

Translated To English
By Denver Cummings

THE RUDDER



OF THE METAPHORICAL SHIP OF THE ONE HOLY
CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH

(PEDALION)

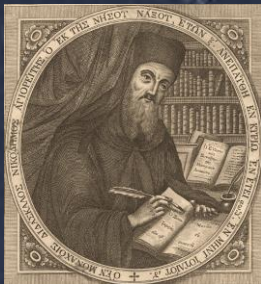
VOLUME I

“Wisdom has built her house with Seven Pillars”

- Proverbs 9:1

The Rudder (also called the “Pedalion” in Greek) is a compilation of all of the Holy Canons in the Orthodox church. It was compiled by Nicodemus the Hagiorite and Agapius the Monk of Mount Athos in the year 1800. The fifth edition of the Greek text was translated into English by Denver Cummings in 1957 and published by the Orthodox Christian Education Society of Chicago, Illinois. This extensive work includes the 85 Canons of the Holy Apostles, the Canons of the Seven Ecumenical Councils, the Canons of the Region Synods, and the Canons of the Holy Fathers of the Church, in addition to other instructions and forms used within the Church. This new edition of The Rudder is divided into two volumes and replicates the complete material and formatting of the 1957 version published in English, including the full introduction and related editor commentaries added throughout the book from the Orthodox Christian Education Society. Volume I contains the Canons of the Apostles and Seven Ecumenical Councils, while Volume II includes the Canons of the Regional Synods and Holy Fathers.

The Cover artwork of the book is based on iconography used in the Orthodox Church showing the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church as a ship at sea. Jesus Christ is often depicted as the navigator of the ship. The sea is symbolic of our journey through life, with the rudder of the ship represented by the Holy Canons of the church. These canons are the critical navigation instruments to keep the Church on course and safe from corruption and danger through the treacherous ‘rough seas’ of heresy and assure us that by staying the course, the gates of Hell will never prevail against the Church-Bride. She is the Church of the Seven Ecumenical Councils, symbolized in the scriptures as Seven Pillars and Seven Thunders (Rev. 10) – the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church.



Nicodemus the Hagiorite (also referred to as Nicodemus of the Holy Mountain) is a saint of the Eastern Orthodox Church. He was tonsured an Orthodox Christian monk at the Dionysiou monastery of Mount Athos who was also the co-author of THE RUDDER. Nicodemus was also known as a theologian, philosopher, and writer of liturgical poetry and author of other famous works such as The Philokalia. Born in Naxos, Greece in 1749, he reposed in the year 1809 and was canonized as a Saint by the Orthodox Church in 1955. His feast day is celebrated on July 14.



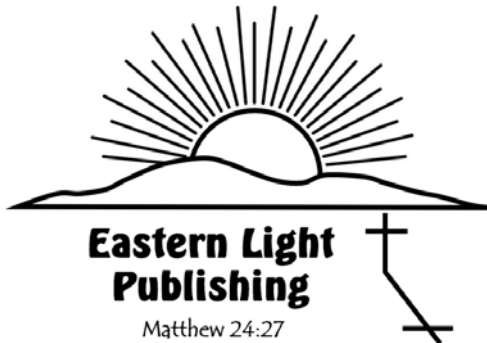
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THE RUDDER

(PEDALION) – VOLUME I

OF THE METAPHORICAL SHIP OF THE ONE
HOLY CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH

by Denver Cummings



Eastern Light Publishing
Sheridan, WY

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THE
RUDDER

by

D. CUMMINGS

*"Wisdom has built her house,
she has hewn out her **seven pillars**"*

—Proverbs 9:1

*"The words of the Lord are pure words, silver tried in fire, proved to
the earth, **purified seven times over.**"*

—Psalm 12:6

*"And cried with a loud voice, as when a lion roareth: and when he
had cried, **seven thunders uttered their voices.** And when the **seven
thunders** had uttered their voices, I was about to write: and I heard a
voice from heaven saying unto me, Seal up those things which the **seven
thunders** uttered, and write them not"*

—Revelation 10:3-4

TO THE GLORY
OF THE FATHER, OF THE SON, AND OF THE HOLY SPIRIT
OF THE ONE GOD

THE RUDDER

(PEDALION)

OF THE
METAPHORICAL SHIP OF THE ONE HOLY CATHOLIC AND
APOSTOLIC CHURCH

OF THE ORTHODOX CHRISTIANS OR ALL THE SACRED AND DIVINE CANONS

OF THE HOLY AND RENOWNED APOSTLES, OF THE HOLY
COUNCILS, ECUMENICAL AS WELL AS REGIONAL, AND OF
INDIVIDUAL DIVINE FATHERS, AS EMBODIED IN THE
ORIGINAL GREEK TEXT, FOR THE SAKE OF AUTHENTICITY,
AND EXPLAINED IN THE VERNACULAR BY WAY OF
RENDERING THEM MORE INTELLIGIBLE TO THE LESS
EDUCATED

by

AGAPIUS, A HIEROMONACH AND NICODEMUS, A MONK

and

diligently redacted at the instance of His Superlative
All-Holiness and of the Sacred and Holy Synod by
Seignior Dorotheus, and Erudite Teacher and Preacher

FIRST PRINTED AND PUBLISHED (A.D. 1800)

By Permission and Exhortation and Order of the Superlatively
All-Holy and Ecumenical Patriarch and of the Holy Synod, under
the Supervision of Theodoret (Ath.) of Ioannina, one among the
Hieromonachs.

The Whole Now Faithfully Translated into English,
From the Fifth Edition Published by John Nicolaidēs
(Kesisoglou the Caesarean) in Athens, Greece, 1908.

by

D. CUMMINGS

Published by

THE ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY
1956 Henderson Street, Chicago 13, Illinois.
1957

ΕΙΣ ΔΟΣΕΑΝ
ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΥΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ
ΤΟΥ ΕΝΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ

ΠΗΔΑΛΙΟΝ

ΤΗΣ ΝΟΗΤΗΣ ΝΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΜΙΑΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗΣ & ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΚΗΣ
ΤΩΝ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΩΝ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ

ΗΤΟΙ

ΑΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΟΙ ΙΕΡΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΙΟΙ ΚΑΝΟΝΕΣ

ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΕΥΦΗΜΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ, ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙΚΩΝ ΤΕ
ΚΑΙ ΤΟΠΙΚΩΝ ΣΥΝΟΔΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΕΡΟΣ ΘΕΙΩΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΩΝ,
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΤΙ ΜΕΝ ΧΑΡΙΝ ΑΞΙΟΠΙΣΤΙΑΣ ΕΚΤΙΘΕΜΕΝΟΙ ΔΙΑ ΔΕ ΤΗΣ
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ΑΠΛΟΥΣΤΕΡΩΝ ΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΙ

ΠΑΡΑ

ΑΓΑΠΙΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΝΙΚΟΔΗΜΟΥ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ

ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤ' ΕΠΗΜΕΛΕΙΑΣ ΑΝΑΚΡΙΘΕΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΡΘΩΘΕΝΤΕΣ ΨΗΦΩ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ
ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΣΥΝΟΔΟΥ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΣΟΦΟΛΟΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΥ ΚΑΙ
ΙΕΡΟΚΗΡΥΚΟΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΥ

ΤΟ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΤΥΠΟΣ

Ἐκδοθέντες ἀδεία μὲν καὶ προτροπῇ καὶ ἐπιταγῇ τοῦ Παναγιωτάτου καὶ Οἰκουμενικοῦ
Πατριάρχου καὶ τῆς ἁγίας Συνόδου, ἐπιστάσι δὲ τοῦ ἐν ἱερομονάχοις
Θεοδώρητου Ἀθ. τοῦ ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων.

ΝΥΝ ΔΕ ΤΟ ΠΕΜΠΤΟΝ

ΥΠΟ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΪΤΑΟΥ ΚΕΝΗΣΟΓΑΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΣ



ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ
ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΕΚΔΟΤΙΚΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΪΔΟΥ
1908



This ship symbolizes the catholic Church of Christ. Its keel represents the orthodox faith in the Holy Trinity. Its beams and planks, the dogmas and traditions of the faith. Its mast represents the Cross; its sail and rigging represent Hope and Love. The master of the vessel is our Lord Jesus Christ, whose hand is on the helm. The mates and sailors are the Apostles, and the successors of the Apostles, and all clergymen, secretaries and notaries, and occasional teachers. The passengers comprise all Orthodox Christians. The sea symbolizes present life. A gentle and zephyrlike breeze signifies whiffs and graces of the Holy Spirit wafting the vessel on its course. Winds, on the other hand, are temptations baffling it. Its rudder, whereby it is steered straightforwardly to the heavenly harbor is the present handbook of the sacred Canons. Note that divine Chrysostom also likens the Church to a ship (see vol. vi, p. 426, line 10, and vol. vii, p. 502, line 20, of the Etonian edition).

EDITOR'S FORWARD TO THE PRESENT EDITION

This new release of the 1957 English translation of *The Rudder (Pedalion) of the Orthodox Church* is presented in two volumes (Vol. I and Vol. II) for the benefit of English-speaking clergy, seminarians, and other serious students of the Orthodox tradition throughout the world. The purpose of this edition is to make accessible one of the most important canonical collections of the Orthodox Church so that it may be used as a resource for studying and understanding the historical canons of the Church.

The *Rudder* has long served as a guide for clergy who, in cooperation with their bishops, seek to interpret and apply the sacred canons to contemporary pastoral situations. For this reason, the work has traditionally been studied primarily within the context of ecclesiastical life and under proper spiritual guidance. While lay readers may certainly benefit from studying the holy canons, it should be remembered that their interpretation and application properly belong within the life and authority of the Church.

This two-volume edition reproduces nearly all of the content of the 1957 English translation prepared by Denver Cummings and published by the Orthodox Christian Educational Society of Chicago, Illinois. That publishing house, active throughout much of the twentieth century, produced a number of English translations of Greek theological works and made an important contribution to the availability of Orthodox literature in the English-speaking world. This edition therefore seeks, in part, to honor the labor of those editors and translators—such as Kostas Andronis—who worked to produce the first complete English version of this important canonical text. The aim of this edition is not to revise the historic English translation, but to preserve it as faithfully as possible while presenting the text in a clear and transparent form for modern readers.

In recent years, various digital copies of the 1957 edition have circulated online. Some of these reproductions contain significant omissions in which portions of the editorial commentary have been removed or obscured. In certain cases, the removed material has been described as extraneous or potentially problematic. As a result, some versions appear with visibly missing or redacted sections, creating confusion for readers regarding the contents of the original publication.

For the sake of transparency and historical accuracy, the present edition restores most of the original editorial material included in the 1957 translation. It should be noted that these additions were not part of the original Greek text of the *Pedalion*, nor were they written by the nineteenth-century theologian Apostolos Makrakis, whose name has sometimes been associated with them. Rather, these passages were editorial comments inserted by the translators and editors of the Orthodox Christian Educational Society. Such material was clearly

identified in the original edition with designations such as “By the Editors” or “From the Editors.”

Because some readers may prefer to distinguish clearly between the canonical text and the later editorial additions, the restored commentary in this edition has been placed in clearly marked grey boxes. This allows readers to easily recognize the editorial material and to decide for themselves whether to consult it or pass over it while reading the primary text.

By preserving these materials while clearly distinguishing them from the canonical text itself, this edition seeks to present the 1957 translation in a form that is both historically faithful and editorially transparent. In this way, readers are able to encounter the work substantially as it appeared in its original English publication while still easily recognizing the difference between the ancient canons and the later editorial commentary.

Certain sections of the original publication that consisted solely of advertisements for other books issued by the 1957 publisher have been omitted, since this material is no longer relevant to the present edition.

The sacred canons preserved in the *Rudder* represent the accumulated wisdom of the Orthodox Church as expressed through the Holy Apostles, the Ecumenical Councils, and the Fathers of the Church. Through these canons the Church has safeguarded the purity of the apostolic faith and maintained order within her life across the centuries. They remain an essential guide for the pastoral governance of the Church and for the preservation of her unity and doctrine. Just as a ship requires a rudder to maintain its course upon the sea, so the Church relies upon the guidance of the holy canons to steer safely through the challenges of each age. Without this canonical tradition, the Church would risk drifting amid the moral and doctrinal confusion of the world. With it, she remains firmly anchored in the faith once delivered to the saints.

May the Lord guide all who study these sacred canons, and grant wisdom to those entrusted with shepherding His flock within the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church.

Jonathan Photius
Eastern Light Publishing, LLC
2/19/23

INTRODUCTION

To my kind Confreres and Patrons

To my kind Confreres and Patrons:

Two and a half decades have already passed since I engaged at first in the vocation of bookbinder and printer and later that of publisher. I consider myself fortunate in that throughout these many years I have won the sincere congratulations of my confreres and patrons everywhere on account of the conscientious execution of every job ever turned out of my establishment, the promptness with which I have executed the orders they have given me, and the careful reverence, so to speak, with which I have fulfilled my business transactions. Today, therefore, I publicly express to them my profound gratitude.

Although the persons who have hitherto honored me with their business and those who have visited my establishment can vouch for what I say, yet a short retrospect of the works I have so far published is not altogether superfluous in connection with the present occasion.

My friends, it is indisputable that religious books, and ecclesiastical books in particular, ought to be accorded a prominent position among all those, which are of a scientific nature. Taking my stand on this principle, I too engaged in the business of publishing such books, commencing with the task of printing the *Prayer Book*, or *Orthodox Vademecum*, indispensable to every Orthodox Christian, and the *Twelve Monthbooks* (or *Mensals*)—these being my first works—in the year 1905, on gloss paper and with red and black ink, of prime quality. The favorable reception of these works by the discriminative public encouraged me to undertake the publication of the *Great Horologion of the Church*, which by strenuous and toilsome, as well as expensive efforts I succeeded in printing in such a fashion as to have it like and in all respects identically the same as the edition approved by the Patriarchate, embellished with new engravings in keeping with the art of hagiography (as the painting of pictures of saints is called in Greek), on gloss paper and with red and black ink.

The publication of this work was followed by the printing of the *Apostle*, conformably to the Venetian edition, likewise on gloss paper and in two colors of

ink. At the end of the book, I inserted a permanent Index complete enough to enable one readily to find the reading appointed for any particular day.

Next I published the *Divine Liturgy* of John Chrysostom, Gregory the Theologian, and Basil the Great, likewise on good paper, with five artistic pictures of the aforementioned Saints, of the Holy Trinity, and of the Metalepsis (the Lord's Supper).

I then published the *Psalter*, in a large-size edition and likewise on gloss paper with red and black ink, and in easily legible print.

But what I may regard as the summit of my achievements is the publication of the Sacred Gospel, printed in admirably good taste, with extraordinary successfulness in reproducing the pictures of the four Evangelists and that of the Pantocrator, on choice paper, two-colored inks, and with new and very easily legible type. Besides these things, however, to facilitate the reading of it I innovated in the matter of printing the marginal references, by adopting red ink instead of the black which had been hitherto used and which had caused confusion and difficulty in attempts to read them, according to the general confession of readers, notwithstanding that I had to go to considerable expense on this account.

Today I am bringing out the "*Sacred Rudder*" the usefulness of which is admitted by everybody, seeing that it forms one of the sources of our Ecclesiastical Law. This too has been printed on gloss paper with new type and with due consideration for good taste. I will not wax prolix about it, because you already have it in your hands and can easily compare it with previous editions.

The colossal labor of finishing all the above works was done within the space of three years; and I hope to be able, with the good will of God, to undertake also the publication of the *Paracletike* (more familiarly known as the *Octeochos*) by next August.

