

Harmony 2.4 – Constans’ interference, his death, and the aftermath (345-351)

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Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
Early 345 - Constans pressures Constantius to honor the proceedings at Sardica		
<p>2.22.3b Soon after these transactions, the emperor of the Western parts informed his brother Constantius of what had taken place at Sardica, and begged him to restore Paul and Athanasius to their sees.</p> <p>2.22.4 But as Constantius delayed to carry this matter into effect, the emperor of the West again wrote to him, giving him the choice either of re-establishing Paul and Athanasius in their former dignity, and restoring their churches to them; or, on his failing to do this, of regarding him as his enemy, and immediately expecting war.</p>	<p>3.20.1 When Constans had learned of what had been enacted at Sardica, he wrote to his brother to request him to restore the followers of Athanasius and Paul to their own churches.</p> <p>3.20.1b As Constantius seemed to hesitate, he wrote again, and threatened him with war, unless he would consent to receive the bishops.</p>	<p>2.8.54 Constans was much concerned on hearing of the easy temper of his brother, and was highly angered against those who had contrived this plot and artfully taken advantage of it. He chose two of the bishops who had attended the council of Sardica, and sent them with letters to his brother; he also dispatched Salianus, a military commander who was celebrated for his piety and integrity, on the same embassy.</p> <p>2.8.55 The letters which he forwarded by them, and which were worthy of himself, contained not only entreaties and counsels, but also menaces. In the first place, he charged his brother to attend to all that the bishops might say, and to recognize the crimes of Stephanus and of his accomplices. He also required him to restore Athanasius to his flock, the allegation of the accusers and the injustice and ill-will of his former judges having become evident.</p> <p>2.8.56a He added, that if he would not cooperate with his request and perform this act of justice, he would himself go to Alexandria, restore Athanasius to his flock which earnestly longed for him, and expel all opponents.</p>
26 June, 345 – Gregory dies in Alexandria (349 – replaced with George of Cappadocia)¹		
<p>2.14.1a About the same time the Arians ejected Gregory from the see of Alexandria, on the ground that he was unpopular and at the same time because he had set a church on fire, and did not manifest sufficient zeal in promoting the interests of their party.</p>	<p>3.7.9a Meanwhile the zealots of the Arian tenets deposed Gregory, because he was indifferent in the support of their doctrines, and had moreover incurred the ill-will of the Alexandrians on account of the calamities which had befallen the city at his entrance, especially the burning of the church.</p>	

¹ This section confuses two dates. Gregory died in Alexandria on 26 June, 345, well before George was first named bishop of the city in 349 (Sozomenus, *HE* 4.8.4). cf. T.D. Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire*. Harvard University Press, 2001, p. 201.

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
2.14.1b They therefore inducted George into his see, who was a native of Cappadocia, and had acquired the reputation of being an able advocate of their tenets.	3.7.9b They elected George, a native of Cappadocia, in his stead; this new bishop was admired on account of his activity and his zeal in support of the Arian dogma.	
Constantius decides to honor Constans' request		
<p>2.23.1 In receiving this communication the emperor of the East fell into perplexity; and immediately sending for the greater part of the Eastern bishops, he acquainted them with the choice his brother had submitted to him, and asked what ought to be done.</p> <p>2.23.2 They replied, it was better to concede the churches to Athanasius, than to undertake a civil war. Accordingly, the emperor, urged by necessity, summoned Athanasius and his friends to his presence.</p> <p>2.23.3 Meanwhile the emperor of the West sent Paul to Constantinople, with two bishops and other honorable attendance, having fortified him with his own letters, together with those of the Synod.</p> <p>2.23.4 But while Athanasius was still apprehensive, and hesitated to go to him,—for he dreaded the treachery of his accusers,—the emperor of the East not once only, but even a second and a third time, invited him to come to him; this is evident from his letters, which, translated from the Latin tongue, are as follows:</p>	<p>3.20.2a Constantius, after conferring on the subject with the bishops of the East, ...</p> <p>3.20.2b ...judged that it would be foolish to stir up on this account the horrors of civil war. He therefore recalled Athanasius from Italy, and sent public carriages to convey him on his return homewards, and wrote several letters requesting his speedy return.</p>	<p>2.8.56b Constantius was at Antioch when he received this letter; and he agreed to carry out all that his brother commanded.</p> <p>2.8.57 The accustomed opponents of the truth were so much displeased at these proceedings, that they planned a notoriously abhorrent and impious crime. The two bishops resided near the foot of the mountain, while the military commander had settled in a lodging in another quarter.</p>
Constantius's first letter to Athanasius		
<p>2.23.5 Constantius Victor Augustus to Athanasius the bishop. Our compassionate clemency cannot permit you to be any longer tossed and disquieted as it were by the boisterous waves of the sea. Our unwearied piety has not been unmindful of you driven from your native home, despoiled of your property, and wandering in pathless solitudes.</p> <p>2.23.6 And although I have too long deferred acquainting you by letter with the purpose of my mind,</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>expecting your coming to us of your own accord to seek a remedy for your troubles; yet since fear perhaps has hindered the execution of your wishes, we therefore have sent to your reverence letters full of indulgence, in order that you may fearlessly hasten to appear in our presence. Then, after experiencing our benevolence, you may attain your desire, and be re-established in your proper position.</p> <p>2.23.7 For this reason I have requested my Lord and brother Constans Victor Augustus to grant you permission to come, to the end that by the consent of us both you may be restored to your country, having this assurance of our favor.</p>		
Constantius's second letter to Athanasius		
<p>2.23.8 Constantius Victor Augustus to the bishop Athanasius.</p> <p>Although we have already expressly told you in a former letter that you might confidently come to our court, as we are extremely anxious to reinstate you in your proper place, yet we have again addressed this letter to your reverence.</p> <p>2.23.9 We therefore urge you, without any distrust or apprehension, to take a public vehicle and hasten to us, in order that you may be able to obtain what you desire.</p>		<p>2.11.1 Constantius Victor Augustus to the bishop Athanasius.</p> <p>Although we have already expressly told you in a former letter that you might confidently come to our court, as we are extremely anxious to reinstate you in your proper place, yet we have again addressed this letter to your reverence.</p> <p>2.11.1b We therefore urge you, without any distrust or apprehension, to take a public vehicle and hasten to us, in order that you may be able to obtain what you desire.</p>
Constantius's third letter to Athanasius		
<p>2.23.10 Constantius Victor Augustus to the bishop Athanasius.</p> <p>While we were residing at Edessa, where your presbyters were present, it pleased us to send one of them to you, for the purpose of hastening your arrival at our court, in order that after having been introduced to our presence, you might forthwith proceed to Alexandria.</p> <p>2.23.11 But since a considerable time has elapsed since you received our letter, and yet have not come, we now therefore hasten to remind you to speedily present yourself before us, that so you may be able to return to your country, and obtain your desire.</p> <p>2.23.12 For a more sufficient assurance of our intention, we have dispatched to you Achetas the deacon, from whom you will learn both our mind in regard to you, and</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
that you will be able to secure what you wish; viz., our readiness to facilitate the goals you have in mind.		
