

*Decrees of the
Ecumenical Councils*

Volume One
Nicaea I to Lateran V

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869–870

INTRODUCTION

This council, designated as the eighth ecumenical council by western canonists, is not found in any canonical collections of the Byzantines; its acts and canons are completely ignored by them. Modern scholars have shown that it was included in the list of ecumenical councils only later, that is, after the eleventh century. We have decided to include the council, for the sake of historical completeness.

Emperor Basil I and the patriarch Ignatius, after being restored to his see of Constantinople, asked Pope Nicholas I to call a council to decide about the bishops and priests who had been ordained by Photius. It was held at Constantinople after the arrival of legates from Pope Hadrian II, who had meanwhile succeeded Nicholas. These legates were Donatus, Stephen and Marinus and they presided at the council. It began in the cathedral of Hagia Sophia on 5 October 869¹. The tenth and last session was held on 28 February 870, when 27 canons were read out and approved by the council. All who were willing to sign the *Liber satisfactionis*, which had been sent by Pope Hadrian II, were admitted to the council. The account made by Anastasius contains the authentic list of those who signed the acts of the council. Emperor Basil I and his sons, Constantine and Leo, signed the acts after the patriarchs and in the same year they promulgated the council's decisions, after drawing up a decree for this purpose.

As regards the canonical authority of these deliberations, various facts regarding the council held in the cathedral of Hagia Sophia in November 879, so that Photius might be restored to the see of Constantinople, should be remembered. Peter, a Roman cardinal, presided at this council. It took account of a letter of Pope John VIII, which had been sent to the emperor and translated into Greek. This reads (chapter 4): "We declare that the synod held at Rome against the most holy patriarch Photius in the time of the most blessed pope Hadrian, as well as the holy synod of Constantinople attacking the same most holy Photius (i.e., in 869–870), are totally condemned and abrogated and must in no way be invoked or named as synods. Let this not happen".² Some people have thought that this

¹ At this first session, on the demand of the Roman legates, the fathers put their signatures to the ancient profession of faith of Pope Hormisdas (514–523), which had been sent to the Spanish bishops, but they did not follow the exact words of the pope's letter (a critical edition can be found in W. Haacke, *Die Glaubensformel des Papstes Hormisdas im Acacianischen Schisma*, Rome 1939; see D, nos. 171–172) and there were many changes and additions (Msi 16, 27–28).

² Msi 17, 490.

text had been altered by Photius³; but in the so-called “unaltered” text of the letter this passage is replaced by dots (. . .), and the following passage reads: “For the see of blessed Peter, the key-bearer of the heavenly kingdom, has the power to dissolve, after suitable appraisal, any bonds imposed by bishops. This is so because it is agreed that already many patriarchs, for example Athanasius . . ., after having been condemned by a synod, have been, after formal acquittal by the apostolic see, promptly reinstated”.⁴ Ivo of Chartres explicitly affirms: “The synod of Constantinople which was held against Photius must not be recognised. John VIII wrote to the patriarch Photius (in 879): We make void that synod which was held against Photius at Constantinople and we have completely blotted it out for various reasons as well as for the fact that Pope Hadrian did not sign its acts”. Ivo adds from the instructions that John VIII gave to his legates for the council in 879: “You will say that, as regards the synods which were held against Photius under Pope Hadrian at Rome or Constantinople, we annul them and wholly exclude them from the number of the holy synods”.⁵ For these reasons there is no ground for thinking that the text was altered by Photius⁶.

An authentic copy of the acts of the council of 869–870 was sent to Rome, as of right. Anastasius, the librarian, ordered a complete copy to be made for himself. Then, when the legates’ copy was stolen, he translated his own copy into Latin, on Pope Hadrian’s orders, making a word for word translation. Anastasius also makes it plain that the Greeks adopted every means to distort the acts, “by abbreviating here and by expanding or changing there”. He adds: “Whatever is found in the Latin copy of the acts of the eighth synod is completely free from the alloy of falsehood; however, whatever more is found in the Greek text is thoroughly infected with poisonous lies”.⁷

The Greek text has been partly preserved from total destruction in the summary of an anonymous writer who copied out anti-Photian texts. This summary has 14 canons, as opposed to the 27 of Anastasius, and only contains excerpts, dealing with the most important points, of these canons. Where comparison is possible, the Latin version of Anastasius hardly departs from the Greek text. Indeed it is so literal that at times it can only be understood by comparison with the Greek text, and when the latter is missing we must sometimes rely on conjecture⁸.

The documents printed below are taken from the following: the “Definition” from the Roman edition (= Rm) 3, 284–287; the canons from CCO 289–342. The English translation is from the Latin text, for the reasons mentioned above.

³ This story of Photius’s tampering with the text is clearly unjust to him. Ivo of Chartres, in his *Decretum* (PL 161, 56), produces Pope John VIII’s letter to prove that the Roman pontiff has the power to annul a decree pronounced against anyone at all, and the text he provides is the same as that of Photius; see G. Hofmann, *Ivo von Chartres über Photius*, *Orient. Christ. Per.* 14 (1948) 105–137.

⁴ Msi 16, 482–483. ⁵ *Decretum* IV 76 and 77 (PL 161, 285).

⁶ The matter has been extensively treated by F. Dvornik, *L’affaire de Photius dans la littérature latine du Moyen-Age*, *Institut imeni Kondakova* 10 (1938) 10–93; see id., *Le schisme de Photius*, Paris 1950, 415–422. ⁷ Msi 16, 18.

⁸ M. Raderus, *Acta sacrosancti et oecumenici concilii octavi, Constantinopolitani IV, nunc primum ex mss. codd. Bajuv. et August. Vindel. graece cum latina interpretatione*, Ingolstadt 1604; J.S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca iuris orientalis canonici et civilis*, II Rome 1766, 259–323 from Ottob. 27; Pitra 2, XX from Vatic. 483.

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[Terminus sanctae ac universalis octavae synodi]

Sancta, magna et universalis synodus, quae per divinam voluntatem et gratiam et sanctorum amicorum Christi ac Deo confirmatorum imperatorum nostrorum Basilii et Constantini congregata est in hac a Deo conservanda regia urbe, in famosissimo templo sanctae ac magnae nominis Sophiae, definivit subter annexa.

Connaturale omnipotentis Dei et Patris Verbum, quod firmavit caelum sicut cameram et construxit fines terrae ac caeterorum universorum statum, ut insubstantialiter esset effecit et regit et continet et salvat, qui dicit per Isaiae prophetae vocem: *Aspice in caelum sursum, quia caelum, ut fumus, solidatum est, terra autem ut vestimentum veterascet, qui autem habitant eam, sicut haec, morientur; salutare autem meum in aeternum erit et iustitia mea non deficiet*¹; qui propter nos secundum nos factus est, et caelestem iustitiam super terram plantavit et dixit: *Caelum et terra transibunt, verba autem mea non transibunt*²; qui dixit ad omnes, qui in eum crediderant: *Si vos transieritis in verbo meo, veri discipuli mei eritis, et cognoscetis veritatem et veritas liberabit vos*³.

Iste solus infinitae potentiae Dominus et Deus noster, multos quidem alios ab olim et longe ante, homines mancipatos mendacio et veritatis inimicos in agro suo, id est in ecclesia, mala zizania secundum evangelicam significationem seminantes⁴, et mundum frumentum divinae iustitiae opere tentantes, veluti quidem sapientissimus et omnipotentissimus agricola, evulsit atque disperdidit, et ad id, quod omnino non est, iure convertit; salutare autem suum semper ad monendum praeparavit, et iustitiam suam firmavit, et manifestiorem exhibuit. Sed nihil minus, et in instantibus temporibus zizaniorum satore per quosdam pravissimos et impiissimos homines ecclesiasticum agrum inutilem reddere tentante; aequali eademque providentia et hunc sollicitudine dignum exhibuit et a sordibus iniquitatis eripuit atque ad puritatem revocavit antiquam; piissimum enim et tranquillissimum imperatorem nostrum, qui divinae iustitiae amator et iniustitiae hostis, et in mandatis eius manentem discipulum ipsius, demonstratum incorruptum et scientem et conservantem veritatem, excitavit ad iniustitiae peremptionem, et divinae iustitiae confirmationem. Qui per supernum auxilium et gratiam ecclesiastici tabernaculi, architectos a finibus orbis terrarum in hanc a Deo construendam et regiam urbem convocavit, et universalem synodum congregavit, quae evangelicarum sanctionum et Moysaicarum et propheticarum legum, atque apostolicorum ac paternorum necnon et synodicorum mandatorum munimina custodiens, pietatis terminos renovavit et veritatem et iustitiam in ecclesiasticis atriis praedicavit.

Hinc ergo et christianorum sinceram et immaculatam fidem et dogma orthodoxae religionis omnes qui apud eam convenimus sacrati roborantes, credimus in unum Deum, in tribus consubstantialibus et divinis ac principalibus personis utputa quemadmodum tribus solibus invicem indissi-

¹ Is 51, 6. ² Mt 24, 35. ³ Io 8, 31-32. ⁴ Cf. Mt 13, 25.

[Definition of the holy and universal eighth synod]

The holy, great and universal synod, which was assembled by God's will and the favour of our divinely approved emperors Basil and Constantine, the holy friends of Christ, in this royal and divinely protected city and in the most famous church bearing the name of holy and great Wisdom, declared the following.

The Word, of one nature with the almighty God and Father, is he who established heaven like a vault and fixed the ends of the earth and the place of all other things. He made it to be contingent and he rules, preserves and saves it. He says through the voice of the prophet, Isaiah: *Lift up your eyes to heaven, because heaven has been fashioned like smoke, but the earth shall wear out like a garment; its inhabitants shall perish like them; but my salvation shall last for ever and my justice shall not fail*¹. He was made like us for our sake and has established on earth heavenly justice and said, *Heaven and earth shall pass away but my words shall not pass away*². He said to all who believed in him: *If you continue in my word, you will truly be my disciples, and you will know the truth and the truth will make you free*³.

It was our God and Lord of infinite power alone who, just like a farmer of supreme wisdom and power, uprooted and scattered and rightfully obliterated many others from an earlier time and from long ago who, given over to lies and in opposition to the truth, were sowing — to use the gospel image⁴ — evil tares in his field, that is, in the church, and were trying to overwhelm the pure grain of divine justice. He always prepared his manner of deliverance so as to give warning, he established his justice and revealed it with greater clarity. But nevertheless, in our time too, the sower of tares is trying to make the field of the church useless through some utterly depraved and impious people. With that one and the same providence, he has shown that this field is worthy of compassion and snatched it from the filth of iniquity and called it back to its ancient purity. For, to destroy injustice and reinforce divine justice, he has raised up, as an unwavering follower of his commandments, a person proved to be incorrupt in both his knowledge and his maintenance of the truth, our most devout and serene emperor, who is a friend of divine justice and an enemy of injustice. He, by means of the divine help and the overall favour of the church, has gathered together architects from the ends of the earth into this royal city, which must be built up by God, and has assembled a universal synod which, while guarding the strong defences of the gospel sanctions, the laws of Moses and the prophets together with the commands of the apostles and fathers as well as of the councils, has revived the established forms of right conduct and proclaimed truth and justice in the courts of the church.

Consequently, all of us bishops who have come to take part in the synod and to strengthen the true and undefiled faith of Christians and the teaching of orthodox religion, we declare our belief in one God, in three persons consubstantial, divine and autonomous, as, for example, we may look at the one nature

¹ Is 51, 6. ² Mt 24, 35. ³ Jn 8, 31-32. ⁴ See Mt 13, 25.

milibus, vel in totidem splendoribus unam luminis intuemur naturam; unum quidem et singularem Deum secundum rationem substantiae, trinum autem vel tria, si eum secundum rationem personarum praedicamus, et neque a se ut esset factus, neque ab alio quomodolibet hoc accepisse fatemur; sed sine initio et aeternum, et solum semper existentem, et secundum eadem et similiter habentem, et nullam commutationem vel conversionem admittentem; factorem et conditorem omnium intelligibilium et sensibilium existentem; sic enim et sancta et magna Nicaena synodus exponens fidei symbolum ait: Lumen de lumine, Deum verum, Filium de Deo vero Patre manifeste praedicans, et reliqua, ut catholica ecclesia accepit; quam et nos suscipientes uno sensu, vesanum et veritatis inimicum Arium anathematizamus, et omnes qui cum ipso vel secundum ipsum de thearchica et beata Trinitate τὸ ἑτεροῦσιον, id est alteritatem substantiae, et dissimilitudinem laesis sensibus opinantur. Nihilominus autem et secundam sanctam et universalem synodum suscipientes, pneumatomachum, quinimmo theomachum anathematizamus Macedonium, neque in personarum discretione differentiam substantiae Patris et Filii et divini et principalis Spiritus iuxta praedictos haeresiarchas recipientes, neque in una eademque substantia personas secundum amentissimum Sabellium confundentes; insuper et confitemur unicum Dei Verbum incarnatum et factum fuisse propter nos secundum nos; non enim angelus, non legatus, sed ipse Dominus venit et salvavit nos¹, et nobiscum factus est Emmanuel; et iste erat Deus verus, *Deus Israel*, et omnium *salvator*², secundum divinas et propheticas voces.

Unde et sanctissimam et nuptiarum ignaram Mariam, quae illum peperit, proprie ac veraciter Dei genitricem fatemur, quemadmodum universalis tertia synodus, quae prius apud Ephesum congregata est, praedicavit; cum qua et nos hominis cultorem et iactantissimum atque iudaicum sensum habentem Nestorium anathematizamus, duplicem docentes unum eundemque Christum et Dominum, Deum scilicet perfectum et hominem perfectum, in una persona utriusque naturae differentia, sed proprietates inconvertibiles et inconfusas perpetuo conservantem, quemadmodum et sancta universalis quarta synodus dogmatizavit; quam cum iam numeratis tribus conciliis tanquam sanctorum evangeliorum quaternitatem suscipientes, anathematizamus delirum Eutychem et vecordem Dioscorum. Quin et duas naturas in uno Christo secundum manifestiorem expositionem sanctae quintae universalis synodi praedicantes, anathematizamus Severum et Petrum et Zohoram Syrum; Origenem etiam qui vana sapuit, et Theodorum Mopsuestiae; Didymum quoque pariter et Evagrium, qui etiam secundum easdem et diversas opiniones eodem perditionis irretiti sunt barathro.

Et cum praedictis synodis consonantem et eadem sentientem sanctam et universalem sextam synodum suscipientes, quae in unius Christi duabus naturis consequenter etiam duas operationes ac totidem voluntates sapienter asseveravit; anathematizamus autem Theodorum qui fuit epi-

¹ Cf. Is 35, 4. ² Is 45, 15.

of light in three suns not unlike each other or in the same number of dazzling objects. We confess, indeed, God to be one, unique in respect of substance, but threefold or three if we are speaking of him in respect of persons, and we declare he has not received from himself that he has been made, nor in any way whatsoever from anyone else; but that he is alone, ever existing without beginning, and eternal, ever the same and like to himself, and suffering no change or alteration; that he exists as the maker and source of all beings endowed with intelligence and feeling. For the holy and great synod of Nicaea spoke thus when expounding the creed: Light from light, true God, clearly declaring the Son to be from the Father who is true God, and the rest as the catholic church received it. We too, accepting this in the identical meaning, anathematize as of unsound mind and an enemy of the truth, Arius and all who, with him and following him, speculate with faulty perceptions on the term “hetero-substantial”, that is, otherness of substance and unlikeness, with reference to the divinely-ruling and blessed Trinity. But no less do we accept the second, holy and universal synod, and we anathematize that adversary of the Spirit or rather adversary of God, Macedonius; for we admit in the distinction of persons no difference of substance between the Father, the Son and the divine and autonomous Spirit, as the aforementioned heresiarchs did, nor do we confuse, like the lunatic Sabellius, the persons in one and the same substance. Moreover, we also confess that the unique Word of God became incarnate and was made like us for our sake; for it was not an angel or an envoy but the Lord himself who came and saved us¹ and was made Emmanuel with us; and he was true God, *God of Israel* and *saviour*² of all, in accordance with the divine and prophetic utterances.

For this reason we confess that Mary, most holy and without experience of marriage, who bore him, is properly and truly mother of God, just as the third universal synod, which first assembled at Ephesus, proclaimed. In union with that council we too anathematize Nestorius, that worshipper of the man and most self-opinionated individual who possessed a Jewish mentality. We teach that the one and same Christ and Lord is twofold, that is, perfect God and perfect man, possessing in one person the differences of each nature but keeping their properties always unchangeable and unconfused, just as the fourth, holy and universal synod solemnly taught. In accepting this synod together with the three councils previously enumerated, just like the quadruplicity of the holy gospels, we anathematize the insane Eutyches and the mad Dioscorus. In addition, proclaiming the two natures in the one Christ, according to the still clearer teaching of the fifth, holy and universal synod, we anathematize Severus, Peter and Zoharas the Syrian, as well as Origen with his useless knowledge, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Didymus along with Evagrius, who also, although of the same or different opinions, were ensnared in the same pit of damnation.

