

## Anastasius of Sinai and His Participation in the Monothelite Controversy

Cyril HOVORUN

*Loyola Marymount University*

Anastasius of Sinai was an eloquent polemicist against Monothelitism and Monenergism. His contribution to the anti-Monothelite polemics represented its later stage and not always reflected the Byzantine theological mainstream. Because he acted on the margins of the controversy regarding activities and wills in Jesus Christ, his ideas on this subject remain understudied. At the same time, these ideas are interesting and often original. The paper fulfils this lacuna in the modern scholarship of Anastasius<sup>1</sup>. It utilises two treatises by Anastasius with the highest concentration of theological ideas regarding Christological issues: the *Viae Dux* (Ὁδηγός) and the *Opuscula adversus Monotheletas*. The latter was unknown until it was published in the series *Corpus Christianorum* in 1985.

### I. WHOM WAS ANASTASIUS ADDRESSING?

Anastasius lived and moved in the regions that were cut off from the Roman Empire by the Arab invasion. His audience was not Byzantine. Anastasius reported his travels to Syria and Egypt where he had a number of meetings and disputes, sometimes public, with various local anti-Chalcedonian factions<sup>2</sup>. During these travels, he faced Monenergism and Monothelitism

List of abbreviations:

*Hod.* = ANASTASIUS SINAITA, *Viae Dux*, ed. K.-H. UTHEMANN (CCSG, 8), Turnhout, Brepols, 1981.

*Cap.* = ANASTASIUS SINAITA, *Capita adversus monotheletas*, ed. K.-H. UTHEMANN (CCSG, 12), Turnhout, Brepols, 1985.

*Sermo* = ANASTASIUS SINAITA, *Sermones in constitutionem hominis secundum imaginem Dei*, ed. K.-H. UTHEMANN (CCSG, 12), Turnhout, Brepols, 1985.

1. Until recently, two major studies on Anastasius were long outdated: a dissertation by J.B. KUMPFMÜLLER, *De Anastasio Sinaita*, Würzburg, 1865, and an article by T. SPÁČIL, *La teologia di S. Anastasio Sinaita*, in *Bessarione* 38 (1922) 157-178; 39 (1923) 15-44. The situation improved dramatically with the recent publications by K.-H. UTHEMANN, *Anastasios Sinaites: Byzantinisches Christentum in den ersten Jahrzehnten unter arabischer Herrschaft* (AKG, 125/I-II), Berlin – Boston, MA, De Gruyter, 2015, and *Studien zu Anastasios Sinaites: Mit einem Anhang zu Anastasios I. von Antiochien* (TU, 174), Berlin, De Gruyter, 2017.

2. See *Hod.* VI, 1, 111-114; IX, 2, 88 ff.

integrated into the non-Chalcedonian doctrines. Therefore, it was, firstly, in the context of his refutation of anti-Chalcedonianism that he touched on the problem of the wills and activities of Christ. In particular, he referred to this problem in the context of discussions about Theopaschism<sup>3</sup>. As adherents of this doctrine, Anastasius mentioned the Theodosians and the Gaianites<sup>4</sup> whom he contacted directly and argued with publicly<sup>5</sup>. Another Christological context within which Anastasius touched on the problem of the activities and wills, was that of the corruptibility of Christ's body and its identity to common bodies. He raised this issue in the description of a dispute between an Orthodox and an Acephalus<sup>6</sup>. The latter articulated the ideas of various anti-Chalcedonian groups including that of the Aphthartodocetes<sup>7</sup>. In particular, to the Acephalus was ascribed the belief that the flesh of Christ was uncorrupted<sup>8</sup>. According to Anastasius, this assumption would eventually lead to Monenergism<sup>9</sup>. In order to refute the latter, he composed an extensive list of the activities which either constituted "blameless passions" or could be ascribed only to the humanity of Christ.

It was not only the anti-Chalcedonian Monothelites and Monenergists that Anastasius argued with, but also their Chalcedonian associates, for example the Harmasites<sup>10</sup>. According to F. Diekamp<sup>11</sup> and M. Richard<sup>12</sup>, this group emerged as an opposition to the sixth ecumenical Council. It was founded or/and led by Harmasius (Ἀρμάσιος) of Alexandria who was anathematized, according to the anonymous florilegium *Doctrina Patrum*, together with other leaders of Monothelitism: Cyrus of Alexandria, Theodore of Pharan, Sergius of Constantinople, Honorius of Rome, Pyrrhus, Paul, and Peter of Constantinople, Macarius of Antioch, his disciple Stephanus, and the hieromonk Polychronius<sup>13</sup>. The author of the fragment preserved in the *Doctrina Patrum*, in which Harmasius was mentioned, referred to him as his contemporary (μέχρι νῦν τῇ ἀληθεία μαχόμενος), whereas other Monothelites had already vanished. Anastasius also referred to the followers of Harmasius as his contemporary interlocutors. The background

3. See *Hod.* XII.

4. See *Hod.* XII, 2, 1-3.

5. *Hod.* XII, 1, 22-24: Διαλεγόμενων γὰρ ἡμῶν πάλιν πρὸς αὐτοὺς περὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους καὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

6. *Hod.* XIII, 1, 1-2: Ἀνάκρισις ἤτοι συζήτησις καὶ γυμνασία ὀρθοδόξου καὶ ἀκεφάλου.

7. See *Hod.* XIII, 1, 7.

8. See *Hod.* XIII, 3, 23-25.

9. See *Hod.* XIII, 4, 52-5, 120.

10. *Cap.* X, 1, 44-45: Γνωῖτε, ὃ οἱ τῆς Ἀρματικῆς ὀρχήστρας θυμελικοὶ παῖδες; X, 5, 8: Οἱ τῆς Ἀρματικῆς θυμέλης παῖδες.

11. F. DIEKAMP (ed.), *Doctrina patrum de incarnatione verbi*, Münster, Aschendorff, 1907, pp. LXXIXff.

12. M. RICHARD, *Anastase le Sinaïte, l'Hodegos et le Monothélisme*, in *REB* 16 (1958) 29-42 (here p. 30).

13. *Doctrina Patrum* (n. 11), p. 271,6-16.

of this group was Chalcedonian. Its members accepted two natures in Christ, though they rejected two wills and *energeiai*. There are two testimonies in favour of their Chalcedonianism. First, in the above-mentioned passage from the *Doctrina Patrum*, Harmasius was listed together with other Chalcedonians. Second, the author of a *scholion* to the *Viae Dux* presented the issue of Christ's natures as a main point in the argument with the Jacobites, whereas he regarded the question of the "theandric *energeia*"<sup>14</sup> as a main issue in the controversy with the Harmasites.

In the *Viae Dux*, Anastasius referred mostly to the anti-Chalcedonian Monothelites, whereas in the chapters against Monothelitism he polemicalised chiefly with the Chalcedonian Monothelites. In both cases, he dealt with the later variations of Monenergism-Monothelitism, as can be seen from his sermons. For example, in his sermon against the Monothelites, known also as a third homily on the creation of man, he remarked that he was writing twenty years after the Council of 680/681<sup>15</sup>. The *Viae Dux* was also composed after the ecumenical Council. Although Maspéro thought that this treatise was written at the early stage of the controversy, before 630<sup>16</sup>, this suggestion was convincingly refuted by Richard<sup>17</sup>.

## II. HYPOSTASIS – NATURE – WILL – *ENERGEIA*

Anastasius should be regarded as a neo-Chalcedonian theologian. Neo-Chalcedonianism was a movement initiated in the early sixth century with the purpose to facilitate reconciliation between supporters and adversaries of the Council of Chalcedon (451). The movement elaborated an inclusive language, which featured key theological expressions of both Cyril of Alexandria and the Chalcedon<sup>18</sup>. In this line, Anastasius showed a great respect for Cyril of Alexandria and distinguished him among the other Fathers of the Church<sup>19</sup>. He also used both μία φύσις and δύο φύσεις formulas in regard of Christ<sup>20</sup>, anathematized those who rejected the formula

14. *Hod.* XIII, 6, 17-20: Οὕτως ἐρωτήσατε αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ οὕτως ἀρμόσασθε πρὸς αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸν προκειμένον σκοπὸν, τοὺς μὲν Ἰακωβίτας περὶ φύσεων, τοὺς δὲ Ἀρμασίτας περὶ θεανδρικῆς ἐνεργείας.

15. See *Sermo* III, 1, 107-108.

16. J. MASPÉRO, *Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie: depuis la mort de l'empereur Anastase jusqu'à la réconciliation des églises jacobites (518-616)*, Ouvrage revu et publié après la mort de l'auteur par A. FORTESCUE – G. WIET (Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études, Sciences historiques et philologiques, 237), Paris, É. Champion, 1923, p. 339.

17. RICHARD, *Anastase le Sinaïte* (n. 12).

18. See C. HOVORUN, *Maximus, a Cautious Neo-Chalcedonian*, in P. ALLEN – N. BRONWEN (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Maximus the Confessor*, Oxford – New York, Oxford University Press, 2015, 106-124.

19. See *Hod.* VII, 1, 19-22.

20. See M. RICHARD, *Le néo-chalcédonisme*, in *Mélanges de science religieuse* 3 (1946) 156-161; C. MOELLER, *Le chalcédonisme et le néo-chalcédonisme en Orient de 451 à la fin*

“one incarnate nature of God Logos” (μία τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου φύσις σεσαρκωμένη), as interpreted by Cyril<sup>21</sup>, and accepted the Theopaschite formula<sup>22</sup>.

Anastasius paid special attention to the unity of Christ. To him, the hypostatic unity of the natures in Christ overcame any other kind of unity in the world<sup>23</sup>. At the same time, he regarded the distinction between two natures of Jesus Christ crucially important. He also emphasised the distinction between natures and hypostasis in Jesus. Anastasius believed that the confusion of these two notions was the main reason for all heresies, including Arianism, Apollinarianism, Nestorianism, and Monophysitism<sup>24</sup>.

