3-31-03

THEOLOGY OF THE FIRST FOUR ECUMENICAL COUNCILS

We took to say there were 4 ecumenical councils while others hold to 6, 7, or 21

This is a summary overview, intended to introduce terminology and basic structural outline, from which later studies can develop.

i.e. canon 20 covers for prayer

Points of interpretation: the number of ecumenical councils (4? 6, 7, 21), their authority as only "doctrinal" or also "disciplinary," "ecumenical" then meaning "worldwide" rather than "inter-church" (from oikos=household, oikeo=to inhabit), acceptance or reception as "ecumenical" always gradual, councils as highpoints of doctrinal development rather than final solutions, meanings of technical theological terms shift widely with persons, times, and places, "heresy" a relative rather than absolute term, traditional view that "orthodoxy" came first and then heresies followed has been reversed by Bauer (1934): first pluralism, then "orthodoxy" and "catholicism." Note that some modernist theologians regard patristic theological development as useless metaphysical speculation, while still others who specialize in it each have their own particular "take" upon it in such a way as to claim that all other interpreters are wrong and that their own clever re-ordering of the evidence is really the only interpretation possible!

PS the official establishment of the Church often meant the suppression of varied viewpoints

I: NICAEA I: 325: vs. ARIANISM, which denied divinity of Christ.

as in the First Nicaean Council

Background: Origen d. 254. Left-wing Origenism: in modification of Origen's "eternal generation" ("eternal creation") theory, this school held there can be no eternal distinctions within the Godhead. About the year 319, Arius, a student of this school and a presbyter of the diocese of Alexandria, came to oppose his bishop Alexander and to suspect him an advocate of an earlier 2nd-3rd century heresy of this sort (no eternal distinctions) called Sabellianism, or Modal Monarchianism, or Modalism, which held that God is a single unit (mon-arch) who merely reveals himself in three operations or attributes or appearances or modes (such as, creator, redeemer, sanctifier!). Such a view of the Trinity is said to be economic or imminent in that it believes God in Trinity only for purposes of revelation, for the economy of salvation, God with us. Against this, so against his bishop, Arius held that a greater distinction was necessary, but that it could not be an eternal distinction. Hence, extending Origen's subordinationist view of the Logos as mediator between God and humanity, he said: "There was (before time was created) when he was not": "En (pote) hote ouk en": ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν : before he was (begotten or created) he was not. Hence, said Arius, the Word was made or created (ποιηθεντα) but not begotten (γεννηθεντα). Arius' subordinationism thus did not consist in saying that Christ was a "mere" man, but rather that Christ was not co-equal with the Father in eternity. For Arius, the Son did have a beginning, at the beginning of created time, whereas the Father did not; for Arius the Logos is not God in the same way that God is God. Much controversy, popular tracts and slogans; cf. Arius: "If you want the logos doctrine I can serve it cold or hot: Got begot him, but before he was begotten he was not"! So in contrast to Origen Arius holds that the Son or Logos is temporally generated, created, made, like other humans.

Against Arius, Bishop Alexander of Alexandria asked, "How can He be mutable and susceptible of change who says of Himself 'I am in the Father and the Father in me' and 'I and the Father are one'?" Upon advice of Constantine's theological advisor Bishop Hosius of Cordova that Arius should be condemned, as well as upon the concern lest the unity of his Christian empire be split by theological dissension Constantine now summons the Council of Nicaea.

So, the First Ecumenical Council: Arianism was the major issue but there was also the Meletian Schism in Egypt (rigorists vs. lapsed), the Paschal controversy (over correct method for computing date of Easter), and still other issues. Doctrinal decision + 20 "disciplinary" canons (e.g. no. 20, on standing for prayer). Major opponent of Arius at the council was a deacon named Athanasius, who defended the position of Alexander but with greater subtlety. [Athanasius was author of Life of Antony, as well as of On the Incarnation, written 318, which (cf. 54.3) established the position in Christology that "He became human in order that we might become divine" - using the term "Theopoiesis"). Middle party (majority) was led by Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea (the historian, greater talent as statesman than as theologian). Constantine presided. Major theological decisions: "ek tou patros gennethenta pro panton ton aionon" = "eternally begotten of the Father" (= eternal generation, from Origen); "gennethenta, ou poiethenta" = γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα = begotten not made, and "homoousion to patri" = ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί = consubstantial with the Father = of the same substance or essence as the Father = of one Being with the Father (BCP, ICET). The key term, homoousios, used earlier by Origen, was proposed by Constantine probably at the suggestion of Hosius of Cordova. Hence, Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed: compiled at Nicaea (partly from earlier credal statements), probably re-written and revised at Constantinople (evidence for this is fragmentary), finally promulgated at Chalcedon 451, today called "the ecumenical creed". NB homos = same (not homoios = similar, like) + ousia = being, essence, substance.

Afterward: Of the "318" bishops said to be present at Nicaea, the two opposing Arian bishops, Theonas and Secundus from Libya, objecting less to the doctrine of the creed than to the council's sixth canon which subjected Libya to the jurisdiction of Alexandria, refused to sign, and were deposed by Constantine and exiled to the north! The doctrinal decisions of Nicaea were gradually accepted, but there were some hesitations: Homoousios was not Scriptural, not in catholic tradition but had earlier been used by some Gnostics and by heretics Sabellius and Paul of Samosata, was forced upon the church by the emperor ("secular" influence), seemed to limit God's essence or substance to that of created, material, apparently physical ousia, and this seemed to be a form of modalism. Many further synods in 4th century, western empire generally Athanasian, east generally Arian as was emperor Constantius II (350-361). Athanasius (Patriarch of Alexandria 328-373, known as "contra mundum" = against the world) was himself banished and rehabilitated no less than 5 times. Scripture was used by both sides: Arians appealed to apparently subordinationist texts as Proverbs 8:22, John 17:3, I Cor. 11:3, 15:28, Col. 1:15 and 18, and also claimed the authority of Origen's subordinationism; whereas

their opponents, claiming Origen's eternal generation theology, appealed to such texts as John 10:30, 14:9, Col. 1:16-17, and Romans 9:5. [Col.1 was in fact used by both sides, for it presents Christ, like Wisdom, as at one moment belonging to creation and at the next moment as being on the side of the creator; cf. J.D.G. Dunn, Christology in the Making. The Gospel of John was, obviously, less popular with the Arians!]

Many shades develop within the Arian position, few of them actually claiming his name, most of whom would be condemned in the first canon of the second ecumenical council (Constantinople 381): 1) Extreme Arian or Anomoean: "anomoios" = ἀνόμοιος = "unlike." (= Extreme radical Arians, Aitius and Eunomius, objecting to the use of ousia in any form to describe the relation of the Son to the Father, claiming that God is entirely uncreated or ungenerate and the Son entirely human and passible). 2) Central Arian: homoios = ὅμοιος = "like" or "similar"; this party was called Homoeans. The Homoean creed of Ariminum (Rimini), 360 (Central Arian: "like to the Father who begot him") was carried by the missionary Bishop Ulfilas to the Gothic peoples in the later 4th century (St. Jerome: "the whole world groaned and wondered, to find itself Arian"), with result that the Germanic tribes of northern Europe were converted to Arian, not Catholic, Christianity (and continued Arian until reversal began with baptism of Frankish King Clovis by St. Remigius, bp of Rheims, in 496). 3) Semi-Arian: kata panta homoios = "like, similar, in all respects." 4) Semi-Arian (but almost orthodox, only an iota of difference!): homoiousios = "of similar substance."

The main reason why Arianism was rejected: If JC was only a creature, he could not have saved us. Catholic, Orthodox position: only with homoousios can there be the certainty of salvation, worship, and discipleship: someone as God to believe in, to worship, to follow; without homoousios, the Christian incarnation [believe], redemption [follow], and latreia [worship] would be impossible.