In submitting these facts today to you, my kind confreres and supporters and those in general who have honored me with their business, as my report for the twenty-five years of my toilsome, expensive, and honest work, I ask you to continue rewarding me with your valued love and confidence, so as to enable me to complete the Library of our Ecclesiastical Literature in accordance with the system inaugurated by me, with new editions artistically similar to the European, of which, unfortunately, only we Orthodox Christians have so far been destitute.

Athens, the 23rd of April, 1908.

To Orthodox Christians

How useful and necessary and beneficial the present Holy Book of the divine and Holy Canons, called THE RUDDER, has become, has already been proved by the fact that all previous editions are completely out of print. This Book was first published in Leipzig, Germany, in the year 1800, under the supervision of the Hieromonk Theodoret, who arbitrarily made various additions to the notes of the commentators. Inasmuch as these additions were out of keeping with the spirit of the Canons and were disapproved by the Great Church of Christ, they were subsequently deleted, as seen from the published letter of the Ecumenical Patriarch Neophytos, of sacred memory, during whose first patriarchate the annotations of the first commentators, Agapios, a Hieromonk, and Nicodemos, a monk, were sanctioned.

The first edition, at the instance of the Synod, was revised by erudite teachers distinguished for their virtues and named Dorotheus, a preacher of the Great Church, Athanasius of Paros, and Macarius, a former Metropolitan of Corinth. After being thus corrected, the book was published the second time, in Athens in 1841, by C. Garpolas, who very appositely dedicated it to the ever-memorable brothers Zosimas for their infinite benefactions to the nation.

The third edition was published in Zante in 1864 by Sergius Raftanis, a man worthy of respect who dedicated it to the Christeponymon Pleroma (i.e., the whole Christian society) of Orthodox Christians.

The fourth edition was issued by Mr. Anthony St. Georgiou.

In agreement with this edition, we too are publishing for the fifth time this Holy Book, unchanged and faithfully reprinted, and containing the parts omitted by Garpolas, to wit, the last annotation to Canon XX of the First Ecumenical Synod, not deleted in the first edition, and the dedicatory letter addressed to the Great Church by the commentators, to their everlasting memory.

Dedication

**TO THE MOST SACRED AND GOD-GOVERNED MOTHER OF ALL
ORTHODOX CHRISTIANS,
THE HOLY GREAT CHURCH OF CHRIST,
WITH REVERENCE WE TENDER FILIAL
AND AT THE SAME TIME VERNILE ADORATION**

To Thy sacred embrace, O common Mother of Orthodox Christians, holy great CHURCH OF CHRIST, is dedicated this Rudder of the catholic Church, the present handbook interpretative of the divine Canons; and the dedication is one that is most proper and on every score of rightness fitting. For, I well know, all persons, none excepted, will concur in the admission that to the same extent that a mariner's compass is needed by sailors, and the rudder is necessary to ships, the collection of the Sacred Canons, too—this figurative Compass, that is to say—is needful and this spiritual Rudder is necessary and indispensable to Thee, the spiritual and venerable SHIP prefiguring and representing the ecumenical universal transport of the Catholic Church. And, indeed, this canonical handbook is a sort of rudder and spiritual compass; since it alone, in truth, points accurately and undeviatingly to the Pole—that is to say, to Heaven itself. With it, as with a rudder, the Church of Christ can very surely and very safely steer her course on her voyage to that really calm Harbor of that blissful and wantless destination. In fact, this figurative Rudder was constructed in yoretime by the Holy Spirit through the agency of the Godly-learned Apostles and, from time to time, of Holy Councils, Ecumenical as well as Regional, and of individual great hierarchs of the Church. Many others, after them, as collaborators and adjutories, who steered with it joined hands in mending it, and interpreted parts thereof that were hard to understand, harmonizing well enough passages that somehow seemed to conflict with one another. It is from these, indeed, that we too have compiled the interpretations, and, having compendiously gathered them together under one cover, so far as was possible, we offer this present labor in simple language to THEE, the supernal Mother of us all. With this in mind, O divine Mother, open Thy most sacred arms, like the Lawyer Priest of old, and receive this book gleefully, like a sheaf of fresh ears of wheat (Lev. 2:14) newly reaped and most sacred. Receive and accept, O myron-laden SHIP, "like a merchant-ship bringing in wealth from afar", as the author of Proverbs says (Prov. 31:14), Thine own Rudder.

But rather, to employ a more suitable example, precisely as Euphemia, the virgin martyress of old, by embosoming the volume of the Fourth holy ecumenical Council, kept it safe and above every calumny of the adversaries, so and in like manner be Thou, who keepest in Thyself like a treasure the relic of this very same renowned Euphemia exhaling the odor of a living body, fain to embosom

the present Handbook, which contains not only the definitions and Canons of the Fourth, but simply of all the holy Councils, Ecumenical as well as Regional, and of the individual Fathers, so that by embosoming and protecting it, Thou mayest keep it safe and above every calumny of caviling critics, and render it trustworthy and indisputable as reading matter for all Christian peoples with the authoritativeness of Conciliar and Apostolic decision. That is what we prayerfully request. That is what, along with us, all other souls longing after God supplicate for, which souls are voyaging through this billowy and turbulent life towards that unruffled living of our blissful fatherland: accordingly, it is our fervent wish that we may all be spared the fate of being disappointed.

From the Sacred Monastery of the Pantocrator, situated at the Holy Mountain of Athos, December 4th, 1793.

Of Your Most Hierarchical,

Ecumenical and God-glorified Majesty, the least and at the same time most obedient children in the Lord

HIEROMONK AGAPIOS and MONK NICODEMOS
(A Dyad of Friends beloved in Christ)

EDITORS' FORWARD

"Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars " - (Prov. 9:1)

The Holy Orthodox Eastern Church of Christ resembles a large ship. Just as a ship has its captain, crew, and helm by which it is directed and guided safely to its destination, so in like manner the Holy Church of Christ has her captain, crew, and helm by which she is guided to the desired spiritual harbor of eternal salvation. The Church can no more do without these than a ship at sea. She is likely to meet her eternal destruction without them in the same way that a ship runs the danger of disaster when deprived of them.

Her captain is Jesus Christ and her crew the clergy and the laity; but what is her helm or rudder? It is this sacred book which embodies the Holy Tradition of the Church, namely the Sacred Canons of the Holy glorious Apostles, of the Seven Holy Ecumenical and Local Councils, and of the God-bearing Fathers, as well as the invaluable interpretation and commentary of the most holy Nicodemus of the Holy Mountain. "This book," he states, "comes after the Sacred Scriptures, the Old and New Testaments. It is a book of inspired sayings second to the first inspired sayings. It is the book of the eternal limits set by our Fathers and of the laws existing unto eternity and above all laws."

This sacred book is truly the "Pedalion" or helm of the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church of Christ which throughout the ages guides her faithful children to the haven of God's heavenly Kingdom and to the inheritance and enjoyment of eternal blessings. All members of the Holy Orthodox Church must (in the words of the Seventh Ecumenical Council) "embrace these divine canons and adhere to them tenaciously, as expounded by the trumpets of the Spirit of the laudable Apostles, of the Holy Ecumenical and Local Councils, which have assembled for the promulgation of such precepts, and of those of our Holy Fathers. Illumined by the same Spirit, they have all enacted what is profitable to us."

We have recognized the acute need for an edition of the Sacred Canons in English translation for the benefit of the Orthodox faithful in America. After completing the publication of the translations of the philosophical, theological, moral, and apologetical works of the great teacher of Orthodoxy, Apostolos Makrakis, by divine grace and mercy we now bring to light the "Pedalion of the

Holy Orthodox Church of Christ" without in the least adulterating the traditional text.

Since Holy Tradition is equally authoritative in Orthodoxy as Holy Scripture, then truly acquaintance with the "Pedlion" is of utmost importance for the practicing Orthodox Christian. Indeed, want of knowledge of the Church Canons has been a source of not few irregularities in the life of the Orthodox Church in the Western world. Orthodox polity and administration in this country have suffered much because of insufficient regard for Canon Law and the lack of determination in enforcing it. Some would have us believe that the Canons are not binding as the dogmas of the Church and are merely of relative authority. But such serious misconceptions have become productive of several evils, such as arbitrariness in administration and departures from traditional practices and usages.

The time has come when the Orthodox Catholic Church, particularly in America where she is exposed to a host of dangers, must re-affirm the authority of Holy Tradition as articulated in the Sacred Canons. She can make good her claims, as the true Church of history and antiquity, only by maintaining her heritage as formulated in the collection of ecclesiastical enactments contained in this volume. We trust that this publication will enable more Orthodox to come to a fuller knowledge of the Sacred Tradition of the Church and, consequently, will help in restricting all tendencies toward deviating from strict conformity among both clergy and laity. Moreover, it is possible that non-Orthodox and heretics will be instructed in the truth and led to repentance and conversion to the one and only infallible Church of Jesus Christ which holds the dogmatic Faith that alone can guide man to the haven of eternal salvation.

MAN'S FREE WILL, AND THE MORAL LAW BELIEF IN THE DIVINE LAW

Man's free will resembles a motive force, the locomotive of a railway train; the law, on the other hand, resembles a road, the steel rails over which the iron hore moves, and it routes the train to its destination, or end. If the locomotive and the wheels of the train keep on the track, it will soon arrive at the end of the line without difficulty. Otherwise, if it runs off the track, the train is derailed and wrecked. A ship arrives at the harbor of its destination if it keeps moving in accordance with the law of its motion and goes where the rudder guides it; but if it moves otherwise, it bumps into reefs or rocks, and is wrecked or foundered. A wayfarer arrives at his destination if he keeps moving along the way that leads thereto; but if he moves out of the way or off the way, he goes astray and faces danger. And, in general, every motion and every action is done well if it is done in a straight line. Otherwise it is done wrong, and leads to a wrong end, a bad end.

Man's free will is a power which moves, acts, and resists in accordance with its own freedom. But in order that it may act aright in accordance with some law, it must act in accordance with certain rules and principles which the supreme and perfect will of God has laid down. Because only action and motion of the will in accordance therewith will lead to a good goal; action and motiop contrary thereto will only lead to an evil opposed thereto. Hence our will ought to accustom itself to thinking, desiring, wishing, acting in accordance with the divine law,

in the conviction that therein it will find life; outside of the divine law it will find death.

I am free to choose life or death, what is good or what is bad. But it is to my interest to choose life, and not death; what is good, and not what is bad. I ought therefore to resolve to act in accordance with my true interest, my real interest, as a prudent, and not as a foolish person! If I choose life, what is good, I am siding with God and have His protection. I am safe! I am in the party of the elect! If I choose death, what is bad, I become an enemy of God, and justice will hound me unceasingly: I have no security! I am in the part of the wicked! I am foolish. If I choose what is good, I become good. If I choose what is bad, I become bad. If I become good, I can hope to be enrolled in the party of the elect. If I become wicked and a criminal, I shall inevitably be condemned and punished, for there is a justice that punishes wicked persons and rewards good ones. But who will show me forcefully and adequately—that is to say, impressively and comprehensively—what is good and what is bad, life and death? None other but the divine law and word. "For in God's will there is life," says the prophet; and in sin and transgression there is moral death, everlasting damnation.

**WHERE IS INFALLIBILITY IN THE CHURCH,
AND WHICH COUNCILS POSSESS VALIDITY,
AND WHICH DO NOT?**

The fact is that infallibility in the Church is neither in individuals considered by themselves nor in the clergy, nor in councils, whether local or ecumenical, considered by themselves, in neither the one nor in the many, but in the mind of the Holy Spirit as defined by reference to the tenor of thought involved in the Holy Scriptures, which precedes and goes in the van of the reflections of individuals and the decisions of ecclesiastical councils, which are convoked in Holy Spirit. The latter enlightens them in regard to the correct comprehension of the Holy Scriptures and the infallible opinion expressed through them and the decision made in all matters of a religious nature that may arise. In order to be able to discern and recognize the possession of infallibility and divine inspiration in the Church it is necessary that we compare and scrutinize her dogmas with relevant parts of the Holy Scriptures and with ancient tradition. If we find them to be consistent with the dogmas and teachings therein, in no manner or form departing therefrom in the direction of an excess or by way of a deficiency, we have to confess that infallibility resides in the Church, and that without the latter or in her absence there is no security and no salvation for a man. But if we find them to conflict with or to depart from the dogmas comprised in the Holy Scriptures and traditions, we shall confess that in the Church in question there is no infallibility, but, on the contrary, falsehood and heresy. Hence it is to be concluded as a logical inference that the Church derives her infallibility from the Holy Spirit, of which it is an essential attribute in proportion to her agreement with what is relevant thereto in the divine Scriptures and traditions, which are decrees and laws and instructions of the Holy Spirit, as Christ Himself said: "*The words that I speak are spirit and are life; when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you to all truth*" (John 6:63; 16:13). But inasmuch as the Church, which God has founded to remain forever, is a pillar and framework of the truth, by the same token she is also infallible and unerring. Not only are ecclesiastical councils, or

even the whole Church, infallible when they think and judge in accordance with the divine law which declares or reveals the divine will, but every member even of the Church is likewise infallible when he thinks and judges in accordance with the Holy Scriptures. Nevertheless, this infallibility is mainly an attribute of the divine law, of the Holy Spirit, by coming into agreement with which a man comes into communion with His thought and judgment and becomes infallible. Again, wherever there is infallibility, there also is validity. Hence it is to be concluded that those Councils are valid and command respect in the Church whose decrees when judged by the infallible law of the Holy Scriptures and of tradition are found to be consonant and similar and to vary therefrom neither in the direction of an excess nor by way of a deficiency in the least manner whatsoever. Their dogmas bear an obligatory character and are obligatory upon all the Church. Accordingly, these Councils are called infallible and God-inspired. But those Councils, on the other hand, whose decrees when judged by the criterion of the Holy Scriptures and of tradition are found to depart from and to differ from Scripture and tradition are not conceived in Holy Spirit, but in a Satanical spirit, regardless of whether they have been convoked by or composed of bishops or patriarchs or popes, or whether they have been sanctioned by imperial edicts. When judged by this infallible principle the seven holy Ecumenical Councils are found to have been in all respects God-inspired and infallible and valid. Their dogmas, moreover, are recognized in the Church and in her theology as a criterion for later conciliar decrees, which in the course of the life of the Church naturally arise and are invested with the same validity and have the same authority as the dogmas and doctrines embodied in the Holy Scriptures. But when any papal councils are judged in accordance with the same principle, they are found to be a delusion and a heresy and an inspiration of the Satanical spirit, whose characteristic it is to differ with and contradict and quarrel with the words of the Holy Spirit embodied in Scripture and tradition. Modern theologians, being ignorant of the law in accordance with which and by means of which ecclesiastical differences in Councils and Synods are to be solved, and thanks to which the spurious and counterfeit doctrines put forth from time to time and aired in the Church are dissolved and dissipated like cobwebs, have remained in ignorance as to where infallibility is to be predicated, and on this account some have suggested that every faithful baptized person possesses infallibility, while others insist that only the Pope possesses infallibility, and still others say it belongs to the majority of the Church, and others that it rests in the Ecumenical Councils, which are the only ones recognized as infallible by the Orthodox Church of Christ.

