Harmony 2.6-Council of Ariminum and its aftermath (359-360)

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Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
359 - Constanti	us summons simultaneous councils in Ariminum	and Nicomedia ¹
2.37.1b He determined to convene an ecumenical council, that by drawing all the Eastern bishops into the West, he might if possible bring them all to agree.	4.16.1 Such were the events which transpired at Sirmium. It seemed at this period as if, from the fear of displeasing the emperor, the Eastern and Western Churches had united in the profession of the same doctrine. The emperor had determined upon convening a council at Nicaea to take into consideration the new teachings introduced at Antioch, and the heresy of Aetius. 4.16.2 As Basil, however, and his party were opposed to the council being held in this city, because doctrinal questions had previously been agitated there, it was determined to hold the council at Nicomedia in Bithynia. Edicts were issued, summoning the most intelligent and eloquent bishops of every nation to travel there punctually on an appointed day, so that it might be the privilege of all the priests of the state to share in the Synod and to be present at its decisions. 4.16.3 The majority of these bishops had begun their journey when the calamity that had come upon	2.18.1 When all who defended the faith had been removed, those who molded the mind of the emperor according to their own will, flattering themselves that the faith which they opposed might be easily subverted and Arianism established in its place, persuaded Constantius to convene the Bishops of both the East and West at Ariminum. This was in order to remove from the Creed the terms which had been devised by the Fathers to counteract the corrupt craft of Arius—"substance," and "of one substance." For they would claimed that these terms had caused dissension between different churches. 2.26.1 When he had received these dispatches, Constantius wrote to the Antiochenes denying that he had committed the see of Antioch to Eudoxius, as Eudoxius had publicly announced. He ordered that Eudoxius be banished, and be punished for the course he had taken at the Bithynian Nicaea, where he had ordered the synod to assemble. Eudoxius himself had persuaded the officers entrusted with authority in the imperial household to fix Nicaea for the Council.

¹ On this council, see http://www.fourthcentury.com/the-council-of-arminim-rimini-ad-359/.

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	Nicomedia was reported, and that God had shaken the entire city to its foundations. Since the story of the destruction of the city spread everywhere and grew, the bishops halted their journey. For as is usual in such cases, far more was rumored to those at a distance, than had actually occurred. It was reported that Nicaea, Perinthus, and the neighboring cities, even Constantinople, had been involved in the same catastrophe.	earthquake, whereby the greater part of the city was overthrown, and most of the inhabitants destroyed.
	4.16.4 The orthodox bishops were greatly grieved at this occurrence; for the enemies of religion took the opportunity, on the overthrow of a magnificent church, to report to the emperor that a multitude of bishops, men, women, and children fled to the church in the hope of their finding safety, and that they all perished. This report was not true. The earthquake occurred at the second hour of the day, at which time there was no assembly in the church.	2.26.3 On learning this the assembled bishops were seized with panic, and returned to their own churches. But I regard this as a plan of the divine wisdom, for in that city the doctrine of the faith of the apostles had been defined by the holy Fathers. In that same city the bishops who were assembling on this later occasion were intending to lay down the contrary. The similarity of name would have been sure to provide the Arians with a means of deception, to trick unsophisticated souls. They meant to call the council "the Nicene," and identify it with the famous council of old. But He who has care for the churches disbanded the council.
	4.16.5 The only bishops who were killed were Cecropius, bishop of Nicomedia, and a bishop from the Bosporus, and they were outside of the church when the fatal accident happened. The city was shaken in an instant, so that the people had not the power, even if they had the wish, to seek safety by fleeing. At the first experience of danger, they were either preserved, or they perished on the spot where they were standing. 4.16.6 It is said that this calamity was predicted by	
	Arsacius. He was a Persian, and a soldier who was employed in tending the emperor's lions, but during the reign of Licinius he became a noted confessor, and left the army. He then went to the citadel of Nicomedia, and led the life of a monastic philosopher within its walls. 4.16.7 Here a vision from heaven appeared to him, and he was commanded to leave the city immediately, so that he might be saved from the calamity about to happen. He ran with the utmost earnestness to the church, and begged the clergy to offer prayers to God so that His anger might be turned away.	

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	4.16.8 But, finding that far from being believed by	
	them, he was regarded with ridicule, and as a mere bearer	
	of bad news, he returned to his tower, and prostrated	
	himself on the ground in prayer. Just at this moment the	
	earthquake occurred, and many perished. Those who	
	were spared fled into the country and the desert.	
	4.16.9 And as happens in a prosperous and large city,	
	there were fires in the braziers and furnaces of every	
	house, and in the ovens of the baths, and in the furnaces	
	of all who use fire in the arts; and when the framework	
	fell in ruin, the flame was hemmed in by the stuff, and of	
	course there was dry wood present, much of which was	
	oily.	
	4.16.10 This served as a contribution to the rapid	
	spread of the fire, and nourished the fire without limit.	
	The flame creeping everywhere, and attaching itself to all	
	nearby material, made the entire city, so to speak, one	
	mass of fire. Since it was impossible to obtain access to	
	the houses, those who had been saved from the	
	earthquake rushed to the citadel.	
	4.16.11 Arsacius was found dead in the unshaken	
	tower, and prostrated on the ground, in the same posture	
	in which he had begun to pray. It was said that he had	
	asked God to permit him to die, because he preferred	
	death to beholding the destruction of a city in which he	
	had first known Christ, and practiced monastic	
	philosophy.	
	4.16.12 As I have been led to speak of this good man, it	
	is well to mention that he was endowed by God with the	
	power of exorcising demons and of purifying those	
	troubled by them. A man possessed with a demon once	
	ran through the market-place with a naked sword in his	
	hand. The people fled from him, and the whole city was	
	in confusion. Arsacius went out to meet him, and called	
	upon the name of Christ, and at that name the demon was	
	expelled, and the man restored to sanity.	
	4.16.13 Besides the above, Arsacius performed many	
	other actions beyond the power and skill of man. There	
	was a dragon, or some other species of reptile, which had	
	entrenched itself in a cavity of the roadside, and which	
	characteristi in a cavity of the foauside, and which	

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	destroyed those who passed by, with its breath. Arsacius	
	went to the spot and engaged in prayer, and the serpent	
	voluntarily crept forth from its hole, dashed its head	
	against the ground, and killed itself. All these details I	
	have obtained from persons who heard them stated by	
	those who had seen Arsacius.	
	4.16.14 As the bishops were deterred from continuing	
	their journey after learning about the calamity which had	
	occurred at Nicomedia, some awaited the further	
	commands of the emperor, and others declared their	
	opinions concerning the faith in letters which they wrote	
	on the subject. The emperor hesitated as to what	
	measures ought to be adopted, and wrote to consult Basil	
	as to whether a council ought to be convened.	
	4.16.15 In his reply, it appears, Basil commended his	
	piety, and tried to console him for the destruction of	
	Nicomedia by examples drawn from the Holy Scriptures.	
	He exhorted him, for the sake of religion, to hasten the	
	Synod and not to give up, and not to dismiss the priests	
	who had been gathered together for this purpose, and	
	who had already set forth and were on their way, until	
	some business had been transacted. He also suggested	
	that the council might be held at Nicaea instead of	
	Nicomedia, so that the disputed points might be finally	
	decided on the very spot where they had been first called	
	into question. Basil, in writing to this effect, believed that	
	the emperor would be pleased with this proposition, as he	
	had himself originally suggested the appropriateness of	
	holding the council at Nicaea.	
	4.16.16 On receiving this epistle from Basil, the	
	emperor commanded that at the commencement of	
	summer, the bishops should assemble together at Nicaea,	
	with the exception of those who were suffering under	
	bodily illness. The latter were to send presbyters and	
	deacons to make known their opinions and to consult	
	together on contested points of doctrine, and arrive at the	
	same decision concerning all of the points at issue.	
	4.16.17 He ordained that ten delegates should be	
	selected from the Western churches, and the same	
	amount from the Eastern, to consider the decisions that	

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	would be made, and to decide whether they were in	
	accordance with the Holy Scriptures. They were also to	
	oversee in general, all of the activities of the council.	
	4.16.18 After further consultation, the emperor enacted	
	that the bishops should remain where they might be	
	residing, or in their own churches, until it had been	
	decided where the council was to be held, and until they	
	received notice to journey there. He then wrote to Basil,	
	and directed him to ask the Eastern bishops by letter,	
	where they would advise the council to be held so that a	
	public announcement might be made at the	
	commencement of spring. For the emperor was of the	
	opinion that it was not advisable to convene the council	
	at Nicaea, on account of the earthquake which had	
	recently occurred in the province.	
	4.16.19 Basil wrote to the bishops of every province,	
	urging them to deliberate together, and to decide quickly	
	upon the location in which it would be most convenient	
	to hold the council, and he attached a copy of the	
	emperor's letter to his epistle. As is frequently the case in	
	similar circumstances, the bishops were divided in	
	opinion on the subject, and Basil traveled to the emperor,	
	who was then at Sirmium. He found several bishops at	
	that city who had gone there on their own private affairs,	
	and among them were Mark, bishop of Arethusa, and	
	George, who had been appointed to preside over the	
	church of Alexandria.	
	4.16.20 When it was finally decided that the council	
	should be held in Seleucia, a city of Isauria, by Valens	
	and his companions who were staying in Sirmium, they	
	urged the bishops who were present at the military court	
	to subscribe to a formulary of the faith which had been	
	prepared. In it there was no mention of the term	
	"substance," since they favored the heresy of the	
	Anomians.	
	4.16.21 But while preparations were being zealously	
	made for convening the council, Eudoxius and Acacius,	
	Ursacius and Valens, with their followers, reflected that	
	while many of the bishops were attached to the Nicene	
	faith, and others favored the formulary drawn up at the	

