Sozomen, Ecclesiastical History (CPG 6030)

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Greek

- 1.17.1 Έπεὶ δὲ παρ' ἐλπίδας ἐχώρει τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ κρείττων ἦν διαλλαγῶν ἡ ἔρις, ἄπρακτός τε ἐπανήει ὁ τὴν εἰρήνην βραβεῦσαι ἀπεσταλμένος, συνεκάλεσε σύνοδον εἰς Νίκαιαν τῆς Βιθυνίας καὶ πανταχῆ τοῖς προεστῶσι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἔγραψεν εἰς ῥητὴν ἡμέραν παρεῖναι.
- 1.17.2 Ἐκοινώνουν δὲ τούτου τοῦ συλλόγου τῶν μὲν άποστολικῶν θρόνων Μακάριος ὁ Ίεροσολύμων καὶ Εὐστάθιος ἤδη τὴν Αντιοχείας τῆς πρὸς τῷ Ὀρόντη έκκλησίαν έπιτραπεὶς καὶ Αλέξανδρος ὁ Αλεξανδρείας τῆς παρὰ τὴν Μαρίαν λίμνην. Ἰούλιος δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων ἐπίσκοπος διὰ γῆρας ἀπελιμπάνετο· παρῆσαν δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Βίτων καὶ Βικέντιος πρεσβύτεροι τῆς αὐτῆς έκκλησίας. Έπὶ τούτοις δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι πλεῖστοι καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ ἐκ διαφόρων ἐθνῶν συνῆλθον, οἱ μὲν νοεῖν καὶ λέγειν ίκανοὶ εἰδήσει τε τῶν ἱερῶν βίβλων καὶ τῆς άλλης παιδεύσεως ἐπίσημοι ἢ ἀρετῆ βίου διαπρέποντες, οί δὲ κατ' ἀμφότερον εὐδοκιμοῦντες. 1.17.3a Ἡσαν δὲ ἐπίσκοποι ὑπὲρ ἀμφὶ τριακόσιοι εἴκοσι· πρεσβυτέρων τε καὶ διακόνων ὡς εἰκὸς έπομένων οὐκ ἦν ὀλίγον πλῆθος. συμπαρῆσαν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἄνδρες διαλέξεως ἔμπειροι ἐκείνοις βοηθεῖν λόγοις σπουδάζοντες.
- 1.17.3b Οἶα δὲ φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, πολλοὶ τῶν ἱερέων, ὡς ὑπὲρ ἰδίων πραγμάτων ἀγωνίσασθαι συνελθόντες, καιρὸν ἔχειν ἐνόμισαν τῆς τῶν λυπούντων διορθώσεως· καὶ περὶ ὧν ἕκαστος τὸν ἄλλον ἐμέμφετο, βιβλίον ἐπιδοὺς βασιλεῖ τὰ εἰς αὐτὸν ἡμαρτημένα προσήγγελλεν.
- 1.17.4 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐφ' ἑκάστης εὐχερῶς τοῦτο συνέβαινε, προσέταξεν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς ῥητὴν ἡμέραν ἕκαστον περὶ ὧν ἐνεκάλει δῆλον ποιεῖν. ἀφικομένης δὲ τῆς προθεσμίας τὰ ἐπιδοθέντα βιβλία δεξάμενος "αὖται μέν," ἔφη, "αὶ κατηγορίαι καιρὸν οἰκεῖον ἔχουσι τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς μεγάλης κρίσεως, δικαστὴν δὲ τὸν μέλλοντα πᾶσι τότε κρίνειν ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐ θεμιτὸν ἀνθρώπῳ ὄντι τοιαύτην εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἕλκειν ἀκρόασιν, ἱερέων κατηγορούντων καὶ κατηγορουμένων, οῦς

English

- 1.17.1 Matters turned out differently than the emperor had hoped. The disagreement was too great for reconciliation, and the one who had been sent to make peace returned without accomplishing his mission. Because of this, Constantine convened a council at Nicaea in Bithynia and wrote to the most eminent men of the churches in every country, directing them to be there on an appointed day.
- 1.17.2 Of those who occupied the apostolic sees, the following participated in this conference: Macarius of Jerusalem, Eustathius, who already presided over the church of Antioch on the Orontes, and Alexander of Alexandria near Lake Mareotis. Julius, bishop of Rome, was unable to attend on account of extreme old age, but his place was supplied by Vito and Vicentius, presbyters of his church. Many other excellent and good men from different nations were gathered together. Some were celebrated for their learning, their eloquence, their knowledge of the sacred books and other learning, some for the virtuous quality of their life, and others for a combination of all these qualifications.
- 1.17.3a About three hundred and twenty bishops were present, accompanied by a multitude of presbyters and deacons. There were, likewise, men present who were skilled in dialectics and ready to assist in the discussions.
- 1.17.3b And, as was usually the case on such occasions, many priests used the council as an excuse to bring up their own private affairs. They considered this an opportune time to rectify their grievances. Concerning those grievances, each person blamed another and presented a document to the emperor in which he reported the offenses committed against him. 1.17.4 As this kept happening day after day, the emperor set apart one certain day on which all complaints were to be brought before him. When the appointed time arrived, he took the memorials which had been presented to him and said, "All these accusations will be brought forward in their own time at the great day of judgment, and there will be judged by the great judge of all men; it is not right to drag out

ἥκιστα χρὴ τοιούτους ἐαυτοὺς παρέχειν, ὡς παρ' ἐτέρου κρίνεσθαι. ἄγε οὖν μιμησάμενοι τὴν θείαν φιλανθρωπίαν ἐν τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους συγγνώμῃ ἀπαλειφθέντων τῶν κατηγορουμένων σπεισώμεθα καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς πίστεως σπουδάσωμεν, οὖ ἕνεκεν δεῦρο συνεληλύθαμεν."