Along with the notions of nature and hypostasis, Anastasius scrutinised the notion of *energeia*. To him, it is a power and a movement inherent in the nature. Everything that exists has its own *energeia*. Only what does not exist has no *energeia*. *Energeia* manifests the nature. Whatever participates in a nature necessarily participates in the nature’s *energeia*<sup>25</sup>. This distinction was widely used by the previous generation of the Dyenergists-Dyothelites<sup>26</sup>.

Anastasius inherited from them also another distinction, which was promoted mainly by Maximus the Confessor. This was the distinction between the activity and its result. Anastasius referred to these two notions as ἐνέργεια and ἐνέργημα correspondingly<sup>27</sup>. The word ἐνέργημα is composed of the verb ἐνεργέω and the suffix -ημα, which gives the word the meaning of the result of an activity. Following the same paradigm, Anastasius coined a synonym to the word ἐνέργημα – the word πρᾶγμα<sup>28</sup>. Composed of the verb πράττω and the suffix -μα, it means “what has been done”. Both ἐνέργεια and ἐνέργημα were for Anastasius different from τὸ ἐνεργητικόν, which denoted a subject of activity<sup>29</sup>.

*du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in A. GRILLMEIER – H. BACHT (eds.), *Das Konzil von Chalkedon: Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Würzburg, Echter, 1951, vol. 1, pp. 666ff.

21. *Hod.* III, 2, 10-12.

22. *Hod.* X, 3, 37-40: Ἐγὼ ὁ Ἀναστάσιος μοναχὸς τοῦ ἁγίου ὄρους Σινᾶ ὁμολογῶ, ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων αὐτὸς ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἐτάφη καὶ ἔπαθε καὶ ἀνέστη.

23. See *Hod.* II, 5, 9.

24. See *Hod.* VIII-IX.

25. *Hod.* II, 4, 76-79: Ἐνέργεια τοίνυν ἐστὶ, καθά φησιν ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ Νύσσης, ἡ φυσικὴ ἐκάστης οὐσίας δυνάμις τε καὶ κίνησις, ἧς μόνον ἐστέρηται τὸ μὴ ὄν. Τὸ γὰρ οὐσίας τινὸς μετασχὼν συμμεθέξει πάντως καὶ τῆς δηλοῦσης αὐτὴν ἐνεργείας. Anastasius quotes from Gregory of Nyssa’s *Ad Xenodorum*, ed. F. DIEKAMP, *Analecta patristica: Texte und Abhandlungen zur griechischen Patristik* (OCA, 117), Roma, Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1938, pp. 14-15.

26. For instance, Sophronius of Jerusalem, in his *Synodical Letter*, asserted that *energeia* cannot exist on its own and is indissolubly related to its nature. Because of this, he called it “essential” (οὐσιώδης), “natural” (φυσικὴ), and “corresponding” (κατάλληλος). See *ACO, Series secunda*, vol. II, 1, ed. R. RIEDINGER, Berlin, De Gruyter 1990, pp. 444,21-446,2.

27. *Hod.* II, 4, 178-179: Ἐνέργημα [...] τὸ ἀποτελεσμα, ὅπερ ἀποτελεῖ ἡ ἐνέργεια τοῦ ἐνεργοῦντος.

28. *Hod.* XIII, 7, 23.

29. *Hod.* II, 4, 177-178: Ἐνεργητικὸν μὲν γὰρ εἶρηται αὐτὸ τὸ ὄν, τὸ τῆς οὐσίας πρᾶγμα.

Anastasios made another important distinction between the nature and its activity as regards their cognoscibility. Both human and divine natures, to him, were incognizable *per se*. As far as human nature was concerned, Anastasios ascribed the property of incognoscibility mainly to soul, which for him constituted a principal component of human nature. Thus, the soul is “neither visible, nor explainable and comprehensible according to its nature, species, shape, form, quality, quantity, existence, composition, or beauty”<sup>30</sup>. Human soul manifests itself only through its *energeiai*. Anastasios linked this fact to the very name *energeia* which “is so called because (the nature) exists i.e. appears in its works”<sup>31</sup>. The human *energeiai* can be observed through body, which is a means of the manifestation of soul<sup>32</sup>. Something similar can be said about the nature of God. Like human nature, divine nature is inconceivable and manifests itself only through its *energeiai*. While body is a means of the manifestation of human nature, divine nature appears through the created world<sup>33</sup>. The property of human soul to be inconceivable *per se* and to manifest itself only through *energeiai*, owes to the similar property of divine nature, because human soul is an image of divine nature<sup>34</sup>.

Anastasios considered the *energeia* of human nature composite (συστατική)<sup>35</sup>, because human nature itself is composite. The components of human nature, however, do not act independently from each other, but always in interaction. Therefore, their activities are not independent either, but constitute a single *energeia*. This activity is not fragmented, but whole and undivided – in the image and likeness of the single *energeia* of the Holy Trinity<sup>36</sup>. Anastasios suggested a hierarchy of the *energeiai*, which he presented as a tree. The “most comprehensive”, “embracing”, “the most important”, “the most general”, “unitary”, and “essential” *energeia*

30. *Sermo* I, 2, 47-50: ...μήτε ὀρωμένη (= ἡ ψυχὴ), μήτε ἐρμηνευομένη, μήτε καταλαμβανομένη τῇ φύσει, οὔτε τῷ εἶδει, οὐ σχήματι, οὐ μορφῇ, οὐ ποιότητι, οὐ ποσότητι, οὐχ ὑπάρξει, οὐ συστάσει, οὐ κάλλει. Cf. *Hod.* II, 1, 59-60: Δυσόριστον δὲ τὸ κτιστὸν καὶ ἀόρατον, οἷον ἄγγελος, ψυχὴ, δαίμων.

31. *Hod.* II, 4, 180-181: Ἐνέργεια δὲ εἴρηται διὰ τὸ ἐν ἐργοῖς εἶναι ἡγουν φαίνεσθαι.

32. *Sermo* I, 2, 57-59: Ὅθεν πάντα τὰ κατ’ αὐτὴν (= τὴν ψυχὴν) ἀγνοοῦντες ἐκ μόνων τῶν ἐν τῷ σώματι ταύτης ἐνεργειῶν τὴν ὑπαρξίν αὐτῆς πιστούμεθα.

33. *Sermo* I, 2, 59-61: Τὸν Θεὸν ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ ὀρωμένη κτίσει αὐτοῦ ἐνεργημάτων τὴν αὐτοῦ βεβαιούμεθα ὑπαρξίν. Anastasios repeated this point later on (*Sermo* I, 4, 20-22): Καὶ πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ὃ ἄνθρωπε, διὰ τούτων μανθάνομεν τὸν τρόπον τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὥσπερ ἐν τινὶ σώματι, ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ φανερώσεάς τε καὶ ἀναδείξεως.

34. *Sermo* I, 2, 55-57: Πᾶσα δὲ ἡ περὶ αὐτῆς ἀκαταληψία καὶ ἀσάφεια καὶ ἀδηλία οὐδὲν ἕτερον αἰνίττεται εἰ μὴ τὸ κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς εἰκόνα αὐτὴν εἶναι τοῦ ἀκαταλήπτου Θεοῦ.

35. *Sermo* III, 4, 71.

36. *Sermo* I, 5, 99-104: Ὅψει μίαν καὶ ὁμοίαν τὴν ἐνέργειαν ἐν ἡμῖν. Οὔτε γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ δίχα λόγου ἐπιτελεῖ τι, οὔτε ὁ λόγος δίχα ψυχῆς, οὔτε μὴν ὁ νοῦς πάλιν καθ’ ἑαυτὸν χωρὶς τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ λόγου κατεργάζεται τι, διὰ τὴν ὁμοφυῆ καὶ συμφυῆ καὶ ἀλληλένδετον αὐτῶν κοινὴν δυνάμιν τε καὶ ἐνέργειαν τὴν κατ’ εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν Θεοῦ.

constitutes a root of this tree; it produces derivative *energeiai* as its offsprings and branches; they are “cooperative *energeiai*” of the basic *energeia*; they are also presented as “particular” *energeiai* which were born or produced by the basic *energeia* at the root of the nature<sup>37</sup>.

Every nature features the same hierarchy of *energeiai*<sup>38</sup>. Anastasius illustrated this by the example of fire. The basic *energeia* of fire is its burning power (καυστική δύναμις). At the same time, fire has other powers: it lights, warms up, revives, cleanses; it is directed up and cannot be touched<sup>39</sup>. These *energeiai* are branches of the basic *energeia* at the root of fire’s nature. Another example is the moon. The basic activity of the moon is shining. Among its derivative branch activities are moving, eclipsing, increasing and decreasing, causing tides, and changing the size of fishes and trees<sup>40</sup>. Remarkably, the branch *energeiai* can be opposed to each other. For example, the *energeiai* of the earth can be both fertile and fruitless; they can both heal and cause diseases or even death<sup>41</sup>.

Following the same pattern, Anastasius distinguished between the single, basic, will of a nature and the multiplicity of derivative branch wills originating from the former<sup>42</sup>. He called the basic will at the root of the nature “comprehensive” (περιεκτική θέλησις), “the most comprehensive” (περιεκτικώτατον θέλημα), “the most general” (γενικώτατον), and “the most important” (κυριώτατον)<sup>43</sup>. Concerning the divine nature, its basic will, in the opinion of Anastasius, was referred to by Paul when he said: “He wants all men to be saved and to come to knowledge of the truth” (1 Tim 2,4)<sup>44</sup>. Thus, God’s will for salvation of humankind is the

37. *Cap.* VII, 1, 33-38.42-45.62-66: οὕτω μοι νόει καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων εὐσεβῶς τῶν φύσεων μίαν εἶναι τὴν φυσικὴν ἐκάστης οὐσίας περιεκτικωτάτην καὶ κυριωτάτην ἐνέργειαν, ἐξ ἧς ὡσπερ πηγαίας τινὸς καὶ γεννητικῆς ῥίζης προϊοῦσαι καθορῶνται καὶ αἰμερικαὶ ταύτης, ἴν’ οὕτως εἶπω, τῆς περιεκτικῆς καὶ οὐσιώδους ἐνεργείας ἐνέργειαι. [...] Ἐν ταύτῃ τοίνυν τῇ κυριωτάτῃ καὶ περιεκτικῇ καὶ γενικωτάτῃ τῆς σελήνης οὐσιώδει ἐνεργείᾳ ὀρῶνται λοιπὸν καὶ ἕτεραί τινες ὡσπερ βλαστοὶ καὶ κλώνες τῆς μητρῶσ ἀυτῶν ἐνεργείας συνέργεται [...] εὐρήσει ὁ συνετὸς καθ’ ἑαυτὸν γυμνάζων πᾶσαν φύσιν ἔχουσαν ἐν ἑαυτῇ καὶ τὴν περιεκτικωτάτην αὐτῆς καὶ περιληπτικὴν ἐνέργειαν, καὶ πάλιν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πηγαίᾳ τὰς κατὰ μέρος αὐτῆς ὑπ’ αὐτῆς ἀποτικτομένης καὶ προϊούσας ἐνεργείας. Cf. *Cap.* VII, 2, 11-24.

