

# Gesta Berengarii Imperatoris: Beiträge zur Geschichte Italiens im Anfange des Zehnten Jahrhunderts (*The Deeds of Emperor Berengar: Contributions to the History of Italy at the Beginning of the Tenth Century*)

by Auxilius, 914

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## INVECTIVE AGAINST ROME IN DEFENSE OF POPE FORMOSUS.

*Latin*

*English*

## INUECTIUA IN ROMAM PRO FORMOSO PAPA.

## INVECTIVE AGAINST ROME IN DEFENSE OF POPE FORMOSUS.

..... (de uerbis libri)

..... (concerning the words of the book)

*prophecie huius auferet deus partem eius de libro uite et de ciuitate sancta et de his que scripta sunt in libro isto.[^1] Igitur quia didicimus in sancta Romana ecclesia, que est mater omnium ecclesiarum non habens maculam aut rugam,[^2] aut talia huiusmodi, nuper aliquid noui et ante haec tempora inuisi et inauditi accidisse, quod flendo magis quam disputando consentimus et nimio terrore tabescimus. Contriti namque et contristati ac uehementi stupore detenti silere potius optaremus quam loqui. Sed conceptum sermonem tenere quis possit?[^3] Tortuosus ille, proh dolor, et seuissimus anguis, qui primos protoplastos callida deceptione fraudis ab amenitatis paradisi gaudiis expulit, iam sybilans colla trisulcis linguis erigit et Romanam ecclesiam sui liuore ueneni turbare non desinit. Sed diuina domini et saluatoris nostri Iesu*

*of this prophecy, God will take away his portion from the book of life and from the holy city and from those things which are written in this book.[^1] Therefore, because we have learned that in the holy Roman Church, which is the mother of all churches having neither spot nor wrinkle,[^2] or any such thing, something new and unprecedented and unheard of in these times has recently occurred, which we acknowledge more with weeping than with disputation, and we waste away with excessive terror. For we, contrite and saddened and held fast by vehement stupor, would prefer to remain silent rather than to speak. But who can hold back a conceived word?[^3] That tortuous and most savage serpent, alas, who by cunning deception of fraud expelled the first protoparents from the joys of the paradise of delight, now hissing raises his neck with triple-forked tongues and does not cease to disturb the Roman Church with the poison of his envy. But may the divine right hand of*

Christi dextera Lerneum colubrum in Archadie paludibus latitantem, cui absciso uno tria subrescebant capita deifice conteret; et qui beatum Petrum per undas siccis ambulare fecit,<sup>[4]</sup> plantis, ecclesiam suam immensis undique pelagi fluctibus agitatam portum salutis attingere faciet; Iordaneque transmisso, a bruta Gericho ad eterna celestis Ierusalem gaudia feliciter ingredi permittet. Mirum tamen et ualde mirandum est, cum omnes ecclesie tam cismarine quam transmarine in proprio statu permaneant, sola Romana ecclesia procellosa a fluctibus nauitas suos mortis proximos redundat.

Ad propositum itaque redeamus et scandala, quibus Roma autrice pusilli et magni scandalizantur, lugendo potius quam sermones exprimendo dinumeremus. Leges siquidem mundane et canonicę, scita quoque barbarica sanciant et omnimodis determinant, ut uiolatores sepulchrorum inter infames habeantur, ita ut clerici canonicis regulis subiciantur, laici uero uoce perdita inter reprobos habeantur et penitencie triennio deputentur. Heu! heu! heu! *Quomodo*<sup>[5]</sup> *sedet sola ciuitas plena populo; facta est quasi uidua domina gentium: prouinciarum princeps facta est sub tributo.* O Roma, conditores tuos Romulum et Remum, quos unus uterus gessit, tua menia, ut simul regnarent, non receperunt, sed fratricidio tabefacta neci unum tradidisti, alterum quirinali gladio capitales tibi leges impertiendo uoluens . . . . . imo totius orbis hominibus dominos Petrum et Paulum, apostolorum principes, unum crucifixisti, alterum gladio inter omicidas capite truncasti. Nam, ut quidam sapiens dixit:<sup>[6]</sup>

*Nam nisi te Petri meritum Paulique foueret,*

*Tempore iam longo, Roma, misella fores.*

Hęcine est retribucio, quam audiuimus a te? nec uisu nec dictu affabilis ulli umquam dicta fuisti.

our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ crush the Lernaean serpent lurking in the swamps of Arcadia—to which, when one head was cut off, three grew back—with divine force; and may He who made blessed Peter walk with dry feet upon the waves<sup>[4]</sup> cause His Church, tossed on every side by the immense waves of the sea, to reach the port of salvation; and having crossed the Jordan, may He permit her to enter happily from brutish Jericho to the eternal joys of the heavenly Jerusalem. It is nevertheless astonishing and greatly to be wondered at that, while all churches both on this side of the sea and beyond the sea remain in their proper state, the Roman Church alone overflows with stormy waves, bringing her sailors close to death.

Let us therefore return to the matter at hand and enumerate—by mourning rather than by expressing in words—the scandals by which, with Rome as their author, both the humble and the great are scandalized. Indeed, both secular and canonical laws, as well as the decrees of barbarian codes, sanction and determine in every way that violators of sepulchers should be held among the infamous, so that clerics are subjected to the canonical rules, while laymen, deprived of their legal voice, are held among the reprobate and assigned to three years of penance. Alas! Alas! Alas! *How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people! How is the mistress of the Gentiles become as a widow: the princess of provinces made tributary!*<sup>[5]</sup> O Rome, your founders Romulus and Remus, whom one womb bore, your walls did not receive so that they might reign together, but corrupted by fratricide you delivered one to death, the other revolving the Quirinal sword, imparting to you capital laws . . . . . indeed, to the men of the whole world, you crucified one of the lords Peter and Paul, the princes of the apostles, and beheaded the other with the sword among murderers. For, as a certain wise man said:<sup>[6]</sup>

*For unless the merit of Peter and Paul sustained you,*

*You would long since have been a wretched city, O Rome.*

Is this the recompense that we have heard from you? Never have you been called agreeable to anyone, either in sight or in speech.

Nuper itaque a fratribus audiuius et in synodo collocatum percepimus patronum tuum Formosum papam in tuo ab ipsis cunabulis educatum gremio ab episcopis cleroque et populo ad percipiendum apostolicę sublimitatis culmen electum et ab huiusmodi officialibus pontificibus in sacrata sede inthronizatum in subterraneo specu post huius uite terminum quietem habere non licuisse exanimatum. Nam eius cadauer iamque per nouem menses sepultum per pedes de sepulchro extraxisti et quasi Saul per Samuelem eum ab inferis reuocans consuluisti et in synodum sedere fecisti. Credimus, si ut spiritus Samuelis loqueretur, forsitan diceret tibi:[^7] *Cras tu et filii tui tecum eritis*. Sed quamuis ille non fuerit locutus, tu tamen et filii tui descendetis ad inferos, ille autem ab angelis susceptus iam pridem migravit ad superos. O facinus inauditum! o scelus inuisum! o sacrilegium intemptatum! quem ab infancia lacte nutriti, cibo solido pauisti, litteris inuisti et per ecclesiasticos gradus ad culmen pontificale dignis eius moribus promerentibus aduectum elegisti atque ad paganissimam predicandam gentem misisti, remeantem quoque gaudio suscepisti et susceptum malo tuo, quod non debuisti, exulem procul a patria proiecasti. Sed ad tempus receptus et in pristinum gradum, a quo destitutus (nescimus zelo an noxa fuerit) restitutus, Christi, quam debuerat, militia est functus. Stephano quoque papa, Adriani filio, quem idem Formosus consecrauerat, uiam[^8] *uniuersę terrę ingresso*, adunati sunt episcopi, proceresque tui, clerici quoque et populus cunctaque uulgi manus, et uenerunt in sedem Portuensem infra urbem sitam, cui Formosus preerat, papam eum summumque pontificem adclamantes. Quo renuente et contradicente et ad altare se complicante per uim eum cum palla, qua altare opertum erat, exinde abstraxerunt et abstractum cum laudibus et choris in sede beati Petri apostolorum principis intronizauerunt. Qui in apostolica sede positus multa tibi bona contulit, ecclesias