1.17.5 ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν ἐκάστου γραφὴν ἀργεῖν καὶ τὰ βιβλία καυθῆναι προσέταξε· καὶ ἡμέραν ὅρισε, καθ' ἢν ἐγρῆν λῦσαι τὰ ἀμφισβητούμενα.

a hearing like this against each other before me, a man, when the accuser and the accused are priests. Priests ought to present themselves in a way that never falls under the judgment of others. Imitate, therefore, the divine love and mercy of God, and be reconciled to one another; withdraw your accusations against each other. Let us make peace and devote our attention to those subjects connected with the faith, the reason we are assembled here."

1.17.5 After this address, in order to nullify each document, the emperor commanded the memorials to be burned, and then appointed a day for solving the disagreements.

1.17.6 Πρὸ δὲ τῆς προθεσμίας συνιόντες καθ' ἐαυτοὺς οἱ ἐπίσκοποι μετεκαλοῦντο τὸν Ἄρειον· καὶ προτιθεμένων εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ὧν ἐδόξαζον διελέγοντο. οἶα δὲ εἰκὸς εἰς διαφόρους ζητήσεις περιισταμένης τῆς διασκέψεως, οἱ μὲν μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν περὶ τὴν ἀρχῆθεν παραδοθεῖσαν πίστιν συνεβούλευον, καὶ μάλιστα οἶς τὸ τῶν τρόπων ἀπλοῦν ἀπεριέργως εἰσηγεῖτο προσίεσθαι τὴν εἰς τὸ θεῖον πίστιν· οἱ δὲ ἰσχυρίζοντο μὴ χρῆναι ἀβασανίστως ταῖς παλαιοτέραις δόξαις ἔπεσθαι.

1.17.6 But before the appointed time arrived, the bishops assembled together and summoned Arius to attend. They began to examine the disputed topics, and each one of them advanced his own opinion. As might have been expected, however, many different questions grew out of the discussion. Some of the bishops spoke against the introduction of novelties contrary to the faith which had been delivered to them from the beginning. Those who had especially adhered to simplicity of doctrine argued that the faith of God ought simply to be accepted. Others, however, contended that ancient opinions ought not to be followed without examination.

1.17.7 Πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν τότε συνεληλυθότων ἐπισκόπων καὶ τῶν ἐπομένων αὐτοῖς κληρικῶν, δεινοὶ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας μεθόδους τῶν λόγων ἠσκημένοι, διέπρεψαν καὶ βασιλεῖ γνώριμοι καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐγένοντο. ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ Ἀθανάσιος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἔτι τότε διάκονος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ συνὼν πλεῖστον ἔδοξεν εἶναι μέρος τῆς περὶ ταῦτα βουλῆς. 1.18.1 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καί τινες τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι φιλοσόφων ἐπίτηδες τουτωνὶ τῶν διαλέξεων μετέσχον, οἱ μὲν ὅ τι ποτέ ἐστι τὸ δόγμα μανθάνειν σπουδάζοντες· οἱ δὲ προσφάτως ἀπόλλυσθαι τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς θρησκείας ἀρχομένης ἀπεχθανόμενοι τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς τὴν περὶ τοῦ δόγματος ζήτησιν εἰς ἔριδας λόγων ἐνέβαλλον, ὥστε πρὸς ἑαυτὸ στασιάζειν καὶ ἐναντίον δοκεῖν.

1.18.2 λέγεται οὖν, ὅς τινος αὐτῶν ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας λόγων κομπάζοντος καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐπιτωθάζοντος οὐκ ἤνεγκε τὸν τῦφον γέρων ἀπλοῦς τις τῶν ἐν ὁμολογίαις εὐδοκιμησάντων τοιούτων δὲ σκινδαλμῶν καὶ τερθρείας ἄμοιρος ὢν τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνεδέξατο

1.17.7 Many of the assembled bishops and the clergy who accompanied them were remarkably skilled in dialectics and trained in the art of rhetoric. They appeared prominent and so attracted the notice of the emperor and the court. Of that number Athanasius, who was then a deacon of Alexandria and had accompanied his bishop Alexander, seemed to have the largest share of advice about these subjects.

1.18.1 A number of the pagan philosophers desired to take part in the debates. Some wanted to learn more about the doctrine that was being taught. Others, who hated the Christians because of the recent suppression of pagan religions, wanted to turn the discussion about doctrine into an argument over words. They sought to introduce dissension among the Christians and make them appear to hold contradictory opinions.

1.18.2 It is said, then, that one of these philosophers who prided himself on his well-known superiority in speaking eloquently, began to ridicule the priests. This roused the indignation of a simple old man, who was

λόγον. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ τοῖς μὲν προπετέσι τῶν εἰδότων τὸν ὁμολογητὴν γέλωτα ἐκίνησε τὸ πρᾶγμα, τοῖς δὲ ἐπιεικέσι δέος, προορωμένοις μὴ παρὰ ἀνδρὶ τεχνίτῃ λόγων γελοῖος φανείη.

