Gelasius of Caesarea, Ecclesiastical History (CPG 3521)

Greek Text and English translation: Ecclesiastical History: The Extant Fragments With an Appendix containing the Fragments from Dogmatic Writings. GCS, ed. M. Wallraff, J. Stutz, and N. Marinides. Translated by N. Marinides. (De Gruyter, 2018).

This work is licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 4.0

Greek	English
F11 (p. 70) Τοιαῦτα μὲν θαυμαστὰ καὶ σοφίας μεστὰ	F11 (p. 71) Such wondrous things full of wisdom did
παρήνει ή τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιστολή, τὸ δὲ κακὸν	the emperor's epistle urge, but the evil was stronger
ἐπικρατέστερον ἦν καὶ τῆς βασιλέως σπουδῆς καὶ τῆς	than both the emperor's zeal and the trustworthiness of
άξιοπιστίας τοῦ διακονησαμένου τοῖς γράμμασιν.	him who served to convey the letters.
F11 (p. 72) Όρῶν τοίνυν ὁ βασιλεὺς ταραττομένην τὴν	F11 (p. 73) Therefore the emperor, seeing the church
έκκληςίαν σύνοδον οἰκουμενικὴν συνεκρότει, τοὺς	troubled, convened an ecumenical synod, sending
πανταχόθεν ἐπισκόπους διὰ γραμμάτων εἰς Νίκαιαν	letters to the bishops everywhere exhorting them to
τῆς Βιθυνίας ἀπαντῆσαι παρακαλῶν. Παρῆσάν τε ἐκ	meet at Nicaea in Bithynia. In response, the bishops
πολλῶν ἐπαρχιῶν καὶ πόλεων οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, περὶ ὧν ὁ	assembled out of the various provinces and cities. This
1	-
Παμφίλου Εὐσέβιος ἐν τῷ τρίτῷ βιβλίῷ τῷ εἰς τὸν	is what Eusebius Pamphilus writes about them, word
Κωνσταντίνου βίον τάδε κατὰ λέξιν φησίν·	for word, in his third book of the life of Constantine:
F11 (p. 72) 'Τῶν γοῦν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀπασῶν, αἳ τὴν	F11 (p. 73) "So the most eminent of the ministers of
Εὐρώπην ἄπασαν Λιβύην τε καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπλήρουν,	God in all the churches which have filled Europe,
όμοῦ συνῆκτο τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ λειτουργῶν τὰ ἀκροθίνια,	Africa, and Asia, were brought together. And one
εἷς τε οἶκος εὐκτήριος, ὥσπερ ἐκ Θεοῦ πλατυνόμενος,	house of worship, as it was opened wide by God,
ἔνδον ἐχώρει κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ Σύρους τε ἄμα καὶ Κίλικας,	contained on the same occasion both Syrians and
Φοίνικάς τε καὶ Ἄραβας καὶ Παλαιστινούς, καὶ ἐπὶ	Cilicians, Phoenicians, Arabs and Palestinians, and in
τούτοις Αἰγυπτίους, Θηβαίους, Λίβυας τούς τε ἐκ	addition to these, Egyptians, Thebans, Libyans, and
μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν ὁρμωμένους· ἤδη δὲ καὶ Πέρσης	those who came from Mesopotamia. A Persian bishop
ἐπίσκοπος τῇ συνόδῷ παρῆν, οὐδὲ Σκύθης	was also present at this council and Scythians were at
ἀπελιμπάνετο τῆς χορείας, Πόντος τε καὶ Ἀσία, Φρυγία	the assembly as well. Pontus and Asia, Pamphylia, and
τε καὶ Παμφυλία τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς παρεῖχον ἐκκρίτους,	Phrygia, supplied those people who were most
άλλὰ καὶ Θρᾶκες καὶ Μακεδόνες, Άχαιοί τε καὶ	distinguished among them. Besides those, Thracians
Ήπειρῶται οἱ ἔτι προσωτάτω οἰκοῦντες ἀπήντων,	and Macedonians met there. Achaians and Epirots, and
αὐτός τε Σπάνων ὁ πάνυ βοώμενος Όσιος, ἐπέχων καὶ	even those who lived even further away than those.
τὸν τόπον τοῦ τῆς μεγίστης Ῥώμης ἐπισκόπου	Even the highly celebrated Hosius of Spain himself,
Σιλβέστρου σὺν πρεσβυτέροις 'Ρώμης Βίτωνι καὶ	acting in the place of Bishop Silvester of great Rome
Βικεντίφ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἄμα συνεδρεύων. τῆς τε νῦν	together with the Roman priests Vito and Vicentius, sat
βασιλευούσης πόλεως ὁ μὲν προεστώς Μητροφάνης	in council with many others. The bishop of the current
τοὔνομα διὰ γῆρας ὑστέρει, πρεσβύτεροι δὲ αὐτοῦ	capital city [Byzantium], Metrophanes, was absent due
παρόντες τὴν αὐτοῦ τάξιν ἐπλήρουν, ὧν εἶς	to his old age, but his priests were present to represent
Άλέξανδρος ἦν ὁ μετ ἀὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπος τῆς αὐτῆς	him. One of those priests was Alexander, who became
γεγονὼς πόλεως.	bishop of that city after him.
E11 (p. 72) Toroñzou utaros à caixinos são (carata do	E11 (n. 72) Emparor Constanting slave continued to
F11 (p. 72) Τοιοῦτον μόνος ἐξ αἰᾶνος εἶς βασιλεὺς Κονιστουτῖνος Χοιστῷ στέρουνον δεσμῷ συνένιας	F11 (p. 73) Emperor Constantine alone continued to dedicate such a crown, composed as a bond of peace,
Κωνσταντίνος Χριστῷ στέφανον δεσμῷ συνάψας	to Christ his Savior. He dedicated it to him as a thank-
εἰρήνης, τῷ αὐτοῦ σωτῆρι τῆς κατ' ἐχθρῶν πολεμίων	
νίκης θεοπρεπές ἀνετίθει χαριστήριον, εἰκόνα χορείας ἀποστολικῆς ταύτην καθ' ἡμᾶς συστησάμενος. ἐπεὶ	offering worthy of God for victory over his enemies by
αποστολικής ταυτήν κασ τίμας συστησαμένος. επεί	appointing this gathering among us as an imitation of

καὶ κατ' ἐκείνους συνῆχθαι λόγος "ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔθνους τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄνδρας εὐλαβεῖς," καθὼς ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἐν οἶς ἐτύγχανον "Πάρθοι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Ἑλαμῖται," πλὴν ὅσον ἐκείνοις μὲν ὑστέρει τὸ μὴ ἐκ θεοῦ λειτουργῶν συνεστάναι τοὺς πάντας, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς παρούσης χορείας ἐπισκόπων μὲν πληθὺς ἦν τριακοσίων ἀριθμὸν ὑπερακοντίζουσα, ἐπομένων δὲ τούτοις πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων ἀκολούθων τε πλείστων ὅσων ἐτέρων οὐδ' ἦν ἀριθμὸς εἰς κατάληψιν.

the Apostolic Assembly. For it is said that also in the days of the apostles 'God-fearing men from every nation under heaven' gathered together, according to the Acts of the Apostles, among whom were 'Parthians, Medes, and Elamites' [Acts 2:5, 9]. That congregation, however, was inferior in this way: that everyone present was not a minister of God. In this assembly the number of bishops exceeded three hundred, while the number of the presbyters, deacons, and others who attended them was almost impossible to count.

F11 (p. 74) Των δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ λειτουργων οἱ μὲν διέπρεπον σοφίας λόγω, οἱ δὲ βίου στερρότητι καὶ καρτερίας ύπομονῆ, οί δὲ τῷ μέσῳ τρόπῳ κατεκοσμοῦντο. ἦσαν δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν χρόνων μήκει τετιμημένοι, οί δὲ νεότητι καὶ ψυχῆς ἀκμῆ διαλάμποντες, οί δὲ ἄρτι παρελθόντες ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς λειτουργίας δρόμον. οἶς δὴ πᾶσιν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφ' έκάστης ήμέρας τὰ σιτηρέσια δαψιλῶς χορηγεῖσθαι προσέταττε. τοιαῦτα μὲν περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ συνελθόντων ὁ Παμφίλου διεξηλθεν Εὐσέβιος. Έπιτελέσας δὲ ὁ βασιλεύς ἐπινίκιον κατὰ Λικιννίου ἑορτήν, ἀπήντα καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Νίκαιαν. τῆ δὲ έξῆς πάντες ἄμα οἱ ἐπίσκοποι εἰς ἕνα τόπον συνήρχοντο, παρήει δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς μετ' αὐτούς, καὶ ἐπεὶ παρῆλθεν, εἰς μέσον ἔστη καὶ οὐ πρότερον καθίζειν ἡρεῖτο, πρὶν ἂν οἱ έπίσκοποι έπινεύσειαν· τοσαύτη τις εὐλάβεια καὶ αἰδὼς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸν βασιλέα κατεῖχε.

F11 (p. 75) Some of these ministers of God were notable for their wisdom, some for the strictness of their life and patient endurance [of persecution], and others adorned themselves with all of these distinguished characteristics. Some were venerable because of their advanced age, others were conspicuous for their youth and vigorous minds, and others had only recently entered their ministerial career. For all these the emperor arranged for an abundant supply of daily food to be provided." That is Eusebius' account of those who met on this occasion. And the emperor too, after celebrating the festival of his victory over Licinius, met them in person in Nicaea. On the following day all the bishops were assembled together in one place; the emperor arrived soon after. When he had entered, he stood in among them and would not take his place until the bishops, by nodding their assent, indicated that they wanted him to sit. Such was the respect and reverence which the emperor entertained for these men.