Recently, therefore, we have heard from the brethren and have learned that it was decreed in synod that your patron Formosus the pope, raised in your bosom from his very cradle, elected by the bishops, clergy, and people to attain the summit of apostolic sublimity, and enthroned in the sacred see by such officiating pontiffs, was not permitted to have rest after the end of this life, lifeless in an underground cave. For his cadaver, already buried for nine months, you dragged out from the tomb by the feet, and as though you were Saul consulting Samuel recalled from the underworld, you made him sit in synod. We believe that if the spirit of Samuel were to speak, perhaps he would say to you:[^7] *Tomorrow you and your sons shall be with me*. But although he did not speak, nevertheless you and your sons shall descend to hell, but he, received by the angels, has long since departed to the heavens above. O unheard-of deed! O hateful crime! O unattempted sacrilege! Him whom you nursed with milk from infancy, fed with solid food, imbued with learning, and through ecclesiastical grades elevated to the pontifical summit—which his worthy character merited—you chose and sent to preach to a most pagan nation; returning, you received him with joy, and having received him, to your own harm, which you ought not to have done, you cast him out as an exile far from his homeland. But received back in due time and restored to his former rank from which he had been deposed (we know not whether it was from zeal or from fault), he fulfilled the service of Christ as he ought. Moreover, when Pope Stephen, son of Adrian, whom this same Formosus had consecrated, *entered the way of all the earth*,[^8] the bishops and your nobles were assembled, and the clergy and people and all the throng of the common folk, and they came to the see of Portus situated within the city, over which Formosus presided, acclaiming him pope and supreme pontiff. When he refused and resisted and clung to the altar, by force they dragged him from there with the pall with which the altar was covered, and having dragged him out, with praises and choirs they enthroned him in the see of blessed Peter, prince of the apostles. He, placed in the apostolic see, conferred many good things upon you, rebuilt churches, constructed, built, adorned and decorated them, performed consecrations, consecrated deacons and presbyters and bishops (from whom

reedificauit, exstruxit, edificauit, compisit et ornaui, consecraciones fecit, diaconos et presbiteros atque pontifices, ex quibus postmodum summa sancta sedes apostolica infulata fuit, consecraui, clerum et populum tuum miro moderamine gubernauit et imperatorem Landbertum imperiali diademato redimiuit. Consensisti, o Roma, eleccioni Formosi? aut ai aut nega. Sed negare non potes, quia huius rei testis uniuersus est mundus. Misisti ad sedem Portuensem, quę secunda infra muros tuos ab apostolica est sedes, petens Formosum, ut ab ea migraret et tibi antistaret. Quem obstantem et nequaquam inuitatui tuo adquiescentem ui ab altaris crepidine, ut iam dictum est, receptum et euulsum cum nexillo canticisque et imnis preconis et laudibus in sublimissima apostolicę sedis arce intronizasti fauisti adorasti iurasti, cuique benedixit benedixisti et cui maledixit maledixisti.

Et, o Roma, ultra quid addes? Transcurso itaque huius uite termino appositus est ad patres suos<sup>[9]</sup> caroque terrę pulvisque pulueri sociatus, spiritus, ut credimus, ductus et prouectus est ad astra. Sed tn, o Roma, futurum et tremendum iudicii diem preuenire conata, orribili congregata synodo iam post nouem menses marcidum et poene in puluere redactum de sepulchro extraxisti et, quem uiuum quondam tremebas, mortuum iudicio iudicabas. Si Romanus pontifex uiuus a nemine iudicatur, mortuus a quoquam iudicabitur? Si interrogabatur, quid respondebat? Si responderet, omnis illa orrenda congregatio timore perterrita ab inuicem separata a loco discederet et unus post unum exiret; diceretque ei dominus: Formose, quis te condempnauit? Et ille: Nemo, domine. Et dominus ad illum: Nec ego te condemnabo. Si adesset ille mirabilis manu fortis rex et psalmographus Dauid citharizaret et diceret:<sup>[10]</sup>

*Numquid mortuis facies mirabilia; aut medici suscitabunt et confitebuntur tibi? Numquid narrabit aliquis in sepulchro*

afterward the most holy apostolic see was mitred), governed your clergy and people with admirable moderation, and crowned the Emperor Lambert with the imperial diadem. Did you consent, O Rome, to the election of Formosus? Either say yes or deny it. But you cannot deny it, because the entire world is witness to this matter. You sent to the see of Portus, which is the second see within your walls after the apostolic see, seeking Formosus, that he might depart from it and preside over you. Him, resisting and in no way acquiescing to your invitation, you received by force and tore away from the base of the altar, as has already been said, and with banners and songs and hymns and proclamations and praises you enthroned him in the most sublime citadel of the apostolic see, you favored him, you adored him, you swore oaths to him, whom he blessed you blessed, and whom he cursed you cursed.

And, O Rome, what more will you add? Therefore, once the end of this life had passed, he was gathered to his fathers<sup>[9]</sup> and his dear flesh joined to the earth and dust to dust, while his spirit, as we believe, was led and conveyed to the stars. But you, O Rome, attempting to forestall the future and dreadful day of judgment, convened a horrible synod and already after nine months you dragged from the sepulcher one who was putrid and nearly reduced to dust, and him whom you once feared while living, you judged dead in a judicial trial. If a Roman Pontiff while living is judged by no one, shall he be judged by anyone when dead? If he were questioned, what would he answer? If he should answer, that entire dreadful assembly, terrified with fear, would separate from one another and depart from the place, and one after another would leave; and the Lord would say to him: Formosus, who has condemned you? And he: No one, Lord. And the Lord to him: Neither do I condemn you. If that marvelous king mighty of hand and psalmist David were present, he would play the lyre and say:<sup>[10]</sup>

*Will you work wonders for the dead; or shall physicians raise them up and confess to you? Shall anyone in the sepulchre declare your mercy or in*

*miser ricordiam tuam in perdicionem? Numquid cognoscentur in tenebris mirabilia tua et iusticia tua in terra obliuionis? sicque forsitan citharizando spiritus Formosi accederet. Tamen posthabita, ut uidemus, omnium scripturarum et antiquorum patrum reuerencia detumulasti humum deponere . . . . . manum abscidisti in Tiberique proiecisti. Exclamemus igitur cum Joel, propheta<sup>[11]</sup> et dicamus: Audite senes et auribus percipite, omnes habitatores terre, si factum est in diebus uestris istud aut in diebus patrum uestrorum. Super hoc filiis uestris narrate et filii uestri filiis suis et filii eorum generacioni alteri. Et item:<sup>[12]</sup> Accingite uos et plangite uos et plangite sacerdotes; ululate, ministri altaris; ingredimini, cubate in saccis, ministri dei mei, quoniam interiit de domo uestri sacrificium et oblatio.*

Dicat forsitan: Formosus uixit excommunicatus expoliatus, usurpator et inuasor fuit; consecraciones, quas fecit, irritae sunt et nihil habuit, nil dedit. Et nos ad hęc. Viuo ergo, dicit dominus,<sup>[13]</sup> *non erit prouerbium hoc ultra in Israhel.* Numquid rex et obtimates eius cum procinctu bellico perduxerunt Formosum Romam et absque consensu episcoporum, senatus quoque et populi Romani infulatum in tribunali constituerunt? Absit. Principes falanges et satraphe tui, uulgi et sole tue, a maximo usque ad minimum eum elegerunt, acclamauerunt, laudauerunt et adorauerunt et episcopi cum sacro Lateranensi ordine eum intronizauerunt. Mundus totus eius celebre nomen recoluit; sacerdotalis ordo festiuis et cotidianis missarum sollempniis in catalogo secretalis eulogii laudibusque publicis per uniuersum terrarum orbem eius nomen expressit. Quomodo ergo extinguere uultis nomen Formosi et quod per triperita orbis resoluit? et a solis ortu usque ad terre limitem omnibus intonuit? Stat nomen Petri apostolorum principis? stet etiam uicarii Formosi. Permanet nomen apostolicorum, qui uicem beati Petri tenuerunt? permaneat et Formosi.

