

Youth Spiritual Competition 2023

The Council of Chalcedon

Junior High Edition

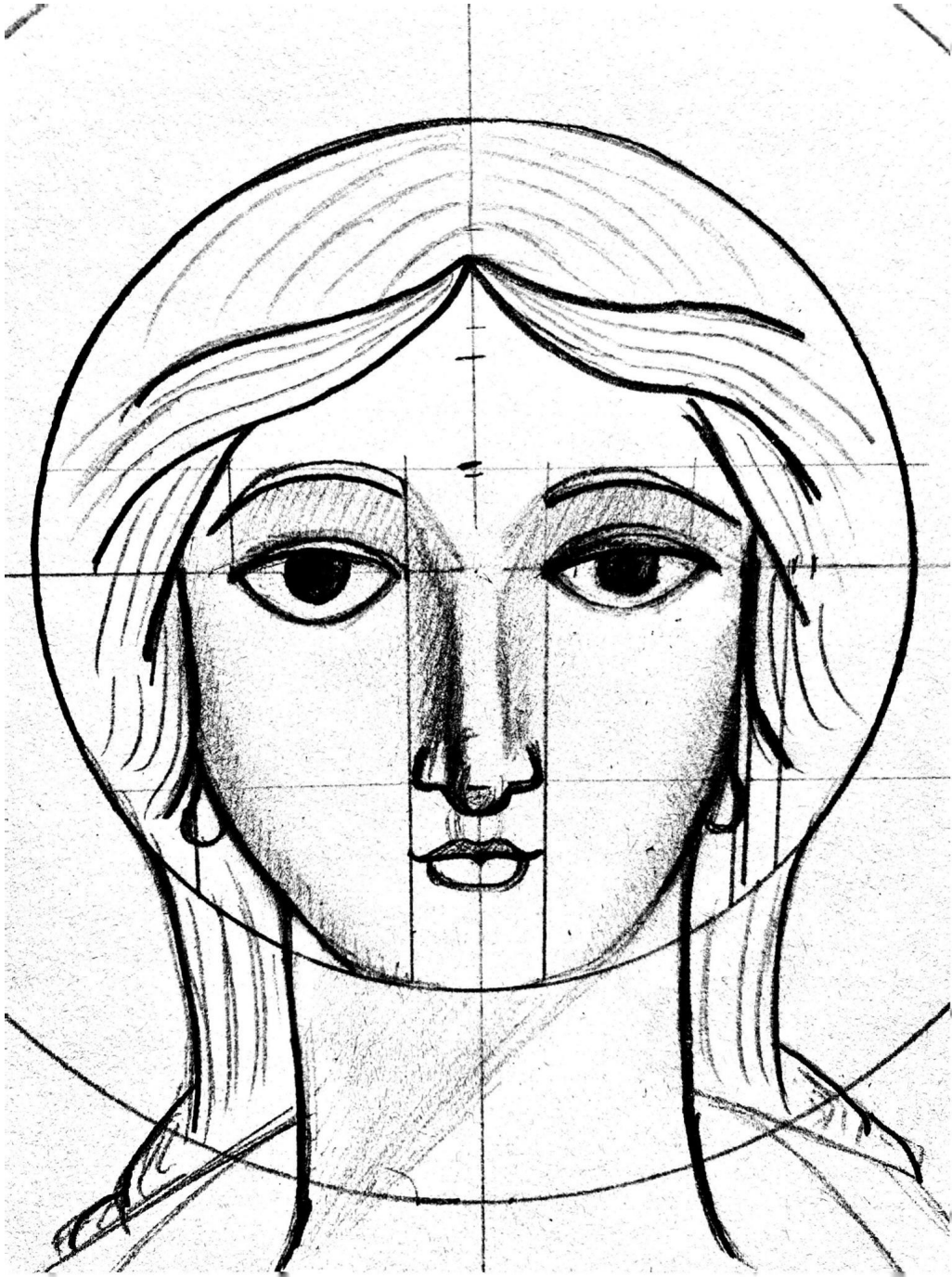


Table of Contents

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Chapter 1: Christology before Chalcedon | 3 |
| Introduction: Early Terminology | 3 |
| The Nestorian Heresy and the Council of Ephesus | 3 |
| Chapter 2: Councils regarding Archimandrite Eutyches | 5 |
| Introduction | 5 |
| Eutyches Excommunicated | 5 |
| Eutyches Appeals | 5 |
| Pope Leo's Response to Ephesus 449 | 6 |
| Chapter 3: Introduction to the Council of Chalcedon | 7 |
| Introduction | 7 |
| The Imperial Commission | 7 |
| The Roman Legates | 8 |
| The Sessions of Chalcedon | 8 |
| Chapter 4: The First Session of Chalcedon | 9 |
| Introduction | 9 |
| St. Dioscorus Immediately Accused | 9 |
| Bishop Eusebius' Accusations of Violence against St. Dioscorus | 9 |
| Further Accusations of the Violence and the Blank Papers | 10 |
| Assessing claims of violence against St. Dioscorus | 10 |
| Eutyches, Flavian, and Eusebius Reexamined | 11 |
| The Formulary Reunion Examined | 12 |
| Bishops Flavian and Eusebius Restored, St. Dioscorus Condemned | 12 |
| Conclusion of the First Session | 12 |
| Chapter 5: The Second Session of Chalcedon | 13 |
| Introduction | 13 |
| Articles of the Faith Read Aloud | 13 |
| Conclusion of the Second Session | 13 |
| Chapter 6: The Third Session of Chalcedon | 14 |
| Introduction | 14 |
| Bishop Eusebius' Accusations against St. Dioscorus | 14 |
| St. Dioscorus Separated Himself from Eutyches | 14 |
| Bishop Eusebius Never before Mentioned Blank Papers | 14 |
| The First Summons of St. Dioscorus | 14 |
| The Second Summons of St. Dioscorus | 15 |
| Baseless Accusations raised by the Alexandrian Clergy | 15 |
| The Third Summons of St. Dioscorus | 16 |

| | |
|--|-----------|
| St. Dioscorus Condemned by the Council of Chalcedon | 16 |
| Chapter 7: The Fourth Session of Chalcedon | 17 |
| Introduction | 17 |
| Reviewing Articles of the Faith | 17 |
| The Examination of the Tome of Leo | 17 |
| Examination of the Egyptian Bishops | 17 |
| Examination of Monks who Supported Eutyches | 18 |
| Conclusion | 18 |
| Chapter 8: The Fifth Session | 19 |
| Introduction | 19 |
| Distinguishing St. Dioscorus and Leo | 19 |
| Whether to accept the first draft of the Definition of Faith | 19 |
| Definition of the Faith of Chalcedon Completed | 20 |
| Coptic Synaxarium Account of St. Dioscorus | 21 |
| Chapter 9: Aftermath and Reconciliation Efforts Today | 22 |
| Reconciliation Efforts Today | 22 |
| Second Meeting of the Joint Commission, 1989 | 22 |
| Bibliography | 24 |

Chapter 1: Christology before Chalcedon

Introduction: Early Terminology

The great challenge of early Christian theology was to reconcile and express how God may be Three but also One at the same time. This challenged many early thinkers. How could God be Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, yet He be called One God? What was the relationship of the Father to the Son? The Father to the Holy Spirit? The Son to the Holy Spirit? How could one distinguish any of these three? Is one greater than another? Can the one name be shared? And if not, then what qualities or attributes distinguish each?