1.18.3 ὅμως δ' οὖν συγχωρησάντων λέγειν ἃ βούλεται (ἀντιτείνειν γὰρ αὐτῷ τοιούτῳ ὄντι ἐπὶ πολὺ ἠδοῦντο) "ἐν ὀνόματι," ἔφη, "Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ, φιλόσοφε ἄκουσον. εἶς ἐστι θεός, οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ πάντων τῶν ὁρωμένων καὶ ἀοράτων δημιουργός, ὁ πάντα ταῦτα τῆ δυνάμει τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῦ ποιήσας καὶ τῆ άγιωσύνη τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ στηρίξας, οὖτος οὖν ὁ λόγος," φησίν, "δν ήμεῖς υἱὸν θεοῦ προσαγορεύομεν, έλεήσας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῆς πλάνης καὶ τῆς θηριώδους πολιτείας είλετο έκ γυναικός τεχθηναι καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνομιλῆσαι καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ήξει δὲ πάλιν κριτής τῶν ἐκάστω βεβιωμένων. ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν ἀπεριέργως πιστεύομεν. μὴ τοίνυν μάτην πόνει τῶν πίστει κατορθουμένων ἐλέγχους έπιζητῶν καὶ τρόπον, ὧ γενέσθαι ταῦτα ἢ μὴ γενέσθαι ένεδέχετο. άλλ' εί πιστεύεις, έρομένω μοι άποκρίνου." 1.18.4 πρὸς ταῦτα καταπλαγεὶς ὁ φιλόσοφος "πιστεύω," φησί. καὶ τῆς ἥττης χάριν ὁμολογήσας τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ πρεσβύτη ἐδόξαζε καὶ τοῖς πρότερον ὁμοίως διακειμένοις όμοφρονεῖν συνεβούλευεν, οὐκ ἀθεεὶ μετατεθεῖσθαι ἐπομνύμενος, ἀλλ' ἀφράστω τινὶ δυνάμει χριστιανίσαι προτραπείς.

1.18.5 Λέγεται δὲ τῷ εἰρημένῳ παραπλήσιον γενέσθαι θαῦμα δι' Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ ἐπιτροπεύσαντος τὴν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐκκλησίαν. ἡνίκα γὰρ παρεγένετο Κωνσταντῖνος εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον, προσελθόντες αὐτῷ φιλόσοφοί τινες ἐμέμφοντο ὡς οὐ δεόντως θρησκεύοι καὶ περὶ τὰ θεῖα νεωτερίζοι καινὸν εἰσάγων σέβας τῷ πολιτείᾳ παρὰ τὰ νενομισμένα τοῖς αὐτοῦ προγόνοις καὶ πᾶσιν, ὅσους Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόνας ὁ παρελθὼν αἰὼν ἡνεγκε· καὶ ἐζήτουν διαλεχθῆναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ περὶ τοῦ δόγματος.

1.18.6 ὁ δὲ καίπερ ὢν τοιαύτης γυμνασίας λόγων ἀτριβής, ἴσως δὲ τῷ βίῳ πεποιθώς (ἐγένετο γὰρ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός) ὑπέστη τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦ βασιλέως προστάξαντος. συνελθόντων δὲ τῶν φιλοσόφων, ἐπειδὴ πάντες διαλέγεσθαι ἠβούλοντο, ἕνα αὐτοὺς αἰρεῖσθαι ὂν θέλουσιν ἠξίου, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους παρόντας ἡσυγίαν ἄγειν.

1.18.7 ἀναδεξαμένου δὲ ἐνὸς τὸν λόγον "ἐν ὀνόματι Τησοῦ Χριστοῦ," ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος, "ἐπιτάττω σοι μὴ λαλεῖν." ἄμα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος αὐτίκα τὸ στόμα πεδηθεὶς ἐσιώπα. ἆρ' οὖν highly esteemed as a confessor. Although he was unskilled in logical debate and spoke simply, he dared to oppose him. The less serious of those who knew the confessor laughed at his expense for what he wanted to do; but the more thoughtful were anxious that, in opposing such an eloquent man, he would only make a fool of himself.

1.18.3 Yet his influence was so great and his reputation so high that they could not stop him from engaging in the debate. He said, "In the name of Jesus Christ, O philosopher, listen to me. There is one God, the maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible. He made all things by the power of the Word and established them by the holiness of his Spirit. The Word, whom we call the Son of God, seeing that man was sunk in error and living like beasts, pitied him, and chose to be born of woman, to interact with men, and to die for them. And he will come again to judge each of us for the deeds of this present life. We simply believe these things to be true. Do not, therefore, work in vain, striving to disprove facts which can only be understood by faith or scrutinizing how these things did or did not actually happen. Answer me, do you believe?"

1.18.4 The philosopher, astonished at what had happened, replied, "I believe." He thanked the old man for overcoming him with his argument and began to teach the same doctrines to others. He encouraged those who still held his former sentiments to adopt the view he had now embraced, assuring them on oath that some inexplicable power had compelled him to become a Christian.

1.18.5 It is said that a similar miracle was performed by Alexander, who governed the church of Constantinople. When Constantine returned to Byzantium, certain philosophers came to him complaining about innovations in religion. Particularly, they complained that he had introduced a new form of worship into the state, contrary to what was followed by his forefathers and by everyone who had formerly been in power, whether among the Greeks or the Romans. They also were trying to debate the doctrine with Alexander the bishop.

1.18.6 And he, although he was unskilled in this type of argumentative contest, accepted the struggle at the command of the emperor, who was perhaps persuaded by his life (he was a good and excellent man). The philosophers assembled, but since all of them wished

δίκαιον ἀναλογίσασθαι, πότερον μεῖζον ἐν παραδόξοις ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ταῦτα φιλόσοφον, οὕτω ῥαδίως ἀφελέσθαι τοῦ λόγου ἢ λίθον βία λόγου τῇ χειρὶ διελεῖν, ὃ πρός τινων ἐπὶ Ἰουλιανῷ τῷ καλουμένῷ Χαλδαίῳ κεκομπολογῆσθαι ἀκήκοα; καὶ τὰ μὲν ὧδε ἐπυθόμην.