*perdition? Shall your wonders be known in the darkness and your justice in the land of forgetfulness? and thus perhaps by playing the lyre the spirit of Formosus might approach. Nevertheless, with the reverence of all the Scriptures and the ancient fathers set aside, as we see, you disinterred the earth to lay down . . . . . you cut off the hand and cast it into the Tiber. Let us therefore cry out with Joel, the prophet<sup>[11]</sup> and say: Hear this, you elders, and give ear, all inhabitants of the land: Has such a thing happened in your days, or in the days of your fathers? Tell your children of it, and let your children tell their children, and their children another generation. And again:<sup>[12]</sup> Gird yourselves and lament, and lament, you priests; wail, you ministers of the altar; enter in, lie down in sackcloth, ministers of my God, for sacrifice and oblation have perished from the house of your God.*

Someone may perhaps say: Formosus lived excommunicated and despoiled, he was a usurper and an invader; the consecraciones which he performed are null and void and he possessed nothing, he gave nothing. And we reply to these charges thus. "As I live, says the Lord,<sup>[13]</sup> *this proverb shall no longer be used in Israel.*" Did the king and his nobles perchance lead Formosus to Rome with a military escort and, without the consent of the bishops, and also of the senate and people of Rome, place him mitred upon the tribunal? Far from it. The princes, phalanxes, and your satraps, the common people and your schools, from the greatest to the least, elected him, acclaimed him, praised him and venerated him, and the bishops together with the sacred Lateran order enthroned him. The entire world celebrated his renowned name; the sacerdotal order, in the festive and daily solemnities of the Masses, in the catalogue of the secret eulogium and in public praises throughout the whole world, proclaimed his name. How therefore do you wish to extinguish the name of Formosus and that which resounded through the three parts of the world? and which thundered to all from the rising of the sun to the limits of the earth? Does the name of Peter, Prince of the Apostles, stand? Let also the name of his vicar Formosus stand. Does the name of the apostolic ones remain, who held the place of blessed Peter? Let also

Viget nomen Nicolai Adriani Marini Iohannis Stephani ceterorumque? uigeat et Formosi.

Dicit eciam: Non licuit ei post depositionem ministrare; et si ministravit, non licebat de ciuitate in ciuitatem migrare. Discurramus ergo per singula et ea, que iusta possibilia utilia onesta et sanctorum patrum utilitate comprobata esse uidentur, summopere discuciamus. De levis namque et dampnatis scriptum est in psalmis:[^14] *Numquid qui cadit, non adiciet ut resurgat?* De his uero, qui sedem mutant et de ciuitate in ciuitatem migrant, dominus in euangelio dicit:[^15] *Si uos persecuti fuerint in una ciuitate, fugite in aliam.* Discrecio namque est inter causam necessitatis et utilitatis et inter ambitum auaricie et presumptionis proprieque uoluntatis et inuasionis. Similis distancia est inter eum, qui liuore et inuidie neuo et eum, qui noxa aliqua conuictus et heretica labe maculatus, canonicis legibus dampnatur. Vtilitatis namque causa beatus Petrus apostolorum princeps migravit ab Antiochia et translatus est Romam. Eusebius itaque Pamphili in sexto historie ecclesiastice libro[^16] Alexandrum unius Capadocie ciuitatis episcopum refert, quia, cum uenisset causa oracionis Hierosolimam, tentus sit ab eius ciuibus et in locum Narcissi episcopi sit constitutus ac de cetero omni uita sua ipsi ecclesie presidisse. Si igitur apud ueteres sine ulla diferencia de ciuitate ad aliam migrabatur episcopus, dum utilitas euocaret, oportet eciam ipsam regulam huic operi copulari, ut ostendatur, quia mentiti sunt, qui Proclum inthronizare prohibuerunt. Sufficiat ergo ad presens istos memorasse, nam plures exempli causa ad memoriam reducemus.

Interim tamen redeamus ad conloquium urbis Rome, ut per eam cines eius adloquamur. Et quia de Formoso papa ratio constat, sanctorum patrum exempla in medium ducamus; uniuersum enim huius ratiotinationis onus in Formosi causa pendet. Et quia mortui a uiuis non

the name of Formosus remain. Does the name of Nicholas, Adrian, Marinus, John, Stephen, and the rest flourish? Let also the name of Formosus flourish.

He also says: It was not permitted for him to minister after deposition; and if he did minister, it was not permitted to migrate from city to city. Let us therefore run through each point individually and examine most carefully those things which seem to be just, possible, useful, honorable, and proven by the practice of the holy fathers. For concerning those who have fallen and been condemned, it is written in the Psalms:[^14] *Shall he who falls not rise again?* But concerning those who change their see and migrate from city to city, the Lord says in the Gospel:[^15] *If they persecute you in one city, flee to another.* For there is a distinction between a case of necessity and utility, and one of ambition, avarice, presumption, self-will, and usurpation. A similar distance exists between one who is condemned by canonical laws on account of spite and the cloud of envy, and one who is convicted of some crime and stained with the blemish of heresy. For on account of utility, blessed Peter, the prince of the apostles, migrated from Antioch and was transferred to Rome. Therefore Eusebius Pamphili, in the sixth book of his Ecclesiastical History,[^16] relates that Alexander, bishop of one city of Cappadocia, when he had come to Jerusalem for the purpose of prayer, was detained by its citizens and was established in the place of Bishop Narcissus, and henceforth presided over that church for all his life. If therefore among the ancients a bishop migrated from one city to another without any impediment, when utility called for it, it is necessary also that this very rule be joined to this work, so that it may be shown that those who forbade Proclus to be enthroned have lied. Let it therefore suffice for the present to have mentioned these cases, for we shall recall many more as examples to memory.

Meanwhile, however, let us return to the colloquy of the city of Rome, that through it we may address its citizens. And since the case of Pope Formosus is established, let us bring forth the examples of the holy fathers into the midst; for the entire burden of this line of reasoning depends upon the cause of Formosus. And

sunt iudicandi ..... per secula luce clarius omnibus ostendamus. Atque in prima fronte cuiusdam Tycinensis episcopi, Ennodii nomine, uiri sanctissimi sententiam exprimamus:[^17] *Aliorum, inquit, hominum causas deus per hominem designari uoluit, sedis Romane presulem suo sine questione reseruauit iudicio et arbitrio; uoluit enim beati Petri successores tante dignitatis habere priuilegium, ut Romanus pontifex a nemine iudicetur.* Dicas forsitan: *Talis erit in futura dispensacione omnis distribucio.* Non. Vni solum dictum est:[^18] *Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam et porte inferi non preualebunt aduersus eam et tibi dabo claues regni celorum et quodcumque ligaueris usque solutum in celis.* De hac enim ecclesia mihi per prophetam[^19] uidetur esse dictum: *Si hec humiliatur, ad cuius fugietis auxilium aut ubi relinquetis gloriam uestram?* Et hoc de uiuis, de mortuis uero Anastasius papa ita monet:[^20] *Admonente nos beatissimo apostolo, ne quid sit in hoc offendiculum in ecclesia dei quod facere non possumus de his, qui iam transierunt, iudicare conemur.* Ait enim de his, qui de rebus ad solum deum pertinentibus iudicare presumunt:[^21] *si enim uiuimus, domino uiuimus, siue morimur, domino morimur. In hoc enim Christus resurrexit, ut et mortuorum et uiuorum dominetur.*