Athanasius visits Rome from Aquileia		
<p>2.23.13 When Athanasius had received these letters at Aquileia, —for there he abode after his departure from Sardica, —he immediately hastened to Rome; and having shown these communications to Julius the bishop, he caused the greatest joy in the Roman Church.</p> <p>2.23.14a For it seemed as if the emperor of the East also had recognized their faith, since he had recalled Athanasius.</p> <p>2.23.14b Julius then wrote to the clergy and laity of Alexandria on behalf of Athanasius as follows:</p>	<p>3.20.3 Athanasius, who was then residing at Aquileia, on receiving the letters of Constantius, traveled to Rome to take leave of Julius and his friends.</p> <p>3.20.3b Julius parted from him with great demonstrations of friendship, and gave him a letter addressed to the clergy and people of Alexandria, in which he spoke of him as a wonderful man, deserving of renown by the numerous trials he had undergone, and congratulated the church of Alexandria on the return of so good a priest, and encouraged them to follow his doctrines.</p>	
Julius's letter to the people of Alexandria		
<p>2.23.15 Julius, the bishop, to the presbyters, deacons, and people inhabiting Alexandria, brethren beloved, salutations in the Lord.</p> <p>I also rejoice with you, beloved brethren, because you at last see before your eyes the fruit of your faith.</p> <p>2.23.16 For that this is really so, any one may perceive in reference to my brother and fellow-prelate Athanasius, whom God has restored to you, both on account of his purity of life, and in answer to your prayers.</p> <p>2.23.17 From this it is evident that your supplications to God have unceasingly been offered pure and abounding with love; for mindful of the divine promises and of the charity connected with them, which you learned from the instruction of my brother, you knew assuredly, and according to the sound faith which is in you, you clearly foresaw that your bishop would not be separated from you forever, whom you had in your devout hearts as though he were ever present.</p> <p>2.23.18 Therefore it is unnecessary for me to use many words in addressing you, for your faith has already</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>anticipated whatever I could have said; and the common prayer of you all has been fulfilled according to the grace of Christ.</p> <p>2.23.19 I therefore rejoice with you, and repeat that you have preserved your souls invincible in the faith.</p> <p>2.23.20 And with my brother Athanasius I rejoice equally; because, while suffering many afflictions, he has never been unmindful of your love and desire.</p> <p>2.23.21 For although he seemed to be withdrawn from you in person for a season, yet was he always present with you in spirit.</p> <p>2.23.22 Moreover, I am convinced, beloved, that every trial which he has endured has not been inglorious; since both your faith and his has thus been tested and made manifest to all.</p> <p>2.23.23 But had not so many troubles happened to him, who would have believed, either that you had so great esteem and love for this eminent prelate, or that he was endowed with such distinguished virtues, on account of which also he will by no means be deprived of his hope in the heavens?</p> <p>2.23.24 He has accordingly obtained a testimony of confession in every way glorious both in the present age and in that which is to come. For having suffered so many different trials both by land and by sea, he has trampled on every machination of the Arian heresy; and though often exposed to danger in consequence of envy, he thought lightly of death, being protected by Almighty God, and our Lord Jesus Christ.</p> <p>2.23.25 He was ever trusting that he should not only escape the plots of his adversaries, but also be restored for your consolation, and bring back to you at the same time greater trophies from your own conscience.</p> <p>2.23.26 By which means he has been made known even to the ends of the whole earth as glorious, his worth having been approved by the purity of his life, the firmness of his purpose, and his steadfastness in the heavenly doctrine, all being attested by your unchanging esteem and love. He therefore returns to you, more illustrious now than when he departed from you.</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>2.23.27 For if the fire tries the precious metals (I speak of gold and silver) for purification, what can be said of so excellent a man proportionate to his worth, who after having overcome the fire of so many calamities and dangers, is now restored to you, being declared innocent not only by us, but also by the whole Synod?</p> <p>2.23.28 Receive therefore with godly honor and joy, beloved brethren, your bishop Athanasius, together with those who have been his companions in tribulation. And rejoice in having attained the object of your prayers, you who have supplied with meat and drink, by your supporting letters, your pastor hungering and thirsting, so to speak, for your spiritual welfare.</p> <p>2.23.29 And in fact you were a comfort to him while he was sojourning in a strange land; and you cherished him in your most faithful affections when he was plotted against and persecuted.</p> <p>2.23.30 As for me, it makes me happy even to picture to myself in imagination the delight of each one of you at his return, the pious greetings of the populace, the glorious festivity of those assembled to meet him, and indeed what the entire aspect of that day will be when my brother shall be brought back to you again; when past troubles will be at an end, and his prized and longed-for return will unite all hearts in the warmest expression of joy.</p> <p>2.23.31 This feeling will in a very high degree extend to us, who regard it as a token of divine favor that we should have been privileged to become acquainted with so eminent a person. It becomes us therefore to close this epistle with prayer.</p> <p>2.23.32 May God Almighty and his Son our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ afford you this grace continually, thus rewarding the admirable faith which you have manifested in reference to your bishop by an illustrious testimony: that the things most excellent which 'Eye has not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man; even the things which God has prepared for them that love him,' may await you and yours in the world to come, through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom be glory to</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
God Almighty for ever and ever, Amen. I pray that you may be strengthened, beloved brethren.		