Since the third century, various heresies arose regarding these questions. Arianism was perhaps the most popular and complicated. This resulted in the First Council at Nicaea in 325 AD. Nicaea dealt with a new expression of *homoousios*, but also started to speak of hypostasis. Until that time, many terms were ambiguous, their definitions fluctuated, and they could possibly refer to the same thing. For example, one bishop could speak of three *hypostases*, referring to three Persons of the Holy Trinity, while another bishop could understand this to mean three *ousia* or three gods. There was a need to distinguish the two expressions.

The Cappadocian Fathers distinguished between *ousia* and *hypostasis*, reserving *hypostasis* for “referring to the individual subsistence of a thing,” while *ousia* referred to the “essence that is common to the various members of a species.”¹ Therefore they produced the formula that God is three *hypostases* and one *ousia*, “three individual subsistences that participate in one divine essence.”²

The Nestorian Heresy and the Council of Ephesus

The teaching of a heretic named Theodore of Mopsuestia proved problematic since he implied two persons, Jesus a human and the Word of God, who teamed up to save humanity. For this reason, Nestorius had a problem with the title *Theotokos* since it meant that Virgin Mary bore God. This contradicted his understanding that a human Jesus united with the “Word of God.” Nestorius taught that a more accurate title for Virgin Mary was Christotokos instead of Theotokos since she bore a man who teamed up with the Word. At the close of the Third Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, St. Cyril of Alexandria victoriously proclaimed the hypostatic union of Christ as the unity of the divinity and humanity of Christ in one person. The unity of humanity and divinity in Christ was without confusion, change, or alteration.

St. Cyril of Alexandria applied the term *hypostasis* to denote the manner of the Christological union: it was a *hypostatic union*.³ From divinity and humanity a union has taken place; not an overlap, or a cohabitation, or a relationship, or a displacement, or an association. None of these things his opponents proposed.⁴ He argued for a union in the strict sense of the

¹ González, Justo L. *A History of Christian Thought, Revised Edition, Vol. 1: From the Beginnings to the Council of Chalcedon*. Abingdon Press, 1987, 287

² González, Justo L. *A History of Christian Thought, Revised Edition, Vol. 1: From the Beginnings to the Council of Chalcedon*. Abingdon Press, 1987, 287.

³ Ishak, Fr. Shenouda M. *Christology and the Council of Chalcedon*. Outskirts Press, 2013, 203.

⁴ Cyril of Alexandria and John Anthony McGuckin. *On the Unity of Christ*. St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1995, 40.

word, yet a union that was of the type that did not destroy humanity or divinity. It was like the union of the soul and body in humans. It was not like a union of sand and sugar or fire and straw.⁵

St. Cyril explained that the Lord did not change nature when He became man. Although He became man, He continued to be God. The true union St. Cyril describes is that between Christ and humanity, which, while a mystery beyond comprehension, is a reality that cannot be denied. When speaking in regards to the incarnation, St. Cyril denies that the Lord ceased to be God, but rather asserts that the human nature and the divine nature were united in the one person of Jesus Christ without mingling, confusion, alteration, or absorption.

To summarize the Alexandrian position according to St. Cyril of Alexandria:

(1) the union of Christ was “of or from two natures,” making it clear that manhood came into being only in the union with God the Son, and that in the union it did not undergo any change.

(2) the union was hypostatic and natural, emphasizing that the union was inward and real.

(3) because the union was hypostatic and natural, Christ was one hypostasis and incarnate nature of God the Word.

(4) Christ was at once perfect God and perfect man.⁶

Whereas the Alexandrians believed that the Son was not to be spoken of as “two natures after the union,” the Antiochenes maintained that Christ was “two natures after the union.”

Formulary of Reunion, 433

Even after the Council of Ephesus, the persistent animosity and disagreement between Alexandria and Antioch led St. Cyril of Alexandria to draft a letter to John of Antioch, which is numbered *Letter 39*. This letter, called the *Formulary of Reunion* (or other “Formulary” or “Reunion”) of 433, was Cyril’s attempt at uniting Alexandria and Antioch. The letter was very difficult for the Antiochenes since it required them to accept the hypostatic union and condemn Nestorius.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Samuel, Father V. C. *The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined*. British Orthodox Press, 2001, 40.

Chapter 2: Councils regarding Archimandrite Eutyches

Introduction

Although St. Cyril of Alexandria deposed Nestorius, defended the title *Theotokos* and articulated the hypostatic union, debates continued in the Orthodox church regarding the nature and person of Christ. The issue was always how to recognize that Christ became man and yet did not change Who he was, being God. This boiled down into whether Christ is “*in two natures*” or “*of two natures*.”

The inciting act that would eventually lead to the Council of Chalcedon in 451 was a debate between an ambitious bishop and an elderly monk. This cannot be described as an eloquent theological debate. Nevertheless, two smaller councils would pave the road to Chalcedon.

Eutyches Excommunicated

On November 8, 448, Bishop Eusebius of Dorylaeum brought accusations to Bishop Flavian of Constantinople against Eutyches, an archimandrite of a monastery in Constantinople. Eusebius accused Eutyches of teaching heresies contrary to the Orthodox doctrine defined at the Ecumenical Councils in Nicaea and Ephesus. A local synod was called to question Eutyches, which met on November 12, 448. Consequently, Eutyches was excommunicated in the Home Synod of 448.⁷

Eutyches Appeals

Even prior to the synod reaching its final decision, Eutyches appealed to Rome, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Thessalonica. On March 30, 449, Emperor Theodosius II summoned St. Dioscorus, the 25th Bishop of Alexandria and successor of St. Cyril of Alexandria, to hold a council on August 1, 449, in Ephesus.

Meanwhile, Leo of Rome decided to approach this question regarding the nature of Christ in an entirely different way. Instead of working towards reconciliation, Leo wanted to offer his own theological statement to be accepted⁸ This theological statement was written down in a letter named the *Tome* or the *Tome of Leo*. He circulated this letter among the leaders of the churches.

Second Council of Ephesus, 449

On August 8, 449, the second Council of Ephesus was convened to listen to Eutyches’ appeal. St. Dioscorus presided over the bishops in attendance. He began by affirming the true faith as outlined in the Nicene Creed and confirmed in Ephesus, and then allowed Eutyches to be brought before the council. Eutyches requested that the Council read his confession, a request that was ignored during the Home Synod.

⁷ *Id.* at 264-65.

⁸ Samuel, Father V. C. *The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined*. British Orthodox Press, 2001, 55.

