

*Decrees of the  
Ecumenical Councils*

Volume One  
*Nicaea I to Lateran V*

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*Chalcedon*

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*451*

## INTRODUCTION

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It was the emperor Marcian who, after the “robber” council of Ephesus (449), commanded this council to meet. Pope Leo I was opposed to it. His view was that all the bishops should repent of their ways and individually sign his earlier dogmatic letter to Flavian<sup>1</sup>, patriarch of Constantinople, and so avoid a new round of argument and debate. Moreover, the provinces of the West were being laid waste by Attila’s invasions. But before the pope’s view became known, the emperor Marcian had, by an edict of 17 May 451, convoked the council for 1 September 451. Although the pope was displeased, he sent legates: Paschasinus, bishop of Lilybaeum, Bishop Lucentius, the priests Boniface and Basil, and Bishop Julian of Cos. No doubt Leo thought that the council would cause people to leave the church and go into schism. So he wanted it to be postponed for a time, and he implored the emperor that the faith handed down from ancient times should not become the subject of debate. The only business should be the restoration of the exiled bishops to their former positions.

The council was convoked at Nicaea but later transferred to Chalcedon, so as to be close to Constantinople and the emperor. It began on 8 October 451. The legates Paschasinus, Bishop Lucentius and the priest Boniface presided, while Julian of Cos sat among the bishops. By their side were the imperial commissars and those serving on the Senate, whose responsibility was simply to keep order in the council’s deliberations.

The lists we have of those present are unsatisfactory. According to Leo there were 600 bishops at the council, whereas according to a letter to him there were 500<sup>2</sup>.

The “Definition of the faith” was passed at the council’s fifth session, and was solemnly promulgated at the sixth session in the presence of the emperor and the imperial authorities<sup>3</sup>. The formula accepted in the decree is: Christ is one in two natures. This is in agreement with Leo’s letter to Flavian of Constantinople, and Leo’s letter is expressly mentioned in the Definition of the faith.

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<sup>1</sup> This is commonly called the “Tome to Flavian”. The text printed below (pp. 77–82) follows ACO II II 1, 24–33.

<sup>2</sup> Acts in ACO II; see T. Schnitzler, *Im Kampfe um Chalcedon. Geschichte und Inhalt des codex encyclius*, Rome 1938.

<sup>3</sup> Greek text in ACO II I 2, 126–130; Latin version in ACO II III 2, 134–138. See below pp. 83–87.

The council also issued 27 disciplinary canons<sup>4</sup> (it is unclear at which session). What is usually called canon 28 (on the honour to be accorded the see of Constantinople) is in fact a resolution passed by the council at the 16th session. It was rejected by the Roman legates. In the ancient Greek collections, canons 29 and 30 are also attributed to the council: canon 29 is an extract from the minutes of the 19th session<sup>5</sup>; and canon 30 is an extract from the minutes of the 4th session<sup>6</sup>.

Because of canon 28, which the Roman legates had opposed, the emperor Marcian and Anatolius, patriarch of Constantinople, sought approval for the council from the pope. This is clear from a letter of Anatolius which tries to defend the canon, and especially from a letter of Marcian which explicitly requests confirmation. Because heretics were misinterpreting his withholding approval, the pope ratified the doctrinal decrees on 21 March 453, but rejected canon 28 since it ran counter to the canons of Nicaea and to the privileges of particular churches<sup>7</sup>.

The imperial promulgation was made by Emperor Marcian in 4 edicts of February 452.

Apart from Pope Leo's letter to Flavian, which is in Latin, the English translation is from the Greek text, since this is the more authoritative version.

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<sup>4</sup> The Greek text of canons 1–28 is taken from the Synagoge of John Scholasticus, ed. Benešević = CCO 69–90. The Latin version is that of Dionysius Exiguus (CCO, *ibid.*), except canon 28, which he did not translate and which we give below in the so-called Priscan version (Turner 2, 422 and 424).

<sup>5</sup> ACO II I 467.18–21 and 467.31–468.6 (in Greek); CCO 93–94 (in Latin).

<sup>6</sup> ACO II I 310.1–18 (in Greek); CCO 95–97 (in Latin).

<sup>7</sup> See A. Wuyts, *Le 28<sup>e</sup> canon de Chalcedoine et le fondement du primat romain*, *Orient. Christ. Per.* 17 (1951) 265–282; F. Hofmann, *Der Kampf der Päpste um Konzil und Dogma von Chalkedon von Leo dem Großen bis Hormisdas (451–519)*, *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, 2 Würzburg 1953, 13–94.

## TEXT AND TRANSLATION

**Epistula Papae Leonis ad  
Flavianum ep. Constantinopoli-  
tanum de Eutyche**

Lectis dilectionis tuae litteris, quas miramur fuisse tam seras, et gestorum episcoporum ordine recensito tandem quid apud vos scandali contra integritatem fidei exortum fuisset, agnovimus et quae prius videbantur occulta, nunc nobis reserata patuerunt. Quibus Eutyches, qui presbyterii nomine honorabilis videbatur, multum imprudens et nimis inperitus ostenditur, ut etiam de ipso dictum sit a propheta: *noluit intellegere ut bene ageret; iniquitatem meditatus est in cubili suo*<sup>1</sup>. Quid autem iniquius quam impia sapere et sapientioribus doctoribusque non cedere? Sed in hanc insipientiam cadunt qui cum ad cognoscendam veritatem aliquo inpediuntur obscuro, non ad propheticas voces, non ad apostolicas litteras nec ad evangelicas auctoritates, sed ad semet ipsos recurrunt et ideo magistri erroris existunt, quia veritatis discipuli non fuerunt. Quam enim eruditionem de sacris novi et veteris testamenti paginis adquisivit qui ne ipsius quidem symboli initia comprehendit et quod per totum mundum omnium regenerandorum voce depromitur, istius adhuc senis corde non capitur? Nesciens igitur quid deberet de verbi dei incarnatione sentire, nec volens ad promerendum lumen intellegentiae in sanctarum scripturarum latitudine laborare illam saltem communem et indiscretam confessionem sollicito recepisset auditu, qua fidelium universitas profitetur credere se in deum patrem omnipotentem et in Iesum

Christum filium eius unicum, dominum nostrum, qui natus est de spiritu sancto et Maria virgine, quibus tribus sententiis omnium fere haereticorum machinae destruuntur. Cum enim deus et omnipotens et pater creditur, consempiternus eidem filius demonstratur, in nullo a patre differens, quia de deo deus, de omnipotente omnipotens, de aeterno natus est coaeternus, non posterior tempore, non inferior potestate, non dissimilis gloria, non divisus essentia. Idem vero sempiterni genitoris unigenitus sempiternus natus est de spiritu sancto et Maria virgine, quae nativitas temporalis illi nativitati divinae et sempiternae nihil minuit, nihil contulit, sed totam se reparando homini, qui erat deceptus, inpendit, ut et mortem vinceret et diabolum, qui mortis habebat imperium<sup>2</sup>, sua virtute destrueret. Non enim superare possemus peccati et mortis auctorem, nisi naturam nostram ille susciperet et suam faceret quem nec peccatum contaminare nec mors potuit detinere. Conceptus quippe est de spiritu sancto intra uterum virginis matris, quae illum ita salva virginitate edidit quemadmodum salva virginitate concepit. Sed si de hoc Christianae fidei fonte purissimo sincerum intellectum haurire non poterat, quia splendorem perspicuae veritatis obcaecatione sibi propria tenebrarat, doctrinae se evangelicae subdidisset et dicente Matthaeo *liber generationis Iesu Christi filii David filii Habraham*<sup>3</sup>, apostolicae quoque praedicationis expetisset instructum et legens in epistula ad Romanos *Paulus servus Christi Iesu, vocatus apostolus segregatus in evangelium dei quod*

**The letter of Pope Leo to Flavian, bishop of Constantinople, about Eutyches**

Surprised as we were at the late arrival of your charity's letter, we read it and examined the account of what the bishops had done. We now see what scandal against the integrity of the faith had reared its head among you. What had previously been kept secret now became clearly revealed to us. Eutyches, who was considered a man of honour because he had the title of priest, is shown to be very rash and extremely ignorant. What the prophet said can be applied to him: *He did not want to understand and do good: he plotted evil in his bed*<sup>1</sup>. What can be worse than to have an irreligious mind and to pay no heed to those who are wiser and more learned? The people who fall into this folly are those in whom knowledge of the truth is blocked by a kind of dimness. They do not refer to the sayings of the prophets, nor to the letters of the apostles, nor even to the authoritative words of the gospels, but to themselves. By not being pupils of the truth, they turn out to be masters of error. A man who has not the most elementary understanding even of the creed itself can have learnt nothing from the sacred texts of the New and Old Testaments. This old man has not yet taken to heart what is pronounced by every baptismal candidate the world over!

He had no idea how he ought to think about the incarnation of the Word of God; and he had no desire to acquire the light of understanding by working through the length and breadth of the holy scriptures. So at least he should have listened carefully and accepted the common and undivided creed by which the whole body of the faithful confess that they believe in God the Father almighty and in Jesus Christ his only Son, our Lord, who was born of the holy Spirit and the virgin Mary. These three statements wreck the tricks of nearly every heretic. When God is believed to be both almighty and Father, the Son is clearly proved to be co-eternal with him, in no way different from the Father, since he was born God from God, almighty from the Almighty, co-eternal from the Eternal, not later in time, not lower in power, not unlike in glory, not distinct in being. The same eternal, only-begotten of the eternal begetter was born of the holy Spirit and the virgin Mary. His birth in time in no way subtracts from or adds to that divine and eternal birth of his: but its whole purpose is to restore humanity, who had been deceived, so that it might defeat death and, by its power, destroy the devil who held the power of death<sup>2</sup>. Overcoming the originator of sin and death would be beyond us, had not he whom sin could not defile, nor could death hold down, taken up our nature and made it his own. He was conceived from the holy Spirit inside the womb of the virgin mother. Her virginity was as untouched in giving him birth as it was in conceiving him.

But if it was beyond Eutyches to derive sound understanding from this, the purest source of the christian faith, because the brightness of manifest truth had been darkened by his own peculiar blindness, then he should have subjected himself to the teaching of the gospels. When Matthew says, *The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, son of David, son of Abraham*<sup>3</sup>, Eutyches should have looked up the further development in the apostolic preaching. When he read in the letter to the Romans, *Paul, the servant of Christ Jesus, called to be an apostle, set apart for God's gospel, which he had formerly promised through his prophets in the holy writings which refer to his Son, who was made for him of David's seed*

<sup>1</sup> Ps 35, 4.    <sup>2</sup> Cf. Heb 2, 14.    <sup>3</sup> Mt 1, 1.

<sup>1</sup> Ps 35, 4.    <sup>2</sup> See Heb 2, 14.    <sup>3</sup> Mt 1, 1.

ante promiserat per prophetas suos in scripturis sanctis de filio suo, qui factus est ei ex semine David secundum carnem<sup>1</sup> ad propheticas paginas piam sollicitudinem contulisset et inveniens promissionem dei ad Habraham dicentis in semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes<sup>2</sup>, ne de huius seminis proprietate dubitaret; secutus fuisset apostolum dicentem Habrahae dictae sunt promissiones et semini eius. Non dicit: et seminibus, quasi in multis sed quasi in uno: et semini tuo, quod est Christus<sup>3</sup>;<sup>3</sup> Esaiae quoque praedicationem interiore adprehendisset auditu dicentis ecce virgo in utero accipiet et pariet filium et vocabunt nomen eius Emmanuel, quod est interpretatum nobiscum deus<sup>4</sup> eiusdemque prophetae fideliter verba legisset puer natus est nobis, filius datus est nobis, cuius potestas super humeros eius, et vocabunt nomen eius magni consilii angelus, deus fortis, princeps pacis, pater futuri saeculi<sup>5</sup>, nec frustratorie loquens ita verbum diceret carnem factum, ut editus utero virginis Christus haberet formam hominis et non haberet materni corporis veritatem. An forte ideo putavit dominum Iesum Christum non nostrae esse naturae, quia missus ad beatam Mariam angelus ait: spiritus sanctus superveniet in te et virtus altissimi obumbrabit tibi ideoque quod nascetur ex te sanctum, vocabitur filius dei<sup>6</sup>, ut quia conceptus virginis divini fuit operis, non de natura concipientis fuerit caro concepti? sed non ita intellegenda est illa generatio singulariter mirabilis et mirabiliter singularis, ut per novitatem creationis proprietatem remota sit generis. Fecunditatem virginis spiritus sanc-

tus dedit, veritas autem corporis sumpta de corpore est, et aedificante sibi sapientia domum<sup>7</sup> verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis<sup>8</sup>, hoc est in ea carne quam sumpsit ex homine et quam spiritu vitae rationalis animavit. Salva igitur proprietate utriusque naturae et in unam coeunte personam suscepta est a maiestate humilitas, a virtute infirmitas, ab aeternitate mortalitas, et ad resolvendum conditionis nostrae debitum natura inviolabilis naturae est unita passibili, ut quod nostris remediis congruebat, unus atque idem mediator dei et hominum homo Christus Iesus<sup>9</sup> et mori posset ex uno et mori non posset ex altero. In integra ergo veri hominis perfecta natura verus natus est deus, totus in suis, totus in nostris. Nostra autem dicimus quae in nobis ab initio creator condidit et quae reparanda suscepit; nam illa quae deceptor intulit et homo deceptor admisit, nullum habuerunt in salvatore vestigium. Nec quia communionem humanarum subiit infirmitatem, ideo nostrorum fuit particeps delictorum. Adsumpsit formam servi<sup>10</sup> sine sorde peccati, humana augens, divina non minuens, quia exinanitio illa qua se invisibilis visibilem praebuit et creator ac dominus omnium rerum unus voluit esse mortalium, inclinatio fuit miserationis, non defectio potestatis. Proinde qui manens in forma dei fecit hominem, in forma servi factus est homo; tenet enim sine defectu proprietatem suam utraque natura et sicut formam servi dei forma non admittit, ita formam dei servi forma non minuit. Nam quia gloriabatur diabo-

<sup>1</sup> Rm 1, 1-3.<sup>2</sup> Gn 22, 18.<sup>3</sup> Gal 3, 16.<sup>4</sup> Is 7, 14.<sup>5</sup> Is 9, 6.<sup>6</sup> Lc 1, 35.<sup>7</sup> Cf. Pro 9, 1.<sup>8</sup> Io 1, 14.<sup>9</sup> 1 Tm 2, 5.<sup>10</sup> Cf. Ph 2, 7.

according to the flesh<sup>1</sup>, he should have paid deep and devout attention to the prophetic texts. And when he discovered God making the promise to Abraham that in your seed shall all nations be blessed<sup>2</sup>, he should have followed the apostle, in order to eliminate any doubt about the identity of this seed, when he says, *The promises were spoken to Abraham and his seed. He does not say "to his seeds" — as if referring to a multiplicity — but to a single one, "and to thy seed", which is Christ*<sup>3</sup>. His inward ear should also have heard Isaiah preaching, *Behold, a virgin will receive in the womb and will bear a son, and they will call his name Emmanuel, which is translated "God is with us"*<sup>4</sup>. With faith he should have read the same prophet's words, *A child is born to us, a son is given to us. His power is on his shoulders. They will call his name "Angel of great counsel, mighty God, prince of peace, father of the world to come"*<sup>5</sup>. Then he would not deceive people by saying that the Word was made flesh in the sense that he emerged from the virgin's womb having a human form but not having the reality of his mother's body.

Or was it perhaps that he thought that our lord Jesus Christ did not have our nature because the angel who was sent to the blessed Mary said, *The holy Spirit will come upon you and the power of the most High will overshadow you, and so that which will be born holy out of you will be called Son of God*<sup>6</sup>, as if it was because the conception by the virgin was worked by God that the flesh of the one conceived did not share the nature of her who conceived it? But uniquely wondrous and wondrously unique as that act of generation was, it is not to be understood as though the proper character of its kind was taken away by the sheer novelty of its creation. It was the holy Spirit that made the virgin pregnant, but the reality of the body derived from body. As Wisdom built a house for herself<sup>7</sup> *the Word was made flesh and dwelt amongst us*<sup>8</sup>: that is, in that flesh which he derived from human kind and which he animated with the spirit of a rational life.

So the proper character of both natures was maintained and came together in a single person. Lowliness was taken up by majesty, weakness by strength, mortality by eternity. To pay off the debt of our state, invulnerable nature was united to a nature that could suffer; so that in a way that corresponded to the remedies we needed, one and the same mediator between God and humanity, the man Christ Jesus<sup>9</sup>, could both on the one hand die and on the other be incapable of death. Thus was true God born in the undiminished and perfect nature of a true man, complete in what is his and complete in what is ours. By "ours" we mean what the Creator established in us from the beginning and what he took upon himself to restore. There was in the Saviour no trace of the things which the Deceiver brought upon us, and to which deceived humanity gave admittance. His subjection to human weaknesses in common with us did not mean that he shared our sins. He took on the form of a servant<sup>10</sup> without the defilement of sin, thereby enhancing the human and not diminishing the divine. For that self-emptying whereby the Invisible rendered himself visible, and the Creator and Lord of all things chose to join the ranks of mortals, spelled no failure of power: it was an act of merciful favour. So the one who retained the form of God when he made humanity, was made man in the form of a servant. Each nature kept its proper character without loss; and just as the form of God does not take away the form of a servant, so the form of a servant does not detract from the form of God.

<sup>1</sup> Rm 1, 1-3.<sup>2</sup> Gn 22, 18.<sup>3</sup> Gal 3, 16.<sup>4</sup> Is 7, 14.<sup>5</sup> Is 9, 6.<sup>6</sup> Lk 1, 35.<sup>7</sup> See Pro 9, 1.<sup>8</sup> Jn 1, 14.<sup>9</sup> 1 Tm 2, 5.<sup>10</sup> See Ph 2, 7.

lus hominem sua fraude deceptum  
divinis caruisse muneribus et im-  
mortalitatis dote nudatum duram  
mortis subisse sententiam seque in  
malis suis quoddam de praevarica-  
toris consortio invenisse solatium,  
deum quoque iustitiae exigente  
ratione erga hominem, quem tanto  
honore condiderat, propriam mu-  
tasse sententiam, opus fuit secreti  
dispensatione consilii, ut incommu-  
tabilis deus, cuius voluntas non po-  
test sua benignitate privari, primam  
erga nos pietatis suae dispensationem  
sacramento occultiore comple-  
ret et homo diabolicae iniquitatis  
versutia actus in culpam contra dei  
propositum non periret. Ingreditur  
ergo haec mundi infima filius dei de  
caelesti sede descendens et a paterna  
gloria non recedens novo ordine,  
nova natiuitate generatus, novo  
ordine, quia invisibilis in suis visi-  
bilis est factus in nostris, incon-  
prehensibilis voluit comprehendi,  
ante tempora manens esse coepit ex  
tempore, universitatis dominus ser-  
vilem formam obumbrata maiestatis  
suae immensitate suscepit, impassi-  
bilis deus non dedignatus est homo  
esse passibilis et immortalis mortis  
legibus subiacere; nova autem nati-  
vitate generatus, quia inviolata vir-  
ginitas concupiscentiam nescivit,  
carnis materiam ministravit. Ad-  
sumpta est de matre domini natura,  
non culpa, nec in domino Iesu  
Christo ex utero virginis genito,  
quia natiuitas est mirabilis, ideo no-  
stri est natura dissimilis. Qui enim  
verus est deus, idem verus est homo.  
Et nullum est in hac unitate men-  
dacium, dum in invicem sunt et  
humilitas hominis et altitudo deita-

tis. Sicut enim deus non mutatur  
miseratione, ita homo non consumi-  
tur dignitate. Agit enim utraque  
forma cum alterius communione  
quod proprium est, verbo scilicet  
operante quod verbi est, et carne  
exequente quod carnis est. Unum  
horum coruscet miraculis, aliud  
subcumbit iniuriis. Et sicut verbum  
ab aequalitate paternae gloriae non  
recedit, ita caro naturam nostri  
generis non relinquit; unus enim  
idemque est, quod saepe dicendum  
est, vere dei filius et vere hominis  
filius, deus per id quod *in principio  
erat verbum et verbum erat apud deum  
et deus erat verbum*<sup>1</sup>, homo per id  
quod *verbum caro factum est et habitavit  
in nobis*<sup>2</sup>; deus per id quod *omnia per  
ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est  
nihil*<sup>3</sup>, homo per id quod *factus est ex  
muliere, factus sub lege*<sup>4</sup>. Natiuitas  
carnis manifestatio est humanae na-  
turae, partus virginis divinae est vir-  
tutis indicium; infantia parvuli  
ostenditur humilitate cunarum, ma-  
gnitudo altissimi declaratur vocibus  
angelorum. Similis est rudimentis  
hominum quem Herodes impie  
molitur occidere, sed dominus est  
omnium quem magi gaudent sup-  
pliciter adorare. Iam cum ad praecur-  
soris sui Iohannis baptismum venit,  
ne lateret quod carnis velamine  
divinitas tegetetur, vox patris de  
caelo intonans dixit: *hic est filius meus  
dilectus, in quo mihi bene complacui*<sup>5</sup>.  
Quem itaque sicut hominem dia-  
bolica temptat astutia, eidem sicut  
deo angelica famulantur officia.  
Esurire<sup>6</sup> sitire lassescere atque dor-  
mire evidenter humanum est, sed  
quinque panibus quinque milia ho-  
minum satiari<sup>7</sup> et largiri Samarita-

<sup>1</sup> Io 1, 1.<sup>2</sup> Io 1, 14.<sup>3</sup> Io 1, 3.<sup>4</sup> Gal 4, 4.<sup>5</sup> Mt 3, 17.<sup>6</sup> Cf. Mt 4, 1.11.<sup>7</sup> Cf. Mt 14, 17.21.