Athanasius communes with Eustathians in Antioch		
	<p>3.20.4 He then proceeded to Antioch in Syria, where the emperor was then residing. Leontius presided over the churches of that region; for after the flight of Eustathius, those who held heretical sentiments had seized the see of Antioch. The first bishop they appointed was Euphronius; to him succeeded Placetus; and afterwards Stephen. This latter was deposed as being unworthy of the dignity, and Leontius obtained the bishopric. Athanasius avoided him as a heretic, and communed with those who were called Eustathians, who assembled in a private house.</p>	
Constantius receives Athanasius		
<p>2.23.33 Athanasius, relying on these letters, arrived at the East. The Emperor Constantius did not at that time receive him with hostility of feeling; nevertheless, at the instigation of the Arians he endeavored to circumvent him, and addressed him in these words:</p> <p>2.23.34 ‘You have been reinstated in your see in accordance with the decree of the Synod, and with our consent. But since some of the people of Alexandria refuse to hold communion with you, permit them to have one church in the city.’</p> <p>2.23.35 To this demand Athanasius promptly replied: ‘You have the power, my sovereign, both to order, and to carry into effect, whatever you may please. I also, therefore, would beg you to grant me a favor.’</p> <p>2.23.36 The emperor having readily promised to consent, Athanasius immediately added that he desired the same thing might be conceded to him, which the emperor had sought from him.</p> <p>2.23.37 Namely, that in every city one church should be assigned to those who might refuse to hold communion with the Arians.</p> <p>2.23.38 The Arians perceiving the purpose of Athanasius to be opposed to their interests, said that this affair might be postponed to another time; but they accepted the emperor to act as he pleased.</p>	<p>3.20.5 Since he found that Constantius was well disposed, and agreeable, and it looked as if the emperor would restore his own church to him, Athanasius said, “Here I am.”</p> <p>3.20.6a Constantius, at the instigation of the leaders of the opposing heresy, replied as follows: “I am ready to perform all that I promised when I recalled you; but it is just that you should in return grant me a favor, and that is, that you yield one of the numerous churches which are under your sway to those who are against holding communion with you.”</p> <p>3.20.6b Athanasius replied: “O emperor, it is exceedingly just and necessary to obey your commands, and I will not argue, but as in the city of Antioch there are many who avoid communion between the heterodox and ourselves, I seek a like favor that one church may be conceded to us, and that we may assemble there in safety.”</p> <p>3.20.7 As the request of Athanasius appeared reasonable to the emperor, the heterodox deemed it more politic to keep quiet; for they reflected that their peculiar</p>	<p>2.12.1a When Athanasius returned, Constantius received him with kindness, and directed him to go back to the Church of Alexandria.</p> <p>2.12.1b But there were some attached to the court, infected with the errors of Arianism, who maintained that Athanasius ought to give up one church to those who were unwilling to hold communion with him. On this being mentioned to the emperor, and by the emperor to Athanasius, he remarked that the imperial command appeared to be just.</p> <p>2.12.1c But he also wished to make a request.</p> <p>2.12.2 The emperor readily promising to grant him whatever he might ask, he said that those in Antioch who objected to hold communion with the party now in possession of the churches wanted temples to pray in, and that it was only fair that one House of God also be assigned to them.</p> <p>2.12.3 This request was deemed just and reasonable by the emperor; but the leaders of the Arian faction resisted its being carried into execution, maintaining that neither</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>opinions could never gain any ground in Alexandria on account of Athanasius, who was able both to retain those who held the same sentiments as himself, and lead those of contrary opinions. Moreover, they reflected that if they gave up one of the churches of Antioch, the Eustathians, who were very numerous, would assemble together.</p> <p>3.20.8 And then they would probably attempt innovations, since it would be possible for them without risk to retain those which they held. Besides, the heterodox perceived that, although the government of the churches was in their hands, all the clergy and people did not conform to their doctrines. When they sang hymns to God, they were, according to custom, divided into choirs, and at the end of the odes, each one declared what were his own peculiar sentiments. Some offered praise to “the Father and the Son,” regarding them as co-equal in glory; others glorified “The Father by the Son,” to denote by the insertion of the preposition that they considered the Son to be inferior to the Father.</p> <p>3.20.9 While these occurrences took place, Leontius, the bishop of the opposite faction, who then presided over the see of Antioch, did not dare to prohibit the singing of hymns to God which were in accordance with the tradition of the Nicaean Synod, for he feared to stir up an insurrection of the people. It is said, however, that he once raised his hand to his head, the hairs of which were quite white, and said, “When this snow is dissolved, there will be plenty of mud.” By this he intended to signify that, after his death, the different ways of singing hymns would give rise to great seditions, and that his successors would not show the same consideration to the people which he had manifested.</p>	<p>party ought to have the churches assigned to them. Constantius on this was struck with high admiration for Athanasius, and sent him back to Alexandria.</p>
Constantius restores deposed bishops		
<p>2.23.39 He therefore restored to Athanasius, Paul, and Marcellus their respective sees; as also to Asclepas, bishop of Gaza, and Lucius of Adrianople.</p> <p>2.23.40 For these, too, had been received by the Council of Sardica: Asclepas, because he showed records from which it appeared that Eusebius Pamphilus, in conjunction with several others, after having investigated</p>		

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<p>his case, had restored him to his former rank; and Lucius, because his accusers had fled.</p> <p>2.23.41 Immediately after, the emperor's edicts were dispatched to their respective cities, asking the inhabitants to receive them readily.</p> <p>2.23.42 At Ancyra indeed, when Basil was ejected, and Marcellus was introduced in his stead, there was a considerable tumult made, which afforded his enemies an occasion of accusing him; but the people of Gaza willingly received Asclepas.</p> <p>2.23.43 Macedonius at Constantinople, for a short time gave place to Paul, convening assemblies by himself separately, in a separate church in that city.</p> <p>2.23.44 Moreover the emperor wrote on behalf of Athanasius to the bishops, clergy, and laity, in regard to receiving him cheerfully. And at the same time, he ordered by other letters, that whatever had been enacted against him in the judicial courts should be overturned.</p>		
Constantius' general letter regarding Athanasius's restoration		