Further, we accept the sixth, holy and universal synod, which shares the same beliefs and is in harmony with the previously mentioned synods in that it wisely laid down that in the two natures of the one Christ there are, as a consequence, two principles of action and the same number of wills. So, we anathematize

¹ See Is 35, 4. ² Is 45, 15.

scopus Pharan, et Sergium et Pyrrhum et Paulum et Petrum impios praesules Constantinopolitanorum ecclesiae, atque cum eis Honorium Romae, una cum Cyro Alexandriae, necnon et Macarium Antiochiae ac discipulum eius Stephanum, qui malae opinionis Apollinarii et Eutychetis ac
 5 Severi impiorum haeresiarcharum dogmata sectantes, sine operatione ac sine voluntate animatam anima rationabili et intellectuali Dei carnem, sensibus laesis et revera sine ratione praedicaverunt; si enim Deus perfectus et homo perfectus unus idem Christus et Deus exstitit, certissimum est quod nulla secundum partem naturarum, quae sunt ei, sine voluntate vel
 10 sine operatione consistat, sed secundum utramque substantiam volens et operans consummaverit magnum dispensationis mysterium, quemadmodum et omnium deiloquorum chorus, ab apostolis usque ad nos hoc certissime sciens, etiam imaginem humanae illius formae depingens erexit, impendens utrique parti unius Christi distinctas notiones naturales proprietates, per quas procul dubio significationes et notiones divinae ipsius et humanae naturae inconfuse permanere creduntur.

Sicut etiam septimam sanctam et universalem in Nicaea secundo celebratam synodum orthodoxe dogmatizasse novimus, unum et eundem Christum dominum invisibilem et visibilem professam, et incomprehensibilem et comprehensibilem, et incircumscriptionem et circumscriptionem, impassibilem etiam et passibilem, atque inscriptibilem et scriptibilem. Cui concordans et sancta haec et universalis synodus, magna voce anathematizat Anastasium, Constantinum et Nicetam, irrationalem stercoralis nominis praesulatum vel, quod est magis dicendum, putredinem;
 25 necnon et Theodosium Ephesium et Sisinnium Pastilam et Basilium Tricacabum, quin potius et Theodoretum et Antonium atque Ioannem, quondam praesules novae Romae, regiae civitatis christianorum, immo Christi calumniatores; quem videlicet nequaquam valuisse idolorum exterminare statuas, ut de eo pronuntiavit prophetarum catalogus, operibus et verbis praedicaverunt; adhuc etiam et Theodorum qui dictus est
 30 Crithinus, quem et haec sancta et magna synodus convocans et redarguens, magna voce anathema ipsius auribus intulit; simili quoque modo anathematizamus et omnes consentaneos et fautores eorum, a quibus dicebatur quod sermo divinae incarnationis per phantasiam et putative
 35 factus exstiterit, per abolitionem scilicet imaginis Christi et salvatoris nostri, simul etiam sublatae formae cum ea verissimae illius et deiferae carnis; bifarie quippe intelligitur omne quod nequaquam imagine comprehenditur, aut velut non existens, aut velut existens quidem, sed minime comprehensibile, utpote invisibile et obstrusum.

Si quis igitur horum aliquid forte super Christo omnium nostrum Deo et salvatore perhibuerit, impius liquido declarabitur, quandoquidem unum horum non fuisse factum secundum veritatem hominem Emmanuel ostendit, alterum vero factum quidem fuisse, sed humanis proprietatibus caruisse et assumptam carnem deposuisse, ad divinam^a atque incomprehensibilitatem per omnia recursum fecisse demonstrat, quod alienum est
 45

^a *supple* naturam

Theodore who was bishop of Pharan, Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul and Peter, the unholy prelates of the church of Constantinople, and with these, Honorius of Rome, Cyrus of Alexandria as well as Macarius of Antioch and his disciple Stephen, who followed the false teachings of the unholy heresiarchs Apollinarius, Eutyches and Severus and proclaimed that the flesh of God, while being animated by a rational and intellectual soul, was without a principle of action and without a will, they themselves being impaired in their senses and truly without reason. For if the one and same Christ and God exists as perfect God and perfect man, it is most certain that none of the natures which belong to him can exist partially without a will or without a principle of action, but that he carried out the mystery of his stewardship when willing and acting in accordance with each substance; this is how the chorus of all God's spokesmen, having knowledge of it from the apostles down to our own time, have constructed a colourful representation of that human form, assigning to each part of the one Christ natural properties distinct from each other, by which the meanings and conceptions of his divine nature and of his human nature are believed beyond all doubt to remain without confusion.

We also know that the seventh, holy and universal synod, held for the second time at Nicaea, taught correctly when it professed the one and same Christ as both invisible and visible lord, incomprehensible and comprehensible, unlimited and limited, incapable and capable of suffering, inexpressible and expressible in writing. In agreement with that synod, this holy and universal synod publicly anathematizes Anastasius, Constantine and Nicetas, that irrational prelatore whose name stinks, or, to put it better, that plain corruption; so too Theodosius of Ephesus, Sisinnius Pastilas and Basil Tricacabus, not forgetting Theodoret, Antony and John, once prelates of new Rome, the royal city of Christians, but better called defamers of Christ. They declared by word and deed that, despite what the list of prophets proclaimed about Christ, he had been incapable of destroying the statues of the idols. Furthermore, we also anathematize Theodore, who was called Krithinos, whom this great and holy synod summoned and condemned and loudly dinned an anathema into his ears. Similarly we anathematize all those who agreed with or supported those who said that the Word of the divine incarnation came about and existed by fantasy and supposition, indeed that through the removal of the image of our Christ and saviour there came the simultaneous removal of the accepted form of the true body which bore God within it. Everything which cannot be grasped by the imagination is surely to be understood in two ways, either as not existing or as in fact existing but minimally understandable, inasmuch as being invisible and hidden.

Therefore, if anyone happens to have taught any of these things about Christ, the God and saviour of us all, he will be clearly proclaimed an enemy of true religion, since the first of these declares that Emmanuel was not truly made man, and the second declares that he was indeed man but lacked human qualities, laid aside the flesh he assumed and had recourse in everything to his divine^a and to

^a *nature to be understood*

ab omnibus divinitus inspiratis scripturis, quae etiam iterum eum venturum iudicem omnium prorsus affirmant, similiterque videndum, quemadmodum visus est discipulis et apostolis suis ad caelos assumptus.

Illud autem manichaeica opinione ac impietate plenum est, quo insensate dicitur, de eo divini David eloquium pronuntiatum fuisse, et quod perhibet: *In sole posuit tabernaculum suum*¹, cum videlicet haec impietas abiectioem ac depositionem significari per id dominici ac deifici corporis opinetur; sed verbum veritatis et de pheronymo Manete et de singulis qui cum eo sapiunt et iconomachicae sunt auctores haereseos, atque de aliis omnibus haeresiarchis ac impiis, fiducialiter ait: *Non cognoverunt neque intellexerunt, sed in tenebris ambulaverunt*². Etenim ô qui derelinquitis vias rectas et ambulatis in viis tenebrarum, ô qui laetamini in malis et exultatis in eversione mala; quorum semitae pravae sunt et curvi gressus eorum, ut longe faciant a via recta et alienos a iusta sententia³; et rursus: Qui a vento corrupta seminaverunt⁴, et eversio eorum excepit ea; et iterum: *Qui inmittitur mendacis, hic pascet ventos. Idem autem ipse persequetur aves volantes*⁵: dereliquit enim vias vineae suae, in axiis autem agri sui errat; deambulat enim per inaquosum desertum⁶ et terram extensam in siti, congregat autem in manibus suis sterilitatem.

Propter quod hos omnes transmittit anathemati, et dinumeratas nobis sanctas et universales septem synodos recipiens, et hanc octavam universalem synodum congregavit per gratiam omnipotentis Christi et Dei nostri, et pietatem ac studium tranquillissimi ac divinitus roborati imperatoris nostri ad excidendum et disperdendum per eas exortas propagines iniustitiae ac iniquos nisus seu promotiones, ad efficiendum pacificum ecclesiae ordinem et orbis stabilitatem. Non enim sola verorum dogmatum privatio novit perdere male opinantes, et tumultuari ac turbare ecclesiam, sed et divinatorum mandatorum praevaricationes nihilominus eandem perditionem non vigilantibus excitant, et aestu ac fluctibus implent orbem, qui Christi appellatione censentur.

Quod etiam et per Photii miseri insipientiam et astutiam et malignam operationem per instantia tempora factum est; qui non per ostium, sed per fenestram in aulam ingressus ovium⁷, quasi fur et latro, animarum grassator, quemadmodum dominicus sermo designat, omni tempore et omni fortitudine furari et mactare ac perdere rationabiles pecudes Christi tentavit, multasque persecutiones operans, plures custodias et carceres ac rerum publicationes atque longissimos exsulatus, et super haec insimulationes, sed accusationes et falsiloquia et scriptiones fictas, contra omnes zelatores pietatis et propugnatores veritatis commentando non destitit, iustissimum videlicet et legitimum atque canonicum summum sacerdotem Constantinopolitanorum ecclesiae, sanctissimum scilicet patriarcham Ignatium, ut alter quidam Severus seu Dioscorus expellere machinans, et instar latronis adulteri sedem illius invadens, et mille depositoriis sententiis ac totidem anathematibus affatim eum submittens

¹ Ps 18, 6. ² Ps 81, 5. ³ Cf. Is 59, 8-9. ⁴ Cf. Os 8, 7.
⁵ Pro 10, 4. ⁶ Cf. Lc 11, 24. ⁷ Cf. Io 10, 1.

his incomprehensibility; this is alien to all the divinely inspired scriptures, which also clearly state that he will come once more as judge of all, and he is to be seen in the same way as he was seen by his disciples and apostles when he was taken up into heaven.

That theory is full of Manichaean ideas and ungodliness inasmuch as it foolishly declares that a saying of the divinely inspired David was spoken about Christ, in which it says, *He has set his tabernacle in the sun*¹, since this impiety supposes that the casting off and laying aside of the Lord's deified body is meant. But the word of truth confidently says, both concerning the well-named Manes and all those who share his thought and are authors of the heresy about the destruction of icons and all other heresiarchs and enemies of religion: *They have not known nor understood, but they walked in darkness*². O you who abandon the right way and walk in the way of darkness, who rejoice in wrongdoing and exult in evil conversion; O you whose paths are evil and steps crooked so that they take you far from the right way and make you foreign to right thinking³! Again, those who sowed what was corrupted by the wind⁴ have received destruction as their reward; and again, *He that trusts in lies feeds the winds: and the same person runs after birds that fly away*⁵. For he has abandoned the rows of his vines, he wanders in the furrows of his field; for he wanders through a waterless desert⁶ and a great parched plain, yet gathers no fruit in his hands.

For this reasons [the church] brands all these with an anathema and, besides recognizing the seven, holy and universal synods already enumerated by us, has gathered together this eighth universal synod through the grace of our all powerful Christ and God and the piety and zeal of our most serene and divinely strengthened emperor, to cut down and destroy the shoots of injustice that have sprung up against those synods, together with the evil stirrings and influences, in order to bring about peaceful order in the church and stability in the world. For it is not only the removal of true teaching which knows how to destroy those of evil mind and to agitate and disturb the church, but also quibbling over the meaning of the divine commandments equally brings the same destruction on those who are not vigilant, and the world is filled with storms and disturbances by those who are reckoned as Christians.

This is what happened in recent times through the folly, cunning and evil machinations of the wretched Photius. He entered the sheepfold not through the door but through a window⁷, and, like a thief or a robber, a destroyer of souls, as the Lord's words indicate, has tried, on every occasion and by every means, to steal, slaughter and destroy the right-thinking sheep of Christ and, by engineering all manner of persecution, he has not ceased from contriving numerous arrests and imprisonments, confiscations of property, protracted periods of exile and, in addition to these, accusations, charges, false testimonies and forgeries against all who worked for true religion and fought for the truth. For he, like another Severus or Dioscorus, engineered the expulsion of the most just, lawful and canonically appointed high priest of the church of Constantinople, namely the most holy patriarch Ignatius, and like an adulterous robber, breaking into his see and repeatedly submitting him to a thousand charges involving dethrone-

¹ Ps 18, 6. ² Ps 81, 5. ³ See Is 59, 8-9. ⁴ See Hos 8, 7.
⁵ Pro 10, 4. ⁶ See Lk 11, 24. ⁷ See Jn 10, 1.

atque multifarie multisque modis incessantem turbationem et aestum cunctis Christi et salvatoris nostri ecclesiis excitans.

Verumtamen non est infatuatum sal terrae¹ neque oculus ecclesiae penitus extenebratus², neque luminare, malitiae spiritibus, pietatis extinctum est, neque ignis divinae charitatis consumptoriam et incendientem operationem peccabilis et levis materiae perdidit, neque sermo Domini, qui est acutior gladio ancipiti³ et cogitationum discretor, inefficax inventus est, neque solidae petrae fundamentum collusionibus vel inundationibus fluminum et pluviarum demersum concidit⁴; sed lapis angularis et pretiosus, qui in Sion, id est in ecclesia positus⁵, super quem *fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum*⁶ in aedificationem ecclesiae positum est, multos quidem alios in generatione nostra emisit volubiles *lapides super terram*⁷, ut propheta dicit, ab omni ordine catalogi ecclesiastici etiam in regnante urbe et Roma nova, confringentes scilicet et conterentes machinamenta eorum, qui devastare veritatem et divinam iustitiam voluerunt et tentaverunt.

Potius autem atque praecipue veluti quendam alterum angularem lapidem illius quodammodo conservantem, quantum fieri potest, imaginalem similitudinem contra Photii propugnacula, tanquam a quodam excelso et perspicuo loco, Nicolaum beatissimum et pheronymum papam senioris Romae desursum misit, qui iaculis epistolarum suarum atque verborum, et Photii fautores principes ac potentes perculit, et versa vice veteris historiae, quemadmodum alterum quendam Madianitam Photium cum israelitide ecclesia moechantem, secundum zelatorem Phinees, veritatis mucrone pupugit⁸, et non^a acquiescentem remedia medicinalis disciplinae suscipere ad adulterii vulneris sanitatem et cicatricem consequendam, penitus interfecit atque cum coniuncta ei quasi sacerdotali dignitate per anathema, ut alter Petrus Ananiam et Saphyram, qui divina furati sunt, morti transmisit⁹.

Huius autem definitionibus et decretis innixus piissimus et Christi amicus imperator noster quem caelestis Imperator et Dominus maiestatis in salutem orbis terrarum erexit, Photio quidem convenientem impertitus est locum, sanctissimum vero patriarcham Ignatium ad thronum proprium revocavit. Porro ad perfectam discretionem et distinctionem eius quod bonum esse constat et expedit, vicarios etiam ex omnibus patriarchalibus thronis, necnon et omnem episcoporum catalogum, qui sub potestate sua degit, in idipsum collegit; qui videlicet convenientes magnam hanc et universalem celebravimus synodum, et cum multo scrutinio et probatione atque tractatu, delimate ac convenienter, scandalorum et zizaniorum radices una cum germinibus gladio spiritus excidimus, insontem scilicet et sanctissimum patriarcham Ignatium in proprii throni^a cardine sta-

^a *add. Hrd*

¹ Cf. Mt 5, 13. ² Cf. Mt 6, 23. ³ Cf. Heb 4, 12. ⁴ Cf. Lc 6, 48.

⁵ Cf. Is 28, 16; 1 Pt 2, 6. ⁶ Eph 2, 20. ⁷ Zc 9, 16.

⁸ Cf. Nm 25. ⁹ Cf. Ac 5, 5.

ment and as many anathemas, he roused continuous turmoil and storms for all the churches of Christ our saviour, in a multiplicity of ways.

However, the salt of the earth has not lost its savour¹, nor has the eye of the church become completely darkened², nor has the light of true religion been extinguished by the spirits of wickedness; nor has the fire of divine charity lost its destroying and burning power over sinful and worthless material; nor has the word of the Lord, which is sharper than a two-edged sword³ and a discernor of thoughts, been found ineffectual; nor did the foundation of solid stone collapse when submerged by swollen waters and floods of rivers and storms⁴; but the precious cornerstone, which was laid down in Sion, that is, in the church⁵, upon which *the foundation stone of the apostles and prophets*⁶ was laid for the building up of the church, in our time has sent out from every one of the church's established ranks, even into the ruling city, the new Rome, many other *stones rolling over the land*⁷, as the prophet says, to destroy and lay waste the intrigues of those who desired and attempted to destroy truth and divine justice.

But with greater force and particular significance, Nicholas, the most blessed and aptly-named pope of old Rome, was sent from above as another cornerstone for the church, preserving as far as possible the figurative likeness, as from an exalted and pre-eminent place, to confront the carefully organised opposition of Photius. By the missiles of his letters and speeches, he struck down the powerful leading supporters of Photius and, reflecting a story of the old Testament, after the manner of the zealot Phinehas, he pierced Photius with the lance of truth as if he were another Midianite defiling the assembly of Israel⁸; and he completely destroyed him on his not^a agreeing to accept the remedies of a healing discipline aimed at treating the scars and healing the adulterous wound; and just as another Peter dealt with Ananias and Sapphira, who stole what belonged to God, by an anathema included as it were in his priestly dignity, he committed him to death⁹.

Following these directives and decrees, the most religious friend of Christ, our emperor, whom the heavenly Emperor and Lord of majesty has raised up for the salvation of the world, has consigned Photius to a suitable place and recalled the most holy patriarch Ignatius to his rightful seat. Furthermore, for the perfect discernment and definition of what is agreed to be good and is beneficial, he has gathered together vicars from all the patriarchal seats and the whole college of bishops which is under his authority. Those of us who came together have celebrated this great and universal synod and, with much examination, testing and discussion, with due care and consistency, we have cut out with the sword of the spirit the roots of scandals and weeds along with their shoots, as we establish the truly innocent and most holy patriarch Ignatius in the

^a *added in Hrd*

¹ See Mt 5, 13. ² See Mt 6, 23. ³ See Heb 4, 12. ⁴ See Lk 6, 48.