It was the devil's boast that humanity had been deceived by his trickery and so had lost the gifts God had given it; and that it had been stripped of the endowment of immortality and so was subject to the harsh sentence of death. He also boasted that, sunk as he was in evil, he himself derived some consolation from having a partner in crime; and that God had been forced by the principle of justice to alter his verdict on humanity, which he had created in such an honourable state. All this called for the realisation of a secret plan whereby the unalterable God, whose will is indistinguishable from his goodness, might bring the original realisation of his kindness towards us to completion by means of a more hidden mystery, and whereby humanity, which had been led into a state of sin by the craftiness of the devil, might be prevented from perishing contrary to the purpose of God.

So without leaving his Father's glory behind, the Son of God comes down from his heavenly throne and enters the depths of our world, born in an unprecedented order by an unprecedented kind of birth. In an unprecedented order, because one who is invisible at his own level was made visible at ours. The ungraspable willed to be grasped. Whilst remaining pre-existent, he begins to exist in time. The Lord of the universe veiled his measureless majesty and took on a servant's form. The God who knew no suffering did not despise becoming a suffering man, and, deathless as he is, to be subject to the laws of death. By an unprecedented kind of birth, because it was inviolable virginity which supplied the material flesh without experiencing sexual desire. What was taken from the mother of the Lord was the nature without the guilt. And the fact that the birth was miraculous does not imply that in the lord Jesus Christ, born from the virgin's womb, the nature is different from ours. The same one is true God and true man.

There is nothing unreal about this oneness, since both the lowliness of the man and the grandeur of the divinity are in mutual relation. As God is not changed by showing mercy, neither is humanity devoured by the dignity received. The activity of each form is what is proper to it in communion with the other: that is, the Word performs what belongs to the Word, and the flesh accomplishes what belongs to the flesh. One of these performs brilliant miracles, the other sustains acts of violence. As the Word does not lose its glory which is equal to that of the Father, so neither does the flesh leave the nature of its kind behind. We must say this again and again: one and the same is truly Son of God and truly son of man. God, by the fact that *in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God*<sup>1</sup>; man, by the fact that *the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us*<sup>2</sup>. God, by the fact that *all things were made through him, and nothing was made without him*<sup>3</sup>; man, by the fact that *he was made of a woman, made under the law*<sup>4</sup>. The birth of flesh reveals human nature; birth from a virgin is a proof of divine power. A lowly cradle manifests the infancy of the child; angels' voices announce the greatness of the most High. Herod evilly strives to kill one who was like a human being at the earliest stage; the Magi rejoice to adore on bended knee one who is the Lord of all. And when he came to be baptised by his precursor John, the Father's voice spoke thunder from heaven, to ensure that he did not go unnoticed because the divinity was concealed by the veil of flesh: *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased*<sup>5</sup>. Accordingly, the same one whom the devil craftily tempts as a man, the angels dutifully wait on as God. Hunger<sup>6</sup>, thirst, weariness, sleep are patently human. But to satisfy five thousand people with five loaves<sup>7</sup>; to dispense living

<sup>1</sup> Jn 1, 1.<sup>2</sup> Jn 1, 14.<sup>3</sup> Jn 1, 3.<sup>4</sup> Gal 4, 4.<sup>5</sup> Mt 3, 17.<sup>6</sup> See Mt 4, 1.11.<sup>7</sup> See Mt 14, 17.21.

nae aquam vivam, cuius haustus bibenti praestet ne ultra iam sitiatur<sup>1</sup>, supra dorsum maris plantis non desidentibus ambulare<sup>2</sup> et elationes fluctuum increpata tempestate constertere<sup>3</sup> sine ambiguitate divinum est. Sicut ergo, ut multa praeteream, non eiusdem naturae est flere miserationis affectu amicum mortuum<sup>4</sup> et eundem remoto quadriduanae aggere sepulturae ad vocis imperium excitare redivivum<sup>5</sup> aut ligno pendere et in noctem luce conversa omnia elementa tremefacere aut clavis transfixum esse<sup>6</sup> et paradisi portas fidei latronis aperire<sup>7</sup>, ita non eiusdem naturae est dicere *ego et pater unum sumus*<sup>8</sup> et dicere *pater maior me est*<sup>9</sup>. Quamvis enim in domino Iesu Christo dei et hominis una persona sit, aliud tamen est unde in utroque communis est contumelia, aliud unde communis est gloria. De nostro enim illi est minor patre humanitas, de patre illi est aequalis cum patre divinitas. Propter hanc ergo unitatem personae in utraque natura intellegendam et filius hominis legitur descendisse de caelo, cum filius dei carnem de ea virgine de qua est natus, adsumpserit, et rursus filius dei crucifixus dicitur ac sepultus, cum haec non in divinitate ipsa qua unigenitus consemperiternus et consubstantialis est patri, sed in naturae humanae sit infirmitate perpressus. Unde unigenitum filium dei crucifixum et sepultum omnes etiam in symbolo confitemur secundum illud apostoli *si enim cognovissent, numquam dominum maiestatis crucifixissent*<sup>10</sup>. Cum autem

ipse dominus noster atque salvator fidem discipulorum suis interrogationibus erudiret: *quem me*, inquit, *dicunt homines esse filium hominis?* cumque illi diversae aliorum opiniones retexuissent, *vos*, ait, *quem me dicitis esse*<sup>11</sup>? me utique, qui sum filius hominis et quem in forma servi atque in veritate carnis aspiciatis, quem esse me dicitis? ubi beatus Petrus divinitus inspiratus et confessione sua omnibus gentibus profuturus: *tu es*, inquit, *Christus filius dei vivi*<sup>12</sup>, nec inmerito beatus est pronuntiatus a domino et a principali petra soliditatem et virtutis traxit et nominis qui per revelationem patris eundem et dei filium est confessus et Christum, quia unum horum sine alio receptum non proderat ad salutem et aequalis erat periculi dominum Iesum Christum aut deum tantummodo sine homine aut sine deo solum hominem credidisse. Post resurrectionem vero domini, quae utique veri corporis fuit, quia non alter est resuscitatus quam qui fuerat crucifixus et mortuus, quid aliud quadraginta dierum mora gestum est quam ut fidei nostrae integritas ab omni caligine munderetur? Conloquens enim cum discipulis suis et cohabitans atque convalescens<sup>13</sup> et pertractari se diligenti curiosoque contactu ab eis quos dubietas perstringebat, admittens ideo et clausis ad discipulos ianuis introibat et flatu suo dabat spiritum sanctum<sup>14</sup> et donato intelligentiae lumine sanctarum scripturarum occulta pandebat<sup>15</sup> et rursus idem vulnus lateris, fixuras clavorum

water to the Samaritan woman, a drink of which will stop her being thirsty ever again<sup>1</sup>; to walk on the surface of the sea with feet that do not sink<sup>2</sup>; to rebuke the storm and level the mounting waves<sup>3</sup>; there can be no doubt these are divine.

So, if I may pass over many instances, it does not belong to the same nature to weep out of deep-felt pity for a dead friend<sup>4</sup>, and to call him back to life again<sup>5</sup> at the word of command, once the mound had been removed from the four-day-old grave; or to hang on the cross and, with day changed into night, to make the elements tremble; or to be pierced by nails<sup>6</sup> and to open the gates of paradise for the believing thief<sup>7</sup>. Likewise, it does not belong to the same nature to say *I and the Father are one*<sup>8</sup>, and to say *The Father is greater than I*<sup>9</sup>. For although there is in the Lord Jesus Christ a single person who is of God and of man, the insults shared by both have their source in one thing, and the glory that is shared in another. For it is from us that he gets a humanity which is less than the Father; it is from the Father that he gets a divinity which is equal to the Father.

So it is on account of this oneness of the person, which must be understood in both natures, that we both read that the son of man came down from heaven, when the Son of God took flesh from the virgin from whom he was born, and again that the Son of God is said to have been crucified and buried, since he suffered these things not in the divinity itself whereby the Only-begotten is co-eternal and consubstantial with the Father, but in the weakness of the human nature. That is why in the creed, too, we all confess that the only-begotten Son of God was crucified and was buried, following what the apostle said, *If they had known, they would never have crucified the Lord of majesty*<sup>10</sup>. And when our Lord and Saviour himself was questioning his disciples and instructing their faith, he says, *Who do people say I, the son of man, am?* And when they had displayed a variety of other people's opinions, he says, *Who do you say I am?*<sup>11</sup> — in other words, I who am the son of man and whom you behold in the form of a servant and in real flesh: Who do you say I am? Whereupon the blessed Peter, inspired by God and making a confession that would benefit all future peoples, says, *You are the Christ, the Son of the living God*<sup>12</sup>. He thoroughly deserved to be declared "blessed" by the Lord. He derived the stability of both his goodness and his name from the original Rock, for when the Father revealed it to him, he confessed that the same one is both the Son of God and also the Christ. Accepting one of these truths without the other was no help to salvation; and to have believed that the Lord Jesus Christ was either only God and not man, or solely man and not God, was equally dangerous.

After the Lord's resurrection — which was certainly the resurrection of a real body, since the one brought back to life is none other than the one who had been crucified and had died — the whole point of the forty-day delay was to make our faith completely sound and to cleanse it of all darkness. Hence he talked to his disciples and lived and ate with them<sup>13</sup>, and let himself be touched attentively and carefully by those who were in the grip of doubt; he would go in among his disciples when the doors were locked, and impart the holy Spirit by breathing on them<sup>14</sup>, and open up the secrets of the holy scriptures after enlightening their understanding<sup>15</sup>; again, he would point out the wound in his side, the holes made by the nails, and all the signs of the suffering he had just recently

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Io 4, 14.<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mt 14, 25.<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lc 8, 24.<sup>4</sup> Cf. Io 11, 35.<sup>5</sup> Cf. Io 11, 39.43.<sup>6</sup> Cf. Mt 27, 45.51.<sup>7</sup> Cf. Lc 23, 43.<sup>8</sup> Io 10, 30.<sup>9</sup> Io 14, 28.<sup>10</sup> 1 Cor 2, 8.<sup>11</sup> Mt 16, 13.15.<sup>12</sup> Mt 16, 16.<sup>13</sup> Cf. Ac 1, 3.4.<sup>14</sup> Cf. Io 20, 19.22.<sup>15</sup> Cf. Lc 24, 46.<sup>1</sup> See Jn 4, 14. <sup>2</sup> See Mt 14, 25. <sup>3</sup> See Lk 8, 24. <sup>4</sup> See Jn 11, 35.<sup>5</sup> See Jn 11, 39.43. <sup>6</sup> See Mt 27, 45.51. <sup>7</sup> See Lk 23, 43. <sup>8</sup> Jn 10, 30.<sup>9</sup> Jn 14, 28. <sup>10</sup> 1 Cor 2, 8. <sup>11</sup> Mt 16, 13.15. <sup>12</sup> Mt 16, 16.<sup>13</sup> See Ac 1, 3.4. <sup>14</sup> See Jn 20, 19.22. <sup>15</sup> See Lk 24, 46.

et omnia recentissimae passionis signa monstrabat<sup>1</sup> dicens: *videte manus meas et pedes quia ego sum; palpare et videte quia spiritus carnem et ossa non habet sicut me videtis habere*<sup>2</sup>, ut agnosceretur in eo proprietatis divinae humanaeque naturae individua permanere et ita sciremus verbum non hoc esse quod carnem, ut unum dei filium et verbum confiteremur et carnem. Quo fidei sacramento Eutyches iste nimium aestimandus est vacuus, qui naturam nostram in unigenito dei nec per humilitatem mortalitatis nec per gloriam resurrectionis agnovit nec sententiam beati apostoli et evangelistae Iohannis expavit dicens *omnis spiritus qui confitetur Iesum Christum in carne venisse, ex deo est et omnis spiritus qui solvit Iesum, ex deo non est, et hic est antichristus*<sup>3</sup>. Quid autem est solvere Iesum nisi humanam ab eo separare naturam et sacramentum per quod unum salvati sumus, impudentissimis vacuare figmentis? Caligans vero circa naturam corporis Christi, necesse est ut etiam in passione eius eadem obcaecatione desipiat. Nam si crucem domini non putat falsam et susceptum pro mundi salute supplicium verum fuisse non dubitat, cuius credit mortem, agnoscat et carnem. Nec diffiteatur nostri corporis hominem quem cognoscit fuisse passibilem, quoniam negatio verae carnis negatio est etiam corporeae passionis. Si ergo Christianam suscipit fidem et a praedicatione evangelii suum non avertit auditum, videat quae natura transfixa clavis pependerit in crucis ligno et aperto per militis lanceam latere crucifixi intel-

legat unde sanguis et aqua fluxerit<sup>4</sup>, ut ecclesia dei et lavacro rigaretur et poculo. Audiat beatum Petrum apostolum praedicantem quod sanctificatio spiritus per aspersionem fiat sanguinis Christi<sup>5</sup>, nec transitorie legat eiusdem apostoli verba dicens: *scientes quod non corruptibilibus argento et auro redempti estis de vana vestra conversatione paternae traditionis, sed pretioso sanguine quasi agni incontaminati et immaculati Iesu Christi*<sup>6</sup>. Beati quoque Iohannis apostoli testimonio non resistat dicens: *et sanguis Iesu filii dei emundat nos ab omni peccato*<sup>7</sup> et iterum: *haec est victoria quae vincit mundum, fides nostra. Quis est qui vincit mundum nisi qui credit quoniam Iesus est filius dei? Hic est qui venit per aquam et sanguinem Iesus Christus, non in aqua solum, sed in aqua et sanguine, et spiritus est qui testificatur, quoniam spiritus est veritas, quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant, spiritus et aqua et sanguis, et tres unum sunt*<sup>8</sup>, spiritus utique sanctificationis et sanguis redemptionis et aqua baptismatis, quae tria unum sunt et individua manent nihilque eorum a sui connexionem seiungitur, quia catholica ecclesia hac fide vivit, hac proficit, ut nec sine vera divinitate humanitas nec sine vera credatur humanitate divinitas.

Cum autem ad interlocutionem examinis vestri Eutyches responderit dicens: confiteor ex duabus naturis fuisse dominum nostrum ante adunationem, post vero adunationem unam naturam confiteor, miror tam absurdam tamque perversam professionem nulla iudicantium increpatione reprehensam et sermonem nimis insipientem ita

undergone<sup>1</sup>, saying, *Look at my hands and feet — it is I. Feel and see, because a spirit does not have flesh and bones as you see that I have*<sup>2</sup>. All this was so that it would be recognised that the proper character of the divine and of the human nature went on existing inseparable in him; and so that we would realise that the Word is not the same thing as the flesh, but in such a way that we would confess belief in the one Son of God as being both Word and flesh.

This Eutyches must be judged to be extremely destitute of this mystery of the faith. Neither the humility of the mortal life nor the glory of the resurrection has made him recognise our nature in the only-begotten of God. Nor has even the statement of the blessed apostle and evangelist John put fear into him: *Every spirit which confesses that Jesus Christ came in the flesh is from God; and every spirit which puts Jesus asunder is not from God, and this is Antichrist*<sup>3</sup>. But what does putting Jesus asunder consist in if not in separating his human nature from him, and in voiding, through the most barefaced fictions, the one mystery by which we have been saved? Once in the dark about the nature of Christ's body, it follows that the same blindness leads him into raving folly about his suffering, too. If he does not think that the Lord's cross was unreal and if he has no doubt that the suffering undergone for the world's salvation was real, then let him acknowledge the flesh of the one whose death he believes in. And let him not deny that a man whom he knows to have been subject to suffering had our kind of body, for to deny the reality of the flesh is also to deny the bodily suffering. So if he accepts the christian faith and does not turn a deaf ear to the preaching of the gospel, let him consider what nature it was that hung, pierced with nails, on the wood of the cross. With the side of the crucified one laid open by the soldier's spear, let him identify the source from which blood and water flowed<sup>4</sup>, to bathe the church of God with both font and cup.

Let him heed what the blessed apostle Peter preaches, that sanctification by the Spirit is effected by the sprinkling of Christ's blood<sup>5</sup>; and let him not skip over the same apostle's words, *knowing that you have been redeemed from the empty way of life you inherited from your fathers, not with corruptible gold and silver but by the precious blood of Jesus Christ, as of a lamb without stain or spot*<sup>6</sup>. Nor should he withstand the testimony of blessed John the apostle: *and the blood of Jesus, the Son of God, purifies us from every sin*<sup>7</sup>; and again, *This is the victory which conquers the world, our faith. Who is there who conquers the world save one who believes that Jesus is the Son of God? It is he, Jesus Christ, who has come through water and blood, not in water only, but in water and blood. And because the Spirit is truth, it is the Spirit who testifies. For there are three who give testimony — Spirit and water and blood. And the three are one*<sup>8</sup>. In other words, the Spirit of sanctification and the blood of redemption and the water of baptism. These three are one and remain indivisible. None of them is separable from its link with the others. The reason is that it is by this faith that the catholic church lives and grows, by believing that neither the humanity is without true divinity nor the divinity without true humanity.

When you cross-examined Eutyches and he replied, "I confess that our Lord was of two natures before the union, but I confess one nature after the union", I

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Io 20, 27.    <sup>2</sup> Lc 24, 39.    <sup>3</sup> 1 Io 4, 2, 3.    <sup>4</sup> Cf. Io 19, 34.    <sup>5</sup> Cf. 1 Pt 1, 2, 6  
<sup>6</sup> 1 Pt 1, 18.    <sup>7</sup> 1 Io 1, 7.    <sup>8</sup> 1 Io 5, 4-8.