But if we assume the first view to be correct—that is to say, that every faithful baptized person is *ipso facto* infallible—without taking into consideration whether or not this faithful perceives and judges and decides in agreement with the Holy Scriptures and traditions, we shall get involved in an absurd conclusion as a result of deeming the errors and delusions and prejudices of the faithful one to be infallible and hence taking them as a criterion of truth. Moreover, since there are many and various errors and delusions and they conflict with one another, it is evident as a matter of logical necessity that the criteria will also be many and various. But in that case where is the infallibility? Hence it is to be inferred logically that it is untrue that every person that is faithful and baptized is also infallible. On the other hand, if we assume as true the supposition that only the Pope possesses infallibility, without comparing his judgments,

To Orthodox Christians Everywhere on Earth

(by the Interpreters)

TO ORTHODOX CHRISTIANS EVERYWHERE ON EARTH INTO WHOSE HANDS THIS BOOK MAY FALL, WE OFFER A REVERENT SALUTATION AND A BROTHERLY EMBRACE IN CHRIST

"BOTH TO GREEKS and to Barbarians, both to men of learning and to men of no intelligence, I am debtor" (Rom. 1:14). These are words which were uttered in faith and truth by St. Paul, the great teacher of nations, while speaking in Christ. By means thereof he purposed to teach all those men who love the common benefit of their neighbor, not to speak or to write only in the Greek language, in order by means of it to benefit only the educated and learned, but also to speak and to write in simple language as well, in order by means of it likewise to benefit also their unlearned and simple brethren. For, tell me, what benefit can a simple person get from reading a book solely in Greek? Will not the one who wrote the book appear to him a barbarian, and, conversely, will he not appear to its author a barbarian? Will not the two of them together be talking windily? For (as St. Paul himself says in censuring the Corinthians because they were boasting that they had received the gracious gift of speaking with tongues, but had not begged to receive in connection therewith also the gracious gift of interpreting them to others and pursuantly contributing to edification of the Church) "if, then, I know not the meaning of the utterance, I shall be to the speaker a barbarian, and the speaker a barbarian unto me" (I Cor. 14:11). Thus, though a Greek and one learned in Greek may be benefited, a simple and unlearned brother is not edified.

For this reason we too, following the example of this apostolical teaching, have desired by means of the present Handbook to benefit both the erudite and learned and the simple and unlearned as well. The former, with the Greek text of the divine and sacred Canons, apostolical, conciliar, and individual. The latter, on the other hand, with a simpler interpretation and explanation³ of the same

³ This shows how frigid, how vain, and how illogical is the argument of some men to the effect that the divine Canons ought not to be explained in everyday speech. Man alive, whoever you be that are saying these things, do you mean to tell us that it is all right for the divine and sacred Canons to be translated into Arabic, into Syriac, into Ethiopic, and to be explained in Latin, Italian, Slavonic, English, and, in fact, right for nearly every race of so-called Christians to have these sacred Canons translated into their language; but, on the other hand, right for only the race of the Orthodox Eastern Greeks, within whose borders the Councils were held and the Fathers of the Canons produced their blossoms and the exegetes of these first made their appearance, to lack and not be allowed to have the divine Canons translated into their mother tongue? And if our own race formerly had these Canons couched in Greek because they knew Greek, how is it that the same race ought not to have the Canons now explained in their ordinary language, since, with few exceptions, they know only the simple idiom? Be careful what you say, man.

Canons. And again, conversely, we have desired to benefit the literati and learned with the interpretation, by adducing for them solutions of imperspicuities found in the Canons by the learned of olden days and not understood by all of them offhand; and, on the other hand, to benefit ordinary persons with the Greek text, by making them have due respect for them and preventing them from deeming them offspring of our own womb: thus enriching both the former and the latter with a book which, though difficult to procure because of there being but few copies printed, is still more difficult for the common man to obtain because of its expensiveness. This was the chief and general reason which persuaded us, brethren, to take in hand the present work.

There was still another reason, though, which was the following. We could not endure seeing these divine and sacred Canons mincemeated, dear friends, sophisticated, with false titles, and interchanged, in many paltry manuscripts purporting to be in the nature of nomocanons in the hands of many spiritual fathers, and the interpretations of exegetes being mistaken for the Canons proper, and, what is worse, the fact that even these interpretations they contain are corrupt, misconceived, and fraught with incongruous and erroneous teachings. What were they producing? Death-dealing fruit, you may be sure, and the effect of contributing to the perdition of souls, both in the spiritual fathers miscorrecting sinners and in the sinners miscorrected by them. It was just as if, in accordance with the common proverb, a warped rule warps everything it is applied to. Hence, in order to stop these death-dealing currents, through which our brethren were being "potioned with a blurring upset", as the prophet says (Hab. 2:15), we were led to make it our business to go back to the original sources and to draw from there freshest, pure, and life-bearing waters. In fact, I do not hesitate to state outright that we made it our business to find the books of the sacred Pandects, and from there not only to transcribe the entire and integral Greek text of the divine Canons word for word, but also to expound in everyday language the true and Greek interpretations of the genuine exegetes of the divine and sacred Canons whom the Church had approved. First, and for the most part, and nearly everywhere, we adopted that of marvelous and illustrious John

Zonaras, who holds the first rank⁴; and next that of Theodore Balsamon⁵; only rarely that of Alexius Aristenus⁶; but many times that of "Anonymous,"⁷ and of others.⁸

⁴ John Zonaras flourished about the year 1118 after Christ during the reign of Alexius I Comnenus. After first serving as the great drungar of the guard (or "vigla,") and "protoascretis" (or privy councillor of the emperor), he became a monk in the monastery, as they say, of St. Glyceria. There at the suggestion of others, as he himself says in his preamble to the Canons, he explained the divine and sacred Canons of the holy and renowned Apostles, of the seven Ecumenical Councils, and of all our Holy Fathers more learnedly and better than any of the later exegetes, as an anonymous writer bears witness about him in the work of Leo Alatius. In the matter of diction he is clear and at the same time elegant. Later Balsamon followed in the footsteps, so to speak, of his interpretations in regard to so many questions that he not only mentions these in his own interpretations as respecting the meaning, but in most places he even employs the very same words and sentences of Zonaras; and he calls him "most superb" in many places, and especially in the interpretation of the letter of Athanasius the Great to Ammon (commemorated on September 1). Blastaris likewise calls him superb; and "Anonymous" in the work of Alatius refers to him as marvelous Zonaras. Not all his interpretations, however, have been preserved. For no interpretation of Zonaras is preserved in the Pandects regarding the Canons of St. Gregory of Nyssa, or of Timothy, or of Theophilus, or of Cyril. Besides the interpretations of the Canons, he also wrote a general history from the creation of the world down to the reign of Alexius I Comnenus, but, what is more important, he also interpreted *in extenso* the resurrectional canons of John Damascene in the Octoechos.

⁵ Theodore Balsamon lived near the end of the twelfth century during the reign of Manuel Comnenus and of Michael, patriarch of Anchialus, who was also so pre-eminent as a philosopher, coming after the time of Zonaras and indeed of even Aristenus. He served as a deacon of the Great Church, and as nomophlax (looking after observance of the laws) and chartophylax (looking after archives, etc.), and was the first of the Blachernae. In the year 1203, during the reign of Isaac the Angel and of Patriarch George Xiphilinus he wrote certain canonical "questions and answers", which are those addressed to Patriarch Mark of Alexandria. But after Constantinople fell into the hands of the Venetians, in the year 1204, he was ordained also patriarch of Antioch, and he composed epigrams to the said George Xiphilinus. By order of the emperor Manuel Comnenus and at the suggestion of Michael the patriarch, while still a deacon, as he himself says in his preamble to the nomocanon, he annotated the fourteen titles of the imperial laws summarized by Photius, which is as much as to say the nomocanon of most holy Photius, and in regard to all the divine Canons, apostolical, conciliar, and of the fathers, he made most extensive and lengthy interpretations, which have been preserved down to the present time. In most cases his interpretations consist of two parts, of which the first is the very same interpretation as that which was given prior thereto by Zonaras, and which he employs as respecting the sense and even as respecting the words; the second part of his interpretation comprises civil laws and patriarchal notes and Novels (i.e., statutes) of emperors. As regards this man's explanations, whether apposite or not, though we have nothing to say, out of respect for the man, yet we have corrected him in many matters wherein he fell short of the truth, and have proved him to be contradicting himself. The learned metropolitan of Kitros named John shall bear witness instead of us in what he writes (on page 333 of the Corpus Juris Graecoromani) to Constantine Cabbasilas, bishop of Dyrrhachium (now called Durazzo in English), concerning Balsamon, saying: "this sacred man, patriarch of Antioch, was versed to precision in legal and canonical legislation; yet his writings, so far as respects those brought out to serve as canonical and legal lemmas, do not appear to be accurate in every point; but what is strange, as if they were products of forgetfulness and especially of oversight, and in places even being in disagreement with themselves. As for me, even when he was alive, I heard many men versed in law in Constantinople who took to task some of that man's expressions of opinion, on the ground that they had not been formed reasonably, both in reference to interpretations of canons and laws and in other such writings." Accordingly, in order to be brief, I will say that in comparison with Zonaras, Balsamon may be likened to a young boy in comparison with an adult man. In contrast with this, though, it may be noted that Patriarch Philotheus in the work of Armenopoulos (page 288 of the Corpus Juris Graecoromani), and St. Mark of Ephesus in the Volume of Love (page 583), and Gennadius II (surnamed Scholarius) in the same volume (page 264) call him most learned in the laws and Canons.

⁶ Alexius Aristenus also lived in the days of Emperor Manuel Comnenus, subsequently to Zonaras, and a little previous to Balsamon, in the year of salvation 1166. After becoming a deacon and nomophlax of the Great Church, he made an epitome of all the sacred Canons, which indeed is also called a nomocanon.

CANONS OF THE HOLY APOSTLES

THE 85 CANONS

OF THE

HOLY AND RENOWNED APOSTLES

TOGETHER WITH AN INTERPRETATION OF THEM IN THE COMMON DIALECT OF MODERN GREEK (TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH)

CANON I

*A Bishop must be ordained by two or three other Bishops.*²⁷

(c. IV of 1st C.; c. III of 7th C.). (John 14 :26)

Interpretation

The word *Bishop* primarily and properly is applied, in the divine and holy Scriptures, to God, who supervises and oversees all things in the universe [Note of Translator.—Here, as in many other similar cases, a word of explanation needs to be added in English for the benefit of readers unfamiliar with the

²⁷ Anacletus the bishop of Rome says that this first Canon is an assertion made originally by the apostle St. Peter, and that it was in accordance with the legislation embodied in this Canon that the three Apostles, Peter, James, and John, ordained James the brother of God, though divine St. Chrysostom says that the Lord ordained him. But perhaps the Lord did indeed declare him bishop of Jerusalem (the ordination referred to by Chrysostom being taken for a declaration), but the three Apostles, after the Ascension of the Lord, ordained him by means of a divine rite, as Dositheos attests on page 3 of his first book of past patriarchs of Jerusalem. But why do two or three bishops ordain a bishop, while only one ordains a priest and other clergymen? It is probable that this is the internal and proximate reason. For, since according to the Apostle "*what is lower is blessed by the higher*" Hebrews 7:7, which is said of the priesthood in particular), in the case of a priest, it being an ordination of a lesser being, one bishop alone suffices, because of his admittedly being superior to and ranking above a priest; but in the case of ordination of a bishop, who is of the same order and rank and not inferior or lesser, one bishop alone does not suffice, because of his being of the same rank, and not superior to the other. In order, therefore, that a superior may bless an inferior, in the case of parity of persons, two or three ordain one; since admittedly two good men, or superiors, are "higher" than one, as Solomon says (Ecclesiastes 4:9).

etymology of words; I observe, therefore, that the corresponding Greek word signifies “overseer.”], as Job bears witness, saying: “*This is the portion of an impious man from the Lord, and the heritage appointed to him by the Overseer*” i.e., by God (Job 20:29). And again: “*Thine oversight (or supervision) hath preserved my spirit*” (ibid. 10:12). It is also applied to our Lord Jesus Christ, as the premier of Apostles Peter says concerning Him: “*For ye were like sheep going astray; but have now returned unto the Shepherd and Overseer of your souls*” (I Pet. 2:25). But secondarily and by grace this noun is also applied to those who have been designated by God, just as God Himself says concerning Eleazar: “*Overseer Eleazar, a son of Aaron the priest*” (Num. 4:16). And to Ezekiel God said: “*Son of man, I have made thee a watchman over the house of Israel*” (Ezek. 3:17). And, in sum, the word Overseers, or Bishops, in the Old Testament refers to supervisors and watchmen of the internal and ecclesiastical administrations and affairs, just as is written concerning the aforementioned Eleazar that he had “*The oversight (i.e., supervision) of all the tabernacle*” (Num. 4:16), and concerning the high priest Jehoiada that he appointed overseers over the house of the Lord: “*And the priest appointed overseers over the house of the Lord*” (II Kings 11:18); as well as of the external and civil affairs and administrations as supervisors, just as is written: “*And Moses was wroth with the overseers of the host, with the captains over a thousand, and with the captains over a hundred*” (Num. 31:14).

Not one, however, of the Apostles was designated or named a bishop, or overseer, during the earthly lifetime of the Lord, who alone is the overseer of our souls; but the only authority they exercised was that of curing every disease and casting out demons (Matt. 10:1; Mk. 3:15). But after the resurrection of our Savior from the dead and His assumption into heaven, the Apostles, who had been sent forth by Him, as He Himself had been sent forth by the Father, into all the world, and had received all authority to bind and to loose and all the gracious gifts of the All-holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, they not only possessed the name of apostle by virtue of the facts themselves, but indeed even the name of bishop, or overseer, as sacred Epiphanius bears witness (Her. 27): “*First were Peter and Paul, these two Apostles and Bishops.*” Likewise did all the rest, as the Fathers affirm. For this reason it was that they ordained, or decreed, that city bishops be ordained by three bishops or two. But also those who were preaching in the country and city, as sacred Clement says, in his first epistle to the Corinthians: “*They appointed their firstfruits, trying them with the Spirit, as bishops and deacons of those who were going to believe in the future.*” Hence, too, Ignatius the God-bearer, in writing to the faithful in Tralles (a Greek city in Asia Minor), commands: “*Respect your Bishop, too, like Christ, in accordance with what the blissful Apostles enjoyed.*” Thus much is all we have to say concerning the word *bishop*.

As for the Greek word corresponding to the English word *ordain* in the sense of appoint a person to an office, *cheirotomia*, it is etymologically derived from the Greek verb *teino*, meaning to stretch (forth the hands, for example); and it has two significations. For the word *cheirotomia* is used to name the simple action of choosing and designating one to hold a dignity of any kind, which was performed by the people by stretching forth their hands, according to that saying of Demosthenes: “*Whomsoever you ordain a general*” (in his first Philippic). And especially in accordance with the custom in vogue in the Church

in olden days, when the multitudes would crowd together unhindered and ordain, or, more plainly speaking, designate the chief priests, or bishops, by stretching forth their hands, as Zonaras says, though afterwards the council held in Laodicea forbade this in its fifth Canon, wherein it said: "That ordinations, or, in other words, designations, as signified by votes, must not be performed in the presence of listeners." Today, however, the word ordination (*cheirotomia*) signifies the sacrament involving prayers and an invocation of the Holy Spirit in the course of which a bishop lays his hand upon the head of the ordinee, in accordance with that Apostolic saying: "*Lay not hands upon anyone too quickly*" And this fact is familiar to all. So this Canon prescribes that every chief priest, or prelate (whether he be a metropolitan, that is to say, or an archbishop or merely a bishop) is to be ordained by two bishops or three.²⁸ Apparently the figure of speech is that which is called in English "hysteron proteron," but in Greek *prothysteron*, meaning the placing of what would naturally come first in a later position, and vice versa. For it would have been simpler and more usual to say without the figure of speech: "A bishop must be ordained by three other bishops or (at least) two." Thus the Apostolical Injunctions (which some have inaccurately translated into English as "Apostolical Constitutions") promulgate the same Canon without any figure of speech by saying: "We command that a bishop be ordained by three (other) bishops, or at any rate by at least two."²⁹

Concord

Various other canons are in agreement with this Canon in their legislation. For all the bishops of a province (according to c. IV of the 1st C. and c. III of the 7th council and c. XIX of Antioch), or many (according to c. XIII of Carthage) must meet together and ordain a bishop. But since this is difficult, the required number is reduced to three as the minimum, and the rest of them participate in the ordination by means of their letters. In confirming this Ap. c. the c. LVIII of Carthage says that this ancient form shall be kept, in order that no less³⁰ than

²⁸ The bishops when ordained must be of advanced age, that is, not less than fifty years old, except only where a small province is involved wherein one of advanced age cannot be found, according to Apostle's Injunctions Book II, Chapter 1, and according to the 52nd epistle of St. Cyprian, or even above the thirtieth year, according to Justinian's Novel 137.

