legates of the Pope. He speaks of the *τύπος* afforded by Celestine's letters, and says that the Pope has exhorted their Holiness, not as though teaching the ignorant, but as reminding those who know. He applies to Celestine's action the very word, when translated into Greek (as it appears in the Acts), which Celestine had used of St. Paul when he 'admonished' Timothy as Bishop of Ephesus; and speaks of their office as being that of 'bringing the matter to a perfect end,' so that their action was to be the consummation of the apostolic sentence of the Pope.

Firmus, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, now answered for the council, and his answer is most important. He speaks of the 'Apostolic and holy throne' having given the 'decision and sentence'¹ in the affair of Nestorius, to Alexandria, Jerusalem, Thessalonica, Constantinople, and Antioch, which (he says) we, the bishops of the synod, have followed.² He says that the limit of time allowed to Nestorius by Celestine for reformation had long passed when they reached Ephesus; that the emperor had fixed the time for their meeting; that they had summoned Nestorius and he had not obeyed their summons, and that accordingly they had executed the sentence (*τὸν τύπον ἐξεβίβασαμεν*) by passing a *canonical* and *apostolical* judgment against him. Canonical, he doubtless meant in allusion to the terms of the sentence 'necessarily compelled by the canons;' 'apostolical' in allusion to the letter of their Holy Father Celestine, by which also they were 'compelled.'

After this clear description of the situation, Arcadius, the third legate, thanking God for their arrival on the scene, asks that the proceedings of the council be read. Philip the legate asks the same, in accordance with Celestine's injunctions, congratulating the holy and venerable synod that they have 'joined themselves as holy members to the holy head by their holy exclamations'—again a perfect description of the office of

¹ ψήφον καὶ τύπον. Mansi, t. iv. col. 1290.

² ᾧ ἀκολουθήσαντες κ. τ. λ.

a general council as given above by Fénelon, 'Their submission was a judgment and their judgment was submission.' Philip asks for the proceedings of the synod previous to the arrival of the legates to be shown that they may confirm them. Theodotus, Bishop of Ancyra, remarks that:

'The God of all has shown that the sentence of the synod is just by the auspicious arrival¹ of the letters of the Godfearing bishop Celestine, and by the presence of your Piety.'

And the legates retired that night to their residence with the Acts of the first session, to peruse them in quiet.

IV. Meanwhile,² John of Antioch had arrived with a following of several disreputable and disqualified bishops, together with a few others who would naturally have formed part of the synod. The former were men who lay under accusation of various kinds, some of them not having dioceses in consequence of misconduct. This description of them is given by the whole orthodox synod, again and again, even to the emperor himself. Strange to say, some writers prefer the statement of these men to the account given by the orthodox bishops of the council. Yet the latter were, according to St. Vincent of Lerins,³ men of peculiar ability and holiness; and they were on the side of divine truth, engaged in a struggle for the truth of the Incarnation. It is infinitely to the credit of Dr. Pusey that he should have set himself against the stream of Anglican writers on this point. He stands, we believe, alone in defending St. Cyril against the accusation of impatience and in giving the same account of John of Antioch's delay as the synod itself gives. In opposition to Canon Bright's argument⁴ that John of Antioch would have wished to be there at Ephesus *before* the arrival of the legates (which supposes that he wished to be there at all, and that he knew of the approach of the legates—both of them gratuitous assumptions), Dr. Pusey

¹ ἐπιφοιτήσει—a word which is generally used of the arrival of a messenger from God, especially of the Holy Spirit. Cf. Dindorf, *Steph. Thesaur.* vol. iii. p. 1881.

² The second session of the council was on July 10. John of Antioch reached Ephesus on June 27, and held the Conciliabulum the same day.

³ *Commonit.* i. 42.

⁴ *Hist. of the Church*, p. 331, adopted also by Neale, *Hist. of E. Church*, bk. i. § 2, originally suggested by Tillemont.

maintains¹ that John of Antioch might easily have arrived in time, and that there is no conceivable motive for his delay, except what the synod gives on information which it had received from adequate sources. 'Why should he delay,' asks Dr. Pusey, 'except that he did not wish to be there?'

The passage in Evagrius on which Dr. Bright relies, both in his 'History' and in his more recent article in the 'Dictionary of Christian Biography,' is not sufficient to settle the question. Evagrius was an Antiochene, if not by birth at least by residence, and he merely gives the fact that many, doubtless Antiochenes also, thought there was excuse for John: and the reading of the passage is not certain. And Evagrius is certainly inaccurate in the same passage in saying that Cyril asked Theodosius to convene the council, as also in another statement, that Nestorius promised to attend the synod on the first summons.

Hefele's account, according to which John of Antioch's message that they should proceed without him, refers to the time of the reception of his message, and not to a time subsequent to that, is in strict accordance with the only evidence we have; and accordingly, the Protestant editor of Clarke's translation of Hefele's work says in his Preface² with regard to Cyril, that 'there seems no reason to doubt that his antagonists purposely delayed their arrival, and gave him to understand that the proceedings might begin. At any rate, the author [viz. Bishop Hefele] appears to have stated the case with all possible accuracy.'

On his arrival at Ephesus, John of Antioch, refusing to listen to the deputation of orthodox bishops, which endeavoured to provide him with proper information, proceeded in the utmost haste to hold a synod of these otherwise unsatisfactory bishops, and after listening to an *ex parte* and most untruthful statement from Count Candidian, deposed and excommunicated Cyril and Memnon.

The turmoil in Ephesus can be better imagined than described. John did not, indeed, express sympathy with the teaching of Nestorius, but he professed to discern a fatal flaw

in the mode of his deposition by the council, as being contrary both to the imperial rescript and to the canons. It is needless to say that he paid no manner of attention to either of these authorities in his own proceedings. He was completely led away by the disquiet spirits who had gathered round him, some of whom had been deposed by Rome, and others were under accusation for various charges; although he would probably have said that he was not setting himself up against the Pope, but had only taken the part of a man who, although teaching falsely, was being persecuted by Cyril and his associates. Fortunately he was prevented from consecrating another bishop in place of Memnon at Ephesus, as he was minded to do.

¹ Cf. Cyril of Alex. *Tomes against Nestorius*, Preface, p. lxxx.

² Preface to Hefele's *Hist. of the Council*, English translation, p. viii.

CHAPTER XX.

THE SEE OF PETER 'CONFIRMING THE BRETHREN.'

I. SUCH was the state of things when the true council re-assembled to hear the judgment of the Papal legates as to the execution of the Papal sentence at their first session, whose minutes the legates had now perused at home.

Philip takes the foremost place, and at once declares that the judgment of the synod in its first session had been passed on thoroughly canonical and ecclesiastical lines; and he asks that the minutes be read over again publicly, in order that, 'following the sentence of the most holy Pope Celestine, who undertook this care [*i.e.* the care of this matter], we may be able to confirm the decisions of your Holiness.'

Arcadius seconds Philip's proposal, and the sentence of the synod was read again, containing the crucial words 'compelled of necessity by the canons and by the letter of our Holy Father and brother-minister Celestine,' &c. Then it was that Philip rose and pronounced the definite judgment on the proceedings of the council as it sat, with Cyril at its head, and listened to the most elaborate and careful statement of the relation of the Holy See to the rest of the Catholic Church.

His words are too important to be given in paraphrase only. He says: ¹ 'It is doubtful to no one, but rather has been known to all ages, that the holy and most blessed Peter, the prince and head of the Apostles, and pillar of the faith, the foundation of the Catholic Church, received of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour and Redeemer of the human race, the keys of the kingdom, and power was given to him to bind

¹ Mansi, t. iv. col. 1295.

and loose sins; who, up to this time and always lives and exercises judgment in his successors. In accordance, therefore, with this order, his successor holding his place, our holy and most blessed Father Celestine has sent us to this synod to supply his presence.'

He proceeds to say that all having been done regularly, and Nestorius having refused to attend the synod, what has been pronounced against him is 'firm,' holds good, according to the decision of all the Churches, for East and West are present together at this 'sacerdotal assembly.' So let Nestorius know that he is outside the communion of the Catholic Church.

Arcadius followed in the same strain. His points were that Nestorius had been admonished 'by the letters of the Apostolic See,' and then also by the synod; that he had not made use of the time accorded to him for coming round to a better mind; that he had not accepted the sentence of the Apostolic See (*τύπον τῆς ἀποστολικῆς καθέδρας*) nor the admonition of all the holy bishops; consequently, in obedience ¹ to the decisions delivered by Celestine, the most holy Pope of the Apostolic See, and to the decrees of the holy synod (we say), let Nestorius know that he has been deprived ² of the episcopal dignity, and is excluded from the whole Catholic Church and the communion of all the bishops.

Projectus says that on the same grounds he decides with the authority of a 'commission from the holy Apostolic See, as executor, in fellowship with his brethren, of the sentence,' that Nestorius is forthwith bereft of the honour of the episcopate and of communion with the orthodox bishops.

II. Such is the position which was occupied by the Papal legates. There can be no mistake about the significance of their utterances. It is not possible to express the position of Rome in the Catholic Church in plainer terms. Her position, according to these statements, is that of judge in matters of faith, and of ruler in matters of discipline. That position is traced to a divine institution. She is asserted to be the See of

¹ ἀκολουθήσαντες, which is opposed to the non-acceptance or disobedience of Nestorius.

² It is the Greek perfect, indicating the still enduring result of a past act.

St. Peter, and as such, by reason of the position of principedom bestowed on him by our Divine Lord, she is proclaimed the head of the Catholic Church. As such she has responded to St. Cyril's request, *τυπῶσαι τὸ δοκοῦν*, that she would formulate the dogmatic sentence. The synod has followed that sentence, and therefore the legates, in the name of Celestine, the occupant of the Apostolic See, are prepared to confirm the act of the synod. This is the pith of the legates' speeches.

Now if this position was quietly accepted, we have at an œcumenical council an emphatic condemnation of the Anglican position as contradicting and rebelling against that form of unity which Christ established in His Church. If the Anglican position is to be defended on the ground of conformity with the principles of Church life that have the sanction of the œcumenical councils, history must record some protest against the position taken up by the legates at the Council of Ephesus. Anglicans proudly turn to history. No words can be more scathing than those in which Canon Carter¹ and Mr. Gore, for instance, denounce what they are pleased to call Roman Catholic disregard for history, and assert their own superior attention to its verdict. Bishop King, of Lincoln, follows suit.² And yet the Anglican Church takes its stand, as did the Lambeth Conference,³ on the first four œcumenical councils. Well, we open the Acts of the Councils, and what do we find? Here at Ephesus is the teaching of the Catholic Roman Church described in full, and we look in vain for any protest, any one dissentient voice, any sign whatever of disagreement.⁴ On the contrary, Cyril forthwith appeals to the synod, saying that the bishops have heard what the legates have said, that the legates have spoken as 'occupying the place of the Apostolic See, and of all the holy synod of God-beloved and most

¹ Cf. *Roman Question*, chapter on 'Ideas of Truth'; and Gore's *R. C. Claims*, p. 109, 2nd edition.

² Preface to *Primitive Saints*, &c., passim.

³ Dr. Salmon repudiates the authority of the councils to such an extent that, although his book is used by High Churchmen, its theory is not the same as that of the Lambeth Conference of the Anglican Episcopate.

⁴ Mr. Puller (*Primitive Saints*, p. 184) calls the doctrine of Philip at Ephesus 'new and therefore false'; the council accepts it as old and therefore true. What Philip said was 'suitable.'

holy bishops in the West; that they have executed what has been prescribed to them by Celestine; that they have given their approval to the sentence of the holy synod against Nestorius, and that consequently they should be asked to set their signature to the same, and that the records of what was done yesterday and to-day should be added to the previous Acts.

The whole council responds to Cyril's proposal, and says, 'Since Arcadius and Projectus, the reverend and pious bishops and legates, and Philip, presbyter and legate of the Apostolic See, have spoken what is suitable, they ought to confirm the Acts by their signature.'¹

It is enough. We ought to hear nothing about 'history' from those who refuse to obey the See of St. Peter on the ground that it is not the divinely appointed centre of unity to the Catholic Church. We ought, at least, to hear no such accusations as to Rome's disregard for history as are indulged in by some writers, whose position is absolutely excluded by the history of the Council of Ephesus. We ought to hear no more of the theory that the teaching of the Church of Rome is only a continuation of 'a school of thought,' as Mr. Gore holds, or of an 'innovation of the Church's laws,' as Dr. Little-dale held, due to the powerful character of St. Leo the Great. The Council of Ephesus was held twenty years before the Council of Chalcedon; and at the Council of Ephesus the theory of the Church's government which these writers persist in calling an innovation was in full working order, and was declared to be based on a truth acknowledged 'by all ages.' The teaching of the Vatican decree on this subject was the teaching of the Fathers of Ephesus, and it was the rule of their conduct. Consider the whole drama of the council's decision. Commencing with some hesitation, considering the difficult circumstances in which they were placed, the Fathers of the council rise to the occasion, and, amid many tears, as they say, pass their sentence in accordance with, and in obedience to that of the See of St. Peter. They have the emperor against them; they presently have the patriarch of one of the three Petrine Sees against them; they have troops of soldiers

¹ Mansi, t. iv. col. 1299.

brought from Lydia against them, and peasants from the worst parts of Constantinople, creating a scene of confusion, and stirring up the indignation of the inhabitants of the city, who were all, nevertheless, on the side of Cyril and the orthodox bishops; but in the face of all this turmoil, the synod calmly and judiciously enters upon the work for which it had been convoked by the emperor, and which had been entrusted to its care (as itself says) by the 'Holy Apostolic See.' And now, reinforced by legates from the Apostolic throne, the whole tone of the synod rises, and with mutual congratulations, the entire body—the holy members joining themselves to their holy head, not being ignorant [as Philip says] that the blessed Apostle Peter is the head of *the whole affair*, and even of the Apostles—exhibits its perfect unity in the condemnation and extrusion of the heretic from communion with itself. The bishops had written to the emperor immediately after the first session, but now they write again in bolder terms, informing him that Celestine had indicated the line of judgment which they too had adopted, that he had sent Cyril to hold his place—a direct reversal of the imperial wish—and that he now afresh signified the same mind, having sent letters by his legates, Arcadius, Projectus and Philip. These men (they say) expressed the mind of the entire West, and have declared their oneness with the synod, so that 'the whole world is of one mind.' The synod thereupon ventures a step further, and requests the emperor not to disturb them any more with 'sacræ jussiones' in Nestorius' behalf, and they ask to be released, that they may return to their various homes.