Note influence of anti-Arian Christology upon prayer language: Increase of formal prayers addressed to Christ, and of prayers offered "for the sake of" Christ and "on account of" Christ (because he is homoousios with God). NB Arian ≠ Aryan, term used by Nazis to mean "non-Jewish Caucasian."

Note also influence of anti-Arian Christology upon Christian art: popularity of the three wise men who with bended knees fell down and worshiped Christ, and increasing tendency to place at either side of images of Christ the letters alpha and omega (Rev. 21:6).

St. Remigius pray for Catholic unity

II: CONSTANTINOPLE I: 381: vs. APOLLINARIANISM, which denied humanity of Christ.

Background: The three Cappadocian Fathers, Basil (the Great) of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa (both brothers), and Gregory of Nazianzus, all three being late 4th century bishop-theologians of the first rank, help to promote the Nicene theology of Athanasius in the east, and there is also a closing of the ranks around the Nicene theology after the reign of the apostate emperor Julian (361-3). Now Apollinaris, Bishop

of Laodicea, an opponent of Arianism (which he suspects of adoptionism), agrees that the Logos is eternal with the Father, but in explication of how JC the Logos was also fully human he asserts that in Jesus the human, created, changeable, rational faculty or governing principle (nous = VOUS;, translated by various scholars as mind, soul, spirit, will; JRW prefers mind) was simply replaced (from the moment of conception) by the Divine Logos. Since it is impossible for two centers of thought or will or mind to exist in the same person at the same time, so in Christ there is only one, divine nous. "We confess that the Word of God has become flesh without assuming a human mind, changeable and enslaved to filthy thoughts, but rather continues to exist as a divine mind immutable and heavenly." (Apollinaris to the Bishops of Diocaesarea, 2). Hence, he reasoned, Christ had no human mind or rational faculty. If Christ had a human mind, Apollinaris argued, he could not have been sinless, for the human mind is the source of evil. But there were big problems with this Christology: If JC had no human mind or rational faculty, then he was not fully human, and so redemption did not reach the rational, directive principle of human life, and it becomes impossible to let that mind be in us which was in Christ Jesus (Phil 2:5, which does not use nous.) The Jesus of Apollinaris was thus a "man without a human mind." Against Apollinarianism, Gregory of Nazianzus would assert "That which is not assumed, is not redeemed" (ep. 101.183B), for only that which is united to the Godhead can be saved. In reply, Apollinarians argued that already the Virgin Birth implied that Jesus was clearly different from those born of man and woman in a normal way. Athanasius, on the other hand, contended that such rejection of the normal human rational faculty in Christ clashed with the biblical picture of a Savior who developed, was limited in knowledge, suffered, and in fact underwent every kind of human experience save sin. The question of salvation was thus acutely raised.

Second Ecumenical Council, Constantinople 381, is convoked by Emperor Theodosius I (who, as emperor of the east but not yet of the west, had invited to it only bishops from the east!), condemns Apollinarianism and reaffirms and expands the Nicene theology, especially as regards the Holy Spirit in the third paragraph (H.S. will be treated separately in the next lecture) in the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed. NB "Apollinarianism," although verbally similar to "Arianism" in its final letters, is not etymologically related! Also NB not spelled Appollonaris! NB Increase of formal prayers ending "through/by, with, and in" Christ, as the mediator of our worship, with whose human mind or rational principle we can join and thereby have access with, by, and in him to the Father in prayer (= St. Cyril of Alexandria: influence of anti-Apollinarian Christology upon prayer language). In retrospect, the Council of Constantinople is known as "The Council of the Saints" because of its 150 participants more have later become canonized as saints than from any other council!

Schools of Antioch and Alexandria: Sharpest criticism of Apollinaris came from the theological school of Antioch (today, Antakya in Turkey), least from Alexandria, thus reflecting the classical differences between them: 1) Antioch: Arian tendency (even though Arius was, in one sense, a moderately conservative Alexandrian), emphasis upon

Christ's humanity, "Christology from below," severely critical of Apollinarianism, and taking a historical and literal approach to biblical exegesis. Most modern Christology, especially since Schleiermacher (sometimes called "the father of modern theology") in the 19th century, has been Antiochene. 2) Alexandria: Apollinarian tendency, emphasis upon Christ's divinity, "Christology from above," far more speculative, and taking an allegorical and spiritual approach to biblical exegesis. This second approach has remained especially characteristic of the Eastern Orthodox churches. Antiochene tendency: to hold humanity and divinity each so complete and separate that there was a conjunction but no real union except a moral one of will. Alexandrian tendency: to present Jesus as the Logos clothed in human flesh, such that he only seemed to be a human (= docetism, from dokeo = to seem). Each school at the time charged the other with going too far: The Antiochenes accused the Alexandrians of confusing or "mixing up" humanity and deity, and of denying that Jesus was truly and fully human. The Alexandrians accused the Antiochenes of dividing Christ into "two sons," the man and the divine Word. And these controversies eventually produced the condemnations that we find in the next two ecumenical councils: the condemnation of the Antiochene Nestorius at the Council of Ephesus (431), and of the Alexandrian Eutyches at the Council of Chalcedon (451).

Test yourself: You can usually tell whether your own tendency is more Arian or more Apollinarian (nearly everyone is either): 1) From the words of the favorite hymns you hum or whistle or sing in private. 2) Whether you begin your prayer to JC, or only to God or the Father. 3) How you refer to JC as you end your prayers: "for the sake of," and "on account of" convey anti-Arian implication; "through," "by," "with," and "in" convey anti-Apollinarian implication.

Historical origins and original meanings of the contents of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, compiled at Nicaea and revised probably at Constantinople, endorsed in point 2 of the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral by the phrase "the sufficient statement of the Christian faith," its authoritative text coming from the fourth ecumenical council of Chalcedon in 451 and now translated in the 1975 ICET English version of the 1979 BCP: [Study carefully, know terms, compare Scriptural references. Most important points are checked √]

First paragraph:

✓1. We/I = Conciliar forms of creeds were plural in number; baptismal creeds were generally singular.

✓2. Believe = Same root as NT pistis, faith. Here probably meaning both personal relationship (belief in, fides qua, the personal faith by which one believes) and intellectual affirmation (belief that, fides que, the catholic faith which one believes), a distinction not in the NT but found as early as St. Augustine.

✓3. One God the Father/One Lord Jesus Christ = I Cor. 8.6: Biblical monotheism vs. the "rich pluralism" of religious beliefs in the Graeco-Roman world.

✓4. Father = Creator of the universe, not here originally an expression of relationship to the Son or of physical paternity; Father as source

or ground of the ousia and unity of the Trinity; cf. Eph. 4.6.

5. Almighty = pantocrator = a noun meaning the all-sovereign one (Latin, omnipotens), not here originally an expression of the Father's relationship to Son and Spirit (all three of whom, in the Athanasian Creed, are called Almighty). Cf. Rev. 1.8, 4.8.

6. Maker of heaven and earth = added c. 375 to distinguish the relationship of Father to Son; also against Gnosticism.

7. Of all that is, seen and unseen = visible and invisible = further explicates "heaven and earth."

Second paragraph:

8. The only = monogenes = only-begotten, or unique. Contrasts the unique relationship of Son to Father with the adoptive relationship of the Son to those who believe on his name. Cf. John 1.12, 1.18.

9. Eternally begotten of the Father = literally "before all ages," Pre-Nicene, from the Baptismal creed of Caesarea, incorporates the thought but not the words of Origen, also contradicts Arian views.

10. God from God = pre-Nicene, from the baptismal creed of Caesarea (cf. John 10.34-36), but NOT in the form of Chalcedon 451. It WAS in Nicaea 325, but somehow dropped out of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan text and was later re-inserted after Chalcedon. Hence, those today who claim they wish to "return to the original text from Chalcedon," probably in order to omit the filioque, would also need to omit this phrase, as do the Orthodox churches even today!

11. Light from light = pre-Nicene and also 325; cf. Heb. 1.3.

12. True God from true God, begotten not made, of one Being with the Father = all anti-Arian, originating at Nicaea 325, asserting the fullness of the Son's deity and excluding the Arian doctrine that Christ as Logos or Word was not co-eternal with the Father but rather was created by him and therefore subordinate.