38. *Cap.* VII, 1, 33-38.62-66 (n. 37).

39. *Cap.* VII, 1, 26-33: Οὐκοῦν ὡσπερ μία λέγεται ἀπόθου ἡ τοῦ πυρὸς φύσις καὶ ἐν αὐτῆς ὑπάρχει τὸ φυσικὸν περιεκτικὸν καὶ κύριον ἰδίωμα, τουτέστιν ἡ καυστικὴ δύναμις, ὀρῶνται δὲ λοιπὸν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ φυσικῇ ἰδιότητι ὡσπερ παραφυσῶδες τινὲς καὶ ἕτεραι τοῦ πυρὸς ἰδιότητες, τουτέστι τὸ φωτιστικόν, τὸ ἀνωφερές, τὸ ἀψηλάφητον, τὸ θερμαντικόν, τὸ ζωογονικόν, τὸ καθαρτικόν.

40. See *Cap.* VI, 1, 40-53.

41. See *Cap.* VII, 1, 73-76.

42. *Cap.* VII, 1, 101-102: Ἐκ τούτου τοίνυν τοῦ περιεκτικωτάτου θελήματος διάφορα Θεοῦ θελήματα προελθόντα ἐγνωμεν. Cf. *Cap.* VII, 2, 11-24.

43. *Cap.* VII 1, 97-99.

44. *Cap.* VII, 1, 98-101: Θέλημα γενικώτατον καὶ κυριώτατον καὶ περιεκτικώτατον τῆς θείας φύσεως ἐπιστάμεθα τὸ θέλειν πάντας ἀνθρώπους σωθῆναι καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν.

root of all other wills and activities of God. Among the derivative branch wills of divine nature, Anastasius distinguished the providential, the spiritual, teaching and correcting, ordering, hortatory, and consolatory wills<sup>45</sup>. These branch wills have been revealed many times in the history of salvation, as *e.g.* God's commandments to Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and other prophets. They ultimately became embodied in the incarnation of the Logos<sup>46</sup>.

Anastasius inquired into other properties of will and provided several distinctions of this faculty of nature. Thus, will to him is “a reaching out of the rational essence towards what it longs for”; it is “an intellectual aspiration of the immaterial essence”<sup>47</sup>. Etymologically, the will (θέ-λημα) signifies that the nature aspires (θέ-ειν) after something<sup>48</sup>. Will constitutes an integral faculty of soul. Without its will, the soul of Christ would have “neither the internal logos, nor the mental capacities, the circumscribed and proceeding activity, or the ability to move in space”<sup>49</sup>. It would be deprived of such essential properties as desiring, ruling, cultivating, thinking, and the capacity to argue and know<sup>50</sup>. It would be irrational and ignorant<sup>51</sup>.

Following the preceding theological and philosophical tradition, Anastasius closely linked the volitional and the mental faculties of human soul. To him, whatever is intellectual is simultaneously volitional<sup>52</sup>. Sometimes he added to this link the *energeia*. Thus, whatever the human nature of Christ performed, it did “with a true, rational, volitional, and energetic feeling”<sup>53</sup>. This means that Christ acted always with the participation of his intellect *and* his will. Anastasius also linked the will to the desiring capacity of soul, as well as to love. The love that Anastasius implied included a wide range of the meanings expressed by the words πόθος, ἐπιθυμία, ἀγάπη, and ἔρωτος<sup>54</sup>.

45. *Cap.* VII, 1, 118-122: ὁρῶνται ἐν τῷ θεῷ θεῖα θελήματα ὡσπερ καὶ θεῖαι ἐνέργειαι, προνοητικὰ θελήματα ὡσπερ καὶ ἐνέργειαι, νοερὰ θελήματα ὡσπερ καὶ νοεραὶ ἐνέργειαι, παιδευτικὰ θελήματα, προστακτικὰ θελήματα, παραινειτικὰ θελήματα, παρακλητικὰ θελήματα.

46. See *Cap.* VII, 1, 102-109.

47. *Hod.* II, 4, 3-4: θέλημα μὲν ἐστὶν οὐσίας νοερᾶς καὶ λογικῆς ἔφεσις πρὸς τὸ καταθύμιον; II, 4, 188: Θέλημα μὲν γάρ ἐστὶν οὐσίας νοερᾶς νοερὰ ὄρεξις.

48. *Hod.* II, 4, 6-8.

49. *Sermo* III, 4, 94-100: εἰ ἀθελῆς ἦν (= ἡ πανάχραντος τοῦ κυρίου ψυχῆ), εὐδηλον ὅτι [...] μήτε λόγον ἐνδιάθετον κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν τῶν ψυχῶν ἔχουσα, μήτε νόησιν, μήτε διάνοιαν, μήτε περιγραπτὴν ἢ ἐκπορευτικὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ τοπικὴν μετάστασιν.

50. *Cap.* X, 1, 11-15: μηδαμῶς νοοῦντες [...] ἐπὶ τῆς νοερᾶς αὐτοῦ (= τοῦ Χριστοῦ) καὶ ἀχράντου ψυχῆς τινα δύναμιν ἢ ἕξιν ἢ ιδιότητα λογικὴν ἢ θελητικὴν ἢ ἐπιθυμητικὴν ἢ βουλευτικὴν ἢ διανοητικὴν ἢ ἐξουσιαστικὴν ἢ γεωργητικὴν ἢ ἐνθυμηματικὴν ἢ σοφιστικὴν.

51. See *Sermo* III, 5, 110.

52. *Sermo* III, 2, 9-10: Τὸ νοερὸν καὶ λογιστικὸν ἦτοι βουλευτικὸν καὶ θελητικόν. Cf. *Hod.* II, 4, 4-5: Πᾶν γάρ νοερὸν πρόδηλον ὅτι καὶ θελητικόν.

53. *Sermo* VI, 3, 36-37: Ἐν αἰσθήσει ἀληθεῖ, λογιστικῇ καὶ θελητικῇ καὶ ἐνεργητικῇ.

54. *Sermo* III, 4, 49-50.

Following the preceding tradition<sup>55</sup>, Anastasius drew a distinction between three types of will, according to its relation to nature. These were divine, human, and fleshy wills. The divine will transcends the laws of human nature (ὕπερ φύσιν). The human will accords with the laws of the nature (κατὰ φύσιν). Finally, the fleshy will is contrary to the laws of the nature (παρὰ φύσιν)<sup>56</sup>.

Anastasius also touched on the notion of the gnostic will, which was discussed by the earlier generation of Dyothelites. This sort of will signified to Anastasius a particular choice:

There are many gnostic wills in our nature, for one man wants to be different from others (ἰδιάζειν), one wishes to build, another to cultivate the land, another to sail, and so on<sup>57</sup>.

Anastasius differentiated gnostic wills from the natural will. To him, there are many gnostic wills in human nature, but only one natural will. The former is particular, whereas the latter is common to all beings that share the same nature.

Both the natural *energeia* and the natural will of man have many things in common. For instance, they originate from the same breath of God<sup>58</sup>. Moreover, Anastasius sometimes appeared to consider them as a single thing, as in the following passage in which Christ was described as having a rest “according to his [human] will” and sleeping “according to his [human] *energeia*”:

When you see him ‘sitting after his journey’, ‘being tired’ (cf. Jn 4,6), and having a rest, do not be frightened to say that he deliberately refreshed himself (by having a sit), according to the will of the tired body. And when you see him ‘sleeping on the cushion’ (cf. Mk 4,38), do not refuse to say that he deliberately slept according to the *energeia* of the body<sup>59</sup>.

By mixing up these notions, Anastasius intended to underline that the terms “will” and “*energeia*” express the same reality. This reality is the property of the human nature. In other words, both *energeia* and will are the properties of the nature. Sometimes, in result, Anastasius called them

55. See e.g. MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR, *Opuscula theologica et polemica* 20, PG 91, 236A-B.

56. See *Cap.* V, 1-4.

57. *Hod.* II, 4, 63-65: Γνωμικά δὲ θελήματα ἐν τῇ φύσει ἡμῶν πολλά· ἄλλος γὰρ ἄνθρωπος θέλει ἰδιάζειν, ἄλλος οἰκοδομεῖν, ἄλλος γεωργεῖν, ἕτερος πλέειν, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ὁμοίως.

58. *Sermo* III, 4, 1-4.

59. *Cap.* V, 69-74: ἤνικα ἴδης αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας καθήμενον καὶ κεκοπιακότα καὶ ἀναπαυόμενον, μὴ δειλιάσης εἰπεῖν ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἀναπαυστικὴν τοῦ κεκοπιακότου σώματος θέλησιν ἐκουσίως καθεζόμενος ἀνένηξε. Καὶ ὅτε θεάσῃ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον καθεύδοντα, μὴ παραιτήσῃ εἰπεῖν ὅτι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἐνέργειαν ἐκουσίως ἐκάθευδε.



“volitional” (θελητικόν) and “energetical” (ἐνεργητικόν) properties of soul<sup>60</sup>. He also spoke of a “volitional power” and an “essential and vivifying *energeia*” as “rational properties”<sup>61</sup>. To him, human will and *energeia* were the “heavenly properties” of soul, which were given by God<sup>62</sup>.