Now it will naturally be asked, How do Anglican writers deal with the crucial words which fell from Philip's lips?

We have failed to find them in full in any Anglican writer.¹ No one of those from whose writings we have quoted has

¹ Since the above was written a book has appeared called *Leadership, not Lordship*, in which these words are given; but they are accompanied by a misstatement of the facts. The writer speaks of the words of Philip having been only 'accepted in the sense of not being contradicted in words,' which is not true; and he speaks, in the same sentence, of the 'absolutely independent [*sic*] judgment and action of the council.' This is in simple defiance of the council's own words—'necessarily compelled,' &c.

given his readers the benefit of Philip's speech in full. Neither does any one of them connect it rightly with its context. Dr. Littledale alludes to it only to pass it by as the private opinion of the Papal legate. But this, as we have seen, is not true. It does not occur in Dr. Wordsworth's rather full account of the council, nor in Dean Milman's. Dr. Neale says simply, 'the legate Philip, after dwelling on the primacy [*sic*] of St. Peter's chair,' &c.¹ Dr. Bright is the only Anglican writer of prominence that has dealt with Philip's words, of which his account is as follows:² 'Next day, in the third session, the legate Philip, having magnified the successor of Peter as inheriting his authority, joined with his two companions in affirming the sentence against Nestorius.'

This is a somewhat meagre summary of this all-important session; but in a note Dr. Bright gives a short quotation from the said speech with comments: 'Peter (said Philip) was the head of the Apostles, and "even now and always³ lives and judges in his successors." On the whole, what Rome said in 431 amounts to this: "All bishops succeed the Apostles, but Celestine, as heir of him who was the foremost Apostle, has a right to be foremost among bishops." Rome did *not* say, as she now practically says, "The apostolic authority is concentrated in St. Peter's successor." There is nothing strange in Celestine's charge to the legates to maintain the authority of Rome.'

What Dr. Bright's explanation does not meet is the assertion that the primacy of the successor of Peter is, according to Philip *and the council*, of divine institution; and that, taking into account the context of the words, they indicate a belief that the apostolic authority of the Church cannot be exercised in antagonism to the judgment of the 'Apostolic throne.' We must repeat, and it cannot be too often repeated, that the Vatican decree does not teach that the action or judgment of the 'Holy Apostolic See' *exhausts* the exercise

¹ *History of the Eastern Church*, bk. ii. § ii. The word 'primacy,' amongst Anglicans, generally means something less than supremacy. In Catholic terminology the two are identical.

² *History of the Church*, p. 336.

³ Fleury and Ceillier omit the word 'always,' although there is no difference in the original.

of apostolic authority in the Church, but that it informs it, to use a scholastic term; it does not exclude the apostolic authority of the episcopate, but is necessary to it; it is not the act of the whole Church, but of the Head of the Church. Only it is involved in the promises of her Divine Head, that the earthly Head, His vicar, shall not lead the members astray, and that there shall never be separation between the Head and members: that is to say, the Church shall never die. The members, by their separation, cease to be living members. The Holy Apostolic See will live on till the day of doom with such members as He alone knows will be joined to their Head, for the gates of hell shall not prevail against her.¹

III. In the next session of the synod, Cyril, still presiding, brought forward his own case and that of Memnon, the Bishop of Ephesus. John of Antioch had allowed himself to be so far led away by the bad company in which he found himself, that he had synodically condemned, excommunicated, and deposed both Cyril and Memnon. Cyril could afford to treat such madness with contempt. But he had to deal with an emperor who was opposed to him, and with future generations. He might have fallen back simply and solely on his union with the successor of St. Peter; but the matter was one which had arisen since his communication with Celestine. Accounts were already being sent to the emperor by Candidian; and Nestorius and the Patriarch of Antioch both leant on the imperial arm. At any moment he might find himself in prison, as, indeed, soon actually happened. Every moment, therefore, was of importance.

Accordingly the synod met again, and Cyril asked the bishops for their vote on John of Antioch's conduct towards himself and Memnon. In stating their cases he gives a short summary of what had happened, in which precisely the same

¹ Mr. Puller (*Prim. Saints*, p. 184), quoting part of Philip's words, adds, 'We must certainly say that all this is new doctrine: new and therefore false; an attempt to give a religious sanction to the great position which the Roman Pontiffs had acquired mainly through the legislative action of the State.' It has been shown above that Mr. Puller's proofs of the 'legislative' origin of the position of the Holy See are derived from misinterpretations of the documents. Here he is face to face with all these Eastern bishops, and what he says was new teaching, they say was the original and universal teaching of the Church.

view of matters as I have emphasised recurs. They had met, he says, in consequence of the imperial edict—but for what purpose? 'For the purpose of confirming by a common sentence the right definition of the Apostolic Faith'—this, and not the settlement of an open question, was the primary object of the council. The *ὁρος*, or definition, was, of course, the *ὁρισθέντα τύπον* of the Apostolic See. Their confirmation of this was not the act of a superior authority, for they also confirmed the Nicene Creed, and their very confirmation was submitted to the judgment of the Papal legates, but it was the added strength, as we have already seen, of the exhibition of unity on the part of the assembled bishops. It was the various points of the circumference (to use Father Bottalla's simile) cleaving to their centre; 'following' (as Bishop Firmus, publicly, interpreted the council's action) 'the sentence of the Apostolic throne,' 'urged of necessity,' as the council at large expressed themselves, 'by the canons and by the letter of Celestine,' and in performing their duty the members of the council had proved the heresy recently introduced by Nestorius. So that the purpose of the council was 'to confirm by a common sentence the orthodox decision of the Apostolic Faith, and to attest the heresy recently introduced by Nestorius.' After explaining how the proceedings had been conducted in an orderly and judicial manner, and how John of Antioch had delayed when he might have come, and had brought with him, and been joined by, certain disorderly people, some without sees, some under accusations, he points out that the so-called sentence of deposition which John and some thirty bishops had pretended to pass on himself and Memnon was absurd, considering the number and character of the real synod. Further, the Patriarch of Antioch had violated a rule of the Church in attempting such a thing as the deposition of one occupying 'a greater throne.' That is to say, Antioch had no jurisdiction over Alexandria. Even if it had, the canons of the Church should have been observed, by their citing the accused to appear before them. Such was St. Cyril's view of the position.

Accordingly, on Cyril's proposition, three bishops were now sent to John of Antioch to summon him to appear before

the synod. But they found John surrounded with soldiers, and were insulted with the blasphemous talk of his retinue. On the return of the episcopal messengers, Cyril proposed that the synod should at once proceed to declare the sentence of the Conciliabulum null and void. But Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem, interposed, suggesting that John should be cited again. In the course of his speech Juvenal roundly condemned the Patriarch of Antioch for not hastening to appear before the holy synod to defend himself before it, 'and to obey and respect the Apostolic throne of great Rome, sitting with us.' The rest of the sentence is untranslatable as it stands.¹ It appears to bring in also 'the Apostolic throne of Jerusalem.' But Juvenal could hardly have spoken of that as 'sitting with us,' for it was himself. He proceeds, according to the text, to speak of the throne of Rome as being that see 'by which, or at which, above all it is the custom by apostolic order and tradition for the throne of Antioch itself to be directed and judged.' It has been thought that Juvenal may have alluded to his own see, because he was, as a matter of fact, at that time endeavouring to wrest some of her fairest provinces from Antioch; and at the Latrocinium shortly afterwards he did take his seat as above Antioch, and sided with Eutyches. But it is impossible that he should have claimed in the council at this time what was so manifestly false, and what was actually true of the Apostolic throne of Rome, in several previous cases, such as that of Paulinus of Antioch. He obviously insisted on the same point as St. Cyril did, viz. that only Rome possessed jurisdiction over the throne of Alexandria, and in some way at the same time magnified the greatness of his own see. John was twice more cited, but with similar and even worse results, the bishops being ignominiously treated, John saying that 'since the causes of the court are transferred to the Church, he was transferring the cause of the Church to the court.'

The synod thereupon proceeded on the following day to pronounce all that John of Antioch had done null and void, and to pass sentence of excommunication against him and his associates, until they should acknowledge their fault, adding

¹ Labbe, t. iii. p. 1172.

that 'unless they do that quickly, they will undergo the complete sentence of the canon.' In this session there is no mention of Cyril having presided as in the previous one, possibly because in the condemnation of John of Antioch Cyril was going beyond his original commission, and therefore the Papal legates act alone, their commission by Celestine's express words having a further reach, and including such a step as the deposition of the Bishop of Antioch, although by the same commission they were empowered to act as they did in conjunction with Cyril and with his advice. The synod, thus composed of the Papal legates with so wide a commission as Celestine gave them, might have proceeded to depose John of Antioch as he had pretended to depose Cyril and Memnon. In their letter to St. Celestine they expressly say they might have done so, but they stopped short of this and 'reserved it for the judgment of your Holiness.'¹ Being a matter concerning one of the 'greater thrones,' they left the severer sentence for the Apostolic throne itself, the See of St. Peter, whose care for the Faith they had pronounced in the beginning of their letter to be worthy of all admiration, and to which they said they had written a report *as a matter of duty and necessity* (ἐχρήν ἅπαντα εἰς γνώσιν τῆς σῆς ὁσιότητος ἀνενεχθῆναι τὰ παρακολουθήσαντα γράφομεν ἀναγκαίως).

This letter of the synod is of the utmost importance as a defence of Cyril in beginning the synod without John, and as giving the view of the œcumenical council itself as to its own claim to be such, in contrast with the miserable meetings over which the Patriarch of Antioch presided. It says that the council was one gathered from the whole world, since 'it contained your Holiness' representatives, Arcadius, Projectus and Philip, who secured to us the grace of your presence by their own, and supplied the place of the Apostolic See,'² which is exactly the teaching of the Catholic Roman Church at this hour. They also speak of the harm that would come to the Church 'if the greater sees were to be insulted with impunity, and sentence were to be pronounced upon them by those who have no jurisdiction over them.' As we have seen, they hold that *they*, including as they did the representatives

¹ Mansi, t. iv. p. 1330.

² *Ibid.* p. 1338.

of the Holy See, had jurisdiction over one of the 'greater thrones,' although, as a matter of fact, they reserved the actual exercise for Celestine himself. They further speak of Cyril as having been the mainstay of the Faith, and conclude with saying that 'they have judged that all that has been decided by His Holiness concerning the Pelagians and Celestians, concerning Pelagius and Celestius and Julian, &c.,' should stand firm, and that they accept the depositions by the Holy See, after reading the letters which His Holiness had sent concerning them.

The story, interesting as it is, of the final acceptance of the deposition of Nestorius by John of Antioch, does not belong to my subject. Passing over this, therefore, I shall conclude with one or two points that are of importance.

IV. Celestine before his death wrote one of his most touching letters to the bishops of the synod,¹ after their dispersion to their homes, full, as all his letters are, of beautiful applications of Holy Scripture, and displaying the firmness of a ruler and tenderness of a father. He strikes the note of joy in the opening sentence; he then congratulates them on having faithfully carried this affair into execution 'with us;' he applies to himself the words of the Psalmist (Psal. xxiv.), 'The innocent and the upright have adhered to me,' showing that he conceived of the synod as the synod conceived of itself, as the executors of his own sentence. He praises their choice of a successor to Nestorius, and congratulates them on the emperor's assent. He then tells them that they must not stop here, they must induce the emperor to rescind his decree about Nestorius being allowed to go to Antioch. He must be removed further. 'Solitude alone becomes such men.'

'We,' says the Pope, 'are further off than you are, but by solicitude we see the whole matter closer. The care of the blessed Apostle Peter has the effect of making all present; we cannot excuse ourselves before God concerning what we know. . . . We ought to have care for all in general, but it behoves us specially to assist the Antiochenes, who are besieged by pestiferous disease.'

Such is the care which he evinces for them, in accordance

¹ *Ep. Cel. ad Syn.* March 15, A.D. 432.

with the title accorded to him by the synod, viz. 'our most holy Father,' and with his own conception of his relationship to the Prince of the Apostles. He then decides what shall be done with respect to those who seemed to think with Nestorius. Although the synod had passed sentence on them, 'still we also decide what seems best. Many things have to be looked into in such cases, which the Apostolic See has always regarded.' He accordingly orders that they shall be dealt with in the same way as the 'Celestians,' and desires that the same method of treatment shall also be observed in regard to those who have imagined that ecclesiastical cases could be removed to Christian princes. He then instructs them how John of Antioch should be dealt with in case of his correcting himself.