<sup>1</sup> See Jn 20, 27.    <sup>2</sup> Lk 24, 39.    <sup>3</sup> 1 Jn 4, 2, 3.    <sup>4</sup> See Jn 19, 34.    <sup>5</sup> See 1 Pt 1, 2, 6  
<sup>6</sup> 1 Pt 1, 18.    <sup>7</sup> 1 Jn 1, 7.    <sup>8</sup> 1 Jn 5, 4-8.

omissum quasi nihil quod offenderet  
esset auditum, cum tam impie dua-  
rum naturarum ante incarnationem  
unigenitus dei filius fuisse dicatur  
5 quam nefarie postquam verbum  
caro factum est, natura in eo singu-  
laris asseritur. Quod ne Eutyches  
ideo vel recte vel tolerabiliter  
aestimetur dictum, quia nulla vestra  
10 est sententia confutatum, dilectionis  
tuae diligentiam commonemus, fra-  
ter karissime, ut si per inspiratio-  
nem misericordiae dei ad satisfactio-  
nem causa perducitur, imprudentia  
15 hominis inperiti etiam ab hac sensus  
sui peste purgetur. Qui quidem,  
sicut gestorum ordo patefecit, bene  
coeperat a sua persuasione discedere,  
cum vestra sententia coartatus pro-  
20 fiteretur se dicere quod ante non  
dixerat, et ei fidei acquiescere cuius  
prius fuisset alienus; sed cum  
anathematizando impio dogmati  
noluisset praeberere consensum, intel-  
25 lexit eum fraternitas vestra in sua  
manere perfidia dignumque esse qui  
iudicium condemnationis exciperet.  
De quo si fideliter atque utiliter  
30 palis auctoritas, vel sero cognoscit

vel si ad satisfactionis plenitudinem  
omnia quae ab eo male sunt sensa,  
viva voce et praesenti subscriptione  
damnaverit, non erit reprehensibilis  
erga correctum quantacumque mi-  
seratio, quia dominus noster verus  
et bonus pastor qui animam suam  
posuit pro ovibus suis et qui venit  
animas hominum salvare, non per-  
dere, imitatores nos suae vult esse  
pietatis, ut peccantes quidem iustitia  
coerceat, conversos autem miseri-  
cordia non repellat. Tunc enim  
demum fructuosissime fides vera  
defenditur, quando etiam a sectatori-  
bus suis opinio falsa damnatur.

Ad omnem vero causam pie ac  
fideliter exequendam fratres nostros  
Iulium episcopum et Renatum  
presbyterum tituli sancti Clementis,  
sed et filium meum Hilarum dia-  
conum vice nostra direximus, qui-  
bus Dulcitiu[m] notarium nostrum,  
cuius nobis fides est probata,  
sociavimus, confidentes affuturum  
divinitatis auxilium ut is qui erra-  
verat, damnata sensus sui pravitate  
salvetur.

Deus te incolumem custodiat,  
frater karissime.

am amazed that such an absurd and corrupt declaration of faith was not very severely censured by the judges; and that an extremely foolish statement was disregarded, as if nothing whatever offensive had been heard. It is just as wicked to say that the only-begotten Son of God was of two natures before the incarnation as it is abominable to claim that there was a single nature in him after the Word was made flesh. Eutyches must not suppose that what he said was either correct or tolerable just because no clear statement of yours refuted it. So we remind you, dearest brother, of your charity's responsibility to see to it that if through God's merciful inspiration the case is ever settled, the rash and ignorant fellow is also purged of what is blighting his mind. As the minutes have made clear, he made a good start at abandoning his opinion when, under pressure from your statement, he professed to say what he had not previously said, and to find satisfaction in the faith to which he had previously been a stranger. But when he had refused to be party to the anathematizing of his wicked doctrine, your fraternity would have realised that he was persisting in his false belief and that he deserved a verdict of condemnation. If he is honestly and suitably sorry about this, and acknowledges even at this late stage how rightly episcopal authority was set in motion, or if, to make full amends, he condemns every wrong thought he had by word of mouth and by his actual signature, then no amount of mercy towards one who has reformed is excessive. Our Lord, the true and good shepherd who laid down his life for his sheep, and who came not to destroy but to save the souls of men and women, wants us to be imitators of his goodness, so that whilst justice represses sinners, mercy does not reject the converted. The defence of the true faith is never so productive as when false opinion is condemned even by its adherents.

In place of ourself, we have arranged for our brothers, Bishop Julius and the priest Renatus of the church of St Clement, and also my son, the deacon Hilary, to ensure a good and faithful conclusion to the whole case. To their company we have added our notary Dulcitiu[s], of proven loyalty to us. We trust that with God's help he who has fallen into error might condemn the wickedness of his own mind and find salvation.

God keep you safe, dearest brother.

## Ὁρος πίστεως

Ἡ ἅγια καὶ μεγάλη καὶ οἰκουμένη ἡ σύνοδος ἡ κατὰ θεοῦ χάριν καὶ θέσπισμα τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ φιλοχρίστων ὑμῶν βασιλέων Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ Μαρκιανοῦ αὐγούστων συναχθεῖσα ἐν τῇ Χαλκηδονέων μητροπόλει τῆς Βιθυνῶν ἐπαρχίας ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ καλλινίκου μάρτυρος Εὐφημίας ὥρισε τὰ ὑποταγμένα.

Ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρ ὁ Χριστὸς τῆς πίστεως τὴν γνῶσιν τοῖς μαθηταῖς βεβαιῶν ἔφη· Ἐιρήνην τὴν ἐμὴν διδωμι ὑμῖν, εἰρήνην τὴν ἐμὴν ἀφίημι ὑμῖν<sup>1</sup>, ὥστε μηδένα πρὸς τὸν πλησίον διαφωνεῖν ἐν τοῖς δόγμασι τῆς εὐσεβείας, ἀλλ' ἐπίσης τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι κήρυγμα. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐ παύεται διὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ζιζανίων ὁ πονηρὸς τοῖς τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐπιφυόμενος σπέρμασι καὶ τι καινὸν κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐφευρίσκων ἀεὶ, διὰ τοῦτο συνήθως ὁ δεσπότης προνοούμενος τοῦ ἀνθρώπινου γένους τὸν εὐσεβῆ τοῦτον καὶ πιστότατον πρὸς ζῆλον ἀνέστησε βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς ἀπανταχῆ τῆς ἱερωσύνης πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀρχηγούς συνεκάλεσεν, ὥστε, τῆς χάριτος τοῦ πάντων ἡμῶν δεσπότου Χριστοῦ ἐνεργούσης, πᾶσαν μὲν τοῦ ψεύδους τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ προβάτων ἀποσεισασθαι λύμην, τοῖς δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας αὐτὴν καταπιαίνειν βλαστήμασιν. Ὁ δὲ καὶ πεποιήκαμεν, κοινῇ ψήφῳ τὰ τῆς πλάνης ἀπελάσαντες δόγματα, τὴν δὲ ἀπλανῆ τῶν πατέρων ἀνανεωσάμενοι πίστιν, τὸ τῶν τιμῶν σύμβολον τοῖς πᾶσι κηρύξαντες καὶ ὡς οἰκείου τοῦς τοῦτο τῆς εὐσεβείας τὸ σύνθεμα δεξαμένους πατέρας ἐπιγραφάμενοι, οἵπερ εἰσιν οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ Κωνσταντινουπόλει συνελθόντες ρν'. καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπισφραγισάμενοι πίστιν.

<sup>1</sup> Io 14, 27.

## Definitio fidei

Sancta et magna et universalis synodus quae per gratiam Dei et praecepta piissimorum et christianissimorum imperatorum nostrorum 5 Valentiniani et Marciani augustorum congregata est in Chalcedona metropoli provinciae Bithyniorum in ecclesia sanctae et victricis martyris Euphemiae, haec definiuit quae 10 subter scripta sunt.

Dominus noster et salvator Iesus Christus notitiam fidei discipulis suis firmans dixit: *pacem meam do vobis, pacem meam relinquo vobis*<sup>1</sup>, ut nullus dissonet a proximo circa dogmata pietatis, sed ut pariter veritatis ostenderent praedicationem. Quia vero non desinit per zizania sua diabolus contra semina pietatis insurgere et semper aliquid novum contra veritatem invenire, propter hoc Dominus, ut consuevit, providens humano generi piissimum hunc et fidelissimum ad aemulationem 25 erexit imperatorem et undique sacerdotii praesides ad se convocavit ut gratia domini omnium nostrum Christi operante omnem quidem mendacii a Christi ovibus pestilentiam removant, floribus autem veritatis eas pinguescere faciant. Quod et perfecimus communi iudicio dogmata expellentes erroris et inerrabilem patrum renovavimus 35 fidem, symbolum trecentorum decem et octo omnibus praedicantes et eos ut proprios patres esse ascribimus, qui postea in magna Constantinopoli congregati sunt centum 40 quinquaginta et eandem fidem ipsi quoque confirmaverunt.

## Definition of the faith

The sacred and great and universal synod by God's grace and by decree of your most religious and Christ-loving emperors Valentinian Augustus and Marcian Augustus assembled in Chalcedon, metropolis of the province of Bithynia, in the shrine of the saintly and triumphant martyr Euphemia, issues the following decrees.

In establishing his disciples in the knowledge of the faith, our lord and saviour Christ said: "My peace I give you, my peace I leave to you"<sup>1</sup>, so that no one should disagree with his neighbour regarding religious doctrines but that the proclamation of the truth would be uniformly presented. But the evil one never stops trying to smother the seeds of religion with his own tares and is for ever inventing some novelty or other against the truth; so the Master, exercising his usual care for the human race, roused this religious and most faithful emperor to zealous action, and summoned to himself the leaders of the priesthood from everywhere, so that through the working of the grace of Christ, the master of all of us, every injurious falsehood might be staved off from the sheep of Christ, and they might be fattened on fresh growths of the truth.

This is in fact what we have done. We have driven off erroneous doctrines by our collective resolution, and we have renewed the unerring creed of the fathers. We have proclaimed to all the creed of the 318; and we have made our own those fathers who accepted this agreed statement of religion — the 150 who later met in great Constantinople and themselves set their seal to the same creed.

<sup>1</sup> Jn 14, 27.

Ὁρίζομεν τοίνυν τὴν τάξιν καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῆς πίστεως ἅπαντας τύπους φυλάττοντες καὶ ἡμεῖς τῆς κατ' Ἐφῆσον πάλαι γεγεννημένης ἀγίας συνόδου, ἧς ἡγεμόνες οἱ ἀγιώτατοι τὴν μνήμην Κελεστίνου ὁ τῆς Ῥωμαίων καὶ Κύριλλου ὁ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐτύγχανον, προλάμπειν μὲν τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ ἀμωμήτου πίστεως τὴν ἔκθεσιν τῶν τιη'. ἀγίων καὶ μακαρίων πατέρων τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς μνήμης Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ γενομένου βασιλέως συναχθέντων, κρατεῖν δὲ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν ρν'. ἀγίων πατέρων ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ὀρισθέντα πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν μὲν τῶν τότε φρεισῶν αἱρέσεων, βεβαίωσιν δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἡμῶν πίστεως.

Τὸ σύμβολον τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ τιη'. πατέρων<sup>1</sup>.

Καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τῶν ρν'. ἀγίων πατέρων τῶν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει συναχθέντων<sup>2</sup>.

Ἦρκει μὲν οὖν εἰς ἐντελῆ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐπίγνωσιν τε καὶ βεβαίωσιν τὸ σοφὸν καὶ σωτήριον τοῦτο τῆς θείας χάριτος σύμβολον· περὶ τε γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος ἐκδιδάσκει τὸ τέλειον καὶ τοῦ κυρίου τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν τοῖς πιστῶς δεχομένοις παρίστησιν.

Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ περὶ οἱ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀθετεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντες τὸ κήρυγμα διὰ τῶν οἰκείων αἱρέσεων τὰς καινοφρονίας ἀπέτεκον, οἱ μὲν τὸ τῆς δι' ἡμᾶς τοῦ κυρίου οἰκονομίας μυστήριον παραφθεῖρουν τολμήσαντες καὶ τὴν θεοτόκος ἐπὶ τῆς παρθένου φωνὴν ἀπαρνούμενοι, οἱ δὲ σύγχυσιν καὶ κρᾶσιν εἰσάγοντες καὶ μίαν εἶναι φύσιν τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τῆς θεότητος ἀνοήτως ἀναπλάττοντες καὶ παθητὴν τοῦ μονογενοῦς τὴν θείαν φύσιν τῆ συγχύσει τερατευόμενοι, διὰ τοῦτο

Definimus igitur ordinem et omnes formulas custodientes quae de fide sunt constitutae, et nos, a synodo quondam in Epheso facta, cuius praesides fuerunt sanctissimae memoriae Caecilius Romanorum et Cyrillus Alexandrinorum, praeferere quidem rectae et immaculatae fidei expositionem sanctorum et beatissimorum trecentorum decem et octo patrum qui in Nicaeam temporibus pia memoriae Constantini imperatoris congregati sunt, servari autem et ea quae in Constantinopolim a sanctis centum quinquaginta patribus decreta sunt ad expellendas quidem omnes germinantes haereses et ad confirmationem eiusdem catholicae et apostolicae nostrae fidei.

Symbolum trecentorum decem et octo patrum qui in Nicaea<sup>1</sup>.

Et idem centum quinquaginta sanctorum patrum qui Constantinopolim congregati sunt<sup>2</sup>.

Sufficeret quidem ad plenam cognitionem pietatis et confirmationem sapiens hoc et salutare divinae gratiae symbolum; de Patre enim et Filio et Spiritu sancto perfectionem docet et Domini inhumanationem fideliter accipientibus repraesentat. Sed quoniam hi qui veritatis reprobare praedicationem conantur, per proprias haereses novas voces genuerunt, et hi quidem mysterium dispensationis Domini quae propter nos facta est, corrumpere praesumentes et vocem denegantes qua theotocos de Virgine praedicatur, alii autem confusionem et temperamentum introducentes et unam naturam esse carnis et divinitatis stulte confingentes et passibilem Unigeniti divinam naturam per confusionem prodigiose dicentes, propter hoc illis omnem

Therefore, whilst we also stand by the decisions and all the formulas relating to the creed from the sacred synod which took place formerly at Ephesus, whose leaders of most holy memory were Celestine of Rome and Cyril of Alexandria, we decree that pre-eminence belongs to the exposition of the right and spotless creed of the 318 saintly and blessed fathers who were assembled at Nicaea when Constantine of pious memory was emperor: and that those decrees also remain in force which were issued in Constantinople by the 150 holy fathers in order to destroy the heresies then rife and to confirm this same catholic and apostolic creed.

The creed of the 318 fathers at Nicaea<sup>1</sup>.

And the same of the 150 saintly fathers assembled in Constantinople<sup>2</sup>.

This wise and saving creed, the gift of divine grace, was sufficient for a perfect understanding and establishment of religion. For its teaching about the Father and the Son and the holy Spirit is complete, and it sets out the Lord's becoming human to those who faithfully accept it.

But there are those who are trying to ruin the proclamation of the truth, and through their private heresies they have spawned novel formulas: some by daring to corrupt the mystery of the Lord's economy on our behalf, and refusing to apply the word "God-bearer" to the Virgin; and others by introducing a confusion and mixture, and mindlessly imagining that there is a single nature of the flesh and the divinity, and fantastically supposing that in the confusion the divine nature of the Only-begotten is passible.

<sup>1</sup> Vide supra p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Vide supra p. 24.

<sup>1</sup> See above p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> See above p. 24.

πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς ἀποκλεῖσαι κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας μηχανῆν βουλομένη ἢ παροῦσα νῦν αὐτῇ ἅγια καὶ μεγάλη καὶ οἰκουμένη συνόδος, τὸ τοῦ κηρύγματος ἄνωθεν ἀσάλευτον ἐκδιδάσκουσα, ὤρισεν, προηγουμένως τῶν τῆ· ἁγίων πατέρων τὴν πίστιν μένειν ἀπαρεγχείρητον· καὶ διὰ μὲν τοὺς τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ μαχομένους τὴν χρόνους ὕστερον παρὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλευούσης πόλεως ρν' συνελθόντων πατέρων περὶ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος οὐσίας παραδοθεῖσιν διδασκαλίαν κυροῖ, ἣν ἐκείνοι πᾶσιν ἐγνώρισαν, οὐχ ὥς τι λείπον τοῖς προλαβοῦσιν ἐπιεσάγοντες, ἀλλὰ τὴν περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος αὐτῶν ἔννοιαν κατὰ τῶν τὴν αὐτοῦ δεσποτείαν ἀθετεῖν πειρωμένων γραφικαῖς μαρτυρίαις τρανώσαντες· διὰ δὲ τοὺς τὸ τῆς οἰκονομίας παραφθεῖρειν ἐπιχειροῦντας μυστήριον καὶ ψιλὸν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου τεχθέντα Μαρίας ἀναιδῶς ληρωδοῦντας τὰς τοῦ μακαρίου Κυρίλλου τοῦ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίας γενομένου ποιμένος συνοδικῆς ἐπιστολᾶς πρὸς τὸν Νεστόριον<sup>1</sup> καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τῆς Ἀνατολῆς<sup>2</sup> ἀρμοδίας οὐσας ἐδέξατο εἰς ἔλεγχον μὲν τῆς Νεστορίου φρενοβλαβείας, ἐρμηνείαν δὲ τῶν εὐσεβεῖ ζήλω τοῦ σωτηρίου συμβόλου ποθοῦντων τὴν ἔννοιαν, αἷς καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ τῆς μεγίστης καὶ πρεσβυτέρως Ῥώμης προέδρου τοῦ μακαριωτάτου καὶ ἁγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Λέοντος, τὴν γραφεῖσαν πρὸς τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Φλαβιανὸν ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει τῆς Εὐτυχοῦς κακονοίας<sup>3</sup>, ἅτε δὴ τῆ τοῦ μεγάλου Πέτρου ὁμολογία συμβαίνουσιν καὶ κοινήν τινα στήλην ὑπάρχουσιν, κατὰ τῶν κακοδοξούντων εἰκότως συνήρμοσε πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὀρθῶν δογμάτων βεβαίωσιν. Τοῖς τε γὰρ εἰς υἱῶν δυάδα τὸ τῆς οἰκονομίας διασπᾶν ἐπιχειροῦσι μυστήριον παρα-

<sup>1</sup> Est epistula secunda, vide supra p. 40-44.

<sup>2</sup> Est epistula ad Ioannem Antiochenum de pace, vide supra p. 70-74.

<sup>3</sup> Est Tomus ad Flavianum, vide supra p. 77-82.

Therefore this sacred and great and universal synod, now in session, in its desire to exclude all their tricks against the truth, and teaching what has been unshakeable in the proclamation from the beginning, decrees that the creed of the 318 fathers is, above all else, to remain inviolate. And because of those who oppose the holy Spirit, it ratifies the teaching about the being of the holy Spirit handed down by the 150 saintly fathers who met some time later in the imperial city — the teaching they made known to all, not introducing anything left out by their predecessors, but clarifying their ideas about the holy Spirit by the use of scriptural testimonies against those who were trying to do away with his sovereignty.

And because of those who are attempting to corrupt the mystery of the economy and are shamelessly and foolishly asserting that he who was born of the holy virgin Mary was a mere man, it has accepted the synodical letters of the blessed Cyril, pastor of the church in Alexandria, to Nestorius<sup>1</sup> and to the Orientals<sup>2</sup>, as being well-suited to refuting Nestorius's mad folly and to providing an interpretation for those who in their religious zeal might desire understanding of the saving creed.