The property of nature is all-comprehensive (περιεκτικωτάτη)<sup>63</sup>. This means that it embraces both *energeia* and will, along with the other faculties of nature. In the case of the divine nature, for example, it is omnipotence and incircumscribability<sup>64</sup>, whereas in the case of the humanity of Christ, it is createdness and purity<sup>65</sup>.

Anastasios extrapolated the characteristics of the natures to the natural wills and *energeiai*. For instance, because Christ’s divine nature is “omnipresent and uncircumscribed” (παγκόσμιος καὶ ἀπερίγραπτος), the divine activities are also omnipresent and uncircumscribed. Similarly, because Christ’s humanity is circumscribed and limited within a particular place, so are the human *energeiai*<sup>66</sup>. As the human nature of Christ is consubstantial with our nature, so his powers (δυνάμεις) and characteristic properties (ἕξεις) are consubstantial with ours<sup>67</sup>. It is also possible to put things all the way around and to suggest that the properties of the will and *energeia* are applicable to their nature: “Whatever is the will, such is always the nature, and whatever is the essential *energeia*, such is the essence”<sup>68</sup>.

Will and *energeia* are not only essential elements of nature, but also its decoration<sup>69</sup>. According to Anastasios, nature owes to will and *energeia* all its value, honour, and beauty; owing to will and *energeia*, human beings differ from animals, receive enlightenment from God, and obtain both divine and human knowledge; deification (θέωσις) is possible thanks to will and *energeia*; these faculties make anyone a king and a master of creation, who enjoys the honour of God; owing to them, soul has its specific

60. See *Sermo* III, 4, 4.

61. *Cap.* VII, 3, 38-41: ...τὴν θελητικὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν οὐσιώδη αὐτῆς (= ψυχῆς) ζωτικὴν καὶ ζωοποιὸν ἐνέργειαν. Κατὰ ταύτας γὰρ τὰς λογικὰς ιδιότητας κτλ.

62. *Cap.* X, 5, 30.

63. *Cap.* VII, 2, 13.18.

64. *Cap.* VII, 2, 12-15: ...ἔχειν τὸν Χριστὸν κατὰ τὴν θεότητα τὴν περιεκτικωτάτην τῆς θείας φύσεως θελητικὴν τε καὶ ἐνεργητικὴν παντοδύναμον καὶ ἀπερίγραπτον ἔξιν τῆς οὐσιώδους θελήσεως καὶ ἐνεργείας.

65. *Cap.* VII, 2, 17-20: Ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς καθ’ ὑπόστασιν ἠνωμένης αὐτῷ ἀνθρωπότητος τὴν περιεκτικὴν ἡμῶν τῆς νοεράς ψυχῆς ἔξιν τε καὶ δύναμιν θελητικὴν τὴν θεόκτιστον καὶ καθαρὰν ἀνθρώπινον ὀνομάζομεν ἐν Χριστῷ θέλημα. Cf. *Cap.* VI, 3, 92-94: κατεδέξατο (= ὁ Χριστός) μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν θεοκτίστων ιδιωμάτων καὶ τὸ θεόφυτον τῆς ψυχῆς θέλημα.

66. *Cap.* VI, 2, 31-50.

67. *Cap.* VI, 3, 33-36: Οὐκοῦν ὡς κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς ὁμοούσιος ἡμῶν οὕσα ἢ ἄχραντος ψυχῆ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁμοουσίους ἡμῖν καὶ ἀνελλιπείς καὶ τὰς οἰκείας δυνάμεις καὶ ἕξεις ἐκέκτητο. See also *Hod.* XIV, 2, 27-29: Σῶμα τὸ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἀνέλαβεν ὁ Χριστός ἢ ἀνθρωπίνην σάρκα ἢ ἐνέργειαν ἢ θέλημα ἢ ιδιότητα παντοίαν ὁμοούσιον ἡμῖν.

68. *Cap.* X, 1, 1-2: Οἷα ἢ θέλησις, τοιαύτη πάντως καὶ ἡ φύσις· καὶ οἷα ἢ οὐσιώδης ἐνέργεια, τοιαύτη δηλονότι καὶ ἡ οὐσία.

69. *Cap.* X, 5, 26-27: Κατακοσμοῦσαι [...] τὸν ἐντὸς ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν ἐκτὸς ἄνθρωπον.

character, form, and beauty, and rejoices even after having separated from body<sup>70</sup>. In the afterlife, souls worship God through the will and *energeia*<sup>71</sup>. Also after the resurrection, people will follow divine commandments and enjoy spiritual progress through their wills and *energeiai*<sup>72</sup>.

Although consubstantial with the human *energeia* of Jesus Christ and enjoying the divine honour and glory, the *energeia* of ordinary human beings is not identical with that of Christ<sup>73</sup>. The main difference between them is that the human activities are not free, but subject to the necessity of nature. The activities of Christ, in contrast, are free<sup>74</sup>.

Anastasius inquired into the relations between not only the notions of *energeia*, will, and nature, but between them and the acting and willing subject, i.e. hypostasis. To him, the ultimate subject of all activities is the person of Christ who acts and determines how the nature should act. The incarnated Logos provides his human soul with rules, according to which the latter must act. Soul, therefore, is also a source or subject of *energeiai*. However, in contrast to the Logos, it is not independent in its activities, but acts according to the rules given by the Logos. It is a mediator between the Logos and his body<sup>75</sup>. To be a mediator, however, meant to Anastasius to be able to will and act humanly<sup>76</sup>. Therefore, any soul

70. *Cap. X, 5, 33-42*: Διὰ τούτων (= ἐνεργείας καὶ θελήσεως) τῆς ἀλόγου χωριζόμεθα οὐσίας·

διὰ τούτων τῆς θείας ἀπολαύομεν ἐλλάμψεως·

διὰ τούτων θείαν καὶ ἀνθρωπίνην γνῶσιν προσλαμβάνομεθα·

διὰ τούτων θεοὶ καὶ υἱοὶ ὑψίστου ἀναδεικνύμεθα·

διὰ τούτων τὸ βασιλικὸν καὶ ἐξουσιαστικὸν καὶ θεοτίμητον ἡμῶν γνωρίζεται ἀξίωμα·

διὰ τούτων εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου ἡ ψυχὴ καθέστηκε·

διὰ τούτων ὁ ἀχαρκτήριστος αὐτῆς χαρακτήρ καὶ μορφή καὶ τὸ ὑπέρκalon κάλλος καλλωπίζεται·

διὰ τούτων καὶ χωριζομένη τοῦ σώματος ἡ πνευματοφόρος ψυχὴ ἀγάλλεται καὶ εὐφραίνεται.

71. *Cap. X, 5, 46-48*: Γεραίρει Θεὸν διὰ τῆς νοερᾶς αὐτῆς καὶ ἀφθάρτου καὶ ἀνεξάλειπτου πνευματικῆς θελήσεως καὶ θεαρέστου καὶ ἀειζώου καὶ θεοζώου ζωοποιοῦ ἐνεργείας.

72. *Cap. X, 5, 50-52*: Θέλει καὶ ἐνεργεῖ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἡ ψυχὴ τὰ θεῖα προστάγματα, καὶ προκοπᾶς αἰώνιους καὶ ἀναβάσεις ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τίθεται.

73. *Cap. VI, 3, 58-61*: Ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ὀργὴν ἢ ὀργὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀγωνίαν ἢ ἀγωνία αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἀνθρωπίνως γινόμενα ἢ λεγόμενα εἰς αὐτόν.

74. *Cap. VI, 3, 62-65*: Ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὑποκείμεθα ταῖς φυσικαῖς ἀνάγκαις τοῦ σώματος· ὁ δὲ Χριστός, Θεὸς καὶ δεσπότης καὶ ποιητὴς τῆς φύσεως ὧν, ὅτε ἠβούλετο, καθὼς ἠβούλετο, ἐχαλιναγώγει τὰ τῆς φύσεως.

75. *Sermo III, 3, 33-38*: Διὰ δὲ πάλιν τῆς ζωτικῆς καὶ ζωοποιοῦ θεοσδότου αὐτῆς, λέγω δὴ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς νοερᾶς, ἐνεργείας συνεκράτει καὶ ἐζωοποιεῖ καὶ ἠῦξει τὸ οἰκτεῖον σῶμα ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος κατὰ τὸν ὄρον καὶ λόγον ὃν δέδωκε τῇ λογικῇ ψυχῇ ζωοποιεῖν καὶ συγκρατεῖν καὶ αὔξειν καὶ κινεῖν τὴν τῶν σωμάτων φύσιν. See also *Cap. VII, 2, 21-24*; *VIII, 3, 64-68*.

76. *Cap. VI, 3, 26-28*: Εἰ οὖν ἀθελῆς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνενέργητος (= ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ), πῶς δύναται μεσιτεῦν; Τὸ γὰρ μεσιτεῦον δηλονότι βουλευτικῶς καὶ ἐνεργητικῶς μεσιτεῦει.

must have its own will and *energeia*. There is also a mediator between soul and the *energeia* – namely will. For example, such human *energeiai* as sorrow (λύπη) and trouble (ἀδημονία) would be impossible without the participation of human will.

### III. THEANDRIC *ENERGEIA*

Describing the human *modus operandi* of Christ, Anastasius used double language: Christ acted through both his flesh (σαρκή)<sup>77</sup> and “divine flesh” (θεοσαρκή)<sup>78</sup>. Speaking about the latter, he elaborated on the Ps.-Dionysian term “theandric” (θεανδρικός). Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite used this word to explain the way Jesus Christ acted:

For, even, to speak summarily, He was not a man, not as “not being man”, but as ‘being from men was beyond men’, and was above man, having truly been born man; and for the rest, not having done things Divine as God, nor things human as man, but exercising for us a certain new theandric energy (καινήν τινα τὴν θεανδρικήν ἐνέργειαν) of God having become man<sup>79</sup>.

