

Harmony 2.5-Council of Sirmium and its aftermath (351-359)

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Last updated 3/28/18

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
351 - Constantius's generals defeat Magnentius		
<p>2.32.1 Magnentius in the meanwhile, after making himself master of the imperial city Rome, put to death many members of the senatorial council, as well as many of the populace. But as soon as the commanders under Constantius had collected an army of Romans, and commenced their march against him, he left Rome, and retired into the Gauls.</p> <p>2.32.2 There several battles were fought, sometimes to the advantage of one party, and sometimes to that of the other: but at last Magnentius was defeated near Mursa—a fortress of Gaul—and was there closely besieged. In this place the following remarkable incident is said to have occurred.</p> <p>2.32.3 Magnentius, desiring to reassure the courage of his soldiers who were disheartened by their late overthrow, ascended a lofty tribunal for this purpose.</p> <p>2.32.4 They, wishing to say the usual acclamation with which they greeted emperors, contrary to their intention simultaneously all shouted the name—not of Magnentius, but of Constantius Augustus.</p> <p>2.32.5 Regarding this as an omen unfavorable to himself, Magnentius immediately withdrew from the fortress, and retreated to the remotest parts of Gaul.</p> <p>2.32.6 To there, the generals of Constantius hastened in pursuit. An engagement having again taken place near Mount Seleucus, Magnentius was totally routed and fled alone to Lyons, a city of Gaul, which is distant three days' journey from the fortress at Mursa.</p> <p>2.32.7 Magnentius, having reached this city, first slew his own mother; then having killed his brother also,</p>	<p>4.7.1 In the meantime, Magnentius made himself master of ancient Rome, and put numbers of the senators, and of the people, to death. Hearing that the troops of Constantius were approaching, he retired into Gaul; and here the two parties had frequent encounters, in which sometimes the one and sometimes the other was victorious. At length, however, Magnentius was defeated, and fled to Mursa, which is the fortress of Gaul.</p> <p>4.7.2a When he saw that his soldiers were dispirited because they had been defeated, he stood on an elevated spot and endeavored to revive their courage. But, although they addressed Magnentius with the acclamations usually paid to emperors, and were ready to shout at his public appearance, they secretly and without premeditation shouted for Constantius as emperor in place of Magnentius.</p> <p>4.7.2b Magnentius, concluding from this circumstance, that he was not destined by God to hold the reins of empire, endeavored to retreat from the fortress to some distant place.</p> <p>4.7.3a But he was pursued by the troops of Constantius, and being overtaken at a spot called Mount Seleucus, he escaped alone from the encounter, and fled to Lyons.</p> <p>4.7.3b Upon his arrival there, he slew his own mother and his brother, whom he had named Caesar; and lastly, he killed himself.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>whom he had created Caesar, he at last committed suicide by falling on his own sword.</p> <p>2.32.8 This happened in the sixth consulate of Constantius, and the second of Constantius Gallus, on the fifteenth day of August.</p> <p>2.32.9 Not long after, the other brother of Magnentius, named Decentius, put an end to his own life by hanging himself.</p> <p>2.32.10 Such was the end of the enterprises of Magnentius. The affairs of the empire were not altogether quieted.</p>	<p>4.7.3c Not long after, Decentius, another of his brothers, put an end to his own existence.</p>	
Heresy of Photinus is revealed		
	<p>4.6.1 About this time, Photinus, who administered the church of Sirmium, laid before the emperor, who was then staying at that city, a heresy which he had originated some time previously. His natural ease of utterance and powers of persuasion enabled him to lead many into his own way of thinking.</p> <p>4.6.2 He acknowledged that there was one God Almighty, by whose own word all things were created, but would not admit that the generation and existence of the Son was before all ages; on the contrary, he alleged that Christ derived His existence from Mary.</p> <p>4.6.3 As soon as this opinion was divulged, it excited the indignation of the Western and of the Eastern bishops, and they considered it in common as an innovation of each one's particular belief, for it was equally opposed by those who maintained the doctrines of the Council of Nicaea, and by those who favored the tenets of Arius.</p>	
351- Emperor summons a council at Sirmium¹ to depose Photinus		
<p>2.29.1 During this time Photinus, who then presided over the church in that city, more openly professed the creed he had devised. Therefore, when a riot occurred in consequence, the emperor ordered a Synod of bishops to be held at Sirmium.</p> <p>2.29.2 There were accordingly convened there some of the Oriental bishops: Mark of Arethusa; George of</p>	<p>4.6.4 The emperor also regarded the heresy with aversion, and convened a council at Sirmium, where he was then residing.</p>	

¹ On this council, cf. <http://www.fourthcentury.com/index.php/the-council-of-sirmium-ad-351/>.

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>Alexandria, whom the Arians sent, as I have before said, having placed him over that see on the removal of Gregory; Basil, who presided over the church at Ancyra after Marcellus was ejected; Pancratius of Pelusium; and Hypatian of Heraclea.</p> <p>2.29.3 Of the Western bishops there were present Valens of Mursa, and the then celebrated Hosius of Cordova in Spain, who attended much against his will.</p>	<p>4.6.4b Of the Eastern bishops, George, who governed the church of Alexandria, Basil, bishop of Ancyra, and Mark, bishop of Arethusa, were present at this council.</p> <p>4.6.4c Among the Western bishops were Valens, bishop of Mursa, and Hosius the Confessor.</p> <p>4.6.5 This latter [Hosius], who had attended the council of Nicaea, was unwillingly a participant of this; he had been condemned to banishment through the machinations of the Arians not too long before. Hosius was summoned to the council of Sirmium by the command of the emperor extorted by the Arians, who believed that their party would be strengthened, if they could gain over, either by persuasion or force, a man held in universal admiration and esteem, as was Hosius.</p>	
<p>2.29.4 These met at Sirmium, after the consulate of Sergius and Nigrinian, in which year no consul celebrated the customary inaugural solemnities, in consequence of the disturbance of war. After having met and found that Photinus held the heresy of Sabellius the Libyan, and Paul of Samosata, they immediately deposed him.</p> <p>2.29.5 This decision was both at that time and afterwards universally commended as honorable and just; but those who continued there, subsequently acted in a way which was by no means so generally approved.</p>	<p>4.6.6 The period at which the council was convened at Sirmium, was the year after the expiration of the consulate of Sergius and Nigrinian; and during this year there were no consuls either in the East or the West, owing to the insurrections excited by the tyrants. Photinus was deposed by this council, because he was accused of approving of the errors of Sabellius and Paul of Samosata.</p>	
Council of Sirmium prepares several creeds²		
<p>2.30.1 As if they would reverse their former conclusions respecting the faith, they published anew other expositions of the creed.</p> <p>2.30.2 One of which Mark of Arethusa composed in Greek; and others in Latin, which harmonized neither in expression nor in sentiment with one another, nor with that dictated by the bishop of Arethusa.</p>	<p>4.6.7a The council then proceeded to draw up three formulas of faith in addition to the previous confessions, of which one was written in Greek.</p> <p>4.6.7b And the others in Latin. But they did not agree with one another, nor with any other of the former expositions of doctrine, either in word or import.</p>	

² Socrates and Sozomen here confuse several councils of Sirmium. Only the *First Creed of Sirmium* was written in 351; the *Second Creed of Sirmium* should be dated with the council in that city in 357. See below p. 6.

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>2.30.3 I shall here include one of those drawn up in Latin to the one prepared in Greek by Mark. The other, which was afterwards recited at Sirmium, will be given when we describe what was done at Ariminum.</p> <p>2.30.4 It must be understood, however, that both the Latin forms were translated into Greek. The declaration of faith set forth by Mark, was as follows:</p>		
The First Creed of Sirmium (Greek)³		
<p>2.30.5 We believe in one God the Father Almighty, the Creator and Maker of all things, of whom the whole family in heaven and on earth is named.</p> <p>2.30.6 We believe in his only begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, who was begotten of the Father before all ages, God of God, Light of Light, by whom all things visible and invisible, which are in the heavens and upon the earth, were made: who is the Word, and the Wisdom, and the true Light, and the Life.</p> <p>2.30.7 Who in the last days for our sake was made man and born of the holy virgin, and was crucified and died, and was buried, and rose again from the dead on the third day, and was received up into heaven, and sat at the right hand of the Father, and is coming at the completion of the age to judge the living and the dead, and to repay every one according to his works, whose kingdom being everlasting, endures into infinite ages; for he will be seated at the Father's right hand, not only in the present age, but also in that which is to come.</p> <p>2.30.8 We believe also in the Holy Spirit, that is to say the Comforter, whom, having promised to his apostles after his ascension into the heavens, to teach them, and bring all things to their remembrance, he sent; by whom also the souls of those who have sincerely believed in him are sanctified.</p> <p>2.30.9 But those who affirm that the Son is of things which are not, or of another substance, and not of God, and that there was a time or an age when he was not, the holy and catholic Church recognizes to be aliens.</p>	<p>4.6.8 It is not said in the Greek formulary, that the Son is consubstantial, or of like substance, with the Father, but it is there declared, that those who maintain that the Son had no commencement, or that He proceeded from an expansion of the substance of the Father, or that He is</p>	

³ Cf. <http://www.fourthcentury.com/index.php/first-creed-of-sirmium/>.