To these it has suitably added, against false believers and for the establishment of orthodox doctrines, the letter of the primate of greatest and older Rome, the most blessed and most saintly Archbishop Leo, written to the sainted Archbishop Flavian to put down Eutyches's evil-mindedness<sup>3</sup>, because it is in agreement with great Peter's confession and represents a support we have in common.

It is opposed to those who attempt to tear apart the mystery of the economy into a duality of sons; and it expels from the assembly of the priests those who

<sup>1</sup> The second letter, see above pp. 40-44.

<sup>2</sup> The letter to John of Antioch about peace, see above pp. 70-74.

<sup>3</sup> The Tome (or Letter) to Flavian, see above pp. 77-82.

ῥάττεται καὶ τοὺς παθητὴν τοῦ  
μονογενοῦς λέγειν τολμῶντας τὴν  
θεότητα τοῦ τῶν ἱερέων ἀπωθεῖται  
συλλόγου, καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν δύο φύσεων  
5 τοῦ Χριστοῦ κραῖσιν ἢ σύγχυσιν ἐπι-  
νοοῦσιν ἀνθίσταται καὶ τοὺς οὐρά-  
νιον ἢ ἐτέρας τινὸς ὑπάρχειν οὐσίας  
τὴν ἐξ ἡμῶν ληφθεῖσαν αὐτῷ τοῦ  
δοῦλου μορφῆν παραπαίοντας ἐξ-  
10 ελαύνει, καὶ τοὺς δύο μὲν πρὸ τῆς  
ἐνώσεως φύσεις τοῦ κυρίου μυθεύον-  
τας, μίαν δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν ἀναπλάτ-  
τοντας ἀναθεματίζει.

Ἐπόμενοι τοίνυν τοῖς ἀγίοις πα-  
15 τράσι, ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμολογεῖν  
υἱὸν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν  
συμφώνως ἅπαντες ἐκδιδάσκομεν,  
τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν θεότητι καὶ τέλει-  
ον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι, θεὸν  
20 ἀληθῶς καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἀληθῶς τὸν  
αὐτὸν, ἐκ ψυχῆς λογικῆς καὶ σώματος,  
ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν  
θεότητα καὶ ὁμοούσιον ἡμῖν τὸν  
αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, κατὰ  
25 πάντα ὅμοιον ἡμῖν χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας<sup>1</sup>,  
πρὸ αἰώνων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννη-  
θέντα κατὰ τὴν θεότητα, ἐπ' ἐσχάτων  
δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν τὸν αὐτὸν δι' ἡμᾶς  
καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν ἐκ  
30 Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου τῆς θεοτόκου  
κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα ἓνα καὶ τὸν  
αὐτὸν Χριστὸν υἱὸν κύριον μονο-  
γενῆ, ἐν δύο φύσεσιν ἀσυγχύτως,  
ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως  
35 γνωριζόμενον, οὐδαμοῦ τῆς τῶν  
φύσεων διαφορᾶς ἀνηρημένης διὰ  
τὴν ἔνωσιν, σφριζομένης δὲ μᾶλλον  
τῆς ιδιότητος ἐκατέρας φύσεως καὶ  
εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν  
40 συντρεχούσης, οὐκ εἰς δύο πρόσωπα  
μεριζομένου ἢ διαιρουμένου, ἀλλ'  
ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν υἱὸν μονογενῆ  
θεὸν λόγον κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,  
καθάπερ ἄνωθεν οἱ προφῆται περὶ  
45 αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς Ἰησοῦς

et illos qui passibilem deitatem  
Unigeniti ausi sunt dicere, a sacro  
coetu expellit et his qui in duabus  
naturis Christi temperamentum aut  
confusionem exquirunt, resistit et  
eos qui caelestem aut alterius ali-  
cuius esse substantiae dicunt quam  
ex nobis assumpsit servi formam,  
ut dementes abigit et qui duas quid-  
dem ante unionem naturas Domini  
fabulantur, unam vero post unionem  
confingunt, anathematizat.

Sequentes igitur sanctos patres  
unum eundemque confiteri Filium  
dominum nostrum Iesum Christum  
consonanter omnes docemus eun-  
dem perfectum in deitate, eundem  
perfectum in humanitate, Deum vere  
et hominem vere eundem ex anima  
rationali et corpore, consubstantialem  
Patri secundum deitatem et  
consubstantialem nobis eundem se-  
cundum humanitatem, per omnia  
nobis similem absque peccato<sup>1</sup>, ante  
saecula quidem de Patre genitum  
secundum deitatem, in novissimis  
autem diebus eundem propter nos  
et propter salutem nostram ex Ma-  
ria virgine Dei genetrice secundum  
humanitatem, unum eundemque  
Christum Filium dominum unigeni-  
tum, in duabus naturis inconfuse,  
immutabiliter, indivise, inseparabi-  
liter agnoscendum, nusquam sub-  
lata differentia naturarum propter  
unionem magisque salva proprie-  
tate utriusque naturae et in unam  
personam atque subsistentiam con-  
currente, non in duas personas  
partitum sive divisum, sed unum et  
eundem Filium unigenitum Deum  
Verbum dominum Iesum Christum,  
sicut ante prophetae de eo  
et ipse nos Iesus Christus eru-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Heb 4, 15.

dare to say that the divinity of the Only-begotten is possible; and it stands opposed to those who imagine a mixture or confusion between the two natures of Christ; and it expels those who have the mad idea that the servant-form he took from us is of a heavenly or some other kind of being; and it anathematizes those who concoct two natures of the Lord before the union but imagine a single one after the union.

So, following the saintly fathers, we all with one voice teach the confession of one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ: the same perfect in divinity and perfect in humanity, the same truly God and truly man, of a rational soul and a body; consubstantial with the Father as regards his divinity, and the same consubstantial with us as regards his humanity; like us in all respects except for sin<sup>1</sup>; begotten before the ages from the Father as regards his divinity, and in the last days the same for us and for our salvation from Mary, the virgin God-bearer, as regards his humanity; one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, only-begotten, acknowledged in two natures which undergo no confusion, no change, no division, no separation; at no point was the difference between the natures taken away through the union, but rather the property of both natures is preserved and comes together into a single person and a single subsistent being; he is not parted or divided into two persons, but is one and the same only-begotten Son, God, Word, Lord Jesus Christ, just as the prophets taught from the beginning

<sup>1</sup> See Heb 4, 15.

Χριστὸς ἐξεπαίδευσεν, καὶ τὸ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν παραδέδωκε σύμβολον.

Τούτων τοίνυν μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας τε καὶ ἐμμελείας παρ' ἡμῶν διατυπωθέντων, ὥρισεν ἡ ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος ἑτέραν πίστιν μηδενὶ ἐξεῖναι προφέρειν ἢ γοῦν συγγράφειν ἢ συντιθέναι, ἢ φρονεῖν ἢ διδάσκειν ἑτέρως· τοὺς δὲ τολμῶντας ἢ συντιθέναι πίστιν ἑτέραν ἢ γοῦν προκομίζειν ἢ διδάσκειν, ἢ παραδιδόναι ἕτερον σύμβολον τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐπιστρέφειν εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐξ ἑλληνισμοῦ ἢ ἐξ ἰουδαϊσμοῦ ἢ γοῦν ἐξ αἰρέσεως οἰασθηποτοῦν, τούτους εἰ μὲν εἶεν ἐπίσκοποι ἢ κληρικοί, ἄλλοτρίους εἶναι τοὺς ἐπισκόπους τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς καὶ τοὺς κληρικούς τοῦ κλήρου· εἰ δὲ μονάζοντες ἢ λαϊκοὶ εἶεν, ἀναθεματίζεσθαι.

## KANONES

## A

Περὶ τοῦ ἐκάστης συνόδου τοῦς κανόνας ἀπαρασαλεύτως φυλάττεσθαι

Τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων καθ' ἐκάστην σύνοδον ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐκτεθέντας κανόνας κρατεῖν ἐδικαιώσαμεν.

## B

Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ἐπὶ χρήμασι χειροτονεῖν<sup>1</sup>

Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἐπὶ χρήμασι χειροτονίαν ποιήσῃ καὶ εἰς πᾶσιν καταγάγῃ τὴν ἀπρατον χάριν, καὶ χειροτονήσῃ ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἐπίσκοπον ἢ χωρεπίσκοπον ἢ πρεσβύτερον ἢ διάκονον ἢ ἕτερόν τινα τῶν ἐν τῷ

divit et patrum nobis symbolum tradidit.

His igitur cum omni undique scrupulositate et diligentia a nobis dispositis definivit sancta et universalis synodus alteram fidem nulli licere proferre vel conscribere aut componere aut sentire aut docere aliter; eos autem qui ausi sunt aut componere fidem alteram aut certe proferre aut docere aut tradere alterum symbolum volentibus vel ex gentilitate ad agnitionem veritatis vel ex Iudaeis vel ex haeresi quacumque converti, hos, si episcopi fuerint aut clerici, alienos esse episcopos ab episcopatu et clericos a clero, si vero monachi aut laici fuerint, anathematizari.

## CANONES

## I

*Ut sanctorum patrum regulae inlibate serventur*

Regulas sanctorum patrum per singula nunc usque concilia constitutas proprium robor obtinere decrevimus.

## II

*Ut nullus episcopus per pecunias ordinetur<sup>1</sup>*

Si quis episcopus ob pecuniam fecerit ordinationem et sub pretio redegerit gratiam, quae non potest vendari, ordinaveritque per pecunias episcopum aut presbyterum seu diaconum vel quemlibet ex his, qui

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Can. ap. 29-30 (CSP 21); conc. Laod. (325/381), c. 12 (CSP 135); Basilius Caes., c. 90 (CPG 175-178).

about him, and as the Lord Jesus Christ himself instructed us, and as the creed of the fathers handed it down to us.

Since we have formulated these things with all possible accuracy and attention, the sacred and universal synod decreed that no one is permitted to produce, or even to write down or compose, any other creed or to think or teach otherwise. As for those who dare either to compose another creed or even to promulgate or teach or hand down another creed for those who wish to convert to a recognition of the truth from Hellenism or from Judaism, or from any kind of heresy at all: if they be bishops or clerics, the bishops are to be deposed from the episcopacy and the clerics from the clergy; if they be monks or layfolk, they are to be anathematised.

## CANONS

## 1

*On keeping the canons of each and every synod inviolate*

We have deemed it right that the canons hitherto issued by the saintly fathers at each and every synod should remain in force.

## 2

*Against performing ordinations for money<sup>1</sup>*

If any bishop performs an ordination for money and puts the unsaleable grace on sale, and ordains for money a bishop, a chorepiscopus, a presbyter or a deacon or some other of those numbered among the clergy; or appoints a

<sup>1</sup> See Apostolic canons 29-30 (CSP 21; trans. Percival 595); council of Laodicea (325/381), canon 12 (CSP 135; trans. Percival 131); Basil of Caesarea, canon 90/91 (CPG 175-178; trans. Percival 610).

κλήρω καταριθμουμένων, ἢ προβά-  
λουτο ἐπὶ χρήμασιν οἰκονόμον ἢ  
ἐκδικον ἢ παραμονάριον ἢ ὅπως τινὰ  
τοῦ κανόνος δι' αἰσχροκέρδειαν οἰ-  
5 κείαν, ὁ τοῦτο ἐπιχειρήσας ἐλεγ-  
χθεὶς κινδυνεύεται εἰς τὸν οἰκείον  
βαθμόν· καὶ ὁ χειροτονούμενος μηδὲν  
ἐκ τῆς κατ' ἐμπορίαν ὠφελείσθω  
χειροτονίας ἢ προβολῆς, ἀλλ' ἔστω  
10 ἀλλότριος τῆς ἀξίας ἢ τοῦ φροντί-  
σματος, οὐπερ ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἔτυχεν.  
Εἰ δέ τις καὶ μεσιτεῶν φανείη τοῖς  
οὕτως αἰσχροῖς καὶ ἀθεμίτοις λήμ-  
μασι, καὶ οὗτος, εἰ μὲν κληρικὸς  
15 εἴη, τοῦ οἰκείου ἐκπιπέτω βαθμοῦ,  
εἰ δὲ λαϊκὸς ἢ μοναχός, ἀναθεμα-  
τιζέσθω.

## Γ

Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν κληρικὸν ἢ μοναχὸν  
ἀλλοτρίων φροντίζειν πραγμάτων<sup>1</sup>

20 Ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν σύνοδον ὅτι  
τῶν ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ κατελεγεμένων  
τινὲς δι' αἰσχροκέρδειαν ἀλλοτρίων  
κτημάτων γίνονται μισθωταὶ καὶ  
πράγματα κοσμικὰ ἐργολαμβάνουσι,  
25 τῆς μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ λειτουργίας κατα-  
ραθυμοῦντες, τοὺς δὲ τῶν κοσμικῶν  
ὑποτρέχοντες οἴκους καὶ οὐσιῶν χει-  
ρισμοὺς ἀναδεχόμενοι διὰ φιλαργυ-  
ρίαν. Ὡρισεν τοίνυν ἡ ἁγία καὶ με-  
30 γάλη σύνοδος μηδένα τοῦ λοιποῦ,  
μὴ ἐπίσκοπον μὴ κληρικὸν μὴ μο-  
νάζοντα, ἢ μισθοῦσθαι κτήματα ἢ  
πραγμάτων κοσμικῶν παρεισάγειν  
ἑαυτὸν διοικητήν, πλὴν εἰ μήπου ἐκ  
35 νόμων καλοῖτο εἰς ἀφελίκων ἀπα-  
ραίτητον ἐπιτροπήν, ἢ ὁ τῆς πόλεως  
ἐπίσκοπος ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἐπιτρέ-  
ψοι φροντίζειν πραγμάτων, ἢ ὄρφαν-  
ῶν καὶ χηρῶν ἀπρονοήτων καὶ τῶν  
40 προσώπων τῶν μάλιστα τῆς ἐκκλη-  
σιαστικῆς δεομένων βοηθείας, διὰ  
τὸν φόβον τοῦ κυρίου. Εἰ δέ τις

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Can. ap. 6, 81, 83 (CSP 11, 49, 50); conc. Carth. (419), c. 16 (CSP 230).

manager, a legal officer or a warden for money, or any other ecclesiastic at all for personal sordid gain; led him who has attempted this and been convicted stand to lose his personal rank; and let the person ordained profit nothing from the ordination or appointment he has bought; but let him be removed from the dignity or responsibility which he got for money. And if anyone appears to have acted even as a go-between in such disgraceful and unlawful dealings, let him too, if he is a cleric, be demoted from his personal rank, and if he is a lay person or a monk, let him be anathematised.

## 3

*Against a cleric or a monk concerning himself with other people's business<sup>1</sup>*

It has come to the notice of the sacred synod that some of those enrolled in the clergy are, for sordid gain, acting as hired managers of other people's property, and are involving themselves in worldly business, neglecting the service of God, frequenting the houses of worldly persons and taking over the handling of property out of avarice. So the sacred and great synod has decreed that in future no one, whether a bishop, a cleric or a monk, should either manage property or involve himself as an administrator of worldly business, unless he is legally and unavoidably summoned to take care of minors, or the local bishop appoints him to attend, out of fear of the Lord, to ecclesiastical business or to orphans and unprovided widows and persons in special need of ecclesiastical support. If in

<sup>1</sup> See Apostolic canons 6, 81, 83 (CSP 11, 49, 50; trans. Percival 594, 599); council of Carthage (419), canon 16 (CSP 230; trans. Percival 450).

connumerantur in clero, aut promo-  
verit per pecunias dispensatorem aut  
defensorem vel quemquam, qui sub-  
iectus est regulae, pro suo turpissi-  
mi lucri commodo: is, cui hoc ad-  
temptanti probatum fuerit, proprii  
gradus periculo subiacebit, et qui  
ordinatus est, nihil ex hac ordina-  
tione vel promotione, quae est per  
negotiationem facta, proficiat. Sed  
sit alienus ea dignitate vel sollicitu-  
dine, quam per pecunias adquisivit.  
Si quis vero mediator tam turpibus  
et nefandis datis vel acceptis exstite-  
rit, si quidem clericus fuerit, proprio  
gradu decidat, si vero laicus aut  
monachus anathematizetur.

## III

*Ut nullus episcopus aut clericus aut  
monachus conductor exsistat<sup>1</sup>*

Pervenit ad sanctam synodum, quod  
quidam qui in clero videntur allecti,  
propter lucra turpia conductores  
alienarum possessionum fiant et  
saecularia negotia sub cura sua sus-  
cipiant, Dei quidem ministerium  
parvipendentes, saecularium vero  
discurrentes domos, propter avari-  
tiam patrimoniorum sollicitudines  
assumentes. Decrevit itaque sanc-  
tum hoc magnumque concilium,  
nullum deinceps, non episcopum  
non clericum vel monachum, aut  
possessiones conducere aut negotiis  
saecularibus sese miscere, praeter  
pupillorum, si forte curam inexcu-  
sabilem leges inponant, aut civitatis  
episcopus ecclesiasticarum rerum  
sollicitudinem habere praecipiat, aut  
orphanorum et viduarum earumque,  
quae sine ulla provisione sunt, per-  
sonarum, quae maxime ecclesiastico  
indigent adiutorio, propter timo-

παραβαίνειν τὰ ὠρισμένα τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐπιχειρήσοι, ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ὑποκεισθῶ ἐπιτιμίοις.

## Δ

Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν μοναχοὺς ποιεῖν τι παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου ἢ συνιστᾶν μοναστήριον, μῆτε κοσμικὰς ἀναδέχεσθαι φροντίδας<sup>1</sup>

Οἱ ἀληθινῶς καὶ εὐκρινῶς τὸν μονήρη μεινόντες βίον τῆς προσηκούσης ἀξιούσθωσαν τιμῆς. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τινες τῷ μοναχικῷ κερημένοι προσήματι, τὰς τε ἐκκλησίας καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ ταρασσοῦσι πράγματα, περιόντες ἀδιαφόρως ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ μοναστήρια ἑαυτοῖς συνιστᾶν ἐπιτηδεύοντες, ἔδοξε μηδένα μηδαμοῦ οἰκοδομεῖν μηδὲ συνιστᾶν μοναστήριον ἢ εὐκτήριο οἶκον παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκόπου. Τοὺς δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν καὶ χώραν μονάζοντας ὑποτετάχθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀσπάζεσθαι, καὶ προσέχειν μόνῃ τῇ νηστείᾳ καὶ τῇ προσευχῇ, ἐν οἷς τόποις ἀπετάξαντο προσκαρτεροῦντες, μῆτε δὲ ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς μῆτε βιωτικοῖς παρενοχλεῖν πράγμασιν ἢ ἐπικοινωνεῖν, καταλιμπάνοντες τὰ ἴδια μοναστήρια, εἰ μὴ ποτε ἄρα ἐπιτραποῖεν διὰ χρεῖαν ἀναγκαίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκόπου. Μηδένα δὲ προσδέχεσθαι ἐν τοῖς μοναστηρίοις δοῦλον ἐπὶ τὸ μονάσαι παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἰδίου δεσπότη. Τὸν δὲ παραβαίνοντα τοῦτον ἡμῶν τὸν ὅρον ὠρίσαμεν ἀκοινωνήτον εἶναι, ἵνα μὴ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ βλασφημηῖται<sup>2</sup>. Τὸν μέντοι ἐπίσκοπον τῆς πόλεως χρὴ τὴν δέουσαν πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι τῶν μοναστηρίων.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Can. ap. 82 (CSP 49); conc. Gangr. (ca 340), c. 3 (CSP 80); conc. Carth. (419), cc. 64, 82 (CSP 301, 322).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rm 2, 24; 1 Tm 6, 1.

rem Domini causa deponat. Si quis autem transgredi de cetero statuta temptaverit, huiusmodi ecclesiasticis increpationibus subiacebit.