The letter is that of no usurper; no spark of ambition appears in it. It is that of a God-fearing man providing as father for the wants of his children. There is not a trace of any consciousness that he is doing anything but fulfilling the duties of an office recognised by all; and that office is the government of the universal Church entrusted to him as the successor of Peter. On the same day he writes to the emperor a letter congratulating him on his better mind, and giving him some exquisite exhortations as to the performance of his high functions. And he writes also to the clergy and people of Constantinople, praising Cyril and drawing attention to Nestorius' sleepless energy. But Rome (he adds) is not behind-hand in watchfulness. 'The blessed Apostle Peter did not desert them when they were toiling so heavily, for, when the separation of such an ulcer [as Nestorius] from the ecclesiastical body seemed advisable by reason of the putrid decay which became sensible to all, we offered soothing fomentation together with the steel. It was not by the swiftness of our sentence that he became to us as a publican and heathen man. We could not delay longer lest we should seem to run with the thief, and to take our portion with the adulterer against faith.' He treats his own sentence and its execution by the council as all one.

It is difficult to understand how Bishop Wordsworth could call St. Celestine a 'calm spectator of the controversy.' It is not less difficult, after all we have seen, to understand how

Dr. Salmon could say that 'the only one of the great controversies in which the Pope really did his part in teaching Christians what to believe was the Eutychian controversy.'¹

Sixtus succeeded Celestine, and took up the work in the same spirit. In the following year he wrote to Cyril, praising him for his magnificent conduct and directing what was to be done about the followers of John of Antioch, and eventually wrote a most beautiful letter to John himself after the reconciliation between him and Cyril, in which he did not spare the patriarch for his past conduct, although he acquitted him of any heretical teaching. He summed up the whole matter, saying, 'You have learned by experience what it is to *think with us*.'

V. We are now in a position to estimate the force of a remark in Dr. Bright's history which, since he has repeated it in his latest productions, he appears to consider of some importance.

A case had arisen in the Patriarchate of Antioch which was brought before the bishops of the council, and which they dealt with not very satisfactorily. It was not one of the matters for which they were assembled, and their 'canon' did not rank with their decision as to the affair of Nestorius.² The case was this.

The Cyprians had long endeavoured to establish for themselves an autocephalous position, not, indeed, with no dependence on anyone, for they would anyhow be subject in some matters to the See of St. Peter, but autocephalous in the sense of not depending on any neighbouring province for the ordination of their metropolitans. In point of fact, numerous provinces of the East had from the earliest times³ been subjected to the Patriarch of Antioch, of which Cyprus was one. It had remained so until the Council of Nice, and its subordination to Antioch was included in the sixth canon of the council. During the Eustathian schism at Antioch this order had been disturbed by the Arians, and on the termination of the schism, Innocent I. had written⁴ to the Patriarch of Antioch,

¹ *Infall. of the Church*, p. 426, 2nd edition.

² It is not included in the collection of Dionysius Exiguus.

³ *Nic. Can.* vi.

⁴ *Innoc. Ep.* xviii. c. 2.

saying that the Cyprians ought to return to their obedience in accordance with the Nicene canons. The Cyprians, however, managed to evade the decision of the Holy See, and they now succeeded in stealing a march on the Bishop of Antioch under cover of his disgrace. The bishops at Ephesus, guarding their decision with an 'if,' waiving, that is, the question of the truth of the Cyprians' representations, not being able to hear the other side from John of Antioch, decreed that supposing the Cyprians to be correct in their facts, they were not to be subjected to the throne of Antioch. They had not, if their statement was correct, belonged to Antioch in the old times; it was not right, therefore, for Antioch to claim jurisdiction over them now. The decision was subsequently reversed, and the Cyprians eventually agreed to submit to their metropolitans being ordained by the Bishop of Antioch.¹ The fact was, as Dr. Neale says, 'that the claims of Antioch in this instance were well founded.'²

In this unfortunate decision the bishops appealed to the canons as forbidding any bishop to seize upon, or occupy by force, another province which was not previously under his own or his predecessor's jurisdiction. This Canon of Ephesus, if it can be called such (for it was rather a provision for the Cyprian dispute which was afterwards recalled), is one of the armouries from which Anglican writers derive one of their most curious weapons against Rome. They apply it to the action of Gregory the Great in sending St. Augustine to be over the British bishops. These bishops were not, so they argue, originally under Augustine. They could not therefore by right be subjected to him by the Holy See. But apart from the universal supremacy of the Apostolic See, there is the question whether they were not already under the Bishop of

¹ For a complete misrepresentation of this whole matter see Puller's *Prim. Saints*, p. 181. One would imagine, from this writer's statement ('the Church of Cyprus remains autocephalous to this day') that Cyprus had never returned to its position of dependence on Antioch. Mr. Puller seems also to forget that the 'Council of Ephesus' included the Papal legates. But this decision was probably arrived at after their withdrawal, and so was merely a provisional arrangement (pending further inquiry) by which they succeeded in removing Cyprus from the influence of John.

² *Hist. of the E. Church*, p. 267.

Rome as Patriarch of the West, in which case the Ephesine decision as to the 'jus Cyprium' would not apply. Certain it is that this decision was never applied to the case of the British bishops until the sixteenth century. No one ever supposed that Gregory the Great had not the right to define the relationship of the bishops in England to the See of Canterbury. Again and again the Church of England has referred to that Pontiff's action in this matter as natural and proper, and even in the hottest dispute between Canterbury and York, when Lanfranc at the Council of Windsor pleaded the action of Gregory the Great, it did not occur to the Archbishop of York to call in question that Pontiff's right, or to use such an expression as Dr. Bright does in reference to it, viz. that of 'pretension.'

But the Council of Ephesus, in decreeing, at a time of irritation with Antioch, that it would not be well to disturb the imaginary ancient arrangement with regard to Cyprus, used an expression which Dr. Bright thinks was aimed at Rome. He makes a great deal of this supposed allusion, which is contained in the mere fact that they used the words 'worldly pride.' This expression, he thinks, must contain a covert allusion to Rome; and a mere allusion of such a kind occurring in an utterance of an œcumenical council is evidently held to be of the greatest importance in indicating the mind of the Church as to the Holy See. It is alluded to in his 'History of the Church' (1860),¹ and it reappears, after twenty-two years, at great length in his 'Notes on the Canons of the first four General Councils.'² In deciding that the Cyprians should, if their statement of the case was correct, have the advantage of the Nicene Canon which forbade the bishop of one province to seize by force upon the spiritual jurisdiction of another, the bishops at Ephesus used the words 'secular pride.' Now it happens that the words 'pride of the world,' with another epithet, occur in the letter addressed a few years before to Celestine, purporting to be from a council of all Africa, in which the applicants 'earnestly entreat' ('impendio deprecamur') the Pope not to send any more legates to execute his orders. They do not, as has been pointed out

¹ P. 339, note m.

² Pp. 119-20-21 (1882).

above (p. 301), dream of asking him not to issue his orders; but they would rather not have them executed by a legate, after their bitter experience of Faustinus. They complain that the presence of 'executores'—i.e. legates to execute the Papal orders—leads them to pomp and worldly pride; so they entreat the Pope to send them no more legates 'lest we should seem to introduce the smoky pride of the world into the Church of Christ'—i.e. lest we Christians in Africa should belie our calling to be not of this world.

Seeing, then, that this same word 'pride' occurs in the Ephesine decree about Cyprus, by which the bishops favoured the Cyprians' wish to withdraw themselves from John of Antioch, Dr. Bright's imagination carries him at once back to this letter of the African Synod. He thinks that the Roman legates at Ephesus *may have been* absent from that particular session which dealt with the Cyprian case; and that, they being absent, the deacon, named Besulas, who, though present, was not a constituent member of the Ephesine Synod, the bearer of the letter from the Bishop of Carthage (which Dr. Bright seems to forget spoke of the 'authority' of the Apostolic See) managed to introduce into this so-called Canon of Ephesus the words 'worldly pride,' *in allusion to that said letter of the African Council.*¹

Dr. Bright has to suppose, first, that the bishops at Ephesus had heard of the said letter of the African Council, a most unlikely supposition; next, that Besulas, a deacon, to use Dr. Bright's own words, 'represented Africa at Ephesus';² next, that the wording of the canon was due to Besulas, for which there is not an iota of proof, and then, that he introduced this clever and far-fetched allusion to the African letter, the legates happening to be absent, for if they were present 'Besulas would hardly, perhaps' (he is not quite certain even of this) 'have quoted his Church's stringent admonition to their principal'—the 'stringent admonition' consisting, as we have seen, of an 'earnest entreaty.' And if he did not—that is to say, if the decree of the bishops of Ephesus only

¹ For the difficulties about this letter cf. p. 303.

² Africa was represented through Capreolus' letter, accepting, by anticipation the joint action of the Holy See and the Council; not by Besulas.

referred to the struggle for precedence actually going on between Antioch and Cyprus, and between Juvenal of Jerusalem and the Bishop of Antioch (the natural and sufficient explanation of the term 'pride'), instead of to a matter with which they had nothing to do—'if he did not, the coincidence is among the most remarkable on record'!

The coincidence consists in the use of the words 'smoky pride of the world' in Africa some few years before, and of the words 'power of worldly pride' now, in reference to a fierce struggle for precedence going on before their eyes, with which Rome had nothing to do. And their remote allusion to a letter from Africa, which expresses a fear of secular pomp, not in the Bishop of Rome (as Dr. Bright seems to imagine), but in the circumstances of legations in foreign countries, is, forsooth, introduced by bishops who, as we have seen, were at the moment on the most friendly, affectionate, and submissive terms with the reigning Pope, having just before spoken of their admiration for his care for the Church and for the Faith.

And not only had they expressed their gratitude to the Pope for his guardianship of the faith, but, after concluding the affair of Nestorius, the council gave its hearty adhesion to all that had been settled by the Holy See in regard to the Pelagian heretics. It will be remembered that St. Augustine had claimed this settlement as sufficient without the apparatus of a general council. 'The rescripts have come from Rome; the case is at an end,' was his dictum; and the rescripts contained the fullest possible assertion of the necessity of referring matters of such importance to the Holy See. St. Augustine died just before the Council of Ephesus met. Capreolus, Bishop of Carthage, in response to an invitation to St. Augustine to attend the council, sent the letter alluded to above by the hands of a deacon, named Besulas, in which he deprecated, in the name of the African Church, any fresh investigation of the grievances of Pelagian or semi-Pelagian heretics, on the ground that their matters had been settled by 'the authority of the Apostolic See and the consentient decision of the hierarchy' (of Africa), which had demolished (συνέχλωσεν) those disturbers of the Church. Accordingly, as

we gather from the synod's report of its proceedings sent to Celestine, they entered upon no investigation of these matters. His Holiness did not wish it, and the African bishops, speaking through Capreolus, were anxious that they should not reopen the question. The bishops at Ephesus, therefore, simply accepted the decisions of the Holy See *en bloc*. And it was under these circumstances that Professor Bright imagines the bishops may have introduced a sly hit at Rome by using the words 'worldly pride'!

CONCLUSIONS.

To sum up. The following conclusions emerge from the history of the Council of Ephesus.

1. A certain hierarchical order obtained at that time amongst the greater sees of the Church. This order, though an ecclesiastical arrangement as regards the second and third see, ran up to apostolic times.

2. There was a universal conviction on the part of the Easterns that the Bishop of Rome held a unique position as occupant of 'the Apostolic See.'¹

3. He held this position as successor of St. Peter.

4. This position involved the guardianship of the faith in a special sense, and a superiority of jurisdiction over the 'greater thrones.'

5. The theory of independent national Churches is excluded by anticipation. The nationality of Constantinople, on the one hand, and of Antioch on the other, did not free them from being subject to intervention on the part of the Bishop of Rome when circumstances demanded it; and Alexandria, in spite of its differing nationality, held itself bound in duty to report 'greater cases' to Rome.

6. An œcumenical council, which included the Pope, was infallible; as also was the Pope in determining the question of faith.

These are some of the rigorous conclusions to be drawn from the history of the Church in A.D. 431. Each one of them has its 'text' in the Council of Ephesus.

¹ Cf. Appendix IV. p. 479.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE FOURTH GENERAL COUNCIL.¹

I. WE have seen that the principles which were formulated in the Vatican decree of 1870 were at work in the early Church from the first. They appear in the first recorded exercise of her teaching power outside the inspired pages of Holy Scripture. St. Clement's letter to the Corinthians was, according to the late Dr. Lightfoot, 'the first step towards Papal domination;' to a Catholic it was the first recorded exercise of Papal supremacy after the death of St. Peter. St. Clement pronounced judgment, uniting with himself the Church of Rome; exercising his prerogative in unison, it would seem, with a council of whose authority he was the informing principle; for it was for ever known in the Church as his letter. He claimed for his judgment the submission of those to whom he wrote, as to the voice of the Holy Ghost, and he denounced the sin of schism as the worst of evils. His letter was successful in its immediate results, and was read for some time in Christian churches as akin to Holy Scripture itself.