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>2.30.10 We therefore again say, if any one affirms that the Father and Son are two Gods, let him be anathema. And if anyone admits that Christ is God and the Son of God before the ages, but does not confess that he ministered to the Father in the formation of all things, let him be anathema.</p> <p>2.30.11 If anyone shall dare to assert that the Unbegotten, or a part of him, was born of Mary, let him be anathema. If anyone should say that the Son was of Mary according to foreknowledge, and not that he was with God, begotten of the Father before the ages, and that all things were not made by him, let him be anathema.</p> <p>2.30.12 If anyone affirms the essence of God to be dilated or contracted, let him be anathema. If anyone says that the dilated essence of God makes the Son, or shall term the Son the dilatation of his essence, let him be anathema. If anyone calls the Son of God the internal or uttered word, let him be anathema.</p> <p>2.30.13 If anyone declares that the Son that was born of Mary was man only, let him be anathema. If any man affirming him that was born of Mary to be God and man, shall imply the unbegotten God himself, let him be anathema.</p> <p>2.30.14 If anyone shall understand the text, "I am the first, and I am the last, and besides me there is no God," which was spoken for the destruction of idols and false gods, in the sense the Jews do, as if it were said for the subversion of the only-begotten of God before the ages, let him be anathema.</p> <p>2.30.15 If anyone hearing "the Word was made flesh," should imagine that the Word was changed into flesh, or that he underwent any change in assuming flesh, let him be anathema.</p> <p>2.30.16 If anyone hearing that the only-begotten Son of God was crucified, should say that his divinity underwent any corruption, or suffering, or change, or diminution, or destruction, let him be anathema.</p> <p>2.30.17 If anyone should affirm that the Father said not to the Son, "Let us make man," but that God spoke</p>	<p>united to the Father without being subject to Him, are excommunicated.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>to himself, let him be anathema. If anyone says that it was not the Son that was seen by Abraham, but the unbegotten God, or a part of him, let him be anathema.</p> <p>2.30.18 If anyone says that it was not the Son that as man wrestled with Jacob, but the unbegotten God, or a part of him, let him be anathema.</p> <p>2.30.19 If anyone shall understand the words, “The Lord reigned from the Lord,” not in relation to the Father and the Son, but shall say that he reigned from himself, let him be anathema: for the Lord the Son reigned from the Lord the Father.</p> <p>2.30.20 If anyone hearing “the Lord the Father, and the Lord the Son,” shall term both the Father and the Son Lord, and saying “the Lord from the Lord” shall assert that there are two Gods, let him be anathema.</p> <p>2.30.21 For we do not co-ordinate the Son with the Father, but [conceive him to be] subordinate to the Father. For he neither came down to the body without his Father’s will; nor did he reign from himself, but from the Lord (i.e. the Father) who exercises supreme authority.</p> <p>2.30.22 Nor does he sit at the Father’s right hand of himself, but in obedience to the Father saying, “Sit at my right hand” [let him be anathema].</p> <p>2.30.23 If anyone should say that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are one person, let him be anathema. If anyone, speaking of the Holy Spirit the Comforter, shall call him the unbegotten God, let him be anathema.</p> <p>2.30.24 If anyone, as he has taught us, shall not say that the Comforter is other than the Son, when he has himself said, “the Father, whom I will ask, shall send you another Comforter,” let him be anathema.</p> <p>2.30.25 If anyone affirms that the Spirit is part of the Father and of the Son, let him be anathema. If anyone say that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are three Gods, let him be anathema.</p> <p>2.30.26 If anyone says that the Son of God was made as one of the creatures by the will of God, let him be anathema. If anyone shall say that the Son was begotten without the Father’s will, let him be anathema.</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>2.30.27 For the Father did not, as compelled by any natural necessity, beget the Son at a time when he was unwilling; but as soon as it pleased him, he has declared that of himself without time and without passion, he begot him.</p> <p>2.30.28 If anyone should say that the Son is unbegotten, and without beginning, intimating that there are two without beginning, and unbegotten, so making two Gods, let him be anathema.</p> <p>2.30.29 For the Son is the head and beginning of all things; but “the head of Christ is God.” Thus, do we devoutly trace up all things by the Son to one source of all things who is without beginning.</p> <p>2.30.30 Moreover, to give an accurate conception of Christian doctrine, we again say, that if anyone shall not declare Christ Jesus to have been the Son of God before all ages, and to have ministered to the Father in the creation of all things; but shall affirm that from the time only when he was born of Mary, was he called the Son and Christ, and that he then received the commencement of his divinity, let him be anathema, as [Paul] the Samosatan.⁴</p>		
Photinus debates Basil of Ancyra at the council, loses, and is exiled		
<p>2.30.42 They endeavored to persuade Photinus, even after his deposition, to assent to and subscribe these things, promising to restore him his bishopric, if by recantation he would anathematize the dogma he had invented, and adopt their opinion.</p> <p>2.30.43a But he did not accept their proposal, and on the other hand he challenged them to a disputation.</p> <p>2.30.43b When a day was appointed by the emperor’s arrangement, the bishops who were there present assembled, and more than a few of the senators, whom the emperor had directed to attend to the discussion.</p> <p>2.30.44 In their presence, Basil, who at that time presided over the church at Ancyra, was appointed to oppose Photinus, and short-hand writers took down their</p>	<p>4.6.14 After the deposition of Photinus, the Synod thought it expedient to try if possible to persuade him to change his views. But when the bishop urged him, and promised to restore his bishopric if he would renounce his own dogma and vote for their formulary, he would not acquiesce, but challenged them to a discussion.</p> <p>4.6.15a On the day appointed for this purpose, the bishops, therefore, assembled with the judges who had been appointed by the emperor to preside at their meetings, and who, because of eloquence and dignity, held the first rank in the palace.</p> <p>4.6.15b Basil, bishop of Ancyra, was selected to commence the disputation against Photinus. The conflict lasted a long time, on account of the numerous questions</p>	

⁴ Note that Socrates and Sozomen incorrectly insert at this point the Second Creed of Sirmium which belongs to 357

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>respective speeches. The conflict of arguments on both sides was extremely severe.</p> <p>2.30.45 But Photinus, having been worsted, was condemned and spent the rest of his life in exile, during which time he composed treatises in both languages. For he was not unskilled in Latin.</p> <p>2.30.46 He wrote against all heresies, and in favor of his own views. Concerning Photinus let this suffice.</p>	<p>started and the answers given by each party, and which were immediately taken down in short-hand. Finally though, the victory declared itself in favor of Basil.</p> <p>4.6.16 Photinus was condemned and banished, but did not cease on that account from enlarging his own dogma. He wrote and published many works in Greek and Latin, in which he endeavored to show that all opinions, except his own, were erroneous. I have now concluded all that I had to say concerning Photinus and the heresy to which his name was affixed.</p>	
Hosius of Cordova is tortured into subscribing to the creed of Sirmium		
<p>2.31.1 Since we have observed that Hosius the Spaniard was present at the council of Sirmium against his will, it is necessary to give some brief account of him.</p> <p>2.31.2 A short time before, he had been sent into exile by the intrigues of the Arians. But at the earnest petition of those convened at Sirmium, the emperor summoned him to there, wishing that by persuasion or by compulsion, he should give his sanction to their proceedings. For if this could be accomplished, they thought it would give great authority to their position.</p> <p>2.31.3 On this ground therefore, as I have said, he was most unwillingly obliged to be present, and when he refused to concur with them, stripes and tortures were inflicted on the old man.</p> <p>2.31.4 Therefore, he was constrained by force to acquiesce in and subscribe to their exposition of the faith [357].</p>	<p>4.6.13 Such was the decision arrived at in the presence of the emperor concerning the faith. Hosius at first refused to assent to it. Compulsion, however, was resorted to. And being extremely old, he sunk, as it is reported, beneath the blows that were inflicted on him, and yielded his consent and signature [357].</p>	
Council of Sirmium concludes; Constantius remains in the city		
<p>2.31.5 Such was the issue of affairs at that time transacted at Sirmium. But after these things, the emperor Constantius still continued to reside at that place, awaiting there the result of the war against Magnentius.</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
351-352 - Gallus squelches a Jewish revolt in Dio-Caesarea and razes the city		
<p>2.33.1 About the same time there arose another intense commotion in the East, for the Jews who inhabited Dio-Caesarea in Palestine took up arms against the Romans, and began to ravage the adjacent places.</p> <p>2.33.2 But Gallus, who was also called Constantius, whom the emperor had sent into the East after making him Caesar, dispatched an army against them. And he completely vanquished them, after which he ordered that their city Dio-Caesarea should be razed to the foundations.</p>	<p>4.7.5a The Jews of Diocaesarea also overran Palestine and the neighboring territories; they took up arms with the design of shaking off the Roman yoke.</p> <p>4.7.5b On hearing of their insurrection, Gallus Caesar, who was then at Antioch, sent troops against them, defeated them, and destroyed Diocaesarea.</p>	
Constantius directs all his efforts to enforce <i>Homoiousian</i> position		
	<p>4.8.5 Athanasius only treated these proceedings with contempt; but he was about to undergo greater trials than any he had yet experienced. Immediately on the death of Magnentius, and as soon as Constantius found himself sole master of the Roman Empire, he directed all his efforts to induce the bishops of the West to admit that the Son is of like substance with the Father.</p> <p>4.8.6 In carrying out this scheme however, he did not in the first place resort to compulsion, but endeavored by persuasion to obtain the concurrence of the other bishops in the decrees of the Eastern bishops against Athanasius. For he thought that if he could bring them to be of one mind on this point, it would be easy for him to regulate aright the affairs connected with religion.</p>	
352 - Julius dies and is succeeded by Liberius as Bishop of Rome⁵		
<p>2.34.7 While preparations were being made in the east for this purpose, Julius bishop of Rome died, after having presided over the church in that place fifteen years. He was succeeded in the episcopal dignity by Liberius.</p>	<p>4.8.2 Julius died about this period, after having governed the church of Rome during twenty-five years; and Liberius succeeded him.</p>	