F12a (p. 76) Τὴν μέντοι Ἀρείου δόξαν συνεκρότουν Εὐσεβιος ὁ Νικομηδεύς ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται, Θεόγνιος Νικαίας, Μάρις Χαλκηδόνος· τούτοις δὲ γενναίως ἀντηγωνίζοντο οἱ ἐν ἀγίοις πατέρες ἡμῶν Ἀλέξανδρος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τότε πρεσβύτερος ὥν καὶ Ἀθανάσιος ὁ διάκονος τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίας. διὸ καὶ φθόνος ὡπλίσατο κατ'αὐτῶν, ὡς ὕστερον λέξομεν. καλοῦσι τὸν Ἄρειον εἰς τὴν σύνοδον ἐπιτρέποντες αὐτῷ συστῆναι τοῖς οἰκείοις δόγμασιν.

F12a (p. 77) Now as for the belief of Arius, it was supported by Eusebius of Nicomedia, as mentioned earlier, Theognis of Nicaea, and Maris of Chalcedon. Bravely fighting against these were our fathers among the saints, Alexander of Constantinople, who was then a presbyter, and Athanasius the deacon of the church of the Alexandrians. Therefore malice armed itself against them, as we will tell later. They summoned Arius to the synod, directing him to present his doctrines.

F12b (p.78) Άλλὰ τὸ κατὰ τὴν σύνοδον γεγονὸς θαυμαστὸν παρὰ τοῦ τὰ πάντα νικηφόρου βασιλέως οὐκ ἄξιον σιωπῆ παραπέμψασθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἐπισυναχθέντων πάντων τῶν ἐπισκόπων καί, καθὼς ἔθος ἐστί, γενομένων ζητήσεών τε καὶ συγκρίσεων παρά τινων τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐρεσγελιῶν ἕνεκα ἄλλου

F12b (p.79) Moreover, I ought not omit the amazing deed which the all-victorious emperor performed during the council. When all the bishops gathered, as is the custom, some of the bishops introduced investigations and controversies over quarrels they had with each other. When they filed indictments and

πρὸς ἄλλον ἔχοντος, λιβέλλων τε ἐπιδιδομένων ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐγκλημάτων συγκροτουμένων παρὰ τῷ εὐσεβεῖ βασιλεῖ, δεξάμενος τοὺς λιβέλλους σφραγίσας τε τῶ δακτυλίω αὐτοῦ ἐκέλευσε φυλάττεσθαι· ένορῶν τε τῶν τοιούτων ἐπισκόπων τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ζυγομαχίαν, εἶπεν, ὅτι γρὴ πάντας ὁμοῦ ἐν μιᾶ ἡμέρα συνελθόντας περί τούτων διαλαβείν. καὶ ἐνστάσης τῆς προθεσμίας εἰς μέσον καθίσας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἡσυχίας γενομένης τῶ καιρῶ πρεπούσης πάντων τοὺς λιβέλλους προσέταξεν ένεχθηναι· καὶ δὴ δεξάμενος καὶ ἐν τῷ οἰκείῳ κόλπῳ θέμενος μήτε ἐγκύψαι τοῖς έμφερομένοις έθελήσας, λέγει "Τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑμᾶς προγειρισαμένου ίερεῖς τε καὶ ἄρχοντας κρίνειν τε καὶ διακρίνειν τὰ πλήθη καὶ θεοὺς εἶναι ἄτε δὴ ἀνθρώπων άπάντων ύπερέχοντας όρισαμένου κατά τὸ εἰρημένον· 'ἐγὰ εἶπα· θεοί ἐστε καὶ νίοὶ ὑψίστου πάντες καὶ τό· ό θεὸς ἔστη ἐν συναγωγῆ θεῶν χρὴ τῶν μὲν κοινῶν όλιγωρεῖν πραγμάτων, πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν σπουδὴν περὶ τὰ θεῖα ποιεῖσθαι." καὶ κελεύσας ἐνεχθῆναι πῦρ, έμπρησθηναι τοὺς λιβέλλους προσέταξεν. ἔσπευδε γὰρ μηδένα τῶν ἔξω ἐπιγνῶναι τῶν τοιούτων ἐπισκόπων τὴν ἀνώμαλον ἐπιγείρησιν· τοσαύτη ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως πρός τοὺς ἱερεῖς τοῦ θεοῦ εὐλάβεια, ἣν θαυμάσειαν ἄπαντες οἱ εὖ φρονοῦντες.

brought their charges before the pious emperor, he accepted the indictments, sealed them with his signet ring, and ordered that they be kept safe. On observing the mutual strife between these bishops, he said that they should all meet on a specific day to sort out these issues. When the appointed day came, the emperor took a seat in the middle, and when everyone had fallen silent, as was fitting for the occasion, he had everyone's indictments brought in. Then he took them and put them on his lap. Because he desired not to examine them, he said: "God appointed you as priests and rulers, and he has determined that you will judge and evaluate the multitudes and be gods, for you stand above all people, according to the Scripture, 'I said, "You are gods; you are all sons of the Most High" [Ps. 82:6], and 'God stands in the assembly of gods' [Ps. 82:1]. Therefore, you need not worry about political affairs. Instead, direct all your attention to theology." He had them start a fire and burn the indictments, for he was trying to ensure that no one outside would learn of the inappropriate efforts of these bishops. Such was the emperor's reverence for the priests of God. All who think clearly should admire this reverence.

F12c (p. 82) Έπὶ πολλὰς δὲ ἡμέρας οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ καιροὺς ἐφεξῆς συνερχόμενος τοῖς ἐπισκόποις ὁ βασιλεύς, ἄμα αὐτοῖς τὰ περὶ τῆς πίστεως διελάμβανε τάς τε διαφόρους αὐτῶν γνώμας ἀνελέγετο. ἦσαν γάρ, καθὼς πολλάκις εἰρήκαμεν, ἐν αὐτοῖς τινες τοῖς ἀθεμίτοις Ἀρείου δόγμασι συμφερόμενοι καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀγίων ἐπισκόπων, τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπερμαχούντων, ἀντιπράττοντες. ἀλλ' οἱ ἄριστοι καὶ τὰ πάντα ἱερώτατοι πατέρες ἡμῶν τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας ὅπλῷ ἡσφαλισμένοι τὴν λαμπρὰν καὶ ἀμώμητον πίστιν μετὰ παρρησίας ἐκήρυττον· μεθ' ὧν ἦν καὶ ὁμολογητῶν πολὺς ἀριθμός, ἀνθισταμένων τοῖς ἐθέλουσι περιποιεῖσθαι τὰ μοχθηρὰ τοῦ Ἀρείου δόγματα.

F12c (p. 83) While he met with the bishops for many days and even years, the emperor discussed matters of faith with them and gathered their various opinions. There were some among them, as we have said several times, who agreed with the heinous doctrine of Arius and opposed the majority of holy bishops, champions of the truth. Our excellent, holy fathers, however, guarding themselves with the weapon of truth, boldly preached the clear, blameless faith. There were also many confessors among them who resisted the willing adopters of the wretched doctrine of Arius.

F12d (p. 84) Πρὸς γὰρ τὸ παράδοξον τοῦ βασιλικοῦ διατάγματος καὶ φιλόσοφοι ἐν τῆ συνόδῷ παρῆσαν λίαν διαλεκτικῆς ἐμπειρότατοι. ἐν οἶς ἦν εἶς παρὰ πάντας θαυμαζόμενος καὶ πάμπολλα τοῖς ἐπισκόποις ὑπὲρ Ἀρείου διαπληκτιζόμενος, ὥστε γενέσθαι ἐκ τῆς συμβολῆς μεγάλην ἀκρόασιν πλἠθους ἐπισυνθέοντος. οὕτε γὰρ οἶοί τε ἦσαν οἱ ἐπίσκοποι τὸν φιλόσοφον τέως περιτρέψαι διαλεγόμενον, ὅτι πᾶσι τοῖς

F12d (p. 85) For due to the extraordinary nature of the imperial order, there were also present at the synod philosophers extremely well-versed in dialectic. Among them was one who was wondered at by all and who sparred with the bishops very often on Arius' behalf, so that as a result of the contest a large audience was formed as a crowd rushed together. And for a time the bishops were unable to confute the philosopher as