13. True God from true God = The Arians had claimed that only the Father is the "true God" of John 17.3, and that the Word is not. St. Athanasius countered their argument with I John 5.20, asserting that the Son also is true God.

14. Begotten, not made (= not created). Anti-Arian; the relationship of Son to Father must not be understood in the sense in which human beings are created by God. Nicaea, 325. Hence, the analogy is birth, not manufacture.

15. Of one Being with the Father = homoousios; see above! Nicaea 325 had added "from the substance (ek tes ousias) of the Father."

16. Through him all things were made = From the baptismal creed of Caesarea and Nicaea 325, asserting that Christ or Wisdom or the Word or the Son was the instrument or agent of God the Father in creation of the world; cf. John 1.3, 1.10, I Cor. 8.6, Col. 1.16, Heb. 1.2.

17. For us = di' hemas tous anthropous; literally, for us human beings; using the noun "anthropos," which is not gender-specific, rather than the noun "aner" that meant a male as distinct from female.

18. Came down (from the heavens)...ascended (into the heavens) = katelthonta...anelthonta = the verbs are exact opposites; is the Ascension in some sense the reverse of the Incarnation?

19. Of the Holy Spirit...from the Virgin Mary = Not in Nicaea, 325. Literally, the original Greek text (Chalcedon, 451) reads "Of the Holy Spirit AND (KAI) the Virgin Mary," the conjunction AND emphasizing the

cooperative relationship of Mary and the Spirit (cf. Luke 1:38). By a slip of spelling in the Latin version (already in the Tome of Leo, 449), the Latin ET (for the Greek KAI), meaning "and," slid into EX, meaning "from," which produced the western mistranslation "by the Holy Spirit FROM the Virgin Mary," perpetuated here in the ICET text, which thus presented Mary as a mere passive vessel in the Incarnation rather than actively consenting, cooperating, and working together with God (= synergy). This is the least accurate point in the ICET translation (JRW), and is corrected in P.B.S. 30, p. 63, and in SLM p. 52.

20. Became incarnate = sarkothenta = was made flesh; Nicaea 325; cf. Rom. 8.3, John 1.14 (kai ho logos sarx egeneto), Irenaeus AH 1.2.

✓21. Was made man = enanthropesanta; literally, became a human being. Nicaea, 325. Not intended to contrast masculinity to femininity; further see GTS Faculty Policy Statement on Inclusive Language, note 2.

22. For our sake = Greek, hyper = on our behalf, but not instead of or in place of; cf. John 10.11, Romans 5.7-8.

23. He was crucified under Pontius Pilate = Not in Nicaea, 325.

24. He suffered death = pathonta; literally, he suffered. Nicaea, 325. The Greek pathonta is (legitimately) made by ICET to carry the double meaning of suffering and death.

25. Was buried = taphenta; I Cor. 15.3. Not in Nicaea 325.

✓26. Rose again = anastanta, the same word that will be used again, below, for belief in our own resurrection.

27. In accordance with the Scriptures = I Cor 15.4, not in Nicaea 325.

28. Seated at the right hand of the Father = not in 325, Nicaea.

29. In glory = from baptismal creed of Caesarea. not in Nicaea 325.

30. To judge the living and the dead = I Peter 4.5, Nicaea 325.

✓31. His kingdom will have no end = Luke 1.33, Rev. 11.15, against the Sabellian Marcellus of Ancyra (d. 374), who, attempting to use I Cor. 15.24-28 in refutation of Arius, had maintained that the Incarnation would cease at the end of chronological time. Not in Nicaea, 325.

Third paragraph:

✓32. And in the Holy Spirit. = With such a clause, the creed of Nicaea ended. The rest of the paragraph was added probably at Constantinople 381 or at some other intervening time(s) before Chalcedon 451. See separate lecture on the Holy Spirit.

✓33. We believe in ... Church = The original Greek preposition eis, repeated here, requires the repetition of "We believe in," even though ecclesiology is placed by the creed in the paragraph of the Spirit. See early lecture on ecclesiology. The Church, the product of new life in the Spirit, has four marks or notes: one, holy, catholic, apostolic.

✓34. Holy = omitted from the 1549 and all subsequent English and American editions of the Prayer Book until recent revisions, not for doctrinal reasons but because the English reformers mistakenly believed this word was absent from the best conciliar texts.

✓35. Catholic = Whole or entire, first used by Ignatius (Smyr 8:2).

✓36. One baptism for the forgiveness of sins = No second chance, then!

✓37. Resurrection = anastasis, the same word as used above to say that Jesus rose again. I Cor. 15.21.

Further reading: J.N.D. Kelly, Early Christian Creeds; T.H. Bindley, The Oecumenical Documents of the Faith; John Burnaby, The Belief of Christendom; Frances Young, The Making of the Creeds; R. Norris, Understanding the Faith of the Church, ch. 4.

Sample question: Describe the doctrine of God as three persons in Trinity as it is contained in the NC Creed, explaining key terms, their original historical contexts, and their scriptural backgrounds.

NO God from God

NO filioque

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων· καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ παθόντα καὶ ταφέντα καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος· καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ κύριον καὶ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν· εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν· ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν· προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. ἀμήν.	We believe in one God, the Father, the Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, of all that is, seen and unseen. We believe in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, eternally begotten of the Father, God from God, Light from Light, true God from true God, begotten, not made, of one Being with the Father. Through him all things were made. For us and for our salvation he came down from heaven: by the power of the Holy Spirit he became incarnate from the Virgin Mary, and was made man. For our sake he was crucified under Pontius Pilate; he suffered death and was buried. On the third day he rose again in accordance with the Scriptures; he ascended into heaven and is seated at the right hand of the Father. He will come again in glory to judge the living and the dead and his kingdom will have no end. We believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the giver of life, who proceeds from the Father and the Son. With the Father and the Son he is worshiped and glorified. He has spoken through the Prophets. We believe in one holy catholic and apostolic Church. We acknowledge one baptism for the forgiveness of sins. We look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen.

Now Trinitarian doctrine takes its earliest roots from the Old Testament in the spiritual unity and indivisibility of the three angels who met Abraham and Sarah at the oak of Mamre near Hebron (Genesis 18), seen by many early Christian theologians as a representation, or prefiguration, of the three persons of the Trinity, each being harmoniously similar and yet individually distinct. In Genesis 18 Abraham addresses the three messengers in the singular as "the Lord," and the Scriptural text alternates in referring to them this way but also in the plural as "the three." This interchangeability of three and one was seen, beginning with Justin Martyr in the second century (Trypho 56), as being the primary Old Testament locus, or type, of the Holy Trinity: the first and earliest appearance of God to humanity as three-in-one. Other writers who followed this same interpretation include Origen, St. John Chrysostom, Eusebius of Caesarea, Augustine (City of God 16:29), and St. John of Damascus.

A more characteristic western Trinitarian doctrine is also anticipated in Tertullian. An early assertion that the three persons were merely a single hypostasis was by Paul of Samosata, financial procurator to Zenobia Queen of Palmyra, later bishop of Antioch who was condemned and deposed in 268. An exponent of Dynamic Monarchianism,

affirming God as a mon-arch or single principle and denying any eternal distinctions within the Trinity, he held that the three persons of the Godhead were a single hypostasis and that Jesus was God only in the sense that the power (dynamis) of God came to rest upon him by means of adoption at his Baptism. Thus, Dynamic Monarchianism = Adoptionism = Psilanthropism (psilos = mere; anthropos = human). At the council of Nicaea in 325 (canon 19), re-baptism was required for the followers of Paul of Samosata because of defective faith in the Trinity.