consecration of the church of Antioch, yet both parties retained the use of the term "substance," and maintained that the Son was, in every respect, like unto the Father. And being aware that if both parties assembled together in one place, they would readily condemn the doctrines of Actius as being contrary to their respective creeds, they so contrived matters that the bishops of the West were convened at Ariminum, and those of the East at Seleucia, a city of Isauria. 4.16.22 As it is easier to convince a few than a great many individuals, they conceived that they might possibly lead both parties to favor their sentiments by dealing with them separately, or that they might, at any rate, succeed with one, so that their heresy might not incur universal condemnation. They accomplished this through Eusebius a eunuch who was superintendent of the imperial house. He was on terms of friendship with Eudoxius, and upheld the same doctrines, and many of those in power were seeking to win over this very Eusebius. 2.37.2 But when, on consideration, the length of the journey seemed to present serious obstacles, he directed that the Synod should consist of two divisions. 4.17.1a The emperor was persuaded that it would not be desirable for the public on account of the expense, nor advantageous to the bishops on account of the length of the journey, to convene them all to the same place in order to hold a council. 4.17.1b He therefore wrote to the bishops who were then at Ariminum, as well as to those who were then at Seleucia, and directed them to begin an investigation of	Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
2.37.4 The emperor's object in these arrangements was to effect a general unity of opinion; but the issue was contrary to his expectation. For neither of the Synods was in harmony with itself, but each was divided into opposing factions. 2.37.5 For those convened at Ariminum could not agree with one another, and the Eastern bishops assembled at	 2.37.2 But when, on consideration, the length of the journey seemed to present serious obstacles, he directed that the Synod should consist of two divisions. 2.37.3 He permitted those present at Milan to meet at Ariminum in Italy, but the Eastern bishops he instructed by letters to assemble at Nicomedia in Bithynia. 2.37.4 The emperor's object in these arrangements was to effect a general unity of opinion; but the issue was contrary to his expectation. For neither of the Synods was in harmony with itself, but each was divided into opposing factions. 2.37.5 For those convened at Ariminum could not agree 	consecration of the church of Antioch, yet both parties retained the use of the term "substance," and maintained that the Son was, in every respect, like unto the Father. And being aware that if both parties assembled together in one place, they would readily condemn the doctrines of Aetius as being contrary to their respective creeds, they so contrived matters that the bishops of the West were convened at Ariminum, and those of the East at Seleucia, a city of Isauria. 4.16.22 As it is easier to convince a few than a great many individuals, they conceived that they might possibly lead both parties to favor their sentiments by dealing with them separately, or that they might, at any rate, succeed with one, so that their heresy might not incur universal condemnation. They accomplished this through Eusebius, a eunuch who was superintendent of the imperial house. He was on terms of friendship with Eudoxius, and upheld the same doctrines, and many of those in power were seeking to win over this very Eusebius. 4.17.1a The emperor was persuaded that it would not be desirable for the public on account of the expense, nor advantageous to the bishops on account of the length of the journey, to convene them all to the same place in order to hold a council. 4.17.1b He therefore wrote to the bishops who were then at Ariminum, as well as to those who were then at Seleucia, and directed them to begin an investigation of	Theodoret

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³ Originally they were to meet at Nicomedia,

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
2.37.6 We will give the details of what took place in	4.17.1c Then they were to turn their attention to the	
both (synods) in the course of our history, but we shall	complaints of Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, and of other	
first make a few observations on Eudoxius. ²	bishops who had protested against the injustice of the	
	decrees of deposition and banishment which had been	
	issued against them, and to examine the legality of	
	various sentences which had been enacted against other	
	bishops. There were, in fact, several accusations pending	
	against different bishops. George was accused by the	
	Egyptians of theft and violence. Finally, the emperor	
	commanded that ten deputies should be sent to him from	
	each council, to inform him of their respective	
	proceedings.	
22 May, 359- At Ariminum,	Ursacius and Valens present an unpublished, "	Dated Creed" from Sirmium
2.37.12 When the bishops were assembled at	4.17.2 In accordance with this edict, the bishops	2.18.2 When they assembled at the synod, the partisans
Ariminum, those from the East declared that they were	assembled at the appointed cities. The Synod at	of the Arian faction strove to trick the majority of the
willing to pass in silence the case of Athanasius.	Ariminum first commenced proceedings; it consisted of	bishops, especially those of cities of the Western Empire,
2.37.13 A resolution was zealously supported by	about four hundred members. Those who regarded	who were men of simple and unsophisticated ways. The
Ursacius and Valens. They had formerly maintained the	Athanasius with the greatest enmity were of the opinion	body of the Church, they argued again and again, must not
tenets of Arius, but, as I have already stated, had	that there was nothing further to be decreed against him.	be torn in two for the sake of two terms which are not
afterwards presented a recantation of their opinion to the		found in the Bible.
bishop of Rome, and publicly avowed their assent to the		
doctrine of consubstantiality. For these men were always		
inclined to side with the dominant party.		
2.37.14 Germinius, Auxentius, Demophilus and Gaius	4.17.3 When they had entered upon the investigation of	
made the same declaration in reference to Athanasius.	doctrinal questions, Valens and Ursacius, supported by	
2.37.15 When, therefore, some endeavored to propose	Germenius, Auxentius, Caius, and Demophilus, advanced	
one thing in the assembly of bishops, and some another,	into the middle of the assembly, and demanded that all	
Ursacius and Valens said that all former drafts of the	the formularies of the faith which had been previously	
creed ought to be considered as set aside, and the last	compiled should be suppressed, and that the formulary	
alone, which had been prepared at their late convention at	which they had recently set forth in Latin at Sirmium	
Sirmium, regarded as authorized.	should alone be retained. In this formulary it was taught,	
2.37.16 They then caused to be read a paper which they	according to Scripture, that the Son is like the Father, but	
held in their hands, containing another form of the creed.	no mention was made of the substance of God.	
2.37.17 This had indeed been drawn up at Sirmium, but	4.17.4 They declared that this formulary had been	
had been kept concealed, as we have before observed,	approved by the emperor, and that it was incumbent upon	
until their present publication of it at Ariminum. It has	the council to adopt it, instead of consulting too	
been translated from the Latin into Greek, and is as	scrupulously the individual opinions of every member of	
follows:	the council, so that disputes and divisions might not	

²² Cf. above section 2.5, page 358.

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	spring up, if the terms were to be delivered up to debate	
	and accurate proof. They added that it would better	
	enable those who were more ignorant of the art of	
	discourse to have a right conception of God, than if they	
	were to introduce new terms, involving argumentative	
	hairsplitting.	
	4.17.5 For these reasons, they planned to denounce the	
	use of the term "consubstantial," because they said it was	
	not found in the Holy Scriptures, and was obscure to the	
	multitude. Instead of this term, they wished to substitute	
	the expression that "the Son is like the Father in all	
	things," which is in accordance with the Holy Scriptures.	
	The "Dated Creed" of Sirmium	
2.37.18 The catholic faith was expounded at Sirmium in		
presence of our lord Constantius, in the consulate of the		
most illustrious Flavius Eusebius, and Hypatius, on the		
twenty-third of May:		
2.37.19 We believe in one only and true God, the Father		
Almighty, the Creator and Framer of all things: and in		
one only-begotten Son of God, before all ages, before all		
beginning, before all conceivable time, and before all		
comprehensible thought, begotten without passion: by		
whom the ages were framed, and all things made: who		
was begotten as the only-begotten of the Father, only of		
only, God of God, like to the Father who begat him,		
according to the Scriptures: whose generation no one		
knows, but the Father only who begat him.		
2.37.20 We know that this his only-begotten Son came		
down from the heavens by his Father's consent for the		
putting away of sin, was born of the Virgin Mary,		
conversed with his disciples, and fulfilled every		
dispensation according to the Father's will: was crucified		
and died, and descended into the lower parts of the earth,		
and disposed matters there; at the sight of whom the		
(door-keepers of Hades trembled): having arisen on the		
third day, he again conversed with his disciples.		
2.37.21 And after forty days were completed he		
ascended into the heavens, and is seated at the Father's		
right hand; and at the last day he will come in his Father's		
glory to render to every one according to his works.		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
2.37.22 We believe also in the Holy Spirit, whom the		
only-begotten Son of God, Jesus Christ himself, promised		
to send to the human race as the Comforter, according to		
that which is written: 'I go away to my Father, and will		
ask him, and he will send you another Comforter, the		
Spirit of truth. He shall receive of mine, and shall teach		
you, and bring all things to your remembrance.'		
2.37.23 As for the term 'substance,' which was used by		
our fathers for the sake of greater simplicity, but not		
being understood by the people has caused offense on		
account of the fact that the Scriptures do not contain it, it		
seemed desirable that it should be wholly abolished, and		
that in future no mention should be made of substance in		
reference to God, since the divine Scriptures have		
nowhere spoken concerning the substance of the Father		
and the Son.		
2.37.24 But we say that the Son is in all things like the		
Father, as the Holy Scriptures affirm and teach.		
Council of A	Ariminum eventually resolves to stick with the N	Nicene Creed
2.37.25 When these statements were read, those who	4.17.6 After they had read their formulary containing	2.18.3-4 And, while they confessed it wise to describe
were dissatisfied with them rose and said 'We did not	the above arguments, the majority of the bishops told	the Son as, in all things "like" the Father, they pressed the
come here because we were in want of a creed; for we	them that no new formulary of the faith ought to be set	omission of the word "substance" since it was
preserve inviolate that which we received from the	forth, that those which had been previously compiled	unscriptural. The motives, however, of the proponents of
beginning; but we are here met to repress any innovation	were quite sufficient for all purposes, and that they had	these views were seen through by the Council, and they
upon it which may have been made.	met together for the express purpose of preventing all	were consequently rejected. The orthodox bishops
2.37.26 If therefore, what has been recited introduces	new doctrines. These bishops then urged those who had	declared their mind to the emperor in a letter: "For," they
no novelties, now openly anathematize the Arian heresy,	compiled and read the formulary to declare publicly their	said, "we are sons and heirs of the Fathers of the Council
in the same manner as the ancient canon of the church has	condemnation of the Arian doctrine, as the cause of all	of Nicaea. And if we had the courage to take away
rejected all heresies as blasphemous.	the troubles which had agitated the churches of every	anything from what they had decided, or to add anything
2.37.27 For it is evident to the whole world that the	region.	to what they so excellently settled, we should declare
impious dogma of Arius has excited the disturbances of		ourselves no true sons, but accusers of those who were our
the church, and the troubles which exist until now.'		fathers."
		But the exact terms of their confession of faith will be
		more accurately given in the words of their letter to
		Constantius.
2.37.28 This proposition, which was not accepted by	4.17.7 After Ursacius and Valens, Germenius and	
Ursacius, Valens, Germinius, Auxentius, Demophilus,	Auxentius, Demophilus and Caius had objected against	
and Gaïus, tore the church apart completely.	this protestation, the council commanded that the creeds	
	of the other heresies should be read, and likewise the	
	1	1