⁵ See Is 28, 16; 1 Pt 2, 6. ⁶ Eph 2, 20. ⁷ Zc 9, 16.

⁸ See Nm 25. ⁹ See Ac 5, 5.

bilientes, et Photium pervasorem atque adulterum cum omnibus sequacibus suis et nequitiae fautoribus condemnantes. Dicit enim quodam loco per prophetae vocem universorum Deus: *Propter malitias adinventionum suarum de domo mea eiiciam eos; et ultra non addam ut diligam eos. Doluit Ephrem, radices suas aruit, fructum ultra non afferet*¹; et iterum: *Chanaan in manu eius statera iniustitiae, vim inferre dilexit, et dixit Ephrem: Verumtamen dives factus sum, inveni refrigerium mihi. Omnes labores eius non inveniendes et propter iniustitias, quas peccavi*²; et iterum: *Et hereditabunt domus Iacob eos, qui hereditate recuperant eos, et erit domus Iacob ignis, et domus Ioseph flamma; domus autem Esau in stipulam, et exardescet in eos et comedent*³ eos, et non erit qui ignem ferat domui Esau, quia Dominus loquutus est⁴.

Miser namque Photius erat veraciter ut homo, qui non posuit Deum adiutorem suum, sed speravit in multitudine versutiarum suarum, et praevaluit in vanitate⁴ malitiarum suarum, secundum veterem illum Ephrem, discedens a divinis iustificationibus; quem irridens et subsannans propheticus¹⁵ sermo, ita dicit: *Ephrem factus est subcinericius panis, qui non reversatur, et manducaverunt alieni fortitudinem eius. Ipse autem non agnovit, et cani efflorerunt ei, et ipse non cognovit, et humiliabitur iniuria Israel in faciem ipsius, et in omnibus his non est conversus ad dominum Deum suum. Ephrem columba, a mensa Aegyptum invocabat, et in Assyrios ibat; cum profecti fuerint, immittam super eos rete meum, sicut volatilia caeli, et attraham et corripiam eos in auditionem tribulationis eorum*⁵. In supremam quippe arrogantiam elatus est contra beatissimum papam Nicolaum senioris Romae, malitiae suae venenum evomuit; et falsos vicarios trium quasi orientalium sedium congregans et concilium synodale, ut putabatur, constituens, et accusatorum ac²⁵ testium componens nomina, et personas ac verba formans, quae singulis eorum quasi aptari viderentur, qui in synodica iudicatione inveniuntur, et quasi monumenta horum libros falsidicos fingens et scribens atque componens, anathematizare praesumpsit praedictum beatissimum papam Nicolaum et omnes communicatores eius; ita ut ex hoc etiam universos,³⁰ qui sub caelo erant pontifices et sacerdotes, id est et caeteras patriarchales sedes et omnem sacrum catalogum qui sub ipsis degit, sub eodem comprehendere anathemate; erant enim omnes certissime communicatores prelati pontificis, in quibus eum et qui cum ipso sunt, propheticus sermo redarguens et diffamans ita dicit: *Multiplacaverunt ut impie agerent, et legerunt foris leges, et invocaverunt confessionem*⁶; et rursus: *Et meditati sunt in corde suo sermones iniustos, et posuerunt retrorsum iudicium, et iustitia longe recessit ab eis; quia consumpta est in viis eorum veritas et per vias rectas non potuerunt transire, et veritas sublata est, et transtulit mentem suam ut non intelligeret*⁷. Et: *Qui declinat a malo impugnatur, et vidit Dominus,*⁴⁰ *et non placuit ei, quia non erat iudicium*⁸; et rursus: *Haec dicit Dominus: super tribus impietatibus Iuda et super quattuor non convertam eum, pro eo quod repulerunt legem Domini et praecepta eius non custodierunt*⁹. Hunc itaque qui sic affecta-

¹ Os 9, 15-16. ² Os 12, 7-8. ³ Ab 17-18. ⁴ Ps 51, 9. ⁵ Os 7, 8-12.

⁶ Cf. Is 59, 12. ⁷ Is 59, 13-15 (Septuaginta). ⁸ Is 59, 15 (Septuaginta).

⁹ Am 2, 4.

controlling seat, while we condemn Photius, the interloper and illegal occupier, with all his supporters and promoters of evil. For almighty God says somewhere by the mouth of a prophet: *Because of the wickedness of their deeds I will drive them out of my house. I will do no more to love them. Ephraim is stricken, their root is dried up, they shall bear no fruit*¹; and again: *Canaan, there is a deceitful balance in his hand, he has loved oppression. And Ephraim said: But yet I am become rich, I have found for myself a place of repose: all his labours shall not find me, despite the iniquities that I have committed*²; and again: *And the house of Jacob shall possess their own possessions. The house of Jacob shall be a fire and the house of Joseph a flame, and the house of Esau stubble; they shall burn them and consume them, and there shall be no survivor to the house of Esau, for the Lord has spoken*³.

For the wretched Photius was truly like the person who did not make God his refuge; but trusted in the abundance of his cunning and sought refuge in the vanity⁴ of his iniquities, following the example of Ephraim of old, in turning his back on the divine mercy; the word of the prophet mocks and derides him, saying: *Ephraim is become as bread baked under ashes, that is not turned. Strangers have devoured his strength and he knew it not; grey hairs also are spread upon him, and he is ignorant of it. He shall be humbled by the insult of Israel before his face; and in all this he has not returned to the Lord, his God. Ephraim is become as a dove, that called upon the table of Egypt and went to the Assyrians. When they shall go, I will spread my net upon them as upon the birds of the air; I will bring them down, I will strike them to make their tribulation heard*⁵. For Photius was lifted up to the heights of arrogance in attacking the most blessed pope of old Rome, Nicholas, and he vomited out the poison of his evil. He gathered together false vicars from three supposedly eastern sees, set up what was thought to be a synodical council, and, making lists of the names of accusers and witnesses, fashioning profiles and speeches which seemed to be suited to each person who plays a part in a synodical investigation, and making up, writing down and organizing forged records as accounts of those proceedings, he had the audacity to anathematize the aforementioned most blessed pope Nicholas and all those in communion with him. Photius did this in such a way that as a result all the existing bishops and priests, that is, the other patriarchal sees and all the clerics within them, were included in the same anathema, for all were most certainly in communion with the leading bishop, and amongst them himself and his followers. The word of the prophet condemns and refutes him when it says: *They have multiplied their transgressions, they have enacted extraneous laws and invoked their confession*⁶; and again: *They conceived in their heart lying words and turned justice back, and righteousness has stood afar off from them; for truth has been destroyed in their streets and they have been unable to follow the right path. Truth has disappeared and changed their mind so that it cannot understand*⁷. And: *He who turns from evil is attacked, and the Lord saw and it displeased him because there was no judgment*⁸; and again: *Thus says the Lord: For three transgressions of Judah and for four, I will grant them no reprieve; because they have rejected the law of the Lord and have not kept his statutes*⁹. Therefore, as regards the man who has acted in this way and has

¹ Hos 9, 15–16. ² Hos 12, 7–8. ³ Ob 17–18. ⁴ Ps 51, 9. ⁵ Hos 7, 8–12.

⁶ See Is 59, 12. ⁷ Is 59, 13–15 (Septuagint). ⁸ Is 59, 15 (Septuagint).

⁹ Am 2, 4.

vit, et talibus ac tot conatibus et temeritatibus turbavit et concussit totam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam, et nullatenus converti ac poenitere voluit, neque subdi decreto et iudicio sanctarum patriarchalium sedium consensus, ut eum et multo ante anathematizavit beatissimus papa
 5 Nicolaus, ac deinde successor eius sanctissimus Adrianus papa, ita et sancta haec et universalis synodus reprobavit et anathemati magis ac magis mandavit, dicens ad eum ex persona cunctorum Dei per Isaiae prophetae vocem: Quomodo vestimentum in sanguine coinquinatum¹ non erit mundum, ita nec tu eris mundus; quia ecclesiam Christi adulterasti et populum Domini
 10 multis partibus et multis modis scandalizasti et perdidisti. Eos autem qui sic se non habent, sed illi faventes adhaerent, si quidem episcopi vel clerici sunt, in perpetuum depositos fore praecipimus; monachos autem seu laicos anathematizamus, quousque a sua seductione atque malitia convertantur.

CANONES

I

15 *De custodiendis et conservandis omnino expositis antea et traditis ecclesiae canonibus*

Per aequam et regiam divinae iustitiae viam inoffense incedere volentes, veluti quasdam lampades semper lucentes et illuminantes gressus
 20 nostros, qui secundum Deum sunt, sanctorum patrum definitiones et sensus retinere debemus. Quapropter et has ut secunda eloquia secundum magnum et sapientissimum
 25 Dionysium² arbitantes et existimantes, etiam de eis cum divino David promptissime canamus: *Mandatum Domini lucidum illuminans oculos*³ et: *Lucerna pedibus meis lux tua, et lumen semitis meis*⁴; et cum Proverbiatore dicimus: *Mandatum tuum lucidum, et lex tua lux*⁵; et cum magna voce cum Isaia clamamus ad
 35 dominum Deum, quia *lux praecepta tua sunt super terram*⁶. Luci enim veraciter assimilatae sunt divinorum canonum hortationes et dehortationes, secundum quod discernitur melius a peiori, et expediens atque proficuum ab eo quod non expedire, sed et obesse dignoscitur.

¹ Cf. Is 9, 5. ² Ps.-Dionysius Areop., *De eccl. hier.* I 4 (PG 3, 375).

³ Ps 18, 9. ⁴ Ps 118, 105. ⁵ Pro 6, 23. ⁶ Is 26, 9 (Septuaginta). ⁷ 2 Th 2, 15.

KANONES

A

Τὴν εὐθεῖαν καὶ βασιλικὴν ὁδὸν τῆς θείας δικαιοσύνης ἀπροσκόπτως βαδίζειν ἐθέλοντες, οἷόν τινος πυρσούς ἀεὶ λαμπεῖς τοὺς τῶν ἁγίων ἔρους κρατεῖν ὑφείλομεν τοιγαροῦν τοὺς ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παραδοθέντας θεσμούς παρά τε τῶν ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμεων ἀποστόλων, παρά τε ὀρθοδόξων συνόδων οἰκουμενικῶν τε καὶ τοπικῶν, ἢ καὶ πρὸς τινος θεηγόρου πατρὸς διδασκάλου τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τηρεῖν καὶ φυλάττειν ὁμολογοῦμεν· κρατεῖν γὰρ τὰς παραδόσεις, ἃς παρελάβομεν, εἴτε διὰ λόγου, εἴτε δι' ἐπιστολῶν τῶν προγενεστέρως διαλαμψάντων ἁγίων, παρεγγυᾶ διαρρήδην Παῦλος ὁ μέγας ἀπόστολος⁷.

disturbed and shaken the whole holy, catholic and apostolic church with so many brazen attacks of this kind, has utterly refused to be converted and repent, and has refused to submit to the decrees and judgment of the holy patriarchal sees, just as long ago the most blessed pope Nicholas and then his successor, the most holy pope Hadrian, anathematized him, so too this holy and universal synod has reproved him and put him under an ever severer anathema while addressing to him, in the person of all God's people, the words of the prophet Isaiah: Just as a garment soiled in blood¹ will not be clean, so you will not be clean; for you have defiled the church of Christ and have been a source of scandal and destruction to the people of God on many counts and in many ways. We command that those who do not share this view, but give Photius their willing support, if they are bishops or clerics, must be deposed for ever; we anathematize monks or lay people, until such time as they are converted from their false ways and wickedness.

CANONS

1

On the scrupulous preservation and observance of the ecclesiastical canons published in the past and entrusted to the church

If we wish to proceed without offence along the true and royal road of divine justice, we must keep the declarations and teachings of the holy fathers as if they were so many lamps which are always alight and illuminating our steps which are directed towards God. Therefore, considering and esteeming these as a second word of God, in accordance with the great and most wise Denis², let us sing most willingly along with the divinely inspired David, *The commandment of the Lord is bright, enlightening the eyes*³, and, *Your word is a lamp to my feet and a light to my paths*⁴; and with the author of Proverbs we say, *Your commandment is a lamp and your law a light*⁵, and like Isaiah we cry to the lord God with loud voice, because *your commands are a light for the earth*⁶. For the exhortations and warnings of the divine canons are rightly likened to light inasmuch as the better is distinguished from the worse and what is advantageous and useful is distinguished from what is not helpful but harmful.

¹ See Is 9, 5.

² Pseudo-Denis the Areopagite, *De eccl. hier. (Ecclesiastical hierarchy)* I 4 (PG 3, 375).

³ Ps 18, 9. ⁴ Ps 118, 105. ⁵ Pro 6, 23. ⁶ Is 26, 9 (Septuagint).

Igitur regulas, quae sanctae catholicae ac apostolicae ecclesiae tam a sanctis famosissimis apostolis, quam ab orthodoxorum universalibus, nec non et localibus conciliis, vel etiam a quolibet deo loquo patre ac magistro ecclesiae tradita sunt, servare ac custodire profitemur; his et propriam vitam et mores regentes, et omnem sacerdotii catalogum, sed et omnes qui christiano censentur vocabulo, poenis et damnationibus et, e diverso, receptionibus ac iustificationibus quae per illas prolatae sunt et definitae, subiici canonice decernentes; tenere quippe *traditiones*, quas accepimus, sive per sermonem, sive per epistolam sanctorum qui antea fulserunt, Paulus admonet aperte magnus apostolus¹.

II

De conservandis etiam definitionibus synodice a beatissimo papa Nicolao et sanctissimo papa Hadriano Romanis patriarchis pro defensione Constantinopolitanorum ecclesiae ac restitutione Ignatii sanctissimi patriarchae, atque neophyti expulsionis ac condemnatione Photii expositis

Obedite praepositis vestris et subiacete illis; ipsi enim pervigilant pro animabus vestris tamquam rationem reddaturi², Paulus magnus apostolus praecipit. Itaque beatissimum papam Nicolaum tamquam organum sancti Spiritus habentes, nec non et sanctissimum Hadrianum papam successorem eius, definimus atque sancimus, etiam omnia quae ab eis synodice per diversa tempora exposita sunt et promulgata, tam pro defensione ac statu Constantinopolitanorum ecclesiae, et summi sacerdotis eius, Ignatii videlicet sanctissimi patriarchae, quam etiam pro Photii neophyti et invasoris expulsionis ac condemnationis, servari semper et custodiri cum expositis capitulis immutata pariter et illaesa, et nullum episcoporum, aut presbyterorum, vel diaconorum, aut quempiam de catalogo clericorum evertere, vel reprobare aliquid horum audere.

Quisquis autem post hanc definitionem nostram comprehensus fuerit spernens quidquam capitulorum et decretorum quae ab illis exposita

¹ 2 Th 2, 15. ² Heb 13, 17.

Therefore we declare that we are preserving and maintaining the canons which have been entrusted to the holy, catholic and apostolic church by the holy and renowned apostles, and by universal as well as local councils of orthodox [bishops], and even by any inspired father or teacher of the church. Consequently, we rule our own life and conduct by these canons and we decree that all those who have the rank of priests and all those who are described by the name of Christian are, by ecclesiastical law, included under the penalties and condemnations as well as, on the other hand, the absolutions and acquittals which have been imposed and defined by them. For Paul, the great apostle, openly urges us to preserve *the traditions* which we have received, *either by word or by letter*, of the saints who were famous in times past¹.

2

On the observance of the directives promulgated in synod by the most blessed pope Nicholas and the most holy pope Hadrian, patriarchs of Rome, for the defence of the church of Constantinople and the restoration of the most holy patriarch Ignatius, and for the expulsion and condemnation of the upstart Photius

Obeys your leaders and submit to them; for they are keeping watch over your souls, as persons who will have to give account², commands Paul, the great apostle. So, having both the most blessed pope Nicholas as the instrument of the holy Spirit and his successor, the most holy pope Hadrian, we declare and order that everything which has been expounded and promulgated by them in a synod at various times, both for the defence and well-being of the church of Constantinople and of its chief priest, namely Ignatius, its most holy patriarch, as well as for the expulsion and condemnation of Photius, the upstart and usurper, should be maintained and observed together with the canons there set forth, unchanged and unaltered, and no bishop, priest or deacon or anyone from the ranks of the clergy should dare to overturn or reject any of these things.

Whoever, then, shall be found, after these directives of ours, despising any of the articles or decrees which have been promulgated by these popes, must be

¹ 2 Th 2, 15. ² Heb 13, 17.

sunt, si quidem sacerdos fuerit aut clericus, a proprio decidat honore simul et ordine: monachus autem, vel laicus, cuiuscumque sit dignitatis, segregetur, donec poenitens profiteatur se conservatum praedictorum editionem.

III

⁵ *Ut honoretur et adoretur imago domini nostri Iesu Christi, aequae ut sanctorum libri evangeliorum, et figura preciosae crucis, similiter et intemeratae matris eius et Dei genitricis Mariae, et omnium sanctorum, nec non caelestium ministrorum*

¹⁰ Sacram imaginem domini nostri Iesu Christi et omnium liberatoris et salvatoris aequo honore cum libro sanctorum evangeliorum adorari discernimus. Sicut enim per syllabarum eloquia, quae in libro feruntur, salutem consequemur omnes, ita per colorum imaginariam operationem, et sapientes et idiotae cuncti, ex eo quod in promptu est perfruuntur utilitate; quae enim in syllabis sermo, haec et scriptura, quae in coloribus est, praedicat et commendat; et dignum est, ut secundum congruentiam rationis, et antiquissimam traditionem propter honorem, quia ad principalia ipsa referentur, etiam derivative iconae honorentur, et adorentur aequae ut sanctorum sacer evangeliorum liber, atque typus preciosae Crucis.