Basil of Caesarea in the later fourth century raises the possibility of three separate but coordinate hypostases, in one ousia: "As one who fails to confess the community of the essence (ousia) falls into polytheism, so one who refuses to grant the distinction of the hypostases is carried away into Judaism." An even more profound distinction between the three hypostases, while maintaining their unity in ousia, is developed by Gregory of Nyssa in his work On Not Three Gods. NB hypostasis in this discussion = independent existence, but not = individual personality. Those who hold the latter view (implying an almost complete separation of the three persons) are said to hold a social doctrine of the Trinity (contrast economic or imminent Trinity, earlier, distinctions only for the purpose of salvation). Hence, economic Trinitarianism minimizes the distinctions; social Trinitarianism maximizes them.

Trinitarian doctrine thus underlies the first two ecumenical councils, and as developed by all three Cappadocians is accepted at the Council of Constantinople: "The Faith teaches us to believe in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, ... one Godhead... the dignity being equal, and the majesty being equal, in three perfect hypostases" (Synodical Letter to the Bishops of the West, 382). What was evolving, however, was more of a doctrine in response to a series of questions, rather than any particular formula that was canonized by a council or inclusion within the creed. Given the cosmological issue, the creation question, as faced by Origen and others, can anyone else partake of the realm of agennetos other than God the Father Almighty? First two councils establish that the Logos, JC, can be/is also God, and the second, together with the Cappadocian Fathers, also establishes that this is possible for the Holy Spirit. Cappadocians define this relationship of Father, Son, and Spirit within the Trinity as three hypostases in one ousia: "Just as one who fails to confess the community of the essence or substance (ousia) falls into polytheism, so anyone who refuses to grant the distinction of the existences (hypostases) is carried away into Judaism" (Basil, ep. 210.5). [Previous to Basil there had been little attempt to distinguish hypostasis (independent existence) from ousia (substance, being, essence) except by Origen commenting on Heb. 1:3]. A further contribution, anticipated in the Cappadocians and later expanded and refined by St. John of Damascus in the 8th century, is the doctrine of coinherence (= circumincessio in Latin, = perichoresis in Greek, a dance among three equals in mutual relationship) by which Trinitarian belief was affirmed within the context of classical biblical monotheism. Each of the persons of the Trinity, he said, "not only subsists in the common divine substance, but also exists in relation to the other persons."

Of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit within the Trinitarian doctrine, which is given separate treatment in a separate lecture, R.P.C. Hanson has remarked: "Of course the theologians of the side which was ultimately victorious [at Nicaea and Constantinople] included the Holy Spirit in the Trinity. In a sense this was an afterthought, because the theme of the Son occupied the screen, so to speak, right up to the year 360. It was only when the battle for the recognition of the Son's full divinity was in a fair way to being won that the Spirit moved to the centre of the stage."

For the West, St. Augustine wrote his classical work De Trinitate sometime between 399 and 419. The classical Trinitarian statement known as the Quicunque Vult ("Athanasian" creed) probably appeared first in southern Gaul c. 430 (BCP pp. 864-865). Its author is now unknown to us, but was NOT Athanasius.

Further on Antioch and Alexandria: The Antiochenes, who took as their banner the motto "two natures (phusis = φυσις = nature) in Christ," and suspected the Alexandrians of Docetism, emphasized the integrity and inviolability of both the "man" and the Logos in Christ. Their "Word-man Christology" saw the incarnation as effected through the divine Word's identification of himself in and with the man Jesus by "indwelling." The Alexandrians, who took as their motto "one nature (phusis) in Christ," and suspected the Antiochenes of Adoptionism, emphasized the unity of Christ, and pictured the incarnation ("Word-flesh Christology") as the divine Word's assumption of a fleshly human body (Apollinarius), or of the human way-of-being, psychic as well as bodily (Cyril of Alexandria).

III: EPHESUS: 431: vs. NESTORIANISM, which held that Christ was two persons instead of one

Background: The term Theotokos (θεοτοκος), meaning Bearer or Mother of God, had already been used by such writers as Eusebius (in his Life of Constantine, book III) and St. Gregory Nazianzus who, against Apollinarius, had asserted: "If anyone does not believe that holy Mary is Theotokos, Jesus is severed from the Godhead" (ep. 101.177C). Now Nestorius, pupil of Theodore of Mopsuestia and a teacher from the Antiochene school (thus holding its characteristic emphases, above, and thus reacting against Apollinaris) is appointed Patriarch of Constantinople by the emperor Theodosius II in 428. Nestorius, exhibiting the Antiochene tendency to split the union of humanity and divinity in Christ by asserting that each was so fully complete that there is no real union but only a conjunction, proceeds to assert that Mary is properly called Christotokos (bearer of Christ) or Anthropotokos (bearer of a man), but not Theotokos (=θεοτοκος = bearer of God), because he believed the last term would confuse the divinity with the humanity. Theotokos on its own, he feared, without anthropotokos added to it, would imply either the Arian view that the Logos was a mere creature, or the Apollinarian view that the manhood was incomplete. "The creature," he asserted of Mary, "did not bear the uncreated Creator." Rather, he held, the man Jesus was born, suffered, and died,

but the eternal Logos did not; the man Jesus, he exegeted from John 2:19, was the temple in which God dwelt. "That which was formed in the womb is not in itself God," Nestorius asserted. For Nestorius, no divine quality could be predicated of the human person, or vice versa. For the Nestorians, thus, what they asserted about Jesus was what Catholic Christianity came to assert about Mary his mother: a very close conjunction of humanity and divinity, but not a complete union in one person. Great controversy follows.

* NOT TO BE CONFUSED W/ CYRIL OF JERUSALEM

Leading opponent of Nestorius is Cyril of Alexandria (NOT of Jerusalem), of the Alexandrian school and Patriarch of that city: "That which has not been taken up has not been saved." (Earlier by Gregory of Nazianzus vs. Apollonaris and by Augustine of Hippo {sermon 13 de temp.}). Cyril now asserts that it must be possible to call Mary Theotokos in order to confess the complete union (= henosis = ἕνωσις), and not merely conjunction, of humanity and divinity in her son Jesus Christ. Otherwise, the incarnation would be a mere illusion. Hence, Cyril asserts, the union of divine and human in Christ is of one hypostasis, a hypostatic union (henosis kath' hypostasin = ἕνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν and not - as Nestorius asserted - of two persons (person = prosopon = πρόσωπον = mask or image), one divine hypostasis and one human hypostasis, merely conjoined. Against Nestorius' view of Christ as two persons (prosopa), the divine Son of God and the human Jesus, each acting through a separate independent existence (phusis), Cyril asserts "One independent existence of the divine Word incarnate" (= mia phusis tou Theou Logou sesarkomene = μία φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη). Cyril went on to explain: "Not as though the nature of the Word or his Godhead had its beginning from the holy virgin, but forasmuch as his holy body, endued with a rational soul/mind, was born of her, to which body also the Word was personally united" (Second Letter to Nestorius, 430; 25a). [Reginald Fuller, formerly of Virginia Seminary, observes that the doctrine of Theotokos is "a trajectory which is rooted in the New Testament." Marian Studies, 1978].

And so, Third Ecumenical Council, Ephesus 431, summoned by Theodosius II, condemns Nestorius and asserts Theotokos. Nestorius is deposed, exiled, and dies. Council of Ephesus is convened by the emperor under Cyril's presidency and decision reached before arrival of the Antiochene bishops from Syria, who would have been Nestorius' main support!! Nestorius was present at Ephesus but refused to participate in what he considered an unlawful meeting. When the pro-Nestorian bishops finally did arrive, they proceeded to hold their own "council" which vindicated Nestorius, but the judgement of subsequent history has not held their council to be "ecumenical." Note the presence always of political factors influencing the course of the church's history; no such thing as "pure" theology! Recent scholarly studies of Nestorius, moreover, based on documents now available, have rehabilitated him somewhat, and show that, whether or not he was a heretic, he was definitely not a "Nestorian" in the sense that the word came to mean. Further, by the council's asserting the unity of person (prosopon, or capacity for relationship) in terms of a unity of hypostasis (independent existence), thereby virtually identifying the prosopon with the hypostasis, it implied for this purpose that each hypostasis of the

Trinity has its own prosopon, and thus a permanence of ontological being was given to each prosopon-hypostasis of the Trinity as over against Sabellius' modal monarchianism/economic Trinitarianism.