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
2.37.29 For these prelates adhered to what had then	favored various heresies might be condemned, and those	Theodoret
been recited in the Synod of Ariminum; while the others	which were in accordance with the Nicene doctrines	
again confirmed the Nicene Creed.	might be approved. This was done so that there might be	
	no further ground for dispute, and no future necessity for	
	councils, but that an efficient decision might be formed.	
2.37.30 They also ridiculed the superscription of the	4.17.8 They remarked that it was absurd to compose so	
creed that had been read. And Athanasius especially did	many formularies, as if they had just begun to become	
so in a letter which he sent to his friends, wherein he thus	acquainted with the faith, and as if they wished to	
expresses himself:	undermine the ancient traditions of the Church, by which	
	the churches had been governed by themselves and their	
	predecessors, many of whom had given a good	
	confession, and had received the crown of martyrdom.	
	Such were the arguments brought forth by these bishops,	
	to prove that no innovations ought to be attempted.	
	Athanasius criticizes the dated creed of Sirmiun	1
	4.17.10b Athanasius made the same remark in a letter	
	addressed to one of his friends, and said that it was	
	ridiculous to call Constantius the eternal emperor, and yet	
	to shrink from acknowledging the Son of God to be	
	eternal. He also ridiculed the date affixed to the	
	formulary, as though condemnation were meant to be	
	thrown on the faith of former ages, as well as on those	
22721 (777 - 1 - 61 - 1 - 1 - 6 - 4	who had, before that period, been initiated into the faith.	
2.37.31 'What point of doctrine was lacking for the		
piety of the catholic church, that they should now make		
an investigation respecting the faith, and prefix moreover		
the consulate of the present times to their published exposition of it?		
2.37.32 For Ursacius, Valens, and Germinius have done		
what was neither done, nor even heard of, at any time		
before among Christians.		
2.37.33 Having composed a creed such as they		
themselves are willing to believe, they prefaced it with		
the consulate, month, and day of the present time, in order		
to prove to all discerning persons that theirs is not the		
ancient faith, but such as was originated under the reign		
of the present emperor Constantius.		
2.37.34 Moreover they have written all things with a		
view to their own heresy. And besides this, pretending to		
write respecting the Lord, they name another "Lord" as		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
theirs, even Constantius, who has approved of their		
impiety, so that those who deny the Son to be eternal,		
have styled him eternal emperor.		
2.37.35 Thus are they proved to be the enemies of		
Christ by their profanity. But perhaps the holy prophets'		
record of time afforded them a precedent for [noticing]		
the consulate!		
2.37.36 Now even if they should presume to make this		
pretext, they would most glaringly expose their own		
ignorance.		
2.37.37 The prophecies of these holy men do indeed		
mark the times. Isaiah and Hosea lived in the days of		
Uzziah, Joatham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah; Jeremiah in the		
time of Josiah; Ezekiel and Daniel in the reign of Cyrus		
and Darius.		
2.37.38 And others uttered their predictions in other		
times. Yet they did not then lay the foundations of		
religion.		
2.37.39 That was in existence before them, and always		
was, even before the creation of the world, God having		
prepared it for us in Christ.		
2.37.40 Nor did they designate the commencement of		
their own faith; for they were themselves men of faith		
previously, but they signified the times of the promises		
given through them.		
2.37.41 Now the promises primarily referred to our		
Savior's advent, and all that was foretold respecting the		
course of future events in relation to Israel and the		
Gentiles was collateral and subordinate. Hence the		
periods mentioned indicated not the beginning of their		
faith, as I before observed, but the times in which these		
prophets lived and foretold such things.		
2.37.42 But these sages of our day, who neither compile		
histories, nor predict future events, after writing, 'The Catholic Faith was published,' immediately add the		
consulate, with the month and the day.		
2.37.43 And as the holy prophets wrote the date of their		
records and of their own ministration, so these men		
intimate the era of their own faith.		
mumae die eta of dien own faith.		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
2.37.44 And would that they had written concerning		
their own faith only—since they have now begun to		
believe—and had not undertaken to write respecting the		
Catholic faith. For they have not written. 'Thus we		
believe'; but, 'The Catholic Faith was published.'		
2.37.45 The rashness of their choice proves their		
ignorance; while the novelty of expression found in the		
document they have concocted shows it to be the same as		
the Arian heresy.		
2.37.46 By writing in this manner, they have declared		
when they themselves began to believe, and from what		
time they wish it to be understood their faith was first		
preached.		
2.37.47 And just as when the evangelist Luke says, 'A		
decree of enroll-merit was published,' he speaks of an		
edict which was not in existence before, but came into		
operation at that time, and was published by him who had		
written it; so these men by writing "The faith has now		
been published," have declared that the tenets of their		
heresy are of modern invention, and did not exist		
previously.		
2.37.48 But since they apply the term 'Catholic' to it,		
they seem to have unconsciously fallen into the		
extravagant assumption of the Cataphrygians, asserting		
even as they did, that "the Christian faith was first		
revealed to us, and commenced with us." And as those		
termed Maximilla and Montanus, so these style		
Constantius their Lord, instead of Christ.		
2.37.49 But if according to them the faith had its		
beginning from the present consulate, what will the		
fathers and the blessed martyrs do? Moreover, what will		
they themselves do with those who were instructed in		
religious principles by them, and died before this		
consulate? By what means will they recall them to life, in		
order to obliterate from their minds what they seemed to		
have taught them, and to implant in its stead those new		
discoveries which they have published? So stupid are		
they as to be only capable of framing pretenses, and these		
such as are unbecoming and unreasonable, and carry with		
them their own refutation.'		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
2.37.50 Athanasius wrote thus to his friends, and the		
interested who may read through his whole epistle will		
perceive how powerfully he treats the subject; but for		
brevity's sake we have here inserted a part of it only.		
The Council of A	riminum condemns certain Arians, who then ru	ish to Constantius
2.37.51 The council deposed Valens, Ursacius,	4.17.9 Since Valens and Ursacius and their partisans	
Auxentius, Germinius, Gaïus, and Demophilus for	refused to be convinced by these arguments, but persisted	
refusing to anathematize the Arian doctrine.	in advocating the adoption of their own formulary, they	
	were deposed. And it was decided that their formulary	
	should be rejected.	
	4.17.10a It was remarked that the declaration at the	
	beginning of this formulary, that it had been compiled at	
	Sirmium in the presence of Constantius, "the eternal	
	Augustus," and during the consulate of Eusebius and	
	Hypatius, was an absurdity.	
2.37.52 They were very indignant at their deposition	4.17.11 After these events had transpired at Ariminum,	
and hastened directly to the emperor, carrying with them	Valens and Ursacius, together with their partisans, were	
the exposition of faith which had been read in the Synod.	irritated at their deposition and traveled with all haste to	
1	the emperor.	
2.37.53 The council also acquainted the emperor with	4.18.1 The Synod selected twenty bishops, and sent	
their determinations in a communication which translated	them on an embassy to the emperor, with the following	
from the Latin into Greek, was to the following effect:	letter, which has been translated from Latin into Greek:	
	etter of the Council of Ariminum to Constantiu	is ⁴
2.37.54 We believe that it was by the appointment of	4.18.2 We believe that it was by the appointment of	2.19.1 We believe that it was by the appointment of
God, as well as at the command of your piety, that the	God, as well as at the command of your piety, that the	God, as well as at the command of your piety, that the
decrees formerly published have been executed.	decrees published have been executed. Accordingly, we	decrees formerly published have been executed.
Accordingly, we Western bishops came out of various	Western bishops came out of various districts to	Accordingly, we Western bishops came out of various
districts to Ariminum, in order that the faith of the	Ariminum, in order that the faith of the catholic church	districts to Ariminum, in order that the faith of the catholic
catholic church might be made manifest, and that those	might be made manifest, and that those who held	church might be made manifest, and that those who held
who held contrary views might be detected.	contrary views might be detected.	contrary views might be detected.
2.37.55 After long consideration we have found it to be	After long consideration we have found it to be plainly	2.19.2 After long consideration we have found it to be
plainly best for us to hold fast and guard, and by guarding	best for us to hold fast and guard, and by guarding keep	plainly best for us to hold fast and guard, and by guarding
keep safe unto the end, the faith established from the first,	safe unto the end, the faith established from the first,	keep safe unto the end, the faith established from the first,
preached by Prophets, and Evangelists, and Apostles,	preached by Prophets, and Evangelists, and Apostles,	preached by Prophets, and Evangelists, and Apostles,

⁴ Although Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret each include the same letter in this section, there are variations between their respective texts. Sozomen says in the previous section that the letter was a Greek translation from the Latin. It is probable that Socrates' and Theodoret's letters are translations as well, and that they all came from the same or similar sources. If they had come from different translations, their differences would be far greater. Whenever there are variants, Athanasius agrees with the majority group.