έπαγομένοις ράστα προσεφέρετο, έπιλύων τὰ κινούμενα καὶ δίκην ἐγχέλυος, ἐν οἶς ἐδόκει συνέχεσθαι, διολισθαίνων των έπικρατεστέρως αὐτῷ προτιθεμένων νοημάτων. Άλλ' ίνα δείξη ὁ θεὸς ὅτι οὐκ ἐν λόγῳ ἡ βασιλεία, ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει συνίσταται, ἐκ τῶν προλεχθέντων ὁμολογητῶν ἀνήρ τις ἀπλούστατος τὴν φύσιν καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον είδὼς εἰ μὴ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ τοῦτον ἐσταυρωμένον, ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς άκροαταῖς συνῆν τοῖς ἐπισκόποις. Ὁς ἐνιδὼν τὸν φιλόσοφον έπικερτομοῦντα τοῖς ἡμετέροις καὶ τῆ μογθηρα συζητήσει καταλαζομευόμενον, αἰτεῖ γώραν αὐτῷ συνομιλίας ἐπιδοθῆναι πρὸς αὐτόν. Τότε οί καθ' ήμᾶς συνειδότες τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν ἀπλότητα καὶ τὸ απειρον αὐτὸν εἶναι γραμμάτων ἐννοοῦντες, ἒπειθον μὴ εἰς μέσον έλθεῖν, μη ποτε παρὰ τοῖς μοχθηροῖς γέλως γένηται. Ὁ δὲ μἠ ἀνασγόμενος πρόσεισι τῶ άνδρὶ καί φησιν, "ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὧ φιλόσοφε, ακουσον τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας δόγματα." ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν, "ἐὰν εἳποις." κἀκεῖνος, "εἶς ἐστιν ὁ Θεός," φησίν, "ὁ τὸν ούρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν δημιουργήσας, ὁ καὶ τὸν ἂνθρωπον ἐκ γῆς διαπλάσας, ὑπεστήσατο ὁμοῦ τοῖς ὁρατοῖς καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα τῷ λόγω αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ ἀγίω Πνεύματι. τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἡμεῖς υἱὸν Θεοῦ εἰδότες προσκυνοῦμεν, πιστεύοντες διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀπολύτρωσιν ἐκ παρθένου τίκτεσθαι καὶ διὰ σταυροῦ καὶ θανάτου αὐτὸν ἡμας ἡλευθερωκέναι ἀπὸ τῆς αἰωνίου κατακρίσεως, διά τε τῆς άναστάσεως αὐτοῦ ζωὴν ἡμῖν ἀίδιον περιποιεῖσθαι, ὄν καὶ ἐλπίζομεν αὖθις έλθόντα ἒσεσθαι κριτὴν πάντων ὧν διεπραξάμεθα. πιστεύεις τούτοις, ὧ πιλόσοφε;" Ὁ δὲ ὡς ἂν τις μηδεπώποτε λόγων πεῖραν ἒχων εἰς ἀντίθεσιν άπηνεώθη καὶ ὡς κωφὸς ἢ ἂλαλος ἀπεσιώπησε, τοῦτο μόνον πρὸς αὐτον εἰπών ὅτι, "κάμοὶ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔγειν δοκεῖ, μυδὲν δὲ ἕτερον εἶναι ἢ πάντα καθὼς προείρηκας." ὁ δὲ γέρων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἒφη. "εἰ ταῦτα ούτως εγειν πιστεύεις, ὧ φιλόσοφε, ἀναστὰς ἀκολούθει μοι καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν σπουδάσωμεν, ἐν ἦ λήψη τὸ σημεῖον ταύτης τῆς πίστεως." Ὁ δὲ φιλόσοφος μεταβαλών πρός εὐσέβειαν, ἐπιστραφεὶς λέγει τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς συνελθοῦσιν εἰς τὴν άκρόασιν, "άκούσατε," φησίν, "ὧ ἄνδρες. ἕως ὅτε λόγων ἐποιούμεν σπουδήν, λόγους λόγοις ἀντετίθουν καί τὰ προσφερόμενα τέχνη τοῦ λέγειν ἀνέτρεπον· ὅτε δὲ ἀντὶ λόγων δύναμίς τις προελήλυθεν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ συζητοῦντος, οὐκ ἲσχυσαν οἱ λόγοι τῆ δυνάμει ἀντιτάξασθαι· οὓτε γὰρ ἂνθρωπος Θεῷ οἶός τέ έστιν άντιστῆναι. Διά τοι τοῦτο εἲτις ὑμῶν δύναται συνιέναι, ὡς καὶ ἐγὼ νενόηκα, πιστεύσει εἰς Χριστὸν

he argued, since he would easily meet the objections brought against him, solving the arguments that were set in motion, and like an eel slipping out of the arguments that were more strongly put forward against him, even when he seemed to be caught by them. But in order for God to show that the kingdom does not consist in word but in power, among the aforementioned confessors a certain man, who was by nature extremely simple and knew nothing except Jesus Christ and him crucified, was in the audience with the other bishops. He, seeing the philosopher mocking our people and vaunting arrogantly against them with his knavish disputation, asked that room be made for him to converse. Then those of our belief, conscious of the man's simplicity and knowing that he had no experience of education, tried to persuade him not to intervene, lest he become a laughingstock to the knaves. But he would not abide it and approached the man and said: "In the name of Jesus Christ, philosopher, hear the dogmas of truth." And the other replied to him, "If you say so." And the former said: "God is one, he who created heaven and earth, who also fashioned man out of the earth, who caused both visible and invisible things to subsist by his Word and Holy Spirit. Recognizing this Word as Son of God, we worship him, believing that he was born of a virgin for our redemption and that through the cross and death he has freed us from eternal condemnation, and that through his resurrection he has prepared eternal life for us; him also we expect to come to be judge of all that we have done. Do you believe this, philosopher?" And the latter, as if he never before had experience of speeches involving the raising of objections, was dumbfounded and, as if deaf or dumb, became silent, saying to him this only, "To me also these things seem to be thus, and there is nothing to add beyond what you have just said." And the old man said to him, "If you believe that these things are so, philosopher, rise and follow me and let us hasten to the church, in which you will receive the sign of this faith." And the philosopher, changing to piety, turned and said to his students and all those who had come together in the audience, "Listen, gentlemen: Ever since I took up serious study of discourse, I would set argument against argument, and whatever was proposed I overturned by the art of speaking. But when, instead of discourses, a kind of power came forth from the mouth of the debater, my words were unable to fight against

καὶ φιλόσοφος γενόμενος Χριστιανὸς ἒχαιρεν ἡττηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ γέροντος.

that power; for neither is man able to resist God. For this reason, if there be any among you who is able to understand as I myself have come to comprehend, he will believe in Christ, and let him follow this old man through whom God has spoken." In this way the philosopher, becoming a Christian, rejoiced at being defeated by the old man.

F12e (p. 90) Έγένετο δὲ κατὰ τὴν σύνοδον καὶ ἄλλος τις ἐκ τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν ὀμολογητῶν, τοὔνομα Παφνούτιος, ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος, Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος, ἐκ τῆς όμηγύρεως ἐκείνων ὡν Μαξιμιανός ὁ Βασιλεὺς τοὺς δεξιούς ἄρυξεν ὀφθαλμούς καὶ τὰς λαιὰς ένευροκόπησεν άγκύλας παραδούς τοῖς μετάλλοις συνέχεσθαι, εν ῷ τοσαύτη ἦν χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ, ὥστε σημεῖα ποιεῖν μηδὲν ἔλαττον τῶν πάλαι τοῖς άποστόλοις γεγενημένων. λόγω γὰρ μόνω τοὺς δαίμονας ἐφυγάδευε καὶ εὐχῆ διαφόρους ἀσθενοῦντας έθεράπευε τυφλοῖς τε τὸ βλέπειν τὸν θεὸν έξαιτούμενος παρείχε καὶ παρεθέντας πρὸς τὴν κατὰ φύσιν ήγεν άκμην τὰ μέλη ἐνεργεῖν ὑγιῶς. ον ο βασιλεύς σφόδρα διὰ τιμῆς ἦγε συνεχῶς τε ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια μετεπέμπετο καὶ τὸν ἐξωρυγμένον ὀφθαλμὸν κατεφίλει· τοσαύτη προσήν τῷ βασιλεῖ Κωνσταντίνῳ εὐλάβεια. Καὶ δὴ καὶ Σπυρίδων Κύπριός τις ἀνὴρ έπίσημος καὶ τὴν ἐκ παιδὸς ποιμενικὴν πεῖραν τῆ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποίμνη καταστὰς προφητικῷ βίῳ διαγινόμενος έγνωρίζετο, δς καί γε διέπων τὴν έκκλησίαν τοῦ ποιμαίνειν τὰ ἴδια πρόβατα οὐκ έπαύσετο. οὕτω δὲ ἦν χρηστὸς καὶ ἀνεξίκακος, ὅτι ληστῶν ἐφ' ὁδου δόλω προσβαλόντων τῆ ποίμνη αοράτοις τε δεσμοῖς κρατουμένων κινηθῆναί τε μὴ δυναμένων ἕως πρωί, ἐπιστὰς δι' εὐχῆς ἀνεθῆναι μὲν τῆς συνοχῆς ποιεῖ· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ κριὸν τὸν κράτιστον ἀποιχομένοις δίδωσιν, εἰπών "λάβετε, ὧ νεανίσκοι, πρὸς ἀπόχρησιν, μὴ ἄπρακτοι ὄντες τῆ νυκτὶ ταύτη δι' ἐμὲ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀπορίας καταμέμψησθε." πολλά μεν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα θαυμαστὰ αὐτοῦ ἀκηκόαμεν, εν δὲ ἐκ πολλῶν παραθήσομεν. Λόγος ὅτι θυγατέρα ἔσχεν, Εἰρήνην τοὕνομα, ἣ τῷ γέροντι προσφόρως διακονήσασα ἐν παρθενία τὸν βίον ύπεξέρχεται. ταύτης μετὰ θάνατον έξ ἀποδημίας τις ἐπιστὰς παραθήκην ἀπήτει τὸν γέροντα, ἥν πρόσθεν αὐτῆ ἦν παραθέμενος, ἥν ὁ μακάριος Σπυρίδων ήγνόησεν. ὡς δὲ πολὺς ἦν ἐπικείμενος αὐτῷ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, πολλὰ ἄνω καὶ κάτω τὸν οἶκον διερευνήσας ό γέρων καὶ μὴ εύρὼν ἠνία σφόδρα τὸν ἄνδρα λέγων μὴ εἰδέναι. ὁ δὲ παραθέμενος ἐκβοῶν ἔτι, δάκρυσί τε