<p>2.23.45 The communications respecting both these matters were as follows: Victor Constantius Maximus Augustus, to the bishops and presbyters of the Catholic Church. The most reverend bishop Athanasius has not been forsaken by the grace of God.</p> <p>2.23.46 But although he was for a short time subjected to trial according to men, yet has he obtained from an omniscient Providence the exoneration which was due to him; having been restored by the will of God, and our decision, both to his country and to the church over which by divine permission he presided.</p> <p>2.23.47 It was therefore suitable that what is in accordance with this should be duly attended to by our clemency: so that all things which have been heretofore determined against those who held communion with him should now be rescinded; that all suspicion against him should henceforward cease; and that the immunity which those clergymen who are with him formerly enjoyed, should be, as it is proper, confirmed to them.</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>2.23.48 Moreover, we thought it just to add this to our grace toward him, that the whole ecclesiastical body should understand that protection is extended to all who have adhered to him, whether bishops or other clergymen: and union with him shall be a sufficient evidence of each person's right intention.</p> <p>2.23.49 Wherefore we have ordered, according to the likeness of the previous statement, that as many as have the wisdom to enroll themselves with the sounder judgment and party and to choose his communion, shall enjoy that indulgence which we have now granted in accordance with the will of God.</p>		
Constantius' letter to the church of Alexandria		
<p>2.23.50 Victor Constantius Maximus Augustus, to the people of the Catholic Church at Alexandria. Setting before us as an aim your good order in all respects, and knowing that you have long since been lacking of an episcopal overseer, we thought it just to send back to you again Athanasius your bishop, a man known to all by the rectitude and sanctity of his life and manners.</p> <p>2.23.51 Having received him with your usual and fitting courtesy, and constituted him the assistant of your prayers to God, exert yourselves to maintain at all times, according to the ecclesiastical canon, harmony and peace, which will be alike honorable to yourselves, and grateful to us.</p> <p>2.23.52 For it is unreasonable that any dissension or faction should be aroused among you, hostile to the prosperity of our times; and we trust that such a misfortune will be entirely removed from you.</p> <p>2.23.53 We exhort you, therefore, to diligently persevere in your accustomed devotions, by his assistance, as we before said: so that when this resolution of yours shall become generally known, entering into the prayers of all, even the pagans, who are still enslaved in the ignorance of idolatrous worship, may hasten to seek the knowledge of our sacred religion, most beloved Alexandrians.</p>	<p>3.21.1 The emperor, on sending back Athanasius to Egypt, wrote in his favor to the bishops and presbyters of that country, and to the people of the church of Alexandria; he testified to the integrity of his conduct and the virtue of his manners, and urged them to be of one mind, and to unite in prayer and service to God under his guidance. He added that, if any evil-disposed persons should raise disturbances, they should receive the punishment awarded by the laws for such offenses.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>2.23.54 Again, therefore, we urge you to give heed to these things: heartily welcome your bishop, as one appointed to you by the will of God and our decree; and consider him worthy of being embraced with all the affections of your souls.</p> <p>2.23.55 For this is fitting for you, and is consistent with our clemency. But in order to check all tendency to seditions and tumult among people of a rebellious disposition, orders have been issued to our judges to give up to the severity of the laws all whom they may discover to be seditious.</p> <p>2.23.56 Having regard, therefore, to our determination and God's, as well as to the anxiety we feel to secure harmony among you, and remembering also the punishment that will be inflicted on the disorderly, make it your special care to act agreeably to the sanctions of our sacred religion, with all reverence honoring your bishop; so that together with him you may present your supplications to the God and Father of the universe, both for yourselves, and for the orderly government of the whole human race.</p>		
Constantius's letter to the governors of northern Africa		
<p>2.23.57 Victor Constantius Augustus to Nestorius, and in the same terms to the governors of Augustamnica, Thebaïs, and Libya.</p> <p>If it be found that at any time previously any enactment has been passed prejudicial and derogatory to those who hold communion with Athanasius the bishop, our pleasure is that it should now be wholly nullified; and that his clergy should again enjoy the same immunity which was granted to them formerly.</p> <p>2.23.58 We require strict obedience to this command, to the intent that since the bishop Athanasius has been restored to his church, all who hold communion with him may possess the same privileges as they had before, and such as other ecclesiastics now enjoy: that so their affairs being happily arranged, they also may share in the general prosperity.</p>	<p>3.21.2 He also commanded that the former decrees he had enacted against Athanasius, and those who were in communion with him, should be erased from the public registers, and that his clergy should be admitted to the same</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
Athanasius exhorts the inhabitants of every city on his return		
<p>2.24.7 Athanasius passed through Pelusium on his way to Alexandria, and admonished the inhabitants of every city to beware of the Arians, and to receive those only that professed the Homoousian faith.</p> <p>2.24.8 In some of the churches also he performed ordination. This afforded another ground of accusation against him, because of his undertaking to ordain in the dioceses of others. Such was the progress of affairs at that period in reference to Athanasius.</p>	<p>3.21.4 It was said at that time, that when he was traveling through other countries, he caused the same change if he happened to visit churches which were under the Arians. He was certainly accused of having dared to perform the ceremony of ordination in cities where he had no right to do so.</p> <p>3.21.5a But because he had accomplished his return, he was regarded with greater consideration than before, although his enemies were unwilling. For it did not seem that he could be easily cast under suspicion, in that he was honored with the friendship of the Emperor Constans. Many bishops, who had previously been at enmity with him, received him into communion, particularly those of Palestine.</p>	
346² - Athanasius and Maximus hold a synod in Jerusalem		
<p>2.24.1 Athanasius the bishop, being fortified with such letters as these, passed through Syria, and came into Palestine. On arriving at Jerusalem he acquainted Maximus the bishop both with what had been done in the Council of Sardica, and also that the Emperor Constantius had confirmed its decision: he then proposed that a synod of the bishops there should be held.</p> <p>2.24.2 Maximus, therefore, without delay sent for certain of the bishops of Syria and Palestine, and having assembled a council, he restored Athanasius to communion, and to his former dignity.</p> <p>2.24.3a After which the Synod communicated by letter to the Alexandrians, and to all the bishops of Egypt and Libya, what had been determined respecting Athanasius.</p> <p>2.24.3b Whereupon the adversaries of Athanasius exceedingly derided Maximus, because having before assisted in his deposition, he had suddenly changed his</p>	<p>3.21.5b When he at that time visited these latter (the bishops who had previously been at enmity with him), they received him kindly. They held a Synod at Jerusalem, and Maximus and the others wrote the following letter in his favor.</p>	

² Cf. the information found here: <http://www.fourthcentury.com/council-of-jerusalem-ad-346/>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
mind, and as if nothing had previously taken place, had voted for his restoration to communion and rank.		