⁵ Julius died April 12. Liberius was elected as Bishop of Rome about one month later, on May 17.

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
353⁶ - Constantius intends to summon a council in Italy⁷		
<p>2.34.5b When Constantius was thus relieved from the worries which had occupied him, his attention was again directed to ecclesiastical contentions.</p> <p>2.34.6 Going therefore from Sirmium to the imperial city Rome, he again appointed a synod of bishops, summoning some of the eastern prelates to hasten into Italy, and arranging for those of the west to meet them there.</p>	<p>4.8.1 On the death of the tyrants, Constantius anticipated the restoration of peace and cessation of tumults, and departed Sirmium in order to return to ancient Rome, and to enjoy the honor of a triumph after his victory over the tyrants. He likewise intended to bring the Eastern and the Western bishops, if possible, to one mind concerning doctrine, by convening a council in Italy.</p>	
354 - Constantius slays Gallus and promotes Julian to Caesar		
<p>2.34.1 Gallus, having accomplished these things, was unable to bear his success with moderation. He abruptly attempted to conspire against the authority of him who had appointed him Caesar, himself aspiring to the sovereign power. His purpose was, however, soon detected by Constantius.</p> <p>2.34.2 For he had dared to put to death Domitian on his own responsibility, who was at that time Praetorian prefect of the East. And he also put to death Magnus the quaestor, not having disclosed his plans to the emperor.</p> <p>2.34.3 Constantius, extremely enraged at this conduct summoned Gallus to his presence, who being in great terror went very reluctantly.</p> <p>2.34.4 When he arrived in the western parts, and had reached the island of Flanona, Constantius ordered him to be slain. But not long after, he created Julian the brother of Gallus, Caesar, and sent him against the barbarians in Gaul.</p> <p>2.34.5a It was in the seventh consulate of the emperor Constantius that Gallus who was surnamed Constantius, was slain. This happened when Gallus was himself a third time consul. And Julian was created Caesar on the</p>	<p>4.7.6 Gallus, intoxicated with success, could not bear his prosperity but aspired to the supreme power. He slew Magnus the quaestor, and Domitian the prefect of the East, because they told the emperor of his innovations.</p> <p>4.7.7 The anger of Constantius was excited; and he summoned him to his presence. Gallus did not dare to refuse obedience, and set out on his journey. When however, he reached the island Elavona, he was killed by the emperor's order. This event occurred in the third year of his consulate, and the seventh of Constantius.</p>	

⁶ On this council, cf. <http://www.fourthcentury.com/index.php/council-of-rome-ad-353/> .

⁷ Before Julius died, the Eusebian party had sent him a letter asking that he condemn Athanasius. After Julius died and Liberius was elected as bishop of Rome, he decided to call a council to settle the matter. This was held in 353 in Rome. When the council met, neither the Eastern nor Alexandrian bishops showed up. So, the council exonerated Athanasius. However, they still needed imperial authority for the decision to be respected in the East, so Liberius requested of Constantius (who was fresh from defeating Magnetius) that he hold a council. Constantius responded by holding the council in Arles in 353. Here, Constantius's pro-Arian sentiments began to overtly show. The council condemned Athanasius. Cf *Earliest Papal Correspondence*, Dr. Glen Thompson.

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
6th of November in the following year, when Arbetion and Lollian were consuls; of him we shall make further mention in the next book.		
355 – The Usurper Silvanus		
2.32.11 For soon after this, another usurper arose whose name was Silvanus, but the generals of Constantius speedily put him also out of the way, as he was raising disturbances in Gaul.	4.7.4 Still the public tumults were not quelled; for not long after, Silvanus assumed the supreme authority in Gaul; but he was put to death immediately by the generals of Constantius.	
355⁸ - Council of Milan		
<p>2.36.1 Now at that time the bishops met in Italy, very few indeed from the East, most of them being hindered from coming either by the infirmities of age or by the distance; but of the West there were more than three hundred. It was a command of the emperor that they should be assembled at Milan.</p> <p>2.36.2 On meeting, the Eastern prelates opened the Synod by calling upon those convened to pass a unanimous sentence of condemnation against Athanasius; with this object in view, that he might henceforth be utterly shut out from Alexandria.</p> <p>2.36.3 But Paulinus, bishop of Treves in Gaul, and Dionysius who was bishop of Alba, the metropolis of Italy, and Eusebius of Vercellae, a city of Liguria in Italy, perceived that the Eastern bishops, by demanding a ratification of the sentence against Athanasius, were intent on subverting the faith. So they arose and loudly exclaimed that this proposition indicated a covert plot against the principles of Christian truth.</p> <p>2.36.4 For they insisted that the charges against Athanasius were unfounded, and merely invented by his accusers as a means of corrupting the faith.</p> <p>2.36.5 Having made this protest with much vehemence of manner, the congress of bishops was then dissolved.</p>	<p>4.9.1 The emperor was extremely urgent about convening a council in Milan, yet few of the Eastern bishops attended. Some, it appears, excused themselves from attendance under the plea of illness; others, on account of the length and difficulties of the journey. There were, however, upwards of three hundred of the Western bishops at the council.</p> <p>4.9.2 The Eastern bishops insisted that Athanasius should be condemned to banishment, and expelled from Alexandria; and the others, either from fear, fraud, or ignorance, assented to the measure.</p> <p>4.9.3 Dionysius, bishop of Alba, the metropolis of Italy, Eusebius, bishop of Vercella in Liguria, Paulinus, bishop of Treves, Rhodanus, and Lucifer, were the only bishops who protested against this decision. They declared that Athanasius ought not to be condemned on such slight pretexts, and that the evil would not cease with his condemnation. Rather, those who supported the orthodox doctrines concerning the Godhead would be subjected to an evil plot.</p> <p>4.9.4 They expressed that the whole measure was a scheme concocted by the emperor and the Arians, with the view of suppressing the Nicene faith. Their boldness was punished by an edict of immediate banishment, and Hilary was exiled with them.</p>	<p>2.15.2 But this war, severe as it was, did not put an end to the war against the Church. Constantius, who had embraced Arian tenets and readily yielded to the influence of others, was persuaded to convene a council at Milan, a city of Italy, and first to compel all the assembled bishops to sign the deposition enacted by the iniquitous judges at Tyre. And then, since Athanasius had been expelled from the Church, they were to draw up another confession of faith.</p> <p>2.15.3 The bishops assembled in council on the receipt of the imperial letter, but they were far from acting according to its directions. On the contrary, they told the emperor to his face that what he had commanded was unjust and impious.</p>

⁸ On this council, see <http://www.fourthcentury.com/index.php/the-council-of-milan-ad-355/>.