## IV

*De honore monachorum, et ut nullis se actibus vel ecclesiasticis vel saecularibus miscant, nec alienum servum praeter conscientiam domini sui recipiant*<sup>1</sup>

Qui vere et sincere singularem sectantur vitam, competenti honore digni habeantur. Quoniam vero quidam utentes habitu monachi ecclesiastica negotia civiliaque conturbent, circumeuntes indifferenter urbes necnon et monasteria sibi instituire praesumentes, placuit nullum quidem usquam aedificare aut constituere monasterium vel oratorii domum praeter conscientiam civitatis episcopi. Monachos vero per unamquamque civitatem aut regionem subiectos esse episcopo et quietem diligere et intentos esse tantummodo ieiunio et orationi, in locis, quibus renuntiaverunt saeculo, permanentes. Nec ecclesiasticis vero nec saecularibus negotiis communicent, vel in aliquo sint molesti propria monasteria deserentes, nisi forte his praecipiat propter opus necessarium ab episcopo civitatis. Nullum vero recipere in monasteriis servum obtentu monachi, praeter sui domini conscientiam. Transgredientem vero hanc definitionem nostram, excommunicatum esse decrevimus, ne nomen Dei blasphemetur<sup>2</sup>. Verum tamen episcopum convenit civitatis competentem monasteriorum providentiam gerere.

future anyone attempts to transgress these decrees, he must be subject to ecclesiastical penalties.

## 4

*Against monks doing anything against the will of their own bishop, or founding a monastery, or taking on worldly concerns*<sup>1</sup>

Those who truly and sincerely live the monastic life should be accorded appropriate recognition. But since there are some who don the monastic habit and meddle with the churches and in civil matters, and circulate indiscriminately in the cities and even are involved in founding monasteries for themselves, it has been decided that no one is to build or found a monastery or oratory anywhere against the will of the local bishop; and that monks of each city and region are to be subject to the bishop, are to foster peace and quiet, and attend solely to fasting and prayer, staying set apart in their places. They are not to abandon their own monasteries and interfere, or take part, in ecclesiastical or secular business, unless they are perhaps assigned to do so by the local bishop because of some urgent necessity. No slave is to be taken into the monasteries to become a monk against the will of his own master. We have decreed that anyone who transgresses this decision of ours is to be excommunicated, lest God's name be blasphemed<sup>2</sup>. However, it is for the local bishop to exercise the care and attention that the monasteries need.

<sup>1</sup> See Apostolic canons 82 (CSP 49; trans. Percival 599); council of Gangra (about 340), canon 3 (CSP 80; trans. Percival 93); council of Carthage (419), canons 64, 82 (CSP 301, 322; trans. Percival 474, 482).

<sup>2</sup> See Rm 2, 24; 1 Tm 6, 1.

## E

Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ἀπὸ ἐκκλησίας  
ἐτέρας εἰς ἐτέραν μετατίθεσθαι  
κληρικόν<sup>1</sup>

Περὶ τῶν μεταβαίνόντων ἀπὸ πό-  
λεως εἰς πόλιν ἐπισκόπων ἢ κληρι-  
κῶν ἔδοξε τοὺς περὶ τούτων τεθέν-  
τας κανόνας παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέ-  
ρων τὴν ἰδίαν ἔχειν ἰσχύν.

## Σ

Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ἀπολελυμένως  
χειροτονεῖσθαι τινὰ τῶν κληρικῶν<sup>2</sup>

Μηδὲνα ἀπολελυμένως χειροτονεῖ-  
σθαι, μήτε πρεσβύτερον, μήτε διά-  
κονον, μήτε ὅλως τινὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ  
ἐκκλησιαστικῷ τάγματι, εἰ μὴ ἰδι-  
κῶς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πόλεως ἢ κόμης ἢ  
μαρτυρίῳ ἢ μοναστηρίῳ ὁ χειροτο-  
νούμενος ἐπικηρύττειτο. Τοὺς δὲ ἀ-  
πολύτως χειροτονουμένους ὥρισεν  
ἢ ἁγία σύνοδος ἄκυρον ἔχειν τὴν  
τοιαύτην χειροθεσίαν καὶ μηδαμοῦ  
δύνασθαι ἐνεργεῖν, ἐφ' ὕβρει τοῦ χει-  
ροτονήσαντος.

## Ζ

Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν κληρικούς ἢ μονα-  
χοὺς γίνεσθαι κοσμικούς<sup>3</sup>

Τοὺς ἅπαξ ἐν κλήρῳ τεταγμένους  
ἢ μονάσαντας ὥρισαμεν μήτε ἐπὶ  
στρατείαν μήτε ἐπὶ ἀξίαν κοσμικὴν  
ἔρχεσθαι, ἢ τοὺς τοῦτο τολμήσαντας  
καὶ μὴ μεταμελουμένους, ὥστε ἐπι-  
στρέψαι ἐπὶ τοῦτο, ὃ διὰ θεὸν πρό-  
τερον εἴλοντο, ἀναθεματίζεσθαι.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. conc. Nic., cc. 15, 16 (v. supra p. 13); Can. ap. 14, 15 (CSP 14-15); conc. Antioch. (341), cc. 3, 16, 21 (CSP 106-107, 117, 121); conc. Sard. (342/343), cc. 1, 2, 15, 16, 19 (CSP 159-161, 182-183, 185); conc. Carth. (419), cc. 48, 54, 90 (CSP 265-266, 277-279, 334).

<sup>2</sup> Conc. Neocaes. (315/324), c. 13 (CSP 81).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. c. 3 (v. supra p. 88); Can. ap. 6, 81, 83 (CSP 11, 49-50); conc. Carth. (419), c. 16 (CSP 230-231).

## V

*De episcopis vel clericis, ut de civitate  
ad civitatem non transeant<sup>1</sup>*

De his, qui transmigrant de civitate  
in civitatem episcopis aut clericis,  
placuit ut canones, qui de hac re  
a sanctis patribus statuti sunt, habe-  
ant propriam firmitatem.

## VI

*Ut nullum absolute liceat ordinari<sup>2</sup>*

Nullum absolute ordinari debere  
presbyterum aut diaconum nec  
quemlibet in gradu ecclesiastico,  
nisi specialiter ecclesiae civitatis aut  
possessionis aut martyrii aut mona-  
sterii qui ordinandus est pronuntietur.  
Qui vero absolute ordinantur,  
decrevit sancta synodus, irritam  
esse huiusmodi modi manus inpositio-  
nem, et nusquam posse ministrare,  
ad ordinantis iniuriam.

## VII

*Ut si quis clericum vel monachum se professus ad  
saeculum redierit, anathematizetur<sup>3</sup>*

Qui semel in clero deputati sunt aut  
monachorum vitam expetiverunt,  
statuimus, neque ad militiam neque  
ad dignitatem aliquam venire mun-  
danam aut, hoc temptantes et non  
agentes poenitentiam, ut redeant ad  
hoc, quod propter Deum prius ele-  
gerunt, anathematizari.

## 5

*Against the transfer of a cleric from one church to another<sup>1</sup>*

In the matter of bishops or clerics who move from city to city, it has been decided that the canons issued by the holy fathers concerning them should retain their proper force.

## 6

*Against the ordination of any cleric without title<sup>2</sup>*

No one, whether presbyter or deacon or anyone at all who belongs to the ecclesiastical order, is to be ordained without title, unless the one ordained is specially assigned to a city or village church or to a martyr's shrine or a monastery. The sacred synod has decreed that the ordination of those ordained without title is null, and that they cannot operate anywhere, because of the presumption of the one who ordained them.

## 7

*Against clerics or monks returning to the world<sup>3</sup>*

We decree that those who have once joined the ranks of the clergy or have become monks are not to depart on military service or for secular office. Those who dare do this, and do not repent and return to what, in God, they previously chose, are to be anathematised.

<sup>1</sup> See council of Nicaea, canons 15, 16 (see above p. 13); Apostolic canons 14, 15 (CSP 14-15; trans. Percival 594); council of Antioch (341), canons 3, 16, 21 (CSP 106-107, 117, 121; trans. Percival 109, 116, 118-119); council of Sardica (342/343), canons 1, 2, 15, 16, 19 (CSP 159-161, 182-183, 185; trans. Percival 415-416, 429-432); council of Carthage (419), canons 48, 54, 90 (CSP 265-266, 277-279, 334; trans. Percival 464, 468, 485).

<sup>2</sup> Council of Neocaesarea (315/324), canon 13 (CSP 81; trans. Percival 85).

<sup>3</sup> See canon 3 (see above p. 88); Apostolic canons 6, 81, 83 (CSP 11, 49-50; trans. Percival 594, 597); council of Carthage (419), canon 16 (CSP 230-231; trans. Percival 450).

## H

Περὶ τοῦ δεῖν τὰ πτωχεῖα καὶ μαρ-  
τυρεῖα καὶ μοναστήρια ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπί-  
σκοπον εἶναι

Οἱ κληρικοὶ τῶν πτωχείων καὶ μο-  
ναστηρίων καὶ μαρτυρίων ὑπὸ τὴν  
ἐξουσίαν τῶν ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει ἐπι-  
σκόπων κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἁγίων πατέ-  
ρων παράδοσιν διαμενέτωσαν καὶ μὴ  
κατὰ ἀθάδεια ἀφηνιάτωσαν τοῦ  
ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου. Οἱ δὲ τολμῶντες  
ἀνατρέπειν τὴν τοιαύτην διατύπωσιν  
καθ' οἰονδήποτε τρόπον καὶ μὴ ὑπο-  
τασσόμενοι τῷ ἰδίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ, εἰ  
μὲν εἶεν κληρικοί, τοῖς τῶν κανόνων  
ὑποκείσθωσαν ἐπιτιμίαις, εἰ δὲ μο-  
ναζόντες ἢ λαϊκοί, ἔστωσαν ἀκοι-  
νήνητοι.

## Θ

Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν κληρικούς εἰς κο-  
σμικὸν ἀπιέναι δικαστήριον, ἀλλὰ  
παρὰ τῷ ἰδίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ δικάζεσθαι<sup>1</sup>

Εἰ τις κληρικός πρὸς κληρικὸν πρᾶγ-  
μα ἔχοι, μὴ καταλιμπανέτω τὸν  
οἰκεῖον ἐπίσκοπον καὶ ἐπὶ κοσμικὰ  
δικαστήρια κατατρέχέτω, ἀλλὰ πρό-  
τερον τὴν ὑπόθεσιν γυμναζέτω παρὰ  
τῷ οἰκείῳ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἢ γοῦν γνώμη  
αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, παρ' οἷς ἂν  
τὰ ἀμφοτέρω μέρη βούλωνται, τὰ  
τῆς δίκης συγκροτεῖσθαι· εἰ δὲ τις  
παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσῃ, κανονικοῖς  
ἐπιτιμίαις ὑποκείσθω. Εἰ δὲ κληρικός  
πρᾶγμα ἔχοι πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον ἢ καὶ  
πρὸς ἕτερον ἐπίσκοπον, παρὰ τῇ  
συνόδῳ τῆς ἐπαρχίας δικάζεσθω. Εἰ  
δὲ πρὸς τὸν τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπαρχίας μη-  
τροπολίτην ἐπίσκοπος ἢ κληρικός  
ἀμφισβητοῖ, καταλαμβανέτω ἢ τὸν  
ἐξαρχὸν τῆς διοικήσεως ἢ τὸν τῆς  
βασιλευούσης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως  
θρόνον, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν δικάζεσθω.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. conc. Constantin. I, c. 6 (v. supra pp. 33-34); Can. ap. 74 (CSP 45); conc. Antioch. (341), cc. 14, 15 (CSP 115-116); conc. Carth. (419), cc. 8, 12, 15, 19, 20, 28, 79, 87, 96, 104, 107, 125, 128-130 (CSP 221, 225, 228, 234-237, 243, 320, 332, 360, 369, 373, 396, 402-404).

## VIII

*De clericis vel dispensatoribus pauperum vel mo-  
nasteriorum, ut sub episcopi sui potestate per-  
maneant*

Clerici, qui praeficiuntur ptochiis  
vel qui ordinantur in monasteriis et  
basilicis martyrum, sub episcopo-  
rum, qui in unaquaque civitate sunt  
secundum sanctorum patrum tradi-  
tiones, potestate permaneant, nec  
per contumaciam ab episcopo suo  
dissiliant. Qui vero audent evertere  
huiusmodi formam quocumque mo-  
do nec proprio subiciuntur episco-  
po, si quidem clerici sint, canonum  
correctionibus subiacebunt, si vero  
laici vel monachi fuerint, commu-  
nitione priverunt.

## IX

*Ut clerici inter se configentes adeant episcopum  
proprium et saecularia iudicia non requirant<sup>1</sup>*

Si quis clericus adversum clericum  
habet negotium, non deserat episco-  
pum proprium et ad saecularia per-  
currat iudicia, sed prius actio venti-  
letur apud episcopum proprium vel  
certe consilio eiusdem episcopi, a-  
pud quos utraeque partes voluerint,  
iudicium continebunt. Si quis au-  
tem praeter haec fecerit, canonicis  
correctionibus subiacebit. Quod si  
clericus habet causam adversus epi-  
scopum proprium vel adversus alte-  
rum, apud synodum provinciae iu-  
dicetur. Quod si adversus eiusdem  
provinciae metropolitanum episco-  
pus vel clericus habet querelam,  
petat primatatem dioeceseos aut se-  
dem regiae urbis Constantinopolis  
et apud ipsam iudicetur.

40

## 8

*That almshouses, martyrs' shrines and monasteries are to be subject to the bishop*

Clerics in charge of almshouses and monasteries and martyrs' shrines are, in accordance with the tradition of the holy fathers, to remain under the jurisdiction of the bishop in each city. They are not to be self-willed and rebellious towards their own bishop. Those who dare to break a rule of this kind in any way whatever, and are not obedient to their own bishop, are, if they are clerics, to be subject to the canonical penalties; and if they are monks or layfolk they are to be made excommunicate.

## 9

*Against clerics going to a secular court; they are to bring the case before their own bishop<sup>1</sup>*

If any cleric has a case to bring against a cleric, let him not leave his own bishop and take himself off to the secular courts, but let him first air the problem before his own bishop, or at least, with the permission of the bishop himself, before those whom both parties are willing to see act as arbiters of their lawsuit. If anyone acts in a contrary fashion, let him be subject to canonical penalties. If a cleric has a case to bring either against his own or against another bishop, let him bring the case to the synod of the province. If a bishop or a cleric is in dispute with the metropolitan of the same province, let him engage either the exarch of the diocese or the see of imperial Constantinople, and let him bring his case before him.

<sup>1</sup> See council of Constantinople I, canon 6 (see above pp. 33-34); Apostolic canons 74 (CSP 45; trans. Percival 599); council of Antioch (341), canons 14, 15 (CSP 115-116; trans. Percival 115); council of Carthage (419), canons 8, 12, 15, 19, 20, 28, 79, 87, 96, 104, 107, 125, 128-130 (CSP 221, 225, 228, 234-237, 243, 320, 332, 360, 369, 373, 396, 402-404; trans. Percival 446, 448-449, 451-452, 456, 481, 484, 491, 494-496, 502, 504-505).

## I

Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν κληρικὸν ἐν δύο πόλεωσιν ἐκκλησίαις κατατάττεσθαι<sup>1</sup>

Μὴ ἐξεῖναι κληρικὸν ἐν δύο πόλεωσιν κατὰ ταῦτόν κατατάττεσθαι ἐκκλησίαις, ἐν ἣ τε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐχειροτονήθη καὶ ἐν ἣ προσέφυγεν, ὡς μεῖζονι δῆθεν, διὰ δόξης κενῆς ἐπιθυμίαν· τοὺς δὲ γε τοῦτο ποιοῦντας ἀποκαθιστᾶν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐν ἣ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐχειροτονήθησαν, καὶ ἐκεῖ μόνον λειτουργεῖν. Εἰ μέντοι ἤδη τινὲς μετηνέχθησαν ἐξ ἄλλης εἰς ἄλλην ἐκκλησίαν, μὴδὲν τοῖς τῆς προτέρας ἐκκλησίας, ἢτοι τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῇ μαρτυρίων ἢ πτωχείων ἢ ξενοδοχείων, ἐπικοινωνεῖν πράγμασι. Τοὺς δὲ τολμῶντας μετὰ τὸν ὄρον τοῦτον τῆς μεγάλης καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς ταύτης συνόδου πράττειν τι τῶν νῦν ἀπηγορευμένων, ὥρισεν ἡ ἅγια σύνοδος ἐκπίπτειν τοῦ οἰκείου βαθμοῦ.

## IA

Περὶ τοῦ εἰρηνικοῦ γράμμασι τοὺς δεομένους ἐπικουρίας ἐφοδιάζεσθαι, αἱ γὰρ συστατικαὶ τοῖς ἐν ὑπολήψει δίδονται<sup>2</sup>

Πάντας τοὺς πένητας καὶ δεομένους ἐπικουρίας μετὰ δοκιμασίας ἐπιστολῶν ἤγουν εἰρηνικοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ μόνου ὀδεύειν ὥρισάμεν καὶ μὴ συστατικοῦ, διὰ τὸ τὰς συστατικὰς ἐπιστολάς προσήκειν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν ὑπολήψει μόνου παρέχεσθαι προσώποις.

<sup>a</sup> ἐν ὑπολ. in suspicionem adductis v. l. CCO (cf. infra c. 21)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. conc. Nic., cc. 15-16 (v. supra p. 13); Can. ap. 15 (CSP 15); conc. Antioch. (341), c. 3, (CSP 106-107); conc. Sard. (342/343), cc. 15, 16 (CSP 182-183); conc. Carth. (419), cc. 54, 90 (CSP 277-279, 334).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Can. ap. 12, 33 (CSP 13, 23); conc. Antioch. (341), cc. 7, 8, 11 (CSP 110, 113); conc. Laod. (325/381), cc. 41-42 (CSP 147-148); conc. Sard. (342/343), cc. 7-8 (CSP 168-170); conc. Carth. (419), cc. 23, 89, 106 (CSP 238, 333, 370-371).

## X

Ut nullus clericus in duabus ministret ecclesiis<sup>1</sup>

Non licere clericum in duarum civitatum simul pronuntiarum ecclesiis, et in qua initio ordinatus est et ad quam confugit, quasi ad potiore, ob inanis gloriae cupiditatem: hoc autem facientes revocari debere ad suam ecclesiam, in qua initio ordinati sunt et ibi tantummodo ministrare. Si vero iam quis translatus est ex alia in aliam ecclesiam, nihil prioris ecclesiae aut sub ea martyrum aut pauperum commorationis aut xenodochiorum rebus omnino communicet. Eos vero qui ausi fuerint post definitionem magnae et universalis huius synodi quicquam ex his quae sunt prohibita perpetrare, decrevit sancta synodus proprio huiusmodi gradu recidere.

## XI

Ut cunctis pauperibus epistularia tribuantur, honoratioribus vero personis commendaticiae litterae<sup>2</sup>

Omnes pauperes et indigentes auxilio, cum proficiscuntur, sub probatione epistolis ecclesiasticis pacificis tantummodo commendari decrevimus, et non commendaticias litteras, propterea quod commendaticiae litterae personis honoratioribus solummodo conceduntur.