Letter of the Council of Jerusalem		
	<p>3.22.1 The holy Synod assembled at Jerusalem, to the presbyters, deacons, and people of Egypt, Libya, and Alexandria, our beloved and most cherished brethren, greeting in the Lord.</p> <p>3.22.2 We can never, O beloved, return adequate thanks to God, the Creator of all things, for the wonderful works he has now accomplished, particularly for the blessings He has conferred on your churches by the restoration of Athanasius, your shepherd and lord, and our fellow-minister. Who could have hoped to have ever seen this with his eyes, which now you are realizing in deed? But truly your prayers have been heard by the God of the universe who is concerned for His Church, and who has regarded your tears and complaint, and on this account has heard your requests.</p> <p>3.22.3 For you were scattered abroad and divided like sheep without a pastor. Therefore, the true Shepherd, who from heaven watched over you, and who is concerned for His own sheep, has restored to you him whom you desired.</p> <p>3.22.4 Behold, we do all things for the peace of the Church, and are influenced by love like yours. Therefore, we received and embraced your pastor, and, having held communion with you through him, we dispatch this address and our eucharistic prayers that you may know how we are united by the bond of love to him and you.</p> <p>3.22.5 It is right that you should pray for the piety of the emperors most beloved of God, who having recognized your desire for him and his purity, was determined to restore him to you with every honor. Receive him, then, with uplifted hands, and be zealous to send up the necessary eucharistic prayers on his behalf to the God who has conferred these benefits upon you; and may you ever rejoice with God, and glorify the Lord in Christ Jesus our Lord, by whom be glory to the Father throughout all ages. Amen.”</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
Ursacius and Valens recant		
<p>2.24.4 When Ursacius and Valens, who had been fiery partisans of Arianism, ascertained these things, they condemned their former zeal and proceeded to Rome.</p> <p>2.24.5 There they presented their recantation to Julius the bishop and gave their assent to the doctrine of consubstantiality: they also wrote to Athanasius, and expressed their readiness to hold communion with him in the future.</p> <p>2.24.6 Thus Ursacius and Valens were at that time subdued by the good fortune of Athanasius and induced to recognize the orthodox faith.</p>	<p>3.23.1b Such was the letter written by the Synod convened in Palestine. Sometime after, Athanasius had the satisfaction of seeing the injustice of the sentence enacted against him by the council of Tyre publicly recognized.</p> <p>3.23.1b Valens and Ursacius, who had been sent with Theognis and his followers to obtain information in Mareotis, as we before mentioned, concerning the holy cup which Ischyron had accused Athanasius of having broken, wrote the following retraction to Julius, bishop of Rome³:</p>	
	<p>3.23.2 Ursacius and Valens, to the most blessed Lord Pope Julius.</p> <p>“Since we previously, as is well known made many various charges against Athanasius, the bishop, by our letters, and although we have been urged persistently by the epistles of your excellency in this matter which we publicly alleged and have not been able to give a reason for our accusation, therefore, we now confess to your excellency in the presence of all the presbyters, our brethren, that all that you have heard concerning the aforesaid Athanasius is utterly false and fictitious, and in every way foreign to his nature. For this reason, we joyfully enter into communion with him, particularly as your piety in accordance with your implanted love of goodness has granted forgiveness to us for our error.</p> <p>3.23.3 Moreover, we declare unto you that if the bishops of the East, or even Athanasius himself, should at any time malignantly summon us to judgment, we would not sever ourselves from your judgment and disposition about the case.</p>	

³ For the background to this letter and a critical edition, cf. G. Thompson, *The Correspondence of Pope Julius*. Library of Early Christianity 3 (Washington D.C., 2015), pp. 135-147.

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>3.23.4 We now and ever shall anathematize, as we formerly did in the memorial which we presented at Milan, the heretic Arius and his followers, who say that there was a time, in which the Son existed not, and that Christ is from that which had no existence, and who deny that Christ was God and the Son of God before all ages. We again protest, in our own handwriting, that we shall ever condemn the aforesaid Arian heresy, and its originators.</p> <p>3.23.5 I, Ursacius, sign this confession with my own signature. In like manner also Valens.</p> <p>3.23.6 This was the confession which they sent to Julius. It is also necessary to append to it their letter to Athanasius: it is as follows: —</p>	
	<p>3.24.1 The bishops, Ursacius and Valens, to Athanasius, our brother in the Lord. We take the opportunity of the departure of Museus, our brother and fellow-presbyter, who is going to your esteemed self, O beloved brother, to send you amplest greeting from Aquileia through him, and hope that our letter will find you in good health.</p> <p>3.24.2 You will afford us great encouragement if you will write us a reply to this letter. Know that we are at peace and in ecclesiastical communion with you.”</p>	
Athanasius replaces Arians with Nicaeans throughout Egypt		
	<p>3.21.3 Immediately on his arrival in Egypt, Athanasius displaced those whom he knew to be attached to Arianism, and placed the government of the Church and the confession of the Nicaean council in the hands of those whom he approved, and he exhorted them to hold to this with earnestness.</p>	
21 October, 346 - In this way Athanasius returns to Egypt		
	<p>3.24.3 Athanasius therefore returned under such circumstances from the West to Egypt. Paul, Marcellus, Asclepas, and Lucius, whom the edict of the emperor had returned from exile, received their own sees.</p> <p>3.24.4 Immediately on the return of Paul to Constantinople, Macedonius retired and held church in private. There was a great tumult at Ancyra on the</p>	<p>2.12.4a Gregory was dead, having met his end at the hands of the Alexandrians themselves. The people kept high holiday in honor of their pastor; feasting marked their joy at seeing him again, and praise was given to God.</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	deposition of Basil from the church there, and the reinstatement of Marcellus. The other bishops were reinstated in their churches without difficulty.	