- to engage in the discussion, they set apart one whom they considered worthy as a spokesman while the others were to remain silent.
- 1.18.7 When one of the philosophers began to open the debate, Alexander said to him, "I command you in the name of Jesus Christ not to speak." The man was instantly silenced. It is then right to consider whether it is a greater miracle that a man, and he a philosopher, was so easily silenced by a word, or that a stone-wall was cleft by the power of a word, a miracle I have heard some attribute to Julian, surnamed the Chaldean. From what I have heard, those events happened in the way I have written above.
- 1.19.1 Οἱ δὲ ἐπίσκοποι συνεχῶς συνιόντες τὸν Ἡρειον εἰς μέσον παρῆγον καὶ ἀκριβῆ βάσανον ἐποιοῦντο τῶν αὐτοῦ προτάσεων, προπετῶς δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα τὴν ψῆφον ἄγειν ἐφυλάττοντο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ κυρία παρῆν, καθ' ἢν ὥριστο τεμεῖν τὰ ἀμφίβολα, συνῆλθον εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, καθότι καὶ τῷ κρατοῦντι δέδοκτο κοινωνῆσαι αὐτοῖς τῆς βουλῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς ταὐτὸ παρεγένετο τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, διαβὰς πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ συλλόγου ἐπὶ θρόνου τινὸς ἐκάθισεν, ὅσπερ αὐτῷ κατεσκεύαστο· καὶ ἡ σύνοδος καθῆσθαι ἐκελεύσθη.
- 1.19.2 παρεσκεύαστο γὰρ ἐκατέρωθεν βάθρα πολλὰ παρεκτεινόμενα τοῖς τοίχοις τοῦ βασιλείου οἴκου· μέγιστος δὲ ἦν οὖτος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερφέρων. καθεζομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀναστὰς Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου λόγον τινὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ προσεφώνησε καὶ δι' αὐτὸν τῷ θεῷ χαριστήριον ὕμνον.
- 1.19.1 The bishops held long consultations, and after summoning Arius before them, they made an accurate test of his propositions. They were intently on their guard not to come to a vote on either side. When the appointed day that had been chosen to settle the points in question finally arrived, they assembled together in the palace because the emperor had signified that he would like to take part in the deliberations. When the emperor was in the same place with the priests, he passed through to the head of the conference and seated himself on the throne which had been prepared for him, and the council was then commanded to be seated.
- 1.19.2 Seats had been arranged on either side along the walls of the palace room, for it was the largest and better than the other rooms. After they were seated, Eusebius Pamphilus rose and delivered a speech in honor of the emperor, giving thanks to God because of him.
- 1.19.3 παυσαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ σιγῆς γενομένης "πάντων μὲν ἔνεκεν," ἔφη ὁ βασιλεύς, "τῷ θεῷ τὴν χάριν ἔχω, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τὸν ὑμέτερον σύλλογον ὁρῶν, ὧ φίλοι. καί μοι κρεῖττον εὐχῆς ἀπέβη τοσούτους ἱερέας Χριστοῦ εἰς ταὐτὸν ἀγαγεῖν. βουλοίμην δ' ἄν ὁμόφρονας ὑμᾶς θεάσασθαι καὶ συμφώνου γνώμης κοινωνούς, ἐπεὶ παντὸς κακοῦ χαλεπώτερον ἡγοῦμαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ στασιάζειν. ὅτε οὖν ἡγγέλθη ὧν οὐκ ὥφελον ἀκοῦσαι, σφόδρα τὴν ψυχὴν ἠνιάθην, διχονοεῖν ὑμᾶς πυθόμενος, οὓς ἥκιστα προσῆκε θεοῦ λειτουργοὺς ὄντας καὶ βραβευτὰς εἰρήνης. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἱερὰν ὑμῶν συνεκρότησα σύνοδον· βασιλεύς τε ὢν καὶ
- 1.19.3 When he finished and silence ensued, the emperor said, "For all these reasons, I give thanks to God, not least for being able to witness your gathering, my friends. It has been my great wish to bring so many priests of Christ together. I would like to see you united and of one mind, as I consider it more difficult for God's church to be divided by strife. Therefore, when the report arrived concerning matters that I did not want to hear, I was greatly distressed, for it is least proper that you, ministers of God and promoters of peace, should be divided. For this reason, I have called you together for this holy council. As an emperor and your fellow servant, I seek to receive favor from God

συνθεράπων ύμέτερος χάριν αἰτῶ λαβεῖν ἀρεστὴν θεῷ τῷ κοινῷ δεσπότη ἐμοί τε λαβεῖν καὶ ὑμῖν δοῦναι πρέπουσαν. ἡ δέ ἐστι προενεγκεῖν εἰς μέσον τὰ αἴτια τῆς ἀμφισβητήσεως καὶ ὁμόφρον καὶ εἰρηναῖον αὐτοῖς ἐπιθεῖναι τέλος, ὥστε με σὺν ὑμῖν τοῦτο τὸ τρόπαιον ἀναστῆσαι κατὰ τοῦ φθονεροῦ δαίμονος, ὃς τῶν ἀλλοφύλων καὶ τυράννων ἐκποδὼν γενομένων ταυτηνὶ τὴν ἐμφύλιον στάσιν ἤγειρε, νεμεσήσας τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀγαθοῖς."

1.19.4 τοιαῦτα τῆ Ῥωμαίων φωνῆ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰπόντος παρεστώς τις ἡρμήνευεν.

our common master, to receive for my own gain and to give what is fitting to you. The goal is to bring forward the causes of controversy, and to arrive at a common and peaceful conclusion, so that together with you I may raise this trophy against the envious demon, who, having inflicted internal strife among foreigners and tyrants, has stirred up the same discord among us, resentful toward our good works."