We have seen, further, that at the Council of Nice, whose dogmatic decision was clothed with the robe of divine authority in the eyes of orthodox Christendom, the three Sees of Peter appear in command, with Rome at their head. The canons commonly called Sardican, and regarded as of equal authority with those of Nicæa itself (if not, as there is good reason for supposing, the very canons of the Nicene Council itself) recognised in the See of St. Peter the proper court of appeal for such bishops as felt that justice had not been done them in other courts. They applied and regulated an existing

¹ Where the person's name is given to whom letters of St. Leo are addressed I have not always given the number of the letter, which differs in different editions. I have myself used the Ballerini's edition.

principle. When we come to the second œcumenical council, originally an Eastern synod, which became œcumenical through the acceptance of its dogmatic decision by the See of St. Peter, a new state of things was making itself felt. 'New Rome' had come on to the scene; and a struggle for precedence had commenced, which was destined to end only when 'the scourge of God' arose and brought the Byzantine empire to a close. The sword of Islam was the appointed avenger of the pride of that Queen of cities on the fair shores of the Bosphorus.

Rome remained the Eternal City. Whilst again and again the Christian faith was all but wrecked in the East, each heresy that threatened the mystery of the Incarnation finding its home there, the See of St. Peter stood firm throughout.

At Ephesus the judgment of Pope Celestine imposed itself upon the synod. St. Cyril, the Pope's delegate, was the Joshua that fought the battle on the plain below, whilst the Moses of the Christian Law, having delivered his charge to the warrior-bishop, sat on the throne of Peter with his hands upheld by his assisting synod.

But if this is true of Ephesus, it is still more manifestly true of Chalcedon. The throne of Peter was occupied by one of those majestic figures which occasionally dominate the history of a whole period. Well did he merit his name of Leo; and truly has posterity called him 'great.' St. Leo saved Christianity. For again the sum and substance of Christianity was at stake; the Person of its Founder was again in question under another form, and St. Leo the Great was the instrument chosen by the Divine Founder of the Christian Church to vindicate the truth of His Incarnation.

The Council of Chalcedon was the climax of the Church's conciliar utterances in the Person of our Redeemer—the last of the four Gospels, as St. Gregory called the first four councils by way of similitude. It closed a complete series of denials, each one of which was absolutely fatal to a true hold on the economy of redemption.

But (i.) it also led to a fuller knowledge of the treasure of Divine Revelation. The question all through the struggle turned on what was contained in the original deposit; and

the Church at large learnt more of the contents of that deposit, she was richer for the struggle, she learnt more of the glory of His Divine Majesty and of His infinite condescension, in whom her hopes are centred.

(ii.) But the Church also learnt more of the meaning of that provision for unity, and of that guardianship of the faith, which her divine Head had instituted. She found that Peter, the foundation laid by Him, 'lives and exercises judgment in his successors,' with a store of unfailing wisdom, the fulfilment of the divine promise, 'I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not.' His infallible guidance was equal to combining an unerring hold upon the apostolic deposit, with fresh definition to meet a fresh denial. The memory of Leo never left the Church. He said no more than others had said before him; he uttered no new truth about the See of St. Peter; not a note of surprise, as at any novel claim, was heard, for it was (as had been said at Ephesus) a truth 'known to all ages, and doubtful to none, that the blessed Apostle Peter, the Head and Prince of Apostles, received from the Saviour of the human race the keys of the kingdom; and that he lives and exercises judgment in his successors.' But the circumstances under which Leo had to act ministered to a fuller apprehension of that truth. It was in the counsels of Divine Providence that the whole force of the 'Petrine Privilege' should be felt on a large scale, and under the pressure of unparalleled needs; so that the Church might for ever know where her strength lay and never suffer her locks to be shorn.

II. But to proceed to the actual history. 'A foolish old man,' as St. Leo called him, erring more from stupidity than the subtlety that misled Nestorius, was the cause of the storm that now burst upon the Church—a foolish old man, who boasted that he had kept his vow of continency in the monastic life, and who had all that natural influence which is invariably exercised, for good or evil, by men of recognised austerity.

Eutyches (such was his name) adopted much the same method of argument as Nestorius. As Nestorius accused St. Cyril of Apollinarianism, so Eutyches accused his opponents of Nestorianism. And as Nestorius endeavoured to gain

the ear of Pope St. Celestine by accusing others of Apollinarian teaching, so Eutyches endeavoured to win Pope St. Leo to his side by accusing others of Nestorianism. Eutyches took his stand in certain expressions of St. Cyril, so that in the ultimate issue St. Cyril's teaching became the field of battle. St. Cyril was the accepted exponent of the faith against Nestorius; St. Celestine decided in his favour, and the third œcumenical synod adopted St. Celestine's ruling. St. Cyril's exposition was now quoted by Eutyches in favour of a new heresy. St. Leo, in the name of the blessed Apostle Peter, promulgated an *ex cathedrâ* decision called his 'Tome,' condemning this new heresy, and the fourth œcumenical synod accepted his ruling. In this case, too, the 'members joined themselves to the holy head,' as the action of the bishops in condemning Nestorius was described at the Council of Ephesus—after what struggles and calamities we shall now proceed to see.

III. Eutyches was condemned in a synod at Constantinople, upon impeachment by Eusebius of Dorylæum. Flavian, his archbishop, says that, after much fencing, Eutyches threw off all disguise, and said that 'we ought not to confess that our Lord subsisted in two natures after becoming man,' and that 'the Body of our Lord, although born of the Virgin, who is consubstantial with us, is not itself consubstantial with us.' In this, says St. Flavian, 'Eutyches ran counter to all the expositions of the holy Fathers.' The synod proceeded to degrade him from his ecclesiastical rank, and deprived him of the superintendence of his monastery, but they did not go on to expressly anathematise his teaching.

IV. But the matter did not rest there. It was not enough that Eutyches had been condemned by his archbishop. There was no idea in the Church at large of the archbishop's judgment, even though pronounced in synod, being final. There were no such things in the early Church as independent provinces. There was a further court of appeal, recognised, as we shall see, on all sides as part of the Nicene settlement for the government of the Church, and recognised as such at Nicæa, or Sardica, or both, on the ground of the connection of one see with the prince and head of the Apostles, as St.

Peter was acknowledged to be in the Council of Ephesus. There was, in the minds of the whole Church, an 'Apostolic See'—apostolic, not in the sense in which every bishop is a successor of the Apostles, but in a pre-eminent degree—and to that Apostolic See the case was now carried.

We should not expect to find Eutyches exhibiting the methods of a sincere inquirer. He had all the wiliness of a heretic. He looked round about at once for help, and, probably, wrote letters to every quarter whence help might come. He knew that there was friction between his own saintly archbishop and the Archbishop of Alexandria, who proved the most bitter foe to the truth that even the distracted East produced. He may well have known the weakness of the Bishop of Jerusalem, which led him to such unfortunate conduct in the immediate future, and it is therefore exceedingly probable that he proceeded to enlist these bishops in his cause. At any rate, the patrician Florentius afterwards deposed that Eutyches had appealed to an Egyptian and Jerusalemite, as well as to a Roman council, at the end of the above-mentioned synod at Constantinople—but in an undertone. The account given by the monk Constantine may be passed over, as he was convicted of untrustworthiness at a second synod, or session. If, however, Eutyches did write to these other bishops, his letters are not extant; and we can surmise nothing as to their contents. But what is certain is that Eutyches wrote to Rome, and sent the Pope, together with Eusebius' accusation and some testimonies (mostly supposititious) to himself, two documents, one a profession of faith, and the other a notice of appeal which he pretended to have handed in at the Synod of Constantinople. In his letter he asked the Pope to arrange that he might suffer no prejudice pending the appeal, on account of his condemnation by his archbishop, and he asked for a decision on the matter of faith.¹

At the same time he wrote to St. Peter Chrysologus, Bishop of Ravenna, soliciting his interest. This saintly archbishop replied that he could not intervene in such a matter without the leave of his superior, the Bishop of Rome. He

¹ Mansi, t. v. p. 1015.

appears not to have learnt from Eutyches anything about the synod at Constantinople, and he knew nothing of the dogmatic epistle of St. Leo.¹ He accordingly advises Eutyches what to do. We are indebted to an important discovery of an old copy of St. Peter's letter in Greek, dated between A.D. 453 and A.D. 455, and therefore strictly contemporary, for the whole text of the saint's words. He advises Eutyches 'to attend obediently to whatever is written from the most blessed Pope of the city of Rome, because blessed Peter, who both lives and presides in his own see, gives to those who seek it the truth of the faith.'

Eutyches, in his letter to the Pope, had told a falsehood. He had not really lodged an appeal to Rome *at the synod*. But although he had not done this, his statement that he had is irrefragable evidence that the bishops of the East held that such an appeal, if given in at the right time, must have the effect of suspending their sentence. This was the point of Eutyches' statement, viz. to stay the proceedings. He knew that the Pope had only to suppose that an appeal had been lodged, and he would be able to enforce a suspension of proceedings.

V. Flavian also had written to St. Leo immediately after the synod, sending him the Acts. He notified, indeed, the condemnation of Eutyches to other bishops, but he sent the Acts of the synod to St. Leo alone, as to a superior court. His letter, however, did not arrive in due time, whether owing, as is supposed, to the management of Eutyches and his friends, it is impossible to say.

Accordingly, St. Leo, on receiving Eutyches' letter, wrote at once to the emperor and to Flavian. The letters are both of the highest importance as showing what the Pope could assume as admitted by the Emperor of the East and the Archbishop of Constantinople.

The emperor had taken Eutyches under his patronage, and written in his favour to St. Leo. The latter, having heard only from the emperor and Eutyches, tells the emperor that he cannot give judgment on the case until he has heard from Archbishop Flavian. He blames Flavian to the

¹ Mansi, t. v. p. 1346, 6, *Admonitio*.

emperor for not having sent the Acts of the synod to Rome at once, 'as he was in duty bound to do.' The Pope was not aware that Flavian had dispatched the Acts, but that from some mishap they had been delayed. If the emperor and Eutyches were in concert—or rather Chrysaphius, the eunuch, who had poisoned the emperor's ear in favour of the heretic—to get judgment from Rome before the cause was properly heard, they were much deceived in their estimate of Leo. For the latter simply told the emperor that he was displeased that Flavian had not written, and that he had written to say so, and felt sure that after this 'admonition,' Flavian would send a report of all the proceedings,¹ 'so that judgment may be passed in accordance with evangelical and apostolical teaching.'

To Flavian the Pope writes in terms of censure, for not having done his duty ('quod ante facere debuit') in reporting everything 'as fully as possible.'

It is impossible not to see in these letters plain evidence of the recognised position of the See of Rome as the supreme court of appeal. It was not Valentinian, but Theodosius, to whom St. Leo wrote, and it was of no less a personage than the Archbishop of Constantinople that he complained; and his complaint to the Emperor of the East was, that the archbishop had contravened a rule of the Church in not sending his report to Rome. No mere patriarch could thus write to an emperor concerning a bishop beyond the limits of his own patriarchate; and no one in his senses could have ventured to write thus in a matter which he felt concerned the salvation of the human race, except on the understanding that the rule was clear and undisputed.

VI. This was in February, A.D. 449. St. Leo, though he wrote to the emperor and to Flavian, deferred his answer to Eutyches; but Eutyches, without waiting for the Pope's reply, imitated Nestorius in inducing the emperor to summon a council. He persuaded Dioscorus, Archbishop of Alexandria, who was prepared to act as his patron, to petition the emperor for a general synod, and his Imperial Majesty fixed

¹ 'Quem credimus post admonitionem omnia ad nostram notitiam relaturum' (*Leonis Ep. xxiv.*).

the ensuing August for its meeting. Probably the emperor had not yet received the Pope's reply. Certainly, Flavian had not heard of the definite decision of the emperor to plunge the East into all the difficulties of a council when he wrote his answer to Leo. That answer is another most important item in the evidence supplied by the history of the Council of Chalcedon to the recognised position of the See of St. Peter.

VII. Flavian in no way resented St. Leo's censure of his silence. As a matter of fact, he had written and sent the Acts of his synod, but they had miscarried, or been delayed on the way. The archbishop recognised the duty which lay upon him to report proceedings to Rome. He describes the whole situation, narrates the deposition of Eutyches, and says that the latter has appealed to the emperor, thereby trampling under foot the canons of the Church. Further, Flavian tells Leo that what Eutyches had asserted, unknown to him, in his letter to the Pope, viz. that at the synod he gave notice of appeal to Rome, is untrue. He implies that, had it been true, he would have suspended proceedings. Flavian does not afford in this important letter the slightest indication that in his judgment St. Leo was stretching his prerogative in writing to him as he had done. On the contrary, he ends by invoking that prerogative as the only means of securing the peace of the Church. He asks the Pope to be bold with the boldness that becomes the priesthood, to 'make the common cause his own,' and to deign to give his decision by means of briefs in accordance with the canonical deposition of Eutyches at the Constantinopolitan Synod. He asks the Pope thereby to 'confirm' (using not the usual word, but that which occurs in our Lord's command to St. Peter in St. Luke xxii.¹) the faith of the emperor; and he says that 'the matter only needs your impulse and the help that is due from you through your own consent, to bring everything into peace and calm; and so the heresy which has arisen, and the trouble that has ensued, will be brought to a happy conclusion, with the help of God, through your holy

¹ Mansi, t. v. p. 1354. *Leonis Ep. xxvi.*

briefs; and moreover the synod, about which there are rumours, will be prevented from taking place, and so the Churches in every quarter will not be troubled.'¹

Flavian, therefore, profoundly distrusted the value of the rumoured synod, and looked to the timely exercise of the Papal prerogative as sufficient to secure the peace of the Church.