Si quis ergo non adorat iconam salvatoris Christi, non videat formam eius, *quando veniet in gloria paterna glorificari et glorificare sanctos*

³⁵ *suos*¹, sed alienus sit a communione ipsius et claritate: similiter autem et imaginem intemeratae matris eius et Dei genitricis Mariae; insuper et iconas sanctorum angelorum depingimus, quemadmodum eos figurat verbis divina scriptura; sed et laudabilissimorum apostolorum, prophetarum, martyrum, et sanctorum virorum, simul et omnium sanctorum, et honoramus et adoramus. Et qui sic se non habent, anathema sint a Patre, et Filio, et Spiritu sancto.

¹ 2 Th 1, 10.

Γ

Τὴν ἱερὰν εἰκόνα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁμοτιμῶς τῇ βίβλῳ τῶν ἁγίων εὐαγγελίων προσκυνεῖσθαι θεσπιζομεν· ὡσπερ γὰρ διὰ τῶν ἐμπερομένων ἐν αὐτῇ συλλαβῶν τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν ἅπαντες, οὕτω διὰ τῆς τῶν χρωμάτων εἰκονουργίας καὶ σοφοὶ καὶ ἰδιῶται πάντες τῆς ὠφελείας ἐκ τοῦ προχείρου παραπολαύουσιν· ἅπερ γὰρ ὁ ἐν συλλαβῇ λόγος, ταῦτα καὶ ἡ ἐν χρώμασι γραφὴ καταγγέλλει τε καὶ παρίστησιν.

Εἴ τις οὖν οὐ προσκυνεῖ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ, μὴ ἴδῃ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ παρουσίᾳ τὴν τοῦτου μορφήν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς ἀχράντου μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων, καθὼς αὐτοὺς χαρακτηρίζει διὰ τῶν λογίων ἡ ἁγία γραφή, καὶ προσέτι τῶν ἁγίων πάντων, καὶ τιμῶμεν καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν· καὶ οἱ μὴ οὕτως ἔχοντες ἀνάθεμα ἔστωσαν.

stripped of his dignity and rank, if he is a priest or cleric; a monk or lay person, of whatever dignity, must be excommunicated until he repents and promises to observe all the decrees in question.

3

The image of our lord Jesus Christ should be honoured and venerated in the same way as the books of the holy gospels and the representation of the precious cross; likewise too, the image of Mary, his undefiled mother and mother of God, and those of all the saints and heavenly ministers

We decree that the sacred image of our lord Jesus Christ, the redeemer and saviour of all people, should be venerated with honour equal to that given to the book of the holy gospels. For, just as through the written words which are contained in the book, we all shall obtain salvation, so through the influence that colours in painting exercise on the imagination, all, both wise and simple, obtain benefit from what is before them; for as speech teaches and portrays through syllables, so too does painting by means of colours. It is only right then, in accordance with true reason and very ancient tradition, that icons should be honoured and venerated in a derivative way because of the honour which is given to their archetypes, and it should be equal to that given to the sacred book of the holy gospels and the representation of the precious cross.

If anyone then does not venerate the icon of Christ, the saviour, let him not see his face *when he comes* in his father's glory *to be glorified and to glorify his saints*¹, but let him be cut off from his communion and splendour; similarly the image of Mary, his immaculate mother and mother of God; we also paint the icons of the holy angels just as divine scripture depicts them in words; we also honour and venerate those of the highly renowned apostles, prophets, martyrs and holy men as well as those of all the saints. Let those who are not so disposed be anathema from the Father, the Son and the holy Spirit.

¹ 2 Th 1, 10.

IV

Δ

De eo quod neophytus Photius nunquam fuisse videatur episcopus, neque illi qui in quolibet sacerdotali gradu consecrati sunt, putentur tales esse quales eos ille nominavit, neque dimittendi sunt eis honores, qui ab eo collati sunt, sed subvertenda esse omnia quaecumque ille ad dandum aliis gradum sacerdotii operatus est

Amorem principatus, utpote quamdam malam radicem exortorum in ecclesia scandalorum, radicibus excidentis, eum qui temere et praevaricatorie ac irregulariter, veluti quidam gravis lupus, in Christi ovile insiliit¹, Photium scilicet, qui mille tumultibus et turbationibus orbem terrae replevit, iusto decreto damnatus, promulgantes nunquam fuisse prius aut nunc esse episcopum, nec eos qui in aliquo sacerdotali gradu ab eo consecrati vel promoti sunt manere in eo ad quod proveci sunt: insuper et eos qui ab illo consuetas orationes ad praepositurae promotionem susceperunt, ab huiusmodi patrocinio coercemus.

Sed et ecclesias quas, ut putatur, tam Photius quam ii qui ab ipso consecrati sunt, dedicaverunt, vel si commotas mensas stabilierunt, rursus dedicari et inthronizari atque stabiliri decernimus; omnibus maxime quae in ipso, et ab ipso ad sacerdotalis gradus acceptionem vel damnationem acta sunt in irritum ductis. Dicit enim universorum Deus per prophetam: *Quia tu scientiam repulisti, et ego repellam te, ne sacerdotio fungaris mihi*²; et *oblita es legum Dei tui, et ego obliviscar filiorum tuorum. Si secundum multitudinem eorum sic peccaverunt mihi, gloriam ipsorum in inbonorantiam ponam: peccata populi mei comedent, et in iniustitiis suis accipient animas suas*³. Et iterum dicit: *Quia multiplicavit Ephrem altaria in peccatum, facta sunt ei altaria delicta: scribam in ea multitudinem*⁴.

¹ Cf. Ac 20, 29. ² Os 4, 6. ³ Os 4, 6–8. ⁴ Os 8, 11.

Τὴν φιλαρχίαν οἷόν τινα πονηρὰν ῥίζαν τῶν κακῶν πάντων πρόρριζον ἀποτέμοντες, τὸν προπετῶς καὶ ἀθέσμως, οἷόν τινα λύκον βαρύν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποίμνιον¹ εἰσπηδήσαντα Φώτιον, καὶ ταραχῆς τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐμπλήσαντα, δικαίῳ λόγῳ ἀποφαίνόμεθα μηδέποτε γεγονέναι πρότερον ἢ νῦν ἐπίσκοπον· μήτε τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χειροτονηθέντας ἐν οἰωδῆποτε βαθμῶ ἱερατικῶ, ἐν ᾧ προσχειρίσθησαν, μένειν· τοὺς δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ εἰς ἡγουμενεῖαν προχειρισθέντας, τῆς τοιαύτης προστασίας ἀπείργομεν· λέγει γὰρ ὁ τῶν ὄλων θεὸς διὰ τοῦ προφήτου· Ὅτι σὺ ἐπίγνωσιν ἀπόσω, καὶ γὰρ ἀπόσωμαί σε τοῦ μὴ ἱερατεύειν μοι.²

4

The upstart Photius never seems to have been a bishop, and those who were consecrated in whatever priestly grade are not to be considered such as he called them, and the honours which were conferred by him are not to be given them, but everything he did to bestow the priesthood on others is to be made void

In tearing up by the roots the love of power, as being an evil root nourishing the scandals which have arisen in the church, we condemn, with a just decree, him who boldly, cunningly and unlawfully, like a dangerous wolf, leapt into the sheepfold of Christ¹; we are speaking about Photius, who has filled the whole world with a thousand upheavals and disturbances. We declare that he never was nor is now a bishop, nor must those, who were consecrated or given advancement by him to any grade of the priesthood, remain in that state to which they were promoted. Moreover, we debar from this kind of preferment those who received from Photius the customary rescripts for promotion to special office.

As for the churches which Photius and those who were ordained by him are thought to have consecrated and the altars which they are thought to have renovated after they had been torn down, we decree that they are to be consecrated, anointed and renovated again. In sum, everything that was done in his person and by him, for the establishing or penalizing of the sacerdotal state, has been abrogated. For the God of the whole universe says through his prophet: *Because you have rejected knowledge, I reject you from being a priest to me*²; and, *You have forgotten the laws of your God, I also will forget your children. The more they increased, the more they sinned against me; I will change their glory into shame. They feed on the sin of my people; they bloat their souls with their iniquities*³. And again he says: *Because Ephraim has multiplied altars for sinning, they have become to him altars for sins; I will write copiously about them*⁴.

¹ See Ac 20, 29. ² Hos 4, 6. ³ Hos 4, 6–8. ⁴ Hos 8, 11.

V

Quod non oporteat de senatoria dignitate, vel de aliquo laicorum ordine, nuper tonsum eligi vel suscipi patriarcham, nisi secundum definitionem, quae prolata est ab hac sancta et magna synodo, inveniatur

5 Omnem canonicam stabilitatem in ecclesiis semper manere in Christo providere cupientes, renovamus et confirmamus terminos et vacationes, quae olim a sanctis apostolis et beatis patribus nostris editae, legem in ecclesia posuerunt, non oportere antistitem promovere quemquam, qui est vel secundum fidem, vel secundum sacerdotalem sortem neophytus, *ne inflatus, in iudicium incidat, et laqueum diaboli*¹, sicut dicit Apostolus. Prioribus ergo canonibus concordantes, definimus; neminem de senatoria dignitate, vel mundana conversatione nuper tonsum super intentione vel expectatione pontificatus vel patriarchatus honoris, clericum aut monachum factum, ad huiusmodi scandere gradum, licet per singulos ordines divini sacerdotii plurimum temporis fecisse probetur: neque enim propter religionem vel amorem Dei, aut propter expectationem transeundi viam virtutum, sed ob amorem gloriae ac principatus tonsus huiusmodi reperitur: magis autem coercemus huiusmodi, si ab imperatoria dignitate ad hoc compellatur.

Si vero quis per nullam suspicionem praedictae concupiscentiae expectationis, sed propter ipsum bonum humilitatis, quae est circa Christum Iesum, abrenuntians mundo, fiat clericus, aut monachus, et omnem gradum ecclesiasticum transigens, per definita nunc tempora irreprehensibilis inventus exstiterit et probatus, ita ut in gradu lectoris annum compleat, in subdiaconi vero duos, sitque diaconus tribus, et presbyter quatuor annis, bene pla-

¹ 1 Tm 3, 6-7.

E

Κανών ἐστὶν ὁ λέγων· Μὴ δεῖν ἐπίσκοπον προχειρίζεσθαι τινα νεόφυτον ἢ κατὰ τὴν πίστιν, ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἱερατικὸν κληρὸν ὑπάρχοντα, ἵνα μὴ τυφωθεὶς εἰς κρίμα ἐμπέσῃ καὶ παγίδα τοῦ διαβόλου¹, καθά φησιν ὁ Παῦλος. Συμφώνως τοίνυν τούτῳ λέγομεν, μηδὲνα τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλητικῆς ἀξίας καὶ κοσμικῆς ἀγωγῆς προσφάτως καρέντα, καὶ κατὰ σκοπὸν καὶ προσδοκίαν ἀρχιερατικῆς ἢ πατριαρχικῆς τιμῆς γεγονότα κληρικὸν ἢ μοναχόν, εἰς τὸν τοιοῦτον ἀναβιβάζειν βαθμόν, κἂν ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ τάγματι τῆς θείας ἱερωσύνης πλείονα χρόνον ποιῆσῃ δοκιμαζόμενος· οὐδὲ γὰρ δι' εὐλάβειαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ φιλαρχίαν κέκαρται· ἔτι δὲ πλέον τοῦτον ἀπείργομεν, εἰ παρὰ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας εἰς τοῦτο συνώθηται.

Εἰ δέ τις κατ' οὐδεμίαν ὑποψίαν τῆς εἰρημένης ἐπιθυμίας καὶ προσδοκίας ἐκάρῃ, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ καλὸν τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν πολιτείας γέγονε κληρικὸς ἢ μοναχὸς καὶ πάντα βαθμὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν μετελθὼν κατὰ τοὺς ὠρισμένους χρόνους ἀνεπίληπτος εὐρέθῃ, προβιβασθήτω εἰς τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην, ὥστε ἐν τῷ βαθμῷ τοῦ ἀναγνώστου ἐνιαυτὸν πληρῶσαι, ἐν δὲ τῷ τοῦ ὑποδιακόνου δύο, καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ διακόνου τρεῖς, καὶ τέσσαρας ἐν τῷ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου· ἐπὶ δὲ

5

A person who has recently received the tonsure and comes from the senatorial order or any lay rank should not be chosen or accepted as patriarch unless it happens in accordance with the decree issued by this holy and great synod

Since we desire to ensure, in Christ, that the stability of the canons should always remain firm in the churches, we renew and confirm the limits and conditions which were formerly decreed by the holy apostles and our holy fathers and which made it a law in the church that nobody, who is a neophyte in the faith or priestly office, should be made a bishop, *lest he be puffed up and fall into the judgment and snare of the devil*¹, as the Apostle says. Therefore, in accordance with the previous canons, we declare that nobody of senatorial rank or a secular way of life, who has recently been admitted to the tonsure with the intention or expectation of the honour of becoming a bishop or patriarch, and who has been made a cleric or monk, should rise to such a level, even if he is shown to have completed a considerable time in each stage of the divine priesthood. For it is clear that the tonsure was not received for religious reasons, love of God or hope of progressing along the path of the virtues, but for love of glory and honour. We exclude such people still more rigorously if they are pushed forward by imperial backing.

However, if someone gives no suspicion of seeking the worldly benefits just mentioned, but, prompted by the actual good of a humility which is centred on Christ, renounces the world and becomes a cleric or monk and, while passing through every ecclesiastical grade, is found without reproach and of good character during the periods of time currently established, so that he completes one year in the order of lector, two in that of subdeacon, three as deacon and

¹ 1 Tm 3, 6–7.

cuit huic sanctae et universali synodo eligi hunc et admitti. Circa hos autem qui religiose morati sunt ordine clericorum, et monachorum, digni iudicati sunt pontificatus dignitate pariter et honore; praedictum tempus abbreviamus, nimirum secundum quod episcoporum praelati probaverint qui per tempora fuerint. Si vero praeter hanc definitionem nostram quisquam ad iam fatum supremum honorem proventus exstiterit, reprobetur, et ab omni sacerdotali operatione prorsus abiiciatur, utpote qui extra sacros canones sit promotus.

VI

De prolato anathemate contra Photium, etiam propter falsorum vicariorum contra beatissimum papam Nicolaum inventionem, et contra eum fictae ac falso scriptorum libellorum, et quod oporteat omnes qui tale quid egerint abiicere et anathematizare

Quoniam quidem apparuit Photius post prolatam contra se iustissimam sententiam, et damnationem a sanctissimo papa Nicolao propter nequissimam invasionem Constantinopolitanorum ecclesiae cum aliis malis operibus suis, etiam quosdam nequam et adultores de plateis et vicis invenisse, et vicarios hos sanctissimarum trium patriarchalium sedium orientis nominasse ac proposuisse, atque cum his ecclesiam malignantium¹, et concilium vanitatis colligens, depositorias accusationes et crimina contra beatissimum papam Nicolaum commovisse; et anathema procaciter et audacter contra eum, et cunctos communicantes ei, saepe promulgasse, quorum quasi monumentorum libros nos quoque vidimus, ab ipso maligno opere ac fallaci dictatione consutos, qui etiam synodice ab igne consumpti sunt:

¹ Cf. Ps 25, 5.

τῶν χρονισάντων εὐλαβῶς τῷ τάγματι τῶν κληρικῶν τε καὶ μοναχῶν ὁ προειρημένος χρόνος συσταλήσεται παρὰ τῶν κατὰ καιροὺς ἐπισκόπων. Εἰ δὲ παρὰ τοῦτον τὸν ὅρον προαχθεῖ τις εἰς τὴν εἰρημένην ὑπεράττην τιμὴν, ἀποδοκιμασθήτω παντάπασιν.

Σ

Ἐπεὶ περ κατεφωράθη Φώτιος μετὰ τὴν ἐξενεχθεῖσαν κατ' αὐτοῦ δικαιοτάτην ἀπόφασιν παρὰ τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πάπα Νικολάου, διὰ τὴν ἀθεσμοτάτην ἐπίβασιν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπολιτῶν ἐκκλησίας, πονηροῦς τινος ἀνδρος ἀπὸ τῶν λεωφόρων ἀγυῶν εὐρηκῶς, καὶ τοποτηρητῆς αὐτοῦς τῶν ἀγιωτάτων πατριαρχικῶν θρόνων κατονομάσας, καὶ σὺν τούτοις ἐκκλησίαν συστησάμενος πονηρευομένων¹, καθαιρετικῶς συκοφαντίας καὶ διαβολῆς κατὰ τοῦ μακαρίου πάπα Νικολάου τυρεύσας, καὶ τὸ ἀνάθεμα λαθραίως κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν κοινωνούντων αὐτῷ ἀποφηνάμενος, ὧν τὰ δῆθεν ὑπομνήματα συνοδικῶς πυρίκαυστα γέγονε· τοῦτου χάριν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς καταστάσεως ἀναθεματίζομεν τὸν εἰρημένον Φώτιον, καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν τοιοῦτον τι τολμήσοντας τῷ ἀναθέματι ὑποβάλλομεν, καθὼς

four as priest, this holy and universal synod has decreed that such a one may be chosen and admitted. As for those who have remained religiously in the order of cleric or monk and have been judged worthy of the dignity and honour of the episcopacy, we reduce the aforesaid period of time to that which the superiors of these bishops approved at the time. If, however, anyone has been advanced to this supreme honour contrary to this directive of ours, he must be condemned and completely excluded from all priestly functions, because he has been elevated contrary to the sacred canons.