Tu autem, quis es, qui iudicas fratrem tuum? *Non ergo amplius inuicem iudicemus, sed hoc iudicate magis, ne ponatis offendiculum fratribus uel scandalum.* Monet igitur apostolus, ne de his nobis presumendo iudicium inferamus, de quibus nemo potest uerius uel melius iudicare quam deus. In hoc sibi quispiam temerarios usurpat ausus et propter hoc pax atque unitas ecclesie dissipatur. Apparet ergo, quod nemo, qui iam migravit de seculo, iudicio detentus sit humano. Quod si nemo subiectorum exutus carne est iudicandus, quid de summo pontifice, qui nec uiuus reprehendendus erat et in presidio iam

that the dead are not to be judged by the living ..... let us demonstrate more clearly than light itself to all throughout the ages. And at the very outset let us set forth the opinion of a certain bishop of Pavia, named Ennodius, a most holy man:[^17] *The causes of other men, he says, God willed to be determined through man, but the prelate of the Roman See He reserved without question to His own judgment and decision; for He willed that the successors of blessed Peter should have the privilege of so great a dignity, that the Roman Pontiff be judged by no one.* You might perhaps say: *Such will be every distribution in the future dispensation.* No. To one alone was it said:[^18] *Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my Church and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it and to thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven and whatsoever thou shalt bind... shall be loosed in heaven.* For concerning this Church it seems to me to have been said through the prophet:[^19] *If this be brought low, to whose aid will you flee or where will you leave your glory?* And this concerns the living; but concerning the dead, Pope Anastasius thus admonishes:[^20] *Since the most blessed Apostle warns us, lest there be any stumbling block in this matter in the Church of God, we cannot attempt to judge those who have already passed away.* For he says concerning those who presume to judge matters pertaining to God alone:[^21] *For whether we live, we live unto the Lord, or whether we die, we die unto the Lord. For to this end Christ rose again, that He might be Lord both of the dead and of the living.*

But you—who are you to judge your brother? *Let us therefore no longer judge one another, but rather judge this: that you place no stumbling block or scandal before your brethren.* The Apostle therefore admonishes us not to presume to pass judgment upon those matters concerning which no one can judge more truly or better than God. In this regard, anyone who usurps such rash audacity for himself causes the peace and unity of the Church to be torn apart. It is evident, therefore, that no one who has already departed from this world is subject to human judgment. But if no one among the subjects who has been divested of the flesh is to be judged, what of the Supreme Pontiff, who was not to be reproved even while living and who, now reposing in the sleep of death's protection, is thought to

mortis somno quiescens a sepulchro euulsus anathematizari putatus est? Etenim Marcellinus papa licet diis sacrificasset, tamen a nemine fuit iudicatus, quia summum pontificem nefas est a quoquam iudicari.<sup>[^22]</sup> *Non enim potest (ut supra scriptum est) humano condempnari examine, quem deus suo seruauit iudicio.*<sup>[^23]</sup> Que res adeo uiluit, ut non solum non iudicentur, sed eciam acerba et publica sedicione comprehendantur.<sup>[^24]</sup>

Veniamus nunc ad ordinationem Formosi pape, a quo fandi est initium ortum, quoniam nonnulli, sicut in decretis Hilarii pape legitur,<sup>[^25]</sup> episcopatum non diuinum sed hereditatis putant esse compendium. Hinc est propterea, quod temperantia moderaminis perditur, karitas neglegitur, *tunica illa desuper totum contexta*<sup>[^26]</sup> scinditur maleque sortita perneciter dirumpitur ac pastor, qui putabatur, in lupum uertitur. Hoc non fecit papa Formosus. Non enim hereditario iure sanctam Romanam ecclesiam tenuit neque eam, ut fertur, ambitus causa inuasit: impossibile enim uidetur eum tante sublimitatis ecclesiam inuadere potuisse.

Qua enim turba, qua uiolencia tocius capud orbis ab inermi uilique ac simplici homullulo iam inuadi potuisset: ni enim imperali aut regali uel patriciali aut tyrannica potestate fuisset suffultus, tante potestatis apicem inuadere non ualuisset. Vbi ergo, o Roma, tanta tua nobilitas? et antiqua tam inuicta potestas? Iam igitur, ut fertur, si sedem apostolicam preripuit, omne consilium principum tuorum uirtusque procerum et sapientia obtimatum perneciter obdormiuit. Quid igitur? Numquid eos ligauit? aut uiolentiam episcopis inferens, ut eum sacrent, exegit? Etenim notum est, quia ab ipsis episcopis sacratus est, a quibus predecessores eius sacrati et ad quos ius pertinebat sacrandi. Quomodo ergo potest dici: Nichil habuit, nichil dedit? Ecce, cum dicatur non habuisse, liquet, qualiter declaratur accepisse; quod acceptum potuit et largiri. Non enim praeter illorum

be anathematized after being torn from his sepulcher? For indeed, Pope Marcellinus, although he had offered sacrifice to the gods, was nevertheless judged by no one, because it is unlawful for the Supreme Pontiff to be judged by anyone.<sup>[^22]</sup> *For he cannot (as is written above) be condemned by human examination, whom God has reserved to His own judgment.*<sup>[^23]</sup> This matter has become so debased that not only are they not judged, but they are even seized upon with bitter and public sedition.<sup>[^24]</sup>

Let us now come to the ordination of Pope Formosus, from whom the beginning of this controversy must be taken, since some men, as is read in the decrees of Pope Hilarius,<sup>[^25]</sup> think the episcopate to be not a divine office but rather a matter of hereditary advantage. Hence it happens that the temperance of moderation is lost, charity is neglected, *that garment woven from top throughout*<sup>[^26]</sup> is torn asunder, and what was badly allotted is wickedly disrupted, and the pastor, who was thought to be such, is turned into a wolf. Pope Formosus did not do this. For he did not hold the holy Roman Church by hereditary right, nor did he invade it, as is alleged, for the sake of ambition: for it seems impossible that he could have invaded a church of such great dignity.

For by what mob, by what violence could the head of the entire world have been invaded by an unarmed, lowly, and simple little man? For unless he had been supported by imperial or royal or patrician or tyrannical power, he would not have been able to invade the summit of so great a power. Where then, O Rome, is your so great nobility? and your ancient, so unconquered power? Already therefore, as it is said, if he usurped the Apostolic See, did all the counsel of your princes and the virtue of your magnates and the wisdom of your leading men fall swiftly asleep? What then? Did he perhaps bind them? or, inflicting violence upon the bishops, did he force them to consecrate him? For indeed it is known that he was consecrated by those very bishops by whom his predecessors were consecrated and to whom the right of consecrating pertained. How therefore can it be said: He had nothing, he gave nothing? Behold, when it is said that he did not have [authority], it is clear how it is shown that he received [it]; and what was received he was able



manuum inposicionem et sacracionem ausus fuit apostolicam sedem ascendere tanteque potestatis culmen arripere, immo nec erat possibile.

Numquid Marinus papa dedit quod non habuit? habuit certe et dedit. Quis enim potest dare quod non habet? Cerensis namque episcopus fuit, non unus ex septem, sicut Formosus, sed ex forensibus unus. Vtilitatis tamen causa et necessitatis, non superbia, sed aduocatione et eleccione populi Romani, sicut Formosus, est in sancta et apostolica sede inthronizatus. Quid ergo, o Roma, asseris de Marino? Numquid de illo uis dicere: Nichil habuit, nichil dedit? Enimuero multum habuit, multum dedit. Et iuxta ueritatis uocem:[^27] *Omni habenti dabitur et abundabit; qui autem non habet, ipsum quod uidetur habere, auferetur ab eo.* Obicis fortasse et dicis: Marinus non fuit episcopus.