²⁹ The word *bishop* is defined by Emperors Leo and Constantine thus: "A bishop is a supervisor and caretaker of all souls that come to church in his province, possessing executive power, of a priest, deacon, reader (or readers), cantor (or Chanter), and monk. It is the peculiar nature of a bishop to be condescending to humbler men, but to disdain the haughty. . . And to incur danger for the protection of his flock, and to make their worries his own grief" (Edg. Title VIII, page 92, of Book II of Jur.). The name metropolitan is given to a bishop, according to what Gabriel of Philadelphia (Revelation 1:11) says in his treatise concerning priesthood, because he is like a mother of his city, which he ought to nourish spiritually with his religious teachings and life and holy manners and with the produce of his territory (see also in Apostolic Canon LVIII). That there followed a most beneficial custom in the Church of God for those intending to be ordained as bishops to become monks first and afterwards to become bishops, see in the footnote to Apostolic Canon LI.

³⁰ Perhaps on this account it said not less than three, not contrary to the Apostolic Canon in reality, but because of there being in those times a greater number of bishops available than there were in Apostolic times, during which there was also the exigency due to persecution.

CANONS OF THE ECUMENICAL SYNODS

CONCERNING THE FIRST HOLY ECUMENICAL COUNCIL

Prolegomena

The First holy Ecumenical¹⁴⁶ Synod was held in Nicaea in Bithynia during the reign of Constantine the Great, A.D. 325. Outstanding men who attended it

¹⁴⁶ I find some four characteristic features of Ecumenical Synod here and there referred to by many authors, and especially by Dositheos (page 1018 of the *Dodecabiblus*). Three of them are remote and common, and pertain to some local Synods, whereas the other one is the most proximate, and, so to speak, the essential one, the constituent one, and is in fact the peculiar difference which distinguishes all Ecumenical Synods. Thus, the chief distinguishing feature of all Ecumenical Synods is the fact that they are convoked at the behest, not of the Pope or of such and such a patriarch, but by imperial orders, i.e., at the behest of emperors or kings. This was the case also in connection with the Synod held in Sardica, which was convoked by Constantius and Constance; and also in connection with the Synod held in Antioch, which too was convoked by command of Constantius, though for another purpose than that of dedicating the temple in Antioch (Dositheos, page 183 of the *Dodecabiblus*). Second, for the purpose of discussing matters of faith, and consequently to render a decision, and give it dogmatic definition at every one of the Ecumenical Synods (Dositheos, page 633 of the *Dodecabiblus*); but this too was the fact in connection with certain local Synods, such as that held in Carthage, which created a discussion against the heresy of Pelagios and of Celestios, and laid down dogmatic definitions. Third, for all dogmas laid down by them and their canons to be orthodox, pious, and in agreement with the divine Scriptures or previous Ecumenical Synods. Wherefore the axiom of St. Maximus uttered in regard to such a case became famous wherein he said: "pious faith validates the Synods held," and again, "the correctness of dogmas judges the synods." But this feature too is common to most local Synods, with some exceptions. Fourth and last, for all Orthodox patriarchs and prelates of the catholic Church to agree and to accept everything that has been decreed and ordained by the Ecumenical Synods, either by their personal presence or by their own legate, or deputy, or, in the absence of such a representative, by means of letter of their own. This agreement and accord of the patriarchs and prelates of an ecumenical synod is, as we have said, the constituent and distinctive characteristic of ecumenical Synods. It is constituent because constitutes them and causes them to be truly ecumenical in correspondence with their name. It is distinctive because, because it is not observed in any local synod, it serves to distinguish ecumenical from local synods. Hence the Synod held in the days of Copronymos in Blacherna, though called ecumenical by the Iconomachs (or Iconoclasts), was criticized and refused recognition by St. Germanus and Damascenus, and Stephen the younger. and many others, as well as by the Seventh Ecumenical Synod in its Sixth Act, all of them declaring that without the concurrence of all other patriarchs there can be no ecumenical synod, nor can any he

called such. For on the part of the Seventh Synod Epiphanius said: "How again can it be a great and ecumenical synod when it is one which the presidents of the other churches neither accepted nor agreed to, but in fact dismissed it with an anathema?" (Dositheos, page 684 of the *Dodecabitibus*. With nearly the same criticisms St. Maximus criticized the pseudo-synod of the Monothelite Pyrrhus because he called it an ecumenical synod. I said that the agreement and acceptance by all patriarchs is what constitutes ecumenical synods, and not their personal presence alone, nor their representation by legates or deputies of their own. For in none of the seven Ecumenical Synods was any Pope personally present. While at the Second and Fifth Ecumenical Synods the Popes Damascus and Vigilius were not present either in person or by deputy; yet those Ecumenical Synods remained ecumenical, because the same Popes agreed to all that those Synods ordained or prescribed, and with their letters and signatures they accepted them. That personal presence alone or representation by deputy does not constitute ecumenical synods, but rather agreement, is shown by two synods, that were held in Sardica, I mean and that held in Florence. The one held in Sardica, despite the fact that it was called ecumenical at its commencement (see in its Prologue) and all the patriarchs were present at it, some personally and others by proxy, yet because of the fact that the patriarchs and prelates of the East separated and failed to agree to the things it prescribed, what started as an ecumenical synod became in the end and in its effect a local synod. Likewise the synod held in Florence, though called ecumenical yet because of the fact that the legate of the patriarch of Antioch and the deputies of the bishops of the East, and foremost the Patriarch of Alexandria, Marcus, I mean, that most holy men of Ephesus failed to agree to it, what had been ecumenical turned out to be a local synod in point of fact. Why am I saying "local"? Why, it was rightly and justly condemned as a pseudo-synod because it lacked even the third constituent of ecumenical synods. For the definition it set forth was not in agreement with Holy Scripture and the other synods. Do you see that a disagreement of some patriarchs makes ecumenical synods local synods? But, on the other hand, agreement of all the patriarchs of an ecumenical synod makes even local ecumenical and converts them into Catholic Synods. For the local synods accepted by the Ecumenical Synods, and especially by the Sixth, and their Canons acquired an ecumenical in effect, and catholic power and dignity. From these statements which have been made here the definition of an ecumenical can easily be framed as follows: "An ecumenical synod is one that has been convoked by command of the emperor or king, one that has set forth a dogmatic definition concerning the faith, and one that ordains or prescribes things which are pious and orthodox and agreeable with the Holy Scriptures and to previous Ecumenical Synods, and one which all the patriarchs and prelates of the Catholic Church have agreed to accept, either by their personal presence or by proxy, or, in the absence of these, by means of their letters and signatures. So every Ecumenical Synod that possesses these characteristic features is in fact the Holy and Catholic Church itself in which in the Symbol of Faith (the Creed) we, profess to believe. Hence arise four other points, according to those versed in theology, to enrich its features. These points are: First, that of being ever-living and imperishable; for "He will give you another Comforter, that He may abide with you forever. And, Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the age" (John 14:16; Matthew 28:20; cf. also John 14:26). Second, that of being infallible and sinless. For the Church, which the Ecumenical Synod takes the place of as its personal representative, is a pillar and framework of the truth, according to St. Paul (1 Timothy 3:15); accordingly, whatever seems right to Ecumenical Synods seems right also to the Holy Spirit of Truth: for, it says, "He shall teach you all things and remind you of everything I have said unto you" (John 14:26). In fact this is proved certain in the case of Ecumenical Synods. For if Canon VIII of St. Gregory the Wonder-worker says, concerning the local Synod held in Ancyra, "until such time as something seems right in common to saints met together and before them to the Holy Spirit," how much more is not this true when said in regard to Ecumenical Synods? Which the Holy Spirit Himself supervises and illumines, and will not permit them to err in their decisions? For God inspires His justice in innumerable priests gathered in a Synod, according to the letter of the Synod of Carthage addressed to Celestinus. Third, that of having the supreme and highest office, not only as proposing what is right and just and true by way of advice and compelling those opposed thereto to yield submission, by inflicting upon them proper ecclesiastical penalties, and examining and judging them all, including Popes and Patriarchs and all prelates, clergymen, and laymen in any part of the world whatever. Fourth, that of setting a limit and termination to every question or matter of any kind that may arise or grow up, whether it relate to an individual or have a common effect, and to settle every quarrel and dispute of heretics and schismatics. For the Church is called catholic, says Cyril the patriarch of Jerusalem (in Article 18 of his catechism), because she teaches catholically, completely and with no difference, all dogmas that offer men knowledge concerning things visible and invisible. For not the Holy Bible, but the Ecumenical Synod is proclaimed by all to be the final judge of ecclesiastical matters, according

were Alexander the patriarch of Constantinople, Biton and Bientius the priests, together with the devout one of Cordova, Spain, the three taken together who held the position of bishops, Silvester of Rome, and Julius, Alexander of Alexandria, who was competing with Athanasios the Great, who was then a deacon, Eustathios the patriarch of Antioch, Macarios the patriarch of Jerusalem, Paphnutios and Spyridon, James and Maximus—men adorned with apostolic gifts, and sufferings of martyrdom; and numerous others; according to the common and universally admitted tradition of the Church there were 318 in all. But besides them there were also another multitude of clergymen, priests, and deacons. This Synod was assembled against Arius, who was blaspheming that the Son and Logos of God was not of the same essence as the Father (or, as in Greek, coessential with the Father), and that consequently He was not a true God, but, on the contrary, a creature and “*ctisma*,”¹⁴⁷ a Greek word meaning “something built.” It lasted three and a half years (though Gelasius, quoted by Photius in *Anagnosma* 256, says six and a half years), and delivered the common and divine and sacred Symbol of our faith which is well known to all and in which it proclaimed the Son and Logos of God to be a true God coessential with the Father, that is, a God having the same essence and nature as the Father, and consequently also the same glory, and authority, and lordship, and eternity, and all other Godlike peculiarities of divine nature. It is worded as follows: “We believe in one God, the Father Almighty and the Creator of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten of the Father—that is, out of the essence of the Father, a God out of God, light out of light, true God out of true God, begotten, not created, coessential¹⁴⁸ with the Father and through

remain the original example and model; accordingly it serves as the fundamental idea of all Ecumenical Synods, and it was imitated by the other Synods held after it thenceforth, both as respects addresses and seats and as respects definitions. Accordingly, Dialogus called it the head of all Synods; and one thing is uttered by the mouth of everybody, that is, what was prescribed in Nicaea must prevail without fail. The Synod held in Carthage labored hard both in its records and in its Canons, and it made great efforts also in its letters to Boniface and Celestinus, to prevent their accepting any other Canons than these genuine Canons of the First Synod held in Nicaea. Both Athanasios the Great and divine Chrysostom shouted loudly to have no other Canons prevail except the Canons of the Council in Nicaea.

¹⁴⁷ For Arius, being a priest of Alexandria and wishing to avoid the hatred aroused by the Orthodox against Paul of Samosata, who was dogmatizing the Son and Logos of God to be a mere human being born out of the Virgin, held that He did indeed exist before His carnal birth, though not as a God, but as one of the “*ctismata*” and creatures created by the Father in time. As to how many parties the heresy of Arius was divided into, see in the footnotes to Canon I of the 2nd Ecumenical Council.

¹⁴⁸ Note that the word “coessential” was in use among the pious even before the First Ecumenical Council. But because of the fact that this word was used by the Sabellians and by the adherents of Paul of Samosata for the purpose of refuting the Trinity of thearchic substances, according to St. Hilary, the 180 Fathers who convened in Antioch in the year 272 against Paul rejected this word, as regarding the spoken word (though as regarding the meaning and the thing signified they acknowledged it) in order to avoid affording heretics any ground for criticism, and especially because Paul, by resorting to sophistry, tried to make it appear that the word coessential implied three essences, namely: one which had pre-existed, being that of the Father, and two others, that of the Son and that of the Holy Spirit; and that from there they were projected like segments, as St. Athanasios states it (in his letter against the Arian heresy). Nevertheless, the Ecumenical Synod held in Nicaea, on account of its postulate, prescribed (see Dositheos, page 1081 of the *Dodecabiblus*) that both with respect to the vocable and with respect to the meaning it should be proclaimed to be coessential, or (in Greek) “*homoousian*,” and not “*homoiousian*,” as the Semi-Arians craftily asserted; wherefore that Synod proclaimed the Sou and Logos of God to be “coessential” (or “*homoousian*”). For, according to the logic of Aristotle, the Greek adverb *homou* (whence the prefix “*homo*”), meaning “the same,” refers to

First Ecumenical Council

THE TWENTY CANONS OF THE HOLY FIRST ECUMENICAL COUNCIL INTERPRETED

CANON I

If anyone has been operated upon by surgeons for a disease, or has been excised by barbarians, let him remain in the clergy. But if anyone has excised himself when well, he must be dismissed even if he is examined after being in the clergy. And henceforth no such person must be promoted to holy orders. But as is self-evident, though such is the case as regards those who affect the matter and dare to excise themselves, if any persons have been eunuchized by barbarians or their lords, but are otherwise found to be worthy, the Canon admits such persons to the clergy.

(Ap. cc. XXI, XXII, XXIII; c. VIII of the 1st-&-2nd.)

Interpretation

Various Canons of the Apostles include decrees concerning eunuchism. But since they were disregarded, as it would appear, on this account it became necessary that it be made the subject of the present Canon, which says: Whoever has been made a eunuch by surgeons because of a disease or ailment, or by barbarians during the time of an invasion, if he is a clergyman, let him perform the functions of the clergy. But whoever while in good health has made himself a eunuch, even though he is a clergyman, must cease from the activities of the clergy. And of as many such persons as are laymen not even one must henceforth be made a clergyman. But as we say this in regard to those who affectedly and wilfully dare to make themselves eunuchs, in the same vein again we say that if there be any persons that have been made eunuchs by barbarians or by their masters (or owners), that is to say, against their will and tyrannically, but that are worthy, the Canon (either the present Canon, that is to say, or Apostolical Canon XXI) allows them to be admitted to the clergy. Read also the Interpretation of Ap. c. XXI.

CANON II

Inasmuch as many things, whether of necessity or otherwise urgently demanded by men, have been done contrary to the ecclesiastical Canon, so that men who have but recently come to the faith from a heathen life, and have been catechized for only a short time, have been conducted directly to the spiritual bath, and as soon as baptized have been given an episcopate or a presbytery, it has seemed well henceforth to have no such thing occur. For the catechumen needs more time and a longer trial after baptism. The Apostolical letter, too, is plain

which says, "not a novice, lest being lifted up with pride he fall into the Devil's snare" (1 Tim. 3:6). If, on the other hand, in the course of time any psychical (i.e., animal) sin be found against the person, and it is exposed by two or three witnesses, let such a person be dismissed from the clergy. As for anyone acting contrary hereto, as having the hardihood to do things opposed to the great council, he himself shall be in danger of losing his standing in the clergy.