And in expressing this conviction he bears witness to the fact that an equal reverence was attributed to the authority of the Apostolical See by the rest of the bishops in the East.² Otherwise there would be no point in his remark, and no ground for his hope.

The principle, therefore, of Church government which the Archbishop of Constantinople assumed as Catholic was this—he did not consider that matters should necessarily be concluded where they began. There was, as yet, no thought of the independence of national Churches, nor of each province finally settling its own matters. His connection with Rome was intimate and obligatory; and it is clear that it did not depend on the civil position of that city. He wrote to Leo, as to him to whom it belonged to 'vindicate the common affairs of the Churches;' he prayed him to issue briefs which might settle the disturbances of the Eastern Churches, and he alluded to the passage in St. Luke xxii., 'Confirm the brethren.' St. Leo had requested him not merely to notify the deposition of Eutyches, as he would do to other Churches, but to send him the Acts—precisely what is done for the revision of a sentence by a superior court. And Flavian accepts the position to enable St. Leo to do his duty, which St. Leo had said was impossible without a full report of the proceedings.³ He states distinctly that not only was there no need of the judgment of any other Eastern patriarch, but that not even a general council was needed; and Flavian knew well what the other Eastern bishops thought.⁴

This was in March, A.D. 449. In April Eutyches occupied himself with getting an assembly of thirty-four bishops con-

¹ Mansi, t. v. p. 1358.

² Cf. 'Obs. Baller. de Diss. Quesn. de Eutych. Appell.' *Leonis Opera*, t. ii.

³ Ep. xxiii.

⁴ Mansi, t. v. p. 1356. *Adnot. Baller.*

vened in Constantinople to discuss an accusation which he had brought against the synod that condemned him of having falsified the documents—an accusation which miserably broke down.

VIII. But in May Leo had received Flavian's report, and he at once took in the whole position. The lion was roused, and from that day onwards his activity, his decision, his wisdom, his piety, his tender charity and his indomitable courage were such as to mark him out as one of the most extraordinary characters that have filled the pages of history, even were we to forget the effect of his noble presence on Attila, leader of the Huns outside the walls of Rome, or his influence over Genseric within the city. He had already given the death-blow to the remnants of Priscillianism; he had baffled the clandestine movements of the Manicheans, and he had sent Pelagianism to its grave. But here was an enemy that threatened to shake the foundations of the Christian religion by a direct assault on the person of its Founder. All that activity, and ingenuity, and worldly prestige, all that the favour of princes and the friendship of the great could do, was enlisted in its favour. But St. Leo was more than a match for these. He was so in virtue of the divine promises to Peter, for we shall see that it was as the successor of St. Peter, *and through the Church's recognition* of the authority of the Apostolic See, that Leo triumphed. Had he been compelled to vindicate the authority of St. Peter's See—that is to say, if men had been able to resist him on the ground that our Lord did not include the successors of St. Peter in His commission to that Apostle—the position would have been an impossible one. But the faith of the Church had been declared in the most explicit terms at the Council of Ephesus. East and West had there agreed in the position that 'it had been known to all ages, and was doubted by none, that the blessed Apostle Peter, Prince and Head of the Apostles, received the keys of the kingdom from the Saviour of the world,' and that Peter 'lives and exercises judgment in his successors.' Such were the undisputed terms in which the Papal legates at Ephesus had expressed the general teaching of the Church, which by common consent had been placed

in the archives of that œcumenical council, as containing nothing strange to the ears of the assembled bishops of the East.

It was, then, as the successor of the Prince of the Apostles that St. Leo now acted, and that he claimed to act; and no voice in the East was raised to deny this truth, save, indirectly, one, and that was the voice of the man who became the patron of Eutyches, and who was extruded from the Church at her œcumenical council at Chalcedon.

IX. The ides of June had come, and Leo having been already engaged on his longer epistle to Flavian, saw the necessity of taking more stringent measures to meet the difficulties in which Flavian was placed. He decided upon sending legates to Constantinople to inquire into the whole matter, and instead of sending his letter by Flavian's messenger, he sent it by these legates, together with others, addressed to Theodosius, to Pulcheria, to the Archimandrites of Constantinople, to the synod, of which he had now received notice, and in which he acquiesced,¹ and to Julian, Bishop of Cos, of whom more hereafter.

The 'Tome of St. Leo,' as the epistle now sent to Flavian is called, stands almost alone, after Holy Scripture, in the reverence with which it was regarded for ages by the entire Church. Its reception was equalled only by the position assigned in the primitive Church to the letter of St. Clement, the third successor of St. Peter, written to the Corinthians in the first century. It was frequently read in the East after a general council in professions of faith. St. Gregory the Great says (Lib. vi. Ep. 2): 'If anyone ever presumes to say anything against the faith of these four synods, and against the Tome and definition of Pope Leo, of holy memory, let him be anathema.'

It opens with judging Eutyches at once, and then proceeds to that magnificent exposition of the 'sacrament of our faith,' which on its first perusal in youth has impressed so many much as the first sight of the sea.

X. It is, however, with the ending of St. Leo's Tome that

¹ This was clearly the case, in spite of the apparent contradiction given at the Robber Synod, which will be explained hereafter.

the purpose of this book is concerned. The Archbishop Flavian (be it remembered), to whom the Tome is addressed, had come before Leo as the judge of first instance, having synodically condemned a monk of his own archdiocese. He brought him before Leo in his letter as already condemned in the Constantinopolitan Synod, to be condemned more solemnly and by a final peremptory judgment passed by the Apostolic See. For he did not merely notify the deposition of Eutyches, but asked for help, and asserted that peace could only be obtained by Leo's approval of the Synod of Constantinople (whose Acts he sent) and by his issuing a brief to that effect. Accordingly at the end of his Tome St. Leo gave his judgment.

Without referring the matter to a council of the whole West, he reviews the synodical acts, and in part confirms, in part disapproves, of the judgment of the Constantinopolitan Synod. He confirms the condemnation of Eutyches; but he reprehends the acts of the synod as irregularly conducted. He blames the bishops for not having proscribed under anathema the heretical saying of Eutyches, 'I confess that our Lord consisted of *two natures* before the union, but I confess only one nature *after* the union.' And then he directs that Eutyches should be received back again if he repents, and gives the exact method of such reception. The matter, therefore, needed to be done more exactly and canonically than in the Synod of Constantinople. Eutyches might have thought that he had spoken some of these words 'rightly,' or that they were such as could be tolerated ('*tolerabiliter*'), so far as any expression of the synod to the contrary was concerned. 'In order, however,' the Pope concludes, 'to bring this whole matter to the desired end, we have sent, in our stead, our brethren the Bishop Julius and the priest Renatus, with my son, the deacon Hilarus, with whom we have associated the notary Dulcitius, whose faith has been approved by us, trusting that the help of God will be with us, that he who had erred may abjure his false opinion and be saved. God keep thee safe, dearest brother.'

Such was the exercise of Papal jurisdiction contained in this letter, one of the most celebrated documents of Christian antiquity.

It may be noted in passing that St. Leo here calls the priest Renatus his brother; but this letter is sufficient to show what the whole Catholic Church thought of the relation of the Apostolic See to the rest of the episcopate. Here is a palpable exercise of authority, such as only belongs to the judge of a supreme court. None of the other patriarchs are taken into account; St. Leo speaks in full authority, and that he was not usurping an authority which was disallowed by others is certain from the fact that the Council of Chalcedon and the whole Catholic Church accepted the Tome as a solemn judgment within the competency of the Pope's authority. Thus, not only did Eutyches pretend that he had appealed to the Pope, when it suited his purpose, on the understanding that his appeal would be sure to suspend the sentence of the Eastern bishops against him; not only did Flavian send the synodical Acts to be reviewed by the Pope as judge in the matter; not only did Leo act as judge and decide the case so far as could be done at a distance, and send legates to do the rest in his stead—but an œcumenical synod, and the universal Church for ever after, accepted as on a par with the definitions of Nicæa and Ephesus the Tome which contained this exercise of authority, against which not a protest, not a murmur, not a whisper was ever raised.¹

It is as idle to call the teaching involved in this exercise of authority that of a 'school of thought,' as it would be to call the Catholic doctrine concerning the single personality of our Lord a 'school of thought' simply because a certain number of bishops held aloof from St. Cyril in his contest with Nestorius. It was the school of thought that held its own at Ephesus, as being the only teaching of antiquity 'known to all ages;' and it prevailed in the future of the Church—in other words, it was the teaching, not of a school, but of the Church. St. Leo's Tome never could have been accepted by the Church unless the position of judge which he assumed therein was in accordance with apostolic doctrine.

XI. Together with his 'Tome' or Epistle to Flavian, Leo sent a letter to the Emperor Theodosius, which is of importance as showing the grounds on which he acquiesced in the

¹ Cf. 'Observ. Baller. de Eutych. Appell.,' *Leonis Opera*, t. ii.

convocation of a general council. He says that Eutyches has been proved to have erred—there is no question, according to St. Leo, about that; but since the emperor has settled upon a council at Ephesus 'that the truth may be made known to the unskilful old man,' he, the Pope, sends legates to supply his place. 'The legates,' says St. Leo, 'are commissioned to carry with them a disposition to justice and benignity, so that, since *there can be no question as to what is the integrity of the Christian faith*, the depravity of error may be condemned.' If Eutyches repents—which the kind heart of the Pope always contemplates—the benevolence of the priesthood (bishops in the Greek version) is to come to his aid. Eutyches, says St. Leo, had promised him, in his original petition, that he would correct whatever the Pope condemned.

The idea of the council, then, was that it was a fitting machinery to impress on Eutyches the importance of obeying the Papal decision, and to deal with him properly if he asked pardon. It was in this that the Constantinopolitan synod had come short of perfect justice and charity.

XII. But St. Leo continues with the following descriptions of the position occupied by the decisions contained in his Tome or letter to Flavian. He says to the emperor, 'But what things the Catholic Church universally believes and teaches concerning the sacrament of the Lord's Incarnation are more fully contained in the writings which I have sent to my brother and fellow-bishop Flavian.'¹

At the same time the Pope wrote to the saintly sister of the emperor, who had brought him up in his tender years under all the best influences of the Christian faith. It was not her fault, if her imperial brother now sided with heretics; and it was to be her lot to assist the saintly Pope in the Church's struggle with the new heresy. To her—the Empress Pulcheria—St. Leo described the error of Eutyches as 'contrary to our only hope and that of our fathers,' and told her that, if he persists in his error, he cannot be absolved. 'For,' he adds, the 'Apostolic See'² both acts with severity in

¹ Mansi, t. v. p. 1394.

² Literally, 'The moderation of the Apostolic See observes this discipline that it both,' &c. Mansi, t. v. p. 1399.

the case of the obdurate, and wishes to pardon those who suffer themselves to be corrected.' It is obvious to remark that he considers the absolution of Eutyches to rest with the Apostolic See. He hopes that Pulcheria will do her best to help on the Catholic faith, and says that he has delegated his authority to those whom he has sent, that pardon may be bestowed if the error is done away.

It is here, as elsewhere, the Apostolic See that is assumed to be the agent in the matter, and the council is to be concerned not with any question as to the true faith, but with moving Eutyches to repentance by the display of unanimity amongst the bishops.

Still more important, if possible, are the terms of the letter which he sent to the Archimandrites of Constantinople.¹ They are his 'beloved children.' He is sending to them persons 'a latere' to assist them in 'the defence of the truth,' not for the investigation of the faith. He sets his seal to their condemnation of Eutyches. If he repents and makes full satisfaction—which is the constantly recurring thought in Leo's mind—then 'we wish him to obtain mercy.' But 'as to the sacrament of the great love of God (*pietatis magnæ*) in which we have justification and redemption by the Incarnation of the Word of God, our teaching from the tradition of the Fathers² is sufficiently explained in letters to Flavian, so that you may know from your chief (*per insinuationem Præsulis vestri*) what in accordance with the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ *we wish to be established in the hearts of all the faithful.*'³

XIII. Still more definite are the words of the Pope to the synod itself, which was to meet in August. He gives as the ground of its being convoked the emperor's wish to add the authority of the Apostolic See to his edict,⁴ as though His Majesty desired 'that the meaning of the answer given by the *Prince of the Apostles* to our Lord's question should be declared by the most blessed Peter himself,' i.e. through his own see. The object of the council is further defined to be

¹ Mansi, t. v. p. 1406.

² 'Nostra ex Patrum traditione sententia.'

³ Mansi, t. v. p. 1407.

⁴ 'Ad sanctæ dispositionis effectum'—'dispositio' being a term in use for imperial edicts.

that 'all error may be done away with by a fuller judgment' ('*pleniore iudicio*')—exactly the idea of a council which has been given above.¹ The council was as it were the fuller and more emphatic utterance of the Papal judgment. Its action was to consist in adhering to the judgment of the Apostolic See—in, as it were, prolonging its utterance, and applying it materially and visibly to the person in hand. It was not a higher judgment, not the confirmation of a superior authority, but the sentence of the Pope swelling out and completed by its synodical proclamation, as the sufferings of Christ are completed by those of His followers. His legates were to provide over its actual utterance; they were to determine² with the holy assembly of the episcopal brotherhood 'what things will be pleasing to the Lord.' The Pope then goes on to give a sketch of what Eutyches should do, and repeats what he had already said to Flavian, viz. that Eutyches had promised to obey the Holy See in the document ('*libellus*') which he had originally transmitted.³

One other letter he writes on the same day to Julian, Bishop of Cos, in the course of which he says he has sent letters to Flavian 'from which both your beloved self *and the whole Church* may know about the ancient and only faith, what we hold and preach as of divine tradition.'