Socrates

through our Lord Jesus Christ, warden of thy empire, and through

champion of thy salvation.

2.37.56 For it is plainly absurd and unlawful to make any change in the doctrines rightly and justly defined, and in matters examined at Nicaea with the cognizance of the right glorious Constantine, thy Father and Emperor,

2.37.57 whose teaching and thought has gone forth and has been preached in the universal hearing and reflection of men. And it (this faith) is the one rival and destroyer of the Arian heresy.

2.37.58 And not only this heresy, but also all others have been put down by it. To add anything to this faith truly perilous; to subtract anything from it is to run great risk. If it should have either addition or loss, our foes will feel free to act as they please.

2.37.59 Accordingly Ursacius and Valens, after having been declared adherents and friends of the Arian dogma, were pronounced separate from our communion. In the hope of being restored to communion, they confessed their error, and obtained forgiveness, as their own writings testify, through which they were spared and received a pardon from the charges.

2.37.60 The time when these things occurred was when the council was in session at Milan, when the presbyters of the church of Rome were also present.

2.37.61 It was known that Constantine, who, though dead is worthy of remembrance, had with all exactitude and care set forth the creed which was drawn up. But now, since he was born of man, he passed away after receiving Baptism and departed to the peace which he deserved. Thus we judged it improper for us to indulge in any innovation after (his death), and to throw a slur on all the holy confessors and martyrs who had formulated this doctrine—whose minds have ever remained bound by the old bond of the catholic church.

2.37.62 Their faith God has handed down even to the times of your own reign, through our Lord Jesus Christ, by Whose grace such an empire is yours, that you rule over all the world.

Sozomen

through our Lord Jesus Christ, warden of thy empire, and champion of thy salvation.

4.18.3 For it is plainly absurd and unlawful to make any change in the doctrines rightly and justly defined, and in matters examined at Nicaea with the cognizance of the right glorious Constantine, thy Father and Emperor, whose teaching and thought has gone forth and has been preached in the universal hearing and reflection of men. 4.18.4 And it (this faith) is the one rival and destroyer of the Arian heresy. And not only this heresy, but also all others have been put down by it. To add anything to this faith truly perilous; to subtract anything from it is to run great risk. If it should have either addition or loss, our foes will feel free to act as they please.

4.18.5 Accordingly Ursacius and Valens, after having been declared adherents and advisors of the Arian dogma, were pronounced separate from our communion. In the hope of being restored to communion, they confessed their error, and obtained forgiveness, as their own writings testify, through which they were spared and received a pardon from the charges. The time when these things occurred was when the council was in session at Milan, when the presbyters of the church of Rome were also present.

4.18.6 It was known that Constantine, who, though dead is worthy of remembrance, had with all exactitude and care set forth the creed which was drawn up. But now, since he was born of man, he passed away after receiving Baptism and departed to the peace which he deserved. Thus, we judged it improper for us to indulge in any innovation after (his death), and to throw a slur on all the holy confessors and martyrs who were writers and authors of this doctrine—whose minds have ever remained bound by the old bond of the catholic church. Their faith God has handed down even to the times of your own reign, through our Lord Jesus Christ, by Whose grace such an empire is yours, that you rule over all the world.

Theodoret

through our Lord Jesus Christ, warden of thy empire, and champion of thy salvation.

2.19.3 For it is plainly absurd and unlawful to make any change in the doctrines rightly and justly defined, and in matters examined at Nicaea with the cognizance of the right glorious Constantine, thy Father and Emperor, whose teaching and thought has gone forth and been preached in the universal hearing and reflection of men. And it (this faith) is the one rival and destroyer of the Arian heresy. And not only this heresy, but also all others have been put down by it. To add anything to this faith truly perilous; to subtract anything from it is to run great risk. If it should have either addition or loss, our foes will feel free to act as they please.

2.19.4 Accordingly Ursacius and Valens, after having been declared adherents and friends of the Arian dogma, were pronounced separate from our communion. In the hope of being restored to communion, they confessed their error, and obtained forgiveness,

2.19.5 as their own writings testify, through which they were spared and received a pardon from the charges. The time when these things occurred was when the council was in session at Milan, when the presbyters of the church of Rome were also present. It was known that Constantine, who, though dead is worthy of remembrance, had with all exactitude and care set forth the creed which was drawn up. But now, since he was born of man, he passed away after receiving Baptism and departed to the peace which he deserved. Thus, we judged it improper for us to indulge in any innovation after (his death), and to throw a slur on all the holy confessors and martyrs who had formulated this doctrine—whose minds have ever remained bound by the old bond of the Church.

2.19.6 Their faith God has handed down even to the times of your own reign, through our Lord Jesus Christ, by Whose grace such an empire is yours, that you rule over all the world. Yet again those pitiable and wretched men, with lawless daring, have proclaimed themselves

Socrates

2.37.63 Yet again those pitiable and wretched men, with lawless daring, have proclaimed themselves

preachers of their unholy opinion, and are taking it in hand to overthrow all the order of the truth.

2.37.64 For when at your command the synod assembled, they laid bare their own deceitful desires. For they attempted through villainy and confusion to propose innovations, having in this as allies Germinius, Auxentius, and Caius, who continually promote strife and discord. Their doctrine, though but one, transcends a very host of blasphemies.

2.37.65 But when they perceived that we had not the same disposition or mind as they in regard to their false views they changed their minds during our council and said another expression of belief should be put forth. The time was indeed brief, but it was sufficient to refute their opinions.

2.37.66 Therefore, in order that the affairs of the Church might not be wrecked by them and that the disturbance and tumult which tossed everything to and fro might be restrained, it appeared safe to preserve the old views firm and unalterable, and to separate from our communion the persons above named.

2.37.67 For this reason, we have sent reinstructed envoys to your clemency to signify and explain the mind of the synod as expressed in this letter. And to our envoys we have given this commission above all, that they should accredit the truth taking their motive from the ancient and right decisions.

2.37.68 They will inform your holiness that there will be no peace if some of the just points be overturned, as Ursacius and Valens say there will be.

2.37.69 For how can peace be reproduced by those who destroy peace? They would be more likely to introduce contention and disturbance into the other cities and into the Church of Rome.

2.37.70 We therefore implore your Clemency to consider our envoys with gentle audience and mild look, and not to allow the dead to be dishonored by any novel changes. We pray you to permit us to remain in the

Sozomen

4.18.7 Yet again those pitiable and wretched men, with lawless daring, have proclaimed themselves preachers of their unholy opinion, and are taking it in hand to overthrow all the order of the truth.

4.18.8 For when at your command the synod assembled, they laid bare their own deceitful desires. For they attempted through villainy and confusion to propose innovations, having in this as allies Germinius, Auxentius, and Caius, who continually promote strife and discord.

4.18.9 Their doctrine, though but one, transcends a very host of blasphemies. But when they perceived that we had not the same disposition or mind as they in regard to their false views they changed their minds during our council and said another expression of belief should be put forth. The time was indeed brief, but it was sufficient to refute their opinions.

4.18.10 Therefore, in order that the affairs of the Church might not be wrecked by them and that the disturbance and tumult which tossed everything to and fro might be restrained, it appeared safe to preserve the old and unalterable views, and to separate from our communion the persons above named. For this reason, we have sent reinstructed envoys to your clemency to signify and explain the mind of the synod as expressed in this letter.

4.18.11 And to our envoys we have given this commission above all, that they should accredit the truth taking their motive from the ancient and right decisions. They will inform your holiness that there will be no peace if some of the just points be overturned, as Ursacius and Valens say there will be. For how can peace be reproduced by those who destroy peace? They would be more likely to introduce contention and disturbance into the other cities and into the Church of Rome.
4.18.12 We therefore implore your Clemency to consider our envoys with gentle audience and mild look,

4.18.12 We therefore implore your Clemency to consider our envoys with gentle audience and mild look, and not to allow the dead to be dishonored by any novel changes. We pray you to permit us to remain in the definitions and decrees which we received from our

Theodoret

preachers of their unholy opinion, and are taking it in hand to overthrow all the order of the truth.

2.19.7 For when at your command the synod assembled, they laid bare their own deceitful desires. For they attempted through villainy and confusion to propose innovations, having in this as allies Germinius, Auxentius, and Caius, who continually promote heresy and discord.

2.19.8 Their doctrine, though but one, transcends a very host of blasphemies. But when they perceived that we had not the same disposition or mind as they in regard to their false views they changed their minds during our council and said another expression of belief should be put forth.

2.19.9 The time was indeed brief, but it was sufficient to refute their opinions. Therefore, in order that the affairs of the Church might not be wrecked by them and that the disturbance and tumult which tossed everything to and fro might be restrained, it appeared safe to preserve the old views as legal and unalterable, and to separate from our communion the persons above named.

2.19.10 For this reason, we have sent reinstructed envoys to your clemency to signify and explain the mind of the synod as expressed in this letter. And to our envoys we have given this commission above all, that they should accredit the truth taking their motive from the ancient and right decisions. They will inform your holiness that there will be no peace if some of the just points be overturned, as Ursacius and Valens say there will be.