6

On the anathema pronounced against Photius, both for creating false vicars to oppose the most blessed pope Nicholas and for fabricating written charges against him which were both contrived and false, and that all who have done such a thing should be cast out and declared anathema

It appears that Photius, after the sentences and condemnations most justly pronounced against him by the most holy pope Nicholas for his criminal usurpation of the church of Constantinople, in addition to his other evil deeds, found some men of wicked and sycophantic character from the squares and streets of the city and proposed and designated them as vicars of the three most holy patriarchal sees in the east. He formed with these a church of evil-doers¹ and a fraudulent council and set in motion accusations and charges entailing deposition against the most blessed pope Nicholas and repeatedly, impudently and boldly issued anathemas against him and all those in communion with him. The records of all these things have been seen by us, records which were cobbled together by him with evil intent and lying words, and all of which have been burnt during this very synod.

¹ See Ps 25, 5.

Huius rei gratia pro cautela ecclesiastici ordinis anathematizamus quidem primitus praedictum Photium etiam propter huiuscemodi causam: deinde vero et omnem qui amodo in calliditate fraudulenter egerit, et verbum veritatis adulteraverit, et falsos vicarios simulaverit, vel libros dictatus mendacis finxerit, et ad propriorum favorem votorum commentatus fuerit, quemadmodum et fortissimus pietae athleta Martinus, sanctissimus papa Romanus, tales synodice pepulit¹.

VII

Z

¹⁰ *Quod non oporteat anathematizatos a sancta et universali synodo honorandas et sanctas imagines pingere, vel docere disciplinas divinae ac humanae sapientiae*

¹⁵ Quod iustum est, et iuste exequendum, deiloquis Moyses evidenter lege promulgat². Cum bonum non sit bonum, nisi secundum rationem efficiatur; bonum ergo profecto et valde proficuum est, sanctas et venerabiles iconas pingere, sed et proximos disciplinas divinae ac humanae sapientiae docere: non autem bonum est, nec omnino proficuum, ab indignis horum aliquid fieri.

²⁵ Huius rei gratia nequaquam iconas operari in sacris templis, sed neque in quovis loco docere anathematizatos ab hac sancta et universali synodo definimus et promulgamus, usquequo a propria seductione ac malitia convertantur. Quisquis ergo post hanc definitionem nostram ad picturae sanctarum imaginum in ecclesiis aut doctrinae actionem quoquo modo eos admiserit, si quidem clericus fuerit, proprio gradu periclitetur, si vero laicus, separetur, et divinarum mysteriorum communione privetur.

¹ Cf. Conc. Lat. Rom. (649), c. 20 (Msi 10, 1059-1062).

² Cf. Dt 16, 20.

Therefore, to safeguard church order, we anathematize first and foremost the above-mentioned Photius for the reason given; next everyone who henceforth acts deceitfully and fraudulently and falsifies the word of truth and goes through the motions of having false vicars or composes books full of deceptions and explains them in favour of his own designs. With equal vigour Martin, the most holy pope of Rome, a valiant contender for the true faith, rejected behaviour of this kind by a synodal decree¹.

7

Those declared anathema by the holy universal synod are not to paint holy images for veneration or to teach the disciplines of divine and human wisdom

Moses, the divine spokesman, clearly declares in his law that what is right should also be rightly executed², since a good act is not good unless it is carried out in accordance with reason. So it is indeed good and very advantageous to paint holy and venerable images as also to teach others the disciplines of divine and human wisdom. But it is not good nor at all profitable for any of these things to be done by those who are unworthy.

For this reason we declare and proclaim that those declared anathema by this holy and universal synod may not, on any account, work on sacred images in holy places of worship nor teach anywhere at all, until they are converted from their error and wickedness. Whoever, therefore, after this directive of ours, admits them in any way to paint sacred images in churches, or to teach, must be removed from office if he is a cleric; if he is a lay person, he must be excommunicated and debarred from taking part in the divine mysteries.

¹ See Lateran council at Rome (649), canon 20 (Msi 10, 1059–1062).

² See Dt 16, 20.

VIII

H

Quod non oporteat quemcumque patriarcham sanctae et Constantinopolitanorum ecclesiae exigere chirographa a sacerdotali catalogo ad propriam quasi stabilitatem atque securitatem

*Omnia mihi licent, sed non omnia expediunt, omnia mihi licent, sed non omnia aedificant*¹, dicit alicubi Paulus magnus apostolus. Igitur quoniam omnia ad utilitatem et perfectionem sanctae Dei ecclesiae, et nihil omnino per contentionem vel inanem gloriam facere debemus; et quoniam auditibus nostris fama sonuit, quod non solum haeretici, et ii qui sanctae Constantinopolitanorum ecclesiae sacerdotium sortiti, sed et orthodoxi ac legitimi patriarchae a sacerdotali catalogo propriae manus scripta facere ad propriam tutelam, favoremque suum et quasi stabilitatem exigant et compellant; visum est sanctae huic et universali synodo, nequaquam id ex hoc a quopiam fieri, excepto eo quod secundum formam et consuetudinem pro sincera fide nostra tempore consecrationis episcoporum exigitur; quod enim aliter fit, omnino non expedit, sed neque ad aedificationem ecclesiae pertinet. Quisquis ergo ausus fuerit solvere hanc definitionem nostram, aut expetierit, aut paruerit expetentibus, honore proprio decidat.

IX

De subvertendo et solvendo vinculo proprii scripti, quod Photio excogitatum et exactum est ab omnibus volentibus exteriorem discere sapientiam

Variam et diversam malitiam antiquitus in ecclesia Constantinopolitana infelix operatus est Photius. Didicimus enim, quod et multo ante tyrannicum praesidiatum propriae manus subscriptionibus munebat adhaerentes sibi clientes, ad discendam sapientiam, quae a Deo stulta facta est², cum manifeste nova esset inventio, et sanctis patribus nostris et magistris ecclesiae penitus aliena.

Igitur quoniam omnem colligationem iniquitatis solvere³, et chirographa violentorum contractuum dirumpere praecipiant, definiuit sancta et universalis synodus, neminem ex his omnibus a nunc tale tenere vel servare chirographum, sed absque quolibet offendiculo indubitanter et intrepide tam docere, quam discere omnes, qui ad utrumque consistunt idonei, praeter eos qui erroris inveniuntur et haereticae impietatis servituti redacti;

¹ 1 Cor 6, 12 et 10, 23. ² Cf. 1 Cor 1, 20. ³ Cf. Is 58, 6.

8

No patriarch of the holy church of Constantinople should demand from any of his clergy a signed pledge to guarantee the security of his person or position

The great apostle Paul says somewhere: *All things are lawful for me, but not all things are helpful; all things are lawful for me, but not all things are beneficial*¹. Therefore, we ought to do everything for the advantage and perfection of the holy church of God and nothing at all to promote controversy and vainglory. Since a report has come to our ears that not only heretics and those who have wrongly obtained the patriarchate of Constantinople, but also the orthodox and legitimate patriarchs, demand and extract from the order of priests guarantees, written in their own hands, which are designed for the security, benefit and, as it were, permanence of the above persons, it has therefore seemed good to this holy and universal synod that nobody at all should do this from now on, with the exception of what is demanded at the time of episcopal consecrations, according to rule and custom, in order to witness to the purity of our faith; every other way of doing it is completely inappropriate and has no part in the building up of the church. So whoever dares to nullify this directive of ours, either by asking for such a document or by providing it to those who ask, shall lose his own office.

9

On the annulling of the signed contracts that Photius invented and demanded from all those wanting to learn worldly wisdom

From the very beginning the wretched Photius brought about in the church of Constantinople an abundance of all kinds of wickedness. We have learnt that even before his tyrannical period in office he used to give documents, signed by his own hand, to his followers who were learning the wisdom that has been made foolish by God², even though this system was clearly a new invention and thoroughly alien to our holy fathers and doctors of the church.

Since therefore they direct us to loose every bond of wickedness³ and to make void enforced contracts, the holy and universal synod has declared that nobody, from now on, should hold or keep such a contract; but all, without hindrance, hesitation or fear, may both teach and study if they are competent for either task, with the exception of those who are found to be enslaved to error or heretical

¹ 1 Cor 6, 12 and 10, 23. ² See 1 Cor 1, 20. ³ See Is 58, 6.

huiusmodi enim certissime et docere et discernere interdiximus. Si quis autem deprehensus fuerit hanc definitionem nostram spernens atque praevaticans, si quidem clericus est, a proprio gradu decedat; laicus vero sequestretur, utpote qui non credit dominico verbo perhibenti: *Quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in caelis, et quodcumque solveris super terram, erit solutum et in caelis*¹.

X

Ut ante distinctam examinationem, et synodicam indicationem nullus clericus a proprio episcopo, aut episcopus a proprio metropolitano, vel a proprio patriarcha se ullo modo separet

10

Divina manifesto clamante scriptura: *Ante examinationem ne vituperes*² et intellige primum, et tunc increpa; et *numquid lex nostra iudicat hominem, nisi prius audierit ab eo, et cognoverit, quid faciat*³ iuste et congruenter et haec sancta et universalis synodus definit et statuit, quod nullus laicorum, vel monachorum, aut nullus ex catalogo clericorum, ante diligentem examinationem et synodicam sententiam a communione se separet proprii patriarchae, licet criminalem quamlibet causam eius se nosse praetendat, sed neque recuset nomen ipsius referre inter divina mysteria vel officia.

Similiter autem episcopos et presbyteros, qui in exterioribus civitatibus et regionibus sunt, erga proprios metropolitans affectare mandamus: quod etiam circa patriarcham suam facere metropolitans oportet. Si vero quis adversus hanc sanctam synodum deprehensus fuerit agere, si quidem episcopus aut clericus est, ab omni sacerdotali operatione decedat et honore; monachus autem aut laicus separet ab omni ecclesiastica communione atque collegio, quousque conversus per poenitentiam recipiatur.

¹ Mt 16, 19. ² Ecli 11, 7. ³ Io 7, 51.

Θ

Τῆς θείας ἀναφανδὸν βοώσεως γραφῆς, ‘πρὸ ἐξετάσεως μὴ μέμψη’², δικαίως καὶ συμπερόντως ἡ ἅγια καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ αὕτη σύνοδος ὀρίζει μὴδὲνα μοναχὸν ἢ λαϊκὸν ἢ τινα τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν κληρικῶν πρὸ τῆς ἀκριβοῦς ἐξετάσεως καὶ συν-οδικῆς ἀποφάσεως ἀπὸ τῆς κοινωνίας ἑαυτὸν ἀφορίζειν τοῦ ἰδίου πατριάρχου, καὶ ἐγκληματικὸν τι γινώσκων διατείνεται πρᾶγμα παρὰ πλησίον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἐξωτικαῖς πόλεσι καὶ χώραις ἐπισκόπους καὶ ἱερεῖς διατίθεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἰδίους μητροπολίτας ὀρίζομεν, ὡσπερ καὶ τοὺς μητροπολίτας πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον πατριάρχην. Εἰ δὲ τις ἐναντία τῇ οἰκουμενικῇ ταύτῃ συνόδῳ φωραθεῖ διαπραττόμενος, εἰ μὲν ἐπίσκοπος ἐστὶν ἢ κληρικός, ἐκπιπέτω πάσης ἱερατικῆς τε ἐνεργείας καὶ τιμῆς· εἰ δὲ μονάζων ἢ λαϊκός, ἀφοριζέσθω πάσης ἐκκλησιαστικῆς κοινωνίας καὶ συντάξεως, μέχρις ἂν ἐπιστρέψας ἐν μετανοίᾳ δεχθῇ.

beliefs since we strictly forbid such persons to teach or to pursue studies. If anyone shall be found rejecting and transgressing against this directive, he shall lose his rank if he is a cleric; if a lay person, he shall be excommunicated as one who does not believe the Lord's word which says, *Whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven*¹.

10

No cleric shall separate himself in any way from his bishop, nor a bishop from his metropolitan or patriarch, before a detailed enquiry and a formal decision in synod

As divine scripture clearly proclaims, *Do not find fault before you investigate*², and understand first and then find fault, and *does our law judge a person without first giving him a hearing and learning what he does?*³ Consequently this holy and universal synod justly and fittingly declares and lays down that no lay person or monk or cleric should separate himself from communion with his own patriarch before a careful enquiry and judgment in synod, even if he alleges that he knows of some crime perpetrated by his patriarch, and he must not refuse to include his patriarch's name during the divine mysteries or offices.

In the same way we command that bishops and priests who are in distant dioceses and regions should behave similarly towards their own metropolitans, and metropolitans should do the same with regard to their own patriarchs. If anyone shall be found defying this holy synod, he is to be debarred from all priestly functions and status if he is a bishop or cleric; if a monk or lay person, he must be excluded from all communion and meetings of the church until he is converted by repentance and reconciled.

¹ Mt 16, 19. ² Ecli 11, 7. ³ Jn 7, 51.

XI

Quod oportet anathematizare omnem qui impie ac laeis sensibus habere hominem duas animas opinatur

Veteri et novo testamento unam animam rationabilem et intellectualem habere hominem docente, et omnibus deiloquis patribus et magistris ecclesiae eamdem opinionem asseverantibus, in tantum impietatis quidem, malorum inventionibus dantes operam, devenerunt, ut duas eum habere animas impudenter dogmatizare, et quibusdam irrationalibus conatibus per sapientiam, quae stulta facta est¹, propriam haeresim confirmare pertentent.

Itaque sancta haec et universalis synodus, veluti quoddam pessimum zizaniam, nunc germinantem nequam opinionem, evellere festinans;

imo vero *ventilabrum in manu*² veritatis portans, et igni inextinguibili transmittere omnem paleam, et aream Christi mundam exhibere³ volens, talis impietatis inventores et patratores, et his similia sentientes, magna voce anathematizat, et definit, atque promulgat, neminem prorsus habere, vel servare quoquo modo statuta huius impietatis auctorum. Si autem quis contraria gerere praesumpserit huic sanctae et magnae synodo, anathema sit, et a fide atque cultura christianorum alienus.

XII

De non recipiendis ullo modo electionibus episcoporum per principale suffragium et potentiam factis

Apostolicis et synodicis canonibus, promotiones et consecrationes episcoporum et potentia et praeceptione principum factas penitus interdicitibus, concordantes definimus et sententiam nos quoque proferimus, ut si quis episcopus per versutiam vel tyrannidem principum huiusmodi dignitatis consecrationem susceperit, deponatur omnimodis, utpote qui non ex voluntate Dei, et ritu ac decreto ecclesiastico, sed ex voluntate carnalis sensus ex hominibus et per homines Dei donum possidere voluit vel consensit.

¹ Cf. 1 Cor 1, 20. ² Mt 3, 12; Lc 3, 17. ³ Cf. Mt 3, 12; Lc 3, 17.

11

It is necessary to declare anathema everyone who irreligiously and senselessly holds that a human being has two souls

Though the old and new Testament teach that a man or woman has one rational and intellectual soul, and all the fathers and doctors of the church, who are spokesmen of God, express the same opinion, some have descended to such a depth of irreligion, through paying attention to the speculations of evil people, that they shamelessly teach as a dogma that a human being has two souls, and keep trying to prove their heresy by irrational means using a wisdom that has been made foolishness¹.

Therefore this holy and universal synod is hastening to uproot this wicked theory now growing like some loathsome form of weed. Carrying *in its hand the winnowing fork*² of truth, with the intention of consigning all the chaff to inextinguishable fire, and making clean the threshing floor of Christ³, in ringing tones it declares anathema the inventors and perpetrators of such impiety and all those holding similar views; it also declares and promulgates that nobody at all should hold or preserve in any way the written teaching of the authors of this impiety. If however anyone presumes to act in a way contrary to this holy and great synod, let him be anathema and an outcast from the faith and way of life of Christians.

12

Elections of bishops are on no account to be recognized when they have been carried through by means of the favour and power of the secular authorities

The apostolic and conciliar canons clearly forbid the nomination and consecration of bishops which have come about as a result of the power and intrigues of the civil authorities. Therefore we declare and proclaim, in full agreement with them, that if any bishop has received his consecration through the manipulation and constraint of such persons, he should be deposed absolutely as one who has desired and consented to have the gift of God not from the will of God and ecclesiastical law and decree, but from human beings and through their machinations as a result of the prompting of carnal desire.

¹ See 1 Cor 1, 20. ² Mt 3, 12; Lc 3, 17. ³ See Mt 3, 12; Lc 3, 17.

XIII

Quod oporteat in magna ecclesia, in minori gradu constitutos ad maiores honores opportune contendere; sed non eos qui foris sunt inter illos admitti, sed nec eos in eadem ecclesia connumerari aut constitui, qui procurant, seu tuentur proastia, vel saecularium domos

Quoniam quidem dicit alicubi divinum eloquium: *Dignus est operarius mercede sua*¹; huius rei gratia et nos decernimus, et promulgamus, ut magnae ecclesiae clerici, qui in subiectis ordinibus morati sunt, ad maiores gradus ascendant, et, si digni claruerint, melioribus perfui mereantur honoribus, cum aliqui eorum, qui in ipsis sunt, aut per incrementum ad superiora ministeria advocati fuerint, aut per communem naturae terminum dormientes defuerint; sed non ex illis, qui foris sunt, aliqui se his innectentes, debitas eis, qui multo tempore laboraverunt, dignitates vel honores recipiant; ac per hoc inveniantur ecclesiae clerici nullo modo proficere.