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>2.37.1a The emperor, on being told of what had taken place, sent these three bishops into exile.</p>	<p>4.9.5 The result too plainly showed for what purpose the council of Milan had been convened. For the councils which were held shortly after at Ariminum and Seleucia were evidently designed to change the doctrines established by the Nicæan council, as I shall directly show.</p>	<p>2.15.3b For this act of courage they were expelled from the Church, and relegated to the furthest boundaries of the empire.</p> <p>2.15.3c The admirable Athanasius thus mentions this circumstance in his Apology:—</p> <p>2.15.4 “Who,” he writes, “can narrate such atrocities as they have perpetrated? A short time ago when the Churches were in the enjoyment of peace, and when the people were assembled for prayer, Liberius, bishop of Rome, Paulinus, bishop of the metropolis of Gaul, Dionysius, bishop of the metropolis of Italy, Lucifer, bishop of the metropolis of the Isles of Sardinia, and Eusebius, bishop of one of the cities of Italy, who were all exemplary bishops and preachers of the truth, were seized and driven into exile. This happened for no cause, other than that they could not assent to the Arian heresy, nor sign the false accusation which had been framed against us.</p> <p>2.15.5 It is unnecessary that I should speak of the great Hosius, that aged and faithful confessor of the faith, for everyone knows that he also was sent into banishment. Of all the bishops he is the most illustrious. What council can be mentioned in which he did not preside, and convince all present by the power of his reasoning? What Church does not still retain the glorious memorials of his protection? Did anyone ever go to him sorrowing, and not leave him rejoicing? Whoever asked his aid, and did not obtain all that he desired? Yet they had the boldness to attack this great man, simply because, from his knowledge of the impiety of their accusations, he refused to affix his signature to their artful accusations against us.”</p> <p>2.15.6 From the above narrative will be seen the violence of the Arians against these holy men. Athanasius also gives in the same book an account of the numerous plots formed by the chiefs of the Arian faction against many others:—</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>2.15.7 “Did anyone,” said he, “whom they persecuted and got into their power ever escape from them without suffering what injuries they pleased to inflict? Was anyone who was an object of their search found by them whom they did not subject to the most agonizing death, or else to the mutilation of all his limbs? The sentences inflicted by the judges are all attributable to these heretics; for the judges are but the agents of their will, and of their malice. Where is there a place which contains no memorial of their atrocities?</p> <p>2.15.8 If anyone ever differed from them in opinion, did they not, like Jezebel, falsely accuse and oppress him? Where is there a church which has not been plunged in sorrow by their plots against its bishop? Antioch has to mourn the loss of Eustathius, the faithful and the orthodox. Balaneae weeps for Euphration; Paltus and Antaradus for Cymatius and Carterius. Adrianople has been called to deplore the loss of the well-beloved Eutropius, and of Lucius his successor, who was repeatedly loaded with chains, and expired beneath their weight. Ancyra, Beroea, and Gaza had to mourn the absence of Marcellus, Cyrus and Asclepas, who, after having suffered much ill-treatment from this deceitful sect, were driven into exile.</p> <p>2.15.9 Messengers were sent in quest of Theodulus and Olympius, bishops of Thrace, as well as of me and of the presbyters of my diocese. And had they found us, we should no doubt have been put to death. But at the very time that they were planning our destruction we effected our escape, although they had sent letters to Donatus the proconsul, against Olympius, and to Philagrius, against me.”</p> <p>Such were the audacious acts of this impious faction against the most holy Christians. Hosius was the bishop of Cordova, and was the most highly distinguished of all those who assembled at the council of Nicaea. He also obtained the first place among those convened at Sardica.</p>
Constantius plans an ecumenical council in the West		
4.11.2 The council of Milan was dissolved without any business having been transacted, and the emperor condemned to banishment all those who had opposed		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>the plans of Athanasius' enemies. As Constantius wished to establish uniformity of doctrine throughout the Church, and to unite the priesthood in the maintenance of the same sentiments, he formed a plan to convene the bishops of every religion to a council, to be held in the West. He was aware of the difficulty of carrying this scheme into execution, arising from the vast extent of land and seas which some of the bishops would have to traverse, yet he did not altogether despair of success.</p>		
355 - Constantius interviews and banishes Liberius		
<p>2.37.91a And first Liberius, bishop of Rome, having refused his assent to that creed, was sent into exile. The followers of Ursacius appointed Felix to succeed him.⁹</p>	<p>4.11.3 While this project was occupying his mind, and before he prepared to make his triumphal entrance into Rome, he sent for Liberius, the bishop of Rome. Constantius strove to persuade him to conformity of sentiment with the priests by whom he was attended, amongst whom was Eudoxius.</p> <p>4.11.3b As Liberius, however, refused compliance, and protested that he would never yield on this point, the emperor banished him to Beroea, in Thrace.</p> <p>4.11.4 It is alleged, that another pretext for the banishment of Liberius was that he would not withdraw from communion with Athanasius, but manfully opposed the emperor. And the emperor insisted that Athanasius had injured the Church, had caused the death of the elder of his two brothers, and had sown the seeds of enmity between Constans and himself. As the emperor revived all the decrees which had been enacted against Athanasius by various councils, and particularly by that of Tyre, Liberius told him that no regard ought to be paid to edicts which were issued from motives of hatred, of favor, or of fear.</p> <p>4.11.5 He desired that the bishops of every region should be made to sign the formulary of faith compiled at</p>	<p>2.15.10 I now desire to insert in my history an account of the admirable arguments addressed by the far-famed Liberius, in defense of the truth, to the emperor Constantius. They are recorded by some of the pious men of that period in order to stimulate others to exercise a similar zeal in divine things. Liberius had succeeded Julius, the successor of Silvester, in the government of the church of Rome.</p> <p>2.16.1 Constantius.—“We have judged it right, as you are a Christian and the bishop of our city, to send for you in order to admonish you to renounce all connection with the folly of the impious Athanasius. For when he was separated from the communion of the Church by the synod, the whole world approved of the decision.”</p> <p>2.16.2 Liberius.—“O Emperor, ecclesiastical sentences ought to be enacted with strictest justice. Therefore, if it be pleasing to your piety, order the court to be assembled, and if it be seen that Athanasius deserves condemnation, then let sentence be passed upon him according to ecclesiastical forms. For it is not possible for us to condemn a man unheard and untried.”</p> <p>2.16.3 Constantius.—“The whole world has condemned his impiety; but he, as he has done from the first, laughs at the danger.”</p> <p>2.16.4 Liberius.—“Those who signed the condemnation were not eye-witnesses of anything that occurred; but were</p>

⁹ Socrates wrongly dates the exile of Liberius (355-357) to just after the Council of Ariminum (359). Cf. T.D. Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire*. Harvard University Press, 2001, p. 203. See also Harmony 2.6, page 383.