2.19.11 For how can peace be reproduced by those who destroy peace? They would be more likely to introduce contention and disturbance into the other cities and into the Church of Rome. We therefore implore your Clemency to consider our envoys with gentle audience and mild look, and not to allow the dead to be dishonored by any novel changes. We pray you to permit us to remain in the definitions and decrees which we received from our ancestors, who, we would affirm, did their work with ready minds, with prudence, and with the Holy Spirit.

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
definitions and decrees which we received from our ancestors, who, we would affirm, did their work with ready minds, with prudence, and with the Holy Spirit. 2.37.71 For the innovations they introduce at present, make the believing unfaithful and the unbelieving cruel. 2.37.72 We further implore you to instruct that the bishops who dwell in foreign parts, who are afflicted both by the infirmity of old age and the ills of poverty should be assisted to return easily and speedily to their own homes, so that the churches may not remain deprived of their bishops.	ancestors, who, we would affirm, did their work with ready minds, with prudence, and with the Holy Spirit. For the innovations they introduce at present, make the believing unfaithful and the unbelieving cruel. 4.18.13 We further implore you to instruct that the bishops who dwell in foreign parts, who are afflicted both by the infirmity of old age and the ills of poverty should be assisted to return easily and speedily to their own homes, so that the churches may not remain deprived of their bishops.	2.19.12 For the innovations they introduce at present, make the believing unfaithful and the unbelieving cruel. We further implore you to instruct that the bishops who dwell in foreign parts, who are afflicted both by the infirmity of old age and the ills of poverty should be assisted to return easily and speedily to their own homes, so that the churches may not remain deprived of their bishops.
2.37.73 And yet again this one thing we beg, that nothing be taken from or added to the established doctrines, but that all remain unbroken, as they have been preserved from the time of your pious father, and to our own day. Let us toil no longer nor be kept away from our own dioceses, but let the bishops with their own people spend their days in peace, in prayer, and in worship, offering up prayers for your empire, salvation, and peace, which God will grant thee for ever and ever. 2.37.74 Our envoys will show you the signatures and the names of the bishops, and some of them will offer instruction to your Holiness out of the Sacred Scriptures.	4.18.14 And yet again this one thing we beg, that nothing be taken from or added to the established doctrines, but that all remain unbroken, as they have been preserved from the time of your pious father, and to our own day. Let us toil no longer nor be kept away from our own dioceses, but let the bishops with their own people spend their days in peace, in prayer, and in worship, offering up prayers for your empire, salvation, and peace, which God will grant thee for ever and ever. 4.18.15 Our envoys will show you the signatures and the names of the bishops, and some of them will offer instruction to your Holiness out of the Sacred Scriptures.	2.19.13 And yet again this one thing we beg, that nothing be taken from or added to the established doctrines, but that all remain unbroken, as they have been preserved from the time of your pious father, and to our own day. Let us toil no longer nor be kept away from our own dioceses, but let the bishops with their own people spend their days in peace, in prayer, and in worship, offering up prayers for your empire, salvation, and peace, which God will grant thee for ever and ever. Our envoys will show you the signatures and the names of the bishops, and some of them will offer instruction to your Holiness out of the Sacred Scriptures.
Ursacius a	nd Valens bias Constantius against decisions of	Ariminum
2.37.75 Then, the Synod thus wrote and sent their communications to the emperor by the bishops [selected for that purpose]. But the partisans of Ursacius and Valens having arrived before them, did their utmost to slander the council, also exhibiting the exposition of the faith which they had brought with them. 2.37.76 The emperor, prejudiced beforehand towards Arianism, became extremely exasperated against the Synod, but conferred great honor on Valens and Ursacius and their friends. 2.37.77 Those who were sent by the council were consequently detained a considerable time, without being able to obtain an answer (from the emperor.) At length, however, the emperor replied through those who had come to him, in the manner following:	 4.19.1a This was the letter of the council of Ariminum. But Ursacius and Valens with their companions, anticipated the arrival of the deputies of the council, showed to the emperor the document which they had read, and spoke badly of the council. 4.19.1b The emperor was displeased at the rejection of this formulary, as it had been composed in his presence at Sirmium, and he therefore treated Ursacius and Valens with honor. On the other hand, he showed great contempt for the envoys (of the bishops), and even delayed granting them an audience. 	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
Constantius instructs the bishops to remain at Ariminum/Adrianople		
2.37.78 Constantius Victor and Triumphator Augustus to all the bishops convened at Ariminum. 'That our especial care is ever exercised respecting the divine and venerated law even your sanctity is not ignorant. 2.37.79 Nevertheless were now been unable to meet the twenty bishops sent as your envoys, for an expedition against the barbarians has become necessary. And since, as you will admit, matters relative to the divine law ought to be entered on with a mind free from all anxiety. 2.37.80 I have therefore ordered these bishops to await our return to Adrianople; that when all public business shall have been duly attended to, we may be able then to hear and consider what they will propose. 2.37.81 In the meanwhile let it not seem troublesome to your gravity to wait for their return; since when they shall convey to you our resolution, you will be prepared to carry into effect such measures as may be most advantageous to the welfare of the catholic church.'	4.19.2 After a while, however, he wrote to the Synod and informed them that an expedition which he was compelled to undertake against the barbarians had prevented him from speaking with their envoys. Therefore, he had commanded them to remain at Adrianople until his return, in order that, when public business had been taken care of, his mind might be at liberty to hear and test the messages of the envoys. "For it is right," he said, "to bring to the investigation of Divine matters, a mind unhindered by other cares."	2.19.14 The letter was written, and the envoys sent, but the high officers of the Imperial Court, though they took the dispatch and delivered it to their master, refused to introduce the envoys, on the grounds that the sovereign was occupied with state affairs. They took this course in the hope that the bishops, annoyed at delay, and eager to return to the cities entrusted to their care, would at length be compelled themselves to break up and tear down the defenses erected against heresy.
The second letter the Council of Ariminum wrote to Constantius, asking for permission to depart ⁵		
	4.19.3b. The bishops replied that they could never depart from the decision they had formed, as they had before declared in writing, and had charged their envoys to	2.19.15 But their ingenuity was frustrated, for the noble champions of the Faith dispatched a second letter to the

⁵ Note that Socrates and Theodoret both claim to have the words of the bishops, written to Emperor Constantius. The two variants are, however, considerably different. One likely explanation, is that just as the first letter was written in Latin and translated into Greek, so was the second letter. Socrates' and Theodoret's letters are considerably different however, and likely came from different translations.

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
2.37.82 The bishops, after receiving this letter, thus wrote in reply: 2.37.83 We have received your clemency's letter, sovereign lord, most beloved of God, in which you inform us that the urgency of state affairs, have until now prevented your admitting our delegates to your presence. And, you bid us await their return, until your piety will have learned from them what has been determined by us, in conformity with the tradition of our ancestors. 2.37.84 But we again protest by this letter that we can by no means depart from our primary resolution; and this also we have commissioned our envoys to state. 2.37.85 We implore you therefore, both with serene countenance to order this present epistle of our modesty to be read, and also to listen favorably to the representations with which our delegates have been charged.	Sozomen declare. And they asked him to regard them with favor, to give audience to their envoys, and to read their letter. They told him that it must appear grievous to him that so many churches should be deprived of their bishops, and that, if it was agreeable to him, they would return to their churches before the winter.	Theodoret emperor, encouraging him to admit the envoys to his hearing and dissolve the synod. This letter I here attach: 2.20.1 "To Constantius the Victorious, the pious emperor, the bishops assembled at Ariminum send greeting. "Most illustrious lord and autocrat, we have received the letter of your clemency, informing us that, in consequence of occupations of state, you have until now been unable to see our envoys. You bid us await their return, that your piety may come to a decision on the object we have in view, and on the decrees of our predecessors. 2.20.2 But we venture in this letter to repeat to your clemency the point which we urged before, for we have in no way withdrawn from our position. We beg you to receive with good favor our humble letter with which we are answering your piety, and also, the points which we have ordered our envoys to present to your piety.
		* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

⁶ Socrates does not include this opening greeting.

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	The Council dissolves	
2.37.88 The bishops had waited together some time after this letter had been dispatched. Since the emperor deigned no reply, they departed to their respective cities.	4.19.4 After writing this letter which was full of pleas and requests, the bishops waited for a time for a reply. But as no answer was granted them, they afterwards returned to their own cities. What I have above stated clearly proves that the bishops who were convened at Ariminum confirmed the decrees which had long ago been set forth at Nicaea. Let us now consider how it was that they eventually assented to the formulary of faith compiled by Valens and Ursacius and their followers.	
	Athanasius's report on the council of Ariminur	n
		2.23.1 The great Athanasius also, in his letter to the Africans, writes thus about the council at Ariminum. "Under these circumstances, who will tolerate any mention of the council of Ariminum or any other beside the Nicene? Who would not express detestation of the setting aside of the words of the Fathers, and the preference for those introduced at Ariminum by violence and party strife? Who would wish to be associated with these men—fellows who do not even accept their own words? In ten or twelve of their own synods they have laid down, as has already been told, first one thing then another. And at the present time, these synods, one after another, are openly denouncing themselves. 2.23.2 They are now suffering the fate undergone of old by the traitors of the Jews. For as is written in the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah "they have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters and they have hewed out cisterns, broken cisterns that can hold no water," so these men, in their opposition to the Ecumenical synod, have hewed for themselves many synods which have all proved vain. They are like "buds that yield no fruit." 2.23.3 Let us not therefore admit those who cite the council of Ariminum or any other but that of Nicaea, for indeed the very citers of Ariminum do not seem to know what was done there; if they had they would have held their tongues. 2.23.4 For you, beloved, have learnt from your own representatives at that Council, and are consequently very well aware, that Ursacius, Valens, Eudoxius, and