Nullatenus autem habeant potestatem, qui principum domorum seu suburbanarum rerum curam gesserint, inter clerum magnae ecclesiae colligi, vel constitui: *nemo quippe Deo militans saeculi negotiis implicatur*². Si vero quis praeter definitionem quam nunc protulimus promotus fuerit in quocumque magnae ecclesiae gradu, reprobetur omnimodis ab omni ecclesiastico gradu, tamquam qui contra magnam synodum provectus exstiterit.

XIV

IA

Quod oporteat eos, qui per divinam gratiam ad episcopale officium convocantur, omnem reverentiam et honorem mereri ab iis qui per tempora aut strategatus ministerium sortiuntur, aut aliter principari videntur

Eos qui a divina gratia ad episcopale advocantur officium, tamquam imaginem et figuram ferentes sanctorum caelestium hierarchiarum, id est angelorum, secundum hierarchicum plane gradum et morem, omni honore dignos ab omnibus principibus et subditis sancimus haberi.

Et nequaquam strategis, vel quibuslibet aliis principibus obvius procul ab ecclesiis suis occurrere, sed neque semet a multo spatio de equis vel mulis eiicere, aut cum timore ac tremore procidere ac adorare; sed nec cum saecularibus principibus ad mensam intrare hora prandii, eosdem quos illi honores

Τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς θείας χάριτος εἰς τὴν ἐπισκοπικὴν προκληθέντας διακονίαν, ὡς εἰκόνα καὶ τύπον φέροντας τῶν ἀγίων καὶ οὐρανίων ἱεραρχιῶν, πάσης τιμῆς ἀξιοῦσθαι παρὰ πάντων τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ἀρχομένων θεσπιζόμεν, καὶ μηδαμῶς ἢ στρατηγοῖς ἢ τισὶν ἄλλοις ἀρχουσι προὔπαντᾶν πόρρωθεν τῶν ἰδίων ἐκκλησιῶν, μήτε τῶν ἵππων ἢ ἡμιόνων ἑαυτοὺς ἀπορριπτοῦντας σὺν φόβῳ καὶ τρόμῳ προσπίπτειν καὶ προσκυνεῖν· εἰ δέ τις ἐπίσκοπος μετὰ τὸν ὄρον τῆς ἀγίας συνόδου τῆς ὀφειλομένης αὐτῷ καταφρονήσῃ τιμῆς καὶ καταδέξοιτό τι ποιῆσαι παρὰ τὰ νῦν ὀρισμένα, ἀφορισθῆτω ἐπὶ ἐνιαυτὸν

¹ Lc, 10 7. ² 2 Tm 2, 4.

13

In the great church [of Constantinople], those [clerics] in a lower order should have the opportunity to seek higher dignities; but those from outside should not be admitted among them, and those who have responsibility for the management of the estates or houses of lay people should not be accepted or inducted into this great church

The divine word says, *The worker is worthy of his pay*¹. For this reason we too decree and proclaim that the clerics of the great church [of Constantinople], who have served in the lower orders, may rise to the higher grades and, if they have shown themselves worthy, may deservedly enjoy higher dignities, since some of those who now enjoy them either will be called through promotion to more important duties or will vacate them by dying. But those who do not belong to this particular clergy and yet insinuate themselves into it, must not receive the dignities and honours due to those who have laboured in it a long time, for in that case the clerics of the church [of Constantinople] would be found to have no promotion.

Those who manage the houses or estates of leading persons must by no means have the possibility of being admitted or inducted into the clergy of the great church [of Constantinople]: *No soldier on service for God gets entangled in civilian pursuits*². If indeed anyone, contrary to the directive we have now issued, is promoted to any dignity whatsoever in this great church, he must be excluded from all ecclesiastical dignity as one who has been promoted contrary to the decision of the great synod.

14

It is necessary that those who through divine grace are called to the office of bishops, should rightfully receive all reverence and honour from those who, at the time, hold the office of general or are otherwise regarded as occupying a high post

We declare that those who are called by divine grace to the office of bishop, since they bear the image and likeness of the holy hierarchies in heaven, that is of the angels, in accordance with what is clearly an hierarchical dignity and function, should be held as worthy of all honour on the part of everyone, rulers and ruled alike.

We also declare that they must not go to meet a general or any other high official a long way from their churches, nor should they dismount from their horses or mules a long way off or bow down in fear and trembling and prostrate themselves; nor should they go to table for dinner with secular dignitaries and

¹ Lk 10, 7. ² 2 Tm 2, 4.

strategis exhibentes, sed secundum ἕνα· καὶ ὁ ἀρχῶν ἐκείνος ἐπὶ δύο congruentiam spiritualis dignitatis, ἕτεσι μὴ καταξιοθῆ τῆς μεταλή- ac honoris sui, reddere quidem om- ψεως τῶν ἀγισμαμάτων.
*honorem, cui vectigal, vectigal, cui honorem, honorem*¹: praeferrī autem et multam a principibus amicorum 5 Christi imperatorum venerationem, et reverentiam promereri confesso- res eorum, et honoris similis existentes; ita ut fiduciam habeant episcopi arguere strategos multoties, et alios principes, atque omnem saeculi dignitatem, cum iniustum et irrationabile agere quid illos invenerint, et per hoc corrigere et reddere meliores. 10

Si vero aliquis episcopus, post definitionem sanctam synodi, debitum et canonicè collatum sibi contempserit honorem, et quid secundum veterem et inhumanam ac inordinatam consuetudinem, praeter quae nunc definita sunt, fieri permiserit, sequestretur anno uno, et princeps ille 15 duobus annis non mereatur percipere mysteriorum nec sanctificationum communionem.

XV

Quod non oporteat alienare cimelia, vel per emphyteusim salaria ecclesiarum tribuere

Apostolicos et paternos canones renovans sancta haec universalis synodus, definitivè neminem prorsus episcopum vendere vel utcumque alienare 20 cimelia et vasa sacra, excepta causa olim ab antiquis canonibus ordinata, videlicet quae accipiuntur in redemptionem captivorum; sed nec tradere salaria ecclesiarum in emphyteutica pacta, nec alias rusticas possessiones venumdare, ac per hoc ecclesiasticos redditus laedere, quod ad propriam utilitatem et ob escam pauperum et peregrinorum sustentationem esse decernimus: omnem vero ecclesiasticarum rerum potestatem habentem 25 et has meliorare, ac dilatare prout oportuerit ecclesiastica loca, per quae redditus fiunt; et insuper propriarum rerum dispositionem, distribuere ac committere seu conferre quibuscumque voluerit et iudicaverit iuxta propriam potestatem ac dominatum.

Quisquis autem apparuerit post hanc definitionem nostram contrarium 30 quid huic sanctae et universali synodo agere, deponatur ut praevaricator divinarum legum et praeceptorum, cassata videlicet omnino quae facta est in scriptis vel sine scriptis ab episcopo venditione, vel emphyteutica traditione, vel alia quavis alienatione, cimeliorum scilicet et salariorum locorum. Qui vero emerit aut perceperit aliquid ex praedictis cimeliis 35 vel salariis, et non restituerit ecclesiae iterum, quae ecclesiae sunt, vel non reddiderit ad incidendam chartam venditionis vel emphyteuseos, sit anathema usquedum fecerit quod ab hac sancta et universali synodo confirmatum est.

Si autem episcopus convictus fuerit construxisse monasterium de 40 redditibus ecclesiasticis, tradat ipsum eidem ecclesiae monasterium, si vero de propriis rebus, aut de aliis quibusdam conventionibus, habeat id se-

¹ Rm 13, 7.

show the same honours as they do to generals, but according to what is in keeping with their own spiritual dignity and honour, they should render to everyone his due: *Tribute to whom tribute is due; honour to whom honour is due*¹. They must show that the confessors of the emperors, who are friends of Christ, and those who have the same dignity, deserve great respect from the leading persons of those emperors. Thus the bishop will have the courage to reprimand generals and other leading officials and all other secular authorities as often as he finds them doing something unjust or unreasonable, and in this way to correct them and make them better.

But if some bishop, after the holy directive of this council, shall ignore the honour duly and canonically bestowed on him, and permits something to happen according to the old, debased and disordered custom which is contrary to what has now been declared, he must be suspended for a year and the official involved is to be considered unworthy to take part in the mysteries or the means of grace for two years.

15

Precious objects must not be sold and endowments of churches must not be leased by emphyteusis

This holy and universal synod, in renewing the canons of the apostles and fathers, has decreed that no bishop may sell or in any way dispose of precious objects or consecrated vessels except for the reason laid down long ago by the ancient canons, that is to say, objects received for the redemption of captives. They must not hand over endowments of churches by emphyteutic leases nor put on sale other agricultural properties, thereby damaging ecclesiastical revenues. We decree that such revenues are for church purposes, the feeding of the poor and the assistance of pilgrims. However, bishops have full powers to improve and enlarge, as opportunity offers, the ecclesiastical properties which produce these revenues. Moreover, they have the right to apportion or bestow their own property on whomsoever they wish and choose, in accordance with their own powers and rights of ownership.

Now that this decree has been made, whoever appears to have acted in a way contrary to this holy and universal synod, must be deposed on the grounds of violating divine law and precepts. Any sale which was made by the bishop, either in writing or otherwise, must be made entirely void, as well as any emphyteutic lease or any other act disposing of precious objects or endowments. Whoever buys or acquires any of the aforementioned precious objects or endowments and does not restore to the church what belongs to it and does not hand over for burning the bills of sale or leases, is anathema until he does what has been determined by this holy and universal synod.

If a bishop is found guilty of having built a monastery with the revenues of a church, he must hand over the monastery to the same church. But if he built it

¹ Rm 13, 7.

cundum propriam potestatem et voluntatem omni vita sua; et post finem vitae dimittat et conferat hoc quibuscumque voluerit, non tamen saeculare diversorium fiat.

XVI

De non utendis penitus adinventionibus ad exonorantiam sancti sacerdotii.

5 *Imperator vero vel princeps, si talia fecerit, redarguatur, et separetur: si autem non poenituerit, etiam anathematizetur*

Magnis ululatus et multis lacrimis dignum opus a multis fidelibus ad nostros pervenit auditus: aiunt enim fuisse quosdam laicos, sub eo qui nuper imperavit, in ordine senatorio, qui secundum diversam imperatoriam dignitatem videbantur capillorum comam circumplexam involvere atque reponere, et gradum quasi sacerdotalem per quaedam indusia et vestimenta sacerdotalia sumere, et, ut putabatur, episcopos constituere, superhumeralibus, id est palliis, circumamictos, et omnem aliam pontificalem indutos stolam; qui etiam proprium patriarcham adscribentes eum qui in adinventionibus risum moventibus praelatus et princeps erat, et insultabant, et illudebant quibusque divinis, modo quidem electiones, promotiones et consecrationes, modo autem acute calumnias, damnationes et depositiones episcoporum, quasi ab invicem et per invicem miserabiliter et praevaricatorie agentes et patientes.

20 Talis autem actio nec apud gentes a saeculo unquam audita est, ita ut peiores et miserabiliores infidelibus nationibus exhibeat et demonstret hos quos nunc manifestos effecimus: qua de re sancta et universalis synodus definivit et promulgavit, illos quidem malitiae nixus omnino ut scelestos abominari, neminem autem fidelium qui christiana censentur appellatione deinceps conari tale quid faciendi vel admittendi, aut silentio tegendi quemquam eorum qui huiusmodi operantur impietatem. Si vero quispiam imperator, vel potentum, aut magnatum, taliter illudere divinis, et talem ac tantam iniuriam impie in divinum sacerdotium facere vel admittere tentaverit, primo quidem arguatur a patriarcha illius temporis, et episcopis qui cum ipso fuerint, et segregetur, et indignus divinis mysteriis iudicetur; deinde vero accipiat quosdam alios in duram observantiam labores, et poenas quae visae fuerint: et nisi celeriter se poeniteat, etiam anathema sit ab hac sancta et universali synodo, tamquam qui sincerae et immaculatae fidei mysterium dehonestaverit.

35 Si vero, presumentibus quibusdam huiusmodi nefas operari, patriarcha Constantinopolitanus, et suffraganei eius episcopi, quod factum fuerit cognoscentes, neglexerint debitum adversus eos ostendere zelum, depellantur, et a proprio sacerdotio ac honore pellantur: qui autem quoquo modo huiusmodi ministraverunt vel ministraturi sunt impiissimae actioni, et minime confessi acceperint conveniens epitimium, definivimus per triennium sequestratos esse, anno quidem uno extra ecclesiam flentes, alio vero anno intra ecclesiam stare usque ad catechumenos; porro tertio, consistere cum fidelibus, et ita dignos fieri mysteriorum sanctificationibus.

from his own money or other sources, he may have it for his whole life under his own jurisdiction and direction; he may also bequeath it after his death to whomsoever he wishes, but it may not be used as a secular dwelling.

16

Spectacles which aim at insulting the holy priesthood must not be permitted. If the emperor or a ruler arranges such a thing, he must be judged and excommunicated; if he does not repent, he must be declared anathema

A matter which merits great sorrow, even many tears, has come to our ears from many of the faithful. They say that under the previous emperor some laymen of the senatorial order were seen to plait their hair and arrange it on their heads, and to adopt a kind of priestly dignity in accordance with their different ranks at the emperor's court. They did this by wearing various ornaments and articles of clothing which are proper to priests and, as it was thought, made themselves out to be bishops by wearing a pallium over their shoulders and every other piece of episcopal dress. They also adopted as their patriarch the one who took the leading role in these buffooneries. They insulted and made a mockery of a variety of holy things, such as elections, promotions and consecrations of bishops, or by bringing up subtle but false accusations against bishops, and condemning and deposing them, switching in turn from distress to collusion as prosecutors and defendants.

Such a way of behaving has never been heard of since time began, even among the pagans. It shows that those we have now brought to light are in a worse and more wretched state than the pagan nations. The sacred and universal synod, therefore, has declared and promulgated that these attempts to do evil must be condemned as crimes, and no member of the faithful who bears the name of Christian should henceforth attempt to do or tolerate such a thing, or to protect by silence anyone who has committed such an impious act. If any emperor or any powerful or influential person should attempt to mock holy things in such a way, or with evil intent to carry out or permit such a great wrong to be done against the divine priesthood, he must first be condemned by the patriarch of the time, acting with his fellow bishops, and be excommunicated and declared unworthy to share in the divine mysteries, and then he must accept certain other corrective practices and penances which are judged appropriate. Unless he repents quickly, he must be declared anathema by this holy and universal synod as one who has dishonoured the mystery of the pure and spotless faith.

However, if the patriarch of Constantinople and his suffragan bishops come to know of any others who have committed crimes of this kind and neglect to act against them with the necessary zeal, they must be deposed and debarred from the dignity of their priesthood. Those who in any way have shown, or shall show in future, such impious conduct and have not confessed it in any way and received the appropriate penance, are declared excommunicated by this synod for three years; during the first year they must remain outside the church as public penitents, during the second year they may stand inside the church among the ranks of the catechumens, during the third year they may join the faithful and thus become worthy of the sanctifying effects of the holy mysteries.

XVII

De potestate patriarcharum, et metropolitanorum ad eos adventu

Sancta et universalis Nicaena prima synodus antiquam consuetudinem iubet servari per Aegyptum, et provincias quae sub ipsa sunt, ita ut horum omnium Alexandrinus episcopus habeat potestatem, dicens: „Quia et in Romanorum civitate huiusmodi mos praevaluit.“¹ Qua pro causa et haec magna et sancta synodus tam in seniori et nova Roma, quam in sede Antiochia ac Hierosolymorum, priscam consuetudinem decernit in omnibus conservari, ita ut earum praesules universorum metropolitanorum, qui ab ipsis promoventur, et sive per manus impositionem, sive per pallii dationem, episcopalis dignitatis firmitatem accipiunt, habeant potestatem: videlicet ad convocandum eos, urgente necessitate, ad synodalem conventum, vel etiam ad coercendum illos et corrigendum, cum fama eos super quibusdam delictis forsitan accusaverit.

Sed quoniam sunt quidam metropolitanorum, qui ne secundum vocationem apostolici praesulis occurrant a mundi principibus se detineri sine ratione causantur, placuit talem excusationem omnimodis esse invalidam. Cum enim princeps pro suis causis conventus frequenter agat, impium est ut summos praesules ad synodos pro ecclesiasticis negotiis celebrandum impediant, vel quosdam a conciliis eorum prohibeant, licet tale impedimentum et fictam prohibitionem metropolitanorum suggestionem diversis modis fieri didicerimus.

Consueverunt autem metropolitani bis in anno synodos facere, ideoque, sicut dicunt, ad patriarchale penitus non posse concurrere caput. Sed sancta haec et universalis synodus, nec concilia quae a metropolitanis fiunt interdicens, multo magis illa novit rationabiliora esse ac utiliora metropolitanorum conciliis quae a patriarchali sede congregantur; et idcirco haec fieri exigit: a metropolitano quippe unius quidem provinciae dispositio efficitur, a patriarcha vero saepe totius causa dioeceseos dispensatur ac per hoc communis utilitas providetur, propter quod et speciale lucrum propter generale bonum postponi convenit, cum a maioribus super haec facta fuerit advocatio. Quamvis apud quosdam metropolitanorum antiqua consuetudo et canonica traditio per contemptum ipsorum postposita videantur, non currentibus eis ad communem profectum, quos leges ecclesiae severe condemnantes, omni excusatione remota, subiaccere vocationibus proprii patriarchae, sive cum communiter, sive cum sigillatim factae fuerint, exigunt.