Afterward: Note that the controversy around Nestorius and Ephesus was primarily a Christological controversy, not a Mariological one, although it did have Mariological implications. For instance, whereas prior to Ephesus depictions of Mary in Christian art usually show her as one figure in a scene (e.g. Nativity, Adoration of Magi, etc.), after Ephesus she is more and more portrayed on her own as the Holy Theotokos. Note also that the term "Theotokos," technically meaning "bearer of God," is often translated in English less exactly but more idiomatically and not incorrectly as "Mother of God," or at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine as "Holy Birth-Giver." The literal Greek phrase for Mother of God, Μητερ Θεου = "Meter Theou," may have originated with the Emperor Constantine, appears once in Cyril of Alexandria, and is not regularly used until later in St. John of Damascus; in the Latin West it came to be translated as Deipara, Dei genitrix, and Mater Dei, earliest with Ambrose and Cassian, although it was apparently opposed by Augustine. The Episcopal Church addresses her as "Thou bearer of the eternal Word" (in Hymn 618, st.2). After Ephesus, many split into schism who could not accept its decision, and there are still Nestorian churches today in Iraq, Persia, and Syria. In contemporary ecumenical ("inter-church") dialogue, Anglicans and Roman Catholics "agree in recognizing the grace and unique vocation of Mary, Mother of God Incarnate (Theotokos), in observing her festivals, and in according her honor in the communion of saints" (ARCIC Final Report, p. 96).

The heightened Christology and Mariology following the 431 decision of Ephesus was soon expressed iconographically by Pope Sixtus III (432-40) in his construction of the Basilica of S.Maria Maggiore on the Esquiline Hill in Rome, to supplant cult of the pagan mother goddess Juno Lucina there and to proclaim Jesus as of one divine-human person and Mary as mother of God: evident especially in mosaics of Annunciation, Adoration of Magi, and Arrival of Holy Family into Egypt.

IV: CHALCEDON: 451: vs. EUTYCHIANISM or MONOPHYSITISM, which held that Christ had only one nature instead of two.

Background: Dissatisfaction with Ephesus soon led to the Formula or Symbol of Union, 433, a political compromise asserting Theotokos against Nestorius and two natures (phusis) against Cyril. This too proves unsatisfactory, although accepted (with regrets) by Cyril, but it is an important step towards Chalcedon. Eventually now, dispute comes to center around the 70-year old archimandrite of a large monastery at Constantinople, a follower of Cyril of Alexandria ("one independent existence (phusis) of the divine Word incarnate") named Eutyches, who taught that the Word after becoming flesh had only one nature (mono=one & phusis=nature > "monophysite") and that divine, but not two natures. If there is but one person as the council of Ephesus insisted, he reasoned, then there must be only one nature. Eutyches and co. were willing to allow that Christ was out of (ek) two natures before the

union (henosis) or incarnation of the Word made flesh, but not in (en) two natures after; the latter, they feared (rightly or wrongly), was the Antiochene position and Nestorianism. They held that after incarnation, Jesus' humanity was absorbed in divinity, vanishing "like a drop of vinegar in the ocean."

Now Flavian, who had succeeded Nestorius (both in Antiochene tradition) as Patriarch of Constantinople, condemns the teaching of Eutyches and deposes him (as suspect of Apollinarianism) in 448. Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria after Cyril (whose archdeacon he had been), obviously in the Alexandrian tradition, hastens to Eutyches' support, determined as he is to advance the prestige of Alexandria over Constantinople. Eutyches now appeals to both Pope Leo I and to Emperor Theodosius II.

In his Tome of Leo, 449, the pope upholds Flavian (against the position of Eutyches), balancing, however, both Antiochene and Alexandrian theological views, but asserting the distinction of two natures (Antiochene) held together in a balance of communicatio idiomatum, or complete interchange of the human and divine properties (see below). Having no special theological originality, the Tome of Leo is nonetheless the one specimen of "western" theology (building upon Tertullian in its uses of the terms natura, substantia, and persona) in the official documents of the first four ecumenical councils. For its text, see JRW, They Still Speak, pp 205-206. (NB tome, not tomb!)

Also in 449, a bit later, emperor Theodosius II summons a synod at Ephesus, over which Dioscorus presides, which sets aside the Union Symbol of 433, rejects Leo's Tome (papal delegates even prevented from reading it!), condemns Flavian, and acquits Eutyches. A very disorderly meeting, bands of unruly monks, etc., it is known as the Robber Synod or (=) Latrocinium of Ephesus, 449, from a letter of Pope Leo describing it as "non judicium sed latrocinium" (= "not a judicial tribunal but a synod of robbers"). Subsequent history has not considered it to be "ecumenical."

Next, the Emperor Theodosius II is thrown from his horse and dies in 450, and is succeeded on the throne by Marcian and Pulcheria (sister of Theodosius), who are favorable to Flavian (recently dead, possibly murdered) and opposed (unsuccessfully) by Dioscorus. The political stage is thus set for an Antiochene decision over the Alexandrian position: Marcian calls a new council, Chalcedon 451, which reverses the Latrocinium, approves the Tome of Leo, rehabilitates Flavian, condemns Eutyches and Dioscorus, and reaffirms the creed "of the 318 bishops," thus giving us the form of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan creed almost exactly as we have it today (but without filioque or God from God, and in plural form). Chalcedon thus asserts, against Eutyches and the monophysite position, that Christ was "in two natures" (en duo phusesin), not just one; i.e., that in the one prosopon-hypostasis of JC, there are two natures (phusis), one human and one divine (but not two persons). NB Not a condemnation of Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444), who had asserted one phusis but was clearly using phusis as meaning hypostasis, or independent existence (but not "individual personality").

and was not using phusis in its later meaning of "nature." NB Not MarciOn but MarciAn.

In response to the emperor's plea for a single ~~enforceable~~ definition of faith, this council produces the Chalcedonian Definition of Faith, also known as the Chalcedonian Formula, a one-sentence mosaic of excerpts from various documents (committee product! See text below), which is the classical catholic, orthodox statement of Christology from the patristic period, a statement of who Jesus was and is but not a definition of how we are saved by him, incorporating and synthesizing the breadth of NT Christology in a way that balances the poles of humanity/divinity, humanward/godward, social action/worship, etc. Read text carefully, know terms, where they come from, what they say; cf. BCP p. 864; Norris, ch. 8; most important points are checked: √

Contents of Chalcedon, in order of appearance in the text:

1. Following the holy fathers = apostolic authority, succession of apostolic doctrine.
2. We all with one accord teach = conciliar teaching authority.
3. Men = not in the original text, and not necessary for the meaning.
4. One and the same Son = Ephesus: not two Sons, as Nestorius seemed to hold. Cf. I Cor. 8:6.
5. Complete in Godhead = Nicaea, against Arianism.
6. Complete in manhood = Constantinople, against Apollinarianism.
7. At once complete in Godhead and complete in manhood = Hypostatic union.
8. Truly God and truly man = Nicaea and Constantinople, now reaffirmed in Chalcedon.
9. Consisting also of a reasonable soul = Constantinople, against the divine soul (mind, nous) of Apollinarianism.
10. Of one substance with the Father = homoousios, anti-Arian.
11. Of one substance with us as regards his manhood = anti-Apollinarian. John 1:11.
12. Of one substance (homoousios) with the Father as regards his Godhead, of one substance (homoousios) with us as regards his manhood = total phrase from Union Formula of 433, earlier from Cyril of Alexandria. Meaning: both fully God and fully man.
13. Like us in all respects, apart from sin = Athanasius, Constantinople, against the divine nous of Apollinaris; cf. Romans 8:3, II Cor. 5:21, Hebrews 4:15.
14. Begotten (gennethenta) of the Father before the ages = Origen, eternal generation, Nicaea. Cf. John 1:1-3.
15. Of Mary the Virgin, the God-bearer = Theotokos, Ephesus 431.
16. One and the same Christ = Ephesus: not two Christs, as Nestorius seemed to hold.
17. In two natures (phusesin) = against Eutyches and the monophysites, who misunderstood this formula as being Nestorian.
18. Without confusion, without change = Duality of nature, against Apollinarianism and Eutychianism, Chalcedon 451.
19. Without division, without separation = Unity of person, against Nestorianism, Ephesus 431.
20. Without confusion (asungchutos), without change (atreptos), without