## 10

Against the appointment of a cleric to churches in two cities<sup>1</sup>

A cleric is not allowed to be appointed to churches in two cities at the same time: to the one where he was originally ordained, and to another more important one to which he has betaken himself out of desire to increase a baseless reputation. Those who do this are to be sent back to their own church in which they were ordained at the beginning, and only there are they to serve. But if some have already been transferred from one church to another, they are not to take part in any of the affairs of their former church, or of the martyrs' shrines or almshouses or hospices that come under it. The sacred synod has decreed that those who, subsequent to this decree of this great and universal synod, dare to do anything that is now forbidden are to lose their personal rank.

## 11

On supplying the needy with letters of peace for journeys; letters of commendation are given to reputable persons<sup>2</sup>

We have decreed that, subject to examination, all paupers and needy persons are to travel with ecclesiastical letters or letters of peace only, and not of commendation, since it befits only reputable persons to be provided with letters of commendation.

<sup>1</sup> See council of Nicaea, canons 15-16 (see above p. 13); Apostolic canons 15 (CSP 15; trans. Percival 594); council of Antioch (341), canon 3 (CSP 106-107; trans. Percival 109); council of Sardica (342/343), canons 15, 16 (CSP 182-183; trans. Percival 429-430); council of Carthage (419), canons 54, 90 (CSP 277-279, 334; trans. Percival 468, 485).

<sup>2</sup> See Apostolic canons 12, 33 (CSP 13, 23; trans. Percival 594, 596); council of Antioch (341), canons 7, 8, 11 (CSP 110, 113; trans. Percival 111-112, 114); council of Laodicea (325/381), canons 41-42, (CSP 147-148; trans. Percival 152); council of Sardica (342/343), canons 7-8 (CSP 168-170; trans. Percival 421-423); council of Carthage (419), canons 23, 89, 106 (CSP 238, 333, 370-371; trans. Percival 453, 485, 495).

## IB

Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ἐκ βασιλικοῦ γράμματος ἐπίσκοπον γίνεσθαι μητροπολίτην, καὶ ὅτι εἰς δύο ἐπαρχίας μία οὐ τέμνεται<sup>1</sup>

Ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς ὡς τινες παρὰ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικούς θεσμούς προσδραμόντες δυναστείας διὰ πραγματικῶν τὴν μίαν ἐπαρχίαν εἰς δύο κατέτεμον, ὡς ἐκ τούτου δύο μητροπολίτας εἶναι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ. Ὁρίσε τοίνυν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδὲν τοιοῦτο τολμᾶσθαι παρὰ ἐπισκόπου, ἐπεὶ τὸν τοῦτο ἐπιχειροῦντα ἐκίπτεται τοῦ οἰκείου βαθμοῦ. Ὅσοι δὲ ἤδη διὰ γραμμμάτων βασιλικῶν τῶ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐτιμήθησαν ὀνόματι, μόνης ἀπολαύεσαν τῆς τιμῆς καὶ ὁ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν αὐτῆς διοικῶν ἐπίσκοπος, δηλονότι σφωρομένω τῇ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν μητροπόλει τῶν οἰκείων δικαίων.

## IIΓ

Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν κληρικούς ἀπίοντας χωρὶς γραμμμάτων συστατικῶν λειτουργεῖν<sup>2</sup>

Ξένους κληρικούς καὶ ἀναγνώστας ἐν ἑτέρᾳ πόλει δίχα συστατικῶν γραμμμάτων τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου μηδὲ ὅλως μηδαμοῦ λειτουργεῖν.

## · IΔ

Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ἱερατικούς πρὸς αἵρετικούς ἐπιγαμίας ποιεῖν<sup>3</sup>

Ἐπειδὴ ἐν τισιν ἐπαρχίαις συγχωρήται τοῖς ἀναγνώσταις καὶ ψάλλταις γαμεῖν, ὥρισεν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος

## XII

*Ut in una provincia unus sit metropolitanus episcopus<sup>1</sup>*

Pervenit ad nos, quod quidam praeter ecclesiastica statuta facientes convolarunt ad potestates et per pragmaticam formam in duo unam provinciam dividerunt, ita ut ex hoc facto duo metropolitani esse videntur in una provincia. Statuit ergo sancta synodus de reliquo nihil ab episcopis tale temptari, alioquin qui hoc admisit fuerit, amissioni gradus proprii subiacebit. Quaecumque vero civitates litteris imperialibus metropolitani nominis honore subnixae sunt, honore tantummodo perfruuntur, et qui ecclesiam eius gubernat episcopus, salvus scilicet verae metropolis privilegiis suis.

## XIII

*Ut in aliena ecclesia clerici non ministrent<sup>2</sup>*

Peregrinos clericos et lectores in alia civitate praeter commendaticias litteras sui episcopi nusquam penitus ministrare debere.

## XIV

*Quod in quibusdam provinciis lectores uxores accipere permittantur, ne praesumpserint se haereticis coniungere<sup>3</sup>*

Quoniam in quibusdam provinciis concessum est lectoribus et psalmistis uxores accipere, statuit sanc-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. conc. Nic., cc. 6-8 (v. supra pp. 8-10); conc. Constantin. I, cc. 2-3 (v. supra pp. 31-32); conc. Eph., c. 8 (v. supra pp. 68-69); Can. ap. 34 (CSP 24).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Can. ap. 12, 15 (CSP 13, 15).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Can. ap. 26 (CSP 19); conc. Laod. (325/381), cc. 10, 31 (CSP 134-135, 143); conc. Carth. (419), cc. 16, 21, 25 (CSP 230, 237, 240-241).

## 12

*Against a bishop becoming a metropolitan by imperial writ, and that one province is not to be divided into two<sup>1</sup>*

It has come to our notice that, contrary to the ecclesiastical regulations, some have made approaches to the civil authorities and have divided one province into two by official mandate, with the result that there are two metropolitans in the same province. The sacred synod therefore decrees that in future no bishop should dare do such a thing, since he who attempts it stands to lose his proper station. Such places as have already been honoured by imperial writ with the title of metropolis must treat it simply as honorary, and that goes also for the bishop who is in charge of the church there, without prejudice of course to the proper rights of the real metropolis.

## 13

*Against allowing clerics who have come without letters of commendation to serve<sup>2</sup>*

Foreign clerics and readers without letters of commendation from their own bishop are absolutely forbidden to serve in another city.

## 14

*Against marriages between those in holy orders and heretics<sup>3</sup>*

Since in certain provinces readers and cantors have been allowed to marry, the sacred synod decrees that none of them is permitted to marry a wife of heter-

<sup>1</sup> See council of Nicaea, canons 6-8 (see above pp. 8-10); council of Constantinople I, canons 2-3 (see above 31-32); council of Ephesus, canon 8 (see above pp. 68-69); Apostolic canons 34 (CSP 24; trans. Percival 596).

<sup>2</sup> See Apostolic canons 12, 15 (CSP 13, 15; trans. Percival 594).

<sup>3</sup> See Apostolic canons 26 (CSP 19; trans. Percival 595); council of Laodicea (325/381), canons 10, 31 (CSP 134-135, 143; trans. Percival 129, 149); council of Carthage (419), canons 16, 21, 25 (CSP 230, 237, 240-241; trans. Percival 450, 452, 454).

μη ἐξεῖναι τινι αὐτῶν ἑτερόδοξον  
 γυναῖκα λαμβάνειν. Τοὺς δὲ ἤδη ἐκ  
 τοιούτων γάμων παιδοποιήσαντας,  
 εἰ μὲν ἐφθάσαν βαπτίσει τὰ ἐξ αὐ-  
 τῶν τεχθέντα παρὰ τοῖς αἰρετικοῖς,  
 προσάγειν αὐτὰ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς κα-  
 θολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, μὴ βαπτισθέντα  
 δὲ μὴ δύνασθαι ἔτι βαπτίζειν αὐτὰ  
 παρὰ τοῖς αἰρετικοῖς, μήτε μὴν συν-  
 ἄπτειν πρὸς γάμον αἰρετικῶ ἢ Ἰου-  
 δαίῳ ἢ ἑλληνι, εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἐπαγ-  
 γέλλοιτο μετατίθεσθαι εἰς τὴν ὀρ-  
 θόδοξον πίστιν τὸ συναπτόμενον πρόσω-  
 πον τῶ ὀρθοδόξῳ. Εἰ δὲ τις τοῦ-  
 τὸν τὸν ὄρον παραβαίῃ τῆς ἀγίας  
 συνόδου, κανονικῶ ὑποκείσθω ἐπι-  
 τιμίῳ.

## IE

Περὶ διακονισσῶν<sup>1</sup>

Διάκονον μὴ χειροτονεῖσθαι γυναῖκα  
 πρὸ ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ταύτην  
 μετὰ ἀκριβοῦς δοκιμασίας. Εἰ δὲ γε  
 δεξαμένη τὴν χειροτονίαν καὶ χρόνον  
 τινὰ παραμείνασα τῇ λειτουργίᾳ ἑαυ-  
 τὴν ἐπιδῶ γάμῳ, ὑβρίσασα τὴν τοῦ  
 θεοῦ χάριν, ἢ τοιαύτη ἀναθεματι-  
 ζέσθω μετὰ τοῦ αὐτῇ συναφθέντος.

## IS

Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν τὰς ἑαυτὰς τῶ θεῶ  
 ἀναθείσας παρθένους ἐπὶ γάμον  
 ὀρμᾶν<sup>2</sup>

Παρθένον ἀναθεῖσαν ἑαυτὴν τῶ δε-  
 σπότη θεῶ, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ μονά-  
 ζοντα, μὴ ἐξεῖναι γάμῳ προσομι-  
 λεῖν· εἰ δὲ γε τοῦτο εὐρεθεῖεν ποιοῦν-  
 τες, ἔστωσαν ἀκοινωνήτοι. Ὡρίσα-  
 μεν δὲ ἔχειν τὴν αὐθεντίαν τῆς ἐπ'  
 αὐτοῖς φιλανθρωπίας τὸν κατὰ τό-  
 πον ἐπίσκοπον.

<sup>1</sup> confitentibus autem *add.* CCO

<sup>2</sup> Cf. conc. Nic., c. 19 (v. supra p. 15); Basilius Caes., c. 44 (CPG 136).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. conc. Ancyra. (314), c. 19 (CSP 70); conc. Carth. (419), c. 16 (CSP 230); Basilius Caes., cc. 6, 18-20, 60 (CPG 103, 118-123, 146).

ta synodus non licere cuiquam ex his  
 sectae alterius uxorem accipere. Qui  
 vero ex huiusmodi coniugio iam  
 filios susceperunt, si quidem prae-  
 venti sunt, ut ex se genitos apud  
 haereticos baptizarent, offerre eos  
 ecclesiae catholicae communioni  
 conveniat, non baptizatos autem  
 non posse ulterius apud haereticos  
 baptizari. Sed neque copulari debet  
 nuptura haeretico, Iudaeo vel pa-  
 gano, nisi forte promittat se ad or-  
 thodoxam fidem orthodoxe copu-  
 landa persona transferre. Si quis  
 autem hanc definitionem sanctae  
 synodi transgressus fuerit, correptioni  
 canonicae subiacebit.

## XV

De diaconissis<sup>1</sup>

Diaconissam non ordinandam ante  
 annum quadragesimum et hanc cum  
 summo libramine. Si vero suscipiens  
 manus inpositionem et aliquantum  
 temporis in ministerio permanens  
 semetipsam tradat ad nuptias, gratiae  
 Dei contumiliam faciens, anathematizetur  
 huiusmodi cum eo,  
 qui illi coniugitur.

## XVI

De virginibus et monachis<sup>2</sup>

Virginem quae se Deo domino con-  
 secravit, similiter et monachum,  
 non licere nuptialia iura contrahere,  
 quod si hoc inventi fuerint perpe-  
 trantes, excommunicentur. Confi-  
 tentibus autem<sup>3</sup> decrevimus, ut ha-  
 beat auctoritatem eiusdem loci epi-  
 scopus misericordiam humanitatem-  
 que largiri.

odox views. If those thus married have already had children, and if they have already had the children baptised among heretics, they are to bring them into the communion of the catholic church. If they have not been baptised, they may no longer have them baptised among heretics; nor indeed marry them to a heretic or a Jew or a Greek, unless of course the person who is to be married to the orthodox party promises to convert to the orthodox faith. If anyone transgresses this decree of the sacred synod, let him be subject to canonical penalty.

## 15

On deaconesses<sup>1</sup>

No woman under forty years of age is to be ordained a deacon, and then only after close scrutiny. If after receiving ordination and spending some time in the ministry she despises God's grace and gets married, such a person is to be anathematised along with her spouse.

## 16

Against allowing virgins who have dedicated themselves to God to embark upon marriage<sup>2</sup>

It is not permitted for a virgin who has dedicated herself to the Lord God, or similarly for a monk, to contract marriage. If it is discovered that they have done so, let them be made excommunicate. However, we have decreed that the local bishop should have discretion to deal humanely with them.

<sup>1</sup> See council of Nicaea, canon 19 (see above p. 15); Basil of Caesarea, canon 44 (CPG 136; trans. Percival 607).

<sup>2</sup> See council of Ancyra (314), canon 19 (CSP 70; trans. Percival 71); council of Carthage (419), canon 16 (CSP 230; trans. Percival 450); Basil of Caesarea, canons 6, 18-20, 60 (CPG 105, 118-123, 146; trans. Percival 604-606, 608).

## IZ

Περὶ τοῦ ὅτι οὐκ ἀνατρέπεται διοικήσις τριάκοντα ἔτη κρατήσασα, καὶ περὶ τῶν καινιζομένων πόλεων<sup>1</sup>

Τὰς καθ' ἑκάστην ἐκκλησίαν ἀγροικιάς παροικίας ἢ ἐγγωρίους μένειν ἀπαρασαλεύτως παρὰ τοῖς κατέχουσιν αὐτάς ἐπισκόποις, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ τριάκονταετῆ χρόνον ταύτας ἀβιάστως διακατέχοντες ὥκονόμησαν. Εἰ δὲ ἐντὸς τῶν τριάκοντα ἐτῶν γεγένηται τις ἢ γένοιτο περὶ αὐτῶν ἀμφισβήτησις, ἐξείναι τοῖς λέγουσιν ἡδικῆσθαι περὶ τούτων κινεῖν παρὰ τῆ συνόδῳ τῆς ἐπαρχίας. Εἰ δὲ τινες ἀδικοῦντο παρὰ τοῦ ἰδίου μητροπολίτου, ἢ παρὰ τῷ ἐξάρχῳ τῆς διοικήσεως ἢ παρὰ τῷ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνῳ δικαζέσθωσαν, καθὰ προείρηται. Εἰ δὲ τις καὶ ἐκ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἐκαινίσθη πόλις ἢ καὶ αὐθις καινισθεῖν, τοῖς πολιτικοῖς καὶ δημοσίοις τύποις καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν παροικιῶν ἢ τάξιν ἀκολουθεῖτω.

## IH

Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ἱερατικούς συνόμνησθαι ἢ φατριάζειν<sup>2</sup>

Τὸ τῆς συνομοσίας ἢ φατριάς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐξω νόμων πάντη κεκώλυται, πολλῶ δὴ μᾶλλον ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦτο γίνεσθαι ἀπαγορεύειν προσήκει. Εἰ τινες τοίνυν κληρικοί ἢ μονάζοντες εὑρεθεῖεν ἢ συνομνησόμενοι ἢ φατριάζοντες ἢ κατασκευὰς τυρεύοντες ἐπισκόποις ἢ συγχληρικοῖς ἐκπιπτέτωσαν πάντη τοῦ οἰκείου βαθμοῦ.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. conc. Nic., c. 6 (v. supra p. 8-9); Can. ap. 74 (CSP 45-46); conc. Antioch. (341), cc. 14-15 (CSP 115-116); conc. Carth. (419), cc. 8, 12, 15, 19, 20, 28, 79, 87, 96, 104, 107, 117-120, 129-130 (CSP 221, 225, 228, 234-237, 243, 320, 332, 360, 369, 373, 386, 392, 403-404).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Can. ap. 31 (CSP 22); conc. Gangr. (ca 340), c. 6 (CSP 91); conc. Antioch. (341), c. 5 (CSP 108-109); conc. Carth. (419), cc. 10, 53 (CSP 223, 273-277).

## XVII

*De paroeciis rusticis*<sup>1</sup>

Singularum ecclesiarum rusticarum paroecias vel in possessionibus manere inconcussas illis episcopis, qui eas retinere noscuntur, et maxime, si per tricennium eas absque vi obtinentes sub dispensatione rixerunt: quod si intra tricennium facta de his vel fiat altercatio, licere eis, qui se laesos asserunt, apud sanctam synodum provinciae de his movere certamen. Quod si quis a metropolitanis laeditur, apud primum dioeceseos aut apud Constantinopolitanam sedem iudicetur, sicut superius dictum est. Si qua vero civitas imperiali potestate novata est, aut si protinus innovetur civiles dispositiones et publicas, etiam ecclesiasticarum paroeciarum ordines subsequantur.

## XVIII

*De conspiratione vel coniuratione*<sup>2</sup>

Coniurationis et conspirationis crimen et ab exteris legibus est omnino prohibitum, multo magis hoc Dei ecclesiam ne fiat, ammonere conveniet. Si qui ergo clerici vel monachi reperti fuerint coniurantes aut conspirantes aut insidias ponentes episcopis aut conclericis, a gradu proprio arceantur.

## 17

*On not upsetting a diocese of thirty years standing, and on newly erected cities*<sup>1</sup>

Rural or country parishes belonging to a church are to stay firmly tied to the bishops who have possession of them, and especially if they have continually and peacefully administered them over a thirty-year period. If, however, within the thirty years any dispute about them has arisen, or should arise, those who are claiming to be wronged are permitted to bring the case before the provincial synod. If there are any who are wronged by their own metropolitan, let their case be judged either by the exarch of the diocese or by the see of Constantinople, as has already been said. If any city has been newly erected, or is erected hereafter, by imperial decree, let the arrangement of ecclesiastical parishes conform to the civil and public regulations.

## 18

*Against the formation of conspiracies and secret societies by those in holy orders*<sup>2</sup>

The crime of conspiracy or secret association is entirely prohibited even by the laws of the land; so all the more properly is this forbidden in the church of God. So if any clerics or monks are found to be either forming a conspiracy or a secret society or hatching plots against bishops or fellow clergy, let them lose their personal rank completely.

<sup>1</sup> See council of Nicaea, canon 6 (see above pp. 8-9); Apostolic canons 74 (CSP 45-46; trans. Percival 599); council of Antioch (341), canons 14-15 (CSP 115-116; trans. Percival 115); council of Carthage (419), canons 8, 12, 15, 19, 20, 28, 79, 87, 96, 104, 107, 117-120, 129-130 (CSP 221, 225, 228, 234-237, 243, 320, 332, 360, 369, 373, 386, 392, 403-404; trans. Percival 446, 448-449, 451-452, 456, 481, 484, 491, 494-496, 499-501, 504-505).

<sup>2</sup> See Apostolic canons 31 (CSP 22; trans. Percival 595); council of Gangra (about 340), canon 6 (CSP 91; trans. Percival 94); council of Antioch (341), canon 5 (CSP 108-109; trans. Percival 110); council of Carthage (419), canons 10, 53 (CSP 223, 273-277; trans. Percival 447, 467).