The Monenergists built their argumentation on this phrase of Ps.-Dionysius. However, their opponents, instead of criticising this phrase, interpreted it in the Dyenergist sense. Anastasius was one of those who believed, and wanted others to believe, that Ps.-Dionysius, by saying “a certain new theandric energy”, implied two distinct activities in Jesus Christ. Anastasius had no doubts about the orthodoxy of Ps.-Dionysius. He called him a “teacher” (διδάσκαλος)<sup>80</sup> or a “divine teacher” (θεῖος διδάσκαλος, θεσπέσιος)<sup>81</sup>. He not only accepted Ps.-Dionysius’ conception of the “theandric *energeia*”, but also developed it further. He applied the term “theandric” to whatever is pertinent to the two natures of Christ<sup>82</sup>. In particular, he characterized the two wills of Christ as theandric.

77. *Cap.* VIII, 5, 4-7.9-12: Λαβὼν (= Ἀθανάσιος) γὰρ ὡς θεόφρων καὶ κορυφαῖος ὀρθοδοξίας παρὰ Πέτρου τοῦ κορυφαίου τῆς εὐσεβείας τὰ σπέρματα τοῦ “Χριστοῦ παθόντος σαρκί” (1 Pet 4,1), [...] οὕτω καὶ “Χριστοῦ πεινᾶσαντος σαρκί”, καὶ “Χριστοῦ διψήσαντος σαρκί”, καὶ “Χριστοῦ ὑπνώσαντος σαρκί”, καὶ “Χριστοῦ δακρῦσαντος σαρκί”, καὶ “Χριστοῦ προσευχομένου σαρκί”, καὶ “Χριστοῦ κοπιᾶσαντος σαρκί”. Cf. ATHANASIOS OF ALEXANDRIA, *Oratio III contra Arianos*, PG 26, 396,10-29; 433,38-39.

78. *Cap.* VIII 5, 13-15: Ἐτερον δὲ ἔστι τὸ εἰπεῖν σαρκί, καὶ ἄλλο τὸ εἰπεῖν θεοσαρκί· τὸ μὲν γὰρ σαρκί τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην δηλοῖ, τὸ δὲ θεοσαρκί ὁμοίον ἔστι τοῦ θεανδρικοῦ.

79. PS.-DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE, *Letter 4*, ed. G. HEIL – A.M. RITTER, *Corpus Dionysiacum II* (PTS, 36), Berlin – New York, De Gruyter, 1991, p. 161,5-10. Translation by J. PARKER, *The Works of Dionysius the Areopagite*, part 1, London, J. Parker and Co., 1897, pp. 143-144, slightly modified.

80. *Cap.* VIII, 1, 10.

81. *Cap.* VIII, 2, 1; IX, 3, 4.

82. *Cap.* VIII, 3, 64-65: Θεανδρικὸν γὰρ τὸ ἐν ταῖς δύο αὐτοῦ φύσεσιν ὑπάρχον λέγεται.

He blamed the Monothelites for they “say that Christ’s will is not theandric, common, mixed, or composed, but simple, unmixed, and foreign to any participation”<sup>83</sup>.

In contrast to them, Anastasius identified intrinsic complexity in Christ’s natural faculties. Thus, his theandric *energeiai* were “mixed” (μικταί)<sup>84</sup>. To Anastasius, this sort of *energeiai* was different from purely human and purely divine ones. To underline this, he laid stress on the word “new” (καινή) in the Dionysian formula. This word meant for Anastasius that the theandric *energeia* is “foreign” (ξένη), “astonishing” (θαυμαστή), “wonderful” (παράδοξος)<sup>85</sup>, and transcending humanity<sup>86</sup>. Anastasius stressed that Dionysius applied the term “theandric” not to all human activities of Christ, but only to those which transcend ordinary human activities<sup>87</sup>. Anastasius added some synonymous expressions to the formula of “theandric *energeia*”. Thus, Christ to him acted “theandrically”, “commonly”, “composedly” (θεανδρικῶς, κοινῶς, συνθέτως)<sup>88</sup>, and “commonly according to his personal wholeness”<sup>89</sup>.

Anastasius distinguished between the single Christ as an ultimate subject of all activities, and his natures as their intermediary subjects. He used the activities as adjectives when referred to the natures, and as adverbs when referred to the hypostasis. Therefore, by saying that Christ acted “theandrically”, “commonly”, and “composedly”, he implied that the singular subject of Christ acted in both human and divine ways.

Anastasius accepted that only some *energeiai* of Christ are theandric, while others are either purely divine, or purely human. He thus tried to distance himself from the Monenergists, who as he believed saw all *energeiai* of Christ as theandric<sup>90</sup>.

#### IV. TWO *ENERGEIAI*

Anastasius followed two different approaches in the support of the concept of two *energeiai* in Christ. The first one was more logical, and the second, more rhetorical. Anastasius often preferred catchy metaphors to logical arguments. Hence a considerable number of inaccuracies in his arguments and especially in his quotations. Anastasius was innovative in

83. *Cap.* X, 1, 8-11: οὔτε γὰρ θεανδρικόν, οὐ κοινόν, οὐ μικτόν, οὐ σύνθετον, ἀλλ’ ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἀμιγῆς καὶ πάντη ἀκοινώνητον τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ λέγουσι θέλημα.

84. *Cap.* IX, 3, 13.

85. *Cap.* IX, 3, 12.

86. See *Cap.* VIII, 1, 15, where Anastasius quotes Ps.-DIONYSIUS, *Letter* 4 (n. 79), p. 160,11-12: Εἰπὼν δὲ αὐτὸν (= Διονύσιον) ἔπερ ἄνθρωπον ἐνεργεῖν τὰ ἀνθρώπου.

87. *Cap.* VIII, 1, 15-21.

88. *Cap.* VI, 2, 17-18. See also *Cap.* IX, 3, 12-14: Τὴν θεανδρικὴν· τουτέστι [...] τὴν κοινῶς διὰ τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ἐν τῷ ἅμα πραττομένην.

89. *Hod.* XIII, 5, 118-119: κοινῶς κατὰ τὴν προσωπικὴν αὐτοῦ ὁλότητα.

90. *Cap.* VIII, 3, 1-10.

his arguments and did not hesitate to introduce neologisms such as ψυχανδρικῶς or σωματοψύχως<sup>91</sup>. Even such a routine task as classification of activities, was accomplished by Anastasius in a creative way.

As it was mentioned, Anastasius considered three kinds of two activities in Christ: mixed i.e. theandric, purely divine, and purely human. His aim was to show that along with the mixed activities, Christ had pure ones associated exclusively with either the divine or human nature. By this means, he sought to prove the theandric activities to be not monolithic, but rather composite of the divine and human *energeiai*.

Anastasius considered as an *energeia* even the lack of any activity. For instance, the insensibility of the body of Christ in the tomb constituted for him a kind of a purely human activity<sup>92</sup>. So did the speechlessness (ἀφθεγγξία), either when Christ was a baby<sup>93</sup>, or when his body lay in the tomb<sup>94</sup>. Another example of this sort of activity was Christ, when he was wrapped in a linen cloth<sup>95</sup>. Such *energeiai* can be labelled potential, as opposed to actual. In fact, Anastasius applied, in the aforementioned cases, the distinction between the potential and actual existence (τῆ ἐνεργείᾳ – τῆ δυνάμει), which constituted a characteristic feature of the Aristotelian tradition<sup>96</sup>, though it was virtually ignored by the theologians who participated in the Monenergist-Monothelite controversy before Anastasius. The utilization of the Aristotelian distinction, in a modified form, was a characteristic feature of Anastasius' approach. By employing this distinction, he intended to show that purely human *energeiai* could by no means be attributed to the divinity. His ultimate goal was to prove that there were distinctive divine and human activities in Christ.

### 1. Human Activities

Anastasius found purely human activities in not only the dead Christ, but also when he was alive. These activities were both passive and active. Among the former, Anastasius enumerated the swaddling of the baby Christ in the manger, the touching of his body, his piercing by the nails and by the spear, and his death upon the cross<sup>97</sup>. In addition, Christ's human nature was seen by people, but the divine nature remained unseen<sup>98</sup>. To be seen by other people was considered by Anastasius a purely human *energeia*.

91. *Sermo* III, 3, 52.

92. See *Cap.* VIII, 3, 33-40: Οὐτε θεανδρικῶς τὴν νέκρωσιν ἀναισθησίαν ἐκέκτητο.

93. *Hod.* XIII, 7, 133-135.

94. See *Cap.* VIII, 3, 62.

95. *Cap.* VIII, 3, 49-51.

96. See A. BUSSE (ed.), *Eliae in Porphyrii isagogen et Aristotelis categorias commentaria* (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, 18.1), Berlin, Reimer, 1900, pp. 83ff.

97. *Cap.* VIII, 3, 82.88.96-100.

98. *Cap.* VIII, 3, 69-70: Οὐ θεανδρικῶς ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐθεωρεῖτο ὁ Χριστός – Θεὸν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐώρακε πώποτε (Jn 1,18).

The passive *energeiai* could be ascribed, according to Anastasius, to the Eucharistic body of Christ too. Thus, it can be held by hands (κρατεῖσθαι), broken (κλᾶσθαι, μελίζεσθαι, θρύβεσθαι), bitten by teeth (ὑπὸ δδόντων κατατέμεσθαι), diminished by being consumed (κενοῦσθαι), and changed from the ordinary bread into the body of Christ (μεταβάλλεσθαι). Similarly, the Eucharistic blood of Christ can be shed (ἐκχεῖσθαι) and drunk (πίνεσθαι)<sup>99</sup>. Anastasius put in the same category some natural processes related to the body of Christ, along with the blameless passions. In particular, he referred to the forming of Christ's body in the womb of Mary<sup>100</sup>, his growing up<sup>101</sup>, the strengthening of nerves, bones, hands, and legs<sup>102</sup>, his circumcision<sup>103</sup>, seeking his mother's breast with weeping<sup>104</sup>, shifting from milk to solid food<sup>105</sup>, crying<sup>106</sup>, uttering inarticulate words and sounds usual to babies<sup>107</sup>, creeping, walking and articulating his first words with the assistance of his mother<sup>108</sup>, having a haircut<sup>109</sup>, the growth of his hairs, nails, and teeth, hunger, sleep, fatigue, cutting off, discharging or taking off related to any body, as for example making water, spitting, sweating, or bleeding<sup>110</sup>. When Christ's human soul left the body and then returned in it<sup>111</sup>, for Anastasius this also signified a human *energeia*. After the resurrection, Christ manifested such purely human activities as eating fish and honey and staying with the apostles until the ascension to heaven<sup>112</sup>.