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>Nicaea, and that those bishops who had been exiled on account of their adherence to it should be recalled.</p> <p>4.11.6 He (Liberius) suggested that after these matters were righted all the bishops should, at their own expense, and without being furnished either with public conveyances or money, so as not to seem burdensome and destructive, proceed to Alexandria. There they would make an accurate test of the truth, which could be more easily instituted at that city than elsewhere, since the injured and those who had inflicted injury dwelt there, as well as those who were refuting the charges (against Athanasius.)</p> <p>4.11.7 He then exhibited the letter written by Valens and Ursacius to Julius, his predecessor in the Roman see, in which they solicited his forgiveness, and acknowledged that the depositions brought against Athanasius at the Mareotis, were false. Liberius also besought the emperor not to condemn Athanasius during his absence, nor to give credit to enactments which were evidently obtained by the machinations of his enemies.</p> <p>4.11.8 With respect to the alleged injuries which had been inflicted on his two brothers, he pleaded with the emperor not to avenge himself by the hands of priests. For they had been set apart by God, not for the execution of vengeance, but for sanctification, and the performance of just and benevolent actions.</p> <p>4.11.9 The emperor perceiving that Liberius was not disposed to comply with his mandate, commanded that he should be conveyed to Thrace, unless he would change his mind within two days. "To me, O emperor," replied Liberius, "there is no need of deliberation; my resolution has long been formed and decided, and I am ready to go forth to exile."</p> <p>4.11.10 It is said, that when he was being conducted to banishment, the emperor sent him five hundred pieces of gold; he, however, refused to receive them. Instead, Liberius said to the messenger who brought them, "Go, and tell him who sent this gold to give it to the flatterers</p>	<p>acted by the desire of glory, and by the fear of disgrace at thy hands."</p> <p>2.16.5 The Emperor.—"What do you mean by glory and fear and disgrace?"</p> <p>2.16.6 Liberius.—"Those who love not the glory of God, but who attach greater value to thy gifts, have condemned a man whom they have neither seen nor judged. This is very contrary to the principles of Christians."</p> <p>2.16.7 The Emperor.—"Athanasius was tried in person at the council of Tyre, and all the bishops of the world at that synod condemned him."</p> <p>2.16.8 Liberius.—"No judgment has ever been passed on him in his presence. Those who there assembled condemned him after he had retired."</p> <p>2.16.9 Eusebius the Eunuch foolishly interposed.—"It was demonstrated at the council of Nicaea that he held opinions entirely at variance with the catholic faith."</p> <p>2.16.10 Liberius.—"Of all those who sailed to Mareotis, and who were sent for the purpose of drawing up memorials against the accused, five only delivered the sentence against him.</p> <p>2.16.11 Of the five who were thus sent, two are now dead, namely, Theognis and Theodorus. The three others, Maris, Valens, and Ursacius, are still living. Sentence was passed at Sardica against all those who were sent for this purpose to Mareotis. They presented a petition to the council soliciting pardon for having drawn up at Mareotis memorials against Athanasius, consisting of false accusations and depositions of only one party. Their petition is still in our hands. Whose cause are we to espouse, O Emperor? With whom are we to agree and hold communion? With those who first condemned Athanasius, and then solicited pardon for having condemned him, or with those who have condemned these latter?"</p> <p>2.16.12 Epictetus the Bishop.—"O Emperor, it is not on behalf of the faith, nor in defense of ecclesiastical judgments that Liberius is pleading, but merely in order that he may boast before the Roman senators of having conquered the emperor in argument."</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>and hypocrites who surround him, for their insatiable cupidity plunges them into a state of perpetual want which can never be relieved. Christ, who is in all respects, like unto his Father, supplies us with food and with all good things.”</p>	<p>2.16.13 The Emperor (addressing Liberius).—“What portion do you constitute of the universe, that you alone by yourself take part with an impious man, and are destroying the peace of the empire and of the whole world?”</p> <p>2.16.14 Liberius.—“My standing alone does not make the truth a whit the weaker. According to the ancient story, there are found but three men resisting a decree.”</p> <p>2.16.15 Eusebius the Eunuch.—“You make our emperor a Nebuchadnezzar.”</p> <p>2.16.16 Liberius.—“By no means. But you rashly condemn a man without any trial. What I desire is, in the first place, that a general confession of faith be signed, confirming what was drawn up at the council of Nicaea. And secondly, that all our brethren be recalled from exile, and reinstated in their own bishoprics. If, when all this has been carried into execution, it can be shown that the doctrines of all those who now fill the churches with trouble are conformable to the apostolic faith, then we will all assemble at Alexandria to meet the accused, the accusers, and their defender, and after having examined the cause, we will pass judgment upon it.”</p> <p>2.16.17 Epictitus the Bishop.—“There will not be sufficient post-carriages to convey so many bishops.”</p> <p>2.16.18 Liberius.—“Ecclesiastical affairs can be transacted without post-carriages. The churches are able to provide means for the transportation of their respective bishops to the sea coast.”</p> <p>2.16.19 The Emperor.—“The sentence which has once been passed ought not to be revoked. The decision of the greater number of bishops ought to prevail. You alone retain friendship towards that impious man.”</p> <p>2.16.20 Liberius.—“O Emperor, it is a thing before now unheard of, that a judge should accuse the absent of impiety, as if he were his personal enemy.”</p> <p>2.16.21 The Emperor.—“All without exception have been injured by him, but none so deeply as I have been. Not content with the death of my eldest brother, he never ceased to excite Constans, of blessed memory, to enmity against me. But I, with much moderation, put up alike with the vehemence of both the instigator and his victim. Not</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>one of the victories which I have gained, not even excepting those over Magnentius and Silvanus, equals the ejection of this vile man from the government of the Church.”</p> <p>2.16.22 Liberius.—“Do not vindicate your own hatred and revenge, O Emperor, by the instrumentality of bishops. For their hands ought only to be raised for purposes of blessing and of sanctification. If it be consonant with your will, command the bishops to return to their own residences; and if it appear that they are of one mind with him who today maintains the true doctrines of the confession of faith signed at Nicaea, then let them come together and see to the peace of the world, in order that an innocent man may not serve as a mark for reproach.”</p> <p>2.16.23 The Emperor.—“One question only requires to be made. I wish you to enter into communion with the churches, and to send you back to Rome. Consent therefore to peace, and sign your assent, and then you shall return to Rome.”</p> <p>2.16.24 Liberius.—“I have already taken leave of the brethren who are in that city. The decrees of the Church are of greater importance than a residence in Rome.”</p> <p>2.16.25 The Emperor.—“You have three days to consider whether you will sign the document and return to Rome; if not, you must choose the place of your banishment.”</p> <p>2.16.26 Liberius.—“Neither three days nor three months can change my sentiments. Send me wherever you please.”</p> <p>2.16.27 After the lapse of two days the emperor sent for Liberius, and finding his opinions unchanged, he commanded him to be banished to Beroea, a city of Thrace. Upon the departure of Liberius, the emperor sent him five hundred pieces of gold to defray his expenses.</p> <p>2.16.28 Liberius said to the messenger who brought them, “Go, and give them back to the emperor; he has need of them to pay his troops.” The empress also sent him a sum of the same amount; he said, “Take it to the emperor, for he may want it to pay his troops; but if not, let it be given to Auxentius and Epictetus, for they stand in</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>need of it." Eusebius the eunuch brought him other sums of money.</p> <p>2.16.29 Liberius thus addressed him: "You have turned all the churches of the world into a desert, and do you bring alms to me, as to a criminal? Begone, and become first a Christian." He was sent into exile three days afterwards, without having accepted anything that was offered him.</p> <p>2.17.1 This victorious champion of the truth [Liberius] was then sent into Thrace, according to the imperial order.</p>
355 - Felix replaces Liberius in Rome		
<p>2.37.91b The followers of Ursacius appointed Felix to succeed him.</p> <p>2.37.92 He had been a deacon in that church, but on embracing the Arian heresy was elevated to the episcopate. Some however assert that he was not favorable to that opinion, but was constrained by force to receive the ordination of bishop.</p>	<p>4.11.11 Liberius having for the above reasons been deposed from the Roman church, his government was transferred to Felix, a deacon of the clergy there. It is said that Felix always continued in adherence to the Nicene faith; and that, with respect to his conduct in religious matters he was blameless. The only thing alleged against him, was that, prior to his ordination, he held communion with the heterodox.</p>	
356 - Athanasius sends representatives to Constantius, but ignores summons to court		
	<p>4.9.6 Athanasius, being notified that plots had been formed against him at court, deemed it prudent not to travel to the emperor himself, as he knew that his life would be thereby endangered, nor did he think that it would be of any avail. He, however, selected five of the Egyptian bishops, among whom was Serapion, bishop of Thumis, a prelate distinguished by the wonderful sanctity of his life and the power of his eloquence, and sent them with three presbyters of the Church to the emperor, who was then in the West.</p> <p>4.9.7 They were directed to attempt, if possible, to conciliate the emperor; to reply if needed, to the accusations of the hostile party; and to take such measures as they deemed most advisable for the welfare of the Church and himself. Shortly after they had embarked on their voyage, Athanasius received some letters from the emperor, summoning him to the palace. Athanasius and all the people of the Church were greatly troubled at this command; for they considered that no safety could be</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>enjoyed when acting either in obedience or in disobedience to an emperor of heterodox sentiments. It was, however, determined that he should remain at Alexandria, and the bearer of the letters quitted the city without having achieved anything.</p> <p>4.9.8 The following summer, another messenger from the emperor arrived with the governors of the provinces, and he was charged to urge the departure of Athanasius from the city, and to act with hostility against the clergy. When he perceived, however, that the people of the Church were full of courage and ready to take up arms, he also departed from the city without accomplishing his mission.</p> <p>4.9.9 Not long after, troops, called the Roman legions, which were quartered in Egypt and Libya, marched into Alexandria. As it was reported that Athanasius was concealed in the church known by the name "Theonas," the commander of the troops, and Hilary, whom the emperor had again entrusted with the transaction of this affair, caused the doors of the church to be burst open. Thus they effected their entrance, but they did not find Athanasius within the walls, although they sought for him everywhere.</p> <p>4.9.10 It is said that he escaped this and many other perils by Divine intervention; and that God had disclosed this previously. Directly as he went out, the soldiers took the doors of the church, and were almost at the point of seizing him.</p>	
Digression: Athanasius's ability to escape miraculously and foresee events		
	<p>4.10.1 There is no doubt but that Athanasius was beloved of God, and endowed with the gift of foreseeing the future. More wonderful facts than those which we have related might be cited to prove his intimate acquaintance with futurity.</p> <p>4.10.2 It happened that during the life of Constans, the Emperor Constantius was once determined upon ill-treating this holy man; but Athanasius fled, and concealed himself with one of his acquaintances. He lived for a long time in a subterraneous and sunless dwelling, which had been used as a reservoir for water. No one knew where he</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>was concealed except a serving-woman who seemed faithful, and who waited upon him.</p> <p>4.10.3 As the heterodox, however, were anxiously intent upon taking Athanasius alive, it appears that by means of gifts or promises, they at length succeeded in corrupting the attendant. But Athanasius was forewarned by God of her treachery, and effected his escape from the place. The servant was punished for having made a false deposition against her masters, while they, on their part, fled the country. For it was accounted no trifling crime by the heterodox to receive or to conceal Athanasius. On the contrary, it was regarded as an act of disobedience against the express commands of the emperor and as a crime against the empire, and was visited as such by the civil tribunals.</p> <p>4.10.4 It has come to my hearing that Athanasius was saved on another occasion in a similar manner. He was again obliged for the same reason to flee for his life; and he set sail up the Nile with the design of retreating to the further districts of Egypt. But his enemies received intelligence of his intention, and pursued him. Being forewarned by God that he would be pursued, he announced it to his fellow-passengers, and commanded them to return to Alexandria. While he sailed down the river, his plotters rowed by. He reached Alexandria in safety, and effectually concealed himself in the midst of its similar and numerous houses.</p> <p>4.10.5 His success in avoiding these and many other perils led to his being accused of sorcery by the pagan and the heterodox.</p> <p>4.10.6 It is reported, that once as he was passing through the city, a crow was heard to caw, and that a number of pagans who happened to be on the spot, asked him in derision what the crow was saying. He replied, smiling, "It utters the sound <i>cras</i>, the meaning of which in the Latin language is, 'tomorrow.' It has hereby announced to you that the morrow will not be favorable to you; for it indicates that you will be forbidden by the Roman emperor to celebrate your festival tomorrow."</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>4.10.7 Although this prediction of Athanasius appeared to be absurd, it was fulfilled. For on the following day, edicts were transmitted to the governors from the emperor, by which it was commanded that the pagans were not to be permitted to assemble in the temples to perform their usual ceremonies, nor to celebrate their festival. And thus was abolished the most solemn and magnificent feast which the pagans had retained. What I have said is sufficient to show that this holy man was endowed with the gift of prophecy.</p>	