division (adiairetos), without separation (achoristos) = the famous four negative adverbs. See JRW article.
21. The distinction of natures being in no way annulled by the union = against Eutyches and the monophysites, but taken from the second letter of Cyril of Alexandria to Nestorius (23c), 430.
22. One person = prosopon, against Nestorius.
23. (One) subsistence = hypostasis, from Basil and Cyril.
24. Not as parted or separated into two persons = prosopa, against Nestorius.
25. One and the same Son = anti-Nestorian, as in nos. 4 and 16 above.
26. One and the same ... Jesus Christ = total phrase from Tome of Leo 449, indirectly from Tertullian. Cf. John 1:1.
27. Even as the prophets from earliest times spoke of him = Unity of OT-NT salvation history, scriptural authority.
28. And our Lord Jesus Christ himself taught us = direct dominical authority of Christ in the Gospels.
29. The creed (symbolon) of the Fathers = credal authority, of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan ecumenical symbol, 325-381.
30. Handed down = authority of tradition.

Definition of the Union of the Divine and Human Natures in the Person of Christ

Council of Chalcedon, 451 A.D., Act V BCP p. 864

Therefore, following the holy fathers, we all with one accord teach men to acknowledge one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, at once complete in Godhead and complete in manhood, truly God and truly man, consisting also of a reasonable soul and body; of one substance (homoousios) with the Father as regards his Godhead, and at the same time of one substance with us as regards his manhood; like us in all respects, apart from sin; as regards his Godhead, begotten of the Father before the ages, but yet as regards his manhood begotten, for us men and for our salvation, of Mary the Virgin, the God-bearer (Theotokos); one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, recognized in two natures, without confusion, without change, without division, without separation; the distinction of natures being in no way annulled by the union, but rather the characteristics of each nature being preserved and coming together to form one person and subsistence, not as parted or separated into two persons, but one and the same Son and Only-begotten God the Word, Lord Jesus Christ; even as the prophets from earliest times spoke of him, and our Lord Jesus Christ himself taught us, and the creed of the Fathers has handed down to us.

Hence, Chalcedon is said to have affirmed the basic Christological doctrine(s) of the Hypostatic Union (major elaboration by Cyril of Alexandria), that in the one person (prosopon or (=) hypostasis) of Christ (as affirmed at Ephesus), the second person of the Trinity, there is a duality of natures (phusis) one human and one divine; and/or the "Interchange of Properties" (communicatio idiomatum, from Cyril and the Tome of Leo), such that the properties of Jesus as man can truly be affirmed of him as God and vice versa, i.e. what Jesus does humanly is always God's deed and what God does in Jesus is always a human deed: e.g. (from the Tome of Leo) we can say that the Son of Man descended from heaven and that the Son of God was crucified. Cf. Hooker's explanation of the same doctrine in Ecclesiastical Polity V.55.6 NB all this is double predication, not confusion (or conjunction!) of humanity with divinity. Also, note that the Christological doctrine formulated at Ephesus and Chalcedon is in one way a more developed Christian answer to the anthropological issue that Origen had earlier faced and answered with his doctrine of double creation. Finally, Note that the Christological doctrine(s) from Ephesus and Chalcedon should not be

confused with the Trinitarian doctrine(s) coming from the first two councils and summarized in the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed: that, just as Christ was "eternally begotten" of the uncreated Father with whom he is one substance, so the Father, Son, and Spirit all coinhere (circumincessio = perichoresis) in Trinity as three hypostases (independent existences, but not individual personalities) in one ousia.

Afterward: The churches that hold fast to the teachings of Ephesus and Chalcedon begin to call themselves "the Orthodox" (orthos = ὀρθός = right or correct; doxa = δόξα = belief or doctrine or glory or worship), over against the Nestorians and Monophysites, although the term "Orthodox" itself is found much earlier. Schism of those who do not agree with Chalcedon results in the formal establishment of monophysite churches, formally objecting to the Chalcedonian two-natures formula as endangering the divinity of Christ. The see of Alexandria is re-established as "Orthodox" in the 6th century by the Emperor Justinian, who drives the (Coptic) patriarchate of Alexandria to exile at the monastery of St. Macarius in the Egyptian desert. Some 15-20 million of these "Non-Chalcedonians," or "Pre-Chalcedonians" (better term now than "monophysites") still exist today = Copts, Ethiopians, Syrian-Jacobites, Armenians, and the Syrian Church of Malabar in South India. At Rome, Leo I delays western ratification of the dogmatic definition of Chalcedon for a while because of its canon 28 asserting virtual equality of Constantinople as "the new (or second) Rome" on grounds of its imperial status and enhanced dignity. In asserting only one nature, and that by implication divine, the monophysites also prepared the way for the iconoclasts--who asserted that because Jesus was divine he could not be depicted materially. The reverse of the monophysite position is also held today, curiously, as Paul Verghese has remarked, not by those to whom the Christological debates of the 4th and 5th centuries seem irrelevant, but by those who have become monophysites in reverse, believing that Jesus has only one nature and that human, rather than that he is also divine.

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CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS UPON THE HISTORY OF DOCTRINAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE PATRISTIC PERIOD (cf. Gibbon: The doctrinal history of the early church is "a tale told by a host of idiots, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing"--from Shakespeare, Macbeth V.5.19-28). On the authority of Chalcedon for Anglicans, see JRW article.

Three attitudes towards the history of theological development in the first four ecumenical councils, each of which must be tempered by certain other evidence:

1) Reject it because it is post-Scriptural and largely non-Scriptural in the terms it introduces. This attitude must be tempered by the probability that the Christian faith would have died out, would simply not have been believed or believable, if the early fathers and councils had not sought to express that faith--begun in the Bible--in the

dominant Platonist thought-forms of their day, by dialogue and debate with the pagan intelligentsia of that time. It must be further tempered by the fact, underlined in Professor Reginald Fuller's Foundations of NT Christology, that even in the NT itself there is considerable doctrinal development, from the preaching of Jesus about God's kingdom to the teaching of the early Church about Jesus, a transition in which "the parabler becomes the parable." Fuller agrees with Bultmann and others that Jesus himself taught no explicit christology and made no explicit messianic claims, yet gradually in the NT we see the Christian story develop: of the pre-existent, only-begotten Son of God, through whom all things were created, who came down from heaven and was born of a virgin as man, who taught and worked miracles, until he suffered on the cross to atone for sins, who was raised from the dead and exalted to the right hand of the Father, who now reigns in heaven as risen Lord and is present in the Church by the Spirit and who will come again at the end of time to bring all to completion. To accept Scripture, that is, is already to accept doctrinal development which is shown to be there by historical-critical study of the texts.

[Variant position within no. 1, not really an attitude toward the conciliar development but rather toward the pre-conciliar NT development: Reject all NT assertions about Jesus not held by one's own school of critical NT scholarship, either by denying the later strands of NT Christology that might suggest any divine "mystery" behind and beyond the pure "Jesus of History," or by denying whatever does not fit with one's own contemporary empirical or positivistic religious philosophy that (typically today) leads to an Arian position rather than to an Apollinarian or a balanced one.]