1.19.4 The emperor spoke these words in the Roman language, which someone present interpreted.

- 1.20.1 Έκ τούτου δὲ ἡ περὶ τοῦ δόγματος διάλεξις έκινήθη τοῖς ἱερεῦσι. σχολῆ δὲ καὶ μάλα ἀνεξικάκως ήκροᾶτο ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἑκατέρωθεν λόγων· καὶ τοῖς μὲν εὖ λέγουσιν ἐτίθετο, τοὺς δὲ φιλονικοῦντας μετετίθει τῆς ἔριδος, πράως ἐκάστῳ διαλεγόμενος, ὡς άκούειν ήπίστατο, καθότι οὐδὲ τῆς Ἑλλήνων γλώττης άπείρως είχε. Τὸ δὴ τελευταῖον συνέβησαν άλλήλοις πάντες οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ ὁμοούσιον εἶναι τῷ πατρὶ τὸν υἱὸν έψηφίσαντο, μόνοι δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα δέκα καὶ ἑπτὰ λέγονται τὴν Ἀρείου δόξαν ἐπαινέσαι, παραχρῆμα δὲ καὶ τούτων οἱ πλείους πρὸς τὸ κοινῆ δόξαν μετέθεντο. 1.20.2 ταύτη δὲ τῆ γνώμη καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπεψηφίσατο συμβαλών θειόθεν αὐτὴν δεδοκιμάσθαι τὴν συμφωνίαν τοῦ συλλόγου, ὑπερορίω τε φυγῆ ζημιωθήσεσθαι προηγόρευσε τὸν ἐναντίον τῶν δεδογμένων ἐρχόμενον, ώς διαφθείροντα τούς θείους ὅρους.
- 1.20.3. Ίνα δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν έξῆς χρόνον βέβαιον καὶ δῆλον τοῖς ἐσομένοις ὑπάρχῃ τὸ σύμβολον τῆς τότε συναρεσάσης πίστεως, ἀναγκαῖον ὡήθην εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἀληθείας αὐτὴν τὴν περὶ τούτων γραφὴν παραθέσθαι· εὐσεβῶν δὲ φίλων καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιστημόνων οἶα δὴ μύσταις καὶ μυσταγωγοῖς μόνοις δέον τάδε λέγειν καὶ ἀκούειν ὑφηγουμένων ἐπήνεσα τὴν βουλήν (οὐ γὰρ ἀπεικὸς καὶ τῶν ἀμυήτων τινὰς τῆδε τῆ βίβλῳ ἐντυχεῖν), ὡς ἔνι δὴ τῶν ἀπορρήτων ἃ χρὴ σιωπαν ἀποκρυψάμενος· ὡς <δὲ> μὴ πάμπαν ἀγνοεῖν τὰ δόξαντα.

1.20.1 The next debate by the priests turned upon doctrine. The emperor gave patient attention to the speeches of both parties; he applauded those who spoke well and rebuked those who displayed a tendency to bicker. According to his understanding of what he had heard—for he was not completely unfamiliar with the Greek language—he addressed himself with kindness to each one. Finally all the priests agreed with one another and conceded that the Son is *homoousios* with the Father. At the conclusion of the conference there were only seventeen who praised the opinion of Arius, but eventually the majority of these yielded and agreed with the general view.

1.20.2 The emperor deferred to this ruling. He regarded the unanimity of the conference to be a divine approval and he declared that anyone who rebelled against it would be immediately sent into banishment as guilty of trying to overthrow the divine definitions.

1.20.3 I had thought it necessary to reproduce the actual document concerning the matter, as an example of the truth, in order that those who follow might possess in a fixed and clear form the symbol of the

possess in a fixed and clear form the symbol of the faith which provided some peace at the time. But since some pious friends, who understood such matters, recommended that these truths ought to be spoken of and heard by the initiated and their initiators only, I agreed with their advice. It is not unlikely that some of the uninitiated may read this book. While I have concealed the portion of material that I ought to keep silent about, I have not altogether left the reader ignorant of the opinions held by the council.

- 1.21.1 Τῆ συνόδω, ἰστέον [δὲ] ὅτι τὸν μὲν υἰὸν ὁμοούσιον εἶναι τῷ πατρὶ ἀπεφήναντο· τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας "ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν" καὶ "πρὶν γεννηθῆναι
- 1.21.1 It ought to be known that they affirmed the Son to be *homoousios* with the Father and that those are to be excommunicated and voted aliens to the catholic

οὺκ ἦν" καὶ ὅτι "ἐξ οὺκ ὄντων ἐγένετο" ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας, ἢ τρεπτὸν ἢ ἀλλοιωτόν, ἀπεκήρυξαν καὶ τῆς καθόλου ἐκκλησίας ἀλλοτρίους ἐψηφίσαντο.

1.21.2 Ταύτην δὲ τὴν γραφὴν ἐπήνεσαν Εὐσέβιός τε ὁ Νικομηδείας καὶ Θεόγνιος ὁ Νικαίας, Μάρις τε ὁ Χαλκηδόνος καὶ Πατρόφιλος ὁ Σκυθοπόλεως καὶ Σεκοῦνδος ὁ Πτολεμαΐδος τῆς Λιβύης. Εὐσέβιος δὲ ὁ Παμφίλου μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν ἐπεσκέψατο ταύτην καὶ ἐπήνεσεν.