Nonne Iohannes papa eum ordinauit? qui Italiam Germaniam et Galliam peragrauit et ea, que praua et inuia atque aspera erant, correxit erexit et direxit et utrumque Karolum Gallicum et Germanicum augustalibus coronis compsit et redimiuit. Si Iohannis ordinationem et consecrationem, qua per annos ni fallimur .. in sacratissima beati Petri sede pilleatus resplenduit et in sacris ordinibus apostolico fauore choruscauit, irritam facis, similes erunt principes tui Dathan et Abiron eorumque complicitibus, qui irritauerunt Moysen et Aaron in castris in sanctum domini ideoque aperta est terra et deglutiuit Dathan et Abiron,[^28] siquidem descenderunt ad inferna uiuentes. Quoniam sicut illi murmurauerunt aduersus dominum et aduersus principes, quos ei constituerat, ita et tu murmuras contra dominum et saluatorem nostrum Iesum Christum, qui cum patre et spiritu sancto unus et uerus deus est et contra apostolos eius, quibus ab eo ligandi atque soluendi in celo et in terra concessa est potestas. Per te, inquit dominus per prophetam,[^29] nomen meum blasphematur in gentibus. Vnde

to bestow. For he did not dare to ascend the Apostolic See and seize the summit of so great a power without the imposition of their hands and consecration—indeed, nor was it possible.

Did Pope Marinus give what he did not possess? He certainly possessed it and gave it. For who can give what he does not possess? He was indeed Bishop of Caere, not one of the seven [suburbicarian bishops], like Formosus, but one of those from outside [Rome]. Nevertheless, for reasons of utility and necessity, not out of pride, but by the summons and election of the Roman people, just as Formosus, he was enthroned in the holy and apostolic see. What then, O Rome, do you assert concerning Marinus? Do you wish to say of him: “He had nothing, he gave nothing”? On the contrary, he had much, he gave much. And according to the voice of truth:[^27] *To everyone who has, more will be given, and he will have abundance; but from him who has not, even what he seems to have will be taken away.* Perhaps you object and say: Marinus was not a bishop.

Did not Pope John ordain him? He who traversed Italy, Germany, and France, and who corrected, set upright, and made straight those things which were corrupt, impassable, and rough, and who adorned and crowned both Charles of France and Charles of Germany with imperial crowns. If you make void the ordination and consecration of John, by which—unless we are mistaken—he shone forth wearing the papal mitre for [several] years in the most sacred See of blessed Peter and gleamed with apostolic favor in the sacred orders, your princes will be like Dathan and Abiron and their accomplices, who provoked Moses and Aaron in the camps against the holy one of the Lord, and therefore the earth opened and swallowed up Dathan and Abiron,[^28] seeing that they descended alive to hell. For just as they murmured against the Lord and against the princes whom He had appointed over them, so also do you murmur against the Lord and our Savior Jesus Christ, who with the Father and the Holy Spirit is one and true God, and against His apostles, to whom the power of binding and loosing in heaven and on earth was granted by Him. “Through you,” says the Lord through the prophet,[^29] “my name is blasphemed among the nations.” Whence it is given to be understood that it would have been better and more

datur intellegi, quia satius et aptius fuisset apud summum arbitrem Formosianam, ut dicitur, presumptionem sub silentio dissimulando corrigi, quam disrupto karitatis uinculo uniuerso mundo scandalum inferre. O Roma, apoziaris et apostataris atque in dementia et frenesim raperis: conuertere ad deum et saluaberis. Sic enim ipse per prophetam dicit:[^30] Conuertimini ad me et salui eritis. Sta et contende mecum. Interrogabo te et responde mihi et tu percontare me et redicam tibi.

Dicis itaque, sepedictum papam Formosum non habuisse quod dare potuisset. Habuit certe, habuit: a Marino scilicet, primum episcopo, dehinc summo et uniuersali papa, a quo fuit absolutus et benigne receptus et in pristinum honorem, a quo nequo inuidie fuerat depositus, digne et canonice est reuocatus, non scismaticus neque haereticus, sed uir sanctus et iustus atque catholicus, segregatus a peccatoribus et excelsior celis factus. Quomodo ergo dedit quod non accepit? ¶ Nicolaus consecrauit Formosum ad episcopum sciens eum doctorem egregium et ideo misit eum in Bulgariam ad predicandum. Qui strenue uiam ueritatis normamque fidei et christianę religionis doctrinam gentem olim crudelissimam et paganissimam edocens ad mēnia tua cum crucis est triumpho reuersus. Postmodum liuoris coeno ab urbe tua repulsus, deinde, ut dictum est, a Marino papa receptus et restitutus, sic tandem populi acclamatu propter bonorum incrementa morum ad summum pontificatus culmen fauorabiliter est prouectus. Quod si Formosus nichil habuit nichil dedit (quod absurdissimum atque prophanissimum et mente re ipsa captis est dicere), ergo Iohannes, qui Marinum consecrauit, nichil habuit, nichil dedit. Marinus quoque papa, cuius consecratio hactenus intacta permanet, nichil habuit et nichil Stephano diacono Adriani filio a se consecrato dedit, qui postea papa factus est et a iamdicto Formoso in ordine uicis sue apostolicus

fitting before the Supreme Judge to correct the so-called presumption of Formosus by dissimulating it in silence, rather than to bring scandal upon the whole world by breaking the bond of charity. O Rome, you turn apostate and fall away, and you are seized by madness and frenzy: turn back to God and you shall be saved. For thus He Himself says through the prophet:[^30] “Turn to me and you shall be saved.” Stand and contend with me. I will question you, and you answer me; and do you ask me, and I will tell you.

You say, therefore, that the oft-mentioned Pope Formosus did not have what he could have given. He had it certainly, he had it: from Marinus, namely, first a bishop, then supreme and universal pope, by whom he was absolved and kindly received and restored to his former honor, from which he had been deposed by no one’s envy, and was worthily and canonically recalled—not a schismatic nor a heretic, but a holy and just and catholic man, separated from sinners and made higher than the heavens. How then did he give what he had not received? Nicholas consecrated Formosus as bishop knowing him to be an outstanding teacher, and therefore sent him to Bulgaria to preach. There, vigorously teaching that once most cruel and most pagan people the way of truth and the rule of faith and the doctrine of Christian religion, he returned to your walls with the triumph of the cross. Afterwards, driven away from your city by the filth of envy, then, as has been said, received and restored by Pope Marinus, he was thus at last favorably advanced to the supreme height of the pontificate by the acclamation of the people on account of the increase of good morals. But if Formosus had nothing and gave nothing (which is most absurd and most profane and is said by those who are mentally deranged), then John, who consecrated Marinus, had nothing and gave nothing. Likewise Pope Marinus, whose consecration remains untouched to this day, had nothing and gave nothing to Stephen the deacon, son of Adrian, consecrated by him, who afterwards became pope and was consecrated as apostolic by the aforementioned Formosus in the order of his turn. If Pope Formosus had nothing and gave nothing, as your nobles say with iron and adamantine brow and satanic mind: then the consecration of

consecratus est. Si Formosus papa nichil habuit nichil dedit, sicut procures tui fronte ferrea et adamantina menteque sathanica dicunt: ergo irrita est consecratio Marini, quem Iohannes papa episcopum consecrauit, irrita est consecratio Stephani Adriani filii, quem Marinus ad diaconatum prouexit et postea Formosus totius electione populi in sancta sede apostolica consecrauit. Vis fortasse dicere, o Roma, apponens iniquitatem super iniquitatem,[^31] quod Marinus episcopus non fuerit? Ergo et consecratio Iohannis pape, quam Marino Cerensi episcopo digne aut indigne, ut dicis, imposuit, irrita est.