## 2. Divine Activities

Christ also had purely divine *energeiai*, both when he was alive and dead. They were not passive or potential, but rather active and actual. Anastasius offered an original description of the divine activities of Christ when his body lay in the tomb. There, he had only divine hearing, but not theandric, as when he was alive<sup>113</sup>. He also had only divine voice, though inexpressible in words and beyond the reach of a human ear<sup>114</sup>. He even had divine touch when his body remained dead and was unable to have

99. *Hod.* XIII, 2, 72-75.

100. *Cap.* VIII, 3, 82-83.

101. *Cap.* VIII, 3, 84; *Hod.* XIII, 7, 137-139.

102. *Hod.* XIII, 7, 137-139.

103. *Cap.* IX, 1, 14-15.

104. *Hod.* XIII, 5, 21-23; 5, 36-37.

105. *Hod.* XIII, 7, 140-141.

106. *Hod.* XIII, 7, 64-65.

107. *Hod.* XIII, 5, 38-40.

108. *Hod.* XIII, 5, 40-43.

109. *Hod.* XIII, 7, 147-150.

110. *Cap.* VIII, 3, 86-95.

111. *Cap.* VII, 3, 91-92.

112. *Hod.* XIII, 4, 79-80; 4, 69-71.

113. *Cap.* VIII, 3, 54-58.

114. *Cap.* VIII, 3, 59-61.

human touch. Thus Nicodemus, who touched the body when he buried him, was in return touched by Christ's Godhead. This touch constituted a purely divine *energeia*<sup>115</sup>. Finally, even when he was dead, Christ was still alive. His life then constituted a purely divine *energeia*, but not a theandric one<sup>116</sup>. That the dead Christ still had the divine *energeiai*, was possible because Godhead never abandoned his body and soul after their separation from each other. To illustrate how this was possible, Anastasius used the example of a house. As daylight fills up a house, whether it is intact or derelict, so the Logos dwells and acts in his body and soul whether they are united or separated from each other after death<sup>117</sup>. Although the fullness of Godhead still dwelt in the body of Christ when soul abandoned it, the divine *energeiai* did not replace the human *energeiai*<sup>118</sup>.

Christ acted purely divinely not only when his body was separated from soul, but also when he was alive. He acted then in common with the Father<sup>119</sup>. Among these activities, Anastasius mentioned Christ raising a star to guide the Magi, illuminating the shepherds with a glorious light, being worshipped by the Angels on the night of his birth<sup>120</sup>, and making Mary able to lactate<sup>121</sup>. There was a series of similar activities when Christ was on the cross. Among them Anastasius listed the coming of darkness, the splitting of rocks, the tearing of the curtain of the Temple, the opening of tombs, the resurrection of dead, the earthquake during the crucifixion, and the resurrection<sup>122</sup>. Anastasius also mentioned some miracles performed by Christ during his life without the participation of human nature. Among them were the healings of the servant of the centurion and of the daughter of the Canaanite woman<sup>123</sup>, which were performed at a distance.

Anastasius made a clarification that Christ acted as a human being only in Judea and as God, in the entire universe<sup>124</sup>. The absence of Christ at various places was considered by Anastasius as a potential human *energeia*. Such was his absence in the tomb after the resurrection, and in Bethany when Lazarus died there<sup>125</sup>. Therefore, any activity of Christ limited in space was regarded by Anastasius as human, and any activity unlimited in space as divine. For instance, the testimonies by the Angel: "He has risen! He is not here" (Mk 16,6), and by Christ himself: "Lazarus is dead. And for your sake I am glad I was not there" (Jn 11,14-15), indicated for

115. *Cap.* VIII, 3, 44-47.

116. *Cap.* VIII, 3, 63-64.

117. *Cap.* IX, 1, 52-62; 1, 82-104; 2, 14-27.

118. *Cap.* X, 2, 81-88.

119. *Cap.* VIII, 5, 30-33.

120. *Cap.* VIII, 5, 33-36.

121. *Hod.* XIII, 5, 20-21.

122. *Cap.* VIII, 5, 39-43.

123. *Cap.* VIII, 5, 36-39.

124. *Cap.* VI, 2, 25-31.

125. *Cap.* VI, 2, 51-57.

Anastasius the pure human *energeiai*<sup>126</sup>. Anastasius applied this distinction to the spiritual life of Christians. Thus, Christ abides in them according to his omnipresent divine *energeia*, but not according to his human *energeia*, because as man he is still limited in space<sup>127</sup>. Anastasius, thus, considered the simultaneous presence and absence of Christ in place and time as manifestations of the two distinct *energeiai*.

Anastasius highlighted changeability as a characteristic feature of the human *energeia*. For instance, through the incarnation, the human *energeia* adopted by the Logos, turned from the state of corruption into incorruptedness<sup>128</sup>. Christ was sometimes able to see, and sometimes not. This meant that the particular *energeia* of seeing was not always in his possession and was therefore changeable<sup>129</sup>. The divine *energeia*, in contrast, remains unchangeable (*ἀναλλοίωτος καὶ ἀδιάβλητος*)<sup>130</sup>, as with the divine nature, which is invariable, immutable, and not decreased<sup>131</sup>. Among the purely divine *energeiai*, Anastasius found paradoxical ones, as, for instance, the distress (*λύπη*) which was mentioned, as he believed, in the epistle to the Ephesians: “And do not grieve the Holy Spirit of God, with whom you were sealed for the day of redemption” (Eph 4, 30). This distress was free of any passion, any humanly understood sorrow, trouble, or agony<sup>132</sup>. Anastasius distinguished this kind of distress from the purely human one, which Christ experienced as well. The human distress, as Anastasius remarked, can be seen in the following words of Christ: “My soul is overwhelmed with sorrow to the point of death” (Mt 26,38; Mk 14,34).

### 3. *Mixed (Theandric) Activities*

Finally, Anastasius offered a list of theandric *energeiai*. As it was mentioned earlier, he defined them as those which Christ performed commonly through both divine and human natures. Among these *energeiai*, Anastasius enumerated Christ’s birth from Mary, the walking upon the surface of water, healing of blind by saliva and of a deaf by putting fingers into his ear, resurrecting the daughter of the synagogue ruler by touching her with hand, and giving the divine spirit to the Apostles by exhaling on them. Anastasius considered the flowing of blood and water from Christ’s side to be a theandric *energeia* as well. A human component of this mixed *energeia* was the flowing of blood and water, whereas a divine component was the ability of the dead body to produce blood<sup>133</sup>.

126. *Cap.* VI, 2, 51-57.

127. *Cap.* VI, 2, 62-68.

128. *Cap.* VII, 3, 89-90.

129. *Cap.* VII, 3, 92-93.

130. *Cap.* VII, 3, 86-93.

131. *Cap.* VIII, 3, 11-17.

132. *Cap.* VI, 3, 47-49.

133. *Cap.* VIII, 5, 48-56; IX, 3, 15-18.



The taxonomy of activities suggested by Anastasius, differed from many classifications, which had been produced by the previous generation of the Dyenergists, who preferred to consider all the activities of Christ as mixed human-divine<sup>134</sup>. Not a single human activity, to them, was performed by Christ without the participation of his divine nature, and not a single divine activity was performed without the synergy of his human nature. The difference between the Dyenergist and Monenergist approaches was that, for the former, all theandric activities necessarily consisted of two distinct *energeiai* of Christ's divine and human natures, while for the latter, the theandric activities constituted a singular *energeia*.

In the interpretation of Anastasius, however, while the Monenergists thought that all *energeiai* of Christ were theandric, the Orthodox should hold that some activities are either purely divine or purely human. The theandric *energeiai* of Christ consisted for Anastasius, just as for other Dyenergists, of unconfused human and divine activities.

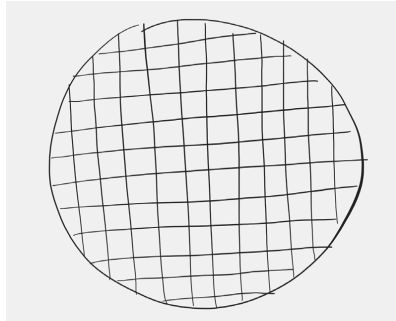


Figure 1: Dyenergists and Monenergists agreed that Jesus' activities are theandric.

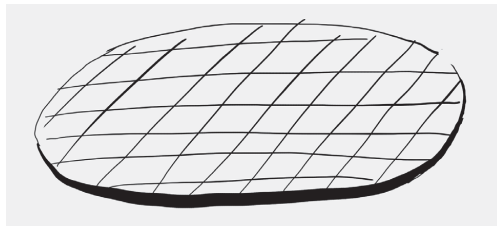


Figure 2: For the Monenergists, the theandric activities constituted a singular *energeia*.

134. See, for instance, discussions at the Lateran council 649 (*ACO, Series secunda*, ed. R. RIEDINGER, vol. I, Berlin, De Gruyter, 1984, pp. 148,32–151,5) and MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR, *Ambiguum* 5, PG 91, 1056A-1060C. For an analysis, see C. HOVORUN, *Will, Action and Freedom: Christological Controversies in the Seventh Century* (The Medieval Mediterranean, 77), Leiden – Boston, MA, Brill, 2008, pp. 111-122.

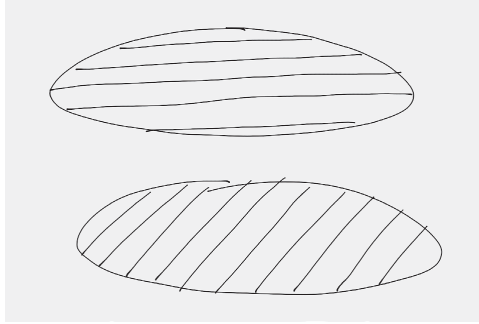


Figure 3: For most Dyenergists, the theandric activities are an interference of two natural *energeiai*: divine and human.