356 - Tyrannical rule of George in Alexandria		
<p>2.28.1 What cruelties George perpetrated at Alexandria at the same time may be learned from the narration of Athanasius, who both suffered in and witnessed the occurrences.</p>	<p>4.4.1 On the expulsion of Athanasius, which took place about this period, George persecuted all those throughout Egypt who refused to conform to his sentiments.</p>	<p>2.14.1 Athanasius having thus escaped the bloodstained hands of his adversaries, George, who was truly another wolf, was entrusted with authority over the flock. He treated the sheep with more cruelty than wolf, or bear, or leopard could have shewn. He compelled young women who had vowed perpetual virginity, not only to disown the communion of Athanasius, but also to anathematize the faith of the fathers.</p> <p>2.14.2 The agent in his cruelty was Sebastian, an officer in command of troops. He ordered a fire to be kindled in the centre of the city, and placed the virgins, who were stripped naked, close to it, commanding them to deny the faith.</p> <p>2.14.3 Although they formed a most sorrowful and pitiable spectacle for believers as well as for unbelievers, they considered that all these dishonours conferred the highest honour on them; and they joyfully received the blows inflicted on them on account of their faith. All these facts shall be more clearly narrated by their own pastor.</p>
<p>2.28.2 In his 'Apology for his flight,' speaking of these transactions, he thus expresses himself:</p>		
<p>2.28.3 'Moreover, they came to Alexandria, again seeking to destroy me: and on this occasion their proceedings were worse than before; for the soldiery having suddenly surrounded the church, there arose the clamor of war, instead of the voice of prayer.</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>2.28.3b Afterwards, on his arrival during Lent, George who was sent from Cappadocia, added to the evil which he was instructed to work.</p> <p>2.28.4 When Easter-week was passed, the virgins were cast into prison, the bishops were led in chains by the military, and the dwellings even of orphans and widows were forcibly entered and their provisions pillaged from house to house. Christians were assassinated by night; houses were sealed; and the relatives of the clergy were endangered on their account.</p> <p>2.28.5 Even these outrages were dreadful; but those that followed were still more so. For in the week after the holy Pentecost, the people, having fasted, went forth to the cemetery to pray, because all were opposed to communion with George.</p> <p>2.28.6 That wickedest of men being informed of this, instigated against them Sebastian, an officer who was a Manichaeon. He, accordingly, at the head of a body of troops armed with drawn swords, bows, and darts, marched out to attack the people, although it was the Lord's Day.</p> <p>2.28.7 Finding only a few people at prayer, since most had gone to bed because of the late hour, he performed such deeds as one might expect from them.</p> <p>2.28.8 Having kindled a fire, he set the virgins near it, in order to compel them to say that they were of the Arian faith.</p> <p>2.28.9 But seeing they stood their ground and despised the fire, he then stripped them, and so beat them on the face, that for a long time afterwards they could scarcely be recognized.</p> <p>2.28.10 Seizing also about forty men, he flogged them in an extraordinary manner: for he so lacerated their backs with rods fresh cut from the palm-tree, which still had their thorns on, that some were obliged to resort repeatedly to surgical aid in order to have the thorns extracted from their flesh, and others, unable to bear the agony, died under its infliction.</p> <p>2.28.11 All the survivors with one virgin they banished to the Great Oasis. The bodies of the dead they</p>		<p>2.14.4 Afterwards, on his arrival during Lent, George who was sent from Cappadocia, added to the evil which he was instructed to work.</p> <p>When Easter-week was passed, the virgins were cast into prison, the bishops were led in chains by the military, and the dwellings even of orphans and widows were forcibly entered. Robbery and violence went on from house to house, and the Christians were assassinated by night; houses were sealed; and the relatives of the clergy were endangered on their account.</p> <p>2.14.5 Even these outrages were dreadful; but those that followed were still more so. For in the week after the holy Pentecost, the people, having fasted, went forth to the cemetery to pray, because all were opposed to communion with George.</p> <p>2.14.6 That wickedest of men being informed of this, instigated against them Sebastian, an officer who was a Manichaeon. He, accordingly, at the head of a body of troops armed with drawn swords, bows, and darts, marched out to attack the people, although it was the Lord's day.</p> <p>2.14.7 Finding only a few people at prayer, since most had one to bed because of the late hour, he performed such deeds as one might expect from them. Having kindled a fire, he set the virgins near it, in order to compel them to say that they were of the Arian faith.</p> <p>2.14.8 When he perceived that they were conquering, and giving no heed to the fire, he then stripped them, and so beat them on the face, that for a long time afterwards they could scarcely be recognized. He then seized forty men, and inflicted on them a new kind of torture. He ordered them to be scourged with branches of palm-trees, retaining their thorns; and by these their flesh was so lacerated that some, because of the thorns fixed fast in them had again and again to put themselves under the surgeon's hand; others were not able to bear the agony and died.</p> <p>2.14.9 All who survived, and also the virgins, they banished to the Great Oasis. The bodies of the dead they did not so much as give up to their relatives, but denying</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>did not so much as give up to their relatives, but denying them the rites of burial they concealed them as they thought fit, that the evidences of their cruelty might not appear.</p> <p>2.28.12 They did this acting as madmen. For while the friends of the deceased rejoiced on account of their confession, but mourned because their bodies were unburied, the impious inhumanity of these acts was sounded abroad the more conspicuously.</p> <p>2.28.13 For soon after this they sent into exile out of Egypt and the two Libyas the following bishops: Ammonius, Thmuīs, Caius, Philo, Hermes, Pliny, Psenosiris, Nilammon, Agatho, Anagamphus, Mark, Ammonius, another Mark, Dracontius, Adelphius, and Athenodorus; and the presbyters Hierax and Discorus.</p> <p>2.28.14 And so harshly did they treat them in conducting them, that some perished while on their journey, and others in the place of banishment. In this way they got rid of more than thirty bishops, for the anxious desire of the Arians, like Ahab’s, was to exterminate the truth if possible.’</p> <p>2.28.15 Such are the words of Athanasius in regard to the atrocities perpetrated by George at Alexandria.</p>		<p>them the rites of burial they concealed them as they thought fit, that the evidences of their cruelty might not appear.</p> <p>2.14.10 They did this acting as madmen. For while the friends of the deceased rejoiced on account of their confession, but mourned because their bodies were unburied, the inhumanity of these acts was sounded abroad the more conspicuously.</p> <p>2.14.11 For soon after this they sent into exile out of Egypt and the two Libyas the following bishops: Ammonius, Muīus, Caius, Philo, Hermes, Plenius, Psinosiris, Nilammon, Agapius, Anagamphus, Marcus, Dracontius, Adelphius, another Ammonius, another Marcus, and Athenodorus; and also the presbyters Hierax and Dioscorus. And so harshly did they treat them in conducting them, that some perished while on their journey, and others in the place of banishment. In this way they got rid of more than thirty bishops, for the anxious desire of the Arians, like Ahab’s, was to exterminate the truth if possible."</p> <p>2.14.12 Athanasius also, in a letter addressed to the virgins who were treated with so much barbarity, uses the following words.</p> <p>2.14.13 “Let none of you be grieved although these impious heretics grudge you burial and prevent your corpses being carried forth. The impiety of the Arians has reached such a height, that they block up the gates, and sit like so many demons around the tombs, in order to hinder the dead from being buried.”</p> <p>2.14.14 These and many other similar atrocities were perpetrated by George in Alexandria. The holy Athanasius was well aware that there was no spot which could be considered a place of safety for him; for the emperor had promised a very large reward to whoever should bring him alive, or his head as a proof of his death.</p>
	4.10.8 After Athanasius had escaped, in the manner we have described, from those who sought to arrest him, his	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>clergy and people remained for some time in possession of the churches. Eventually however, the governor of Egypt and the commander of the army forcibly ejected all those who maintained the sentiments of Athanasius, in order to deliver up the government of the churches to those who favored George, whose arrival was then expected.</p> <p>4.10.9 Not long after, he reached the city and the churches were placed under his authority. He ruled by force rather than by priestly moderation. And because he strove to strike terror into the minds of the people, and he carried on a cruel persecution against the followers of Athanasius, and moreover, imprisoned and maimed many men and women, he was accounted a tyrant.</p> <p>4.10.10 For these reasons he fell into a universal hate. The people were so deeply incensed at his conduct, that they rushed into the church, and would have torn him to pieces. But in such an extremity of danger, he escaped with difficulty and fled to the emperor.</p> <p>4.10.11 Those who held the sentiments of Athanasius then took possession of the churches. But they did not long retain the mastery of them, for the commander of the troops in Egypt came and restored the churches to the partisans of George. An imperial shorthand writer of the notary class was afterwards sent to punish the leaders of the sedition, and he tortured and scourged many of the citizens.</p> <p>4.10.12 When George returned a little while after, he was more formidable, it appears, than ever. He was also regarded with greater aversion than before, for he instigated the emperor to the perpetration of many evil deeds; and besides, the monks of Egypt openly declared him to be deceitful and inflated with arrogance. The opinions of these monks were always adopted by the people, and their testimony was universally received, because they were noted for their virtue and the philosophical tenor of their lives.</p> <p>4.11.1 Although what I have recorded did not occur to Athanasius and the church of Alexandria at the same period of time after the death of Constans, yet I deemed it</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	right, for the sake of greater clearness, to relate all these events collectively.	
357 - The Second Creed of Sirmium (Latin, translated into Greek)¹⁰		
<p>2.30.31 Here is another exposition of the faith set forth at Sirmium in Latin, and afterwards translated into Greek:</p> <p>Since it appeared good that some deliberation respecting the faith should be undertaken, all points have been carefully investigated and discussed at Sirmium, in the presence of Valens, Ursacius, Germinius, and others.</p> <p>2.30.32 It is evident that there is one God, the Father Almighty, just as it is declared over the whole world; and his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, our Lord, God, and Savior, begotten of him before the ages.</p> <p>2.30.33 But we should not say that there are two Gods, since the Lord himself has said ‘I go unto my Father and your Father, and unto my God and your God.’</p> <p>2.30.34 Therefore he is God even of all, as the apostle also taught, ‘Is he the God of the Jews only? Is he not also of the Gentiles? Yea of the Gentiles also; seeing that it is one God who shall justify the circumcision by faith.’ And in all other matters there is agreement, nor is there any ambiguity.</p> <p>2.30.35 But since it troubles very many to understand about that which is termed <i>substantia</i> in Latin, and <i>ousia</i> in Greek; that is to say, in order to mark the sense more accurately, the word <i>homoousion</i> or <i>homoiousion</i>, it is altogether desirable that none of these terms should be mentioned. Nor should they be preached on in the church for the following reason: that nothing is recorded concerning them in the holy Scriptures, and because these things are above the knowledge of mankind and human capacity. For no one can explain the Son’s generation, of which it is written, ‘And who shall declare his generation?’ It is manifest that the Father</p>	<p>4.6.9 In one of the Roman formularies, it is forbidden to say, of the essence of the Godhead which the Romans call substance, that the Son is either consubstantial, or of like substance with the Father, as such statements do not occur in the Holy Scriptures, and are beyond the reach of the understanding and knowledge of men.</p>	