(Ap. c. LXXX; c. XVII of the 1st-&-2nd; c. X of Sardican; c. III of Laodicea; c. IV of Cyril.)

Interpretation

The present Canon commands what Ap. c. LXXX ordains. For it says: Since in times past many things have occurred that were contrary to the ecclesiastical Canon (that is to say, Ap. c. LXXX), whether of necessity, or on account of persons motivated by other considerations, so that they have almost immediately baptized persons that before had been converted to the Orthodox faith from the life of a heathen and infidel only a short while before, and had been catechized only a short time in the mystery of piety (i.e., of the Christian religion), and right after baptism they promoted them to an episcopate or a presbytery, which is to say, they ordained them presbyters or bishops; since, I say, these things formerly used to be done thus illegally, it has appeared reasonable that from now on they should not be done. For a catechumen needs sufficient time¹⁴⁹ even before being baptized to be properly catechized and instructed concerning all the dogmas of the faith; and after being baptized he again needs to undergo a long trial as a test of his worthiness. For the Apostle says to Timothy: "Let not a novice (be ordained, that is to say), or one newly catechized and recently planted in the vineyard of Christ, lest, after being puffed up with pride, he fall into the same sin and into the same snare as the Devil fell into, or, in other words, into pride. If, on the other hand, with the passage of time, in the subsequent interval of trial and after he has been catechized and baptized and ordained, it should happen that he is found to have committed any animal (i.e.,

¹⁴⁹ The duration of catechization is not fixed the same by all. The Apostolical Injunctions ordain that a catechumen is to be catechized for a year. Canon 42 of the regional council held in Illiberia, a town in Spain, a little before the First Ecumenical Council, prescribed two years. Justinian Novel 144 also prescribed two years for Samaritans joining the faith. Canon 25 of the local council held in Agatha in the year 506 fixed the time as eight months for converted Jews. Canon VIII of the 7th Ecum. C. will not have us accept Jews feigning belief, but only those who really believe and who criticize the practices of the Jews. Some writers, however, think that catechization occupied only as many days as there are in Great Lent, inferring this from c. XLV of Laodicea, and from Jerome's letter to Pammachius, and from the first catechism of Cyril of Jerusalem. But perhaps from these premises nothing less is to be inferred except the fact that during Great Lent the last and more accurate part of catechization was completed, because at that time catechumens used to be baptized during the night of Great Saturday and of Easter. Sometimes, however, the duration of catechization was curtailed on account of necessary circumstances. That is why catechumens in danger of dying used to be baptized before the time fixed for catechization had expired, according to c. XII of Neocaesarea, c. XLVII of Laodicea, c. LII of Carthage, c. V of Basil, and c. V of Cyril. But the Burgundians, too, a nationality of France, on account of the fervid faith they showed in Christ, and on account of the need they had to fight the Huns, with whom they were at war, were catechized in only seven days, and on the eighth day they were baptized by the bishop in one city of France (Socrates, Book VII, ch. 30). Yet, according to this Canon, it is better to let a long time pass that is sufficient to test the catechumen more efficaciously.

soul-wrought) sin¹⁵⁰ and is convicted thereof by two or three witnesses, he shall cease officiating in holy orders. As for anyone that does otherwise, he shall be in danger of forfeiting his claim to holy orders, that is to say, he shall be deposed from office, on the ground that he has impudently defied the great council. See also the Interpretation of Ap. c. LXXX.

CANON III

The great Council has forbidden generally any Bishop or Presbyter or Deacon, and anyone else at all among those in the clergy, the privilege of having a subintroducta. Unless she is either a mother, or a sister, or an aunt, or a person above suspicion.

(c. V of the 6th; c. XXIII of the 7th; c. XIX of Ancyra; C. XIX of Carthage; c. LXXXVIII of Basil.)

Interpretation¹⁵¹

Men in holy orders and clergymen ought not to cause the laity any suspicion or scandal. On this account the present Canon ordains that this great Council —

¹⁵⁰ Zonaras calls every sin a psychical (or animal) sin that is due to an aberrancy of the three faculties of the soul, namely, the reasoning faculty, the affective faculty, and the desiderative faculty. Balsamon says that a psychical (or animal) sin is any sin that causes an injury to the soul (the Greek name of which is *psyche*, and the Latin *anima*), whether the origin of it be traceable to an appetite of the body or to a craving of the soul. Others have considered a psychical sin to be one resulting from passions of the soul, such as presumption, waywardness, etc. Properly, however, the psychical sin spoken of in this Canon is the state of being puffed up, and supercilious, and proud. For it is only this passion that belongs to the spiritual and immaterial nature of the soul; and this is the condemnation and snare into which the Devil fell, according to the saying of the Apostle which the Canon mentions here, and according to the interpretation placed upon it by St. Ambrose. That is why St. Augustine (in Book III concerning the City of God) says that the Devil is not a drunkard or anything else of such a nature, but is, in fact, a conceited and witchlike being. So if a bishop falls into the passion of pride and reveals this by what he says or does, and is exposed by two or three witnesses, let him be dismissed from the clergy, perhaps in order that he may be humbled and moderate his sentiment, and thus become entitled to be restored to holy orders. But if he keeps on getting prouder, and refuses to cease, let him be completely deposed from his rank. The fact that open pride is a sufficient cause for deposition is also evident from the Novatians, who were ousted from the Church on this account, because out of presumption and pride they called themselves pure and refused to admit those who had denied in time of persecution and had repented, nor would commune with persons married twice. Some authorities, however, have asserted that by “psychical sin” the Canon means here a cacodoxical and impious sentiment or belief or frame of mind. But if this were meant, anyone entertaining it ought not only to cease therefrom, but also to be sternly deposed and to be outlawed and proscribed from the Church. So, inasmuch as pride is a mortal sin, and those who commit a sin involving death forfeit their rank, according to c. XXXII of Basil (which you are advised to read), the present Canon chastises anyone that has fallen into such a sin by unfrocking him.

¹⁵¹ Not only do ecumenical and regional councils commonly blame and place under a penance those clergymen, or even laymen, who have strange women in their home, whether it be in order to have them do work as servants, as was presbyter Gregory against whom Basil the Great complains, or it be that as an excuse they are alleged to be unprotected and have no one to provide for them, but also separately as individuals every one of the divine Fathers took care to stigmatize this evil. For St. Gregory the Theologian in his epic verses wonders and is at a loss among whom to class those who keep women in their house or have women staying with them in their home, whether they ought to class them among married men, or among unmarried and virgin men, or in a middle group between married men and virgin men; on which account he says:

Second Ecumenical Council

CONCERNING THE HOLY AND ECUMENICAL SECOND COUNCIL

Prolegomena

The holy and ecumenical Second Council was held during the reign of Theodosius the Great, A.D. 381, and is also referred to as the First Ecumenical Council in Constantinople. Of the Fathers attending it the most notable were Nectarius the bishop of Constantinople, Timothy the bishop of Alexandria, Meletius the bishop of Antioch, Cyril the bishop of Jerusalem, Gregory the Theologian and Gregory of Nyssa; and many other bishops from the East made up a total number of 150. Not even one bishop from the West attended it; nor did Pope Damasus in person or by a legate, nor does even a conciliar letter of his appear therein.¹⁸⁷ Later, however, they agreed and acceded to the things it decreed, including Damasus and the whole Western Church, and even to this day they accept and recognize this Council as a truly ecumenical council. It was held primarily against Macedonius, who was blasphemously declaring that the Holy Spirit was a thing constructed or created by the Son, secondarily against Apollinaris, and against the Eunomians, including the Eudoxians and the Sabellians, and against the Marcellians, and against the Photinians,¹⁸⁸ and in general anathematized every heresy that had risen during the reign of Constantius, of Julian, and of Valens, emperors preceding it. After correcting the glorification and adoration of the Holy Trinity which had been altered by the Arians,¹⁸⁹ it renewed

¹⁸⁷ One thing which occurred at this Council is particularly noteworthy as constituting a refutation of the imaginary prerogative of the present Popes of Rome, the claim, that is to say, that Popes have sole authority to convoke and assemble ecumenical councils. For, behold, the present ecumenical council is one which Pope Damasus neither convoked nor even attended either in person or by deputies, nor by the usual conciliar letter; yet, in spite of all this, all the Westerners concurred then and concur now in recognizing as a truly ecumenical council.

¹⁸⁸ Concerning each of these groups, see the Footnote to c. I of the present Council.

¹⁸⁹ For the Arians, as well as the Semi-Arians and Pneumatomachs, had altered the ancient glorification (or doxology) of the Holy Trinity to which the Church was accustomed. For instead of saying "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit," they would say "Glory be to the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit," in order that, by means of the difference of prepositions, the recusants might draw a distinction of the essence, rank, and honor belonging to the thearchic persons of the coessential and equally honorable Trinity. That is why Leontius the bishop of Antioch, who made himself a eunuch, though seeing the Orthodox Christians apply a conjunction to the Son, while the Arians, on the other hand, used the preposition "through," and the preposition with reference to the Holy Spirit, passed over both the one and the other in silence, uttering only the end, that is to say the words "and unto the ages of ages" (Page 247 of the first volume of the Conciliar Records). During the reign of Emperor Anastasius surnamed Dicorus, when Trasmund, leader of the Arian Vandals blockaded the churches of the Orthodox in Africa and banished 120 bishops to the island of Sardinia, an Arian by the name of Barbarus (but according to others the one about to be baptized was called Barbarus), wishing to baptize someone, said: "So-and-so is being baptized in the name of the Father through the Son

the doctrine of the Nicene Council, on the ground of its being thoroughly Orthodox in all respects. Hence, in order to let it appear that it professed the same beliefs as the Council held in Nicaea, it did not draw up a creed of its own, but, by simply making a small change in the Creed adopted by the Nicene Council, and adding the clause “of whose kingdom there shall be no end,” on account of the heresy of Apollinaris the millenarian,¹⁹⁰ and by developing the meaning of Article 8 in reference to the Holy Spirit, and also by supplying what was missing in the remaining four articles to the end,¹⁹¹ it made identically the same as that which is now read by all Orthodox Christians, as it is seen in this Second Council (p. 286 of vol. 1 of the collection of the Councils) and in the fifth act of the same council (p. 155 of the same volume). Nevertheless, although this Second Council did make these additions to and changes in the Creed adopted by the First Council held in Nicaea, yet the Councils held thereafter accepted the Creed of the First and Second Councils as a single Creed. As to why this Council made

in the Holy Spirit,” when, what a miracle! the baptismal font in the meantime had become entirely dry. (Dositheus, p. 446 of the Dodecabilus.)

¹⁹⁰ Led astray by the words in ch. 20 of the Book of Revelation (v. 3 to 7), where it says that Satan was shut up and bound for a thousand years, and that the righteous who participated in the first resurrection reigned together with Christ as kings for a thousand years, many men have imagined that after the second advent and common judgment take place, the righteous are to reign here on the earth as kings for a thousand years together with Christ, and thereafter to ascend to heaven; and on this account they have been called millenarians or millennialists. There have been two battalions of millenarians. For some of them used to say that during those thousand years they are to enjoy every enjoyment, and bodily pleasure; these men were followers of Cerinthus, a pupil of Simon, in the first century, and the Marcionists in the second century of the Christian era. Others said that they were not to enjoy passionate pleasures, but rather intellectual pleasures befitting rational human beings, of whom the leader was Papias the bishop of Hierapolis (in Euseb. Eccl. Hist, book 3, ch. 34) and others. Hence it is evident that Apollinaris became such a millenarian of the first battalion, as is plain from what St. Basil the Great says (letter 332), and from what the Theologian says (Discourse 51), and from what Jerome says (Book 18 on Isaiah). On this account in refutation of this heresy this Council added to the Creed of the Nicene Council that statement, which it borrowed from the sentence which the Archangel Gabriel spoke to the Virgin, viz.: “*and of his kingdom there shall be no end*” (Luke 1:33). As for the thousand years referred to by St. John, they are not to come to pass after the second advent of Christ; and the kingdom of the Lord is not describable in terms of years, nor food and drink, as St. Paul said (Rom. 14:17): but, on the contrary, a thousand years are to be understood, according to those versed in theology, to mean the interval of time extending from the first advent of Christ to the second, during which Satan was bound, according to the words of the Lord, saying, “*Now is the judgment of this world; now shall the ruler of this world be cast out*” (John 12:31). The first resurrection, by contrast, took place for justification of souls through mortification of infidelity and wickedness, concerning which Christ said “*He that heareth my words, and believeth in him who sent me, hath life everlasting, and cometh not into judgment, but hath passed out of death into life*” (John 5:24); and the Apostle said “*If then ye be risen with Christ . . . set your mind on the things that are above*” (Col. 3:1-2). And thereafter in this interval of time the reign of the righteous with Christ took place, being their union with Him through (i.e., by means of) the Holy Spirit, and the contemplation and enjoyment of His divine illumination, respecting which the Lord said, “*Some of them that stand here shall not taste of death till they have seen the kingdom of God come with power*” (Mark 9:1).

¹⁹¹ It developed and completed this Creed, as Nicephorus Callistus and others say, through Gregory of Nyssa, but as Dositheus says (p. 1028 of the Dodecabilus) by the hand of Gregory the Theologian, who in the midst of this Council thundered out and theologically set forth these things through the Holy Spirit like a heavenly outburst of thunder: “If he is indeed a God, he is no creature. For with us a creature is one of the non-Gods. If, on the other hand, he is a creature, he is not a God. For (if so) he had a beginning in time. Whatever had a beginning, was not. But that of which it may be said that it was earlier non-existent, is not properly speaking a being. But how can what is not properly speaking a being be a God? Therefore, then, he is neither a creature of the three, nor one” etc. (These words were spoken in his inaugural address.)

these additions, see the Footnote to c. VII of the Third. In addition to all these things, it also adopted and promulgated the present seven Canons pertaining to the organization and discipline of the Church, indefinitely confirmed by c. I of the 4th, but definitely by c. II of the 6th and by c. I of the 7th. (See Dositheus, p. 222 of the *Dodecabilus*.)¹⁹²

THE SEVEN CANONS OF THE HOLY AND ECUMENICAL SECOND COUNCIL INTERPRETED

CANON I

The holy Fathers assembled in Constantinople have decided not to set aside the faith of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers who met in Nicaea, Bithynia, but to let it remain sovereign, and that every heresy be anathematized, and especially and specifically that of the Eunomians, including that of the Eudoxians, and that of the Semi-Arians, including that of the Pneumatomachs, and that of the Sabellians, and that of the Marcellians, and that of the Photinians, and that of the Apollinarians.

(c. V of the 2nd; cc. I and V of the 6th; c. II of Car.)