Although St. Dioscorus ruled that the *Tome* be read after the minutes of the Home Synod, Leo's letter was never read. After listening to the minutes of the Home Synod, St. Dioscorus asked the council to rule on Eutyches' case. After eleven bishops made oral arguments in defense of Eutyches, 122 of the 150 bishops voted to acquit him. In turn, the council turned against Bishops Flavian and Eusebius, condemning both.

Pope Leo's Response to Ephesus 449

Leo of Rome denounced the council, giving it the famous misnomer "Council of Robbers" since his *Tome* was not read. Leo raised many baseless claims against St. Dioscorus, most famously that Dioscorus prevented the *Tome* from being read and used violence at the Council of Ephesus 449 to force the bishops to sign Bishop Flavian's condemnation. St. Dioscorus was the only person present at the council that asked for the letter to be read. On two separate occasions, St. Dioscorus asked for the presentation of Leo's *Tome*.

Leo wrote a letter to Theodosius II, complaining, and this time requesting another council. Theodosius II did not agree with Pope Leo's position. As we will see in the next section, the next emperor would call for the Council of Chalcedon and provide Leo an opportunity for his *Tome* to be sponsored as an article of faith.

Chapter 3: Introduction to the Council of Chalcedon

Introduction

Two deaths following the Second Council of Ephesus 449 spelled bad news for St. Dioscorus and good news for Leo of Rome.

The first was the death of Bishop Flavian almost immediately following the council. St. Dioscorus' enemies would eventually claim that Flavian died because of “rough treatment” at the council. Suddenly, the rumors against St. Dioscorus, however ridiculous, began to seem more credible, at least in the eyes of his accusers.

The second death was that of Emperor Theodosius II, who fell off his horse and broke his neck. His death on July 28, 450 paved the way for his sister, Pulcheria, to gain control of the Empire through her husband Marcian, who was declared emperor on August 28, 450.

Now that Marcian was emperor, Pulcheria had an opportunity to elevate the see of Constantinople by making a powerful ally out of Rome by taking out Alexandria. Knowing the situation between Leo and St. Dioscorus, she figured she could side with Rome and establish dominance. According to her plan, Rome would raise the status of the Bishop of Constantinople once Dioscorus was defeated. Pulcheria had Marcian write to Pope Leo of Rome, expressing the idea of convening a council with the purpose of undoing the second Council of Ephesus of 449.⁹

On May 17, forty-five orders were issued to convene an ecumenical council in Nicaea. However, due to an invasion by the Huns, the council's venue was changed to Chalcedon.

The Imperial Commission

Unlike the three Ecumenical Councils, as well as the second Council of Ephesus, which were each called by the emperor and presided by a bishop, the council of Chalcedon was presided by an imperial commission made up of eighteen high-ranking officials.¹⁰ These commissioners, also referred to as the senate, took votes, consented to what was brought forward, closed the sessions, and managed the business management of the assembly.¹¹ While they did not necessarily interfere with the decisions of the council and often understood that these were religious matters among bishops, they did nevertheless ask questions, examine the witnesses, and move the council along.

⁹ *Id.* at 72.

¹⁰ Price, R. M., and Michael Gaddis. *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, Vol. One*. Liverpool University Press, 2007, 118.

¹¹ Hefele, Charles. *A History of the Councils of the Church, from the Original Documents*. Vol. 3, AMS Press, 1972, 241.

The Roman Legates

While the imperial commissioners moderated the meetings and presided over its administration, the Roman legates,¹² who represented Leo, Pope of Rome, acted as the true presidents of the meeting. The Roman legates were recognized by the council to be the superiors, having the first votes and threatening the council if the decisions did not go their way. In fact, the bishops at Chalcedon recognized that, through the Roman legates, Leo presided over the meeting, “Of whom you were chief, as the head to the members, showing your goodwill in the person of those who represented you.”¹³

The Sessions of Chalcedon

The Council of Chalcedon was broken into multiple sessions, but there is no official number. For the purpose of our discussion, we will focus on Sessions 1 to 5, which were held from October 8 to 22, 451. Session 6 will be mentioned briefly at the conclusion.

The first session, held on October 8, 451, focused on the minutes of the Home Synod, the Council of Ephesus 449, and parts of the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, in order to unofficially depose St. Dioscorus. This session ended with the vindication of Bishops Flavian and Eusebius as well as the arrest of St. Dioscorus.

The second session, held on October 10, 451, was a review of the articles of faith accepted by Chalcedon, which included the Nicene Creed, the Constantinopolitan Creed, St. Cyril of Alexandria’s Second Letter to Nestorius, the Formulary Reunion, and the *Tome of Leo*.

The third session, held on October 13, 451, was the trial and deposition of St. Dioscorus, which concluded with his condemnation by the council.

The fourth session, held October 17, 451, was a continuation of the second session, in which the Egyptian Bishops and monks who supported Eutyches were examined. The *Tome of Leo* was also further examined.

The fifth session, held October 22, 451, was the drafting of the Definition of the Faith of Chalcedon.

The sixth session, held October 25, 451, concluded the Christological issues of the Council and was attended by Emperor Marcian.

¹² Legate is a word specifically denoting a delegate or representative of the Roman pope. Here, the words legate or Roman delegate will reference the same group.

¹³ Synod of Chalcedon to Pope Leo. *Letter 98*. §1.

Chapter 4: The First Session of Chalcedon

Introduction

The first session of Chalcedon was held on October 8, 451, in the nave of the church of St. Euphemia, with 343 bishops attending.¹⁴ In this session, the council reexamined the cases against Eutyches, Flavian and Eusebius, as well as the charges raised against St. Dioscorus. Many of these are included in Leo's letter to Emperor Theodosius II. Since this session contains copious readings from the Home Synod, 448, the second council of Ephesus, 449, and even the Council of Ephesus, 431, it is an invaluable source for the minutes of all these meetings. For this reason, this section will also contain an in-depth analysis of the events of the two councils leading up to Chalcedon as they are contextualized through this council. As we will learn, this session will serve as a deposition of St. Dioscorus, which will be finalized with his mock trial in Session 4.

St. Dioscorus Immediately Accused

At the very beginning of the council, the Roman legates demanded that either Dioscorus leave or that they would leave.¹⁵ When asked by the imperial commissioners why St. Dioscorus should be removed, the Roman legate asserted that "His entrance makes it necessary to oppose him." Despite the Roman legates failing to make any case against Dioscorus, the saintly Bishop of Alexandria took a seat in the center, joining those who were accused.

There were a few reasons Leo wanted to move St. Dioscorus: (1) Leo already excommunicated St. Dioscorus; (2) he considered it easier to condemn St. Dioscorus than to condemn all the bishops of that council or even the entire council itself; and (3) it would remove him from his allies.