Si indigne, Iohannes non sit apostolicus (quod nefas est ad dicendum) nec Marinus episcopus; si uero digne (prout omni mundo recte uisum est), domnus Iohannes sit apostolicus et Marinus episcopus, ac deinceps causa utilitatis et necessitatis uniuersi aduocatione populi in sancta Romana et apostolica ecclesia maneat inthronizatus. Iam si profiteris Marinum episcopum non fuisse, criminaris Iohannem papam (quod deus auertat), qui eum consecrauit, uiolatorem canonum et omnium sacrarum legum preuaricatorem fuisse. Aut dic Marinum, qui a Iohanne sacratus est, fuisse episcopum, ut comprobes Iohannem ueraciter, sicut fuit, extitisse papam; aut si negaueris, totam christianitatem maculando profiteberis Iohannem irruptorem Niceni et omnium conciliorum destructorem fuisse. Insuper et Stephani consecratio et Sergii, quem Stephanus consecrauit ad diaconatum, irrita erit. Et ut liberior dicamus, si ordinem Romane consecrationis discurrendo texamus, totius sacerdotalis ... seriem, ut asseris, ab ipso Iohannis tempore, qui ante tricennium defunctus est, irritam et euacuatam, quod absit, perspiciamus. Quoniam si Iohannes, qui Marinum episcopum consecrauit, reprobus fuerit, Marinus reprobus erit; et si non fuerit episcopus Marinus, quare in Cerensi sede ordinationes consecrationes baptisteria et populi confirmationes

Marinus is null, whom Pope John consecrated as bishop; the consecration of Stephen, son of Adrian, is null, whom Marinus advanced to the diaconate and afterwards Formosus by the election of the entire people consecrated in the holy apostolic see. Do you wish perhaps to say, O Rome, adding iniquity upon iniquity,[^31] that Marinus was not a bishop? Then also the consecration of Pope John, which he imposed upon Marinus, bishop of Caere, worthily or unworthily, as you say, is null.

If John unworthily is not the Apostolic [Pope] (which it is impious to say) nor Marinus a bishop; but if worthily (just as it has rightly appeared to the whole world), Lord John is the Apostolic [Pope] and Marinus is a bishop, and henceforth, by reason of the utility and necessity of all, by the summons of the people, let him remain enthroned in the holy Roman and Apostolic Church. Now if you profess that Marinus was not a bishop, you accuse Pope John (which God forbid), who consecrated him, of having been a violator of the canons and a transgressor of all sacred laws. Either say that Marinus, who was consecrated by John, was a bishop, so that you may prove that John truly was, as he was, Pope; or if you deny it, by staining all Christendom you will profess that John was an intruder upon Nicaea and a destroyer of all councils. Moreover, both the consecration of Stephen and of Sergius, whom Stephen consecrated to the diaconate, will be null. And to speak more freely, if we weave through the order of Roman consecration in a discursive manner, we perceive—as you assert—the entire series of the priesthood... from the very time of John, who died thirty years ago, to be null and void, which God forbid. For if John, who consecrated Bishop Marinus, was reprobate, Marinus will be reprobate; and if Marinus was not a bishop, why did he perform ordinations, consecrations, baptisms, and confirmations of the people in the See of Cerense? Therefore, if Marinus was not a bishop, Stephen the son of Adrian, who later became the Apostolic [Pope], was not a deacon; because after he was not a bishop and usurped and exercised the sacred ministry of episcopal law, he

exegit? Igitur si Marinus episcopus non fuit, Stephanus Adriani filius, qui postea apostolicus extitit, diaconus non fuit; quia postquam episcopus non fuit et sacrum episcopalis iuris ministerium usurpando tractauit, ultioni Oza, qui arcam domini indigne tangere presumpsit,<sup>[^32]</sup> procul dubio subiucuit. Similiter et Stephanus nec diaconus fuit nec apostolicus existere potuit, quia indigne, si ita est, ut asseris, sacri diaconatus ministerium attigit. Si dampnas Marinum, dampna Iohannem, dampna eciam Stephanum Formosum Sergium et omnes quotquot ab ipso Iohanne Marini predecessore in sancta sede apostolica summo pontificali iure sessionem habuerunt. Totus ergo mundus et omnes eius christiane fidei habitatores contra te clament: quia omnes decepisti et ipsa decepta es.

Constantinopolis namque, Sicilia, tota Italia, Gallia, Germania, in quarum spaciis metropolitani, qui subfraganeos episcopales cētus sue consecrationi uindicant, degere uidentur, aduersus te causantur et querelantur, quia nullus metropolitanus consecrationem facere potest, nisi a sede apostolica pallium sumat. A quo ergo Bisancium, quae Constantinopolis uocatur, Rauenna, Forum Iulii, Mediolanum, Hebrudunum, Arelatum, Lugdunum, ciuitas Remorum, Colonia, Magontia ceteraque urbes metropolitane nisi ab apostolica potestate pallium sumant? Si ita est, ut prodis, totus poene mundus per annos XXX in ruina positus est, non solum ad dampnationem corporum, uerum eciam, quod deterius est, ad detrimentum animarum. Qui dinumerare potest stellas celi et arenam, que est in litore maris, hic dinumerare poterit animas et corpora eorum, qui absque baptismo et sacri crismatis unccione per tot annorum curricula ad tartara sunt dimersi. Missarum etiam solemnities nisi ab antiquissimis uiris minime sunt celebrata. Quis enim sacros fontes benediceret et sanctum chrisma conficeret aut quis penitentes solueret aut ligaret, cum omnis ordo ecclesiasticus ita

doubtless fell under the vengeance of Oza, who presumed to touch the Ark of the Lord unworthily.<sup>[^32]</sup> Similarly, Stephen was neither a deacon nor could he be the Apostolic [Pope], because—if it is so, as you assert—he unworthily touched the ministry of the sacred diaconate. If you condemn Marinus, condemn John, condemn also Stephen, Formosus, Sergius, and all whosoever from that same John, predecessor of Marinus, have held session in the holy Apostolic See by supreme pontifical right. Therefore, let the whole world and all its inhabitants of the Christian faith cry out against you: because you have deceived all, and you yourself have been deceived.

For Constantinople, Sicily, all Italy, Gaul, and Germany—within whose territories metropolitans, who claim for their own consecration the episcopal assemblies of their suffragan bishops, are seen to dwell—bring suit and complaint against you, because no metropolitan can perform a consecration unless he receives the pallium from the Apostolic See. From whom, therefore, would Byzantium (which is called Constantinople), Ravenna, Friuli, Milan, Embrun, Arles, Lyons, the city of Rheims, Cologne, Mainz, and the other metropolitan cities receive the pallium, if not from the apostolic authority? If it is as you assert, almost the entire world has been in ruins for thirty years, not only to the damnation of bodies, but also—which is worse—to the detriment of souls. He who can number the stars of heaven and the sand that is on the seashore, he alone will be able to number the souls and bodies of those who, without baptism and the anointing of the sacred chrism, have been plunged into Tartarus over the course of so many years. Moreover, the solemn rites of the Mass have scarcely been celebrated except by the most ancient men. For who would bless the sacred fonts and prepare the holy chrism, or who would loose or bind penitents, when the entire ecclesiastical order has so fallen to its lowest depths that, as you bark forth with wicked audacity and rash mouth, it has possessed nothing and has given nothing?

ad ima ceciderit, ut, sicut tu ausu nefario  
et ore temerario delatras, nichil habuerit,  
nichil dederit?

Igitur iam tempus est, ut ad conceptum, sicut sumus polliciti, redeamus eloquium et quia Formosum papam inuasorem non fuisse declarauimus, ita equę an iniquę depositum restitui posse et de ecclesia ad ecclesiam migrari uoluisse, sancti spiritus infusione dilucidemus. Plurimos enim episcoporum aliis ex ciuitatibus ad alias causa necessitatis atque utilitatis necnon inuitacionis et aduocationis sanctorum utilitate patrum didicimus esse migratos. Quorum primus, ut retulimus, beatissimus apostolorum princeps regnique celestis clauiger fuit et Alexander, prout historie liber ecclesiastice<sup>[33]</sup> refert, unius Capadocie ciuitatis episcopus utilitatis ac necessitatis intuitu .... nobiliter extitit. Subsequamur ergo ceteros. Perigenes in Patris est ordinatus episcopus, sed quoniam ciuitatis eius ciues noluerunt eum suscipere, Romane ciuitatis episcopus iussit eum in Corinthum metropolim defuncto eius episcopo inthronizari eique, donec aduixit, ecclesię prefuit. Dositheum Seleucie episcopum Alexander Anthiocenus episcopus in Tharsum Cilicie demigrauit. Reuerentius ab Archis Foenicie in Tyrum migratus est, Iohannes de Gardilia mutatus est in Prochonixo; Palladius ab Helenopoli mutatus est in Asponam, Alexander ab alia Helenopoli in Adrianopoli mutatus est. Gregorius Nazanzenus prius unius ciuitatis Cappadocie fuit episcopus, que Sasima dicebatur, deinde a beato Basilio et aliorum episcoporum consensu Nazianzo. Melecius prius Sebastie ecclesię prefuit et postea Antiochie presul est constitutus. Theosebius ab Apamia Asię transfertur in Eudoxio-polim, que prius Salambria uocabatur. Policarpus de urbe Antapristena Mysię in Nicopolim Tracie mutatus est. Hierophilus de Trapezopoli Frigie in Antiochiam mutatus est Pisidię, Sylluanus a Philippopoli Tracie mutatus est Troadam. Eusebius<sup>[34]</sup> quoque de quadam parua ciuitate