Interpretation

This first Canon of the present Council asserts that the 150 Holy Fathers who convened in Constantinople decided that the Orthodox faith, meaning the creed adopted by the 318 Fathers who had convened in Nicaea, Bithynia, should remain solid and inviolable, and that every heresy should be anathematized. In particular, the heresy of the Eunomians,¹⁹³ or of those called Eudoxians, the

¹⁹² I said that this Council anathematized every heresy that had risen during the reigns of Constantius, of Julian, and of Valens, because in spite of the fact that Constantius professed the eternity of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, yet when once lured into the argument that the word coessential (or, in Greek, homoousian) was the cause of a scandal, owing to its not being in the Bible, he relentlessly combated those who held this belief. Hence he exiled, pauperized, and scorned many men of this belief, and assembled various councils and synods in the West and East against the doctrine of coessentiality. He showered favors upon the heretics, and elevated some of them to great thrones, who ordained their own friends ecclesiastics. Julian did everything that the emperors and persecutors preceding him had failed to do. Valens not only did whatever Constantius had done, but, being an Arian, he commenced a persecution of the Church that was worse than that inflicted by the idolaters. So that Lucius the bishop of Alexandria, who shared his views, even beat the ascetics of the desert themselves, and slew, exiled, and confiscated the property of the clergy. In fact, not only these emperors, but also the other heresies, and the Greeks and Jews had a free hand in their times, while the Orthodox Christians were persecuted. These three emperors kept persecuting the Church for forty years, until there remained but some few Orthodox saints to criticize the heresies, who, in the reign of Theodosius the Great, seized the opportunity to assemble in this ecumenical council.

¹⁹³ Note that the followers of Arius subsequently to the First Nicene Council were divided into three classes, according to St. Epiphanius (Haer. 73 and 74), and some were called Anomoeans, because they said that the Son was in all respects unlike the Father. They were led by Eunomius the Gaul, the bishop of Cyzicus, who was wont to rebaptize those joining his caco-doxo with a single immersion, holding their feet up and their head down. He also pratingly asserted that there is no hell or gehenna in reality, but that fear of it is instilled as a threat; and his views were held also by Aetius. Though called Eunomians, they were also known as Eudoxians

Third Ecumenical Council

CONCERNING THE HOLY AND ECUMENICAL THIRD COUNCIL

Prolegomena

The holy and ecumenical Third Council was held in Ephesus, a city situated in Asia, in the large church of that city which is called Mary Theotoke,²¹⁸ in the reign of Emperor Theodosius the Little (i.e., Theodosius II), in the year 431 after Christ, numbering upwards of 200 Fathers. The “hegemons” (i.e., principal actors) therein were St. Cyril, the bishop of Alexandria illustrious among Fathers, who, acting in the place of the bishop of Rome Celestine I at first, was attending the meeting for the latter, but afterwards legates of Rome were sent from the West, namely, Arcadius, and Projectus, both of whom were bishops, and Philipp the presbyter, and Juvenal of Jerusalem, and Memnon of Ephesus. The Council was convoked against Nestorius, who hailed from the town of Germaniceia in Antiocheia, according to Theodoret, and by divine concession had ascended the throne of Constantinople. For, after quaffing and absorbing the muddy and heretical water from the outpourings of Diodorus and of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the wretch became wrong-minded in regard to the Mystery of the Incarnate Economy;²¹⁹ for he divided the one Christ into two persons and substances,

²¹⁸ This is stated in the letter of Cyril addressed to the clergy of Alexandria, and in the first act of this Council.

²¹⁹ I said that Nestorius *became* wrong-minded and blasphemous in regard to the mystery of the incarnate economy, because in the matter of the theology of the Holy Spirit he had not been blaspheming, since he confessed in his Creed: “We do not deem the Holy Spirit either a Son or to have acquired Its existence through the Son, being as It is of the essence of God, not a Son, but being in essence a God, as being of that very same essence that God the Father is of, out of whom It really derives Its essence.” That it was only in regard to the incarnation of Christ that he became blasphemous is manifest: *A*) from c. VII of this same Council, wherein the Council states that “all bishops and clergymen or laymen that entertain the unholy dogmas or doctrines, of Nestorius concerning the incarnation of the only-begotten Son of God shall forfeit their office.” Do you see that it specifies definitely that it is speaking of the dogmas of Nestorius concerning the incarnation of the Only-begotten? *B*) from the letter which the same Council sent to the emperors concerning Nestorius, in which it wrote as follows: “After examining the impious dogmas which he (sc. Nestorius) has set forth in writing concerning the incorporation of the Lord Christ, we anathematized those very ones.” But what is there to show that he did not blaspheme in regard to the theology of the Holy Spirit? Two other facts: *A*) that, since the theology concerning the Trinity is greater than that concerning the incarnate economy, as is acknowledged by all theologians, how could divine Cyril possibly have taken him to task as concerning the incarnation, yet have maintained silence as concerning the theology of the Holy Spirit, at a time when Chrysoloras denounced Demetrius Cydones by saying, “he that has blasphemed in regard to the Son shall be forgiven, but he that has blasphemed in regard to the Holy Spirit shall not be forgiven”? and at a time when, as Macarius the bishop of Ancyra said in ch. 67, that it was the more necessary and urgent to ascertain the matter of the theology first, and that of the economy afterwards? for the former has precedence of the latter. *B*) It is proved from the pusillanimity and dispute which arose between St. Cyril and blessed Theodoret, and which, though not a fine thing nor anything to be praised, was nevertheless economically allowed by God to occur, in order that the true notion concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit might be conspicuously manifested. For when St. Cyril wrote in his ninth anathematization

of these views, and drew up its own definition of faith,²²¹ wherein it dogmatized Christ to be one with respect to substance, a perfect God the same, and a perfect human being the same, not another, and another, but one Son, the same, above motherless out of a Father, but below fatherless out of a mother. But it has delivered and handed down through all later generations the sacred injunction to the effect that His ever-virgin Mother is properly and truly to be called the Theotoke, on the ground that she truly and properly speaking gave birth in the flesh to God.²²² For when the exarch of this Council, I mean Cyril of Alexandria,

told by St. Germanus of Constantinople in what he relates about the holy Councils. For in the reign of Emperor Marcianus, with the co-operation of some of his friends, Nestorius was enabled to receive letters recalling him from exile. After receiving these, then, and upon entering the privy, before sitting down he said aloud, as some listeners standing outside heard "I have shown thee, Mary, that thou gavest birth to a human being." Thereupon, what a miracle! directly with the utterances of this blasphemy, an angel of the Lord smote him a terrible blow and his entrails exuded into the vessel containing his excrements, and he expired then and there. Because of his delay in coming out of the place and the fact that the imperial magistrate sent with the letters was in a hurry, his servants knocked on the door. As Nestorius failed to answer, they took out the door and they and the magistrate came in and found him dead in the privy in which all his entrails were spilled. Then those who had heard the blasphemy told it to the magistrate, and they all saw that it was solely on account of this that he met with such a death, similar to that of Arius, and they exclaimed: "It was in reference to this man that Isaiah said, 'Woe unto this man! They shall not weep for him, O Lord. Neither shall they even say to him, Alas, O brother! and, What a pity, O Lord! A burial now he shall not be given, but, after joining those who have croaked, he shall be hurled beyond the gate'" (Jer. 22:18-19). Note, however, that after the heresy of Nestorius became neglected, it was renewed later during the reign of Justinian the emperor by a certain bishop of Nisibis named Barsoumas, who spread it in the East, and on this account there are exceedingly many Nestorians in the East, and especially in the land of the Persians and Assyrians, and in the vicinity of the Euphrates and Nisibis.

²²¹ Some say that because it was ordained in the present Council that the All-holy Virgin should be called the Theotoke, as in truth she is the Theotoke (because of the fact that she gave birth to a God), St. Cyril wanted to have this written into the holy Creed of the First and Second Ecumenical Councils, but out of reverence for the Creed he gave up this intention and all that is referred to in the Footnote to c.VII of the present Council in this connection may be found there. Having made a sole definition of their own, the Fathers dogmatized it in that Canon. For though they recognized the unity, with respect to substance, of the God Logos — which is the same thing as to say the one substance of Christ as revealed by the Creed, they did not want to add it therein. For in view of the fact that the Fathers confessed therein the Son of God, begotten out of the Father, come down (out of heaven), and having become incarnate as a human being, it is obvious that they confess one and the same Christ with respect to substance, a real God, and a real human being the same, but not another, and another. The union with respect to substance, however, according to the holy Patriarch of Constantinople Nicephorus, "one with the other one, the two out of which the Savior derives (sc. His two natures), as who should say, the unseen and the seen, the passible and the indefectible. Not another and another, God forbid! But a God the same perfect, and a human being perfect the same" (in the letter he sent to Pope Leo; page 912 of the second volume of the Councils). This is the same thing as saying that the union, with respect to substance, in Christ signifies both the two natures unconfused and the single substance with respect to which these natures were inconfutably united. Concerning union with respect to substance, see also the Footnotes to the Prolegomena of the Fourth Ec. C. But note that the Lord's human nature (i.e., His humanity as distinguished from His divinity) possessed all the substantial properties that the substances of the rest of men have, except for the total property, according to the said Cyril, which is, that of not really being by itself, like those, but, on the contrary, of having received being in the substance of the God Logos. For this property of substances is, so to speak, the basis and foundation of all their other properties. It is for this reason that it is called the total property, too.

²²² Note that just as the (the Greek word meaning the same thing as the English) word *co-essential* was one to which the Fathers were accustomed even before the First Ecum. Council, though the latter sanctioned the use of this word, and imparted it to the whole world, so and in like manner had other Fathers called the Virgin Mary a Theotoke even before this Third Council. But this Council, having sanctioned this sweetest appellation of the Virgin, imparted it as a

Fourth Ecumenical Council

CONCERNING THE HOLY AND ECUMENICAL FOURTH COUNCIL

Prolegomena

The holy and Ecumenical Fourth Council was held in Chalcedon, an important city in Bithynia, during the reign of Emperor Marcianus and Pulcheria²²⁹ in the year 451 after Christ. The number of Fathers attending it was 630, the most notable of whom were Anatolius of Constantinople, Paschasinus and Lucinsius, bishops, together with Boniface and Basil presbyters, and with these were also Bishop Julian, Maximus the Bishop of Antioch, and Juvenal the Bishop of Jerusalem, acting as legates of the most holy Leo, Bishop of Rome. They condemned and consigned to anathema unfortunate Eutyches, an archimandrite, and his aid Dioscorus, who had become the Bishop of Alexandria after Cyril. For these men, having fallen into the error which was the opposite of that of Nestorius, shared also the latter's fate, and went to perdition like him. For Nestorius had divided the one Christ into two persons and two substances, while these men boldly confused the two natures of Christ, the divine and the human, of which He is composed and in which He is known and adored, and conflated them into one single nature, the fools failing to understand that this recusant belief led to the conclusion that Christ was not of the same nature as the Father and of the same nature as human beings, but of some other and different nature.²³⁰ Hence this holy Council, following the Creed of the First Nicene Council and that of the Second Constantinopolitan Council and the letter of Cyril of Alexandria, which is the same as saying the definition laid down by the Third Council, held in Ephesus, but indeed also the letter of the most holy Leo of Rome,²³¹ left unaltered the common Creed of the First Ec. Council, held in

²²⁹ Marcianus was a brother-in-law of Theodosius the Little by the latter's sister Pulcheria, whom he took as his wife but with whom he had no intercourse. For she lived as a virgin to the end of her life, according to Evagrius (book 2, ch. 1 of his Ecclesiastical History). Not only did Marcianus, but also Pulcheria too, along with him, take pains to assemble the present Council. Present at this Council were both of those who at the Sixth Council sat upon the thrones in front of the chancel.

²³⁰ For, were there but one nature in Christ, it would have to be either divine or human, or else neither divine nor human, but something else than either. Accordingly, if it were divine, where was the human? But if human, how could it be claimed that those saying this were not deniers of the divinity? Or, on the other hand, if it were something else than either, how could it be said that Christ was not being reformed of a different nature than the nature of the Father; and of a different nature than the nature of human beings? Than which could there be anything more recusant or more foolish? Than their saying, in other words, that the God Logos became a human being only to corrupt His own divine nature and assume the human nature? These things are what Photius says in opposing the recusancy of the Monophysites in the case of the Fourth Ec. C.

²³¹ This holy St. Leo (whose memory the Church celebrates on February 18th) sent this letter to St. Flavian of Constantinople against the Monophysites. They say, moreover, that after composing it he placed it upon the tomb of the holy Apostle St. Peter, and with fasting and while keeping vigil, and with a prayer he begged St. Peter if there were any mistakes in the letter to

who convened during the reign of Theodosius the Great of pious memory, who became emperor in the imperial city of Constantinople otherwise known as New Rome; we too decree and vote the same things in regard to the privileges and priorities of the most holy Church of that same Constantinople and New Rome. And this is in keeping with the fact that the Fathers naturally enough granted the priorities to the throne of Old Rome on account of her being the imperial capital. And motivated by the same object and aim the one hundred and fifty most God-beloved Bishops have accorded the like priorities to the most holy throne of New Rome, with good reason deeming that the city which is the seat of an empire, and of a senate, and is equal to old imperial Rome in respect of other privileges and priorities, should be magnified also as she is in respect of ecclesiastical affairs, as coming next after her, or as being second to her. And it is arranged so that only the Metropolitans of the Pontic, Asian, and Thracian dioceses shall be ordained by the most holy throne of the most holy Church of Constantinople aforesaid, and likewise the Bishops of the aforesaid dioceses which are situated in barbarian lands; that is to say, that each Metropolitan of the aforesaid dioceses, together with the Bishops of the province, shall ordain the Bishops of the province, just as is prescribed by the divine Canons. But the Metropolitans of the aforesaid dioceses, as has been said, are to be ordained by the Archbishop of Constantinople, after the elections have first been conducted in accordance with custom, and have been reported to him.

(Ap c. XXXIV; c. III of the 2nd and c. XXXVI of the 6th.)