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		Auxentius, and with them Demophilus were asked to
		anathematize the Arian heresy, and they made excuses.
		They chose rather to be its champions, and so, they were
		all deposed for making propositions contrary to the Nicene
		decrees.
		2.23.5 On the contrary, the bishops who were the true
		servants of the Lord and of the right faith, —about two
		hundred in number, —declared their adherence to the
		Nicene Council alone, and their refusal to entertain the
		thought of either subtraction from, or addition to, its
		decrees. This conclusion they have communicated to
		Constantius, by whose order the council assembled.
		2.23.6 On the other hand the bishops who were deposed at Ariminum have been received by Constantius, and have
		succeeded in getting the two hundred who sentenced them
		grossly insulted. And they are threatened with not being
		allowed to return to their dioceses, and with having to
		undergo rigorous treatment in Thrace, not to mention in
		the winter, in order to force them to accept the innovators'
		measures.
		2.23.7 If, then, we hear anyone appealing to Ariminum,
		let them show us first the sentence of deposition, and then
		the document drawn up by the bishops, in which they
		declare that they do not seek to go beyond the terms drawn
		up by the Nicene Fathers, nor appeal to any council other
		than that of Nicaea. In reality, these are just the facts they
		conceal, while they put prominently forward the forced
		confession of Thrace.
		2.23.8 They do but show themselves friends of the Arian
		heresy, and strangers to the sound faith. Only let anyone
		be willing to compare that great synod, and those other
		(synods) to which these men appeal, and he will perceive
		on the one side, true religion, on the other, folly and
		disorder.
		2.23.9 The fathers of Nicaea met together not after being
		deposed, but after confessing that the Son was of the
		Substance of the Father. These men were deposed once, a
		second time, and again a third time at Ariminum, and then
		dared to lay down that it is wrong to attribute Substance or
		Essence to God. So strange and so many were the tricks

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		and machinations concocted by the mad gang of Arius in
		the West against the dogmas of the Truth.
Constantius gi	ves Ursacius and Valens authority to enforce the	
2.37.89 Now the emperor had long before intended to	4.19.5a Various accounts have been given to me	
spread Arian doctrine throughout the churches, and was	concerning this affair.	
eager to give it superiority. Hence, he pretended that their		
departure was an act of offense, declaring that they had		
treated him with contempt by dissolving the council in		
opposition to his wishes.		
2.37.90 He therefore gave the partisans of Ursacius	4.19.5b Some say that the emperor was offended	
unbounded license to act as they pleased in regard to the	because the bishops had departed from Ariminum	
churches. He directed that the revised form of creed	without his permission, and he allowed Valens and his	
which had been read at Ariminum should be sent to the	partisans to govern the churches of the West according to	
churches throughout Italy, ordering that whoever would	their own will, to set forth their own formulary, to eject	
not subscribe to it should be ejected from their sees, and	from the churches those who refused to sign it, and to	
that others should be substituted in their place.	ordain others in their place.	
L	iberius and other bishops are exiled and replace	ed^7 ,
2.37.91 And first Liberius, bishop of Rome, having	4.19.6 They say that, taking advantage of this power,	
refused his assent to that creed, was sent into exile. The	Valens compelled some of the bishops to sign the	
followers of Ursacius appointed Felix to succeed him.	formulary. He drove from their churches many who	
2.37.92 He had been a deacon in that church, but on	refused to agree, and first of all Liberius, bishop of	
embracing the Arian heresy was elevated to the	Rome.	
episcopate. Some however assert that he was not		
favorable to that opinion, but was constrained by force to		
receive the ordination of bishop.		
	ne entire West was troubled by Ursacius and Va	lens
2.37.93 After this all parts of the West were filled with		
agitation and tumult, some being ejected and banished,		
and others established in their stead. These things were		
accomplished by violence, on the authority of the		
imperial edicts, which were also sent into the eastern		
parts.		
2.37.94 Not long after indeed, Liberius was recalled,		
and reinstated in his see. For the people of Rome had		

⁷ Sozomen and Theodoret had correctly placed Liberius's exile (355-357) earlier in their histories (cf. above 2.5, page 334). Socrates, however, incorrectly places it in 359 as a consequence of his refusal to accept the creed presented at Ariminum.. This seems to influence Sozomen who then adds a line here about Liberius's exile. Cf. T.D. Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire*. Harvard University Press, 2001, p. 203

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
raised a sedition, and expelled Felix from their church,		
the emperor even though against his wish consented.8		
Ursacius and Valen	s deceptively re-publish the "Dated Creed" at th	ne Council of Nicaea ⁹
2.37.95 The partisans of Ursacius, leaving Italy, passed through the eastern parts; and arriving at Nice, a city of Thrace, they dwelt there a short time and held another Synod.	4.19.7a It is further asserted that once Valens and his friends had acted in this manner in Italy, they resolved to handle the Eastern churches in the same way. As these persecutors were passing through Thrace, they stopped, it is said, at Nicaea, a city of that province. There they convened a council, and read the formulary of Ariminum, which they had translated into the Greek language. By	2.21.1a After this letter they irritated the emperor, and got the majority of the bishops against their will, to a certain town of Thrace, of the name of Nica.
2.37.96 And after translating the form of faith which was read at Ariminum into Greek, they confirmed and published it afresh in the form quoted above, giving it the name of the general council. In this way they attempted to deceive the simple by the similarity of names, and to impose upon them as the creed promulgated at Nicaea in Bithynia, that which they had prepared at Nice in Thrace. 2.37.97 But this scheme was of little advantage to them; for it was soon detected and they became the object of derision. 2.37.98 Enough now has been said of the business which took place in the West. We must now proceed to	claiming that it had been approved by a general council, they obtained its adoption at Nicaea. 4.19.8 Then, they cunningly called it the Nicaean formulary of faith in order to deceive the simple by the resemblance of names, and to cause it to be mistaken for the ancient formulary set forth by the Nicaean council.	2.21.1b Some simple men they deluded, and others they terrified, into carrying out their old scheme against true religion, by erasing the words "Substance" and "of one Substance" from the Creed, and inserting instead of them the word "like."
the narrative of what was done in the East at the same time.		2.21.2 I insert their formula in this history, not as if it were any good, but because it convicts the faction of Arius. For it is not even accepted by the impious of the present time. Now, instead of "the like" they preach "the unlike."
	"Dated Creed" of Thracian Nicaea	
		2.21.3 "We believe in one only true God, the Father Almighty, of whom are all things. And in the onlybegotten Son of God, begotten of God before all ages, and before every beginning; through whom all things visible and invisible were made. Who is the only-begotten born of the Father, the only of the only, God of God, like the

⁸ Again, this occurred two years earlier in 357. See previous note.

⁹ http://www.fourthcentury.com/index.php/council-of-nike-thrace-ad-358/

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		Father who begat him, according to the Scriptures, and
		whose generation no one knows but the Father only that
		begat him.
		2.21.4 We know that this only-begotten Son of God, as
		sent of the Father, came down from the heavens, as it is
		written, for the destruction of sin and death. And we know
		that he was born of the Holy Spirit, and of the Virgin
		Mary according to the flesh, as it is written, and conversed
		with his disciples; and that after every dispensation had
		been fulfilled according to his Father's will, he was
		crucified and died, and was buried and descended into the
		lower parts of the earth, at whose presence Hades itself
		trembled.
		2.21.5 Who also arose from the dead on the third day,
		again conversed with his disciples, and after the
		completion of forty days was taken up into the heavens,
		and sits at the right hand of the Father, from where he will
		come in the last day, the day of the resurrection, in his
		Father's glory, to repay every one according to his works.
		2.21.6 We believe also in the Holy Spirit, whom he
		himself the only-begotten of God, Jesus Christ our Lord
		and God, promised to send to mankind as the Comforter,
		according to how it is written, "the Spirit of truth"; whom
		he sent to them after he was received into the heavens and
		sat at the right hand of the Father, from there to come to
		judge both the living and dead.
		2.21.7a But since the term <i>ousia</i> [substance or essence],
		which was used by the fathers in a very simple and
		intelligible sense, but not being understood by the people,
		has been a cause of offense, we have thought it proper to
		reject it, as it is not contained even in the sacred writings;
		and that no mention of it should be made in future, being
		that the holy Scriptures have nowhere mentioned the
		substance of the Father and of the Son. Nor should the
		"essence" of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy
		Spirit even be named. But we affirm that the Son is like
		the Father, in such a manner as the sacred Scriptures declare and teach. Let therefore all heresies which have
		been already condemned, or may have arisen of late, which
		are opposed to this exposition of the faith, be anathema."
		are opposed to this exposition of the faith, be allathema.