346⁴ - Athanasius convenes a council in Alexandria ratifying Sardica and Jerusalem		
2.26.4b Meanwhile in this state of affairs, Athanasius entered Alexandria; and having convened a council of the bishops in Egypt, they confirmed by their unanimous vote what had been determined in the Synod at Sardica, and (the Synod) that assembled at Jerusalem by Maximus.	4.1.3 In the meantime, Athanasius, having arrived in Alexandria, prepared to convene a council of Egyptian bishops, and had the enactments confirmed which had been passed at Sardica, and in Palestine, in his favor.	
337-350 - Circumstances arise which cause a revolt		
<p>2.25.1 About this time an extraordinary commotion shook the whole state, the principal leaders of which we shall give a brief account of, deeming it necessary not to pass over them altogether.</p> <p>2.25.2 We mentioned in our first book, that after the death of the founder of Constantinople, his three sons succeeded him in the empire.</p> <p>2.25.3 It must now be also stated, that a kinsman of theirs, Dalmatius, so named from his father, shared with them the imperial authority. This person, after being associated with them in the sovereignty for a very little while, the soldiers put to death. And Constantius had neither commanded his destruction, nor forbidden it.</p> <p>2.25.4 The manner in which Constantine the younger was also killed by the soldiers, on his invading that division of the empire which belonged to his brother, has already been recorded more than once.</p> <p>2.25.5 After his death, the Persian war was raised against the Romans, in which Constantius did nothing prosperously: for in a battle fought by night on the frontiers of both parties, the Persians had to some slight extent the advantage.</p> <p>2.25.6 And this at a time when the affairs of the Christians had become no less unsettled, there being great disturbance throughout the churches on account of Athanasius, and the term <i>homoousion</i>.</p>		

⁴ Cf. the information <http://www.fourthcentury.com/index.php/council-of-alexandria-ad-346/>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
Revolts in the West and in Illyricum		
<p>2.25.7 Affairs having reached this point, there sprang up a tyrant in the western parts called Magnentius, who by treachery slew Constans, the emperor of the western division of the empire, at that time residing in the Gauls.</p> <p>2.25.8 This being done, a furious civil war arose, and Magnentius made himself master of all Italy, reduced Africa and Libya under his power, and even obtained possession of the Gauls.</p> <p>2.25.9 But at the city of Sirmium in Illyricum, the military set up another tyrant whose name was Vetranio.</p> <p>2.25.10 During this time a fresh trouble threw Rome itself into commotion. For there was a nephew of Constantine's, Nepotian by name, who, supported by a body of gladiators, there assumed the sovereignty.</p> <p>2.25.11 He was, however, slain by some of the officers of Magnentius, who himself invaded the western provinces, and spread desolation in every direction.</p>		
350 - Constantius takes sole rule of the empire		
<p>2.26.1 The coming together of these disastrous events occurred during a short space of time; for they happened in the fourth year after the council at Sardica, during the consulate of Sergius and Nigrinian.</p> <p>2.26.2 When these circumstances were published, the entire sovereignty of the empire seemed to fall upon Constantius alone, who, being accordingly proclaimed in the East sole Autocrat, made the most vigorous preparations against the usurpers.</p>	<p>4.1.1 Four years after the council of Sardica, Constans was killed in Western Gaul. Magnentius, who had plotted his murder, reduced the entire government of Constans under his own sway. In the meantime, Vetranio was proclaimed emperor at Sirmium, by the Illyrian troops.</p> <p>4.1.2 Nepotian, the son of the late emperor's sister, gathered about him a body of gladiators, and wrangled for the imperial power, and ancient Rome had the greatest share of these evils. Nepotian, however, was put to death by the soldiers of Magnentius. Constantius, finding himself the sole master of the empire, was proclaimed sole ruler, and hastened to depose the tyrants.</p>	<p>2.12.4b Not long after Constans departed this life.</p>
Athanasius's enemies renew their accusations		
<p>2.26.3 Hereupon the adversaries of Athanasius, thinking a favorable crisis had arisen, again framed the most defamatory charges against him, before his arrival at Alexandria, assuring the Emperor Constantius that he was subverting all Egypt and Libya.</p>		<p>2.13.1 Those who had obtained complete control over the mind of Constantius and influenced him as they pleased reminded him that Athanasius had been the cause of the differences between his brother and himself, which had nearly led to the rupture of the bonds of nature, and the kindling of a civil war.</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
2.26.4a And his having undertaken to ordain out of the limits of his own diocese, tended much to accredit the accusations against him.		