F12e (p. 91) And there was at the synod another man from among the choir of confessors by the name of Paphnutius, an Egyptian, a man of God, from the company of those whose right eyes Maximian the emperor had gouged out and whose left legs he had hamstrung when he committed them to be held in the mines. In him there was so much grace of God that he accomplished signs in no way inferior to those done of old by the apostles. For by word alone he routed demons, and by prayer he healed various ill people, and by petitioning God he granted sight to the blind, and he brought the paralyzed to natural soundness, making their members to function healthily. The emperor held him in great honor and frequently invited him to the palace and would kiss his gouged-out eye, so much piety did Constantine have! Moreover, Spyridon, a certain Cypriot man eminent in the Lord, who placed his experience from youth up as a shepherd in the service of the flock of Christ, was known for leading a prophetic way of life. In fact, although governing the church, he did not cease tending his own sheep. He was so kind and forbearing that once, when highway robbers had set upon his flock stealthily and were held by invisible bonds and unable to move until morning, when he chanced upon them he set them free from their detention by prayer. Not only that, but as they were leaving he even gave them his best ram, saying, "Take this, lads, for your use, lest having been unsuccessful this night on my account you blame me as the cause of your privation." Now, we have heard about many other wonders of his, but we will present just one from among many. It is said that he had a daughter, Irene by name, who, after having ministered to the old man, departed this life a virgin. After her death someone returned from a journey and requested from the old man a deposit that he had previously entrusted to her, of which the blessed Spyridon was unaware. As this person was very insistent toward him, the old man searched the house carefully top to bottom, and, not having found anything, he distressed the man

συνεχόμενος ἔλεγεν ἑαυτὸν διαχειρίσεσθαι τῆς άπωλείας εἰ μὴ λάβοι τὰ παρακατατεθέντα, φάσκων **ἕνεκα γήρους αὐτῷ ταύτην τὴν παραμυθίαν** παραμυθίαν πεποιῆσθαι παρ' αὐτῆ παραθέμενον. Παρασκεθάζει οὖν τὸν γέροντα ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα ὁρμῆσαι τῆς θυγατρὸς πρὸς πεῦσιν τοῦ πράγματος · ὁ δὲ ἐλθὼν καλεῖ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐξ ὀνόματος καί φησι· "τέκνον Εἰρήνη." ή δὲ ἀποκριθεῖσα ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου λέγει· "τί θέλεις, ὧ πάτερ;" ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτήν: "ποῦ ἀπέθου τὴν τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παρακαταθήκην, ὧ θύγατερ;" κάκείνη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη· "ἐν τῶδε κεῖται τῷ τόπω," σαφῶς τὸν τόπον ἐπισημάνασα τῷ πατρί. ὁ οὖν γέρων έπιστρέψας έν τῷ οἴκῳ καὶ εύρὼν ὅπου περ εἶπε κεῖσθαι ή παρθένος τὴν παραθήκην, ἀπέδωκε τῷ ἀνδρί. Πολλά δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἄδονται θαύμαστα αἳ καὶ μέγρι δεῦρο πρὸς τῶν ἐγγωρίων δείκνυνται τοῖς έφισταμένοις πρός λυσιτέλειαν. τοιούτοις τοιγαροῦν ἐν έκείνοις ἔτι τοῖς καιροῖς ἀγίοις ἀνδράσιν ἡ ἐκκλησία έσεμνύνετο, έξ ὧν πολλοὶ παρῆσαν κατὰ τὴν ἐν Νικαία σύνοδον.1

greatly by saying that he knew nothing of the matter. But he who had entrusted the deposit continued to cry out and, wracked by tears, said that he would lay hands on himself if he did not receive the deposited articles, saying that he had entrusted this deposit to her as a consolation for his old age. So he had the old man hasten to the grave of his daughter to inquire about the matter. Upon arriving, he called his daughter by name and said, "Irene my child." And she answered from the sepulcher saying, "What do you want, father?" And he responded to her, "Where did you place this man's deposit, daughter?" And she said to him, "It lies in such and such a place," clearly signifying the place to her father. So the old man, returning to the house and finding the deposit exactly where the virgin said it was, restored it to the man. Many other wondrous deeds of this man are sung, which even till today are pointed out by the locals to those who are in the know, for their benefit. So indeed in those times the church was still adorned by such holy men, many of whom were present at the synod in Nicaea.

F12 (p. 96) Άλλὰ μὴν Ἀθανάσιος, περὶ οὖ καὶ πρώην εἰρήκαμεν, τηνικάδε διάκονος ὤν, οὐκ ἄμοιρος τοῦ τῶν ἀγίων ἐκείνων χοροῦ εἶναι ὑπὸ πάντων ὡμολόγητοσυνῆν δὲ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπῳ, βοηθὸς ἄριστος ὑπάρχων αὐτῷ.

F12 (p. 97) But of course Athanasius too, of whom we also spoke earlier, being then a deacon, was acknowledged by all to have had his share in the choir of those holy men. He was present there with Alexander, the bishop of the church of the Alexandrians, and was a most excellent helper to him.

F12e (p. 96) Άνεκίνουν γοῦν ὁσημέραι περὶ τῆς πίστεως πολλὰ συνεξετάζοντες, οἰόμενοι δεῖν μηδὲν εὐχερὲς ἤ τολμηρὸν περὶ τηλικαύτης ζητήσεως διαπράττεσθαι, συχνῶς τε τὸν Ἄρειον μετεπέμποντο καὶ τηλικαύτης ζητήσεως διαπράττεσθαι, συχνῶς τε τὸν Ἄρειον μετεπέμποντο καὶ πυχνῆ ἀνακρίσει τὰς προτάσεις αὐτοῦ ἀνέπτυσσον, πῶς τε δεῖ πρὸς τὴν ἀνατροπὴν τῶν ἀθέσμων αὐτοῦ δογμάτων ψηφίσασθαι καὶ ἀνθορίσασθαι, μετὰ πολλῆς σκέψεως ἐλογίζοντο. F12f (p. 98) Μετὰ γοῦν πολλὴν τὴν τῆς σκέψεως κατάστασιν ἔδοξε πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ τὸ ὁμοούσιον δεῖν ὁρίσασθαι ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς πίστεως, τουτέστι τῆς αὐτῆς τῷ πατρὶ οὐσίας καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ὁμολογεῖν·

F12e (p. 97) Therefore they were busy every day examining together many matters concerning the faith, being of the opinion that they ought not to effect anything hasty or rash with regard to such a great question, and they summoned Arius frequently and studied his propositions with repeated inquisitions, and with much consideration they reasoned as to how they should decide and counterargue so as to overturn his iniquitous tenets.

F12f (p. 99) So after the discussion had reached broad agreement, it seemed to all together that the *homoousios* must be enshrined as a definition in the ecclesiastical confession of faith, that is, that the Son should be confessed as also of the same being as the Father.

6

¹ This section of Gelasius has been reconstructed by the editors of *Gelasius of Caesarea*, *Ecclesiastical History: the Extant Fragments* "based on the agreement between BHG 129 and Cyzicenus [the Anonymous Church History]" (pg. 91). Because our Greek text for the Anonymous Church History does not precisely match that provided by the editors of Gelasius, we have maintained separate translations.

F12f (p. 98) ή Ην καὶ κατὰ κράτος πάντες ἐβεβαίωσαν παρεκτός τινων ἐπτακαίδεκα τὸν ἀριθμόν, οἴ συναπέστησαν Ἀρείῳ, ἄτε δὴ τὸν υἰὸν ἔξωθεν λέγοντες δεδημιουργῆσθαι τῷ Θεῷ ἐκ μὴ ὄντων τινῶν ὑποστάσεων καῖ οὐκ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς θεότητος γεννεθέντα.

F12f (p. 99) And everyone confirmed it wholeheartedly, except for some, seventeen in number, who apostatized together with Arius in saying that the Son had been created externally by God from some non-existent substances and that he was not born from the divinity itself.

F12f (p. 98) Άναφέρεται δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν εὐσεβῆ Κωνσταντῖνον ἡ τῆς συνόδου ἀπόφασις, ἥν ὡς θεόθεν προσενεχθεῖσαν σέβει καὶ παραδέχεται, καὶ τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας ἄτε τῷ Θεῷ ἐναντιουμένους ἐξορίαν ὑποστῆναι ψηφίζεται. ἔξ τοίνυν μετὰ Ἀρείου ἔμειναν συναπωσθῆναι· οἱ γὰρ ἕνδεκα παλινφδίαν ποιησάμενοι ὑπογράφουσιν εἰς τὸ ὁμοούσιον χειρί, οὺ προαιρέσει. ταύτης τῆς ὑπουλίας ἔξαρχος ἦν Εὐσέβιος ὁ Νικομηδείας ἐπίσκοπος, ὅς καὶ μέχρι τέλους δείκνυται τῆ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα γνώμη κεχρημένος, φημὶ τῆ τε πρὸς ἡμᾶς δι' ὑποκρίσεως καὶ τῆ τῶν ἐναντίων δι' ἐκθέσμων ἐνστάσεων.

F12f (p. 99) The decision of the synod was referred to the pious Constantine, who reverenced and accepted it as divinely decreed and decided that those who contradicted it should suffer exile as adversaries of God. So six remained to be expelled along with Arius; for the other eleven recanted and subscribed to the *homoousios* with their hand but not their will. The leader of this deceit was Eusebius the bishop of Nicomedia, who even to the end is proven to have adhered to both opinions—I mean to ours by his dissembling and to those of our opponents by his lawless obstructions.

F13a (p. 100) "Συνοδική ἐπιστολή γραφεῖσα τοῖς κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ Πεντάπολιν καὶ Λιβύην καὶ ταῖς κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανὸν ἀγίαις τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαις κλήροις τε καὶ λαοῖς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως παρὰ τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ ἀγίας συνόδου· "Τῆ ἀγία καὶ μεγάλη Θεοῦ χάριτι Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησία καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ Πεντάπολιν καὶ Λιβύην καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανὸν ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, κλήροις τε καὶ λαοῖς ὀρθοδόξοις, οἱ ἐν Νικαία συναχθέντες καὶ τὴν ἀγίαν καὶ μεγάλην σύνοδον συγκροτήσαντες ἐπίσκοποι ἐν κυρίφ χαίρειν.