¹⁰ This is the creed that is also called the “Blasphemy of Sirmium” or the Anomoean Creed (cf. <http://www.fourthcentury.com/index.php/second-creed-of-sirmium-or-the-blasphemy-of-sirmium/>)

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>only knows in what way he begat the Son; and again the Son, how he was begotten by the Father.</p> <p>2.30.36 But no one can doubt that the Father is greater in honor, dignity, and divinity, and in the very name of Father, because the Son himself testifies, ‘My Father who has sent me is greater than I.’</p> <p>2.30.37 And no one is ignorant that this is also catholic doctrine: that there are two persons of the Father and Son, and that the Father is the greater but the Son is subject, together with all things which the Father has subjected to him.</p> <p>2.30.38 That the Father had no beginning, and is invisible, immortal, and impossible, but that the Son was begotten of the Father, God of God, Light of Light; and that no one comprehends his generation, as was before said, but the Father alone.</p> <p>2.30.39 That the Son himself, our Lord and God, took flesh or a body, that is to say human nature, just as the angel brought glad tidings, and as the whole Scriptures teaches, and especially the apostle who was the great teacher of the Gentiles. Christ assumed the human nature through which he suffered, from the Virgin Mary.</p> <p>2.30.40 But the summary and confirmation of the entire faith is, that the doctrine of the Trinity should be always maintained, according to how we have read it in the gospel, ‘Go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.’ Thus, the number of the Trinity is complete and perfect.</p> <p>2.30.41 Now the Comforter, the Holy Spirit who was sent by the Son, came according to his promise in order to sanctify and instruct the apostles and all believers.</p>	<p>4.6.10a It is said, that the Father must be recognized as superior to the Son in honor, in dignity, in divinity, and in the relationship suggested by His name “Father”....</p> <p>4.6.10b ...and that it must be confessed that the Son, like all created beings, is subject to the Father, that the Father had no commencement, and that the generation of the Son is unknown to all save the Father.</p>	
The bishops at Sirmium unsuccessfully attempt to retract their creed		
<p>2.30.47 Now the bishops who were convened at Sirmium, were afterwards dissatisfied with that form of the creed which had been set forth by them in Latin; for after its publication, it appeared to them to contain many contradictions.</p> <p>2.30.48 They therefore endeavored to get it back again from the transcribers; but since many reproduced it, the</p>	<p>4.6.11a It is said that when this formulary was completed, the bishops became aware of the errors it contained.</p> <p>4.6.11b They endeavored to withdraw it from the public, and to correct it. It is also said that the emperor threatened</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>emperor by his edicts commanded that the version should be sought for, threatening punishment to anyone who should be detected concealing it.</p> <p>2.30.49 These menaces, however, were incapable of suppressing what had already fallen into the hands of many. Let this suffice in regard to these affairs.</p>	<p>to punish those who should retain or conceal any of the copies that had been made of it.</p> <p>4.6.11c But, once it was published, no efforts were adequate to suppress it altogether.</p>	
Summary of the second Latin Creed of Sirmium		
	<p>4.6.12 The third formulary is of the same import as the others. It prohibits the use of the term “substance” on account of the terms used in Latin, while the Greek term has been used with too much simplicity by the Fathers. And also, since it has been a cause of offense to many of the unlearned multitude because it is not found in the Scriptures, “we have deemed it right totally to reject the use of it. We also would mandate the omission of all mention of the term in allusion to the Godhead, for it is nowhere said in the Holy Scriptures that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are of the same substance, where the word person is written. But we say, in conformity with the Holy Scriptures, that the Son is like unto the Father.”</p>	
357¹¹ - Council of Antioch		
	<p>4.8.3 Those who were opposed to the doctrines of the Nicaean council thought this a favorable opportunity to slander the bishops whom they had deposed, and to procure their ejection from the church as abettors of false doctrine and disturbers of the public peace. They also deemed it a favorable opportunity to accuse them of having sought, during the life of Constans, to excite a misunderstanding between the emperors. For it was true, as we related above, that Constans menaced his brother with war unless he would consent to receive the orthodox bishops.</p> <p>4.8.4 Their efforts were principally directed against Athanasius, towards whom they entertained so great an aversion, that even when he was protected by Constans, and enjoyed the friendship of Constantius, they could not conceal their enmity. Narcissus, bishop of Cilicia,</p>	

¹¹ On this council, cf, <http://www.fourthcentury.com/index.php/council-of-antioch-ad-357/>.