Although Leo excommunicated him, St. Dioscorus did not retaliate or excommunicate Leo as well. Instead, St. Dioscorus decided to just sit among the accused and defend himself, as the Alexandria patriarchs learned from the martyrs before them. It was also too difficult for Leo to refute an entire Council, the Second Council of Ephesus 449. Moving St. Dioscorus to where the accused sat also meant that he was separated from those who supported him. By doing this, the Roman legates would be able to turn the council of Chalcedon against St. Dioscorus. As we will see, this tactic would succeed in causing many of his allies to abandon him.

Bishop Eusebius' Accusations of Violence against St. Dioscorus

Bringing the first accusation against St. Dioscorus, Bishop Eusebius of Dorylaeum insisted that Dioscorus treated him badly, saying, "I have been wronged by Dioscorus; the faith has been wronged; Bishop Flavian was murdered. He together with me was unjustly deposed by Dioscorus. Order my petition to be read."¹⁶ This was in reference to the accusation made outside

¹⁴ Price, R. M., and Michael Gaddis. *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, Vol. One*. Liverpool University Press, 2007, 118.

¹⁵ *Id.* at 129.

¹⁶ *Id.* at 130.

of Chalcedon that St. Dioscorus allowed a fierce man named Barsauma to lead a group of impudent monks to beat Bishop Flavian.

Further Accusations of the Violence and the Blank Papers

Accusations were lumped against Dioscorus that he alone made the decisions at the Second Council of Ephesus 449, and that he had used force and duress in order to intimidate the bishops into signing the documents of the Council's decision. Dioscorus properly argued against this accusation, clarifying that the Emperor gave the entire council authority to act.

The senate moved forward with reading the minutes of Ephesus 449. Not long into the reading, the minutes mentioned the bishops present at the council agreeing with St. Dioscorus. Another accusation was raised against Dioscorus related to the blank papers. The senate ignored St. Dioscorus' defenses and continued the session.

Assessing claims of violence against St. Dioscorus

As mentioned above, Bishop Eusebius accused St. Dioscorus of violence while the other bishops mentioned that he forced them to sign blank papers on which he could write the condemnations against Bishops Flavian and Eusebius.

Fr. V.C. Samuel¹⁷ raised two points defending St. Dioscorus against the baseless accusations that he forced the bishops to sign the condemnation of Bishop Flavian of Constantinople under the threat of violence:

If all these stories of violence were true, nobody accused St. Dioscorus of acting alone. In fact, even Bishop Stephen said that Dioscorus, Juvenal, Thalassius, and "the other bishops" forced him to sign. Theodore stated that they had been the work of the "early signatories." It is clear that the story as told by these bishops did not vindicate the Roman legates and the bishop of Dorylaeum regarding their assertion that Dioscorus had dominated the council.¹⁸ In other words, many bishops were working together; it was not St. Dioscorus alone.

Commenting on these accusations that Dioscorus was violent, one Syrian Orthodox Bishop made the following remarks which can be broken into eight points:

- (1) The council was not held on the demand of St. Dioscorus, and there were no previous letters between the Alexandrian pope and the emperors, signifying that St. Dioscorus demanded no personal benefit;

¹⁷ Fr. V.C. Samuel is an Indian Orthodox priest who wrote *The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined*. According to Fr. Peter Farrington, this work is "perhaps the most important study of Christology and the Council of Chalcedon to be published in the 20th century." His approach in this book is to avoid blame and suggest positive steps that can be taken to restore the unity which Orthodoxy once experienced. He reposed in 1998 after 60 years of dedicated service.

¹⁸ Samuel, Father V. C. *The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined*. British Orthodox Press, 2001, 80.

- (2) The imperial letters did not describe St. Dioscorus with titles more honorable than others, meaning that there was no collusion between Dioscorus and the emperor;
- (3) The imperial letters revealed the increased theological troubles that spread in the See of Constantinople;
- (4) The decisions were accepted through voting, and no bishops fled the council save Flavian and Eusebius;
- (5) The opening of the council described Leo of Rome as a “saint” and “love of God,” revealing the spirit of the council;
- (6) When Pope Leo asked the emperor of the West, Valentinus, to intercede before Emperor Theodosius II, the latter sent them a letter praising the Council of Ephesus 449, stating that it was “controlled by the fear of God;”
- (7) In the imperial message at the opening of the Council, the emperor revealed the violence of Theodoret of Cyrus; and
- (8) Until the last moment of the council, St. Dioscorus did not speak an evil word against Rome, while Leo in his epistles referred to the Pope of Alexandria as “that Egyptian plunderer” and “preacher of the devil’s errors” who tried to force his “villainous blasphemies” on his brethren.¹⁹

Eutyches, Flavian, and Eusebius Reexamined

During the reading of the minutes of Ephesus 449, the Council exploded in an uproar when Eutyches’ confession was read, which contained a statement saying that he condemned all those that say “the flesh of our Lord and God Jesus Christ came down from heaven.”²⁰ St. Dioscorus, however, distanced himself from Eutyches, as follows:

If Eutyches holds opinions contrary to the doctrines of the church, he deserves not only punishment but hell fire. For my concern is for the catholic and apostolic faith and not for any human being. My mind is fixed on the Godhead, and I do not look to any person nor care about anything except my soul and the true and pure faith.²¹

¹⁹ Malaty, Fr. Tadros Y. *A Panoramic View of Patristics in the First Six Centuries with an Overview of Selected Coptic Orthodox Fathers and Authors of the Middle Ages*. St. George’s Coptic Orthodox Church, Sporting, Alexandria, Egypt, 2006, 62.

²⁰ Price, R. M., and Michael Gaddis. *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, Vol. One*. Liverpool University Press, 2007, 158.

²¹ *Id.* at 159.

First, what had read into Eutyches was declared heretical by St. Dioscorus.

Second, there was no evidence that Eutyches held heretical teachings.

Third, the real issue for St. Dioscorus is not the teaching of Eutyches, but rather the teaching of the Church,²² since he continued “my concern is for the catholic and apostolic faith and not for any human being.”

The Formulary Reunion Examined

Soon enough, the council of Chalcedon began to read the Formulary of Reunion. All the bishops exclaimed in adoration and acceptance of St. Cyril of Alexandria, praising him and condemning those who “say two Sons, for we worship one Son, our Lord Jesus Christ the Only-Begotten.”

Bishops Flavian and Eusebius Restored, St. Dioscorus Condemned

The senate eventually asked the bishops present at Chalcedon whether or not Bishop Flavian made a Christological error. While many bishops agreed that Bishop Flavian was Orthodox, St. Dioscorus requested that the council continue to read the transcript since the testimony later contradicts itself by mentioning “two natures after the union.”

St. Dioscorus was not only ignored but also abandoned by his supporters. These bishops even went so far as to switch sides and join St. Dioscorus' accusers. The council continued to read the minutes until the end of Ephesus 449, to which the imperial commission made its rule to restore Bishops Flavian and Eusebius, and to condemn St. Dioscorus and his party.

Conclusion of the First Session

As the Oriental bishops were exclaiming “this judgment is just,” St. Dioscorus was placed under arrest and taken away. “Christ has deposed Dioscorus! Christ has deposed the murderer! This is a just sentence! This is a just council! The senate is just! God has avenged the martyrs!”