Therefore, it is now time that we return to the subject we have undertaken, as we have promised, and since we have declared that Pope Formosus was not an intruder, so also let us elucidate by the infusion of the Holy Spirit whether he was justly or unjustly deposed, and whether it was possible for him to be restored and to have desired to migrate from church to church. For we have learned from the authority of the holy Fathers that very many bishops have migrated from other cities to others for reasons of necessity and utility as well as by invitation and summons. Of these, the first, as we have related, was the most blessed Prince of the Apostles and keeper of the keys of the heavenly kingdom; and Alexander, as the book of ecclesiastical history<sup>[33]</sup> reports, was a bishop of one city of Cappadocia and nobly existed for reasons of utility and necessity.... Therefore, let us follow the rest. Perigenes was ordained bishop in Patras, but since the citizens of his city were unwilling to receive him, the bishop of the city of Rome ordered him to be enthroned in Corinth, a metropolitan see, upon the death of its bishop, and he presided over that church as long as he lived. Alexander, bishop of Antioch, transferred Dositheus, bishop of Seleucia, to Tarsus in Cilicia. Reuerentius migrated from Arche in Phoenicia to Tyre; John was transferred from Gardilia to Prochonixo; Palladius was transferred from Helenopolis to Aspona; Alexander was transferred from another Helenopolis to Adrianople. Gregory of Nazianzus was first bishop of one city of Cappadocia, which was called Sasima, then by the consent of blessed Basil and other bishops [he was transferred] to Nazianzus. Meletius first presided over the church of Sebasteia and afterwards was constituted bishop of Antioch. Theosebius was transferred from Apamea in Asia to Eudoxiopolis, which was previously called Salambria. Polycarpus was transferred from the city of Antapristena in Mysia to Nicopolis in Thrace. Hierophilus was transferred from Trapezopolis in Phrygia to Antioch in Pisidia; Silvanus was transferred from Philippopolis in Thrace to the Troad. Eusebius<sup>[34]</sup> also was transferred by apostolic authority from a certain small city to Alexandria; likewise Felix, from the city in which he had been

apostolica auctoritate mutatus est Alexandriam; similiter Felix de ciuitate, qua ordinatus erat, eleccione ciuium propter doctrinam et bonam, quam habebat, uitam communi episcoporum et reliquorum sacerdotum ac populorum consilio translatus est Ephesum.

Non enim transit de ciuitate ad ciuitatem, qui non suo libitu aut ambitu hoc facit, sed utilitate quadam aut necessitate aliorumque ortatu et consilio pociorum transfertur; nec transfertur de minori ciuitate ad maiorem, qui hoc non ambitu aut propria uoluntate facit, sed aut ui a propria sede pulsus aut necessitate coactus aut utilitate loci aut populi, non superbe sed humiliter ab aliis translatus et intronizatus est. Quia homo uidet in facie, deus autem in corde.[^35] Non ergo mutat sedem qui non mutat mentem.

Sufficiat nunc demum de mutacione et transmigracione sedium satis dixisse: nunc de reconciliacione pontificum, qui iuste aut iniuste dampnati sunt, prout auctoritas docet euidenter, dicam modo. Iohannes Chrisostomus[^36] a duabus synodis orthodoxorum fuit iudicatus, sed iterum ecclesie sue fuit restitutus. Necnon et Marcellus episcopus Ancire Galatie depositus fuit, sed proprium postmodum recepit episcopatum. Asclapius item iudicatus a synodo ecclesiam suam postea recepit. Lucianus episcopus Adrianopolites a papa Iulio dampnatus postmodum recepit ecclesiam sui episcopatus. Item Cyrillus Hierosolimitanus episcopus depositus fuit: postea reconciliatus est ecclesie sue. Simili modo et Polichronium eiusdem ecclesie sue Hierosolimitane pontificem Sixtus papa dampnauit et iterum idem reconciliauit. Innocencius item papa Fotium episcopum dampnauit, sed ipse postea eum in sue ecclesie proprium restituit statum. Item Miseno episcopo a Felice papa dampnato Gelasius papa successor illius communicauit et eum ecclesie sue restituit. Leoncius autem, dum esset presbiter, depositus fuit, sed postea in Antiochia patriarcha extitit.

ordained, by election of the citizens on account of his learning and the good life which he possessed, was transferred to Ephesus by the common counsel of the bishops and the remaining priests and peoples.

For he does not pass from city to city who does so not by his own desire or ambition, but is transferred by a certain utility or necessity and at the urging and counsel of other more important persons; nor is he transferred from a lesser city to a greater who does this not by ambition or his own will, but has been either driven from his own see by force or compelled by necessity or by the utility of the place or people, and has been translated and enthroned by others not proudly but humbly. For man sees the face, but God sees the heart.[^35] Therefore, he does not change his see who does not change his mind.

Let it now suffice at last to have said enough concerning the change and transfer of sees: now I shall speak, according to what authority clearly teaches, concerning the reconciliation of pontiffs who have been condemned justly or unjustly. John Chrysostom[^36] was judged by two synods of the orthodox, but was afterwards restored to his church. Likewise Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, was deposed, but subsequently received back his own bishopric. Asclepius was similarly judged by a synod but later received back his church. Lucian, bishop of Adrianople, having been condemned by Pope Julius, afterwards received back the church of his bishopric. Likewise Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, was deposed: he was later reconciled to his church. In similar manner Pope Sixtus also condemned Polychronius, pontiff of that same church of Jerusalem, and the same pope afterwards reconciled him. Pope Innocent likewise condemned Bishop Photius, but he himself later restored him to the proper state of his church. Again, to Bishop Misenus, who had been condemned by Pope Felix, Pope Gelasius his successor granted communion and restored him to his church. Moreover Leontius, while he was a presbyter, was deposed, but afterwards became patriarch of Antioch. Pope Gregory IV of Rome consecrated as bishop of the holy church of Segni one Theodosius, whom his predecessor Eugene had deprived of the honor of the presbyterate. Indeed

Gregorius quartus papa Romanus Theodosium, quem Eugenius eius antecessor presbyterii honore priuauerat, sancte ecclesie Signine consecrauit episcopum. Ibas namque episcopus iudicatus fuit, sed sancta synodus canonice suam illi restituit ecclesiam.

Nicolaus papa Zachariam episcopum pro eo, quod Constantinopolim directus Phocium inuasorem subito e laico clericum factum et per ecclesiasticos ordines inprouise ad patriarchatum Constantinopoleos prouectum approbavit, et Ignatium patriarcham, uirum sanctum et iustum reprobavit, in sua synodo merito dampnauit, sed Adrianus papa eum in pristinum ecclesie sue statum reuocauit. Rothadum sancte Sessioniensis ecclesie episcopum synodo, cui Carolus rex interfuit, condemnatum Nicolaus papa reconciliauit et proprie ecclesie restituit. Iohannes papa Anspertum Mediolanensem archiepiscopum pro eo, quod legatos summe sancte sedis apostolicę recipere noluit, uocatus ad synodum uenire contempsit, in synodo dampnauit, sed postea eidem ecclesie restituit. Quid plura? Si cunctas pontificum restitutiones ac transmigraciones in medium ducere temptabimus, dies ante (ut remur), quam sermo cessabit.