Constantius exiles orthodox bishops and orders the death of others		
<p>2.26.5 But the emperor, who had been long since infused with Arian doctrine, reversed all the indulgent proceedings he had so recently resolved on.</p> <p>2.26.6 And first of all he ordered that Paul, bishop of Constantinople, should be sent into exile; those who conducted him strangled him at Cucusus in Cappadocia. Marcellus was also ejected, and Basil again made ruler of the church at Ancyra. Lucius of Adrianople, being loaded with chains, died in prison.⁵</p> <p>2.26.7 The reports which were made concerning Athanasius so weighed on the emperor's mind, that in an ungovernable fury he commanded him to be put to death wherever he might be found. He moreover included Theodulus and Olympius, who presided over churches in Thrace, in the same persecution.</p>	<p>4.2.1a The emperor, deceived by the accusation of the heterodox, changed his mind, and, in opposition to the decrees of the council of Sardica, exiled the bishops whom he had previously restored. Marcellus was again deposed, and Basil re-acquired possession of the bishopric of Ancyra. Lucius was thrown into prison, and died there.</p> <p>4.2.2 Paul was condemned to perpetual banishment, and was conveyed to Cucusus, in Armenia, where he died. I have never, however, been able to ascertain whether or not he died a natural death. It is still reported, that he was strangled by the followers of Macedonius.</p>	<p>2.13.2 Constantius was persuaded by these arguments not only to banish, but also to condemn the holy Athanasius to death; and he accordingly dispatched Sebastian, a military commander, with a very large body of soldiery to slay him, as if he had been a criminal.</p>
Athanasius flees for his life		
<p>2.26.8 Athanasius, however, was not ignorant of the intentions of the emperor; but learning of them he once more had means of fleeing, and so escaped the emperor's menaces.</p> <p>2.26.9a The Arians denounced this retreat as criminal, particularly Narcissus, bishop of Neronias in Cilicia, George of Laodicea, and Leontius who then had the oversight of the church at Antioch.</p>		<p>2.13.3 How the one led the attack and the other escaped will be best told in the words of him who so suffered and was so wonderfully saved. Thus Athanasius writes in his Apology for his Flight: —</p> <p>2.13.4 “Let the circumstances of my retreat be investigated, and the testimony of the opposite faction be collected; for Arians accompanied the soldiers, as well for the purpose of spurring them on, as of pointing me out to</p>

⁵ This event is placed out of order. The death of Lucius of Adrianople occurred immediately after the Council of Sardica. A second expulsion of Marcellus from Ancyra is unhistorical, because Marcellus was not allowed back into Ancyra during the 340s. Cf. T.D. Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire*. Harvard University Press, 2001, p. 202.

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>those who did not know me. If they are not touched with sympathy at the tale I tell, at least let them listen in the silence of shame. It was night, and some of the people were keeping vigil, for a communion was expected.</p> <p>2.13.5 A body of soldiers suddenly advanced upon them, consisting of a general and 5,000 armed men with naked swords, bows and arrows, and clubs, as I have already stated. The general surrounded the church, posting his men in close order, that those within might be prevented from going out.</p> <p>2.13.6 I deemed that I ought not in such a time of confusion to leave the people, but that I ought rather to be the first to meet the danger; so I sat down on my throne and desired the deacon to read a psalm, and the people to respond, 'For His mercy endures forever.' Then I directed them all to return to their own houses.</p> <p>2.13.7 But now the general with the soldiery forced his way into the church, and surrounded the sanctuary in order to arrest me. The clergy and the laity who had remained, loudly begged me to withdraw. This I firmly refused to do until all the others had retreated. I rose, had a prayer offered, and directed all the people to retire. 'It is better,' said I, 'for me to meet the danger alone, than for any of you to be hurt.'</p> <p>2.13.8 When the greater number of the people had left the church, and just as the rest were following, the monks and some of the clergy who had remained came up and drew me out. And so, may the truth be my witness, the Lord leading and protecting me, we passed through the midst of the soldiers, some of whom were stationed around the sanctuary, and others marching about the church. Thus, I went out unperceived, and fervently thanked God that I had not abandoned the people, but that after they had been sent away in safety, I had been enabled to escape from the hands of those who sought my life."</p>
349 - Macedonius violently takes control of the church in Constantinople		
2.27.1 At that time Paul having been removed in the manner described, Macedonius became ruler of the churches in Constantinople; who, acquiring very great	4.2.3 As soon as he (Paul) was sent into exile, Macedonius seized the government of his church; and, being aided by several orders of monks whom he had	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>influence over the emperor, stirred up a war among Christians, of a no less grievous kind than that which the usurpers themselves were waging.</p> <p>2.27.2 For having prevailed on his sovereign to cooperate with him in devastating the churches, he made sure that whatever wicked measures he determined to pursue should be ratified by law.</p> <p>2.27.3 And on this account, throughout the several cities an edict was proclaimed, and a military force was appointed to carry the imperial decrees into effect. Accordingly, those who acknowledged the doctrine of con-substantiality were expelled not only from the churches, but also from the cities.</p> <p>2.27.4 Now at first they were satisfied with expulsion; but as the evil grew they resorted to the worse extremity of forcing mandatory communion with them, caring but little for such a desecration of the churches. Their violence indeed was scarcely less than that of those who had formerly obliged the Christians to worship idols.</p> <p>2.27.5 For they applied all kinds of scourgings, a variety of tortures, and confiscation of property. Many were punished with exile; some died under the torture; and others were put to death while they were being led into exile.</p>	<p>incorporated at Constantinople, and by alliances with many of the neighboring bishops, he commenced, it is said, a persecution against those who held the sentiments of Paul. He ejected them, in the first place, from the church.</p> <p>4.2.4 Then he compelled them to enter into communion with himself. Many perished from wounds received in the struggle; some were deprived of their possessions; some, of the rights of citizenship; and others were branded on the forehead with an iron instrument, in order that they might be stamped as infamous. The emperor was displeased when he heard of these transactions, and cast the blame of them onto Macedonius and his adherents.</p> <p>4.3.1 The persecution increased in violence, and led to deeds of blood. Martyrius and Marcian were among those who were slain. They had lived in Paul's house, and were delivered up by Macedonius to the governor, as having been guilty of the murder of Hermogenes, and of stirring up the former sedition against him. Martyrius was a sub-deacon, and Marcian a singer and a reader of Holy Scripture. Their tomb is famous, and is situated before the walls of Constantinople, as a memorial of the martyrs.