Interpretation

Since at this Fourth Council c. III of the Second Council was read, which decrees that the Bishop of Constantinople is to enjoy priorities of honor with the Bishop of Rome, seeing that it is New Rome, therefore the fathers of this Council too, by means of their present Canon, renew and confirm the said Canon, and they decree and vote the same things as regards the priorities of the same city of Constantinople which is also known as New Rome. For, they say, just as the Fathers bestowed privileges upon the throne of Old Rome on account of the fact that it was the capital of an empire, and were fully justified in doing so, owing, that is to say, to his being first in point of order among the rest of the Patriarchs. In exactly the same way and motivated by exactly the same object and aim, the one hundred and fifty most God-beloved bishops of the second Council have bestowed exactly the same and equal privileges of honor also upon the most holy throne of New Rome²⁶¹ — of Constantinople, that is to say —

²⁶¹ The principal reason for issuing the present Canon were five, of which three were remote, while two were necessary and proximates: 1) Since c. XXXIV of the Apostles commands that the bishops of each nation ought to have one of their number as chief, and to regard him as their head, and since cc. VI and VII of the First made some dioceses subject to the Bishop of Rome, and others subject to the Bishop of Alexandria, and others to the Bishop of Antioch, and others to the Bishop of Jerusalem, the dioceses of Asia, of Pontus, and of Thrace, being autocephalous, ought by the same token to have the Bishop of Constantinople as their chief and head, and ought to come under his jurisdiction, and ought to be ordained by him, because he was their neighbor, and especially because such a custom had ensued from the beginning. For the Patriarch of Constantinople had ordained many Metropolitans from among them. For St. Chrysostorn ordained Heracleides Bishop of Ephesus, and by going to Ephesus and returning to Constantinople he deposed thirteen bishops from office. The Bishop of Ancyra, too, and

Sixth Ecumenical Council

CONCERNING THE HOLY AND ECUMENICAL SIXTH COUNCIL

PROLEGOMENA

The Holy and Ecumenical Sixth Council (which was the third one to be held in Constantinople) was held in the year 680 after Christ in the time of Constantine Pogonatus, a descendant of Heracleius, in the secret chamber of the divine palace (which chamber was called the Troullos, its proceedings and transactions being comprised in eighteen Acts (p. 527 of the second volume of the Councils). The Fathers who attended it numbered one hundred and seventy, according to Photius, Nicephorus, Nilus, and Anonymus, or three hundred and eighty-nine according to others. Among those who distinguished themselves as leaders of them were George of Constantinople; Theodore and Sergius, presbyters, together with John, a deacon, who acted as exarchs of Agatho of Rome, Peter the monk who represented the Archbishop of Alexandria, George the presbyter representing the Archbishop of Jerusalem. There were also present three bishops representing the Westerners who were assembled at that time in Rome. This Council condemned Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul, and Peter, all of whom were Patriarchs of Constantinople; Honorius the Pope of Rome,²⁶⁹ Cyrus the

²⁶⁹ The Latins move heaven and earth, as the saying goes, in endeavoring to establish the innocence of their great pontifex, the Pope of Rome named Honorius. Being unable to brook being told that the one whom they profess to have been inerrable was an ungodly heretic and that he was anathematized by an Ecumenical Council, at times the audacious and impudent fellows dare to assert that this Ecumenical Council itself erred because it failed to investigate the charges against him properly, but condemned him without due investigation; while at other times they allege that Honorius believed that there was a single will only in connection with the humanity of Christ, since all the powers of the soul were subject to the dominant mind of Christ, and there was not in His humanity a different belief of the flesh and a different belief of the Spirit (divided, that is to say, just as it is in other men); and again at other times they assert many other driveling and idle views. In reply to all these allegations it is to be said that a single Ecumenical Council like the present one is enough to offset tens of thousands of Latins, and its vote and decision, being inerrable is to be preferred to all the inventions hatched by the Latins, which are precarious and erroneous. But what am I saying "a single" for? Even two or three Councils, and not a single one only; and two or three Popes, too, I might say. For not only the Sixth, but also the Seventh Ecumenical Council (Act 6) joined hands in condemning Pope Honorius. Again, the one held thereafter, which is called the Eighth by the Latins, also condemned him (Act 10). Moreover, even Leo II not long after the Sixth Ec. C. admitted and accepted the condemnation of Honorius together with the Acts of the Sixth Ecum. C. and wrote the following lines to the Emperor: "We anathematize the inventors of the new error Theodore the Faranite, and Honorius, who not only did not add to the splendor of this Apostolic Church by teaching the Apostolic doctrine, but actually permitted the undefilable Church to be defiled with profane preaching." And Adrian II asserts that the throne of Rome cannot be judged (adversely) by anyone unless the argument be one concerning heresy, and it was for this reason that Honorius

Patriarch of Alexandria, a certain man by the name of Theodore who had served as Bishop of Faran, according to Zonaras and Balsamon, or who had been born in Faran, according to Leo II of Rome in what he wrote to the Emperor; Macarius of Antioch, together with Stephanus his disciple, and the infantile-minded old man named Polychronius, who all had dared to dogmatize by attributing a single will and predicating a single energy to and of Christ, respectively. But this Council dogmatized to the contrary that our Lord Jesus Christ, though but one person, after His incarnation possessed two natural wills and two natural energies²⁷⁰ just as He also possessed two natures — that is to say, in other words, a divine will and energy and a human will and energy, both of them being at the same time indivisible and inconfutable. For neither the Divinity nor the

was anathematized. And Pope Agatho in writing to Pogonatus attested the fact that Honorius was a heretic. How, then, can anyone say that all the Fathers of so many Councils, and especially Popes Leo and Adrian and Agatho, should have been so blinded as to have condemned one unjustly whom they had considered righteous? or how could the legates of Rome who were present at the Council have remained silent if the Council had condemned Honorius unjustly? Again, how could Emperor Constantine, a most godly man and a friend of the Roman Church, have suffered this, who was present at the Council and actually ratified the Council's Definition with the seal of his imperial ring so as to prevent anybody from adding anything more to it or from taking anything away from it? Veritably, therefore, the God who spoke through this Ecumenical Council is veracious, whereas every human being and every quibble of the adversaries is vain as well as false, as the Apostle says. On the other hand it is an amusing and comical dilemma about this Honorius that one of our own great and most wise teachers of the present time proposes to the adherents of Roman Catholicism who make much of the Pope. It may be restated here as follows: Pope Honorius either was a heretic or was not. If he was, here, admittedly, we have a Pope who erred in regard to the faith. But if he was not a heretic, Leo and Adrian erred in regard to the faith by wrongly condemning and anathematizing him as a heretic. And thus, either by the former or by the latter horn of the dilemma, the legendary inerrability of the Pope as regarding matters of faith has been annihilated, or reduced to a state of inexistence. Accordingly I omit saying that Pope Marcellinus was an idolater; that Pope Liberius was an Arian; that Pope Anastasius II collaborated with the Arians; and that countless others erred in regard to the faith.

²⁷⁰ We ought to call the wills and energies of Christ natural, and not hypostatical (or even substantive). For if we call them hypostatical (or substantive), we shall be compelled to attribute three wills and three energies to the Holy Trinity, since It consists of three hypostases. But precisely as the Holy Trinity is said to have and actually has but one will and one energy, since It has but one nature, so and in like manner may it be said that there are two wills and two energies inherent in Christ, since there are also two natures inherent in Him, of which, and in which, or one might rather say, which themselves are He. Divine John of Damascus has dealt most theologially and in the best fashion with the two wills and two energies of Christ which are indivisible and at the same time and in the same way inconfutable (or unconfusable) in his sublime dissertation wherein he says: "Being a single hypostasis with two natures, the Divine and the human, Christ did some things divinely and other things humanly: as one and the same person He willed and energized the divine works, and in a divinely human manner performed the human acts. For though as a God He willed the divine works, and as a human being the human acts, yet it was neither as a naked God that He willed the divine works, nor as a mere man that He willed the human acts, but, instead, it was as a God who had become a man, that is to say, who had humanized himself by becoming incarnate, by virtue of a natural and divine will and energy, the same person acting both as a God and as a human being in willing and energizing the human acts, being by nature capable of willing and energizing human acts as a human being. For each of the two natures wills and energizes its own activities in communion with that of the other. This means that the Divinity with its own self and everything else under its immediate control is acting through and by His humanity; whereas, on the other hand, the humanity, having its own self under its control and responding with respect to everything else to His divine will (i.e., in obedience thereto), wishes whatever the Divine will wishes because it itself also wishes these things, on account of the oneness of the hypostasis." (Taken from the *Libellus* concerning the right belief, as dictated by John Damascene, and delivered by the Bishop Elias to Peter the Metropolitan of Damascus.)

canonizes as willing murderers those who declaim about the fascination and sorcery which they have practiced, and also those who give themselves to soothsayers in his c. LXXII.

CANON LXII

We wish once for all to extirpate from the life of the faithful the so-called (festival of) the calends, or kalends, and the so-called Vota, and the so-called Brumalia, and the public festival celebrated on the first day of March. Furthermore, the public dances of women, which are calculated to wreak great harm and injury. Furthermore we dismiss also the dances and ritualistic ceremonies performed by men or women in the name of what are falsely called gods among Greeks, after an old custom which is alien to the life of Christians, at the same time decreeing that no man shall put on any feminine costume, nor shall a woman put on any that befits men. But neither shall anybody put on comic, or satyric, or tragic masks; neither shall anybody shout the name of abominable Dionysus while engaged in squeezing grapes in the wine-presses; nor, when pouring the wine into the casks shall they provoke laughter by a show of ignorance or of vanity, by producing the effects of demoniacal delusion. As for those who from now on attempt to carry out any of the aforesaid improprieties, while well aware of what they are doing, if they should be clergymen, we command that they be deposed from office; but if laymen, that they be excommunicated.

Interpretation

The calends (also spelled kalends) were the first days of every month, on which the Greeks were accustomed to celebrate in order as they hoped to pass the whole month merrily.³⁴⁴ The Vota and Brumalia, on the other hand, were Greek festivals. The Vota, referring to grazing and sheep, were celebrated in honor of the god Pan, who was supposed by the Greeks to be the patron of sheep and other animals. The Brumalia were celebrated in honor of Dionysus; for the epithet of Dionysus among the Greeks of the north was Bromios, derived from *bromos*, a Greek word signifying a peal as of thunder. By the Romans he was called Brumalius, and his festival *Brumalia*, in the plural, which is the equivalent of Dionysia, as the Greeks called it. So the present Canon commands that such festivals, but especially the public one celebrated on the first day of March, for

to be exiled and their property is to be made authentic (i.e., turned over to the lord paramount having jurisdiction). And see in the *Nomicon* of Photius, Title IX, ch. 25.

³⁴⁴ Both Balsamon and others assert that Calandus, Nonnus, and Idus were rich brothers who fed Rome in time of war and hunger — Calandus for 12 days, Nonnus for 10 days, and Idus for 8 days; the three together for a whole month. Hence, in order that the benefaction due to these personages might remain remembered forever, and in order to perpetuate the obligation of gratitude to them, the Romans called the first twelve days *Calends*, after Calandus, the next ten days *Nones*, after Nonnus, and the remaining eight days *Ides*, after Idus. According, they used to celebrate during these days, and were wont to do many indecent things during such celebrations. Those people were imitated later by those Christians who on this first day of January participate in what are called the *Kalanda* (in modern Greek), playing games, dancing in front of the doors of private houses, ambling about, and uttering many nonsensical things and telling ludicrous stories, and singing some lines purporting to be addressed to St. Basil the Great which ought to be suppressed by the bishops and spirituals; and they ought to be canonized so as to refrain from doing such heathenish and Greekish things, just as the present Canon says.

the pretended purpose of securing good weather in spring, be eliminated altogether from the public and private life of Christians. Nor must public dances in general of women be held, nor festivals and dances by men or women in honor of the name of the pseudo gods of the Greeks. It decrees in addition that neither must men wear women's clothing, nor women men's clothing. But neither must they disguise themselves with false faces and masks that are comic, or, in other words, calculated to provoke laughter, or tragic, or calculated to provoke laments and tears, or satyric, or, in other words peculiar, to Satyrs and Bacchi, who in honor of Dionysus were wont to dance ecstatically and as if demon-possessed.³⁴⁵ And that no one should invoke, or call upon, the name of despicable Dionysus (who was supposed to be the giver and patron of wine) when treading the grapes in the winepresses, nor laugh and guffaw when the new wine is being transferred to the *pitharia*, as these are called in modern Greek, being a kind of earthen casks. So whoever from now on, after becoming fully aware of these prohibitions, shall attempt to do any of the aforesaid things which are demonish and Greekish, if he is a clergyman, let him be deposed from office but if he is a layman, let him be excommunicated.

Concord

Note also that in Deuteronomy (ch. xxii, v. 5) God prohibits a woman from wearing men's clothing, and a man from wearing women's clothing: "a woman shall not wear the apparel of a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment; for all who do so are an abomination unto the Lord thy God." The Council held in Gangra does not even allow a woman to wear masculine attire for the sake of supposed exercise. For it anathematizes any woman doing so, c. XIII. Read also c. XXIV of the present Council.

CANON LXIII

With regard to the falsely compiled martyr-lists fabricated by the enemies of the truth, as if with an intention to dishonor the Martyrs of Christ and to lead those paying attention to it into disbelief, we command that it must not be read publicly even in the churches, but that these things must be consigned to fire. As for those who accept them and recognize them as veridical, or those who bestow any attention upon them as true, we anathematize such persons.

³⁴⁵ These same things are done even today by Christians, and often by persons in holy orders and clergymen during the weeks of the *Apokreos* (or Carnival) and of the *Tyrine* (or Cheese-eating Week), and in many other regions, especially in the islands, where there are Latin inhabitants. In fact I must say that the men wear masks and various false beards, and even women's clothing, and sometimes women even wear men's clothing, and all of them engage in public dancing, as concerning whom God says that "a woman shall not wear the apparel of a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment; for all who do so are an abomination unto the Lord thy God" (Deut. 22:5). And really these things are abominations to God, and are in truth affectations of Greeks and alien to Christians, and the holy prelates ought to put forth every effort to prevent them, on the ground that they cast reproach upon Christianity, with the penalty of excommunication.

Interpretation

Infidels and enemies of the truth, wishing to bring accusations against Christians' records, composed, it would seem, certain ludicrous and grotesque utterances and deeds with the allegation that the Martyrs of Christ said and did those things, in order that the Martyrs might incur insults as a consequence thereof, and the Orthodox faith be laughed to scorn. Hence the present Canon commands that no such fictitious lists be read publicly in churches, but instead that they be burned up. Those, on the other hand, who accept them as true are anathematized.³⁴⁶ See also Ap. c. LX.

CANON LXIV

That a layman must not publicly make a speech or teach, thus investing himself with the dignity of a teacher, but, instead, must submit to the ordinance handed down by the Lord, and to open his ear wide to them who have received the grace of teaching ability, and to be taught by them the divine facts thoroughly. For in the one Church God created different members, according to the utterance of the Apostle, in interpreting which St. Gregory the Theologian clearly presents the right procedure in these matters by saying:³⁴⁷ "Let us have respect for this procedure, brethren, and let us observe it. First, let one man be a listener, as the hearing recipient; another, the tongue; another, a hand; another, something else; let one man teach, and let another man learn; and after short periods, as touching one who learns in a state of obedience, and one who leads the chorus in hilarity, and one who renders service in cheerfulness and willingness, let us not all be a tongue, heeding the most apt saying: "Let us not all be Apostles; let us not all be Prophets; let us not all be Interpreters" (1 Cor. 12:29), and after somewhat: "Why are you making out that you are a shepherd, when you are a sheep? Why are you becoming a head, when you happen to be a foot? Why are you attempting to be a general, when you are placed in the ranks of (ordinary) soldiers? And from another quarter Wisdom bids: "Be not hasty in words; vie not with a rich man when thou art indigent" (Prov. 23:4); nor seek to be wiser than the wise. If anyone be caught disobeying the present Canon, let him be excommunicated for forty days.

Interpretation

The present Canon prohibits any layman from teaching openly and in church as a teacher; instead he should rather himself be taught by those who have received the gracious gift of teaching. For, just as there are various members belonging to one and the same body, as St. Paul says, so and in like manner there are various persons in the one Church, in the order in which placed each of them. Hence in interpreting this saying of the Apostle's (in his Homily

³⁴⁶ For this reason we Easterners owe St. Symeon Metaphrastes an acknowledgment of special thanks (acknowledged, as I am told, also by the Westerners), who with great industry wrote the lives of the holy Martyrs and of the Devout Ones, after ridding them of every lie and adulteration, and going in person to various places and collecting some accounts from what he saw with his own eyes, and some from reliable information.

³⁴⁷ Discourse on the keeping of good order in discussions.

concerning due order in discussions) he says that one person in the Church must be an ear, another a tongue, another a hand, and another some other member; and neither must all of them be a tongue, or, in other words, teachers, nor must all of them be Apostles, nor all of them Prophets. So, O man, being a sheep, why are you trying to make yourself out to be a shepherd? Being a foot, why are you trying to be a head? Being a soldier, why are you undertaking to be a general? or a leader of soldiers? Solomon, too, says: "Be not glib of speech and ready to say things; nor, when poor, quarrel with the rich; nor seek to become wiser than the wise, or more learned than the learned." If anyone does things in violation of this Canon, let him be excommunicated for forty days. But if any layman chance to be experienced in discourse and modest in manner, he is not prohibited from answering and teaching in private those asking questions, as Zonaras states, and ch. 32 of Book VIII of the Apostolic Injunctions declare. For they shall be, it says, all taught of God: in which manner Apollos spoke, and taught the facts about the Lord, and in spite of the fact that he only knew the baptism of the Lord (Acts 28:25), and Aquilas and Priscilla, who taught the same Apollos the way of God more exactly (*ibid.*).