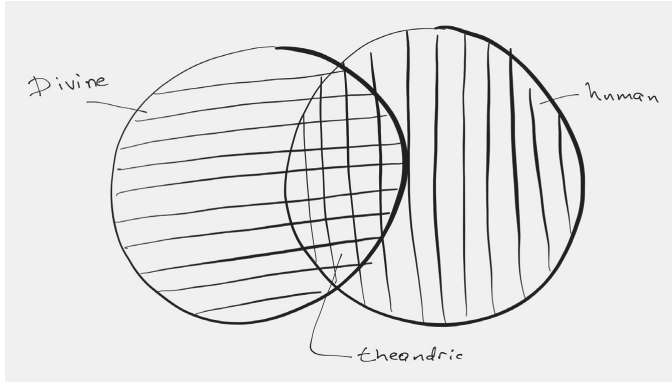


Figure 4: For Anastasius, there are three sorts of activities: divine, human, and theandric.

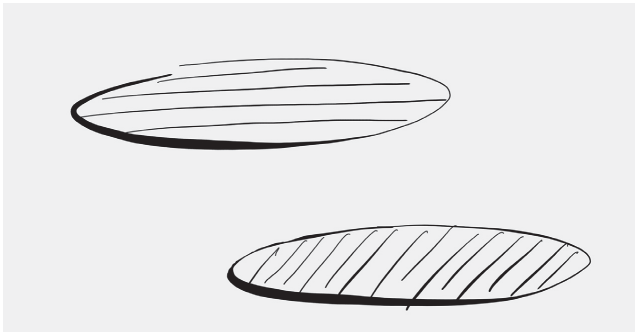


Figure 5: They stem from the two natures of Christ.

V. *ENERGEIAI* AND PROPERTIES

Another Anastasius' argument in support of two *energeiai* was built on the assumption, mentioned above, that the *energeia* retains all the properties of its nature. Thus, provided the divine and human natures of Christ are uncreated and created, circumscribed and uncircumscribed, not having a beginning and having a beginning correspondingly, the two *energeiai* have the same properties. Therefore, according to Anastasius, if the *energeia* of Christ is single, as the Monenergists believed, it must be simultaneously divine and human, uncreated and created, circumscribed and uncircumscribed, having and not having a beginning. Anastasius constructed neologisms to articulate this idea. These neologisms reduced the arguments of Monenergites *ad absurdum*: the single *energeia* of Jesus, which they supported, must be created-and-uncreated (κτιστάκτιστον), semi-human and semi-divine (ἡμίθεον καὶ ἡμιάνθρωπον), circumscribed-and-uncircumscribed (περιγραπτοαπερίγραπτον), having-and-not-having-a-beginning (ἐναρχοάναρχον)<sup>135</sup>.

Exploring the classical model of unity between body and soul, Anastasius demonstrated the mode of relations between the natures<sup>136</sup> and *energeiai* in Christ. He particularly wanted to prove that Christ acted commonly in a theandric manner and separately in either purely divine or purely human manner. Anastasius distinguished two kinds of human activities: those performed by the human soul in cooperation with the body, and the pure activities of human soul<sup>137</sup>. Among the latter, Anastasius listed love of God, faith, hope, humility, and other virtues which depend on the purity

135. *Cap.* VI, 3, 1-10: Τί δ' ἄρα καὶ προσαγορεύετε ταύτην τὴν σύνθετον ὕμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ ἐνέργειαν; κτιστὴν ἄρα ἢ ἄκτιστον ἢ πάντως κτιστάκτιστον, ἡμίθεον καὶ ἡμιάνθρωπον; Περιγραπτὴν δὲ αὐτὴν ἄρα δογματίζετε ἢ ἀπερίγραπτον ἢ πάντως περιγραπτοαπερίγραπτον; Ἐναρχον δὲ αὐτὴν ἀνακηρύττετε ἢ ἀναρχον; Εὐδὴλον ὅτι ἐναρχοάναρχον [...] Ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ἢ ὅλην αὐτὴν κτιστὴν λέγεσθαι ἢ ὅλην ἄκτιστον, ἢ πᾶσαν περιγραπτὴν ἢ πᾶσαν ἀπερίγραπτον, ἢ καθόλου ἐναρχον ἢ πᾶσαν εἶναι ἀναρχον. Compare with MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR, *Disputatio cum Pyrrho*, PG 91, 341A: Ἡ κτιστὴν, ἢ ἄκτιστον λέγειν ταύτην (= τὴν ἐνέργειαν) ἀναγκασθήσεσθε· ἐπειδὴ μέσον κτιστῆς καὶ ἄκτιστου οὐδεμία ὑπάρχει τὸ σύνολον. Καὶ εἰ μὲν κτιστὴν αὐτὴν φήσετε, κτιστὴν καὶ μόνην δηλώσει φύσιν· εἰ δὲ ἄκτιστον, ἄκτιστον καὶ μόνην χαρακτηρήσει φύσιν.

136. *Hod.* XXI, 4, 6-10: Ὁμολογῶ τὴν πανάνωμον αὐτοῦ (= Χριστοῦ) τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος οὕτω καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἠνωμένην τῇ ἀχράντῳ αὐτοῦ θεότητι, ὡσπερ ὅλη δι' ὅλου ἦνωται ἢ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ σώματι.

137. *Cap.* III, 3, 45-58: Οὕτω πάλιν ὡς ἐν εἰκόνι τινὶ καὶ τύπῳ λέγω δρᾶται ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ διττὴ τις ἐνέργειας ἐμφασις εἰς εἰκόνα καὶ τύπον Χριστοῦ. Καθάπερ γὰρ ἢ αὐτοῦ θεότης ἐνήργει καὶ θεανδρικῶς, ἐνήργει δὲ καὶ θεϊκῶς ἐν οὐρανῷ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀναλήψεως ὡς ἀπερίγραπτος καὶ μὴ περιγραφεῖσα ἐν τῷ σώματι, οὕτω καὶ ἢ ψυχὴ ἢ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ ἀοράτου Θεοῦ Λόγου ὑπάρχουσα ἐνεργεῖ μὲν καὶ ψυχανδρικῶς, τουτέστι σωματοψύχως, εἰς τύπον τοῦ θεανδρικῶς Χριστοῦ, ἐνεργεῖ δὲ καὶ ψυχικῶς μόνον πλειστά τινα, μὴ συνεργούντος αὐτῇ τοῦ οἰκείου σώματος, εἰς τύπον τοῦ ἀοράτου Θεοῦ Λόγου τοῦ πολλὰ ἀοράτως ἐνεργήσαντος καὶ ἐνεργούντος ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς διὰ τῆς ἀπεριγράπτου αὐτοῦ καὶ παγκοσμίου καὶ ὑπερκοσμίου θεϊκῆς ἐνέργειας.

of heart<sup>138</sup>. Remarkably, Anastasius spoke only of pure activities of human soul, not of human body. Simultaneously, alongside with the purely divine *energeiai* of Christ he found purely human ones. This means that he restricted the limits of the analogy between Christ and a human being.

In the same frame of a human being as image and likeness of Christ, Anastasius distinguished between two other kinds of activities: those which accord with the nature and those which transcend it. For instance, to obey the commandment of honouring one's father and other relatives (Exod 20,12; Deut 5,16), is a natural willing of human soul, whereas to leave them for the sake of God (Mt 10,37; Lk 14,26) is a divine willing<sup>139</sup>. This distinction, according to Anastasius, reflects the fact that Christ had two *energeiai*.

Anastasius used other images to illustrate how it was possible for Christ to have two *energeiai*. Among them, he mentioned the sun that simultaneously shines and burns, a burning-hot knife that simultaneously cuts and burns, and a human mind that contemplates the meanings of the Scriptures and leads the hand that writes them down<sup>140</sup>. Anastasius employed these images to show coherence between the *energeiai* in Christ. Following the preceding Dyenergist tradition, he insisted that the divine and human activities of Christ do not exclude each other (ἄμαχοι), but coexist in peace (εἰρηναῖαι) despite their different origins (ἐτερογενεῖς)<sup>141</sup>. They in no way rebel against each other (οὐδαμῶς πρὸς ἀλλήλας στασιάζουσιν)<sup>142</sup>, but co-operate with one another (συνεργοί and ὁμοεργοί)<sup>143</sup>. Anastasius rejected that the two *energeiai* of Christ could be adversarial (κατάλληλους)<sup>144</sup> to each other.

## VI. WILL – ENERGEIA – SIN

Anastasius accused his opponents of rejecting the human *energeia* and will in Christ on the assumption that the human nature, together with its *energeia* and will, is distorted and corrupted by sin<sup>145</sup>. Anastasius' critique

138. *Sermo* III, 3, 59-69.

139. *Sermo* III, 3, 7-13.

140. *Cap.* IX, 1, 41-51.63-68.

141. *Cap.* IX, 1, 44.50-51.

142. *Cap.* IX, 1, 66-68.

143. *Cap.* X, 5, 120-121.

144. The Greek word κατάλληλος normally means "fitting, suitable, appropriate, contemporaneous" (see E. SOPHOCLES, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Hildesheim – New York, Olms, 1983), but also "located in front of each other" (see ARISTOTLE, *Problemata* 905B.7-8: ἔτι τῆς μὲν οἱ πόροι κατάλληλοι, ed. I. BEKKER, *Aristotelis opera*, vol. 2. Berlin, Reimer, 1831), "set over against one another" (H.G. LIDDELL – R. SCOTT, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford, Clarendon, 2006). Anastasius used it in the latter sense.