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		2.21.7b This Creed was signed by the bishops, some
		being frightened and some persuaded, but those who
		refused to give in were banished to the most remote
		regions of the world.
Damasus	s letter to the Illyrians, in response to the "Nica	
		2.22.1 The condemnation of this formula by all the champions of the truth, and especially those of the West, is
		shown by the letter which they wrote to the Illyrians. First
		among those who signed it was Damasus, who obtained
		leadership of the church of Rome after Liberius, and was
		adorned with many virtues.
		2.22.2a With him signed ninety bishops of Italy and
		Galatia, now called Gaul, who met together at Rome. I
		would have inserted their names except I thought it was
		superfluous.
		The bishops assembled at Rome in sacred synod, Damasus
		and Valerianus and the rest, to their beloved brethren the
		bishops of Illyria, send greeting in God.
		2.22.3 "We believe that we, priests of God, by whom it
		is right for the rest to be instructed, are holding fast and
		teaching our people the Holy Creed which was founded on
		the teaching of the Apostles, and in no way, departs from
		the definitions of the Fathers.
		2.22.4 But through a report of the brethren in Gaul and
		Venetia we have learned that certain men have fallen into
		heresy. It is the duty of the bishops not only to take precautions
		against this mischief, but also to make a stand against
		whatever divergent teaching has arisen, either from
		incomplete instruction, or the simplemindedness of those
		who read unreliable commentators. They should be
		cautioned not to slide into slippery paths, but rather,
		whenever divergent advice is offered to their ears, to hold
		fast to the doctrine of our fathers.
		2.22.5 It has, therefore, been decided that Auxentius of
		Milan is in this matter especially condemned. So, it is right that all the teachers of the law in the Roman Empire
		should be well instructed in the law, and not corrupt the
		faith with divergent doctrines.
		Tarur with divergent documes.

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		2.22.6 When first the wickedness of the heretics began
		to flourish, and when, as now, the blasphemy of the Arians
		was crawling to the front, our fathers, three hundred and
		eighteen bishops, the holiest prelates in the Roman
		Empire, deliberated at Nicaea. This was the wall which
		they set up against the weapons of the devil, and the
		antidote with which they repelled his deadly poisons:
		2.22.7 It was their confession that the Father and the Son
		are of one substance, one godhead, one virtue, one power,
		one likeness, and that the Holy Ghost is of the same
		essence and substance. Whoever did not thus think was
		judged separate from our communion. Their deliberation
		was worthy of all respect, and their definition sound. But
		certain men have intended by other later discussions to
		twist and corrupt it.
		2.22.8 Yet from the very start, error was so far set right by the bishops on whom the attempt was made at
		Ariminum to compel them to manipulate or innovate on
		the faith, that they confessed themselves seduced by
		opposite arguments, or claimed that they had not
		perceived any contradiction to the opinion of the Fathers
		at Nicaea.
		2.22.9 No prejudice could arise from the number of
		bishops gathered at Ariminum. For it is well known that
		neither the bishop of the Romans, whose opinion, above
		all, should have been waited for, nor Vincentius, whose
		stainless episcopate had lasted so many years, nor the rest,
		gave their approval to such doctrines. And this is most
		significant, since, as has been already said, the very men
		who seemed to be tricked into surrender, themselves, in
		their wiser moments, testified their disapproval.
		2.22.10 Your sincerity then perceives that this one faith,
		which was founder at Nicaea on the authority of the
		Apostles, ought to be kept secure forever. You perceive
		that with us, the bishops of the East, who confess
		themselves Catholic, and the western bishops, together
		glory in it.
		2.22.11 We believe that before long those who think
		otherwise ought without delay to be put out from our

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
Bootines	Sozomen	communion, and deprived of the name of bishop, that their
		flocks may be freed from error and breathe freely.
		2.22.12 For they cannot be expected to correct the errors
		of their people when they themselves are the victims of
		error. May the opinion of your reverence be in harmony
		with that of all the priests of God. We believe you to be
		fixed and firm in it, and thus, we rightly believe with you.
		May your charity make us glad by your reply.
		Beloved brethren, farewell.
	Arians flex their power	
2.38.1 The bishops of the Arian party began to assume		
greater assurance from the imperial edicts. In what		
manner they undertook to convene a Synod, we will		
explain somewhat later. Let us now briefly mention a few		
of their previous acts.		
2.38.2 Acacius and Patrophilus having ejected		
Maximus, bishop of Jerusalem, installed Cyril in his		
see. 10		
2.38.3 Macedonius corrupted the order of things in the cities and provinces adjacent to Constantinople,		
promoting to ecclesiastical office his assistants in his		
intrigues against the churches.		
2.38.4 He ordained Eleusius bishop of Cyzicus, and		
Marathonius, bishop of Nicomedia. The latter had before		
been a deacon under Macedonius himself, and proved		
very active in founding monasteries both of men and		
women.		
	the bishops at Ariminum signed the Arian cree	d before departing
	4.19.9 Such is the account given by some parties.	* · · · · · · ·
	Others say that the bishops who were convened at the	
	council of Ariminum were wearied by their prolonged	
	stay in that city, as the emperor neither honored them	
	with a reply to their letter, nor granted them permission	
	to return to their own churches. Under these	
	circumstances, those who had accepted the opposite	
	heresy tried to convince them that it was not right for	

¹⁰ This probably happened already in 348/349. Cf. T.D. Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire*. Harvard University Press, 2001, p. 204.