No sooner had the legates set out with this batch of letters than Flavian's original letter (written immediately after the Constantinopolitan Synod) arrived, containing another copy of the Acts of the synod which he had spontaneously sent to Rome, and which had been mysteriously delayed. Leo at once wrote to him briefly, saying that the synod was not really needed. And he took the opportunity of writing once more to the emperor, excusing himself from attendance at the synod on three grounds: first, because there was no precedent for a Pope attending such a council (except, of course, by his legate); secondly, if there were, temporal necessities at home were in the way (the barbarians were wellnigh at the door); and thirdly, because the case was so clear that there was no real need ('*rationabilius abstinendum*'). Still he says he sends legates.

¹ P. 330.

² Mansi, t. v. p. 1411.

³ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XXII.

THE COUNCIL AT EPHESUS, CALLED THE LATROCINIUM, OR ROBBER
SYNOD—LEADING TO THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON.

I. ON August 8, A.D. 449, the ill-fated council met. It had been convened at the express desire of Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, a man of immoral life and violent temper, animated with furious hatred against Flavian and a determination to protect Eutyches. The Emperor Theodosius seems to have been completely in the hands of his eunuch Chrysaphius, the friend of Eutyches, and to have been perfectly indifferent to canons and laws of the Church. He repeated the experiment which he had made in the affair of Nestorius, of appointing the president of the synod, but this time with success. He appointed Dioscorus president in defiance of the laws of the Church, and he forbade Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, to attend the synod, on the ground that he had written against Cyril, but really because he was opposed to Dioscorus and Eutyches. Further, he commanded the attendance of Elpidius with a band of soldiers, with the view of forcing on the condemnation of Flavian, whom he called an innovator in religion. These were terrible auspices under which to commence a synod.

But the emperor did not even stop there. He commanded the attendance of an Archimandrite of Syria, named Barsumas, who was afterwards credited by the bishops at Chalcedon with the murder of Flavian; and not only his attendance was ordered as an anti-Nestorian, which was the attitude that the adherents of Eutychianism assumed, but the synod was ordered to give him a seat and vote, although not a bishop. The position seems at first sight that of a madman. But Theodosius was under the influence of others, and these

others were reckless in their endeavours to vent their spite against the orthodox party.

Dioscorus seems to have been consumed with the spirit of jealousy, and he at once accepted the position of president. He sat above the legates, who stood out against this innovation upon the Church's order, and took no regular seat in the council, but stood outside the bishops. Juvenal of Jerusalem, who was infected with Eutychian leanings, and had been joined on to Dioscorus by the emperor as one of the presidents, sat above the Bishop of Antioch, against whom he had long had a grudge; and in spite of the famous canon passed at Constantinople, Flavian, its archbishop, sat below each of these.

II. When the proposal was made to read St. Leo's Tome, Dioscorus simply occupied the time with other matters, and the Tome was never read. Eutyches had a confession of faith read on his behalf, which was accepted. His great point was that he accepted the Nicene Creed and the Ephesine decree—so little did the recitation of the Nicene Creed exclude heresy as to the central dogma of the Christian religion, and so utterly at variance with the facts of the early Church is the contention, now often made, that since 'Romans, Greeks, Anglicans' recite the Nicene Creed, there is sufficient unity of faith amongst them to constitute a visible Church.

Dioscorus accepted Eutyches' confession of faith, and his condemnation was reversed. In vain did the legates plead that the Tome of St. Leo should be read. The letters of St. Cyril were read and interpreted in favour of 'one nature after the Incarnation.' Eustathius of Berytus said that it was not St. Cyril's or St. Athanasius' teaching that there were two natures in Christ, using, however, an expression which refers in Cyril's writings to the One Nature and Divine Personality which existed before the Incarnation. The bishops held their tongues in terror, with Dioscorus before them, surrounded by soldiers and by the monks of Barsumas. They were dumb as the bishops in England in the Convocation of 1531, when in terror of Henry VIII. they gave a silent vote in favour of his supremacy.

Flavian was forthwith condemned. The Bishop of Ico-

nium threw himself at the feet of Dioscorus, and pleaded for Flavian. Dioscorus called for the soldiers, and the place was immediately filled with the rough military, with chains in their hands to lead off refractory bishops. They were locked in for the rest of the night. A blank paper was given them to sign; the sick were not allowed to go out for refreshment until they had subscribed the paper. Flavian now appealed to Rome, and this was the signal for blows and kicks from the monks, headed by Barsumas, and from Dioscorus himself. The old man eventually died of the injuries; but he had lodged his appeal to Rome before he went before another throne to receive the martyr's crown. Well might many of the bishops at Chalcedon, as they thought of this murdered Abel, call Dioscorus a second Cain.

Domnus, the Bishop of Antioch, was deposed, as also Theodoret. Maximus was chosen in the place of Domnus, but the See of Cyrus was left unfilled. Eusebius of Dorylæum, and Ibas, were likewise deposed, the see of the former being left vacant, while that of the latter was filled by Nonnus.

No one knows what became of Bishop Julius, the legate, in this scene of disorder, but Hilarus, the deacon, fled for his life,¹ and escaped to tell the tale to his master at Rome.

Such were the circumstances under which the authority of the Apostolic See was set at nought by a Christian bishop, with the protest only of the Papal legates, the Bishop of Iconium and the martyred Archbishop of Constantinople.

Dioscorus departed in haste and the assembly dispersed. And so, as Bishop Eusebius of Dorylæum afterwards informed the Emperors Valentinian and Marcian, Dioscorus, 'by money and by the brute force of his troops, overwhelmed the orthodox faith, and confirmed the heresy of Eutyches.' The synod was stigmatised by Leo as a 'Robber Council' rather than a true synod, and for ever after it was known by that expressive title.

III. Now let us suppose that the Church at this moment possessed nothing more for the purposes of her government than a 'first patriarch,' *primus inter pares*, with 'a prece-

¹ So Prosper, in his *Chronicon*.

dency, a pre-eminence,' and (in a sense not formal or technical) 'a leadership,' but without 'definite powers'—which is the highest Anglican description of the official position of the Holy See. Suppose, too, that this precedence was owing, not to a divine institution, but to the secular position of the city of Rome, to its having been 'organised by apostolic hands,' and having been connected with 'the majesty of the names of Peter and Paul,' and become 'famous for its bountiful generosity' and for 'its traditional immunity from heretical speculations.' This is the account given by a representative Anglican writer, of the 'place both lofty and distinctive,' 'undoubtedly assigned by ancient Christianity' to the See of Rome.¹

Would such a leadership have proved equal to the crisis that had arisen in the East under the Emperor Theodosius? Could such a leadership (which does not include the *right* of being appealed to as a higher court) have been able to reverse the catastrophe of the Robber Synod? Could such a position, with no 'definite powers,' no inheritance of rule and judgment from any 'Prince of Apostles' (for this is excluded by that theory), have been a sufficient lever for even Leo the Great to counteract the tremendous success over the orthodox faith which had now been achieved at Ephesus? Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, complaining to Edward I. of the conflicts that had arisen in England between the Church and State, says that nothing would avail to set things right except that state of things in which Catholic emperors bent before (1) the decrees of the Sovereign Pontiffs, (2) the statutes of councils, (3) and the sanctions of the orthodox Fathers. And in regard to the first he says, 'the sovereign Lord of all gave authority to the decrees of the Sovereign Pontiffs, when He said to Peter in the Gospel of St. Matthew, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven."'² Could anything short of this inherited privilege of Peter, which was the teaching of every Archbishop of Canterbury, and which is the distinctive feature of Catholic and Roman teaching at this

¹ Cf. *The Roman Claims tested by Antiquity*, p. 8, by W. Bright, D.D., Canon of Christ Church, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History. 1877.

² *Ep. 199: Registrum Epistolarum*, ed. C. T. Martin (1882), vol. i. p. 240.

hour, be adequate to deal with the state of things that had now arisen in the East?

IV. On what did St. Leo actually rely? He had already expounded the faith which he 'desired to be implanted in the hearts of all the faithful,' as he told the clergy of Constantinople. He had already given an 'interpretatio benigna' to the emperor's desire for a council as necessarily involving the wish to have Peter's answer at Cæsarea Philippi explained by Peter himself (*i.e.* through his see), as he told the synod itself; he had reviewed and revised the Acts of a previous Synod of Constantinople, and laid down the conditions of Eutyches' restoration, and, in his letter to the empress he had assumed, on the ground of his occupying 'the Apostolic See,' the office of absolver of the heretic in case he repented. But he had now to lift up the fallen East. He had the emperor against him; the Patriarch of Alexandria was involved in heresy, a new patriarch had been elected to Antioch, the Bishop of Jerusalem had sided with the enemies of the faith, and but one bishop, besides his own legate, had dared to lift up his voice in favour of the murdered archbishop.

On what, then, did Leo rely in dealing with bishops, patriarchs, and an Eastern emperor? His position as Bishop of Old Rome could avail him nothing, for Theodosius was Emperor of New Rome. His position as occupant of an Apostolic See would not suffice; the Bishop of Jerusalem was his equal there. The traditional orthodoxy of Rome would be of no use to him here; the East had gone in for its own opinion. He had with him the hearts of many, but the voices of none, whilst the emperor professed to believe in an Eastern council of bishops under his own royal supremacy. What right had Leo to intervene at all?

The ground that he did assume was his position of Sovereign Pontiff. He knew well that though they might rebel against it, they could not deny it. He knew that the East to a man believed St. Peter to be 'the Prince and head of the Apostles,' and that Peter 'lives and exercises judgment in his successors.'¹ And on this belief he acted throughout. And

¹ Cf. p. 344.

in the whole course of the Council of Chalcedon not a single protest was raised against the assumption made to emperor, empress, to the synod, and to individual bishops—made publicly and given as the ground of his action; there was, I say, not a solitary protest against the perpetual assumption on the part of the Pontiff that he was the successor of St. Peter, and that as such he had the power of the keys, not exclusively, but pre-eminently; with a precedence, not of honour merely, but of spiritual jurisdiction over the entire Church of God. 'It is idle to bid us acknowledge her bishop' (*i.e.* the Bishop of Rome) 'as first patriarch, when he will not be acknowledged as anything short of a Supreme Pontiff.'¹ This is the ground alleged for refusing at this moment to the Bishop of Rome the position which the writer of these words considers was his in the first four councils. It has, however, already been made clear that the Pope's position was something very different from this from the beginning; but the history of Eutychianism and the Council of Chalcedon are distinct in their evidence to the truth that the Pope was held to be the successor of the Prince of the Apostles, and as such was, as St. Cyril called Celestine, 'the archbishop of the universal Church.'

V. Flavian upon his condemnation at Ephesus had handed in an appeal to the Papal legates. He appealed to 'the Apostolic See;' so Liberatus, the African author of the 'Breviarium,' states² after inspecting the documents. And Valentinian, the Emperor of the West, distinctly states the same in his letter to Theodosius. 'The Bishop of Constantinople appealed to him' (*viz.* the Bishop of Rome) 'by formal notice,' *per libellos*.³ De Marca, whose general line of argument would naturally indispose him to admit this, says, 'It is clearly proved by Valentinian's letter that Flavian appealed to Pope Leo;' and again, 'so as that he appealed to the Roman Pontiff alone.' The Empress Placidia,⁴ writing from Rome, says that appeal had been made to the Apostolic See, 'and to all the bishops of these parts.' 'These parts' are not to be understood of the entire West, but of those bishops round

¹ *Roman Claims*, &c. by Canon Bright.

² *Breviarium*, c. xii.

³ *Leon. Ep.* lv.

⁴ *Ibid.* Ep. lvi.

about Rome, and all others happening to be in Rome, with whom the Popes almost invariably acted in matters of unusual importance. The authority of such a synod was wholly due to that of the Holy See. For no mere Roman synod could have the right to deal with the affairs of an Eastern patriarchate; the authority of such a synod could only come from its president, the successor of St. Peter, in whose name its decisions most frequently ran. When a Pope felt that the unanimity of his council would add any extrinsic weight to the Papal judgment he would naturally mention it, as in point of fact St. Leo did in this case. But its intrinsic value was recognised as being due to the authority of 'the Apostolic See.' Flavian knew well that the Pope usually acted with a synod, and he may have mentioned the synod, as the Empress Galla Placidia seems to imply; or the empress may (quite as probably) have thrown the words in, as being true in fact, although not expressly mentioned by Flavian.¹ St. Leo's letter to Theodosius, speaking of the tears of 'all the churches in our parts,' is headed 'Leo, Bishop, and the Holy Synod, which met in the city of Rome.' But, as De Marca admits, Valentinian's letter is conclusive.