F13a (p. 102) Έπειδὴ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτος καὶ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου συναγαγόντος ἡμᾶς ἐκ διαφόρων ἐπαρχιῶν καὶ πόλεων ἡ μεγάλη καὶ ἀγία σύνοδος ἐν Νικαία συγκροτηθεῖσα τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς πίστεως διείληφεν, ταῦτα ἀναγκαῖον ἡμῖν ἐφάνη ἀποσταλῆναι παρ' ἡμῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς διὰ γραμμάτων, ἵνα εἰδέναι ἔχοιτε, τίνα μὲν ἐκινήθη καὶ ἐξητάσθη, τίνα δὲ ἔδοξε καὶ ἐκρατύνθη· Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἀπάντων ἐξητάσθη τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ τὴν παρανομίαν Ἀρείου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ παρουσία τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου βασιλέως ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου. καὶ παμψηφὶ ἔδοξεν ἀναθεματισθῆναι αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ἀσεβῆ αὐτοῦ δόξαν καὶ τὰ ρήματα καὶ τὰ νοήματα αὐτοῦ τὰ βλάσφημα οἶς ἐκέχρητο βλασφημῶν τὸν υἰὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, λέγων ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων εἶναι καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι

F13a (p. 101) A synodical epistle written by the holy synod in Nicaea to those in Alexandria and Egypt and the Pentapolis and to all the holy churches and clergy and laity of the orthodox faith under heaven. "To the church of Alexandria, holy and great by the grace of God, the dear brothers in Egypt, the Pentapolis, Libya, and everywhere under heaven, and the orthodox clergy and laymen, from the bishops who gathered at Nicaea, forming the holy great council: Greetings in the Lord. F13a (p. 103) Seeing as the great holy council which gathered at Nicaea handled questions about the church's faith after God's grace and our God-loving Emperor Constantine summoned us from various provinces and cities, we thought it necessary to send you letters so that you would know what questions we raised and reviewed and what we decided and confirmed. First, we reviewed the ungodliness and lawlessness of Arius and his followers before our Godloving Emperor Constantine. We unanimously decided to anathematize Arius, his ungodly opinion, and his blasphemous words and thoughts with which he blasphemed the Son of God by saying that he is from things which did not exist, that he did not exist before he was begotten, that 'he did not always exist,' and that the Son of God is capable of evil or good by his own free will, and by calling him a creature and a product. All this the holy council anathematized, not even

μὴ εἶναι καὶ ἦν πότε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν καὶ αὐτεξουσιότητι κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς δεκτικὸν τὸν υίὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ λέγοντος καὶ κτίσμα ὀνομάζοντος καὶ ποίημα. ταῦτα πάντα ἀνεθεμάτισεν ἡ ἀγία σύνοδος, οὐδὲ ὅσον ἀκοῦσαι τῆς ἀσεβοῦς δόξης καὶ τῆς ἀπονοίας καὶ τῶν βλασφήμων ῥημάτων αὐτοῦ ἀνασχομένη. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατ' ἐκεῖνον οἴου τέλους τετύχηκε πάντως ἢ ἀκηκόατε ἢ ἀκούσεσθε, ἵνα μὴ δόξωμεν ἐπεμβαίνειν ἀνδρὶ δι' οἰκείαν ἀμαρτίαν ἄξια τὰ ἐπίχειρα κομισαμένω. τοσοῦτον δὲ ἴσχυσεν αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀσέβεια, ὡς καὶ παραπολέσαι Θεωνᾶν τὸν ἀπὸ Μαρμαρικῆς καὶ Σεκοῦνδον τὸν ἀπὸ Πτολεμαΐδος· τῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν κἀκεῖνοι σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις τετυχήκασιν.

bothering to listen to his ungodly opinion, his insane talk, and his blasphemous words. You have certainly heard or will hear about the outcome of his cause, lest we seem to trample a man who has already received the punishment he deserves for his sin. His ungodliness was so strong that it even destroyed Theonas of Marmarica and Secundus of Ptolemais, for these two had the same outcome as the others.

F13a (p. 102) Άλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάρις τῆς μὲν κακοδοξίας ἐκείνης καὶ τῆς βλασφημίας καὶ τῶν προσώπων τῶν τολμησάντων διάστασιν καὶ διαίρεσιν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ εἰρηνευομένου ἄνωθεν λαοῦ ήλευθέρωσε την Αίγυπτον, έλείπετο δὲ τὸ κατὰ την προπέτειαν Μελιτίου καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χειροτονηθέντων, καὶ περὶ τούτου τοῦ μέρους ἃ ἔδοξε τῆ συνόδω ἐμφανίζομεν ὑμῖν, ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί. έδοξεν οὖν Μελίτιον μὲν φιλανθρωπότερον κινηθείσης τῆς συνόδου (κατὰ γὰρ τὸν ἀκριβῆ λόγον οὐδεμιᾶς συγγνώμης ἄξιος ἦν) μένειν ἐν τῃ αὐτοῦ πόλει καὶ μηδεμίαν έξουσίαν έχειν μήτε χειροτονείν μήτε χειρίζειν μήτε χειροθετεῖν μήτε ἐν χώρα μήτε ἐν πόλει έτέρα φαίνεσθαι ταύτης τῆς προφάσεως ἕνεκα, ψιλὸν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς τιμῆς κεκτῆσθαι. τοὺς δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατασταθέντας μυστικωτέρα χειροτονία βεβαιωθέντας κοινωνηθηναι έπὶ τούτοις έφ' ὧ τε ἔχειν μὲν αὐτοὺς τὴν τιμὴν καὶ λειτουργεῖν, δευτέρους δὲ εἶναι έξ ἄπαντος πάντων τῶν ἐν ἑκάστη παροικία καὶ ἐκκλησία έξεταζομένων τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν τιμιώτατον καὶ συλλειτουργόν ήμῶν Αλέξανδρον προκεχειρισμένων. ώς τούτοις μεν μηδεμίαν έξουσίαν είναι τούς άρεσκοντας να ὐτοῖς προχειρίζεσθαι ἢ ὑποβάλλειν όνομά τι ἢ ὅλως ποιεῖν τι χωρὶς γνώμης τοῦ τῆς καθολικής καὶ ἀποστολικής ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπου τῶν ύπὸ Αλέξανδρον τελούντων, τὸν ὁσιώτατον συλλειτουργόν ήμῶν.

F13a (p. 103) Moreover, when God's grace freed Egypt from those blasphemous heretics who dared to sow disagreement and division among a people who had always lived in peace, the rash actions of Melitius and of those he ordained were still unresolved. We are reporting to you what the council decided on this matter, dear brothers. Although Melitius, strictly speaking, did not deserve pardon, the council graciously decided that he may remain in his city but may not ordain, appoint, or lay hands on anyone nor appear in the country or another city for this purpose but may merely possess the honorable title. Those whom he appointed, however, are to be accepted after they have been confirmed by a more legitimate ordination, with the following conditions. They shall keep their honorable position and shall perform liturgical duties but shall in any case be second to the members of the clergy in every parish and church who were appointed as subordinate to our honorable fellow minister Alexander. Thus they may not appoint those whom they please, make nominations, or do anything at all without the consent of a bishop of the catholic apostolic church subordinate to our pious fellow minister Alexander.

F13a (p. 104) Τοὺς δὲ χάριτι Θεοῦ καὶ εὐχαῖς ὑμετέραις ἐν μηδενὶ σχίσματι εύρεθέντας, ἀλλὰ ἀκηλιδώτους ἐν τῆ καθολικῆ καὶ ἀποστολικῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὄντας ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν καὶ προχειρίζεσθαι καὶ ὀνόματα ἐπιλέγεσθαι τῶν ἀξίων τοῦ κλήρου καὶ ὅλως πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ κατὰ νόμον καὶ θεσμὸν τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικόν.

F13a (p. 105) However, those who by the grace of God and by your prayers prove not to be involved in schism but are blameless within the catholic apostolic church may make appointments, nominate those who are worthy to be clergy, and generally do everything according to church law and custom. If such a member

εί δέ τινα συμβαίη ἀναπαύσασθαι τῶν ἐν τῆ ἐκκλησία τηνικαῦτα προσαναβαίνειν εἰς τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ τετελευτηκότος τούς ἄρτι προσληφθέντας μόνον εἰ άξιοι φαίνοιντο καὶ ὁ λαὸς αἰροῖτο συνεπιψηφίζοντος αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπισφραγίζοντος τοῦ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας έπισκόπου. τοῦτο δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἄπασι συνεχωρήθη· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Μελιτίου προσώπου οὐκέτι τὰ αὐτὰ ἔδοξε διὰ τὴν ἀνέκαθεν αὐτοῦ ἀταξίαν καὶ διὰ τὸ πρόγειρον καὶ προπετὲς τῆς γνώμης, ἵνα μηδεμία έξουσία ἢ αὐθεντία αὐτῷ δοθείη, ἀνθρώπῳ δυναμένῳ πάλιν τὰς αὐτὰς ἀταξίας ἐμποιῆσαι. ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ έξαίρετα καὶ διαφέροντα Αἰγύπτω καὶ τῆ ἁγιωτάτη Άλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησία. εἰ δέ τι ἄλλο ἢ ἐκανονίσθη ἢ έδογματίσθη συμπαρόντος τοῦ κυροῦ καὶ τιμιωτάτου συλλειτουργοῦ καὶ ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν Αλεξάνδρου, αὐτὸς παρών ἀκριβέστερον ἀνοίσει ταῦτα πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἄτε δὴ καὶ κύριος καὶ κοινωνὸς τῶν γεγενημένων τυγγάνων.

of the clergy within the church happens to fall asleep, then those who have recently been admitted shall ascend to the honorable position of the deceased, provided that they are worthy and the people choose them, with the bishop of Alexandria approving and ratifying the election. We made this concession for all the others but did not find the same concession appropriate for Melitius in particular because of his earlier lack of discipline and his hasty and presumptuous attitude. We do not want him to receive any power or authority, for he could cause the same disorderly behavior again. These are the specific resolutions pertaining to Egypt and the holy church of Alexandria. If any other church law or doctrine was defined in the presence of our honorable fellow minister and brother, lord Alexander, he will report it to you more precisely when he returns, for he was an influential participant in our actions.