2) Accept it, but deny any major development after the first four ecumenical councils, allowing for the possibility of subsequent development only in the form of postscripts and footnotes. R.P.C. Hanson has remarked: "One of the lessons learnt by the bitter experience of the Arian Controversy was that you cannot interpret the Bible simply in biblical terms. If your intention is to explain the Bible's meaning, then on crucial points you must draw your explanation from some other vocabulary apart from that of the Bible. Otherwise you will be left with the old question in another form still unanswered." This attitude was already prevalent by the time of the fathers of the fifth century, whose unconscious tendency is to assimilate the new to the old by only slight refinements, retaining as much as possible of the past in its old form so as to involve the least possible alteration or contradiction of past doctrinal formulations. In the west this attitude was well expressed in the Commonitorium of St. Vincent of Lerins (d. before 450), which laid down the three-fold test for "catholicity" as "that which has been believed everywhere, always, and by all" (quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est). (Question, whether the Vincentian canon meets its own standards?) So pervasive does this attitude become, however, that by the seventh century, especially in the east, J. Pelikan can write "The greatest insult one could pay to any theologian...would be to call him a 'creative mind'." Yet this attitude must be tempered by our increasing knowledge of the imperfections and shortcomings under which these mortal humans strove, especially as their views of precise verbal revelation in Scripture and of the Platonist view of the cosmos

have now been undercut if not undermined by modern criticism and science. Now doctrines no more than Scripture can remain immobile and "fixed," and even the central dogmas of Christology and Trinity are bound to be questioned once the presuppositions of scriptural revelation and epistemology upon which they have rested are rejected.

3) Accept it as valid for its own day, but push on now into the future. Leading contemporary Anglican exponent is Maurice Wiles, Regius Professor of Theology at Oxford (The Re-Making of Christian Doctrine, Working Papers in Doctrine, The Myth of God Incarnate), who writes: "To add to what has been said by the heroes of the past need imply no criticism of them; the occasion for the new affirmation might not yet have arisen in their time." Hence, they may have served the church well, and within their terms of reference at that time they may well have given the best possible answers, but we must now face the fact that their terms of reference are no longer ours and that we have to undertake the same task in a very new and different way. How can this Jesus the Christ be the one in whom God was reconciling the world to himself, who even today identifies himself for us so that we can find our lives most fully in him? We have to use, as did they before us, all the insights of contemporary philosophy and psychology and knowledge, but we must do this in today's world of process, rapid change, automation, scientific investigation, etc. This attitude, too, must be tempered however by other evidence. First, we must be aware of the magnitude of the task, which will be no less than theirs. Second, the task is not only theological but also pastoral, because most committed Christians today have not the time to indulge in extensive theological cogitation, and while all this is going on they must have someone to believe in, someone to worship, someone to follow. The task of theological reconstruction today, therefore, if it is to be undertaken at all, must never be destructive without being at the same time constructive; it must never tear down without at the same time building up.

For reference: Richard Hooker, Ecclesiastical Polity V, liv. 10 (1597):

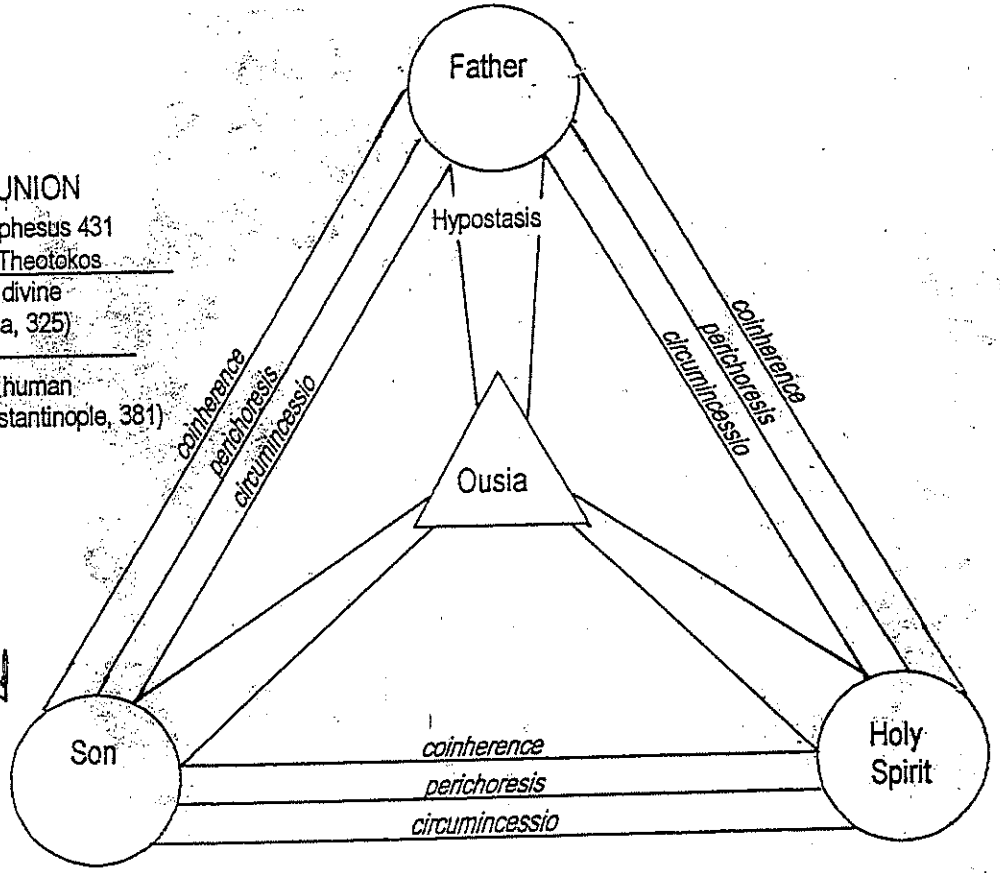
> [10.] To gather therefore into one sum all that hitherto hath been spoken touching this point, there are but four things which concur to make complete the whole state of our Lord Jesus Christ: his Deity, his manhood, the conjunction of both, and the distinction of the one from the other being joined in one. Four principal heresies there are which have in those things withstood the truth: Arians by bending themselves against the Deity of Christ; Apollinarians by maiming and misinterpreting that which belongeth to his human nature; Nestorians by rending Christ asunder, and dividing him into two persons; the followers of Eutyches by confounding in his person those natures which they should distinguish. Against these there have been four most famous ancient general councils: the council of Nice to define against Arians, against Apollinarians the council of Constantinople, the council of Ephesus against Nestorians, against Eutychians the Chalcedon council. In four words, ἀληθῶς, τελέως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀσυγχύτως, *truly, perfectly, indivisibly, distinctly*; the first applied to his being God, and the second to his being Man, the third to his being of both One, and the fourth to his still continuing in that one Both: we may fully by way of abridgment comprise whatsoever antiquity hath at large handled either in declaration of Christian belief, or in refutation of the foresaid heresies. Within the compass of which four heads, I may truly affirm, that all heresies which touch but the person of Jesus Christ, whether they have risen in these later days, or in any age heretofore, may be with great facility brought to confine themselves.
>
> We conclude therefore that to save the world it was of necessity the Son of God should be thus incarnate, and that God should so be in Christ as hath been declared.

The Holy Trinity

Three Hypostases in One Ousia

(From Athanasius and the 3 Cappadocians, late 4th Century), all three possessing COINHERENCE or PERICHORESIS or CIRCUMINCESSIO

COINHERENCE



HYPOSTATIC UNION

(Cyril of Alexandria, Ephesus 431

And hence Mary is Theotokos

Two natures (*phusis*)

Without confusion or change

(Chalcedon, 451)

Fully divine

(Nicea, 325)

Fully human

(Constantinople, 381)

processing

communicatio idomatum

[Interchange of Properties]

From Tome of Leo, 449

INTERCHANGE OF THE HUMAN & DIVINE

Hypostasis = Prosopon

One *person*, without division

Or separation.