Illud autem tamquam perosum quiddam ab auribus nostris repulimus, quod a quibusdam imperitis dicitur, non posse synodum absque principali praesentia celebrari: cum nusquam sacri canones convenire

Ἦλθεν εἰς τὰς ἡμῶν ἀκοὰς τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἄνευ ἀρχοντικῆς παρουσίας σύνοδον γενέσθαι· οὐδαμοῦ δὲ οἱ θεῖοι κανόνες συνέρχεσθαι κοσμητικούς ἀρχοντας ἐν ταῖς συνόδοις νομοθετοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ μόνους τοὺς ἐ-

¹ Conc. Nic. I c. 6 (v. supra pp. 8–9)

17

On the authority of patriarchs and the official visits of metropolitans to them

The first, holy and universal synod of Nicaea orders that the ancient custom should be preserved throughout Egypt and the provinces subject to her, so that the bishop of Alexandria has them all under his authority; it declares, “Because such a custom has prevailed in the city of Rome”.¹ Therefore this great and holy synod decrees that in old and new Rome and the sees of Antioch and Jerusalem, the ancient custom must be preserved in all things, so that their prelates should have authority over all the metropolitans whom they promote or confirm in the episcopal dignity, either through the imposition of hands or the bestowal of the pallium; that is to say, the authority to summon them, in case of necessity, to a meeting in synod or even to reprimand and correct them, when a report about some wrongdoing leads to an accusation.

But since some metropolitans give as an excuse for not responding to the summons of their apostolic prelate that they are detained by their temporal rulers, it has been decided that such an excuse will be utterly invalid. For since a ruler frequently holds meetings for his own purposes, it is intolerable that he should prevent leading prelates from going to synods for ecclesiastical business or hold some back from their meetings. We have learnt, however, that such an obstacle and alleged refusal of permission can come about in various ways at the suggestion of the metropolitan.

Metropolitans have had the custom of holding synods twice a year and therefore, they say, they cannot possibly come to the chief one, that of the patriarch. But this holy and universal synod, without forbidding the meetings held by the metropolitans, is conscious that the synods summoned by the patriarchal see are more necessary and profitable than the metropolitan ones, and so demands that they take place. A metropolitan synod affects the good order of only one province; a patriarchal synod often affects the good order of a whole civil diocese, and in this way the common good is provided for. So it is fitting that the common good take priority over a particular one, especially when the summons to meet has been issued by those of greater authority. The fact is that certain metropolitans seem to regard with contempt the ancient custom and canonical tradition, by their not meeting together for the common good. Therefore the laws of the church demand, with severe penalties and leaving no loop-hole, that they comply with the summons of their patriarchs whether they are summoned as a body or individually.

We refuse to listen to the offensive claim made by some ignorant people that a synod cannot be held in the absence of the civil authorities. The reason for this is that the sacred canons have never prescribed the presence of secular rulers at

¹ Council of Nicaea I, canon 6 (see above pp. 8–9).

saeculares principes in conciliis
sanxerint, sed solos antistites. Unde
nec interfuisse illos synodis, excep-
tis conciliis universalibus, inveni-
mus: neque enim fas est saeculares
principes spectatores fieri rerum
quae sacerdotibus Dei nonnunquam
eveniunt.

Quisquis ergo metropolitanorum proprium patriarcham contempserit,
et vocationi eius, quae sive ad unum solum, sive ad plures, sive ad omnes
sit, absque validissima aegrotatione vel paganorum incurso, non obedierit,
et per totos duos menses post notitiam vocationis, ad proprium venire
patriarcham minime festinaverit, vel si quocumque modo latitare, aut non
cognoscere nuntium ab illo missum tentaverit, segregetur: si vero intra
unum annum eandem contumaciam et inobedientiam demonstraverit,
deponatur omnibus modis, et ab omni sacerdotali operatione decedat,
atque a dignitate et honore, qui metropolitanis convenit, propellatur.
Is autem, qui huic definitioni non obedierit etiam, et a. s.

XVIII

Quod non oporteat ecclesiarum res ac privilegia violare seu decidere

Placuit huic sanctae et magnae synodo ut res vel privilegia, quae Dei
ecclesiis ex longa consuetudine pertinent, et sive a divinae recordationis
imperatoribus, sive ab aliis Dei cultoribus in scriptis vel sine scriptis
donata, et ab eis per annos triginta possessa sunt, nequaquam a potestate
praesulis earum quaecumque persona saecularis per potestatem subtrahat,
aut per argumenta quaelibet auferat, sed sint omnia in potestate ac usu
praesulis ecclesiae, quaecumque intra triginta spatium annorum ab eccle-
siis possessa fuisse noscuntur. Quisquis ergo saecularium contra praesen-
tem definitionem egerit, tamquam sacrilegus iudicetur, et donec se cor-
rexerit, et ecclesiae propria privilegia, seu res restituerit et reservaverit,
a. s.

XIX

*Quod non oporteat archiepiscopos aut metropolitans sub obtentu quasi visitationis
proficisci ad alias ecclesias, et subiectos sibi episcopos per avaritiam damnis afficere vel gravare*

Avaritiam utpote secundam idolatriam Paulus magnus execratur aposto-
lus¹, cunctos videlicet qui christiano vocabulo censentur ab omni turpi
lucro abstinere volens; multo magis ergo iis qui sacerdotio et fungantur
nefas est coepiscopos et suffraganeos suos per quemcumque modum
gravare.

Huius rei gratia definivit sancta haec et universalis synodus, nullum
archiepiscoporum, aut metropolitanorum, relinquere propriam ecclesiam,

¹ Cf. 1 Cor 5, 10.

synods but only the presence of bishops. Hence we find that they have not been
present at synods but only at universal councils. Furthermore, it is not right that
secular rulers should be observers of matters that sometimes come before the
priests of God.

Therefore, if any metropolitan ignores his patriarch and disobeys his sum-
mons, whether addressed to him alone or to several or to all, unless prevented by
a genuine illness or a pagan invasion, and for two whole months after notice of
the summons makes no attempt to visit his patriarch, or if he hides in some way
or pretends he has no knowledge of the patriarch's summons, he must be
excommunicated. If he shows the same stubbornness and disobedience for a
year, he must be unconditionally deposed and suspended from all sacerdotal
functions and excluded from the dignity and honour that belong to metropoli-
tans. If any metropolitan disobeys even this directive, let him be anathema.

18

The goods and privileges of the church should not be violated or suppressed

This holy and great synod has decided that the goods or privileges which belong
to the churches of God as a result of long enduring custom and have been
granted, whether in writing or not, by emperors of revered memory or by other
religious people and possessed by the churches for thirty years, must in no way
be removed by force on the part of any secular person, or taken away by him on
any pretext whatsoever, from the jurisdiction of the prelate who has them.
Whatever is known to have been possessed by the churches for thirty years must
remain subject to the control and use of the prelate of the church. Any secular
person who acts in a way contrary to this present decree shall be adjudged as one
who commits sacrilege and, until he reforms himself and restores or gives back
the privileges and goods belonging to the church, let him be anathema.

19

*Archbishops or metropolitans should not go to other churches on the pretext of an official visit
and by their greed be a burden to the bishops and involve them in expense*

Paul, the great apostle, condemns greed as another form of idolatry¹ and wants
all who unite under the name of Christian to abstain from every form of
shameful love of gain. It is all the more wrong, therefore, for those who have the
ministry of the priesthood to burden their fellow-bishops and suffragans in any
way whatsoever.

For this reason this holy and universal synod has decreed that no archbishop
or metropolitan should leave his own church and visit other churches under the

¹ See 1 Cor 5, 10.

et sub occasione quasi visitationis ad alias accedere, et potestate propria in inferiores abuti, et consumere redditus qui apud illos inveniuntur ad ecclesiasticam dispositionem et alimenta pauperum, ac per hoc aggravare avaritiae modo conscientias fratrum et ministrorum nostrorum; excepta hospitalitate, quae aliquando ex necessario transitu fortassis accesserit; sed et tunc non alia, nisi ex iis quae ad praesens de compendio praeeparata inveniuntur, cum reverentia et cum timore Dei dignanter accipiat; et maturius propositum iter perambulet, nihil omnino eorum quae sunt ecclesiae illius vel suffraganei episcopi petens et exigens; si enim unumquemque episcoporum ecclesiae propriae rebus cum multa paritate uti, et nullatenus in proprias utilitates importune ac sine ratione dispendere vel consumere redditus ecclesiasticos sacri canones decernunt, qua, putas, impietate iudicabitur dignus, qui aliis episcopis commissas ecclesias gravare vel ambire, et per hoc sacrilegii crimen incidere non formidat?

Quisquis ergo post hanc definitionem nostram tale quid facere tentaverit, poenam subeat a patriarcha qui per tempus fuerit, secundum congruentiam iniustitiae ac avaritiae suae, et deponatur et sequestretur ut sacrilegus, et aliter ut idolatra factus, iuxta magnum Apostolum.

XX

Quod non oporteat quemquam episcoporum apud se vel per se collata loca recipere sine illius iudicio qui urbi aut regioni illi praeesse dignoscitur

Et hoc sancta nunc synodus didicit, quod in quibusdam locis quidam propria usi auctoritate, ac sine voluntate illorum quibus huiusmodi dispositiones commissae sunt, audacter et tyrannice pellunt eos qui per emphyteusim perceperint aliquid ex iis locis quae possederunt, occasione quasi ruptae fidei circa pensionis pactum.

Non autem licet omnimodis hoc fieri, nisi prius accipiat protestationem per quosdam idoneos et fideles homines is qui emphyteusim contraxit: quod nisi dederit usque ad tres annos destinatum tributum census, proPELLATUR a locis a se detentis. Oportet enim post trium annorum census retentionem accedere ad praepositos urbis vel regionis illius, et arguere in conspectu eorum eum qui emphyteusim consecutus est, et exhibere contemptum eius, et tunc sententia et iudicio praetorum recipiat ecclesia propria in possessionem. Sed nequaquam quisquam apud se vel per se faciat praedictorum ablationem locorum; suspectivum quippe tale, quin et multi turpis lucri et avaritiae consistit indicium.

Si quis ergo episcopus aut metropolita praeter hanc definitionem nostram abstulerit aliquem locum a quoquam, putans quod ecclesiam propriam defendat, sequestretur a proprio patriarcha per aliquod tempus, dans primo quod per potestatem suam abstulit vel subripuit. Si vero contentiosus quis persisterit, non obediens his quae sanctae ac universali synodo visa sunt, deponatur omnimodis.

pretext of an official visitation, nor abuse his authority over other churches and consume the revenues which they have at their disposal and for feeding the poor, and thus, by a form of greed, be a burden to the consciences of our brothers and fellow ministers. An exception is made in the case of hospitality, which may sometimes arise on account of necessary travel. But even then he must accept, with reverence and fear of God, nothing else than what is found prepared from that which is currently at hand. He should quickly continue the journey he has undertaken without asking or demanding any at all of the things which belong to that church or the suffragan bishop. For if the sacred canons decree that every bishop should be sparing in his use of what belongs to his own church, and should no way spend or consume the ecclesiastical revenues in an unfitting or unreasonable way for his own advantage, what kind of impiety do you think he will be found guilty of if he has no scruples about going around and burdening the churches entrusted to other bishops and thereby incurring the charge of sacrilege?

Whoever attempts to do such a thing, after this directive of ours, shall incur from the patriarch of the time the punishment commensurate with his unjust and greedy behaviour, and shall be deposed and excommunicated as the sacrilegious person he is or, to put it otherwise, as an idolater, according to the teaching of the great Apostle.

20

No bishop should repossess, on his own initiative and authority, lands that have been conferred on someone, without reference to the person who is the recognized authority in the city or region

It has come to the ears of this holy synod that in certain places some, on their own authority and without the agreement of those who are entrusted with such decisions, callously and mercilessly expel people who have received some of their lands by emphyteusis, on the pretext that the contract about the agreed rent has been broken.

This must not be allowed to happen unless the person who made the emphyteutic contract first listens to the objections through the mediation of some suitable and trustworthy persons. Then, if the leaseholder has not paid for three years the rent due, he may be expelled from his lands. But it is necessary, after the rent has been unpaid for three years, to go to the authorities of the city or region and bring before them a charge against the person who obtained the emphyteutic lease, and to show how he has defaulted. Only then, after the decision and judgment of the officials, may the church take back its property. Nobody may effect the confiscation of the aforesaid lands on his own initiative and authority, since this would be a sign of the worst form of profiteering and greed.

So, if any bishop or metropolitan, contrary to this directive of ours, confiscates any property from anyone, thinking he is protecting his own church, let him be suspended by his patriarch for a time, having first restored what he took away. If he persists in his disobedience to the decision of this holy universal synod, he must be completely removed from office.

XXI

Quod non oporteat papam Romanum, vel quemquam aliorum patriarcharum, a quolibet inhonorari

Dominicum sermonem, quem Christus sanctis apostolis et discipulis suis dixit, quia: *Qui vos recipit, me recipit¹, et qui vos spernit, me spernit²*, ad omnes etiam qui post eos secundum ipsos facti sunt summi pontifices et pastorum principes in ecclesia catholica dictum esse credentes, definimus, neminem prorsus mundi potentium, quemquam eorum qui patriarchalibus sedibus praesunt inhonorare, aut movere a proprio throno tentare, sed omni reverentia et honore dignos iudicare: praecipue quidem sanctissimum papam senioris Romae, deinceps autem Constantinopoleos patriarcham, deinde vero Alexandriae, ac Antiochiae, atque Hierosolymorum. Sed nec alium quemcumque conscriptiones contra sanctissimum papam senioris Romae, ac verba complicare et componere, sub occasione quasi diffamatorum quorundam criminum, quod et nuper Photius fecit, et multo ante Dioscorus.

II

Quisquis autem tanta iactantia et audacia usus fuerit, ut secundum Photium vel Dioscorum, in scriptis vel sine scriptis iniurias quasdam contra sedem Petri apostolorum principis moveat, aequalem et eandem quam illi condemnationem recipiat.

Si vero quis aliqua saeculi potestate fruens vel potens pellere tentaverit praefatum apostolicae cathedrae papam, aut aliorum patriarcharum quemquam, anathema sit. Porro si synodus universalis fuerit congregata, et facta fuerit etiam de sancta Romanorum ecclesia quaevis ambiguitas et controversia, oportet venerabiliter et cum convenienti reverentia de proposita quaestione sciscitari, et solutionem accipere, aut proficere, aut profectum facere, non tamen audacter sententiam dicere contra summos senioris Romae pontifices.

XXII

De summorum sacerdotum electione atque decreto

Promotiones atque consecrationes episcoporum, concordans prioribus conciliis, electione ac decreto episcoporum collegii fieri sancta haec et universalis synodus definit et statuit; atque iure promulgat, neminem

¹ Mt 10, 40. ² Lc 10, 16.

21

The pope of Rome or any other patriarch must not be treated with disrespect by anyone

We believe that the saying of the Lord that Christ addressed to his holy apostles and disciples, *Whoever receives you receives me¹, and whoever despises you despises me²*, was also addressed to all who were likewise made supreme pontiffs and chief pastors in succession to them in the catholic church. Therefore we declare that no secular powers should treat with disrespect any of those who hold the office of patriarch or seek to move them from their high positions, but rather they should esteem them as worthy of all honour and reverence. This applies in the first place to the most holy pope of old Rome, secondly to the patriarch of Constantinople, and then to the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. Furthermore, nobody else should compose or edit writings or tracts against the most holy pope of old Rome, on the pretext of making incriminating charges, as Photius did recently and Dioscorus a long time ago. Whoever shows such great arrogance and audacity, after the manner of Photius and Dioscorus, and makes false accusations in writing or speech against the see of Peter, the chief of the apostles, let him receive a punishment equal to theirs.

If, then, any ruler or secular authority tries to expel the aforesaid pope of the apostolic see, or any of the other patriarchs, let him be anathema. Furthermore, if a universal synod is held and any question or controversy arises about the holy church of Rome, it should make inquiries with proper reverence and respect about the question raised and should find a profitable solution; it must on no account pronounce sentence rashly against the supreme pontiffs of old Rome.

22

On the election and appointment of bishops

This holy and universal synod declares and decrees, in agreement with earlier councils, that the promotion and consecration of bishops should be done by means of an election and decision of the college of bishops. So it promulgates as

¹ Mt 10, 40. ² Lk 10, 16.

laicorum principum vel potentum semet inserere electioni vel promotioni patriarchae, vel metropolitae, aut cuiuslibet episcopi, ne videlicet inordinata hinc et incongrua fiat confusio vel contentio, praesertim cum nullam in talibus potestatem quemquam potestativorum vel ceterorum laicorum habere conveniat, sed potius silere ac attendere sibi, usquequo regulariter a collegio ecclesiae suscipiat finem electio futuri pontificis: si vero quis laicorum ad concertandum et cooperandum ab ecclesia invitatur, licet huiusmodi cum reverentia, si forte voluerit, obtemperare se asciscentibus; taliter enim sibi dignum pastorem regulariter ad ecclesiae suae salutem promoveat.