</p> <p>4.3.2 It is placed in a house of prayer, which was commenced by John and completed by Sisinnius; these both afterwards presided over the church of Constantinople. For they who had been unworthily determined to have no part in the honors of martyrdom were honored by God, because the very place where those conducted to death had been decapitated, and which previously was not approached on account of ghosts, was now purified. And those who were under the influence of</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>2.27.6 These atrocities were exercised throughout all the eastern cities, but especially at Constantinople.</p> <p>2.27.7 The internal strife which was but slight before was thus savagely increased by Macedonius, as soon as he obtained the bishopric.</p>	<p>demons were released from the disease, and many other notable miracles were wrought at the tomb.</p> <p>4.3.3 These are the particulars which should be stated concerning Martyrius and Marcian. If what I have related appears to be scarcely credible, it is easy to apply for further information to those who are more accurately acquainted with the circumstances; and perhaps far more wonderful things are related concerning them than those which I have detailed.</p>	
350 - Paul, bishop of Constantinople, is murdered by Arians		
		<p>2.5.1 Paul, bishop of Constantinople, who faithfully maintained orthodox doctrines, was accused by the unsound Arians of exciting seditions, and of such other crimes as they usually accused all those who preached true piety.</p> <p>2.5.2 The people, who feared the machinations of his enemies, would not permit him to go to Sardica. The Arians, taking advantage of the weakness of the emperor, procured from him an edict of banishment against Paul, who was, accordingly, sent to Cucusus, a little town formerly included in Cappadocia, but now in Lesser Armenia.</p> <p>2.5.3 But these disturbers of the public peace were not satisfied with having driven the admirable Paul into a desert. They sent the agents of their cruelty to dispose of him by a violent death. Athanasius testifies to this fact in the defence which he wrote of his own flight. He uses the following words:</p> <p>2.5.4 “They pursued Paul, bishop of Constantinople, and having seized him at Cucusus, a city of Cappadocia, they had him strangled, using as their executioner Philipp the prefect, who was the protector of their heresy, and the active agent of their most atrocious projects.”</p> <p>Such were the murders to which the blasphemy of Arius gave rise. Their mad rage against the Only-begotten was matched by cruel deeds against His servants.</p>
25 December, 350 - Constantius resolves Vetrano's revolt with clemency		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>2.28.16 The emperor meanwhile led his army into Illyricum. For there the urgency of public affairs demanded his presence; and especially the proclamation of Vetricano as emperor by the military.</p> <p>2.28.17 On arriving at Sirmium, he came to a conference with Vetricano during a truce; and so managed, that the soldiers who had previously declared for him changed sides, and saluted Constantius alone as Augustus and sovereign autocrat. In the acclamations, therefore, no notice was taken of Vetricano.</p> <p>2.28.18 Vetricano, perceiving himself to be abandoned, immediately threw himself at the feet of the emperor; Constantius, taking from him his imperial crown and purple, treated him with great clemency, and recommended him to pass the rest of his days peacefully in the condition of a private citizen: observing that a life of repose at his advanced age was far more suitable than a dignity which entailed anxieties and care.</p> <p>2.28.19 Vetricano's affairs came to this conclusion; and the emperor ordered that a liberal provision out of the public revenue should be given him.</p> <p>2.28.20 Often afterwards writing to the emperor during his residence at Prusa in Bithynia, Vetricano assured him that he had conferred the greatest blessing on him, by liberating him from the worries which are the inseparable companions of sovereign power. He added that he himself did not act wisely in depriving himself of that happiness in retirement, which he had bestowed upon him. Let this suffice on this point.</p>	<p>4.4.2a The emperor marched into Illyria, and entered Sirmium, the place where Vetricano had gone to by appointment. The soldiers who had proclaimed him emperor suddenly changed their mind, and saluted Constantius as sole sovereign and as Augustus, for both the emperor and his supporters strove for this very action.</p> <p>4.4.2b Vetricano perceived that he was betrayed, and threw himself as a beggar at the feet of Constantius.</p> <p>4.4.3 Constantius pitied him indeed, but stripped him of the imperial ornaments and purple, obliged him to return to private life, liberally provided for his wants out of the public treasury, and told him that it was more proper for an old man to abstain from the cares of empire and to live in quietude.</p>	
15 March, 351 - Constantius sends Gallus to guard the east in Antioch		
<p>2.28.21 After these things, the Emperor Constantius having created Gallus his kinsman Caesar, and given him his own name, sent him to Antioch in Syria, providing thus for the guarding of the eastern parts.</p> <p>2.28.22 When Gallus was entering this city, the Savior's sign appeared in the East: for a pillar in the form of a cross seen in the heavens gave occasion of great amazement to the spectators.</p>	<p>4.4.4b He then conferred the title of Caesar on his cousin Gallus, and sent him into Syria to defend the provinces of the East.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
Constantius sends his generals against Magnentius, but remains in Sirmium		
2.28.23 His other generals the emperor dispatched against Magnentius with considerable forces, and he himself remained at Sirmium, awaiting the course of events.	4.4.4a After terminating these arrangements in favor of Vetranio, Constantius sent a large army into Italy against Magnentius.	
A giant sign of the cross appears in Jerusalem		
	<p>4.5.1 At the time that Cyril administered the church of Jerusalem after Maximus, the sign of the cross appeared in the heavens. It shone brilliantly, not with divergent rays like a comet, but with the concentration of a great deal of light, apparently dense and yet transparent.</p> <p>4.5.2 Its length was about fifteen stadia from Calvary to the Mount of Olives, and its width was in proportion to its length. So extraordinary a phenomenon excited universal terror.</p> <p>4.5.3 Men, women, and children left their houses, the market-place, or their respective employments, and ran to the church, where they sang hymns to Christ together, and voluntarily confessed their belief in God.</p> <p>4.5.4 The intelligence disturbed in no little measure our entire dominions, and this happened rapidly; for, as the custom was, there were travelers from every part of the world, so to speak, who were dwelling at Jerusalem for prayer, or to visit its places of interest. These visitors were spectators of the sign, and divulged the facts to their friends at home. The emperor was made acquainted with the occurrence, partly by numerous reports concerning it which were then current, and partly by a letter from Cyril the bishop.</p> <p>4.5.5 It was said that this wonder was a fulfillment of an ancient prophecy contained in the Holy Scriptures. It was the means of the conversion of many pagans and Jews to Christianity.</p>	
Greece and Illyricum enjoy peace and orthodoxy		
2.27.8 The cities of Greece, however, and Illyricum, with those of the western parts, still enjoyed tranquility; as long as they preserved harmony among themselves, and continued to adhere to the rule of faith set forth by the council of Nicaea.		