²² Samuel, Father V. C. *The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined*. British Orthodox Press, 2001, 81.

Chapter 5: The Second Session of Chalcedon

Introduction

The second session met on October 10, 451, two days after the first session, and began with a recapitulation of the events that had occurred during the first session on October 8. The imperial officials reminded the bishops that, in their last meeting, Bishops Flavian and Eusebius had been restored, and that the bishops must now turn their attention to confirming the faith.

Articles of the Faith Read Aloud

The bishops of the council said, “No one makes a new exposition, nor do we attempt or presume to do so,” reasoning that “it was the fathers who taught, what they expounded is preserved in writing, and we cannot go beyond it.”²³

From the beginning of the second session, the council began endorsing the *Tome of Leo*. One bishop immediately announced “There arose the affair of Eutyches. A decree was issued on the subject by the most holy archbishop of Rome; we assent to it and have all signed this letter.”²⁴

The imperial commission had a different idea. The idea was that each diocese would select a bishop to discuss the faith for the purpose of writing a common document to “make their decisions known to all.” Outraged, the bishops responded that, according to one of the canons, another exposition of the faith cannot be written. One of the bishops announced that the faith was defined by the 318 at Nicaea and now by Pope Leo. The tension between the imperial commission and the bishops would be revisited during the fifth session. For now, the conversation ended while a few bishops disappeared to begin drafting the Definition of Chalcedon in the oratory. From there, the Nicene Creed, Constantinopolitan Creed, St. Cyril of Alexandria’s Second Letter to Nestorius, the Formulary Reconciliation, and the *Tome of Leo* were read aloud.

Conclusion of the Second Session

The reading of the *Tome of Leo* was not a complete success for Pope Leo. Three passages were objected to, and one of the legates even requested more time to compare it to St. Cyril of Alexandria’s Third Letter to Nestorius.²⁵ Rome would need to use the time between the second and fourth sessions in order to prepare the *Tome* to be examined once more. This surprised Rome, who was convinced that all bishops present, upon hearing its words, would immediately accept it and celebrate it as the sincere expression of the true faith. Nevertheless, the Oriental bishops clamored and cheered.

²³ *Id.* at 10.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Samuel, Father V. C. *The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined*. British Orthodox Press, 2001, 87-88.

Chapter 6: The Third Session of Chalcedon

Introduction

The third session of the Council of Chalcedon, which took place on October 13, 451, was the trial of St. Dioscorus. Although Bishop Eusebius of Dorylaeum brought at least four charges against him, and despite three summons made throughout the session, St. Dioscorus refused to appear.

Bishop Eusebius' Accusations against St. Dioscorus

The third session began with Bishop Eusebius of Dorylaeum raising a three-fold petition against St. Dioscorus, accusing him of: (1) holding the same view as Eutyches, allowing him into communion before Ephesus 449, and propagating his teachings through Ephesus 449; (2) condemning Bishops Flavian and Eusebius through threatening bishops, making them sign blank papers, and writing the condemnations later; and (3) not reading the *Tome of Leo* at the Ephesus 449.

St. Dioscorus Separated Himself from Eutyches

As stated earlier, many of the charges against St. Dioscorus were unsubstantiated. **First**, St. Dioscorus did not claim to hold the views of Eutyches, but said in the first session that “If Eutyches holds opinions contrary to the doctrines of the church, he deserves not only punishment but hell fire.” **Second**, it was the bishops at Ephesus 449 who collectively voted in support of vindicating Eutyches and condemning Bishops Eusebius and Flavian. **Third**, while St. Dioscorus wanted to read the *Tome of Leo*, no one else would allow him.

Bishop Eusebius Never before Mentioned Blank Papers

Although Bishop Eusebius of Dorylaeum was present at the council in 449, his petition read to the council on October 8, 451, did not mention the story of the blank papers either at the time it happened or at the first session. But suddenly, two years later, he decided to bring this issue up for the very first time on October 13, 451. Why would he wait over two years to ever mention this, from the men who had signed the *Tome of Leo* and agreed to support it?²⁶

The First Summons of St. Dioscorus

The council of Chalcedon served three summons to St. Dioscorus. The first was taken to him by three priests, but he refused them saying that he was under arrest and could not be released from custody to attend the session unless he was granted permission.²⁷ While speaking to the bishops, St. Dioscorus learned that this session was to be his trial. When the bishops returned with permission to release him from custody, St. Dioscorus said he would not go to the session unless the imperial commission was present.

²⁶ *Id.* at 80.

²⁷ *Id.* at 90.

The Second Summons of St. Dioscorus

A second summons was served so that St. Dioscorus may stand trial and be condemned by Bishop Eusebius. This time, the council sent three bishops and one of the deacons who was a notary. Initially, St. Dioscorus told them he was sick, but they said he didn't seem sick the first time they saw him. St. Dioscorus again demanded that the imperial commission attend his trial. The bishops responded that his summons was canonical and that he could make the requests to the council personally.

During this second summons, St. Dioscorus attempted to determine whether his trial would be regarding the actions of Ephesus 449, or whether the trial would be personally against him. In order to find out the purpose of his trial, he asked whether the other bishops being condemned with him, namely Juvenal, Thalassius, Eusebius, Basil, and Eustathius, would be put on trial as well. The bishops replied that no others were involved.

The individual nature of the trial was a major red flag for St. Dioscorus. If the trial was about what happened at Ephesus 449, then Juvenal, Thalassius, Eusebius, Basil, and Eustathius would have been on trial with him as well since they were just as responsible for the decision of that council. Since they were not involved, that would mean that the trial was personally against him. Reasoning that no imperial commission or laymen would be present and no one else was to be put on trial, this was to be a condemnation instead of a fair hearing. Learning the true nature of his summons, St. Dioscorus responded to the bishops, "I have said what I said once for all, and, in brief, I have nothing further to say."²⁸

Upon hearing this, Bishop Eusebius charged the council to note on the record that St. Dioscorus was not allowed any excuses, and was not to use this as a tactic to force Eusebius to accuse any other person. The Bishop of Dorylaeum made it exceedingly clear that this trial was specifically against St. Dioscorus.

Baseless Accusations raised by the Alexandrian Clergy

As he was still saying these things, one of the notaries informed Bishop Eusebius that clergy from Alexandria had arrived. A priest named Athanasius, two deacons named Theodore and Ischyriion, and a layman named Sophronius came to raise at least six additional accusations against St. Dioscorus: (1) he treated them poorly; (2) he opposed St. Cyril of Alexandria in theology and other matters; (3) he was a blasphemer, murderer, an arsonist, a demolisher of homes, and a destroyer of trees²⁹ who had always lived a shameful life stealing boats and having affairs; (4) he challenged the authority of the emperor; (5) he excommunicated Pope Leo of Rome; and (6) was despised by his flock in Alexandria.³⁰

²⁸ Price, R. M., and Michael Gaddis. *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, Vol. Two*. Liverpool University Press, 2007, 49.