1.21.3 ή δὲ σύνοδος ἀπεκήρυξεν Ἄρειον καὶ τοὺς όμοίως αὐτῷ φρονοῦντας· Αλεξανδρείας τε μὴ έπιβαίνειν αὐτὸν έψηφίσαντο. οὐ μὴν άλλὰ καὶ τὰς λέξεις τῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης ἀπεκήρυξαν καὶ τὸ βιβλίον ὃ περὶ ταύτης συντάξας Θαλίαν ἐπέγραψε. τούτου δὲ τοῦ συντάγματος, ὡς ἐπυθόμην (οὐ γὰρ ἐνέτυγον), διαλελυμένος τίς έστιν ὁ χαρακτήρ, ὡς ἐμφερὴς εἶναι τῆ γαυνότητι τοῖς Σωτάδου ἄσμασιν. ἰστέον μέντοι ὡς τῆ Ἀρείου καθαιρέσει οὔτε ἔθεντο οὔτε ὑπέγραψαν Εὐσέβιος ὁ Νικομηδείας καὶ Θεόγνιος ὁ Νικαεύς, καίπερ τῆ γραφῆ τῆς πίστεως συναινέσαντες. 1.21.4 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἄρειον μὲν ὑπερορίω φυγῆ έζημίωσε· καὶ τοῖς πανταχῆ ἐπισκόποις καὶ λαοῖς νομοθετών ἔγραψεν ἀσεβεῖς ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ ὁμόφρονας καὶ πυρὶ παραδιδόναι, εἴ τι αὐτῶν εύρίσκοιτο σύγγραμμα, ὥστε μήτε αὐτοῦ μήτε τοῦ δόγματος, οὖ εἰσηγήσατο, ὑπόμνημα φέρεσθαι. εἰ δέ τις φωραθείη κρύπτων καὶ μὴ παραχρῆμα καταμηνύσας έμπρήση, θάνατον είναι την ζημίαν καὶ τιμωρίαν εἰς κεφαλήν. καὶ ἄλλας δὲ κατὰ πόλιν έπιστολάς διεπέμψατο κατά Άρείου καὶ τῶν ὁμοδόξων αὐτοῦ.

1.21.5 Εὐσέβιον δὲ καὶ Θεόγνιον φεύγειν προσέταξεν ας ἐπεσκόπουν πόλεις· τῇ δὲ Νικομηδέων ἐκκλησία ἔγραψεν ἔχεσθαι τῆς πίστεως ἢν ἡ σύνοδος παρέδωκεν, ὀρθοδόξους δὲ προβάλλεσθαι ἐπισκόπους καὶ τούτοις πείθεσθαι, τῶν δὲ λήθῃ παραδοῦναι τὴν μνήμην· τοὺς δὲ ἐπαινεῖν ἢ τὰ αὐτῶν φρονεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντας ἡπείλησε τιμωρεῖσθαι. ἐν τούτοις δὲ τοῖς γράμμασι καὶ ἄλλως ἀπεχθάνεσθαι πρὸς Εὐσέβιον ἐδήλου ὡς πρότερον ἤδη τὰ τοῦ τυράννου φρονήσαντα καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα. κατὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ βασιλέως γράμματα ἀφηρέθησαν ὧν εἶχον ἐκκλησιῶν Εὐσέβιός τε καὶ Θεόγνιος. παραλαμβάνει δὲ τὴν Νικομηδέων Ἀμφίων, Χρῆστος δὲ τὴν Νικαίας.

1.21.6 Παυσαμένης δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ δόγματι ζητήσεως ἔδοξε τῆ συνόδῳ καὶ τὴν πασχαλίαν ἑορτὴν ἄπαντας κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπιτελεῖν καιρόν.

church who assert that there was a time in which the Son existed not, and before he was begotten he was not, and that he was made from what had no existence, and that he is of another hypostasis or substance from the Father, and that he is subject to change or mutation. 1.21.2 This decision was sanctioned by Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia; by Theognis, bishop of Nicaea; by Maris, bishop of Chalcedon; by Patrophilus, bishop of Scythopolis; and by Secundus, bishop of Ptolemais in Libya. Eusebius Pamphilus, however, withheld his assent for a little while, but on further examination assented.

1.21.3 The council excommunicated Arius and his adherents and prohibited his entering Alexandria. The words in which his opinions were couched were likewise condemned, and also a work entitled *Thalia*, which he had written on the subject. I have not read this book, but I understand that it is of a loose character, resembling Sotadus in licentiousness. It ought to be known that although Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, and Theognis, bishop of Nicaea, assented to the document of this faith set forth by the council, they neither agreed nor subscribed to the deposition of Arius.

1.21.4 The emperor punished Arius with exile and dispatched edicts to the bishops and people of every country, denouncing him and his adherents as ungodly and commanding that their books should be destroyed, in order that no remembrance of him or of the doctrine which he had taught might remain. Whoever was found hiding his writings and who did not burn them immediately on the accusation would undergo the penalty of death and suffer capital punishment. The emperor wrote letters to every city against Arius and those who had received his doctrines.

1.21.5 He commanded Eusebius and Theognis to leave the cities in which they were bishops. He addressed himself in particular to the church of Nicomedia, urging it to adhere to the faith which had been set forth by the council, to elect orthodox bishops, to obey them, and to let the past fall into oblivion. He threatened with punishment those who should venture to speak well of the exiled bishops or to adopt their sentiments. In these and in other letters, he made clear his resentment against Eusebius, because he had previously adopted the opinions of the tyrant and had engaged in his plots. In accordance with the imperial edicts, Eusebius and Theognis were expelled from the churches which they

held, and Amphion received that of Nicomedia, and Chrestus that of Nicaea.

1.21.6 When this doctrinal controversy had been resolved, the council decided that the feast of Easter should be celebrated at the same time in every place.

1.22.1 Λέγεται δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τῆς πάντων Χριστιανῶν ὁμονοίας προνοοῦντα καὶ Ἀκέσιον, ὃς ἐπίσκοπος ἦν τῆς Ναυατιανῶν ἐκκλησίας, ἐπὶ τὴν σύνοδον καλέσαι καὶ τὸν περὶ τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἐπιδεῖξαι ὅρον ἤδη [δὲ] βεβαιωθέντα ταῖς τῶν ἐπισκόπων ὑπογραφαῖς, πυθέσθαι τε εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς τούτοις συναινεῖ· τὸν δὲ φάναι μηδὲν ὡρίσθαι καινόν, καὶ ἐπαινέσαι τὸ τῆ συνόδῳ δόξαν· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς παρειληφέναι πιστεύειν τε καὶ ἑορτάζειν.