F13a (p. 104) Εὐαγγελιζόμεθα δὲ ὑμᾶς καὶ περὶ τῆς συμφωνίας τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πάσχα, ὅτι ὑμετέραις εὐχαῖς κατωρθώθη καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος, ὥστε πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῆ ἑώα ἀδελφούς, τοὺς μετὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸ πρότερον ποιοῦντας, συμφώνως Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχαίου μεθ' ὑμῶν φυλάσσουσι τὸ πάσχα ἐκ τοῦ δεῦρο ἄγειν τὴν αὐτὴν ἁγιωτάτην ἑορτὴν τοῦ πάσχα. χαίροντες οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆ κοινῆ εἰρήνη καὶ συμφωνία, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν ἐκκοπῆναι, ἀποδέξασθε μὲν μετὰ μείζονος τιμῆς καὶ πλείονος ἀγάπης τὸν συλλειτουργὸν ἡμῶν, ύμῶν δὲ ἐπίσκοπον Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν εὐφράναντα ἡμᾶς τῆ αὐτοῦ παρουσία καὶ ἐν ταύτη τῆ ἡλικία τοσοῦτον πόνον ὑποστάντα ὑπὲρ τοῦ εἰρήνην γενέσθαι παρά τε ύμῖν καὶ πᾶσιν. εὔγεσθε δὲ καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ἀπάντων, ἵνα τὰ καλῶς ἔχειν δόξαντα, ταῦτα βέβαια μένοι κατ' εὐδοκίαν γεγενημένα ὡς πιστεύομεν διὰ τοῦ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ίησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ άγίου Πνεύματος, ῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν."

F13a (p. 105) We also bring you good news of the agreement on holy Easter. Your prayers have succeeded in this matter. So all the brothers in the East, who previously celebrated it when the Jews celebrate Passover, will from now on celebrate the holy festival of Easter in harmony with the Romans, with you, and with all of us who have been observing Easter with you since ancient times. In joy at these victories, at the shared peace and harmony, and at the eradication of all heresy, therefore, welcome our fellow minister, your Bishop Alexander, with great honor and much love. He has gladdened us with his presence and has exerted great effort in his old age in order that you and everyone might have peace. Pray for all of us so that these decisions which we found appropriate might remain firm, for they have come about, we are confident, through the goodwill of God Almighty, his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord, and the Holy Spirit, to whom be glory forever. Amen."

F13b (p. 106) Ταῦτα τὰ συνοδικὰ γράμματα καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως διάταξιν τὴν κατὰ Ἀρείου ἔτι τε καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν πρὸς Ἀλεξανδρεῖς γραφεῖσαν κοινῆ ψήφω οἱ ἄγιοι πατέρες καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς κελεύουσι διαπεμφθῆναι κατὰ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης μετὰ τῆς ἐκτεθείσης ἀγίας ὀρθοδόζου πίστεως παρὰ τῶν ἀγίων πατέρων πρὸς ἀκριβῆ

F13b (p. 107) The holy fathers and the most pious emperor himself by a unanimous decision ordered that this synodical letter and the emperor's constitution against Arius, as well as his epistle to the Alexandrians, be sent to the entire civilized world, along with the holy orthodox creed that was set forth by the holy fathers, so that all of the laity and clergy would be exactly informed.

πατέρων πρὸς ἀκριβῆ γνῶσιν πάντων τῶν λαῶν καὶ κλήρων.

F13c (p. 108) Τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς πίστεως πραγματευθέντα κατά την μεγάλην σύνοδον την έν Νικαία συγκροτηθεῖσαν εἰκὸς μὲν ὑμᾶς, ἀγαπητοί, καὶ άλλοθεν μεμαθηκέναι, τῆς φήμης προτρέχειν εἰωθυίας τὸν περὶ τῶν πραττομένων πραγμάτων ἀληθῆ λόγον. άλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἐκ τοιαύτης ἀκοῆς τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας έτεροίως ύμιν ἀπαγγέλληται, ἀναγκαίως διεπεμψάμεθα ύμῖν πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ὑφ' ἡμῶν προτεθεῖσαν περὶ τῆς πίστεως γραφήν, ἔπειτα δὲ τὴν δευτέραν, ἣν ταῖς ήμετέραις φωναῖς προσθήκας ἐπιβαλόντες ἐκδεδώκασι. τὸ μὲν οὖν παρ' ἡμῶν γράμμα ἐπὶ παρουσία τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου ήμων βασιλέως άναγνωσθέν εὖ τε ἔχειν καὶ δοκίμως ἀποφανθὲν τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον. Ἡ ὑφ' ήμῶν ἐκτεθεῖσα πίστις. καθὼς παρελάβομεν παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ ἐν τῆ πρώτη κατηχήσει καὶ ότε τὸ λουτρὸν ἐλαμβάνομεν καὶ καθὼς ἀπὸ τῶν θείων γραφῶν μεμαθήκαμεν καὶ ὡς ἐν τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ ἐν αὐτῆ τῆ ἐπισκοπῆ ἐπιστεύομέν τε καὶ ἐδιδάσκομεν, ούτω καὶ νῦν πιστεύοντες τὴν ἡμετέραν πίστιν ὑμῖν προαναφέρομεν. ἔστι δὲ αὕτη·

F13c (p. 109) "Beloved, since rumors usually travel faster than accurate information, you have probably learned from other sources what happened concerning the church's faith at the great council assembled at Nicaea. As we do not want the facts to be misrepresented by such reports, we have been obliged to transmit to you, first, the formula of faith which we ourselves [i.e. Eusebius] presented, and next, the second, which the assembled fathers put forth with some additions to our words. Our own letter, which was read in the presence of our most pious emperor and declared to be good and free from objectionable statements, reads as follows: 'We report now to you our faith, which we have received from the bishops who preceded us when we were first instructed and received the washing [of baptism], which we have also come to know from the divine Scriptures; as we believed and taught in the priesthood, and in the episcopate itself, and as we also believe at the present time:

F13c (p. 108) Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα θέον πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν τῶν ἀπάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν, καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγον, θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, ζωὴν ἐκ ζωῆς, υἱὸν μονογενῆ, πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεγεννημένον, δι' οὖ καὶ ἐγένετο τὰ πάντα, τὸν διὰ τὴν ήμετέραν σωτηρίαν σαρκωθέντα καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτευσάμενον καὶ παθόντα καὶ ἀναστάντα τῆ τρίτη ήμέρα καὶ ἀνελθόντα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἥξοντα πάλιν ἐν δόξη κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. πιστεύομεν καὶ εἰς εν Πνεῦμα ἄγιον ἀληθῶς Πνεῦμα ἄγιον. Καθώς καὶ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἀποστέλλων εἰς κήρυγμα τούς έαυτοῦ μαθητὰς εἶπε: "πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υίοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου Πνεύματος,"

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Maker of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God from God, Light from Light, Life from Life, Only-begotten Son, firstborn of every creature, begotten from the Father before all the ages, by whom also all things were made; who for our salvation was made flesh, and lived among men, and suffered, and rose again the third day, and ascended to the Father, and will come again in glory to judge the living and the dead. And we believe in one Holy Spirit as truly Holy Spirit, as also our Lord said when he sent forth his disciples to preach, "Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit" [Matt. 28:19].

F13c (p. 108) Περὶ ὧν καὶ διαβεβαιούμεθα οὕτως ἔχειν καὶ οὕτω φρονεῖν καὶ πάλιν οὕτως ἐσχηκέναι καὶ μέχρι θανάτου ὑπὲρ ταύτης ἐνίστασθαι τῆς πίστεως, ἀναθεματίζοντες πᾶσαν ἄθεον αἵρεσιν· ταῦτα ἀπὸ καρδίας καὶ ψυχῆς πάντοτε πεφρονηκέναι, ἐξ οὖπερ ἵσμεν ἐαυτούς, καὶ νῦν φρονεῖν τε καὶ λέγειν ἐξ ἀληθείας ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ τοῦ

F13c (p. 109) Concerning which things we confidently affirm that this is what we maintain, how we think, and what we have held up until now, and that we will maintain this faith unto death, anathematizing every ungodly heresy. We testify that we have ever thought these things from our hearts and souls, from earliest memory, and now think and confess the truth before

κυρίου ήμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μαρτυρόμεθα, δεικνύναι ἔχοντες καὶ δι' ἀποδείξεων καὶ πείθειν ὑμᾶς, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς παρεληλυθότας χρόνους οὕτως ἐπιστεύομέν τε καὶ ἐκηρύσσομεν. God Almighty and our Lord Jesus Christ. We are able to provide evidence that will assure you that even in times past we have believed and preached the same.'