VI. On September 29 (449) St. Leo was holding one of these synods of the suburbicarian sees and of the bishops who happened to be in Rome, assembled to celebrate the anniversary of his own birthday, and conduct the affairs of the Church, when Hilary, the deacon, arrived from Ephesus with the sad news of the Robber Council. The synod was accordingly prolonged to consider what steps should be taken to retrieve the disaster which had befallen the true faith. They had now before them the appeal of Flavian and that of Theodoret. They knew nothing as yet, it would seem,² of the death of Flavian, and the election of his successor. They only knew of the triumph of heresy in a council of bishops which had received St. Leo's acquiescence on the understanding that it met to promulgate the condemnation of Eutyches, if he did not withdraw his heretical propositions, and to absolve him by the authority of the Holy See if he did.

¹ Cf. the Ballerini's *Observations on Quesnel's Eighth Dissertation*.

² This is very clearly shown by the Ballerini.

St. Leo, in concert with his bishops, at once repudiated the council at Ephesus; so that Hilary, the deacon, who was present, could write to the Empress Pulcheria saying¹ 'that everything done in Ephesus by Dioscorus uncanonically and tumultuously and through worldly hate, is condemned by the aforesaid Pope with the whole Western Council,' i.e. the bishops at and around Rome. At Chalcedon (Act X.) the legates objected to the reading of the Acts of the Robber Synod on the ground that they had all been rendered null and void 'by the most blessed and apostolical Bishop of the city of Rome,' and the validity of the objection was admitted.

And so, too, all who took an active part in that synod were now separated by St. Leo from the communion of the Apostolic See.

VII. So that Leo did not ask for any fresh council in order to nullify the proceedings at Ephesus, but he treated them at once as null and void. No general synod was needed for that; and Flavian had not appealed to a general synod. Besides the reasons just given, his principles on that point were clearly expressed in his letter to St. Leo ('Ep.' xxvi.), when he said that the exercise of Leo's authority would supersede the necessity of a council; and his experience of the Ephesine Synod would not incline him to repeat the experiment of another council. He appealed to Leo's apostolical authority, in accordance with the canon of Sardica or Nice, and it rested with Leo to exercise that authority as he thought best, by synod or otherwise. St. Leo considered that a council was rendered necessary by the circumstances under which Flavian appealed, not by Flavian's appeal itself. The Pontiff acted in exact accordance with the fourth canon of Sardica, or (as I have said there is good reason for believing it to be) the un-mutilated canon of Nicæa, which came to be called a Sardican canon. That canon enacted that 'When any bishop shall have been deposed by the judgment of those bishops who live in the neighbouring parts, and shall have proclaimed that his case is to be dealt with in Rome, no other bishop should be ordained to his see after the appeal of him who seems to be

¹ *Leonis Ep.* xl.

deposed until the case has been decided by the judgment of the Roman bishop.'

What, therefore, was necessary according to this Nicene, or Sardican, canon was the judgment of the Bishop of Rome; and the Bishop of Rome had the right, according to this canon, to demand that things should remain as they were, and no bishop be ordained until he had passed his sentence.¹

Accordingly, in the following January (450),² the Pope wrote to the Emperor Theodosius, who, he well knew, recognised in him the successor of St. Peter, in spite of his having yielded to Chrysaphius his eunuch, and thrown his imperial ægis over the reprobate Patriarch of Alexandria. Now it was not a time in which a man like St. Leo, whose whole soul was on fire with zeal for the truth of the Incarnation, would venture on an unsubstantiated claim, or claim an unrecognised position. He must have known that there was no one who would deny his connection with St. Peter, or he would never have run the risk, under the circumstances, of being asked on what ground he ventured to intervene with such a claim. The idea that he acted as 'First Patriarch' is out of the question. There is not a sign of such a thought in the whole history; and the idea that he risked all on a doubtful position, or asserted what was not fully recognised, is preposterous. But the only alternative to this is the supposition that what was accepted without a murmur at the Œcumenical Council of Ephesus was the literal truth, viz. 'That it has been known to all ages and doubtful to none' that Peter was the head of the Apostles, and that 'he up to this time and always lives and exercises judgment in his successors.'

Accordingly, Leo wrote to the emperor and demanded the fulfilment of 'the decrees of the canons drawn up (*habitorum*) at Nicæa.' And in virtue of these he asked that 'you would order that all things should be as they were before any judgment was passed [*i.e.* at the Robber Council] until a larger number of bishops can be gathered together from the whole world;' and that this synod be assembled in Italy, 'so that I

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 180.

² This date has been fixed by the Ballerini through a codex which they recovered (cf. *Leonis Opera*, Ep. liv., and *Diss. de Ep. deperd.* n. 38).

may be present and pass judgment on the whole matter.'¹ The object of the council was that those bishops 'who have erred from the right way may be recalled to a sound mind by wholesome remedies, and that those whose case is graver may acquiesce in counsels (given), or be cut off from the One Church.'

He speaks of the emperor having sent letters, previously to the Robber Council, 'to the see of the blessed Apostle Peter,' and having made him feel sure that truth would be defended, especially considering the trustworthy character of those whom he (the Pope) had sent to the council; then he expresses his certainty that all would have been well with the bishops if they had been allowed to hear his letter to Flavian (the Tome); 'for the tumult would have been so quieted by the manifestation of the most pure faith which, inspired divinely, we have received and hold, that neither unskilfulness would have pursued its folly' (in allusion to Eutyches), 'nor rivalry' (in allusion to Dioscorus against Constantinople) 'have had the opportunity of doing further harm.'

These words of St. Leo to an Eastern emperor, written after consultation with the Synod of Rome, contain as full an expression of infallibility as is anywhere to be found. One expression, if taken too strictly, goes beyond the Vatican decree. That decree, in formulating the dogma which is here assumed by St. Leo, decides that the Pope does not, in his *ex cathedrâ* pronouncements, claim inspiration but divine assistance. It is clear, however, that St. Leo held the same. Inspiration, in its earlier, wider sense, includes the assistance vouchsafed to the writers of Holy Scripture. But the saint here limits the word by the rest of the sentence, and shows that he means exactly that divine assistance in declaring what 'has been received by us' (*i.e.* the Holy See), which constitutes Papal infallibility according to the Vatican decree.

The position, then, as St. Leo placed it before the emperor, was this. The synod has gone wrong. That is certain. Had the bishops had St. Leo's Tome read to them they would have gone right. Violence and intrigue prevailed; but Flavian protested and appealed, and so did the Papal legates.

¹ Cf. *Ep.* xliii. and xlv.

It is necessary, therefore, according to the canons, that the Pope should intervene. This, under the circumstance, will be best done by the medium of a general council, whereby alone (St. Leo says) 'all conflict would be brought to an end, and all deviation from or doubts as to the faith cease.'¹

At the same time he wrote to the Empress Pulcheria, and said that his legates protested, at the synod, that force was being used, and 'that they were not going to be separated by any injuries from that faith which had been most fully expounded and set in order by the See of the blessed Apostle Peter, and which they had brought with them to the holy synod.'

He asked the empress to assist him in getting another synod convoked, and to consider herself 'specially entrusted with a commission (for that purpose) by the most blessed Apostle Peter.'

VIII. Theodosius kept perfect silence. A few weeks after the despatch of these letters the Emperor Valentinian came to Rome with the Empresses Galla Placidia, his mother, and Eudoxia, his wife, and daughter to Theodosius. On the Feast of the Chair of St. Peter they came into St. Peter's for their devotions, and met the sorrowing Pontiff. They were at the tomb of the Apostles in the Basilica, and his Holiness approached their Imperial Majesties, hardly able to speak for the tears and sobs that choked his utterance.² He described to them the state of things, and told them of his request for another synod, and induced them to use their influence with their imperial relative to induce him to answer the Pope's request.

Accordingly each one of them wrote to Theodosius. The Western emperor's letter to his imperial relative in the East is of supreme importance. It is, I repeat, impossible to suppose that Valentinian would venture on any disputed ground as to jurisdiction. Valentinian's letter was inspired by Leo. And no one can read St. Leo's letters at this period without feeling that his supreme motive was the honour due to our Divine Lord and his devouring zeal for the revealed

¹ Ep. xliii.

² Ep. lvi. 'Galla Plac. ad Theodosium.'

truth concerning the mystery of the Incarnation. No one can read his letters without feeling that a certain piety, humility, and holy charity breathes through every one of them; and therefore no one can reasonably suppose that he was engaged in pushing a usurped prerogative at this momentous crisis. What, then, does Valentinian, thus inspired, say to his imperial cousin? He says, 'The most blessed Bishop of the city of the Romans, to whom antiquity gave the sovereignty over all' (as being the See of St. Peter, as we know Valentinian held), 'has to judge concerning matters of faith and the affairs of bishops,' and that on this account the Bishop of Constantinople appealed to him by a formal notice¹ 'on account of the strife that had arisen concerning the faith.' And so he is induced to write to Theodosius that 'he would acquiesce in the petition of Flavian that *the aforesaid bishop* [of Rome] having gathered all the bishops of the whole world within Italy, may without prejudice, and going into the whole matter, *give the judgment* which faith and the word of divine truth require.' The empress wrote at the same time, describing the scene in St. Peter's, speaking of Flavian's appeal to Rome, and that of the Papal legates. At the same time she wrote to the Empress Pulcheria,² and, after describing the tears of Leo, expressed her hope that all that had been decided at the 'tumultuous and most miserable' Council at Ephesus will be treated as null and void, and that 'all things remaining uninjured [*i.e. in statu quo*, as provided by the fourth canon, so called, of Sardica] the judgment will be remitted to the council of the Apostolic throne, in which Peter, the most blessed Peter, first of the Apostles, having received the keys of the heavens, adorned the headship of the hierarchy. For we ought to give the primacy in all things to the Eternal City.'

At the same time Leo wrote to the clergy and people of Constantinople, promising them all possible support from his fatherly care for them, and bidding them use their influence to obtain a plenary synod; and explained to the Empress Pulcheria that human affairs can go smoothly only when the royal and sacerdotal authorities defend those matters which belong to a 'divine confession,' as a reason for Theodosius

¹ Ep. lv. *Leonis Opera*, ed. Baller.

² Ep. lvi.

and himself working together—a reason, that is, why the emperor should consent to a council. This was in February, 450.

IX. Meanwhile letters were on their way from the clergy and people of Constantinople and from the archimandrites Martin and Faustus, written in the preceding October, and St. Leo wrote one of his most magnificent letters in reply. He speaks of his writings having been directed to the East, 'not only by the authority of the Apostolic See, but also with the unanimity of the holy synod, which had frequently met, that the care which we have for the whole Church may be apparent, by our exhortations addressed to all the faithful and our demand for help in the defence of the faith from the most clement princess.'

Meanwhile, he directs Martin and Faustus to make known to the children of the Church 'what we preach contrary to the impious sense [of Eutyches] and in accordance with the evangelical and apostolical doctrine; for although we have written fully what is and always has been the *sententia* of Catholics, still we add now no little exhortation to confirm the minds of all. For I am mindful that I preside over the Church in his name whose confession was praised by the Lord Jesus Christ, and whose faith destroys all heresies, but above all the impiety of the present error; and I understand that nothing else is permitted to me than that I should spend all my efforts on that cause in which the safety of the Universal Church is attacked.' Accordingly, that there may be no mistake about his teaching, in case they should not have received a copy of his writings, he sends fresh copies.¹

Such was the tremendous energy of this single-minded hero of the great conflict for 'the only hope of the human race.'

So far as the Emperor Theodosius was concerned, it was all in vain.

X. In the midst, however, of Leo's difficulties, the Providence of God removed Theodosius, after many signs (if Nicephorus is to be relied on) of true repentance. He had

¹ Ep. lxi.

selected for his heiress a saintly woman, under a vow of perpetual chastity, of whom St. Cyril says that in her 'every kind of virtue and every adornment pleasing in the eyes of the Divine Majesty shone with wonderful splendour.'¹ No woman, however, had as yet held the reins of empire; and accordingly she offered her hand and throne to the most distinguished general of the day, on condition that he should respect her vow. Marcian was a worthy husband to St. Pulcheria, renowned as well for his piety as for his military skill. Everything was now changed, for the emperor and empress regarded their position simply as an opportunity for protecting the true faith.

X. Pulcheria's entreaties to Theodosius that he would accede to the Pope's request for a council to be called in Italy had failed. But in her new position her first care, as also that of her husband, was to carry out the wishes of Leo. The imperial zeal, however, was 'without knowledge,' for their very advent to the throne had made a council unnecessary. But this they did not know; and accordingly they wrote to Leo, acquainting him with the fact that they had acted at his instigation in memory of the scene at St. Peter's, and had issued an edict for the convention of a council.² Not in Italy, since the reason for that no longer existed, as it would be best held under their own protecting presence, in the East, where all the disturbance had taken place.

The Pope told their Imperial Majesties that he no longer desired a council. The bishops had signed his epistle to Flavian in such numbers, and so many were daily returning in penitence, that his legates at Constantinople, in concert with Anatolius (who had also signed the Tome of Leo), could manage the rest. But Leo was not the man to quench the zeal of emperors; and since, out of pure love of the truth and devotion to himself, they had issued the edict, imagining it to be his desire, he praised in them what he sincerely admired, viz. their zeal, and consented to send legates.³

¹ Cyr. Alex. *de Fide ad Pulch. et Sorores Reginas*.

² σοῦ ἀβελροῦντος: at which everything was to be decided by Leo's authority, σοῦ ἀβελροῦντος ὁρίσασιν, Ep. lxxvii.