Quisquis autem saecularium principum et potentum, vel alterius dignitatis laicus, adversus communem ac consonantem atque canonicam electionem ecclesiastici ordinis agere tentaverit, anathema sit, donec obediatur et consentiat in hoc quod ecclesia de electione ac ordinatione proprii praesulis se velle monstraverit.

XXIII

Quod non oporteat quemquam episcoporum alienarum locare possessiones ecclesiarum, sed nec clericum quemlibet in aliena ecclesia sacra celebrare mysteria

Venit et hoc nunc ad aures nostras, quod quidam episcoporum a quibusdam rogati, possessiones, quae ad alias ecclesias pertinent, irrationabiliter conferant; et per hoc, quantum possunt, ad propriam voluntatem in aliorum potestatem episcoporum usurpent. Hoc autem et prophetica illis manifeste maledictionem acquirat, quae dixit: *Vae qui coniungitis domum ad domum, et agrum ad agrum*¹, ut proximo auferatis aliquid; et criminis eos sacrilegii reos constituit. Huius rei gratia placuit magnae huic et universali synodo, quod nullus fratrum et coepiscoporum nostrorum, vel quisquam, talem sibi facere nequissimam locationem roget, vel ab aliquo ipse rogatus quamlibet alienarum et extranearum conferat ecclesiarum possessionem, nec etiam constituat presbyteros aut quemlibet alium clericum in ecclesiis quae sibi subiectae non sunt, praeter voluntatem episcopi cui ecclesia illa commissa est. Sed neque quisquam presbyterorum vel diaconorum, qui sacris officiis dediti sunt, ultra ac per se ecclesias ingrediens, sacrum aliquid operetur, in quibus ab initio sortem minime consecutus est; illicitum enim est hoc et omnimodis a canonicis praeceptionibus alienum.

Quisquis ergo post hanc definitionem nostram visus fuerit faciens aliquid horum quae nunc interdicta sunt, separaretur aliquo indicto tempore, discisso videlicet et dirupto modis omnibus locatorio pacto, quod sive scripto, sive sine scripto praeter canonem factum est. Similiter et presbyter ille vel diaconus segregatus sit, donec ab aliena recedat ecclesia. Quod si et segregationem contempserit, omnimodis deponatur, et ab omni honore sacro deiiciatur.

¹ Is 5, 8.

law that no lay authority or ruler may intervene in the election or promotion of a patriarch, a metropolitan or any bishop, lest there be any irregularity leading to improper confusion or quarrelling, especially since it is wrong for any ruler or other lay person to have any influence in such matters. Rather he should be silent and mind his own business until the election of the future bishop has been completed with due process by the ecclesiastical assembly. But if any lay person is invited by the church to join in the discussion and to help with the election, he is permitted to accept the invitation with respect, if he so wishes. For in this way he may be able to promote a worthy pastor in a regular manner, to the benefit of his church.

If any secular authority or ruler, or a lay person of any other status, attempts to act against the common, agreed and canonical method of election in the church, let him be anathema; this is to last until he obeys and agrees to what the church shows it wants concerning the election and appointment of its leader.

23

No bishop may dispose of the property of other churches, and no cleric may celebrate the sacred mysteries in a church other than his own

We have also learnt that some bishops, at the request of certain people, have unreasonably made a gift of properties belonging to other churches. Thus they usurp the authority of other bishops, so far as they can. This conduct will clearly bring on them the curse of the prophet who says, *Woe to those who add house to house and field to field*¹ in order to defraud their neighbour, and it has made them guilty of sacrilege. For this reason, this great and universal synod has decided that no brother of ours in the episcopate or anyone else may transact such a wicked property deal, nor, if asked by someone, dispose of any property belonging to other churches, nor install priests or any other clerics in churches that are not under his jurisdiction, without the permission of the bishop responsible for the church in question. Furthermore, no priests or deacons, who are consecrated for holy functions, should perform, of their own accord and decision, any sacred functions in churches to which they have not been appointed from the beginning. This behaviour is unlawful and utterly alien to the canonical regulations.

Whoever, after this declaration of ours, shall be seen to do any of these things which have now been forbidden, must be excommunicated for a period of time, and the contractual arrangements, whether written or not, must be completely dissolved and abrogated because they were made in contravention of the canons. Likewise, the priest or deacon is to be suspended until he withdraws from the church to which he does not belong. But if he ignores the suspension, he must be got rid of completely and dispossessed of every sacred office.

¹ Is 5, 8.

XXIV

*Quod non oporteat metropolitans suffraganeis suis episcopis ecclesiastica
suae metropoles committere ministeria*

Divina scriptura dicente: *Maledictus* omnis homo qui facit opus Domini negligenter¹, quidam metropolitano-
rum in extremam negligentiam et desidiam delapsi, praecipue suis subiectos ad se adducunt episcopos, et committunt eis ecclesiae propriae divina officia, et litanias, et cuncta omnino sacra quae ad se pertinent ministeria; ita ut per illos celebrent omnia quae per semet alacriter agere debuerint, ac per id eos, qui episcopalem dignitatem meruerunt, quodammodo clericos sibi subiectos exhibeant.

Vacant autem iidem praeter ecclesiasticas leges saecularibus curis atque dispositionibus, dimittentes perseverare in orationibus et obsecrationibus pro suis delictis ac populi ignorantibus²; quod nusquam apud aliquos penitus invenitur, cum sit canonicis nimirum contrarium omnino praecipue: et, quod saevius est, quia suis stipendiis per distinctas mensium vices praecipue dicuntur praedicta perficere ministeria; quod ab apostolico munimine modis omnibus ostenditur alienum. Haec autem omnia magnis et multis ac vehementissimis damnationibus dignos huiusmodi statuunt; probantur enim tales per haec quae faciunt, etiam satanica iactantia et superbia languere.

Quisquis ergo metropolitano-
rum post hanc sanctae ac universalis synodi definitionem eadem audacia vel superbia et contemptu abusus, non per se cum timore et alacritate, seu conscientia bona, debita ministeria in propria civitate, sed per suffraganeos episcopos suos efficere tentaverit, poenas exsolvat coram proprio patriarcha et aut corrigatur aut deponatur.

XXV

*Quod semper depositi teneantur qui consecrationem in quocumque gradu Methodii
et Ignatii sanctissimorum patriarcharum habuerint, et Photio invasori
etiam post sententiam quae synodice facta est Constantinopoli, consenserunt*

Et hoc debite sancta synodus definivit, quatenus episcopi, presbyteri, diaconi et subdiaconi magnae ecclesiae, qui consecrationem Methodii et Ignatii sanctissimorum patriarcharum habuerunt, et secundum insolens illud et durissimum cor Pharaonis obdurati sunt³, et usque nunc minime cum hac sancta et universali synodo convenerunt, sed nec nobis consonare in verbo veritatis voluerunt, quinimo invasori Photio concorditer consenserunt, depositi sint, et omnino sacerdotali operatione privati, quemadmodum nec multum ante beatissimus papa Nicolaus iudicavit; et nequaquam tales in sacerdotii catalogo recipiantur, etiamsi ex hoc converti voluerint; nisi in perceptione sanctificationum, qua dignos nullatenus eos, nisi per multam misericordiam, iudicamus; non enim sunt digni ad priorem honorem restitutionis locum per poenitentiam invenire, secundum exosum illum Esau, licet cum lacrymis expetisset eam⁴.

¹ Ir 48, 10. ² Cf. Heb 7, 27. ³ Cf. Ex 7, 13. ⁴ Cf. Heb 12, 16-17; Gn 33, 4.

24

*Metropolitans should not entrust to their suffragan bishops the ecclesiastical ministries of the
metropolitan church*

Divine scripture says, *Cursed* is everyone who does the work of the Lord with slackness¹. Yet some metropolitans have fallen into the depths of negligence and sloth. They summon the bishops subject to their jurisdiction and commit to them the divine offices of their own church as well as litanies and all the sacred ministries which are personal to themselves. The consequence is that they celebrate through the agency of these bishops everything they should readily do themselves. In this way they make those who have merited the dignity of bishop seem like clerics in their service.

These metropolitans, contrary to church law, give themselves to secular business and administration, failing to persevere in prayers and petitions for their own sins and the ignorance of their people². Some excuse this behaviour even though it is utterly and completely contrary to canonical regulations. What is still more serious, it is said that the bishops are told to complete the above ministries at allotted times each month at their own expense. This is totally alien to all apostolic sanction. All this makes such people worthy of the most severe condemnation possible, for they are shown by their actions to be infected by a form of satanic pride and arrogance.

Any metropolitan who, after this directive of the holy and universal synod, is consumed by a similar pride, arrogance or contempt and does not carry out with fear, promptitude and a good conscience the necessary ministries in his own city, but seeks to carry them out through his suffragan bishops, must be punished by his patriarch and be either reformed or deposed.

25

*Those who were consecrated in whatever order by Methodius and Ignatius, the most holy
patriarchs, and supported the usurper Photius after the sentence of condemnation was
pronounced in synod at Constantinople, must remain deposed for ever*

The holy synod has duly decided that the bishops, priests, deacons and subdeacons of the great church [of Constantinople], who received their consecration from Methodius and Ignatius, the most holy patriarchs, and became hard of heart like the arrogant and unfeeling heart of Pharaoh³, and even now are in complete disagreement with this holy and universal synod and, while rejecting harmony with us in the word of truth, have wholeheartedly supported the cause of the usurper Photius, must be deposed and suspended from all sacerdotal functions, just as the most blessed pope Nicholas decreed not long ago. On no account are such men to be readmitted into the ranks of the clergy, even if they wish in future to change their ways. An exception will be made in regard to receiving the means of holiness, and it is only our mercy which makes us think that they are worthy of this. They do not deserve to have the opportunity of being restored by their repentance to their former status, as is illustrated by the case of the odious Esau, though he begged in tears for that favour⁴.

¹ Jer 48, 10. ² See Heb 7, 27. ³ See Ex 7, 13.

⁴ See Heb 12, 16-17; Gn 33, 4.

XXVI

Quod clericus depositus, vel iniuriam passus ab episcopo suo, potestatem habeat recurrere ad maiores ecclesiae catholicae principes, id est, ad summos pontifices

Placuit et hoc sanctae synodo, ut quicumque presbyter aut diaconus a proprio episcopo depositus fuerit, propter aliquod crimen, vel si quamlibet iniustitiam se pati dixerit, et non acquieverit iudicio proprii episcopi, 5
dicens eum suspectum se habere, et vel propter inimicitiam quam erga se tenuerit, vel propter gratiam quam aliis quibusdam praestare voluerit, idcirco in se fuisse tale quid operatum, potestatem habeat ad metropolitam ipsius provinciae concurrere, et eam quam putat iniustam depositionem, vel aliam laesionem denunciare: metropolita vero ille libenter 10
suscipiat huiusmodi, et advocet episcopum qui deposuit, vel alio modo clericum laesit, et apud se cum aliis etiam episcopis negotii faciat examen, ad confirmandum scilicet sine omni suspicione, vel destruendum per generalem synodum et multorum sententia clerici depositionem.

Similiter etiam episcopos concurrere ad patriarchale caput decernimus, qui a metropolitans suis talia se pertulisse fatentur, ut apud patriarcham et metropolitans qui sub ipso sunt, iustam et sine suspicione sententiam quod movetur negotium accipiat. Insuper etiam nullo modo quisquam metropolitans episcoporum a vicinis metropolitans episcopis provinciae suae iudicetur, licet quaedam incurrisse crimina perhibeatur, 20
sed a solo patriarcha proprio iudicetur: cuius sententiam rationabilem, et iudicium iustum, ac sine suspicione fore decernimus, eo quod apud eum honorabiliores quique colligantur, ac per hoc ratum et firmum penitus sit quod ab ipso fuerit iudicatum. Si quis autem non acquieverit iis quae a nobis edita sunt, excommunicatus existat. 25

XXVII

IA

De eo quod non oporteat palliis praeter tempora et loca definita vestiri, et de eo quod nequaquam eos, qui ex ordine monachico facti sunt, conveniat schemate ac stola monachicae conversationis exuere

Secundum traditas formas per singulas provincias, ac regiones, et urbes, in ecclesiasticis promotionibus et consecrationibus illa quae indicia et signa sunt ordinis qui unicuique inesse videtur, retineri decernimus, ita ut episcopi, quibus concessum est palliis uti certis temporibus, in eisdem temporibus et locis, iis induantur, et tanto et tali non abutantur amictu propter typhum, et inanem gloriam, et humanum placorem, atque sui amorem: omni videlicet

Θεσπίζομεν τοὺς ὀρισθέντας ὁμοφορεῖν ἐπισκόπους ἐπὶ τισὶ καιροῖς ἀποκεκληρωμένοις, ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις περιβεβλησθαι ταῦτα καιροῖς καὶ τόποις, καὶ μὴ κατακεχρησθαι τῇ τοιαύτῃ καταστολῇ διὰ τῦφον καὶ κενοδοξίαν, καὶ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ τῆς θείας μυσταγωγίας, καὶ πάσης ἄλλης ἐκκλησιαστικῆς λειτουργίας ταῦτα φορεῖν. Ἄλλὰ καὶ τοὺς μετιόντας εὐλαβῶς τὸν μονήρη βίον καὶ τῆς ἐπισκοπικῆς ἀξιοθέντας τιμῆς, φυλάττειν

26

A cleric who has been deposed or suffered an injustice at the hands of his bishop, has the right to take his case to the highest authorities in the catholic church, namely the supreme pontiffs

This holy synod has also decided that any priest or deacon who has been deposed by his bishop for some crime, or who alleges he has suffered some kind of injustice and is not satisfied with the judgment of his bishop, saying that he does not trust him and that he has been wronged, either because of the enmity which the bishop has for him or because of favours the bishop wants to bestow on certain others, such a person has the right to have recourse to the metropolitan of his province and to denounce his deposition from office, which he thinks is unjust, or any other injury. The metropolitan should be willing to take up such cases and to summon the bishop who has deposed the cleric or injured him in any way. He should examine the case himself, with the help of other bishops, so as either to confirm the deposition of the cleric beyond all doubt, or to quash it by means of a general synod and the judgment of many persons.

In the same way we decree that bishops may have recourse to the patriarch, their head, if they complain that they have suffered similar things from their metropolitan, so that the business in question may receive a just and right decision from their patriarch and the metropolitans under him. No metropolitan bishop may be judged by his neighbouring metropolitan bishops, even though it is alleged that he has committed serious crimes, but he may only be judged by his own patriarch; we decree that this judgment will be just and beyond suspicion because a number of esteemed people will be gathered around the patriarch, and for this reason his judgment will be fully ratified and confirmed. If anyone does not agree with what we have promulgated, let him be excommunicated.

27

The pallium should not be worn outside the prescribed times and places, and it is entirely wrong that monks who have become [bishops] should put aside the outward style and dress of the monastic life

We decree that, in ecclesiastical promotions and consecrations, the marks which signify the rank to which each person belongs, should be kept, in accordance with the traditional usages of each province, region and city. Thus bishops who have been permitted to wear the pallium at certain times, may wear it at those times and places but should not abuse so great and honourable a garment, through pride, vainglory, human conceit and self-love, by wearing it unneces-

tempore divini sacrificii, et omnis alius ecclesiastici mysterii, hunc inepte portantes.

Illos autem qui reverenter monasticam vitam sectati sunt, et episcopalem meruerunt honorem, conservare schema, et amictum monachicorum indumentorum, et ipsam beatam vitam decernimus: et nullus omnino habeat potestatem deponere iam dictum schema, propter typhum et arrogantem voluntatem, ne per hoc inveniatur propriorum transgressor pactorum: sicut enim ibi continuus palliorum amictus fastigiosum et suae gloriae deditum demonstrat episcopum, ita et hic depositio ac denudatio monachici habitus nihilo minus eisdem submittit criminibus eum qui hoc fecisse captus exstiterit.

Quisquis ergo episcopus praeter definita sibi scripto tempora se pallio induerit, aut monasticarum vestium schema deposuerit, aut corrigatur, aut a patriarcha proprio deponatur.

τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν στολὴν τῶν μοναχικῶν ἀμφιασμάτων ὀρίζομεν· καὶ μηδένα τολμᾶν ἀπαμφιέννυσθαι τὸ εἰρημένον σχῆμα διὰ τυφον καὶ ἀλαζονικὴν γνώμην, κἀντεῦθεν εὐρίσκεσθαι παραβάτην τῶν ἑαυτοῦ συνθηκῶν· εἴ τις οὖν ἐπίσκοπος παρὰ τοὺς ὀρισμένους αὐτῷ ἐγγράφους ἢ ἀγράφους καιροὺς περιβάλῃτο τὸ ὠμόφορον ἢ τῶν μοναχικῶν ἀμφιασμάτων ἀποβάλλῃ τὸ σχῆμα ἢ διορθούσθω ἢ καθαιρεῖσθω.

sarily throughout the divine sacrifice and every other ecclesiastical ceremony. We decree that those who have devoutly embraced the monastic life and merited the dignity of a bishop, should keep the appearance and garments of the monastic habit and that holy way of life. None of them has the right to lay aside that type of dress out of pride and wilful arrogance, lest he is found thereby to violate his personal vows. Just as the continual wearing of the pallium shows the bishop as given to ostentation and vainglory, so the laying aside of the monastic habit exposes him to the same charges.

Therefore, any bishop who wears the pallium outside the occasions stipulated in writing, or lays aside the monastic dress, must either be corrected or be deposed by his patriarch.