## IΘ

Περὶ τοῦ δεῖν δις τοῦ ἔτους ἐν  
ἐκάστη ἐπαρχίᾳ συνόδους γίνεσθαι<sup>1</sup>

Ἦλθεν εἰς τὰς ἡμετέρας ἀκοάς, ὡς  
ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις αἱ κεκαλονισμέναι  
5 σύνοδοι τῶν ἐπισκόπων οὐ γίνονται  
καὶ ἐκ τούτου πολλὰ παραμελεῖται  
τῶν διορθώσεως δεομένων ἐκκλη-  
σιαστικῶν πραγμάτων. Ὁρίσει τοί-  
νυν ἡ ἅγια σύνοδος κατὰ τοὺς τῶν  
10 πατέρων κανόνας δις τοῦ ἑνιαυτοῦ  
ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συντρέχειν τοὺς ἐπισκό-  
πους καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν, ἔνθα  
ἂν ὁ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος  
δοκιμάσῃ, καὶ διορθοῦν ἕκαστα τὰ  
15 ἀνακύπτοντα. Τοὺς δὲ μὴ συνιόντας  
ἐπισκόπους, ἐνδημοῦντας ταῖς ἑαυ-  
τῶν πόλεσι καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ὑγιείᾳ δι-  
άγοντας καὶ πάσης ἀπαραιτήτου καὶ  
ἀναγκείας ἀσχολίας ὄντας ἐλευθέ-  
20 ρους, ἀδελφικῶς ἐπιπλήττεσθαι.

## K

Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν κληρικὸν ἀπὸ πόλεως  
εἰς πόλιν μεταφέρεισθαι<sup>2</sup>

Κληρικούς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τελοῦντας,  
25 καθὼς ἤδη ὠρίσαμεν, μὴ ἐξεῖναι εἰς  
ἄλλης πόλεως τάττεσθαι ἐκκλησίαν,  
ἀλλὰ στέργειν ἐκεῖνην, ἐν ἣ λει-  
τουργεῖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἠξιώθησαν, ἐκτὸς  
ἐκεῖνων, οἵτινες ἀπολέσαντες τὰς  
30 ἰδίας πατρίδας ἀπὸ ἀνάγκης εἰς ἄλ-  
λην ἐκκλησίαν μετῆλθον. Εἰ δὲ τις  
ἐπίσκοπος μετὰ τὸν ὅρον τοῦτον ἄλ-  
λῳ ἐπισκόπῳ προσήκοντα δέξεται  
κληρικόν, ἔδοξεν ἀκοιωνήτον εἶναι  
35 καὶ τὸν δεχθέντα καὶ τὸν δεχόμενον,  
ἕως ἂν ὁ μεταστὰς κληρικὸς εἰς τὴν  
ἰδίαν ἐπανέλθῃ ἐκκλησίαν.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. conc. Nic., c. 5 (v. supra p. 8); Can. ap. 37 (CSP 26); conc. Antioch. (341), c. 20 (CSP 120); conc. Carth. (419), cc. 18, 73, 76, 77, 95 (CSP 232, 314, 316-318, 358).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. conc. Nic., cc. 15-16 (v. supra p. 13); Can. ap. 15 (CSP 15); conc. Antioch. (341), c. 3 (CSP 106-107); conc. Sard. (342/343), cc. 15-16 (CSP 182-183); conc. Carth. (419), cc. 54, 90 (CSP 277-279, 334).

## XIX

*Ut secundo in anno concilia caelebrentur<sup>1</sup>*

Pervenit ad aures nostras, quod in  
provinciis statuta episcoporum con-  
cilia minime celebrentur, et ex hoc  
plurima neglegantur ecclesiastica-  
rum causarum, quae correctionem  
deposcunt. Decrevit itaque sancta  
synodus, secundum canones pa-  
trum bis in anno episcopus in idip-  
sum, in unamquamque provinciam  
convenire, ubicumque metropoli-  
tanus antistes probaverit, et corri-  
gere singula, si qua fortassis emer-  
serunt. Quicumque vero non con-  
venerint episcopi, resident autem in  
suis civitatibus et hoc in sua incolu-  
mitate consistunt, atque ab omni  
excusabili et necessaria occupatione  
probantur liberi, fraternae correptioni  
subiaceant.

## XX

*Ut clerici ad civitatem non transeant<sup>2</sup>*

Clericos in ecclesia ministrantes,  
sicut iam constituimus, in alterius  
civitatis ecclesia statutos fieri non  
licere, sed contentos esse in quibus  
ab initio ministrare meruerunt, ex-  
ceptis illis qui proprias amittentes  
provincias ex necessitate ad aliam  
ecclesiam transierunt. Si quis autem  
episcopus post hanc definitionem  
susceperit clericum ad alium episco-  
pum pertinentem, placuit et suscep-  
tum et suscipientem communione  
privari, donec is qui migraverat cle-  
ricus ad propriam fuerit regressus  
ecclesiam.

## 19

*On holding synods twice a year in each province<sup>1</sup>*

We have heard that in the provinces the synods of bishops prescribed by canon law are not taking place, and that as a result many ecclesiastical matters that need putting right are being neglected. So the sacred synod decrees that in accordance with the canons of the fathers, the bishops in each province are to foregather twice a year at a place approved by the bishop of the metropolis and put any matters arising to rights. Bishops failing to attend who enjoy good health and are free from all unavoidable and necessary engagements, but stay at home in their own cities, are to be fraternally rebuked.

## 20

*Against transferring a cleric from city to city<sup>2</sup>*

As we have already decreed, clerics who are serving a church are not permitted to join a church in another city, but are to be content with the one in which they were originally authorised to minister, apart from those who have been displaced from their own country and been forced to move to another church. If subsequent to this decision any bishop receives a cleric who belongs to another bishop, it is decreed that both the received and the receiver are to be excommunicate until such time as the cleric who has moved returns to his own church.

<sup>1</sup> See council of Nicaea, canon 5 (see above p. 8); Apostolic canons 37 (CSP 26; trans. Percival 596); council of Antioch (341), canon 20 (CSP 120; trans. Percival 118); council of Carthage (419), canons 18, 73, 76, 77, 95 (CSP 232, 314, 316-318, 358; trans. Percival 450, 478-480, 490).

<sup>2</sup> See council of Nicaea, canons 15-16 (see above p. 13); Apostolic canons 15 (CSP 15; trans. Percival 594); council of Antioch (341), canon 3 (CSP 106-107; trans. Percival 109); council of Sardica (342/343), canons 15-16 (CSP 182-183; trans. Percival 429-430); council of Carthage (419), canons 54, 90 (CSP 277-279, 334; trans. Percival 468, 485).

## KA

Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ἀνυπολήπτους  
κληρικούς κατηγορεῖν ἐπισκόπων<sup>1</sup>

Κληρικούς ἢ λαϊκούς κατηγοροῦντας ἐπισκόπων ἢ κληρικῶν ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀδοκιμάστως μὴ προσδέχεσθαι εἰς κατηγορίαν, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐξετασθῆ αὐτῶν ἢ ὑπόληψις.

## KB

Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν κληρικούς μετὰ θάνατον τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου τὰ αὐτοῦ διαρπάζειν<sup>2</sup>

Μὴ ἐξεῖναι κληρικοῖς μετὰ θάνατον τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου διαρπάζειν τὰ διαφέροντα αὐτῷ πράγματα, καθὼς καὶ τοῖς πάλαι κανόσιν ἀπηγόρευται, ἢ τοὺς τοῦτο ποιοῦντας κινδυνεύειν εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους βαθμούς.

## KI'

Περὶ τοῦ δεῖν ἀπὸ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐκβάλλεσθαι ξένους κληρικούς ἢ μοναχοὺς θορυβοῦντας<sup>3</sup>

Ἦλθεν εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς τῆς ἁγίας συνόδου, ὡς κληρικοὶ τινες καὶ μονάζοντες, μὴδὲν ἐγκεχειρισμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου, ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ ἀκοινώνητοι γενόμενοι παρ' αὐτοῦ, καταλαμβάνοντες τὴν βασιλεύουσαν Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐν αὐτῇ διατρίβουσι, ταραχὰς ἐμποιοῦντες καὶ θορυβοῦντες τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν κατὰστασιν, ἀνατρέποντές τε οἴκους τινῶν. Ὡρισε τοίνυν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος τοὺς τοιοῦτους ὑπομνήσκεσθαι μὲν πρότερον διὰ τοῦ ἐκδίκου τῆς ἐν Κων-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. conc. Constantin. I, c. 6 (v. supra pp. 33-34); Can. ap. 74 (CSP 45); conc. Carth. (419), cc. 8, 19, 128-130 (CSP 221, 234-236, 402-404).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Can. ap. 40 (CSP 27); conc. Antioch. (341), c. 24 (CSP 123-124); conc. Carth. (419), cc. 22, 81 (CSP 238, 321-322).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. conc. Nic., cc. 15-16 (v. supra p. 13); Can. ap. 15 (CSP 15); conc. Antioch. (341), c. 3 (CSP 106-107); conc. Sard. (342/343), cc. 15-16, 19 (CSP 182-183, 185-186); conc. Carth. (419), cc. 54, 90 (CSP 277-279, 334).

## XXI

*De accusatoribus episcoporum<sup>1</sup>*

Clericos aut laicos accusantes episcopum aut clericos passim et sine probatione ad accusationem recipi non debere, nisi prius eorum discutiatur existimationis opinio.

## XXII

*Ut post obitum episcopi res eius clerici diripere non praesumant<sup>2</sup>*

Non licere clericis post obitum sui episcopi res ad eum pertinentes diripere, sicut antiquis quoque canonibus est praefixum. Quod si hoc facere temptaverint, graduum suorum periculo subiacent.

## XXIII

*De excommunicatis clericis et monachis<sup>3</sup>*

Venit ad aures sancti concilii, quod quidam clerici et monachi, quibus nihil ab episcopo suo commissum est, est autem quando et communionem privantur ab eo, pervenientes ad urbem regiam Constantinopolitanam, in ea diutius commorentur, excitantes turbas et statum ecclesiasticum commoventes, subvertentes etiam quorundam domos. Decrevit sancta synodus huiusmodi primo quidem per defensorem Constantinopolitanam sanctae ecclesiae

## 21

*Against allegations brought by clerics against bishops, without investigation of the clerics' reputation<sup>1</sup>*

Clerics or layfolk who bring allegations against bishops or clerics are not to be admitted to make their charges without more ado and before any examination, but their reputation must first be investigated.

## 22

*Against clerics seizing their own bishop's possessions after his death<sup>2</sup>*

It is not permitted for clerics, following the death of their own bishop, to seize the things that belong to him, as has been forbidden even by earlier canons. Those who do this risk losing their personal rank.

## 23

*On expelling foreign clerics or turbulent monks from Constantinople<sup>3</sup>*

It has come to the notice of the sacred synod that certain clerics and monks who have no employment from their own bishop and have sometimes even been excommunicated by him, are frequenting imperial Constantinople and spending long periods there causing disturbances, upsetting the ecclesiastical establishment and ruining people's homes. So the sacred synod decrees that such people

<sup>1</sup> See council of Constantinople I, canon 6 (see above pp. 33-34); Apostolic canons 74 (CSP 45; trans. Percival 599); council of Carthage (419), canons 8, 19, 128-130 (CSP 221, 234-236, 402-404; trans. Percival 446, 451-452, 504-505).

<sup>2</sup> See Apostolic canons 40 (CSP 27; trans. Percival 596); council of Antioch (341), canon 24 (CSP 123-124; trans. Percival 120); council of Carthage (419), canons 22, 81 (CSP 238, 321-322; trans. Percival 453, 481).

<sup>3</sup> See council of Nicea, canons 15-16 (see above p. 13); Apostolic canons 15 (CSP 15; trans. Percival 594); council of Antioch (341), canon 3 (CSP 106-107; trans. Percival 109); council of Sardica (342/343), canons 15-16, 19 (CSP 182-183, 185-186; trans. Percival 429-432); council of Carthage (419), canons 54, 90 (CSP 277-279, 334; trans. Percival 468, 485).

σταντινουπόλει ἀγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας ἐπὶ τὸ ἐξελεῖν τῆς βασιλευούσης πόλεως· εἰ δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιμένοιεν ἀναισχυνοῦντες, καὶ ἄκον-  
5 τας αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκδίκου ἐκβάλλεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους καταλαμ-  
βάνειν τόπους.

## ΚΔ

Περὶ τοῦ δεῖν τὰ μοναστήρια μὴ  
καταγώγια γίνεσθαι<sup>1</sup>

10 Τὰ ἅπαξ καθιερωθέντα μοναστήρια κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μένειν εἰς τὸ διηνεκές μοναστήρια, καὶ τὰ ἀνήκοντα αὐτοῖς πράγματα φυλάττεσθαι τῷ μοναστηρίῳ καὶ μὴ δύνα-  
15 σθαι γίνεσθαι αὐτὰ κοσμικὰ καταγώγια. Τοὺς δὲ συγχωροῦντας τοῦτο γίνεσθαι ὑποκεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐκ τῶν κανόνων ἐπιτιμίαις.

## ΚΕ

Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ὑπὲρ τὸ τρίμηνον  
20 χηρεῦειν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπισκόπου<sup>2</sup>

Ἐπειδήπερ τινὲς τῶν μητροπολιτῶν, ὡς περιηγήθημεν, ἀμελοῦσι τῶν ἐγχεχειρισμένων ποιμνίων καὶ ἀνα-  
25 βάλλονται τὰς χειροτονίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων, ἔδοξε τῇ ἀγίᾳ συνόδῳ ἐντὸς τριῶν μηνῶν γίνεσθαι τὰς χειροτονίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων, εἰ μήτοι γε ἀπαράιτητος ἀνάγκη παρασκευάσῃ ἐπιταθῆναι τὸν τῆς ἀναβολῆς χρόνον·  
30 εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσοι, ὑποκεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ἐπιτιμίαις. Τὴν μέντοι πρόσοδον τῆς χηρευούσης ἐκκλησίας σῶαν παρὰ τῷ οἰκονόμῳ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκκλησίας φυλάττεσθαι.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cyrillus AL, c. 2 (CPG 282-283).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Can. ap. 58 (CSP 38); conc. Carth. (419), cc. 71, 74, 78, 121, 123-124 (CSP 313, 315, 318, 392, 394-396); Petrus AL, c. 10 (CPG 46-48).

commoneri, ut egrediantur ab urbe regia. Quod si iisdem negotiis impudenter insistant, etiam nolentes idem defensor expellat, ut ad propria loca perveniant.

## XXIV

*De sacratīs monasteriis, ut habitacula saecularia non fiant<sup>1</sup>*

Quae semel dedicata sunt monasteria consilio episcoporum, maneat perpetuo monasteria et res, quae ad ea pertinent, monasteriis reservari, nec posse ea ultra fieri saecularia habitacula. Qui vero hoc fieri permiserint, canonum sententiis subiacebunt.

## XXV

*De ordinationibus episcoporum<sup>2</sup>*

Quoniam quidam metropolitanorum, quantum conperimus, neglegunt commissos sibi greges et ordinationes episcoporum facere differunt: placuit sanctae synodo, intra tres menses ordinationes episcoporum celebrari, nisi forte necessitas inexcusabilis praeparet tempus dilationis extendi: quod si hoc minime fecerit, correptioni ecclesiasticae subiacebit. Verum tamen redditus ecclesiae viduatae penes oeconomum eiusdem ecclesiae reserventur.

are first to be warned by the public attorney of the most holy Constantinopolitan church to get out of the imperial city; and if they shamelessly persist in the same kinds of behaviour, they are to be expelled by the same public attorney even against their will, and are to betake themselves to their own places.

24

*Against turning monasteries into hostelries<sup>1</sup>*

Monasteries once consecrated in accordance with the will of the bishop are to remain monasteries in perpetuity, and the effects which belong to them are reserved to the monastery, and they must not be turned into secular hostelries. Those who allow this to happen are to be subject to the canonical penalties.

25

*Against widowing a church by leaving it without a bishop for more than three months<sup>2</sup>*

According to our information, certain metropolitans are neglecting the flocks entrusted to them and are delaying the ordination of bishops, so the sacred synod has decided that the ordination of bishops should take place within three months, unless the period of delay has been caused to be extended by some unavoidable necessity. If a metropolitan fails to do this, he is to be subject to ecclesiastical penalties. The income of the widowed church is to be kept safe by the administrator of the said church.

<sup>1</sup> See Cyril of Alexandria, canon 2 (CPG 282-283; trans. Percival 615).

<sup>2</sup> See Apostolic canons 58 (CSP 38; trans. Percival 597-598); council of Carthage (419), canons 71, 74, 78, 121, 123-124 (CSP 313, 315, 318, 392, 394-396; trans. Percival 478-480, 501-502); Peter of Alexandria, canon 10 (CPG 46-48; trans. Percival 601).

## KΣ

Περὶ τοῦ δεῖν ἕκαστον ἐπίσκοπον δι' οἰκονόμου διοικεῖν τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πράγματα<sup>1</sup>

Ἐπειδὴ ἐν τισιν ἐκκλησίαις, ὡς περιηγήθημεν, διέξα οἰκονόμων οἱ ἐπίσκοποι τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά χειρίζουσι πράγματα, ἔδοξε πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπίσκοπον ἔχουσαν καὶ οἰκονόμον ἔχειν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου κλήρου, οἰκονομοῦντα τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου, ὥστε μὴ ἀμάρτυρον εἶναι τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ἐκ τούτου σκορπίζεσθαι τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πράγματα, καὶ λοιδορίαν τῇ ἱερωσύνῃ προστριβεσθαι. Εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσει ὑποκεισθαι αὐτὸν τοῖς θείοις κανόσιν.

## KZ

Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν βιάζεσθαι γυναῖκα εἰς συνοικέσιον<sup>2</sup>

Τοὺς ἀρπάζοντας κόρας ἐπ' ὄνοματι συνοικεσίου ἢ συμπράττοντας ἢ συναρομένους τοῖς ἀρπάζουσιν ἢ ἀγία σύνοδος ὤρισεν, εἰ μὲν κληρικοί εἶεν, ἐκπίπτειν τοῦ οἰκείου βαθμοῦ, εἰ δὲ μονάζοντες ἢ λαϊκοί, ἀναθεματίζεσθαι.

## KH

Ψῆφος περὶ τῶν πρεσβείων τοῦ θρόνου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως<sup>3</sup>

Πανταχοῦ τοῖς τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ὄροις ἐπόμενοι, καὶ τὸν ἀρτίως ἀνα-

## XXVI

*De oeconomis, id est dispensatoribus ecclesiae constituendis*<sup>1</sup>

Quoniam quibusdam ecclesiis, ut rumore conperimus, praeter oeconomos episcopi facultates ecclesiasticas tractant, placuit omnem ecclesiam habentem episcopum habere et oeconomum de clero proprio, qui dispenset res ecclesiasticas secundum sententiam episcopi proprii, ita ut ecclesiae dispensatio praeter testimonium non sit, et ex hoc dispergantur ecclesiasticae facultates, et derogatio maledictionis sacerdotio provocetur. Quod si hoc minime fecerit, divinis constitutionibus subiacebit.

## XXVII

*De corruptoribus mulierum*<sup>2</sup>

Eos, qui rapiunt mulieres sub nomine simul habitandi cooperantes aut conhibentes raptoribus, decrevit sancta synodus ut, si quidem clerici sunt, decendant gradu proprio, si vero laici, anathematizentur.