Cui ergo comparabimus te? uel cui assimilabimus te, o Roma? *Magna*<sup>[^37]</sup> *enim est uelut mare contricio tua. Quis medebitur tibi? Prophete tui uiderunt falsa et stulta, nec aperiebant iniquitatem tuam, ut te conuerterent et sanarent. Planxerunt super te omnes transeuntes per uiam, sibilauerunt et mouerunt capud suum dicentes: Heccine est urbs perfecti decoris et gaudium uniuerse terre? Scrutare ergo uias tuas et conuertere ad dominum et saluaberis. Quid igitur ad hec dices? Nam uulgo dicitur, stultum esse alios cohercere, cum sibimetipsi non ualeat frenum imponere. Quo itaque pacto alios uis redarguere, cum tibi nulla sit potestas temetipsam corrigere?*

Per ambitus enim et sediciones belligerando ad summum apicis culmen

Bishop Ibas was judged, but the holy synod canonically restored his church to him.

Pope Nicholas condemned in his synod Bishop Zacharias for the reason that, having been sent to Constantinople, he approved the intruder Photius, who had been suddenly made a cleric from a layman and hastily promoted through the ecclesiastical orders to the patriarchate of Constantinople, and he rejected Ignatius the patriarch, a holy and just man—yet Pope Adrian restored him to his former status in his church. Pope Nicholas reconciled Bishop Rothad of the holy church of Soissons, who had been condemned by a synod at which King Charles was present, and restored him to his own church. Pope John condemned Archbishop Anspert of Milan in synod for the reason that he refused to receive the legates of the most holy Apostolic See and, having been summoned to synod, disdained to come—but afterwards restored him to the same church. What more need be said? If we should attempt to bring forward all the restorations and transfers of pontiffs, the day (as we suppose) will end before the discourse ceases.

To whom then shall we compare you? Or to whom shall we liken you, O Rome? *For your destruction is great as the sea. Who shall heal you? Your prophets have seen false and foolish things, nor did they lay open your iniquity, that they might convert and heal you. All who pass by the way have lamented over you, they have hissed and shaken their head, saying: Is this the city of perfect beauty and the joy of all the earth?*<sup>[^37]</sup> Search therefore your ways and turn to the Lord and you shall be saved. What then will you say to these things? For it is commonly said that it is foolish to restrain others when one cannot impose a bridle upon oneself. By what means, therefore, do you wish to reprove others, when you have no power to correct yourself?

For your princes strive to ascend to the supreme pinnacle of dignity through intrigue and seditions,

principes tui contendunt subire; et adhuc in iniquitate sua permanentes unusquisque quod animo concepit opere complere conatur. Pro hac enim re diluuium superuenit uniuerso mundo deletaque est omnis caro de superficie terre, exceptis octo animabus in arca saluatis. Sic enim sancta in precedentibus dicit scriptura:[^38] *Videntes filii dei filias hominum quod essent pulchre, acceperunt sibi uxores ex omnibus quas elegerant.* Et ad comprimendam tuę sedulitatis temeritatem per temetipsam ueritas dicit:[^39] *Quinque enim uiros habuisti, o Roma, et hunc quem habes non est tuus uir.* Nam Formosus, quem crudelissima presumptione de sepulchro extraxisti, in summa sancta et apostolica sede uiuus residens consecrauit Iohannem ad presbiterum; qui postea iuxta Romanam consuetudinem et consecrationem ad apostolicatus fastigium conscendens, Kailonem Rauennatem archiepiscopum consecrauit ac postmodum in sancta sinodo eadem in urbe congregata, cui Landbertus imperator interfuit, apostolico fauore uiriliter resedit. Kailo uero archiepiscopus Petrum Bononiensem episcopum consecrauit; Petrus autem Bononiensis episcopus, Kailonis archiepiscopi subfraganeus, Iohannem (abusiue tuę sedi preest) per sacrorum ordinem ascensus ad diaconem consecrauit. Defuncto uero Petro idem Iohannes Bononiensem ecclesiam uiuente Kailone archiepiscopo, contra omnem canonum auctoritatem inuadere presumpsit; consecratus quoque missarum solemnia pontificali iure indigne exercuit et illicitas consecrationes exegit; qua relictam sanctam Romanam et apostolicam ecclesiam nefariis ausibus usurpauit. Et nunc pro libitu suo uult soluere et ligare et uelut lucifer ille, qui sedem suam in aquilone ponere uoluit et in altum se extollens similem deo gloriatus est fore, catholicam et uniuersalem ecclesiam uult excommunicare et iustiores et sanctiores se querit anathematizare. Quis enim ei ex hoc crediturus erit? *Ne gloriatur cyue discinctus ut accinctus.*[^40] *Non est enim*

making war; and while still remaining in their iniquity, each one attempts to accomplish in deed what he has conceived in his mind. Indeed, for this reason the flood came upon the entire world and all flesh was destroyed from the face of the earth, except for eight souls saved in the ark. Thus holy Scripture says in the preceding passages:[^38] *The sons of God, seeing that the daughters of men were beautiful, took to themselves wives from all whom they had chosen.* And to restrain the rashness of your zeal, Truth itself says through you:[^39] *For you have had five husbands, O Rome, and he whom you now have is not your husband.* For Formosus, whom you extracted from his sepulchre with most cruel presumption, while living and residing in the supreme holy and apostolic see, consecrated John to the presbyterate; who afterwards, according to Roman custom and consecration, ascending to the dignity of the apostolate, consecrated Cailo, Archbishop of Ravenna, and subsequently sat manfully with apostolic favor in the holy synod assembled in that same city, which the Emperor Lambert attended. Indeed, Archbishop Cailo consecrated Peter, Bishop of Bologna; and Peter, Bishop of Bologna, suffragan of Archbishop Cailo, consecrated John (who abusively presides over your see) through the ascending grades of holy orders to the diaconate. But after Peter's death, this same John, while Archbishop Cailo was still living, presumed to invade the church of Bologna against all authority of the canons; and having been consecrated, he unworthily exercised the solemn rites of Masses by pontifical right and performed illicit consecrations; having abandoned which, he usurped the holy Roman and apostolic church with nefarious audacity. And now according to his whim he wishes to loose and to bind, and like that Lucifer who wished to place his throne in the north and, raising himself on high, boasted that he would be similar to God, he wishes to excommunicate the catholic and universal Church and seeks to anathematize those more just and more holy than himself. For who from this point will believe him? *Let not him who is ungirded glory as one who is girded.*[^40] *For God is not as man.*[^41]



*deus sicut homo.*<sup>[^41]</sup>

Si enim angelis extollentibus non pepercit, quanto magis hominibus est cauendum, ne extollantur. Scriptum est enim:<sup>[^42]</sup> *Non plus sapere quam oportet sapere, ne forte dum plus uult esse quam sit, sit minus quam sit.* Ceterum quamuis indigne legatione et sacerdocio Christi fungimur, sicut docet apostolus,<sup>[^43]</sup> pacem deposcimus, unanimitem petimus et te, o Roma, quę es capud omnium nostrum, sanari flagitamus . et ne tam leuiter in postmodum scandalizeris, modis omnibus exoramus; ipso auxiliante, cui est laus honor et uirtus et gloria cum deo patre in unitate spiritus sancti per interminabilia secula seculorum amen.

For if He spared not the angels when they exalted themselves, how much more must men take care lest they be exalted. For it is written:<sup>[^42]</sup> *Not to be more wise than it behooveth to be wise, lest perchance while one wishes to be more than he is, he become less than he is.* Moreover, although we unworthily discharge the legateship and priesthood of Christ, as the Apostle teaches,<sup>[^43]</sup> we beseech peace, we seek unanimity, and we urgently entreat thee, O Rome, who art the head of us all, to be healed, and by all means we implore thee not to be scandalized so lightly hereafter; with the help of Him to whom is praise, honor, power, and glory with God the Father in the unity of the Holy Spirit, through endless ages of ages, amen.