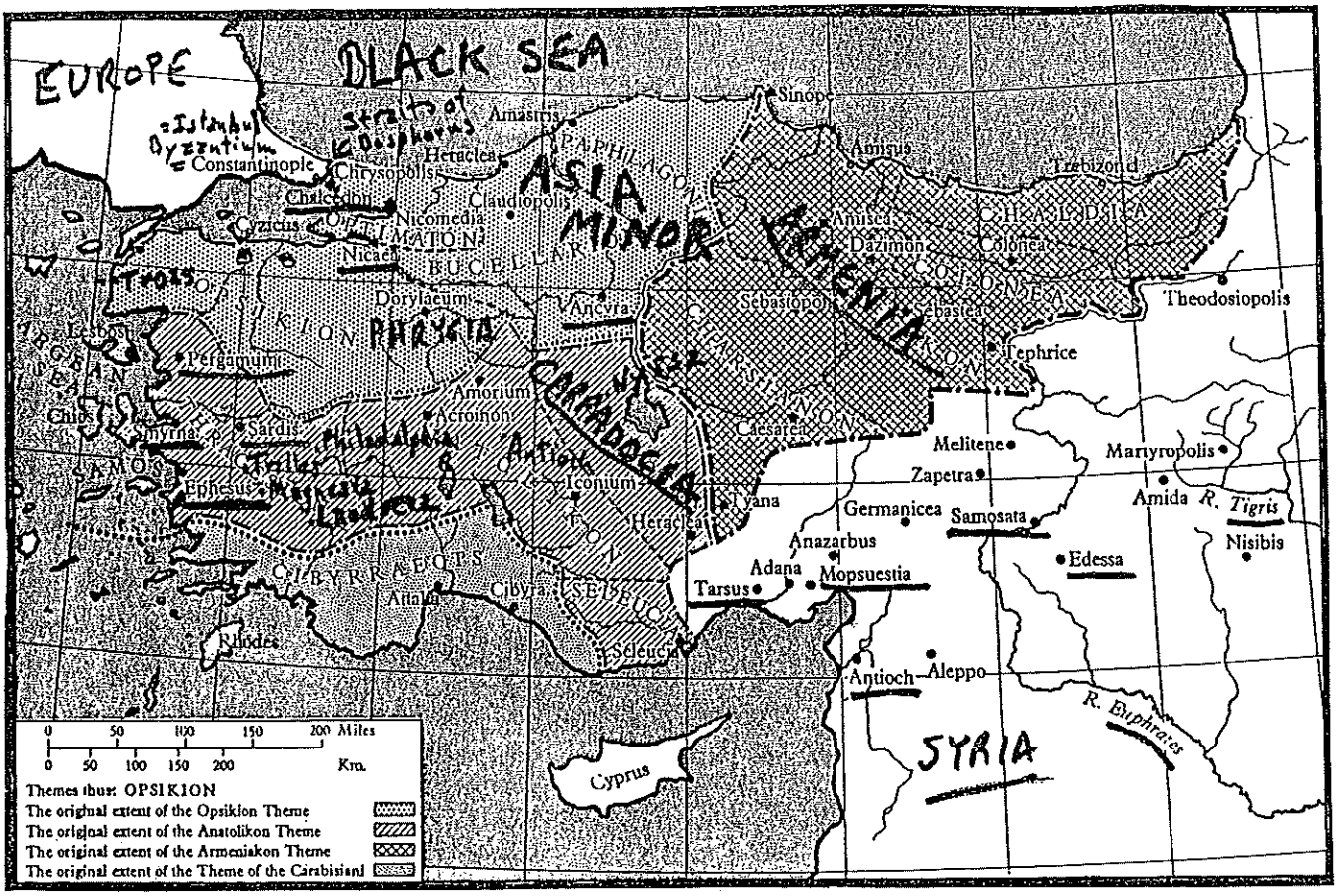
(Ephesus, 431

Hypostasis

Development 325-381:

'Lord and giver of Life'

'Spoke through the prophets'


EUROPE
BLACK SEA
Istanbul
Byzantium
Constantinople
Straits of Dardanelles
Hellespont
Amastris
Heraclea
Chrysopolis
Sinop
Amisus
Trebizond
ASIA MINOR
Chalcedon
Nicomedia
Claudiopolis
Cyzicus
Nicaea
Amisea
Dazimon
Colonea
Theodosiopolis
Dorylaeum
Ancyra
Sebastopolis
Tephrice
Lesbos
Pergamum
Amorium
Iconium
Caesarea
Chios
Smyrna
Sardis
Philadelphia
Antioch
Ephesus
Melitene
Zapetra
Martyropolis
Tyana
Germanicea
Samosata
Amida
R. Tigris
Anazarbus
Nisibis
Adana
Mopsuestia
Edessa
Tarsus
Attalia
Cibyra
Seleucia
Rhodes
Antioch
Aleppo
R. Euphrates
SYRIA
Cyprus
0 50 100 150 200 Miles
0 50 100 150 200 Km.
Themes thus: OPSIKION
The original extent of the Opsikion Theme
The original extent of the Anatolikon Theme
The original extent of the Armeniakon Theme
The original extent of the Theme of the Carabisiani

CHALCEDON 451: ITS PREDECESSORS AND ITS AFTERMATH
Emperor Marcian convokes Council of Chalcedon to deal with heresy of Eutyches of Constantinople
325
Nicaea
381
Constantinople
451
Chalcedon
Council of Chalcedon in 451 reaffirms Orthodoxy, in east and west, widens split with Monophysites
Armenian Church not represented at Council of Chalcedon, but rejects its decisions in 506
ARMENIAN CHURCH
Aegean Sea
Ephesus
431
Council of Ephesus 431
Sebaste
Melitene
Seleucia
Church founded by bishops following Council of Ephesus in 431
Nestorius (Patriarch of Antioch 428—31) condemned by Council of Ephesus in 431; banished to Upper Egypt
Syrian Monophysites (later called Jacobites) break away from orthodoxy following Council of Chalcedon
Damascus
Bostra
Mediterranean Sea
Darnis
Cyril of Alexandria (Patriarch 412—44), outstanding theologian, most active opponent of Nestorius
Alexandria
Pelusium
COPTIC CHURCH
COPTS (EGYPT)
Oxyrhynchus
Extent of Christianity
Areas of Monophysite churches = Copts, Ethiopians, Jacobites, Armenians
Red Sea
Ptolemais
ETHIOPIA
Ethiopian Church follows Alexandrian (Coptic) lead towards Monophysitism
Black Sea
Adrianople
Europe
Bosporus
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Asia Minor
Sea of Marmora
Nicomedia
Nicaea
Hellespont
Cyzicus
Granicus
Troas
Ilium
Pergamum
Phocaea
Smyrna
Chios
Ephesus
Magnesia
Samos
Miletus
Aegean Sea
Naxos
Halicarnassus
Rhodes

THE FIRST TWO ECUMENICAL COUNCILS

Ecumenical council

Subordinationism

Arius/Arianism

St. Athanasius

Sabellianism/Modal Monarchianism

"There was a time when he was not"

homoousios/"of one Being with the Father"

ousia

Hosius of Cordova

Ulfilas

Remigius

Council of Constantinople, 381

Apollinaris/Apollinarianism

Cappadocian Fathers

- St. Basil of Caesarea

- St. Gregory of Nyssa

- St. Gregory of Nazianzus

"That which is not assumed is not redeemed"

Schools of Antioch and Alexandria

Docetism

Coinherence/Perichoresis/Circumincession

Three hypostases in one ousia

Hypostasis

Economic Trinity

Social Trinity

Athanasian Creed/Quicunque Vult

Phusis

THE THIRD AND FOURTH ECUMENICAL COUNCILS

Council of Ephesus, 431

Nestorius/Nestorianism

Theotokos: Mother or Bearer of God

St. Cyril of Alexandria

Hypostatic Union

Prosopon

Council of Chalcedon, 451

Eutyches/Eutychianism

Monophysite/Monophysitism

Tome of Leo, 449

Chalcedonian Definition or Formula of Faith

Interchange of Properties = Communicatio Idiomatum

Orthodox

St. Vincent of Lerins: Commonitorium/Vincentian Canon