145. *Sermo* III, 4, 82-85: 'Ἀλλὰ παρετράπη' φησὶν 'ὁ ἄνθρωπος'. 'Καὶ πάντα τὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πάντως', ἐροῦσι πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἱ αἰρετικοί, 'καὶ τούτου χάριν ἀλλότριον καὶ ἀνάξιόν ἐστι τὸ λέγειν ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ ἀνθρώπινον θέλημα ἢ ἀνθρωπίνην ἐνέργειαν'.

of this point was quite original. To him, it was body that features corruption, but not soul, which remains uncorrupted and immortal. Therefore, soul does not need any “essential re-creation” (οὐσιώδης ἀνάπλασις), but only a certain “rational correction and confession” (λογιστική τις διόρθωσις καὶ ἔξομολόγησις)<sup>146</sup>. This was apparently the reason why Anastasius insisted that human will and *energeia* belong mainly to soul, but not to body. On this point, however, Anastasius contradicted himself, accepting in other passages that Christ assumed human will in order to heal it<sup>147</sup>. Christ also adopted human activity, to enable us to do only what God wants<sup>148</sup>. In addition, Anastasius spoke of an activity of ordinary human beings, which engages both body and soul (σωματοψύχως). This activity should be considered as being corrupted, provided the corrupted body acts together with soul. The contradiction can be minimized, though not resolved entirely, if we take into consideration that Anastasius regarded the human *energeia* and will as the instruments of salvation, rather than its objects. This can be seen, for instance, in the following passage:

For only this our will and *energeia*, which is given by God (θεόσδοτος), is the reason and the worker of all our salvation. For by the deliberate will (θελήματι ἔκουσίῳ) of the soul we have believed in God, by the deliberate will we preserve virginity, by deliberate will we undertake struggle, sleeping on the ground, and love, by the will we love our neighbour, and in short, all the spiritual, divine, and necessary virtues, which have the image of God, as well as divine visions, enlightenments, revelations, and progress, are made, accomplished and brought about by God in our immaterial will and *energeia* of the soul<sup>149</sup>.

In this passage Anastasius touched on another important issue – that of the synergy of people and God in the salvation of human race. To him, every virtue, vision, enlightenment, revelation, or spiritual advancement of a human being was the common outcome of the human and divine wills and activities. In other words, God acts within and through human will and *energeia*.

146. *Sermo* III, 4, 86-101.

147. *Cap.* VI, 3, 92-96: Κατεδέξατο (= ὁ Χριστός) μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν θεοκτίστων ιδιωμάτων καὶ τὸ θεόφωτον τῆς ψυχῆς θέλημα, ἵνα τοῦτο ἰάσῃται πρὸς τὸ μὴ θέλειν μήτε ποιεῖν τὰ τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς θελήματα.

148. *Cap.* VI, 3, 97-99: Ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν ἡμῶν τὴν κατ’ εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ οἰκειώσατο εἰς τὸ διδάξει αὐτὴν μηκέτι ἐνεργεῖν καὶ πράττειν τὰ τῷ Θεῷ μὴ ἀρέσκοινα. See also *Cap.* VI, 3, 112-116.

149. *Sermo* III, 6, 1-11: Αὕτη γὰρ καὶ μόνη ἡ θεόσδοτος ἡμῶν θέλησις καὶ ἐνέργειά ἐστιν αἰτία καὶ ἐργάτης πάσης τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν. Θελήματι γὰρ ἔκουσίῳ τῆς ψυχῆς εἰς θεὸν ἐπιστεύσαμεν, θελήματι ἔκουσίῳ παρθενίαν ἐνεργοῦμεν, θελήματι ἔκουσίῳ ἄσκησιν τε καὶ χαμευνίαν καὶ ἀγάπην πράττομεν, θελήματι τὸν πλησίον ἀγαπῶμεν, καὶ ὅπως συντόμως εἶπω, πᾶσαι αἱ πνευματικαὶ καὶ θεῖαι καὶ ἀναγκαῖαι ἀρεταὶ αἱ κατ’ εἰκόνα θεοῦ καὶ θεῖαι δράσεις καὶ ἐλλάμψεις καὶ ἀποκαλύψεις καὶ προκοπαὶ ἐν τῇ νοερᾷ ἡμῶν θελήσει καὶ ἐνέργειᾳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνεργοῦνται ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπιτελοῦνται καὶ προσγίνονται ἡμῖν.

## VII. FEAR IN JESUS CHRIST

One of the major issues of Anastasius' polemics against Monenergism-Monothelitism was the fear that Jesus Christ experienced in Gethsemane before crucifixion. Anastasius approached this theological problem in accordance with the thought of his predecessors, though he added to it his original thought. He believed that a human being, in the normal natural state, loves life and hates death<sup>150</sup>. Having this assumption as a starting point, Anastasius characterized the natural human will as loving-life (φιλόζωος) and hating-death (μισοθάνατος)<sup>151</sup>. People love life because they love immortality, which they received at the very beginning of their existence<sup>152</sup>. The human will of Christ is life-loving too. It was normal and natural (κατὰ φύσιν) for Christ to love life and to hate death. Anastasius stressed that the human will of Christ was not afraid of death (φοβοθάνατος, δειλιοθάνατος), but was hating-death (μισοθάνατος) as something foreign to him<sup>153</sup>. Even more than he hated death, Christ loved life (was φιλόζωος)<sup>154</sup>. In order to substantiate this suggestion, Anastasius referred to the authority of Basil of Caesarea and Cyril of Alexandria<sup>155</sup>. However, no known work of either Basil or Cyril contains similar ideas.

At the same time, Basil used the word φιλόζωον in a different context. In his *Exhortative homily on the Holy Baptism* Basil, on the one hand, suggested that it is a natural property of man to avoid death. He called this property a natural love of life (τὸ φύσει φιλόζωον)<sup>156</sup>. On the other hand, in his homily *On the forty martyrs of Sebastea*, he used the word in a rather negative sense of an excessive attachment to life; thus, the soldier who left the lake in order to save his life was characterized as φιλόζωος<sup>157</sup>. The same word was applied to the escaped soldier in the homily *On the forty martyrs* by Gregory of Nyssa<sup>158</sup>. As for Cyril whom Anastasius mentioned, no similar passage can be found in his surviving works.

150. *Cap.* V, 26-27: Τὸ ἀγαπᾶν τὴν ζωὴν φυσικὸν ἐστὶ καὶ ἀδιάβλητον ἀνθρώπου θέλημα.

151. *Cap.* V, 4-10: Κατὰ φύσιν μὲν γάρ ἐστὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἀγαπᾶν τὴν ζωὴν καὶ μισεῖν τὸν θάνατον· οὐ μάτην δὲ οὔτε ἀκαίρως φύσει ἢ φύσις ἢ ἀνθρωπίνη φιλόζωός ἐστι καὶ μισοθάνατος, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀπαρχῆς ἀθάνατος καὶ ἄφθαρτος γέγονεν. Εἰκότως οὖν ἀγαπᾶ τὴν ἀθανασίαν εἰς ἣν γέγονε, καὶ μισεῖ τὸν θάνατον εἰς ὃν οὐ γέγονε. Cf. *Hod.* II, 4, 60-62: Φυσικὸν θέλημα ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν [...] τὸ φιλόζωον· πᾶς γὰρ ἄνθρωπος φύσει φιλεῖ τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὸ ὄρᾶν τὸ φῶς.

152. *Hod.* II, 4, 67-70: Φιλεῖ δὲ τὴν ζωὴν ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἀσκόπως, ἀλλὰ σημαίνουσα ἢ φύσις, ὅτι, ὅπερ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἶχεν ὅτε γέγονεν (ἡγουν τὴν ἀθανασίαν αὐτὴν) ἀγαπᾶ καὶ ζητεῖ.

153. *Cap.* V, 11-12; 23-24. Cf. *Cap.* V, 18-20: Ἐπειδὴ πᾶσα ἀθανασία καὶ ζωὴ μισητῶς καὶ ἐναντίως πρὸς τὸν θάνατον διάκειται.

154. *Cap.* V, 11-12.

155. *Hod.* II, 4, 61-61; *Cap.* V, 25-26.

156. BASIL OF CAESAREA, *Homilia exhortatoria ad sanctum baptismum*, PG 31, 441C.

157. BASIL OF CAESAREA, *In quadraginta martyres Sebastenses*, PG 31, 513C; 520C.

158. GREGORY OF NYSSA, *Encomium in XL martyres II*, PG 46, 781A.

If one considers the issue of the love of life, as it was developed through the centuries until the era of Anastasius<sup>159</sup>, it becomes apparent that in both the classical and the Christian traditions, there were two major trends in considering the love of life. According to one, this love is a natural faculty and is therefore blameless. According to the other, it is vicious, immoral, and shameful. Dyothelites preferred to follow the former line of thought and regarded the fear that Christ experienced as a blameless manifestation of his natural human will. The Monothelites, on the contrary, followed the latter trend and refused to concede that Christ had a real fear which would mean for them a vicious addiction to life.

In his exposition of the issue of Christ's fear of death and in addressing other issues pertinent to the Christological controversies of his time, Anastasius of Sinai followed the Dyenergist-Dyothelite tradition and seems to have borrowed ready arguments from his predecessors. He developed these arguments further in a creative way to make them more comprehensible to his audience. At the same time, he approached some issues in his own way, especially the issue of the theandric *energeia*. He made of this approach a convincing argument in support of two *energeiai* in Christ. His difference with the mainstream Dyothelite tradition was methodological rather than essential. Anastasius was a passionate and creative polemist, not always accurate in choosing his arguments. If he were more systematic and less absorbed by polemics, he would probably be counted on the same level with Maximus the Confessor or John of Damascus. Still, even in polemics he demonstrated a remarkable theological talent and skill.

Loyola Marymount University  
Huffington Ecumenical Institute  
Los Angeles, California 90045  
USA  
serhiy.hovorun@lmu.edu

Cyril HOVORUN

ABSTRACT. — Anastasius of Sinai was one of the most creative theologians in the period when Late Antiquity was transforming to the Middle Ages. His passionate rhetoric targeted the Christological unorthodoxies of his time, primarily Monenergism and Monothelitism. In his polemics against these doctrines, Anastasius creatively elaborated on the arguments of his predecessors. He developed a complex, and sometimes surprising, taxonomy of Christ's activities and volitions. This taxonomy included mixed human-divine, pure divine, and pure human *energeiai* and wills, which, to Anastasius, proved duality of Jesus Christ.

159. For an overview, see S. HOVORUN, *The Cross: Fear of Death or Love to Life?*, in *Sobornost* 29/1 (2007) 60-66 (here, pp. 63-65).