³ 'Doubt has arisen respecting the true faith, as is shown by the letters of

The emperor and empress, in expressing the purport of the council, did not imply that the doctrine contained in the Tome of Leo was an open question. We know they believed the doctrine themselves. But there were some amongst those who had been led away who needed to have it publicly set before them, and the reinstatement of the lapsed but penitent bishops needed some arrangement which would, says Pulcheria, be made 'on the authority of Leo.'¹ Some shorter confession of faith, in accordance with the Tome, was also needed, and desired by the Pope, and all this could be effected in the council. Pulcheria in the same letter informs the Pope with evident joy that the Bishop of Constantinople has subscribed the Tome; whilst the emperor had already told Leo that he looked to him in the cause of the orthodox faith, because he was 'the bishop and ruler of the divine faith.'² This, be it remembered, was one of the holiest emperors, if not quite the holiest, that ever ruled at Constantinople.

XI. Before, however, proceeding to the acts of the council, it will be well to consider the circumstances under which Anatolius took his seat as Bishop of Constantinople.

Upon the death of the murdered Flavian the clergy and people of Constantinople had elected to the vacant see the very person who had acted as secretary to the heretical Archbishop of Alexandria (Dioscorus), and was in favour with his sympathiser, the Emperor Theodosius. The latter had relied on him in his ecclesiastical administration, and had probably procured his election as archbishop of his capital. Anatolius, for that was his name, wrote to Leo announcing his consecration. What else he said we do not know. It is not correct to say, as Mr. Gore does,³ that he 'simply announced his consecration, without asking for any consent to it on Leo's part;' for his letter, as we have it, is confessedly a fragment, and St. Leo's letter to the emperor implies that Ana-

the most holy Bishop of Rome,' are the emperor's words. There was no doubt in his own mind as to which was the true faith; and the letters of Leo were all written with the view, not of settling, but of enforcing the true faith.

¹ σοῦ ἀθηνταύτου (Ep. lxxvii.).

² ἐπισκοπεύουσιν καὶ ἄρχουσιν τῆς θείας πίστεως.

³ *Dict. of Chr. Biogr.* art. 'Leo.'

tolius did ask for Leo's confirmation. What, however, we do know that he omitted was a statement as to his teaching; he gave no account of his faith.¹ Leo accordingly waited some months before answering, and then he wrote, not to Anatolius himself, but to the Emperor Theodosius. Now it would hardly be possible to give clearer indications of the relation of sovereignty on the part of the See of St. Peter towards the See of Constantinople than are afforded by this and some succeeding letters. It must be remembered that Leo was writing to the Eastern emperor, who was opposed to his condemnation of Eutyches; he was writing, too, about the bishop of that city, which was the very apple of the imperial eye. We know that the emperor had avowed the sovereignty of the See of St. Peter over all the sees of Christendom by his signature to the 'Constitution' of Valentinian; but this sovereignty of the Apostolic See was now to be expressed in a form most calculated to excite that emperor's indignation, and to jeopardise the whole position, unless that sovereignty were beyond dispute. But in truth the Huns, tumultuously crowding into Italy and advancing towards Rome, were not more dreadful in the eyes of Leo than the incursion of heretics into that vineyard of the Lord, with which the Eastern bishops declared him to have been entrusted by the Saviour of the world.² The time had come when that energetic nature, which had hardly its peer in that half-century, must exercise the authority of his position to the full. The Divine Majesty of his Lord was at stake. It was enough for Leo.

XII. Now there was just occasion for suspicion as to Anatolius' teaching. Indeed, his conduct after the synod showed that there was a taint of heresy about him, such as Leo feared. Accordingly Leo wrote to the emperor, in July 450, and praised him for deciding to adhere to the Nicene Creed. It was on this point that Theodosius had been misled by the Eutychian party. They were for ever proclaiming their adherence to the Nicene Creed, and made believe that they were contending for that creed and for the Ephesine decree. So the Pope gives the emperor credit for sincerely believing that

¹ Ep. lxi. lxxi. ² Letter of the Eastern bishops to Leo after Chalcedon.

he was acting in defence of the Nicene settlement; and on this ground he expresses his surprise that Anatolius has not sent him an account of his faith. Consequently he has deferred acknowledging him—'not that he refused his affection, but because he awaited some manifestation of Catholic truth.' He says that he is not exacting from him anything but what every Catholic would do. He then alludes to their predecessors' writings as sufficient tests for those who preceded them. But they are not enough for themselves under present circumstances. Anatolius is to 'read carefully' 'what the holy Fathers have given as guard to the faith in the Incarnation,' 'and he must understand that what Cyril wrote against Nestorius is consonant with this.' Cyril's letter, says the Pope, is a clear exposition of the Nicene definition, and has been placed in the archives of the Apostolic See.¹ Anatolius is to read carefully the Acts of the Ephesine Synod² against Nestorius; and he is 'not to disdain to read also my letter, which he will find agrees in all things with the Fathers.'

But this is not all. St. Leo tells the emperor that Anatolius, having recognised that all this is demanded and expected of him,³ he is to sign the confession of the Common Faith, and make a declaration before all the clergy and the whole people—a profession of faith which is to be 'publicly notified (1) to the Apostolic See, and (2) to all the Lord's priests [*i.e.* bishops] and Churches.' Further, he is to send a written statement as soon as possible, plainly ('*dilucidè*') declaring that if anyone believes or asserts anything else concerning the Incarnation of the Word of God than what 'the profession of all Catholics and my own' declares, he will separate such a one from his communion. And to expedite this important matter, he says he is sending four legates, whose business it will be 'to declare the exact faith which we hold, *the form of our faith*, so that if the Bishop of Constantinople consents to the same confession of faith, with his whole heart, we may feel secure and rejoice in the peace of the

¹ 'Apostolicæ Sedis scrinia susceperunt.'

² 'Ephesinæ synodi gesta recenset.'

³ 'Expeti desiderarique'—'desiderari' expressing Leo's feeling that something of the kind ought to have been done sooner.

Church. If, however, there is any dissent from the purity of our faith and the authority of the Fathers,' a council must be held in Italy, so that it may not be open to anyone to talk about the Nicene Creed and yet be in opposition to it.

Now, had there been an idea that there was the slightest dogmatic ground for denying the prerogative thus claimed by Leo of dealing with the Archbishop of Constantinople as a subject, and of imposing on him the Roman 'form of faith,' it is not possible to suppose that either Theodosius or Anatolius would not have resented this exercise of jurisdiction. It would be impossible to imagine a more extreme case. There is every circumstance that could emphasise the impossibility of such a tremendous assumption (if it were an assumption¹) passing muster without a challenge. The archbishop in question was not naturally disposed either to submit quietly to a usurpation for the sake of uniting against a common foe, for he had a tender spot in his heart for the party of Eutyches; he was not the occupant of a see which had no ambition or no political friends, for it was the Imperial see, and was soon about to attempt a rise in the scale of patriarchal honour over Alexandria and Antioch. Here, too, was an emperor not favourable to Leo and the orthodox party, but under the influence of Dioscorus and his friends. Such were the circumstances, and they simply preclude the idea that there was not ample recognition of the headship of the See of St. Peter on which St. Leo could work; for Leo was neither a dullard nor void of care for the faith. He lived for the faith, and he knew something of men.

To Pulcheria St. Leo wrote to exactly the same effect, insisting that Anatolius must without delay acknowledge the 'unskilful folly' displayed by the definition of the Robber Synod. And the reason he gives is the same as Leo XIII. would give under similar circumstances, viz. 'because both my confession of faith and that of the holy Fathers² concerning the Incarnation of the Lord is in all respects a concordant and one confession.'

¹ Canon Bright's explanation, 'Leo . . . quietly assumes,' is simply out of the question.

² In each of these letters there is probably a special allusion to the Nicene Fathers, with whom Theodosius misled by Eutyches, claimed to be in harmony.

At the same time he writes to the archimandrites of Constantinople (a still stronger step in some respects), and complains of Anatolius having given no sign, as if there had been no scandals connected with Constantinople, or 'as if' the merit of a bishop were not to be demonstrated principally from here.'

Leo seems to have had no fear that he was placing the cause nearest to his heart, the maintenance of the 'peerless sacrament of the faith,' in any jeopardy. If ever there was a case in which the authority of the Apostolic See needed to come forward, it was here, and if ever there was one case more than another in which that authority was used with holy boldness and singleness of aim, it was this. The result was everything that could be wished. Leo wrote in July, and at the end of the month Theodosius suddenly died. The legates appear to have acted promptly, and in November the Empress Pulcheria was able to announce to Leo that 'Anatolius embraces the apostolical confession of your letters,' and has without delay signed the dogmatic epistle to Flavian, which she calls 'the letter of the Catholic faith.'

XIII. Anatolius' letters to Leo are unfortunately lost. Leo answered him² and congratulated him, and, after giving directions about the reception of such bishops as had given way at the Latrocinium, he says, 'the favour of communion with us is to be neither harshly denied nor rashly bestowed.' He says that he had received Eusebius into communion, and therefore requests Anatolius to have Eusebius' Church taken care of, and desires that all should know that Anatolius has been received into communion with Rome, 'that those who serve our God may rejoice that your peace has been concluded with the Apostolic See.' He further tells the emperor³ that he has directed the legates to co-operate with Anatolius, and in another letter⁴ he tells Anatolius that he joins him with them in the execution of his decree,⁵ and gives his directions about the lapsed bishops in general and the leaders in particular.

¹ 'Aut non hinc præcipue fuerit meritum demonstrandum.'

² Ep. lxxx.

³ Ep. lxxxiii.

⁴ Ep. lxxxv.

⁵ 'Executionem nostræ dispositionis.' (Of the use of *dispositio* for an imperial edict.)

As regards the latter, if they repent he 'reserves' their case 'for the maturer counsels of the Apostolic See,'¹ and bids Anatolius 'to strive to execute such things as befit the Church of God' in union with his own legates.

At the same time, as if, in God's providence, history was to settle for those who search it the lines of Papal jurisdiction, St. Leo exercised the same authority over the members of the Archdiocese of Constantinople that Zozimus did over Africa. Two Constantinopolitan priests had repaired to Rome to clear themselves of suspicion as to heresy, and Leo sent them back, saying that 'at great cost they had opened their hearts to [literally in] the Apostolic See, and shown that they receive nothing save what we, by the teaching of the Holy Spirit, have both learned and teach;' and he exhorts Anatolius to assist them, as 'being adorned with the favour of Apostolical communion,' i.e. communion with the Apostolic See.

It is difficult to imagine a more perfect anticipation of Catholic ecclesiastical life in the nineteenth century. And so far there is not a solitary protest recorded, not a distant idea that St. Leo was doing more than exercising his proper prerogative in a natural way, and fulfilling the responsibilities of his sacred and divinely instituted office.

XIV. A very important step was now taken by the new archbishop. For the second time he called together his 'home-synod,'² and the bishops not merely themselves signed the Tome or letter to Flavian, but sent it to the absent metropolitans.

Abundius, the Papal legate, thereupon returned from Constantinople, and obtained, in accordance with the request of Leo, the subscription of the Metropolitan of Milan and his synod to the Pope's dogmatic epistle. The same had already been obtained from the provinces of Gaul.

So that this letter to Flavian, which had been suppressed at the Robber Council, had now received the signatures of well-nigh the whole Christian world. It was issued as an *ex cathedra* pronouncement on the part of the Pope; it had now been received as the dogmatic expression of Christian belief at Con-

¹ *Ibid.* c. ii.

² Consisting of the bishops at and around Constantinople.

stantinople, at Antioch,¹ and in the entire West. No bishop who had signed it could henceforth treat its teaching as an open question; it only remained to issue a definition in accordance with it, and to induce the Egyptians to withdraw their complicity with Dioscorus and his teaching, and to arrange the return of the lapsed but penitent bishops. St. Leo had already laid down the conditions of their return, but had made an exception in the case of the ringleaders at Ephesus. This, however, he also eventually left to the discretion of the council on application from Pulcheria.²

Such were the circumstances under which Anatolius, the Bishop of Constantinople, took his seat at the Council of Chalcedon.

¹ *Leonis Ep. civ.*

² *Ep. lxxxv.*

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE DEPOSITION OF DIOSCORUS.

I. THE great council met, not, as was originally intended, at Nicæa, but at Chalcedon, in order that the emperor might attend to his imperial affairs and yet be near at hand in case of need. And it must be borne in mind that it was summoned for the reversal of the Ephesine catastrophe. The Robber Synod of Ephesus had acquitted Eutyches, and grounded its acquittal on his agreement with St. Cyril; it had condemned Flavian, his archbishop, on the false supposition that he differed from Cyril, and so from the Nicene Fathers. But, on the other hand, St. Leo had confirmed the condemnation of Eutyches by the previous Synod of Constantinople, and there was an end of that matter. His position as a heretic was assumed throughout. But the condemnation of Flavian and the pretended agreement of Eutyches with St. Cyril had to be dealt with; and the Patriarch of Alexandria had to be condemned, if he continued obdurate to the last. St. Leo had cherished hopes of his repentance, and accordingly had devolved upon the council the duty of deposing him in case only of his continued obduracy; in case of his repentance the matter would have to be referred again to the Apostolic See.¹

It was not enough, then, for the council to signify its adhesion to the Tome of St. Leo. It must also make it plain that its adhesion included the clear perception that the two great letters of St. Cyril, confirmed by the General Council of Ephesus (which included the Pope by representation and by

¹ 'Reserved for the maturer counsels of the Apostolic See' (*Ep. lxxxv.*)