²⁹ According to the minutes of Chalcedon, the exact language used was "a man who has not refrained... from cutting down trees." See *id.* at 52. Tree cutting was mentioned again by Deacon Ischyriion, see *ibid.* at 54.

³⁰ Samuel, Father V. C. *The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined*. British Orthodox Press, 2001, 90-1.

Deacon Theodore complained that he had been serving twenty-two years since the time of St. Cyril of Alexandria, and that St. Dioscorus immediately removed him after becoming bishop of Alexandria. According to Deacon Theodore, he was removed solely because the deacon was friends with St. Cyril, and stated that St. Dioscorus hated even the family of Cyril.

The bishops of Chalcedon accepted these four testimonies without anything more than the assurance of the witnesses that they could support their claims. Specifically, the bishops said that these testimonies would need to be presented to St. Dioscorus so he may defend himself. This is very strange, considering that the accuser would need evidence in order to bring his claim against the accused.

The Third Summons of St. Dioscorus

After the bishops heard all four testimonies of the Alexandria clergy and layman, they decided to summon St. Dioscorus a third time since it was a requirement to the ecclesiastical order to be summoned three times. Three more bishops accompanied by a deacon went one final time to summon St. Dioscorus. As the three bishops and deacon attempted to convince St. Dioscorus to come, the Bishop of Alexandria continued to tell them “I have nothing to add to what I have already said.” When compelled to attend in order to clear the holy church of God from stain, St. Dioscorus with boldness declared “The catholic church has no stain—God forbid! I know how I have responded to these injunctions!”³¹ When pressed one final time, he said, “What I said I have said, and I am satisfied with it.”³²

St. Dioscorus Condemned by the Council of Chalcedon

The council turned to the Roman delegates, led by Bishop Paschasinus of Lilybaeum in Sicily, who delivered a speech articulating his proposed order against St. Dioscorus. In summary, the delegates of Rome condemned St. Dioscorus on the grounds that (1) he allowed into communion Eutyches after his condemnation at the Home Synod of 448 but before his restoration at the second council of Ephesus 449; (2) he continued in rebellion against the council; (3) he did not allow the *Tome of Leo* to be read at the council of 449, which resulted in great scandal in the church; (4) he excommunicated Pope Leo; and (5) he refused three summons to the third session.³³ This is the basis on which St. Dioscorus was excommunicated by Rome.

³¹ Price, R. M., and Michael Gaddis. *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, Vol. Two*. Liverpool University Press, 2007, 67.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Samuel, Father V. C. *The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined*. British Orthodox Press, 2001, 93-94.

Chapter 7: The Fourth Session of Chalcedon

Introduction

After finally ridding themselves of St. Dioscorus, the Roman Legates focused their efforts on rallying support for the *Tome of Leo*. However, as the council voted and signed the *Tome*, those who refused to sign were examined. This included five bishops who supported St. Dioscorus, the Egyptian bishops, and the monks who had supported Eutyches. Ultimately the imperial commission decided that the Egyptian bishops did not need to state their support at that time until a bishop of Alexandria was consecrated for them. The session concluded when the council accepted the *Tome of Leo* as consistent with the articles of faith previously listed.

Reviewing Articles of the Faith

On October 17, 451, 305 bishops gathered for the fourth session of Chalcedon. Unlike the previous session, this one was attended by the imperial commission. When the bishops were seated, the commission asked that the previous decision be read. After the decisions of the first two sessions were read, in which the council restored Bishops Flavian and Eusebius, and affirmed their recognition of the Nicene Creed and Constantinopolitan Creed, the Second Letter of St. Cyril of Alexandria to Nestorius, and the Formulary Reunion as articles of the faith, the imperial officials asked the bishops what they had resolved regarding the faith. The Roman Legates further embraced the above documents, but moreover declared that the *Tome of Leo* declared the true faith.

The Examination of the Tome of Leo

The imperial commission decided at this point to take a vote among the bishops to determine whether they agreed if the “definition of the 318 fathers who met formerly at Nicaea and of the 150 who convened subsequently in the imperial city is in harmony with the letter of the most devout Archbishop Leo.”³⁴ 161 Bishops declared their support and signed the *Tome of Leo*. The imperial commission asked regarding the other bishops who had not announced their support. The minutes do not articulate which bishops further assented, but simply “all the most devout bishops”³⁵ agreed and assented. To the synod’s surprise, the Roman legates called for the five bishops who had supported St. Dioscorus.

Examination of the Egyptian Bishops

The council now turned its attention to the Egyptian bishops. Of the twenty who attended the first session, thirteen were now present: Hieracis, Sabinus, Apollonius, Pasmius, Januarius, Eulogius, John, Isaac, Hero, Stephen, Theophilus, another Theophilus, and Isidore. While not all seven absentees may be accounted for, four of them had spoken in favor of Bishop Flavian in the

³⁴ Price, R. M., and Michael Gaddis. *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, Vol. Two*. Liverpool University Press, 2007, 127.

³⁵ *Id.* at 146.

first session. However, no Egyptian bishop attended the second or third sessions since St. Dioscorus, their archbishop, was absent.³⁶

As Fr. V.C. Samuel put it, the thirteen Egyptian bishops were in a most “embarrassingly delicate situation.”³⁷ Their archbishop had just been deposed, and the bishops knew Egypt was not going to accept the decisions of this council. All their hope was placed in a carefully worded petition that was submitted to the imperial commission. When the Egyptian bishops were seated, the imperial commission asked whether they had presented a petition. The Egyptian bishops submitted their petition, which contained their thirteen signatures. Despite their surgical wording and sincere attempt at remaining neutral, the bishops of the council asked why they had not anathematized³⁸ the doctrine of Eutyches. Concluding that the Egyptian bishops had presented their petition deceitfully, the bishops of the council demanded they sign the *Tome of Leo*, which would anathematize Eutyches.

After much debate, the imperial commission intervened, ruling that the Egyptians did not refuse to sign out of disagreement of faith *per se*, but rather because they did not have an archbishop. The imperial council found the request to postpone this matter until a new bishop could be ordained for Alexandria to be reasonable, on the condition that the Egyptians remain in the imperial city until such appointment. The Roman legate demanded that securities be provided to ensure that they would not return to Alexandria in the meantime. The imperial commission allowed for either securities to be provided or an oath to be taken.

Examination of Monks who Supported Eutyches

Finished with the Egyptian bishops for now, the council turned to those monks who had supported Eutyches. The monks demanded that St. Dioscorus be restored. When they refused to accept the *Tome of Leo* or condemn Eutyches, they were handed over to the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople.³⁹

Conclusion

In this one session, the Roman legates succeeded in (1) rallying support for the *Tome of Leo*; (2) having the empire officially recognize and endorse the deposition of St. Dioscorus; (3) holding the Egyptian bishops at the imperial city until a bishop for Alexandria could be appointed to them; and (4) handing over the monks that supported Eutyches to the patriarch of Constantinople.

³⁶ *Id.* at 148.