F13c (p. 110) Ταύτης ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐκτεθείσης τῆς πίστεως οὐδενὶ παρῆν ἀντιλογίας τόπος. ἀλλ' αὐτός τε πρῶτος ὁ θεοφιλέστατος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς ὀρθότατα περιέχειν αὐτὴν ἐμαρτύρησεν οὕτω τε καὶ ἑαυτὸν φρονεῖν συνωμολόγησε, καὶ ταύτη τοὺς πάντας συγκατατίθεσθαι ύπογράφειν τε τοῖς δόγμασι καὶ συμφωνείν τούτοις αὐτοίς παρεκελεύετο, ένὸς μόνου προσεγγραφέντος ρήματος τοῦ ὁμοουσίου, Ὁ καὶ αὐτὸ ήρμήνευσε, λέγων ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τὰ τῶν σωμάτων πάθη λέγοιτο τῷ πατρὶ ὁμοούσιος, οὔτε κατὰ διαίρεσιν οὔτε κατά τινα ἀποτομὴν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑποστῆναι· μηδὲ γὰρ δύνασθαι τὴν ἄϋλον καὶ νοερὰν καὶ ἀσώματον φύσιν σωματικόν τι πάθος ὑφίστασθαι, θείοις δὲ καὶ άπορρήτοις λόγοις προσήκειν τὰ τοιαῦτα νοεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν σοφώτατος ἡμῶν καὶ εὐσεβέστατος βασιλεὺς τὰ τοιάδε ἐφιλοσόφει, οἱ δὲ προφάσει τῆς τοῦ ὁμοουσίου προσθήκης τήνδε τὴν γραφὴν πεποιήκασιν. Ἡ ἐν τῆ συνόδω ύπαγορευθεῖσα πίστις.

F13c (p. 111) There was nothing to contradict in this statement of faith we put forward. In fact our most pious emperor, before anyone else, testified that it was comprised of most orthodox statements. He even confessed that such were his own sentiments, and he advised all present to agree to it, and to subscribe and agree with its articles, with the insertion of the single word, homoousios. He gave his interpretation of this word, saying that the Son was not homoousios according to what we experience in our bodies, as if the Son had come to be by dividing or breaking off from the Father. For his nature could not be subjected to any bodily experiences, as it does not consist of matter, exists in a spiritual realm, and has no body. Therefore such things must be thought of in divine, unspeakable concepts. Such were the theological remarks of our most wise and most pious emperor. But they were intent on adding the word homoousios and drew up the following statement:

"Πιστεύομεν είς ἕνα θεόν, πατέρα παντοκράτορα, πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν· καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ίησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, γεννηθέντα έκ τοῦ πατρὸς μονογενῆ, τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρός, θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί, δι' οὖ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τά τε ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ έν τῆ γῆ· τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ήμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα καὶ σαρκωθέντα, ένανθρωπήσαντα, παθόντα, ταφέντα καὶ ἀναστάντα τῆ τρίτη ἡμέρα, ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς, ἐρχόμενον κρίναι ζωντας καὶ νεκρούς, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἄγιον πνεῦμα." Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας "ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν" καὶ "πρὶν γεννηθηναι οὐκ ἦν" καὶ ὅτι "ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο" ἢ έξ έτέρας ύποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι ἢ κτιστὸν ἢ τρεπτὸν ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ άναθεματίζει ή άποστολική καὶ καθολική ἐκκλησία.

F13c (p. 111) 'We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, Only-begotten, that is, from the essence of the Father, God from God, Light from Light, true God from true God, begotten not made, homoousios with the Father, by whom all things were made, both things in heaven and things on earth, who for us men and for our salvation came down and was made flesh, was made man, suffered, and rose again the third day, ascended into heaven, and will come to judge the living and the dead; and we believe in the Holy Spirit. But those who say, "Once he did not exist," and "He did not exist before he was begotten," and "He came to be from nothing," or those who pretend that the Son of God is "of another subsistence or being," or "created," or "alterable," or "changeable," the catholic church anathematizes.'

F13c (p. 110) Καὶ δὴ ταύτης τῆς γραφῆς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑπαγορευθείσης, ὅπως εἴρηται αὐτοῖς τὸ "ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς" καὶ τὸ "τῷ πατρὶ ὁμοούσιον," οὐκ ἀνεξέταστον αὐτοῖς κατελιμπάνομεν. ἐπερωτήσεις

As this formula was being debated, we made sure to inquire in what sense they introduced 'from the essence of the Father' and 'homoousios with the Father.'

Through intense questioning and explaining, the

τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἀποκρίσεις ἐντεῦθεν ἀνεκινοῦντο, ἐβασάνιζέ τε ὁ λόγος τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν εἰρημένων. καὶ δὴ τὸ "ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς" ὡμολογεῖτο πρὸς αὐτῶν δηλωτικὸν εἶναι τοῦ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς εἶναι, οὐ μὴν ὡς μέρος ὑπάρχειν τοῦ πατρός. ταύτη δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐδόκει καλῶς ἔχειν συγκατατίθεσθαι τῆ διανοία, τῆς εὐσεβοῦς διδασκαλίας ὑπαγορευούσης ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς εἶναι τὸν υἰόν, οὐ μὴν μέρος αὐτοῦ τῆς οὐσίας τυγχάνειν. διόπερ τῆ διανοία καὶ αὐτοὶ συνετιθέμεθα, οὐδὲ τὴν φωνὴν παραιτούμενοι, τοῦ τῆς εἰρήνης σκοποῦ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἡμῖν κειμένου καὶ τοῦ μὴ τῆς ὀρθῆς ἐκπεσεῖν διανοίας.

F13c (p. 112) Κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ καὶ τὸ "γεννηθέντα καὶ οὐ ποιηθέντα" κατεδεξάμεθα, ἐπειδὴ τὸ "ποιηθὲν" κοινὸν ἔφασκον εἶναι πρόσρημα τῶν λοιπῶν κτισμάτων τῶν διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ γενομένων, ὧν οὐδὲν όμοιον ἔχειν τὸν υίόν. διὸ δὴ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸν ποίημα τοῖς δι' αὐτοῦ γενομένοις ἐμφερές, κρείττονος δὲ ἢ κατά πᾶν ποίημα τυγχάνειν οὐσίας, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεγεννήσθαι τὰ θεῖα διδάσκει λόγια, τοῦ τρόπου τῆς γεννήσεως άνεκφράστου καὶ άνεπιλογίστου πάση γενητῆ φύσει τυγχάνοντος. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὸ ὁμοούσιον εἶναι τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ἐξεταζόμενος ὁ λόγος συνίστη, οὐ κατὰ τὸν τῶν σωμάτων τρόπον οὐδὲ τοῖς θνητοῖς ζώοις παραπλησίως (οὔτε γὰρ κατὰ διαίρεσιν τῆς οὐσίας οὕτε κατὰ ἀποτομήν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κατά τι πάθος ἢ τροπὴν ἢ ἀλλοίωσιν τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς δυνάμεως. τούτων γὰρ πάντων ἀλλοτρίαν εἶναι τὴν ἀγέννητον τοῦ πατρός φύσιν), παραστατικόν δὲ εἶναι τὸ "ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ" τοῦ μηδεμίαν ἐμφέρειαν πρὸς τὰ γενητὰ κτίσματα τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ φέρειν, μόνω δὲ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ γεγεννηκότι κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἀφωμοιῷσθαι καὶ μὴ εἶναι ἐξ ἐτέρας τινὸς ὑποστάσεώς τε καὶ οὐσίας άλλ' ἐκ τοῦ πατρός. Τό καὶ αὐτῷ τοῦτον ἑρμηνευθέντι τὸν τρόπον καλῶς ἔχειν ἐφάνη συγκαταθέσθαι· ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τινας λογίους καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς έπισκόπους καὶ συγγραφέας ἔγνωμεν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρός καὶ υίοῦ θεολογίας τῷ τοῦ ὁμοουσίου χρησαμένους ὀνόματι·

F13c (p. 112) Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς ἐκτεθείσης εἰρήσθω πίστεως ἦ συνεφωνήσαμεν οἱ πάντες οὐκ ἀνεξετάστως, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς ἀποδοθείσας διανοίας ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου βασιλέως ἐξετασθείσας καὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις λογισμοῖς συνομολογηθείσας. καὶ τὸν ἀναθεματισμὸν δὲ τὸν μετὰ τὴν πίστιν πρὸς αὐτῶν

meaning of the words was examined closely. They explained that the phrase 'of the same being as' indicated that the Son is truly from the Father, but he is not a part of him. We felt we could agree to this word when used in this sense, to teach, as it did, that the Son was from the Father, not however a part of his essence. On this account we agreed to the sense ourselves, without denying even the term, since maintaining peace was our goal, provided we did not depart from the orthodox understanding. F13c (p. 113) In the same way we also accepted the phrase 'begotten, not made,' since the council asserted that 'made' was a term used to designate other creatures which came to be through the Son, to whom the Son had no similarity. So according to their reasoning, he was not something made that resembled the things which came to exist through him but was of an essence which is too high to be put on the same level as anything which was made. The divine sayings teach us that his essence was begotten from the Father and that the mode of his being begotten is inexpressible and unable to be conceived by any nature which has had a beginning of its existence. So when we considered it, we found that there are grounds for saying that the Son is homoousios with the Father; not like human bodies, nor like mortal beings, for he is not 'of the same being as' by dividing his essence, or by cutting something off, or by having something done to him, or being altered, or by changing the Father's essence and power (since the Father's nature has no beginning to its existence, and therefore none of those descriptions apply to it). 'Homoousios with the Father' suggests that the Son of God bears no resemblance to the creatures who came into being, but that he is in every way similar to his Father alone who begat him, and that he is not of any other subsistence and essence, but from the Father. It also seemed good for us to agree to this term, since we were aware that even among the ancients, some learned and eminent bishops and writers have used the term homoousios in their theological teaching concerning the Father and Son.