CANON LXV

We command that henceforth the bonfires lit by some persons on the occasion of the New Moon in front of their own workshops or houses, and over which some persons even leap, in accordance with an ancient custom, it is babled, shall be abolished and done away with. Whoever, therefore, who does any such thing, if he be a Clergyman, let him be deposed from office; but if he be a layman, let him be excommunicated. For it is written in the Fourth Book of Kings: "And Manasseh built an altar to the whole host of heaven, in the two courts of the Lord's house, and passed his children through fire, and consulted augurs, and appointed ventriloquists, and multiplied seers, and he wrought much wickedness in the sight of the Lord, to provoke him to wrath" (II Kings 23:4–6).

Interpretation

Since, and in imitation of the Greeks and heathen, some Christians used to light a bonfire in front of their workshops and houses, over which bonfire they would leap and pass over it and above it, this Council deposes any clergymen that do such a thing, while, in the same connection, it excommunicates laymen guilty of the same offense. Wishing to show that if such Greek customs when observed by the imperfect Jews sufficed to provoke God to indignation and wrath, how much more they provoke Him when observed by us Christians who are perfect and disciples of the Gospel! It says that King Manasseh built an altar, implying that he offered sacrifices to the host and force of heaven, to the stars, that is to say (and especially to the moon; just as is written in Jeremiah: "to burn incense unto the queen of heaven, and to pour out libations unto her"—unto the moon, that is to say) within the two courts of the temple, and he passed his children through the fire, and consulted augurs,³⁴⁸ and was wont to divine

³⁴⁸ Properly speaking augury is the observation of future events by means of words and calls, the corresponding Greek term being derived from this word *call* Greek *klo, kalo*, as a learned writer states, and especially Theodoret (page 193 of the second volume of the

future events by auspication,³⁴⁹ and appointed many ventriloquists and seers.³⁵⁰ And he perpetrated wickedness in the eyes of the Lord and provoked His wrath. Note, too, that the expression “he passed his children through fire” is taken by the Council here to mean that Manasseh made his children hop over or through the fire, whereas Cyril of Alexandria, in his Commentary of Isaiah, interpreted it to mean that he made a burnt-offering of his children in the fire as a sacrifice to the demons.

CANON LXVI

The faithful are required to spend the time in a state of leisure without fail in the holy churches from the holy days of resurrected Christ our God to New Sunday in psalms and hymns, and in spiritual songs called odes, while taking cheer in Christ and celebrating, and paying close attention to the reading of the divine Scriptures, and delighting themselves to their heart's content in the Holy Mysteries. For thus shall we be jointly resurrected and jointly exalted with

Octateuch). This Greek custom of augury is still practiced today in many parts of the country, and especially in the islands, where men and women place water and various fruits in vessels and cover them, and afterwards, assembling together, they take them out, accompanying each act of removal with a diabolical song and by means thereof pretending to foretell the fate and fortune of each of them. These auguries are held during the time of the Forerunner's birthday, as well as the bonfires in front of the doors of every house, which ought to be prohibited with excommunications as penalties by the bishops and spirituals, as ought also the May Day celebration, or, in other words, the various flowers and buds which some persons put on their doors on the first day of May, since this too is a Greek custom and also a heathen custom, and one which is alien to Christians, just as that Patriarch Michael, of celebrated memory, who was the prince of philosophers, displayed great diligence in abolishing all such Satanic and Greek “rackets.” For Christians safeguard themselves against every evil and against all bad luck, and at the same time secure for themselves plenty of good luck, by having the priest sanctify their house, and by sprinkling themselves on the first day of each and every month, instead of May Day celebrations and auguries and bonfires, as Blastaris says (ch. 3 of stich. 5); just as in olden times sanctification used to be secured by means of precious bits of wood from the holy Cross, but also with a litany of the first day of August for the purpose of warding off the illnesses which occur then for the most part because of the hot weather, as is related by St. Gregory of Thessalonica (Homily on the first day of August), and by the manuscript Synaxarist. I mean for them to make the sanctification which is called the minor, or little, sanctification, and not that which is called the major, or great, sanctification. For the minor sanctification can be carried out on the first day of every month, and not only so, but also on the occasion of every illness and need. The major sanctification, on the other hand, is performed but twice a year, as a rule: once on the evening of the eve of the Lights, which sanctification is given in the type of the baptism of John, according to Paisius of Gaza in his solution of certain questions. For this reason it is also performed humbly. The other time is that which coincides with the day proper to the Lights, which sanctification is given in the type of the baptism of the Lord, according to the same Paisius. For this reason it is performed with open display and a fitting escort.

³⁴⁹ Auspication, according to Theodoret, is a process wherein one foretells what is going to occur by observing the flight or the various cries of birds, and especially of ravens, from which (word) indeed the name is derived (in Greek, that is to say, the corresponding Greek term is derived from the noun *oionos*, meaning a raven or vulture). In auspication are included also those who believe that there are good and bad coincidences (or concomitant circumstances), or interrogations good and bad, or good and bad omens, and other such things, which ought to be eliminated from Christians, on the ground that they provoke God's wrath upon them.

³⁵⁰ By the term ventriloquists are designated those persons who utter words from their belly and tell Satanic myths and divinations. Seers are those who by cutting up the entrails of animals divine the future, whence also the term hepatoscopy has been applied to this process. And, in general, all ventriloquists are called *enteromanteis* (i.e., haruspices) in Greek, according to Photius and Theodoret.

the one wounded by the serpent. Accordingly, he ought not to drive the patient to the verge of despair, nor give him rein⁴⁰³ to dissoluteness and contempt of life, but, on the contrary, in at least one way at any rate, either by resorting to extremer and stringent remedies, or to gentler and milder ones, to curb the disease, and to put up a fight to heal the ulcer for the one tasting the fruits of repentance, and wisely helping him on the way to the splendid rehabilitation to which the man is being invited. We must therefore be versed in both, i.e., both the requirements of accuracy and the requirements of custom. In the case of those who are obstinately opposed to extremities, we must follow the formula handed down to us, just as sacred Basil teaches us outright.

Interpretation

After this Council had decreed concerning many different penances, lastly in the present Canon it leaves everything to the judgment of the bishops and spirituals (i.e., confessors), the authority to bind and to loose, saying that they ought to conjecture, or surmise, both the quality of the sinfulness, whether it be pardonable or deadly, and the disposition of the sinner with respect to repentance, and thus to offer the right treatment for his illness; lest by giving persons who are magnanimous and willing to repent lenient penances, and persons who are more unconcerned and pusillanimous on the contrary extreme penances, they fail to correct either the former or the latter, but rather wind up by losing both. Because sin is so complex and various, and grows so fast, that it resists, that is, overcomes, the power and art of the spiritual physician (or, it may be, so complex and various is sin, and so fast does it grow, before it can be checked and overcome by the art of the spiritual physician). So, for this reason, the physician of souls must first and foremost conjecture the disposition and inclination of the sinner, and discern whether he loves the health of his soul with fervid repentance, or, on the contrary, whether he actually is coaxing sin to attack him, and how he behaves in regard to sin, whether he is not opposed to the salutary remedies which he is giving him (as is done by the demented who are opposed to the salutary remedies of physicians of bodies), and whether he is not actually aggravating, or increasing, the lesion of sin with such measures. The confessor, I say, must first of all make conjectures respecting all these things, and thus with due proportion mete out mercy, mitigating, or lightening, the penances in dealing with the man who is unconcerned and pusillanimous, but intensifying, or making them heavier, in the case of a man who is magnanimous; and doing both for mercy's sake, in order, on the one hand, to cleanse the magnanimous man from sin, and, on the other hand, to avoid making the pusillanimous man's case worse. And, generally speaking, the whole aim both to God and to the confessor is simply this, to bring about the return of the straying sheep, to cure the one who has been wounded or hurt by the figurative serpent commonly called the Devil, and neither to drive him to despair by heavy penalties, nor again to let him take the bit in his teeth, like a horse, by light penalties, and hence encourage him to contemptuousness and unconcern, but in every possible way, whether with austere or with mild remedies, to endeavor to restore the sinner to health

⁴⁰³ In other manuscripts it says "give him more."

Seventh Ecumenical Council

CONCERNING THE HOLY AND ECUMENICAL SEVENTH COUNCIL

PROLEGOMENA

The holy and Ecumenical Seventh Council was held in Nicaea, Bithynia, the second to convene in that city, during the reign of Constantine and his mother Irene, A.D. 783.⁴⁰⁵ Of the Fathers attending it, 350 were Orthodox,⁴⁰⁶ but seventeen others joined it who had formerly been iconomachs, but who later repented and were accepted by it. So that in all there were 367. Outstanding and distinguished ones among them were Tarasius the Patriarch of Constantinople, Peter the Archpresbyter of Rome, and Peter, he too another presbyter and the abbot of the monastery of St. Sabbas in Rome, all of them acting as representatives of Pope Adrian. Thomas the Syncellus and hieromonach and John the hieromonach,⁴⁰⁷ filling the places of the Apostolic thrones, or, more explicitly, acting instead of Apollinarius of Alexandria,⁴⁰⁸ Theodoret of Antioch, and Elias of Jerusalem.⁴⁰⁹ The monks also exercised great influence in this Council, seeing that there were 136 of them present as archimandrites of monasteries. This Council was assembled against the ungodly iconomachs who used to disparage the Christians. The Council anathematized them, and especially Anastasius, Constantine, and Nicetas, the pseudopatriarchs who held office during the time of the iconomachs, on the ground that they not only refused to kiss and bow

⁴⁰⁵ Spyridon Miliars, in his *Collection of the Councils*, vol. II, says that this Council was held in the year 783. Others say in the year 788. The most accurate chronologists, however, say that it was held in the above-mentioned year.

⁴⁰⁶ Epiphanius, the Deacon of Catania, in the eparchy of Sicily, attending as the legate of Thomas, the archbishop of the island of Sardinia, in his wonderful encomiastic speech (page 890 of the second volume of the *Conciliar Records*) says that that was the number of Fathers attending it. Psellus says so too. Photius says that there were 367, in his letter to Michael the King of Bulgaria. The same number is recorded in the *menologion* of Emperor Basil.

⁴⁰⁷ These legates, according to Theophanes, became the Metropolitan of Thessalonica and the Patriarch of Alexandria, respectively.

⁴⁰⁸ Photius calls him Apollinarius; but the report of an anonymous writer concerning the seven Councils calls him Politianus, with whom Ignatius, a modern author, agrees.

⁴⁰⁹ These Patriarchs were unable at that time to attend the Council in person, because of the incursion of the Hagarenes. For the Patriarch of Jerusalem (whom Dositheus calls Theodore, I know not why) had been exiled by them a thousand miles away from Jerusalem. Worse woes were suffered by the Christians in Alexandria and Antioch, and consequently their Patriarchs suffered along with them (Dositheus, page 631 of the *Dodecabiblus*).

down in adoration before the holy icons, but they even called them idols,⁴¹⁰ and burned them up, and trod them underfoot, and dragged them about in the

⁴¹⁰ An idol is one thing, a statue is another thing, and an icon (or picture) is a different thing. For an idol differs from an icon in that the icon is a likeness of a true thing and its original, whereas the idol is an image of a false and in-existent thing, and is not the likeness of an original, according to Origen and Theodoret — just as were the idols of the false and in-existent gods of the Greeks. We call those images which embody the whole figure statues and carved or sculptured figures in general. As for this kind of images, namely, the statues, the catholic (Orthodox) Church not only does not adore them, but she does not even manufacture them, for many reasons: 1) because in its present definition this Council says for images to be produced with paints (or colors), with mosaic, or tessellated work, and with any other suitable material (which means with gold and silver and other metals, as Theodosius the bishop of Amorion says in Act 4 of the same Council) upon the sacred utensils, and robes, including sheets and cloths; upon walls and boards, and houses and streets. It did not mention a word about construction of a statue. Rather it may be said that this definition of this Council is antagonistic to statues; 2) because neither the letters written by patriarchs in their correspondence with one another, and to emperors, nor the letters of Pope Gregory to Germanus and of Pope Adrian to the present Council, nor the speeches and orations which the bishops and monks made in connection with all the eight Acts of the present Council said anything at all about statues or sculptured figures. But also the councils held by the iconomachs, and especially that held in Blachernae in the reign of Copronymus, in writing against the holy icons, mention oil paintings and portraits, but never statues or sculptured figures, which, if they existed, could not have been passed over in silence by the iconomachs, but, on the contrary, they would have been written against with a view to imputing greater blame to the Orthodox; 3) because although the woman with an issue of blood made a bronze statue of Christ in memory of and by way of giving thanks for the miracle and the benefaction which it had conferred upon her; and she set it up in the Panead, at the feet of which there sprang up a plant, or herb, which cured various ailments; and, as some say, that statue was smashed to pieces by the Emperor Maximinus, before Constantine the Great, and the bronze was seized by him; or else Julian the Apostate seized it, and put in its place the statue of Jupiter, as an anonymous writer says. Though, I say, the woman who had an issue of blood did make this statue (which the Christians took into the Church and honored; and people went to see it out of a yearning for the original of it, as Philostorgus the Arian historically records), yet, as a matter of fact, that work of the woman who had an issue of blood was a concession from God, who, for goodness' sake accepted it, making allowances for the imperfect knowledge of the woman who set it up; and because that was an embodiment and mark not of the grace of the Gospel, but of the old Law, as Pope Gregory II says in writing to St. Germanus (for the old Law had the two Cherubim, which were gold statues and sculptured figures containing all the body of the angelic powers, according to ch. 38 of Exodus, which Cherubim, according to an unknown expositor, had the face of a calf, and adored the Ark of the Covenant (here called the Ark of the Testimony, and by this adoration separated the Israelites from the idolatry of the Egyptians, who used to adore the calf. For the Jews learned from this that if a calf adored the Ark, it followed that the Egyptians were wrong in adoring it as a god). Not only the old Law, but also the custom of the Greeks fostered the erection of statues and sculptured figures, as St. Germanus writes in a letter to Thomas of Claudiopolis which is to be found in Act 4 of the present Council, and which says: "It being obvious that the Savior leveled His own grace to condescension with the faith of the woman, and showed what has been made evident to us above, namely, that it is not that what is performed is in general the object, but that it is the aim of the one performing it that is being reduced to experience . . ." And again: "We do not say this, so that we may find an excuse for exercising the art of making bronze pillars, but merely in order to make it plain that the Lord did not discard the national custom at this point, but, instead, availed Himself of it to exhibit therein for a considerable length of time the wonder-working and miracle-working efficiency of His own benevolence; on which account it is not devout to disparage the custom of a somewhat more pious nature which has prevailed among us." You see here three things as plainly as day, to wit: 1) that the erection of the statue of Christ was moral, and that the Lord accepted it as a matter of compromise with the times; 2) that statues ought not to be manufactured; and 3) that it is more pious and more decent for the venerable images to be depicted, not by means of statues, but by means of colors in paintings. For the same saint said above by way of anticipation that in historically recording the facts concerning the statues, he historically recounts the fact that the icons of the Apostles Peter and Paul, painted in colors, were still extant . . . Canon LXXXII of the 6th, moreover, says that we ought to prefer the grace of the Gospel to the legal form, and ought to set up the human character, or figure, of Christ in icons instead of the olden