³⁷ Samuel, Father V. C. *The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined*. British Orthodox Press, 2001, 103.

³⁸ *Anathema* is a Greek word meaning “curse” or “cutting off.” In early usage, the anathema was an offering that was placed on high for all to see since it was rooted in sacrifice. Later, when awful things like execution were done publicly, it meant something terrible in the eyes of the people. Eventually, in the early Church, it referred to the removal of one who refused to repent. According to St. Paul in his epistle to the Galatians, “But even if we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel to you than what we have preached to you, let him be accursed (*anathema*)” (Ga. 1:8). To be *anathema* or *anathematized* means to be excommunicated from the Church. However, one who is *anathematized* may repent and return to the true faith.

³⁹ Davis, Leo Donald. *The First Seven Ecumenical Councils (325-787): Their History and Theology*. The Liturgical Press, 1990, 184.

Chapter 8: The Fifth Session

Introduction

During the second session of Chalcedon, held on October 10, 451, the chairman insisted that a pure exposition of the faith be drafted.⁴⁰ The bishops had unanimous disapproval against it. However, when the council reconvened on October 22 for the fifth session, the draft of the Definition was read by deacon Asclepiades. The draft of the Definition was edited out of the minutes of Chalcedon, likely so critics could not use the earlier draft to attack the Definition.⁴¹ One of the bishops, unsatisfied with the draft Definition, said that it needed to be more precise. The Roman legates didn't take well to this, arguing the Definition was satisfactory.

Distinguishing St. Dioscorus and Leo

The imperial commission, upon hearing the first draft of the definition read, began to argue with the bishops. "Dioscorus said that the reason for Flavian's deposition was that he said there are two natures, but the definition has 'from two natures.'"⁴² One bishop quickly said, "It was not because of the faith that Dioscorus was deposed. He was deposed because he broke off communion with the lord Archbishop Leo and was summoned a third time and did not come."⁴³ This did not reflect well on the integrity of those bishops.

Whether to accept the first draft of the Definition of Faith

Turning from this question, the imperial commission asked the bishops whether they accepted the *Tome of Leo*. When the council assented that they had accepted and signed it, the commission declared that its contents must then be included in the Definition. The bishops were up in arms. "Another definition must not be produced" retorted Bishop Eusebius of Dorylaeum. The rest of the bishops joined, saying that the Definition confirms the *Tome of Leo*, and that it was time to sign the Definition.

Fr. V.C. Samuel explains that the point made by the bishops here is clear. In their draft, they had included the *Tome of Leo* as an acceptable document, so that they expected the same courtesy from Leo by recognizing the orthodoxy of their draft. This obviously means that the eastern bishops did not accept the *Tome* as their doctrinal standard.⁴⁴

As the secretary declared that a committee would be appointed to redraft and finalize the Definition, Rome insisted that the Definition be read out, and that anyone who dissents should leave. The Bishops of Illyricum shot back, saying that the dissenters are Nestorians, and that the dissenters should go back to Rome.

⁴⁰ Price, R. M., and Michael Gaddis. *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, Vol. Two*. Liverpool University Press, 2007, 184.

⁴¹ *Id.* at 196.

⁴² *Id.* at 198.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Samuel, Father V. C. *The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined*. British Orthodox Press, 2001, 107.

Definition of the Faith of Chalcedon Completed

A committee was formed that immediately went into the oratory to deliberate among themselves. After the bishops returned from their deliberation, the final version of the Definition was read to the council, which in pertinent part said:

Following, therefore, the holy fathers, we all in harmony teach confession of one and the same Son our Lord Jesus Christ, the same perfect in Godhead and the same perfect in manhood, truly God and the same truly man, of a rational soul and body, consubstantial with the Father in respect of the Godhead, and the same consubstantial with us in respect of the manhood, like us in all things apart from sin, begotten from the Father before the ages in respect of the Godhead, and the same in the last days for us and for our salvation from the Virgin Mary the Theotokos in respect of the manhood, one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, acknowledged **in two natures** without confusion, change, division, or separation (the difference of the natures being in no way destroyed by the union, but rather the distinctive character of each nature being preserved and coming together into one person and one hypostasis), not parted or divided into two persons, but one and the same Son, Only-begotten, God, Word, Lord, Jesus Christ, even as the prophets from of old and Jesus Christ himself taught us about him and the symbol of the fathers has handed down to us.⁴⁵

Although the bishops signed the Declaration, concluding the fifth session, there was no argument or debate regarding the expression “**in two natures**,” bolded above. Fr. V.C. Samuel comments on this, saying that the eastern critics of the council saw in it a betrayal of the already established norm of faith. The supporters of the council tried to make out that the phrases mean the same idea. If this was the truth, then there was no real difference between “*from two natures*” of St. Dioscorus and “*in two natures*” of the council. If that were the case, then with a little bit of patience from the triumphant party, the division could have been avoided.⁴⁶

The Oriental Christians reject the faith of this council, being called **non-Chalcedoneans**. For Alexandria and the rest of the Oriental Christians, the incarnation was not the union of two abstract ideas. Christ becoming man was real. The **hypostatic union** was the humanity joined to the divinity in Christ, who, being God, became man, without alteration, change, mingling, confusion, or absorption. For this reason, Chalcedon did not conserve the Orthodox faith according to the Alexandrians.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Price, R. M., and Michael Gaddis. *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, Vol. Two*. Liverpool University Press, 2007, 204.

⁴⁶ Samuel, Father V. C. *The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined*. British Orthodox Press, 2001, 109.

⁴⁷ For further reading on this topic, see Samuel, Father V. C. *The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined*. British Orthodox Press, 2001, 317-318.

Coptic Synaxarium Account of St. Dioscorus

The Coptic Synaxarium provides a different account of what occurred to St. Dioscorus leading up to the council's decision to endorse the Chalcedonian Definition of the faith. Most Coptic, as well as Syrian sources, contain accounts of St. Dioscorus suffering persecution at the hands of Emperor Marcian and Empress Pulcheria. According to such accounts, St. Dioscorus was summoned to the Council of Chalcedon by Emperor Marcianus. When St. Dioscorus heard Leo's teaching that Christ had two natures and two wills after the Union, he asserted that Jesus Christ was one.

Emperor Marcian and Empress Pulcheria were informed regarding St. Dioscorus' opposition to Leo's teaching. They summoned St. Dioscorus and other leading bishops of Chalcedon to debate before them. St. Dioscorus remained steadfast in the Orthodox faith, defending it until the evening. The Empress commanded that St. Dioscorus be smitten on his mouth, and that the hairs of his beard be plucked out. According to this account, St. Dioscorus took the hair that had been plucked out along with teeth that had fallen after he was smitten and sent them to Alexandria, saying, "This is the fruit of faith."