1.22.2 "Τί οὖν," ἔφη ὁ βασιλεύς, "ὁμοίως φρονῶν χωρίζη τῆς κοινωνίας;" τοῦ δὲ προφέροντος τὴν ἐπὶ Δεκίου Ναυάτῳ καὶ Κορνηλίῳ συμβᾶσαν διαφοράν, καὶ ὡς μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα κοινωνίας οὐκ ἀξιοῖ μυστηρίων τοὺς ἀμαρτίας ἐνόχους, ἢν πρὸς θάνατον καλοῦσιν αὶ θεῖαι γραφαί (θεοῦ γὰρ ἐξουσίας μόνου, οὐχ ἱερέων ἠρτῆσθαι τὴν ἄφεσιν) ὑπολαβὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν· "ὧ Ακέσιε, κλίμακα θὲς καὶ μόνος εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάβηθι."

1.22.3 Ταῦτα δὲ οἶμαι εἰπεῖν τὸν βασιλέα πρὸς Ἀκέσιον οὐκ ἐπαινοῦντα, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἄνθρωποι ὅντες ἀναμαρτήτους σφᾶς εἶναι νομίζουσιν. 1.22.1 It is related that the emperor, under the impulse of an ardent desire to see harmony re-established among Christians, summoned Acesius, bishop of the church of the Novatians, to the council, placed before him the definition of the faith and of the feast, which had already been confirmed by the signatures of the bishops, and asked whether he could agree to it. Acesius answered that their exposition defined no new doctrine and that he agreed in opinion with the council and that he had from the beginning held these sentiments with respect both to the faith and to the feast.

1.22.2 "Why, then," said the emperor, "do you keep aloof from communion with others, if you are of one mind with them?" He replied that the dissension first broke out under Decius, between Novatius and Cornelius, and that he considered such people unworthy of communion who, after baptism, had fallen into those sins which the Scriptures declare to be unto death, for the remission of those sins, he thought, depended on the authority of God only, and not on the priests. The emperor replied by saying, "O Acesius, take a ladder and ascend alone to heaven."

1.22.3 By this speech I do not imagine the emperor

intended to praise Acesius, but rather to convict him, because, being but a man, he fancied himself exempt from sin.

1.23.1 Ἡ δὲ σύνοδος ἐπανορθῶσαι τὸν βίον σπουδάζουσα τῶν περὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας διατριβόντων ἔθετο νόμους οὓς κανόνας ὀνομάζουσιν.

1.23.2 ἐν δὲ τῷ περὶ τούτου βουλεύεσθαι τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἐδόκει νόμον ἐπεισάγειν ἐπισκόπους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους διακόνους τε καὶ ὑποδιακόνους μὴ συγκαθεύδειν ταῖς γαμεταῖς, ἃς πρὶν ἱερᾶσθαι ἠγάγοντο.

1.23.3 ἀναστὰς δὲ ἐν μέσφ Παφνούτιος ὁ ὁμολογητὴς ἀντεῖπε τίμιόν τε τὸν γάμον ἀποκαλῶν σωφροσύνην τε τὴν πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας γαμετὰς συνουσίαν· συνεβούλευσέν τε τῆ συνόδφ μὴ τοιοῦτον θέσθαι νόμον· χαλεπὸν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα φέρειν· ἴσως δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῖς τούτων γαμεταῖς τοῦ μὴ σωφρονεῖν αἰτία γενήσεται·

1.23.1 Zealous of reforming the life of those who were involved with the work of the church, the council enacted laws which were called 'canons.'

1.23.2 While they were deliberating about this, some thought that a law ought to be introduced that bishops and presbyters, deacons and subdeacons, should not sleep with the wives they had married before they entered the priesthood.

1.23.3 But Paphnutius, the confessor, stood up and testified against this proposition. He said that marriage was honorable and chaste, and that cohabitation with their own wives was chastity, and advised the council not to frame such a law, for it would be difficult to bear

1.23.4 κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀρχαίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας παράδοσιν τοὺς μὲν ἀγάμους τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ τάγματος κοινωνήσαντας μηκέτι γαμεῖν, τοὺς δὲ μετὰ γάμον ὧν ἔχουσι γαμετῶν μὴ χωρίζεσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Παφνούτιος, καίπερ ἄπειρος ὢν γάμου, εἰσηγήσατο. 1.23.5 ἐπήνεσε δὲ καὶ ἡ σύνοδος τὴν βουλὴν καὶ περὶ τούτου οὐδὲν ἐνομοθέτησεν, ἀλλὰ τῆ ἑκάστου γνώμη τὸ πρᾶγμα, οὐκ ἐν ἀνάγκη ἔθετο. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, ἦπερ αὐτῆ καλῶς ἔχειν ἐδόκει, νόμους ἀνεγράψατο, καθ' οῦς πολιτεύεσθαι προσήκει τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πράγματα. ἀλλὰ τούτοις μέν, εἴ τῷ φίλον, ῥάδιον ἐντυχεῖν παρὰ πολλοῖς φερομένοις.

and might serve as an occasion of straying for them and their wives.

1.23.4 He reminded them that according to the ancient tradition of the church, those who were unmarried when they took part in the communion of sacred orders were required to remain so, but that those who were married were not to send away their wives. Such was the advice of Paphnutius, although he was himself unmarried.

1.23.5 In accordance with it, the council agreed with his advice and enacted no law about it but left the matter to the decision of individual judgment and not to compulsion. The council, however, enacted other laws regulating the government of the church, and these laws may easily be found, as they are in the possession of many individuals.