F13c (p. 113) So much then for the Creed which was composed at the council, to which all of us agreed, not without some questioning, but according to a specific sense, brought up before the most pious emperor himself, and qualified by the considerations mentioned above. As far as the condemnation they attached to the

έκτεθέντα ἄλυπον εἶναι ἡγησάμεθα διὰ τὸ ἀπείργειν άγράφοις χρῆσθαι φωναῖς, δι' ἃς σχεδὸν ἡ πᾶσα γέγονε σύγχυσις καὶ ἀκαταστασία τῆς ἐκκλησίας. μηδεμιᾶς γοῦν θεοπνεύστου γραφης τῷ "ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων" καὶ τῷ "ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν" καὶ τοῖς ἑξῆς ἐπιλεγομένοις κεχρημένης, οὐκ εὔλογον ἐφάνη ταῦτα λέγειν καὶ διδάσκειν. ὧ καὶ αὐτῷ καλῶς δόξαντι συνεθέμεθα, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου χρόνῳ τούτοις εἰώθαμεν συγχρησθαι τοῖς ῥήμασι. Ἐτι μὴν τὸ ἀναθεματίζεσθαι τὸ "πρὸ τοῦ γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν" οὐκ ἄτοπον ἐνομίσθη τῶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ὁμολογεῖσθαι εἶναι αὐτὸν υίὸν τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸ τῆς κατὰ σάρκα γεννήσεως. ἤδη δὲ ὁ θεοφιλέστατος ήμῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ λόγῳ κατεσκεύαζεν, ώς καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἔνθεον αὐτοῦ γέννησιν τὴν πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων εἶναι αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ πρὶν ένεργεία γεννηθηναι, δυνάμει ήν έν τῶ πατρὶ άγεννήτως, ὄντος τοῦ πατρὸς ἀεὶ πατρὸς ὡς καὶ βασιλέως ἀεὶ καὶ σωτῆρος ἀεὶ δυνάμει πάντα ὄντος, ἀεί τε κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντος. F13c (p. 114) Ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἀναγκαίως διεπεμψάμεθα, άγαπητοί, τὸ κεκριμένον τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐξετάσεώς τε καὶ συγκαταθέσεως φανερὸν ὑμῖν καθιστῶντες καὶ ὡς εὐλόγως τότε μὲν καὶ μέχρις ὑστάτης ὥρας ένιστάμεθα, ὅτε ἡμῖν τὰ ἐτεροίως γραφέντα προσέκοπτε, τότε δὲ ἀφιλονείκως τὰ μὴ λυποῦντα κατεδεξάμεθα, ὅτε ἡμῖν εὐγνωμόνως τῶν λόγων έξετάζουσι την διάνοιαν έφάνη συντρέχειν τοῖς ὑφ' ήμῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῆ προεκτεθείση πίστει ώμολογημένοις. ἀσπαζόμεθα ύμᾶς σὺν τῆ παρ' ὑμῖν άδελφότητι. ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς ἐν κυρίφ εὐχόμεθα, άδελφοὶ τιμιώτατοι."

end of the Creed, it did not cause us pain, because it forbade the use of words not found in Scripture, from which almost all the confusion and disorder in the church have come. Since, then, no divinely inspired Scripture has used the phrases, 'out of nothing,' and 'once he was not,' and the rest which follow, there appeared no ground for using or teaching them. We think that this was a good decision, since it has never been our custom to use these terms.

F13c (p. 115) Additionally, it did not seem out of place to condemn the statement, 'Before he was begotten he did not exist,' because everyone confesses that the Son of God existed before he was begotten according to the flesh. At this point in the discussion, our most pious emperor maintained that the Son existed before all ages even according to his divinely inspired begetting, since even before the act of begetting was performed, in potentiality he was with the Father, even before he was begotten by him, since the Father is always Father, just as he is always King and always Savior; he has the potentiality to be all things and remains exactly the same forever. We deemed it necessary for us, beloved, to inform you of the care which has characterized both our examination of and unanimity in these things, that on justifiable grounds we resisted to the last moment the introduction of certain objectionable expressions as long as these were not acceptable. We received them without dispute when on mature deliberation as we examined the sense of the words they appeared to agree with what we had originally proposed as a sound confession of faith. We greet you and the brothers who are with you. We pray that you are strong in the Lord, dear brothers."

F14 (p. 116) "Όσιος ἐπίσκοπος Κουρδούβης ταῖς κατὰ Ῥώμην καὶ Σπανίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν πᾶσαν καὶ ταῖς ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσι τοῖς ἐπέκεινα κατ' ἐμὲ οὖσιν ἔως τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ ἀγίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαις διὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβυτέρων Ῥώμης Βίτωνος καὶ Βικεντίου. Αλέξανδρος Άλεξανδρείας σὺν Ἀθανασίῳ τότε ἀρχιδιακόνῳ ὄντι ταῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν, Λιβύην καὶ Πεντάπολιν καὶ τὰ ὅμορα τούτοις ἔως τῶν τῆς Ἰνδίας ἐπαρχιῶν. Μακάριος Ἱεροσολύμων σὺν Εὐσεβίῳ τῷ Παμφίλου ἐπισκόπῳ Καισαρείας ταῖς κατὰ Παλαιστίνην καὶ Ἀραβίαν καὶ Φοινίκην. Εὐστάθιος Ἀντιοχείας τῆς μεγάλης ταῖς κατὰ Συρίαν κοίλην καὶ Μεσοποταμίαν πᾶσαν καὶ Κιλικίαν ἑκατέραν. Ἰωάννης Πέρσης ταῖς ἐν Περσίδι πάση καὶ

F14 (p. 117) Hosius, bishop of Cordova, for the holy churches of God in Rome, Spain, all Italy, and the other provinces beyond me up to the ocean, through the Roman priests Vito and Vincent accompanying him. Alexander of Alexandria, with Athanasius, then archdeacon, for the churches in all Egypt, Libya, the Pentapolis, and the neighboring regions up to the provinces of India. Macarius of Jerusalem, with Eusebius Pamphili, bishop of Caesarea, for the churches in Palestine, Arabia, and Phoenicia. Eustathius of great Antioch, for the churches in Coele Syria, all Mesopotamia, and both Cilicias.

John the Persian, for the churches in all Persia and Greater India. Leontius of Caesarea in Cappadocia,

τῆ μεγάλη Ἰνδία. Λεόντιος Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας τὸ τῆς ἐκκληςίας τοῦ κυρίου καλλώπισμα ταῖς κατ' αὐτὴν Καππαδοκίαν Γαλατίαν Πόντον Διοσπόντου Παφλαγονίαν Πόντον Πολεμωνιακὸν Άρμενίαν μικρὰν καὶ μεγάλην. Θεωνᾶς Κυζίκου ταῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Ἑλλήσποντον, Λυδίαν τε καὶ Καρίαν διὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἐπισκόπων Εὐτυχίου Σμύρνης καὶ Μαρίνου Τρφάδος. Άλέξανδρος Θεσσαλονίκης διὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν τελούντων ταῖς κατὰ Μακεδονίαν πρώτην καὶ δευτέραν σὺν ὅλη Ἑλλάδι την τε Εὐρώπην πᾶσαν, Σκυθίαν ἐκατέραν, καὶ ταῖς κατὰ τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν ἀπάσαις Θεσσαλίαν τε καὶ Ἀχάιαν.

F14 (p. 118) Νουνέχιος Λαοδικείας ταῖς κατὰ τὴν Φρυγίαν πρώτην καὶ δευτέραν. Πρωτογένης ὁ θαυμάσιος πόλεως Σαρδικῆς ταῖς ἐν Δακία Καλαβρία Δαρδανία καὶ ταῖς ὁμόροις τούτοις. Κεκιλιανὸς πόλεως Καρθαγένης ταῖς κατὰ πάσας τὰς ἐπαργίας τάς τε Άφρικὰς καὶ τὰς Νουμηδίας καὶ Μαυριτανίας άμφοτέρας οὔσαις άγίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαις. Πίστος Μαρκιανουπόλεως ταῖς κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν καὶ τὰ τῶν Άθηνῶν καὶ Γάλλων ἔθνη καὶ ταῖς πλησιογώροις τούτων πόλεσιν. Άλέξανδρος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τότε πρεσβύτερος ἔτι ἄν, εἰς ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τῆς έπισκοπικής ἱερατείας της αὐτόθι ἐκκλησίας λαγών. σὺν Παύλω ἔτι τότε ἀναγνώστη ὄντι καὶ νοταρίω αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐν ταῖς νήσοις πάσαις Κυκλάσιν. Οὧτοι πάντες οἱ ἄγιοι καὶ ἀποστολικοὶ ἄνδρες πάσαις ταῖς ύπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἁγίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαις τὰ ἐν τῆ Νικαέων άγία μεγάλη καὶ οἰκουμενικῆ συνόδω κεκριμένα διαπορθμεύσαντες πανταχοῦ γῆς παρέδωκαν, καθὰ ἀρτίως ὁ λόγος ἀπέδειξεν.

which is the ornament of our Lord's church, for the churches in Cappadocia itself, Galatia, Diospontus, Paphlagonia, Pontus Polemoniacus, and Lesser and Greater Armenia. Theonas of Cyzicus, for the churches in Asia, the Hellespont, Lydia, and Caria, through his subordinate bishops Eutychius of Smyrna and Marinus of Troas. Alexander of Thessalonica, through his subordinates, for the churches in Macedonia Prima and Secunda along with Greece, all of Europe, both Scythias, and all the churches in Illyricum, Thessaly, and Achaea.

F14 (p. 119) Nunechius of Laodicea, for the churches in Phrygia Prima and Secunda. Protogenes, the admirable bishop of Sardica, for the churches in Dacia, Calabria, Dardania, and the neighboring regions. Caecilian of Carthage, for the holy churches of God in all the provinces of Africa, Numidia, and both Mauritanias. Pistus of Marcianopolis, for the churches in Mysia, the provinces of Athens and Gaul, and their neighboring cities. Alexander of Constantinople, then still a priest but later granted the bishopric of the local church, together with Paul, then still a lector, Alexander's secretary, for the churches on all the islands of the Cyclades. All these holy apostolic men delivered the decisions of the holy great ecumenical synod of Nicaea to all the holy churches of God under heaven and brought them to all parts of the world, as this book has just shown.