When St. Dioscorus returned to the council of Chalcedon, the bishops saw what had happened to him and were afraid. They endorsed the Definition of the Faith,⁴⁸ fearing they would otherwise suffer the same fate as St. Dioscorus. Seeing what was happening, St. Dioscorus requested that the document be given to him to sign. When St. Dioscorus received the document, he wrote below the names of the bishops that those who accept this Definition are excommunicated. The Emperor became enraged and commanded St. Dioscorus to be banished to the island of Gangra so the council may be concluded without him.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ It is uncertain whether the document here refers to the Definition of the Faith according to the Council of Chalcedon, or whether it was the *Tome of Leo*, as is sometimes portrayed in Coptic art. The main characteristic of this document is that it expresses the belief that Christ is *in two natures* following the Union.

⁴⁹ See the Coptic Synaxarium entry for Tout 7, the Departure of St. Dioscorus, the 25th Pope of Alexandria.

Chapter 9: Aftermath and Reconciliation Efforts Today

The Council of Chalcedon adjourned on November 1, 451. The council, according to Emperor Marcian, had succeeded in deposing Eutyches as an Apollinarian, and declared St. Dioscorus to be the same. On February 7, March 13, and July 28, 452, Emperor Marcian issued a series of decrees and exiled Eutyches, who died around the time the decree was made. He also exiled St. Dioscorus to Gangra in Paphlagonia until his death in 454. He was celebrated by the people of Alexandria as a confessor and a martyr.

Reconciliation Efforts Today

After Chalcedon to today, Orthodox Christians from both sides of the divide have worked together towards Reconciliation. While efforts were made to unite Alexandria and Constantinople, such as the *Henotikon*, reconciliation could not yet be reached between the Chalcedonian (Eastern or Byzantine) and non-Chalcedonian (Oriental) churches.⁵⁰ The churches continue dialogues today with the purpose of coming to a common understanding of the faith, reconciling, and becoming once more the one, holy, catholic, apostolic, Orthodox church of God, confessing “one Lord, one faith, one baptism” (Eph. 4:5).

For over fifteen hundred years the Eastern (Byzantine) Orthodox churches and the Oriental Orthodox churches have remained separated. About sixty years ago they came together for the first of four unofficial theological consultations. These were followed by the establishment of a Joint Commission of the Theological Dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the Oriental Orthodox Churches, which has held four meetings.

Second Meeting of the Joint Commission, 1989

From June 20 to 24, 1989 the second meeting of the joint Commission of the Theological Dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the Oriental Orthodox Churches took place at the Anba Bishoi Monastery in Wadi El-Natrun, Egypt. His Holiness Pope Shenouda III addressed the opening session of the meeting and appealed to the participants to find a way to restore communion between the two families of Churches. They then signed the First Agreed Statement on Christology, while at the same time acknowledged the common understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit and the faith of the one undivided church in the early centuries.

One year later, a Second Agreed Statement was released. This condemned the Eutychian heresy, the Nestorian heresy. It also affirmed the faith of St Cyril of Alexandria and the *mia physis* formula:

The Orthodox agree that the Oriental Orthodox will continue to maintain their traditional Cyrillian terminology of “one nature of the incarnate Logos” (“*mia fusij tou qeou Logou sesarkwmenh*”), since they acknowledge the double consubstantiality of the Logos which Eutyches denied. The Orthodox also use this terminology. The Oriental Orthodox agree

⁵⁰ The Oriental Churches include the Coptic Orthodox Church, the Armenian Apostolic Church, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, the Malankara Syrian Orthodox Church of India, the Syrian Orthodox Church, and the Eritrean Orthodox Church.

that the Orthodox are justified in their use of the two-natures formula, since they acknowledge that the distinction is “in thought alone.” [...]

It also recommended practical steps:

- A. The Orthodox should lift all anathemas and condemnations against all Oriental Orthodox Councils and Fathers whom they have anathematised or condemned in the past.
- B. The Oriental Orthodox should at the same time lift all anathemas and condemnations against all Orthodox Councils and fathers, whom they have anathematised or condemned in the past.
- C. The manner in which the anathemas are to be lifted should be decided by the Churches individually.

Bibliography

- Apollinaris of Laodicea. *Fragments*.
- Arius. *Confession of Faith from Arius and his followers to Bishop Alexander of Alexandria*.
- Arius. *Letter of Arius to Eusebius of Nicomedia*.
- Athanasius, and Khaled Anatolios. *Athanasius*. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2004.
- Cyril of Alexandria, *Letter 39 to John of Antioch*.
- Cyril of Alexandria. *Scholia on the Incarnation*.
- Cyril of Alexandria. *Second Letter to Nestorius*.
- Cyril of Alexandria and Norman Russell. *Cyril of Alexandria*. Routledge, 2004.
- Cyril of Alexandria and John Anthony McGuckin. *On the Unity of Christ*. St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1995.
- Davis, Leo Donald. *The First Seven Ecumenical Councils (325-787): Their History and Theology*. The Liturgical Press, 1990, 40-41.
- Eastern Churches Journal, Volume 1, No. 1 (Winter 1993/94).
- Eusebius of Caesarea. *Letter on the Council of Nicaea*.
- Gonzalez, Justo L. *A History of Christian Thought. Volume I, from the Beginnings to the Council of Chalcedon*. 2nd ed., Abingdon Press, 1987.
- González, Justo L. *Story of Christianity: The Early Church to the Dawn of the Reformation*. Vol. 1, HarperCollins, 2010.
- Gregory of Nazianzus. *Critique of Apollinarius and Apollinarianism*, Epistle 101.
- Hefele, Charles. *A History of the Councils of the Church, from the Original Documents*. Vol. 3, AMS Press, 1972.
- Ishak, Fr. Shenouda M. *Christology and the Council of Chalcedon*. Outskirts Press, 2013.
- Kelly, J.N.D. *Early Christian Doctrines*. Revised Edition. Harper & Row, Publishers 1978.
- L'Huillier, Archbishop Peter. *The Church of the Ancient Councils: the Disciplinary Work of the First Four Ecumenical Councils*. St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1996.

- Malaty, Fr. Tadros Y. *A Panoramic View of Patristics in the First Six Centuries with an Overview of Selected Coptic Orthodox Fathers and Authors of the Middle Ages*. St. George's Coptic Orthodox Church, Sporting, Alexandria, Egypt, 2006.
- Price, R. M., and Michael Gaddis. *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, Vol. One*. Liverpool University Press, 2007.
- Price, R. M., and Michael Gaddis. *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, Vol. Two*. Liverpool University Press, 2007.
- Samuel, Father V. C. *The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined*. British Orthodox Press, 2001.
- Schaff, Philip and Henry Wace. *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Vol. 12*. Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1895.
- Synod of Chalcedon to Pope Leo. *Letter 98*.
- Walker, Williston, et al. *A History of the Christian Church*. 4th ed., Scribner, 1985.
- Youanis, H.G. Bishop. *The History of the Coptic Church After Chalcedon 451-1300 AD*. Shenouda Press, 2018.
- Young, Frances M., and Andrew Teal. *From Nicaea to Chalcedon: A Guide to the Literature and Its Background*. 2nd ed., Baker Academic, 2010.