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	divisions to exist between the priests of the whole world,	
	all for the sake of one word, and that it was only	
	necessary to admit that the Son is like the Father in order	
	to put an end to all disputes. For the bishops of the East	
	would never rest until the term "substance" was rejected.	
	By these arguments, it is said, the members of the council	
	were at length persuaded to agree to the formulary which	
	Ursacius had so persistently pressed upon them.	
	4.19.10 Ursacius and his partisans, because they were	
	apprehensive that the envoys sent by the council to the	
	emperor would make clear what was first proven by the	
	Western bishops and would expose the true cause of the	
	rejection of the term "consubstantial," detained these	
	envoys at Nicaea in Thrace throughout the winter. They	
	did so under the pretext that no public transportation	
	could be obtained at the time, and that the roads were in a	
	bad state for traveling.	
	4.19.11 And then they caused them, it is said, to	
	translate the formulary they had accepted from Latin into	
	Greek, and to send it to the Eastern bishops. By this	
	means, they anticipated that the formulary would produce	
	the impression they intended without the fraud being	
	detected; for there was no one to testify that the members	
	of the council of Ariminum had not voluntarily rejected	
	the term "substance" out of deference to the Eastern	
	bishops, who were opposed to the use of that word.	
	persecutes the orthodox and Novatians in and a	round Constantinople
2.38.5 But we must now mention in what way	4.20.1b Macedonius harassed Constantinople and the	
Macedonius desolated the churches in the cities and	neighboring cities; he was aided by Eleusius and	
provinces around Constantinople. This man, as I have	Marathonius.	
already said, having seized the bishopric, inflicted	4.20.2 The latter was originally a deacon in his own	
innumerable calamities on whoever was unwilling to	church, and was a zealous superintendent of both the	
adopt his views. His persecutions were not confined to	poor and the monastic dwellings inhabited by men and	
those who were recognized as members of the catholic	women, and Macedonius raised him to the bishopric of	
church, but extended to the Novatians also, because he	Nicomedia. Eleusius, who, not without distinction, had	
knew that they maintained the doctrine of the	formerly marched with the royal army, had been ordained	
homoousion.	bishop of Cyzicus. It is said that Eleusius and	
	Marathonius were both good men in their conduct, but	
	that they were zealous in persecuting those who	
	maintained that the Son is of the same substance as the	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	Father, although they were not so distinctly cruel as	
	Macedonius.	
2.38.6 They therefore with the others underwent the	4.20.3 He not only expelled those who refused to hold	
most intolerable sufferings, but their bishop, Angelius by	communion with him, but imprisoned some, and dragged	
name, effected his escape by flight. Many persons known	others before the tribunals. In many cases, he compelled	
for their piety were seized and tortured, because they	the unwilling to communion. He seized children and	
refused to communicate with him.	women who had not been initiated and initiated them,	
2.38.7 And after the torture, they forcibly constrained	and destroyed many churches in different places, under	
the men to be partakers of the holy mysteries, their	the pretext that the emperor had commanded the	
mouths being forced open with a piece of wood, and then	demolition of all houses of prayer in which the Son was	
the consecrated elements thrust into them. Those who	recognized to be of the same substance as the Father.	
were so treated regarded this as a punishment far more		
grievous than all others.		
2.38.8 Moreover they laid hold of women and children,		
and compelled them to be initiated [by baptism]; and if		
any one resisted or otherwise spoke against it, stripes		
immediately followed, and after the stripes, bonds and		
imprisonment, and other violent measures. I shall here		
relate an instance or two whereby the reader may form		
some idea of the extent of the harshness and cruelty		
exercised by Macedonius and those who were then in		
power.		
2.38.9 They first pressed in a box, and then sawed off		
the breasts of the women who were unwilling to		
communicate with them.		
2.38.10 The same parts of other women they burnt		
partly with iron, and partly with eggs intensely heated in		
the fire. This mode of torture which was unknown even		
among the heathen, was invented by those who professed		
to be Christians.		
2.38.11 These facts were related to me by the aged		
Auxanon, the presbyter in the Novatian church of whom I		
spoke in the first book.		
2.38.12 He said also that he had himself endured not a		
few severities from the Arians, prior to his reaching the		
dignity of presbyter. He had been thrown into prison and		
beaten with many stripes, together with Alexander the		
Paphlagonian, his companion in the monastic life.		
2.38.13 He added that he had himself been able to		
sustain these tortures, but that Alexander died in prison		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
from the effects of their infliction. He is now buried on		
the right of those sailing into the bay of Constantinople		
which is called Ceras, close by the rivers, where there is a		
church of the Novatians named after Alexander.		
I	Non-Arian churches destroyed in Constantinopl	le
2.38.14 Moreover the Arians, at the instigation of		
Macedonius, demolished along with many other churches		
in various cities, that of the Novatians at Constantinople		
near Pelargus.		
2.38.15 Why I particularly mention this church, will be		
seen from the extraordinary circumstances connected		
with it, as testified by the same aged Auxanon.		
2.38.16 The emperor's edict and the violence of		<u>'</u>
Macedonius had doomed to destruction the churches of		
those who maintained the doctrine of consubstantiality.		
The decree and violence reached this church in particular,		
and those also who were charged with the execution of		
the mandate were at hand to carry it into effect.		
The Nova	tians move an entire church by hand to avoid d	estruction
2.38.17 I cannot but admire the zeal displayed by the	4.20.4 Under this pretext the church of the Novatians at	
Novatians on this occasion, as well as the sympathy they	Constantinople, situated in that part of the city called	
experienced from those whom the Arians at that time	Pelargus, was destroyed. It is related that these heretics	
ejected, but who are now in peaceful possession of their	performed a courageous action with the aid of the	
churches.	members of the Catholic Church, with whom they made	
	common cause.	
2.38.18 For when the emissaries of their enemies were	4.20.5 When those who were employed to destroy this	
urgent to accomplish its destruction, an immense	church were about to commence the work of demolition,	
multitude of Novatians, aided by numbers of others who	the Novatians assembled themselves together; some tore	
held similar sentiments, having assembled around this	down the materials, and others conveyed them to a	
devoted church, pulled it down, and conveyed the	suburb of the city called Sycae. They quickly achieved	
materials of it to another place.	this task; for men, women, and children participated in it,	
2.38.19 This place stands opposite the city, and is called	and as they offered their labor to God they were	
Sycae, and forms the thirteenth ward of the town of	extraordinarily enlivened. By the exercise of this zeal the	
Constantinople.	church was soon renewed, and, from this occurrence,	
2.38.20 This removal was effected in a very short time,	received the name of Anastasia.	
from the extraordinary ardor of the numerous persons		
engaged in it.		
2.38.21 One carried tiles, another stones, a third timber;		
some loading themselves with one thing, and some with		
another.		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
2.38.22 Even women and children assisted in the work,	Dodomen	The odd tel
regarding it as the realization of their best wishes, and		
esteeming it the greatest honor to be accounted the		
faithful guardians of things consecrated to God.		
2.38.23 In this way at that time, the church of the		
Novatians was transported to Sycae. Long afterwards		
when Constantius was dead, the emperor Julian ordered		
its former site to be restored, and permitted them to		
rebuild it there.		
2.38.24 The people therefore, as they had before,		
carried back the materials and reared the church in its		
former position. And from this circumstance, and its great		
improvement in structure and ornament, they not		
inappropriately called it Anastasia.		
2.38.25 The church as we before said was restored		
afterwards in the reign of Julian.	4.20.6 After the death of Constantius, Julian, his	
	successor, granted to the Novatians the ground which	
	they had previously possessed, and permitted them to	
	rebuild their church. The people spiritedly took	
	advantage of this permission, and transported the	
	identical materials of the former building from Sycae.	
	But this happened at a later period of time than that	
	which we are now reviewing.	
	ion brings friendly relations with Novatians and	orthodox
2.38.26 But at that time both the Catholics and the	4.20.7 At this period a union was nearly achieved	
Novatians were alike subjected to persecution. For the	between the Novatian and Catholic churches; for as they	
former detested offering their devotions in those churches	held the same opinions concerning the Godhead, and	
in which the Arians assembled; instead they frequented	were subjected to a common persecution, the members of	
the other three —for this is the number of the churches	both churches assembled and prayed together. The	
which the Novatians have in the city—and engaged in	Catholics then possessed no houses of prayer, for the	
divine service with them. Indeed, they would have been	Arians had seized them from them. It appears, too, that	
wholly united, had not the Novatians refused on account	from the frequent encounters between the members of	
of their ancient precepts. In other respects, however, they	each church, they reasoned that the differences between	
mutually maintained such a degree of cordiality and	them were vain, and they resolved to commune with one	
affection, as to be ready to lay down their lives for one	another.	
another.		
	4.20.8 A reconciliation would certainly have been	
	achieved, I think, had not the desire of the multitude been	
	frustrated by the slander of a few individuals, who	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	asserted that there was an ancient law prohibiting the	
	union of the churches.	
Arians p	ersecute around Constantinople, Cyzicus, and o	elsewhere
2.38.27 Both parties were therefore persecuted	• / • /	
indiscriminately, not only at Constantinople, but also in		
other provinces and cities.		
2.38.28 At Cyzicus, Eleusius, the bishop of that place,	4.21.1a About the same time Eleusius completely	
perpetrated the same kind of atrocities against the	demolished the church of the Novatians in Cyzicus.	
Christians there as Macedonius had done elsewhere,		
harassing and putting them to flight in all directions.		
Among other things, he completely demolished the		
church of the Novatians at Cyzicus.		
	edonius has soldiers attack Novatians in Paphla	gonia
2.38.29 But Macedonius consummated his wickedness	4.21.1b The inhabitants of other parts of Paphlagonia,	
in the following manner. He heard that there was a great	and particularly of Mantinium, were subjected to similar	
number of the Novatian sect in the province of	persecutions. Once Macedonius learned that the majority	
Paphlagonia, and especially at Mantinium, and he	of these people were followers of Novatus, and that the	
perceived that such a numerous body could not be driven	ecclesiastical power was not of itself sufficiently strong	
from their homes by ecclesiastics alone. Consequently, he	to expel them, he persuaded the emperor to send four	
caused by the emperor's permission, four companies of	divisions of soldiers against them. For he imagined that men who are unaccustomed to arms would, on the first	
soldiers to be sent into Paphlagonia, that through dread of the military they might receive the Arian opinion.	appearance of soldiers, be seized with terror, and	
the minuary they might receive the Arran opinion.	conform to his doctrine.	
2.38.30 But those who inhabited Mantinium, animated	4.21.2 But it happened otherwise, for the people of	
to desperation by zeal for their religion, armed themselves	Mantinium armed themselves with sickles and axes and	
with long reap-hooks, hatchets, and whatever weapon	whatever other weapons happened to be at hand, and	
came to hand, and went forth to meet the troops.	marched against the military. A severe conflict ensued,	
2.38.31 As the conflict ensued, many indeed of the	and many of the Paphlagonians fell, but nearly all the	
Paphlagonians were slain, but nearly all the soldiers were	soldiers were slain. Many of the friends of Macedonius	
destroyed.	blamed him for having caused so great a disaster.	
2.38.32 I learned these things from a Paphlagonian		
peasant who said that he was present at the engagement;		
and many others of that province corroborate this		
account.		
2.38.33 Such were the exploits of Macedonius on behalf		
of Christianity, consisting of murders, battles,		
incarcerations, and civil wars, proceedings which		
rendered him hateful not only to the objects of his		
persecution, but even to his own party.		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	4.21.3 And the emperor was displeased, and regarded	
	him with less favor than before.	
Macedo	nius moves Constantine's remains, causing a bl	oody riot
2.38.34 He became obnoxious also to the emperor on	4.21.3b Hostile feelings were engendered still more	V
these accounts, and particularly so from the circumstance	strongly by another occurrence. Macedonius	
I am about to relate.	contemplated the removal of the coffin of the Emperor	
2.38.35 The church where the coffin lay that contained	Constantine, as the structure in which it had been	
the relics of the emperor Constantine threatened to fall.	concealed was falling into ruin.	
2.38.36 On this account those that entered, as well as	-	
those who were accustomed to remain there for		
devotional purposes, were in much fear. Macedonius,		
therefore, wished to remove the emperor's remains, lest		
the coffin should be injured by the ruins.		
2.38.37 The populace getting intelligence of this,	4.21.4a The people were divided in opinion on this	
endeavored to prevent it, insisting 'that the emperor's	subject: some concurred with the plan, and others	
bones should not be disturbed, as such a disinterment	opposed it, deeming it impious and similar to digging up	
would be equivalent, to their being dug up.'	a grave. Those who maintained the Nicene doctrines	
2.38.38 Many however affirmed that its removal could	were of the latter sentiment, and insisted that no indignity	
not possibly injure the dead body. And thus two parties were formed on this question.	should be offered to the body of Constantine, as that emperor had held the same doctrines as themselves. They	
2.38.39 Such as held the doctrine of consubstantiality	were besides, I can readily imagine, eager to oppose the	
joined with those who opposed it on the ground of its	projects of Macedonius.	
impiety.	projects of Maccdonius.	
2.38.40 Macedonius, in total disregard of these	4.21.4b However, without further delay, Macedonius	
opinions, caused the emperor's remains to be transported	caused the coffin to be conveyed to the same church in	
to the church where those of the martyr Acacius lay.	which the tomb of Acacius the martyr is placed.	
2.38.41 Because of this, a vast multitude rushed toward	4.21.5 The people, divided into two factions, the one	
that building in two hostile divisions.	approving, the other condemning the deed, rushed upon	
2.38.42 They attacked one another with great fury, and	each other in the same church, and so much carnage	
great loss of life was occasioned, so that the churchyard	ensued that the house of prayer and the adjoining place	
was covered with gore, and the well also which was in it	were filled with blood and slaughtered bodies.	
overflowed with blood, which ran into the adjacent		
portico, and from there even into the very street.	4.21.6a The emperor, who was then in the West, was	
2.38.43 When the emperor was informed of this	deeply enraged on hearing of this occurrence; and he	
unfortunate occurrence, he was highly incensed against	blamed Macedonius as the cause of the indignity offered	
Macedonius, both on account of the slaughter which he	to his father, and of the slaughter of the people.	
had caused, and because he had dared to move his		
father's body without consulting him. Having therefore		
left the Caesar Julian to take care of the western parts, he		
himself set out for the east.		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
2.38.44 How Macedonius was a short time afterwards		
deposed, and thus suffered a most inadequate punishment		
for his infamous crimes, I shall hereafter relate.		