## XXVIII

*Votum de primatu sedis Constantinopolitanae*<sup>3</sup>

Ubique sanctorum patrum terminis subiacentes et quem nunc legimus

<sup>α</sup> Ψῆφος τῆς αὐτῆς συνόδου, ἐκφωνηθεῖσα χάριν τῶν πρεσβείων τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου θρόνου τῆς ἀγιοτάτης ἐκκλησίας Κωνσταντινουπόλεως *v. l. CCO*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Can. ap. 38-39, 41 (CSP 26-29); conc. Ancyr. (314), c. 15 (CSP 66); conc. Antioch. (341), cc. 24-25 (CSP 123-126); conc. Gangr. (ca 340), c. 7 (CSP 92); conc. Carth. (419), c. 26 (CSP 242); Theophilus Al., c. 10 (CPG 270); Cyrillus Al., c. 2 (CPG 279 sq.).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. conc. Ancyr. (314), c. 11 (CSP 64-65); Basilus Caes., cc. 22, 30, 38, 42, 53 (CPG 124sq; 130; 133 sq.; 135; 143).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. conc. Constantin. I, c. 3 (v. supra p. 32); Can. ap. 34 (CSP 24).

## 26

*That each bishop must deal with church business through an administrator*<sup>1</sup>

According to our information, in some churches the bishops handle church business without administrators; so it has been decided that every church which has a bishop is also to have an administrator, drawn from its own clergy, to administer ecclesiastical matters according to the mind of the bishop concerned, so that the church's administration may not go unaudited, and that consequently the church's property is not dispersed and the episcopate not exposed to serious criticism. If he does not comply with this, he is to be subject to the divine canons.

## 27

*Against forcing a woman into cohabitation*<sup>2</sup>

The sacred synod decrees that those who carry off girls under pretext of cohabitation, or who are accomplices or co-operate with those who carry them off, are to lose their personal rank if they are clerics, and are to be anathematised if they are monks or layfolk.

## 28

*Resolution concerning the prerogatives of the see of Constantinople*<sup>3</sup>

Following in every way the decrees of the holy fathers and recognising the canon which has recently been read out — the canon of the 150 most devout bishops

<sup>α</sup> Resolution of the same synod formulated for the sake of the prerogatives of the most holy see of the most holy church of Constantinople *variant reading in CCO*

<sup>1</sup> See Apostolic canons 38-39, 41 (CSP 26-29; trans. Percival 596-597); council of Ancyra (314), canon 15 (CSP 66; trans. Percival 69); council of Antioch (341), canons 24-25 (CSP 123-126; trans. Percival 120-121); council of Gangra (about 340), canon 7 (CSP 92; trans. Percival 95); council of Carthage (419), canon 26 (CSP 242; trans. Percival 455); Theophilus of Alexandria, canon 10 (CPG 270; trans. Percival 614); Cyril of Alexandria, ch. 2 (CPG 279-280; trans. Percival 615).

<sup>2</sup> See council of Ancyra (314), canon 11 (CSP 64-65; trans. Percival 68); Basil of Caesarea, canons 22, 30, 38, 42, 53 (CPG 124 ff; 130; 133 ff; 135; 143; trans. Percival 606-608).

<sup>3</sup> See council of Constantinople I, canon 3 (see above p. 32); Apostolic canons 34 (CSP 24; trans. Percival 596).

γνωσθέντα κανόνα τῶν ἑκατὸν πενή-  
 κοντα θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων, τῶν  
 συναχθέντων ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς  
 μνήμης μεγάλου Θεοδοσίου, τοῦ γενο-  
 μένου βασιλέως, ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι Κων-  
 5 σταντινουπόλει νέα Ῥώμη<sup>α</sup>, γνωρί-  
 ζοντες, τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ὀρίζομέν τε  
 καὶ ψηφίζομεθα περὶ τῶν πρεσβείων  
 τῆς ἀγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας τῆς αὐτῆς  
 10 Κωνσταντινουπόλεως νέας Ῥώμης.  
 Καὶ γὰρ τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας  
 Ῥώμης διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν  
 ἐκείνην οἱ πατέρες εἰκότως ἀποδεδώ-  
 κασι τὰ πρεσβεῖα<sup>β</sup> καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ σκο-  
 15 πῷ κινούμενοι οἱ ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα  
 θεοφιλέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι, τὰ ἴσα πρε-  
 σβεῖα ἀπένειμαν τῷ τῆς νέας Ῥώμης  
 ἀγιωτάτῳ θρόνῳ, εὐλόγως κρίναντες,  
 τὴν βασιλεία καὶ συγκλήτῳ τιμηθεῖ-  
 20 σαν πόλιν καὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀπολαύουσιν  
 πρεσβείων τῇ πρεσβυτέρα βασιλίδι  
 Ῥώμῃ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς  
 ὡς ἐκείνην μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι,  
 δευτέραν μετ' ἐκείνην ὑπάρχουσιν<sup>γ</sup>  
 25 καὶ ὥστε τοὺς τῆς ποντικῆς καὶ τῆς  
 ἄσιανῆς καὶ τῆς θρακικῆς διοικήσεως  
 μητροπολίτας μόνους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς  
 ἐν τοῖς βαρβαρικῆς ἐπισκόπους τῶν  
 30 προειρημένων διοικήσεων, χειροτο-  
 νεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ προειρημένου ἀγιω-  
 τάτου θρόνου τῆς κατὰ Κωνσταντι-  
 νούπολιν ἀγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας· δη-  
 λαδὴ ἐκάστου μητροπολίτου τῶν προ-  
 35 ειρημένων διοικήσεων μετὰ τῶν τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπισκόπων χειροτονοῦντος  
 τοὺς τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπισκόπους, καθὼς τοῖς θεοῖς κανόσι διηγόρευται· χειρο-  
 τονεῖσθαι δέ, καθὼς εἴρηται, τοὺς μητροπολίτας<sup>β</sup> τῶν προειρημένων  
 διοικήσεων παρὰ τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως<sup>γ</sup> ἀρχιεπισκόπου, ψηφισμάτων  
 συμφώνων κατὰ τὸ ἔθος γινομένων καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένων.

<sup>α</sup> τῶν συναχθέντων . . . νέα Ῥώμη *om. v. l. CCO*

40 <sup>β</sup> μετὰ τῶν . . . μητροπολίτας *om. v. l. CCO*

<sup>γ</sup> ἐπισκόπου *v. l. CCO*

<sup>α</sup> *lege* : venerabilium CL episcoporum

<sup>β</sup> *lege* : quae . . . senatu

<sup>γ</sup> *lege* : singuli metropolitani per memoratas

45 <sup>δ</sup> *lege* : a Constantinopolis archiepiscopo metropolitanis

<sup>ε</sup> *lege* : ad eum

who assembled in the time of the great Theodosius of pious memory, then emperor, in imperial Constantinople, new Rome<sup>α</sup> — we issue the same decree and resolution concerning the prerogatives of the most holy church of the same Constantinople, new Rome. The fathers rightly accorded prerogatives to the see of older Rome, since that is an imperial city; and moved by the same purpose the 150 most devout bishops apportioned equal prerogatives to the most holy see of new Rome, reasonably judging that the city which is honoured by the imperial power and senate and enjoying privileges equalling older imperial Rome, should also be elevated to her level in ecclesiastical affairs and take second place after her. The metropolitans of the dioceses of Pontus, Asia and Thrace, but only these, as well as the bishops of these dioceses who work among non-Greeks, are to be ordained by the aforesaid most holy see of the most holy church in Constantinople. That is, each metropolitan of the aforesaid dioceses along with the bishops of the province ordain the bishops of the province, as has been declared in the divine canons; but the metropolitans<sup>β</sup> of the aforesaid dioceses, as has been said, are to be ordained by the archbishop of Constantinople, once agreement has been reached by vote in the usual way and has been reported to him.

<sup>α</sup> who assembled . . . new Rome omitted in variant reading in CCO

<sup>β</sup> along with . . . metropolitans omitted in variant reading in CCO

ΚΘ

Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ἐπίσκοπον τοῦ ἰδίου θρόνου ἀποκινούμενον ἐν πρεσβυτερίῳ καταλέγεσθαι<sup>α</sup>

Οἱ μεγαλοπρεπέστατοι καὶ ἐνδοξότατοι ἄρχοντες εἶπον· Περὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων τῶν χειροτονηθέντων μὲν παρὰ Φωτίου τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου ἐπισκόπου, ἀποκινηθέντων δὲ παρὰ Εὐσταθίου τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου ἐπισκόπου καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν πρεσβυτέρων εἶναι κελουσθέντων, τί παρίσταται τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ;

Πασκασίνος καὶ Λουκῆνσιος οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι καὶ Βονιφάτιος πρεσβύτερος, τοποτηρηταὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς καθέδρας Ῥώμης, εἶπον·

Ἐπίσκοπον εἰς πρεσβυτέρου βαθμὸν φέρειν ἱεροσυλία ἐστίν. Εἰ δὲ αἰτία τις δικαία ἐκείνους ἀπὸ τῆς πράξεως τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀποκινεῖ, οὐδὲ πρεσβυτέρου τόπον κατέχειν ὀφείλουσιν. Εἰ δὲ ἐκτός τινος ἐγκλήματος ἀπεκινήθησαν τοῦ ἀξιωματος, πρὸς τὴν ἐπισκοπικὴν ἀξίαν ἐπαναστρέψουσιν.

Ἀνατόλιος ὁ εὐλαβεστάτος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως εἶπεν·

Οὗτοι οἱ λεγόμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπισκοπικῆς ἀξίας εἰς τὴν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τάξιν κατεληλυθέναι, εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ εὐλόγων τινῶν αἰτιῶν καταδικάζονται, εἰκότως οὐδὲ τῆς πρεσβυτέρου ἐντός ἀξιοὶ τυγχάνουσιν εἶναι τιμῆς· εἰ δὲ δίχα τινὸς αἰτίας εὐλόγου εἰς τὸν ἥττονα κατεβιβάσθησαν βαθμὸν, δίκαιοι τυγχάνουσιν, εἴ γε ἀνεύθυνοι φανεῖεν, τὴν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐπαναλαβεῖν ἀξίαν τε καὶ ἱερωσύνην<sup>β</sup>.

<sup>α</sup> τῆς αὐτῆς ἁγίας συνόδου ἐκ τῆς πράξεως τῆς περὶ Φωτίου ἐπισκόπου Τύρου καὶ Εὐσταθίου ἐπισκόπου Βηρύτου *v. l. CCO*

<sup>β</sup> Ἀνατόλιος . . . ἱερωσύνην *om. v. l. CCO*

XXIX

*Quod episcopus de sede depositus in presbyterii ordinem adnumerari non debeat*

Magnificentissimi et gloriosissimi iudices dixerunt: De episcopis ordinatis a Photio reverendissimo episcopo, amotis vero ab Eustathio reverendissimo episcopo, et post episcopatum presbyteris esse iussis, quid videtur sanctae synodo? 10

Paschasinus et Lucentius reverendissimi episcopi et Bonifatius presbyter, vicarii apostolicae sedis Romanae, dixerunt:

Episcopum in gradum presbyteri redigere sacrilegium est. Si vero et causa quaedam iusta illos ab actu episcopatus amovet, nec presbyteri locum retinere debent. Si autem citra aliquod crimen amoti sunt dignitate, ad episcopalem dignitatem revertentur.

Anatolius reverendissimus archiepiscopus Constantinopolis dixit:

Hi qui dicuntur ab episcopali dignitate in presbyterii ordinem descendisse, si quidem ex rationabilibus quibusdam causis damnantur, si iure nec in presbyteri quidem honore esse merentur; sin absque aliqua rationabili causa in inferiorem gradum detracti sunt, iustum est eos, si quidem non obnoxii cognoscantur, episcopatus recipere dignitatem et sacerdotium.

29

*Against the enrolment into the college of priests of a bishop removed from his own see<sup>a</sup>*

The most eminent and illustrious officials asked: What does the sacred synod advise in the case of the bishops ordained by the most reverend Bishop Photius and removed by the most reverend Bishop Eustathius and consigned to be priests after losing the episcopacy?

The most reverend Bishops Paschasinus and Lucentius and the priest Bonifatius, representatives of the apostolic see of Rome, replied: It is sacrilege to reduce a bishop to the rank of priest. But if whatever cause there is for removing those persons from the exercise of episcopacy is just, they ought not to occupy the position even of a priest. And if they have been removed from office and are without fault, they shall be restored to the episcopal dignity.

The most reverend archbishop of Constantinople, Anatolius, replied: If those who are said to have descended from the episcopal dignity to the rank of priest have been condemned on what are reasonable grounds, they are clearly not worthy to hold even the office of a priest. But if they have been demoted to the lower rank without reasonable cause, then as long as they are seen to be innocent, they have every right to resume the dignity and priesthood of the episcopacy<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Of the same holy synod with regard to the conduct of Photius, bishop of Tyre, and of Eustathius, bishop of Beirut, *variant reading in CCO*

<sup>b</sup> The most reverend archbishop . . . episcopacy omitted in *variant reading in CCO*

Λ

Περὶ τοῦ ὅτι ἀνεύθουνοι οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι  
μὴ ὑπογράψαντες τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τοῦ  
δοσίου Λέοντος Ῥώμης<sup>α1</sup>

Οἱ μεγαλοπρεπέστατοι καὶ ἐνδοξό-  
5 τατοι ἄρχοντες καὶ ἡ ὑπερφυῆς σύγ-  
κλητος εἶπεν·

Ἐπειδὴ οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι  
τῆς Αἰγυπτίου, οὐχ ὡς μαχόμενοι  
τῇ καθολικῇ πίστει, ὑπογράψαι τῇ  
10 ἐπιστολῇ τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκό-  
που Λέοντος ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀνε-  
βάλλοντο, ἀλλὰ φάσκοντες ἔθος εἶναι  
ἐν τῇ αἰγυπτιακῇ διοικήσει παρὰ  
γνώμην καὶ διατύπωσιν τοῦ ἀρχιεπι-  
15 σκόπου μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ποιεῖν· καὶ ἀξι-  
οῦσιν ἐνδοθῆναι αὐτοῖς ἄχρι τῆς χειρο-  
τονίας τοῦ ἐσομένου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων  
μεγαλοπόλεως ἐπισκόπου· εὐλογον  
ἡμῖν ἐφάνη καὶ φιλόανθρωπον, ὥστε  
20 αὐτοῖς μένουσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁμοίου σχή-  
ματος ἐν τῇ βασιλευούσῃ πόλει, ἐνδο-  
σιν παρασχεθῆναι, ἄχρις ἂν χειρο-  
τονηθῇ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς Ἀλεξαν-  
δρέων μεγαλοπόλεως.

25 Πασκασίνος ὁ εὐλαβέστατος ἐπί-  
σκοπος, τοποτηρητῆς τοῦ ἀποστολι-  
κοῦ θρόνου, εἶπεν·

Εἰ προσάττει ἡ ὑμετέρα ἐξουσία  
καὶ κελεύετε τί ποτε αὐτοῖς παρασχε-  
30 θῆναι φιλανθρωπίας ἐχόμενον, ἐγγύας  
δότησαν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐξέρχονται ταύτης  
τῆς πόλεως, ἕως οὗ ἡ Ἀλεξανδρέων  
ἐπίσκοπον δέξεται<sup>β</sup>.

Οἱ μεγαλοπρεπέστατοι καὶ ἐνδοξό-  
35 τατοι ἄρχοντες καὶ ἡ ὑπερφυῆς σύγ-  
κλητος εἶπον·

Ἦ τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου ἐπισκόπου Πα-  
σκασίνου ψῆφος βεβαία ἔστω· ὅθεν  
μένοντες ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκείου σχήματος οἱ  
40 εὐλαβέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι τῶν Αἰγυπ-

<sup>α</sup> Τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγίας καὶ μεγάλης συνόδου ἐκ τῆς δ'. πράξεως, ἐνθα σκοπεῖται τὸ κεφάλαιον τὸ κατὰ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους τοὺς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ν. l. CCO

<sup>β</sup> ἐγγύας οὖν δότησαν . . . δέξεται add. CCO

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Can. ap. 20, 34 (CSP 17, 24).

XXX

*Quod Aegyptii insontes sint, de eo quod litteris  
sancti Leonis Romani episcopi non subscripserint<sup>1</sup>*

Magnificentissimi et gloriosissimi  
iudices et amplissimus senatus dixe-  
runt:

Quoniam religiosissimi episcopi  
Aegypti, non ut catholicae fidei ad-  
versantes, sanctissimi archiepiscopi  
Leonis epistolam subscribere distu-  
lerunt, sed dicentes in Aegyptiaca  
dioecesi hanc esse consuetudinem,  
ut praeter voluntatem et mandatum  
archiepiscopi nihil tale faciant, et  
petunt concedi sibi dilationem us-  
que ad ordinationem futuri magnae  
civitatis Alexandrinorum archiepi-  
scopi; iustum nobis et humanum  
visum est ut ipsis in proprio habitu  
in imperiali urbe manentibus remis-  
sio concedatur, donec ordinatus  
fuerit Alexandrinorum magnae civi-  
tatis archiepiscopus.

Paschasinus reverendissimus epi-  
scopus, vicarius sedis apostolicae,  
dixit:

Si praeceperit gloria vestra et  
iubetis illis aliquid praestari huma-  
nitatis, fideiussores dent quod non  
exeant de ista civitate, quamdiu civi-  
tas Alexandrinorum episcopum ac-  
cipiat.

Magnificentissimi et gloriosissimi  
iudices et amplissimus senatus dixe-  
runt:

Sanctissimi Paschasini sit firmum  
iudicium; unde permanentes in pro-  
prio habitu reverendissimi episcopi  
Aegyptiorum, aut dent fideiussores,

30

*That the Egyptians who have not subscribed to the letter of holy Leo of Rome are not liable to  
censure<sup>α1</sup>*

The most eminent and illustrious officials and the exalted assembly declared:  
Since the most reverend bishops of Egypt have up to now put off subscribing  
to the letter of the most holy Archbishop Leo, not because they are in opposi-  
tion to the catholic faith, but because they claim that it is customary in the  
Egyptian diocese not to do such things in contravention of the will and ordi-  
nance of their archbishop, and because they consider they should be given until  
the ordination of the future bishop of the great city of Alexandria, we think it  
reasonable and humane that, retaining their present rank in the imperial city,  
they should be granted a moratorium until such time as an archbishop of the  
great city of Alexandria is ordained.

Most reverend Bishop Paschasinus, representative of the apostolic see, said: If  
your authority demands it, and you order that some measure of kindness be  
shown them, let them give guarantees that they will not leave this city before  
Alexandria receives its bishop<sup>β</sup>.

The most eminent and illustrious officials and the exalted assembly replied:  
Let the resolution of the most holy Bishop Paschasinus be upheld. So let the  
most reverend bishops of the Egyptians maintain their present rank and, either

<sup>α</sup> Of the same holy and great synod, from the fourth session, where the matter of the Egyptian  
bishops is investigated *variant reading in CCO*

<sup>β</sup> let them give . . . bishop added in CCO

<sup>1</sup> See Apostolic canons 20, 34 (CSP 17, 24; trans. Percival 595–596).

τίων, ἢ ἐγγύας παρέξουσιν, εἰ τοῦτο  
αὐτοῖς δυνατὸν ἢ ἐξωμοσίᾳ κατα-  
πιστευθήσονται<sup>α</sup>, ἀναμένοντες τὴν χει-  
ροτονίαν τοῦ ἐσομένου ἐπισκόπου τῆς  
Ἀλεξανδρέων μεγαλοπόλεως.

si hoc illis est possibile, aut per  
sacramentum eis credatur, expec-  
tantes ordinationem futuri episcopi  
magnae civitatis Alexandrinorum.

5

<sup>α</sup> ὅθεν μένοντες . . . καταπιστευθήσονται *add. CCO*

providing guarantees if they can, or pledging themselves on solemn oath<sup>α</sup>, let  
them await the ordination of the future bishop of the great city of Alexandria.

<sup>α</sup> So let . . . oath *added in CCO*