- 1.24.1 Έξετασθέντων δὲ καὶ τῶν κατὰ Μελίτιον ἀνὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον συμβάντων κατεδίκασεν αὐτὸν ἡ σύνοδος ἐν τῆ Λυκῷ διατρίβειν ψιλὸν ὄνομα ἐπισκοπῆς ἔχοντα, τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ μήτε ἐν πόλει μήτε ἐν κώμη χειροτονεῖν· τοὺς δὲ ἤδη παρ' αὐτοῦ καταστάντας κοινωνεῖν καὶ λειτουργεῖν, δευτερεύειν δὲ ταῖς τιμαῖς τῶν ἐν ἑκάστη ἐκκλησία καὶ παροικία κληρικῶν.
- 1.24.2 ἐπαναβαίνειν δὲ ταῖς τάξεσι τῶν προτελευτώντων, εἰ ψήφω τοῦ πλήθους ἄξιοι φανεῖεν, ἐπιχειροτονοῦντος τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίας· μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπιλέγεσθαι κατὰ γνώμην ἰδίαν οῦς ἂν ἐθέλωσιν.
- 1.24.3 ἐφάνη δὲ τοῦτο τῆ συνόδῷ δίκαιον, λογιζομένη τὸ προπετὲς καὶ ἔτοιμον εἰς χειροτονίαν Μελιτίου καὶ τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ φρονούντων, ὅστε καὶ Πέτρου τοῦ μαρτυρήσαντος, ἡνίκα ἡγεῖτο τῆς Αλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίας, φεύγοντος διὰ τὸν τότε διωγμόν, τὰς διαφερούσας αὐτῷ χειροτονίας ὑφήρπασε.
- 1.24.1 After an investigation had been made into the conduct of Melitius when in Egypt, the council sentenced him to reside in Lycus and to retain only the name of bishop and prohibited him from ordaining any one either in a city or a village. Those who had previously been ordained by him were permitted by this law to remain in communion and in the ministry but were to be accounted secondary with regards to dignity of the clergy in church and parish.
- 1.24.2 When by death a position became vacant, they were allowed to succeed to it, if deemed worthy, by the vote of the multitude, but in this case they were to be ordained by the bishop of the church of Alexandria, for they were prohibited from exercising any power or influence in elections.
- 1.24.3 This regulation appeared just to the council, for Melitius and his followers had manifested great rashness and boldness in administering ordination. So the regulation also nullified the ordinations of every type which differed from those of Peter. He, when he led the Alexandrian church, fled on account of the persecution then raging, but afterward suffered martyrdom.
- 1.25.1 Τούτων ὧδε δοξάντων τῆ συνόδω ξυνηνέχθη κατὰ ταὐτὸν ἑορτὴν εἶναι εἰκοσαετηρίδα τῆς Κωνσταντίνου βασιλείας. ἔθος δὲ Ῥωμαίοις δημοτελῆ πανήγυριν ἄγειν καθ' ἑκάστην δεκαετίαν τῆς τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἀρχῆς. εὕκαιρον οὖν εἶναι νομίσας ὁ
- 1.25.1 At the very time that these decrees were passed by the council, the twentieth anniversary of the reign of Constantine was celebrated, for it was a Roman custom to have a feast on every tenth year of a ruler's reign. The emperor, therefore, thought it to be opportune,

βασιλεύς προετρέψατο τότε τὴν σύνοδον εἰς ἐστίασιν καὶ τοῖς προσήκουσι δώροις ἐτίμησεν.

- 1.25.2 ἐπεὶ δὲ οἴκαδε ἐπανιέναι παρεσκευάσαντο, συγκαλέσας ἄπαντας συνεβούλευσεν ὁμονοεῖν περὶ τὴν πίστιν καὶ τῆς πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰρήνης ἔχεσθαι, ὡς ἂν ἀστασίαστοι τοῦ λοιποῦ διαμένοιεν.
- 1.25.3 καὶ πολὺν περὶ τούτου λόγον διεξελθὼν τὸ τελευταῖον ἐκέλευεν ὑπὲρ ἐαυτοῦ καὶ παίδων καὶ βασιλείας εὕχεσθαι σπουδαίως καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἰκετεύειν ἑκάστοτε. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς τότε ἀφικομένους εἰς Νίκαιαν τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν συνετάξατο.
- 1.25.4 δῆλα δὲ ποιῶν καὶ τοῖς μὴ παροῦσι τὰ ἐν τῆ συνόδῷ κατωρθωμένα, γράμματα πέπομφε ταῖς κατὰ πόλιν ἐκκλησίαις, τῆ δὲ Ἀλεξανδρέων ἰδίᾳ ἔτερα παρὰ ταῦτα, προτρέπων πάσης ἀφεμένους διχονοίας ὁμονοῆσαι περὶ τὴν ἐκτεθεῖσαν παρὰ τῆς συνόδου πίστιν· μηδὲν γὰρ ἕτερον εἶναι ταύτην ἢ θεοῦ γνώμην ἐκ συμφωνίας τηλικούτων καὶ τοσούτων ἰερέων ἀγίῷ πνεύματι συστᾶσαν μετά <τε> ζήτησιν ἀκριβῆ καὶ βάσανον πάντων τῶν ἀμφιβόλων δοκιμασθεῖσαν.

- invited the council to the festival, and presented suitable gifts to them.
- 1.25.2 When they prepared to return home, he called them all together and exhorted them to be of one mind about the faith and at peace among themselves, so that no dissensions might creep in among them from then on.
- 1.25.3 After many other similar exhortations, he concluded by commanding them to be diligent in prayer and always to supplicate God for himself, his children, and the empire, and after he had thus addressed those who had come to Nicaea, he bade them farewell.
- 1.25.4 [Constantine] wrote to the churches in every city in order that he might make plain to those who had not been present what had been rectified by the council. Especially to the church of Alexandria he wrote more than this, urging them to lay aside all dissent and to be harmonious in the faith issued by the council, for this could be nothing else than the judgment of God since it was established by the Holy Spirit from the concurrence of so many and such illustrious high priests and approved after accurate inquiry and test of all the points subject to doubt.