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>Theodore, bishop of Thrace, Eugenius, bishop of Nicaea, Patrophilus, bishop of Scythopolis, Menophantes, bishop of Ephesus, and other bishops, about thirty in all, assembled themselves in Antioch and wrote a letter to all the bishops of every region. In this letter they stated that Athanasius had returned to his bishopric in violation of the rules of the Church, that he had not justified himself in any council, and that he was only supported by some of his own faction. They also exhorted them not to hold communion with him nor to write to him, but to enter into communion with George, who had been ordained to succeed him.</p>	
May, 357 - The people of Rome demand Liberius back		
<p>4.11.12a When the emperor entered Rome, the people loudly demanded Liberius, and besought his return.</p>	<p>2.17.1 This victorious champion of the truth was sent into Thrace, according to the imperial order. Two years after this event Constantius went to Rome. The ladies of rank urged their husbands to petition the emperor for the restoration of the shepherd to his flock. They added that if this were not granted, they would desert them, and go themselves after their great pastor.</p> <p>2.17.2 Their husbands replied that they were afraid of incurring the resentment of the emperor. "If we were to ask him," they continued, "being men, he would deem it an unpardonable offence; but if you were yourselves to present the petition, he would at any rate spare you, and would either accede to your request, or else dismiss you without injury." These noble ladies adopted this suggestion, and presented themselves before the emperor in all their customary splendor of array, that so the sovereign, judging their rank from their dress, might count them worthy of being treated with courtesy and kindness.</p> <p>2.17.3 Thus entering the presence, they besought him to take pity on the condition of so large a city, deprived of its shepherd, and made an easy prey to the attacks of wolves. The emperor replied that the flock possessed a shepherd capable of tending it, and that no other was needed in the city. For after the banishment of the great Liberius, one of his deacons, named Felix, had been appointed bishop. He preserved the pure doctrines set forth in the Nicene</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>4.11.12b After consulting with the bishops who were with him, he replied that he would recall Liberius and restore him to the people, if he would consent to embrace the same sentiments as those held by the priests of the court.</p>	<p>confession of faith, yet he held communion with those who had corrupted that faith.</p> <p>2.17.4 For this reason none of the citizens of Rome would enter the House of Prayer while he was in it. The ladies mentioned these facts to the emperor.</p> <p>2.17.4b Their persuasions were successful; and he commanded that the great Liberius should be recalled from exile, and that the two bishops should conjointly rule the Church.</p> <p>2.17.5 The edict of the emperor was read in the circus, and the multitude shouted that the imperial ordinance was just; that the spectators were divided into two factions, each deriving its name from its own colors, and that each faction would now have its own bishop.</p> <p>2.17.6 After having thus ridiculed the edict of the emperor, they all exclaimed with one voice, "One God, one Christ, one bishop." I have deemed it right to set down their precise words.</p>	
Liberius and others forced to sign a document in Sirmium		
	<p>4.15.1 Not long after these events, the emperor returned to Sirmium from Rome. On receiving a deputation from the Western bishops, he recalled Liberius from Beroea. Constantius urged him, in the presence of the deputies of the Eastern bishops, and of the other priests who were at the camp, to confess that the Son is not of the same substance as the Father. He was instigated to this measure by Basil, Eustathius, and Eusebius, who possessed great influence over him.</p> <p>4.15.2 They had formed a compilation in one document, of the decrees against Paul of Samosata, and Photinus, bishop of Sirmium. To this they subjoined a formulary of faith drawn up at Antioch at the consecration of the church, as if certain persons had, under the pretext of the term "consubstantial," attempted to establish a heresy of their own. Liberius, Athanasius, Alexander, Severianus, and Crescens, a priest of Africa, were induced to assent to this document, as were likewise Ursacius, Germanius, bishop of Sirmium, Valens, bishop of Mursa, and as many of the Eastern bishops as were present.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>4.15.3 They partially approved of a confession of faith drawn up by Liberius, in which he declared that those who affirm that the Son is not like unto the Father in substance and in all other respects, are excommunicated. For when Eudoxius and his partisans at Antioch, who favored the heresy of Aetius, received the letter of Hosius, they circulated the report that Liberius had renounced the term “consubstantial,” and had admitted that the Son is dissimilar from the Father.</p>	
357 - Liberius regains control of Rome and subordinates Felix		
	<p>4.15.4a After these enactments had been made by the Western bishops, the emperor permitted Liberius to return to Rome.</p> <p>4.15.4b The bishops who were then convened at Sirmium wrote to Felix, who governed the Roman church, and to the other bishops, desiring them to receive Liberius. They directed that both should share the apostolical throne and discharge the priestly duties in common, with harmony of mind; and that whatever illegalities might have occurred in the ordination of Felix, or the banishment of Liberius, might be buried in oblivion.</p> <p>4.15.5 The people of Rome regarded Liberius as a very excellent man, and esteemed him highly on account of the courage he had evinced in opposing the emperor, so that they had even excited seditions on his account, and had gone so far as to shed blood. Felix survived but a short time; and Liberius found himself in sole possession of the church.</p> <p>4.15.6 This event was, no doubt, ordained by God, that the seat of Peter might not be dishonored by the occupancy of two bishops. For such an arrangement is a sign of discord, and is foreign to ecclesiastical law.</p>	<p>2.17.7 Sometime after these Christian people had uttered these pious and righteous acclamations, the holy Liberius returned, and Felix retired to another city. I have, for the sake of preserving order, appended this narrative to what relates to the proceedings of the bishops at Milan. I shall now return to the relation of events in their due course.</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
Aetius founds an Arian sect		
<p>2.35.1 At Antioch in Syria another heresiarch sprang up, Aëtius, surnamed Atheus. He agreed in doctrine with Arius, and maintained the same opinions.</p> <p>2.35.2 But he separated himself from the Arian party because they had admitted Arius into communion.</p> <p>2.35.3 For Arius, as I have before related, entertained one opinion in his heart and professed another with his lips. He had hypocritically assented to and subscribed the form of faith set forth at the council of Nicaea, in order to deceive the reigning emperor.</p> <p>2.35.4 On this account, therefore, Aetius separated himself from the Arians. He had, however, previously been a heretic and a zealous advocate of Arian views.</p> <p>2.35.5 After receiving some very scanty instruction at Alexandria, he departed from there and arrived at Antioch in Syria, which was his native place. He was then ordained deacon by Leontius, who was then bishop of that city.</p> <p>2.35.6 Upon this he began to astonish those who conversed with him by the uniqueness of his discourses. And this he did in dependence on the precepts of Aristotle's Categories; there is a book of that name, the scope of which he neither himself perceived, nor had been enlightened on by conversing with learned persons. The result was that he was little aware that he was framing fallacious arguments to perplex and deceive himself.</p> <p>2.35.7 For Aristotle had composed this work to exercise the ingenuity of his young disciples, and to confound by subtle arguments the sophists who affected to deride philosophy.</p> <p>2.35.8 Therefore the Ephetic academicians, who expound the writings of Plato and Plotinus, censure the vain subtlety which Aristotle has displayed in that book.</p> <p>2.35.9 But Aëtius, who never had the advantage of an academic instructor, adhered to the sophisms of the Categories. For this reason he was unable to comprehend how there could be generation without a</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>beginning, and how that which was begotten can be co-eternal with him who begat.</p> <p>2.35.10 In fact, Aëtius was a man of such superficial achievements, so little acquainted with the sacred Scriptures, and so extremely fond of criticizing, (a thing which any clown might do) that he had never carefully studied those ancient writers who have interpreted the Christian oracles. Indeed he wholly rejected Clemens and Africanus and Origen, men eminent for their information in every department of literature and science.</p> <p>2.35.11 But he composed epistles both to the emperor Constantius, and to some other persons, in which he interwove tedious disputes for the purpose of displaying his sophisms. He has therefore been surnamed Atheus.</p> <p>2.35.12 But although his doctrinal statements were similar to those of the Arians, yet from the cryptic nature of his syllogisms which they were unable to comprehend, his associates in Arianism pronounced him a heretic.</p> <p>2.35.13 Being for that reason expelled from their church, he pretended to have separated himself from their communion.</p> <p>2.35.14 Even in the present day there are to be found some who used to be named Aetians after him, but now are called Eunomians. For some time later Eunomius, who had been his assisstant, having been instructed by his master in this heretical mode of reasoning, later became the head of that sect. But we shall speak more fully of Eunomius in the proper place.</p>		
Developments in the Church of Antioch: Leontius becomes bishop		
		<p>2.9.1 At this period Stephanus held the rudder of the church of Antioch, and had well-nigh sunk the ship, for he employed several tools in his despotic doings, and by their aid involved all who maintained orthodox doctrines in numerous calamities.</p> <p>2.9.2 The leader of these instruments was a young man of a rash and reckless character, who led a very infamous life. He not only dragged away men from the market-place, and treated them with blows and insult, but had the</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>audacity to enter private houses, from which he carried off men and women of irreproachable character. But, not to be too lengthy in relating his crimes, I will merely narrate his daring conduct towards the bishops.</p> <p>2.9.3 For this alone is sufficient to give an idea of the unlawful deeds of violence which he perpetrated against the citizens. He went to one of the lowest women of the town, and told her that some strangers had just arrived, who desired to pass the night with her. He took fifteen of his band, placed them in hiding among the stone walls at the bottom of the hill, and then went for the prostitute.</p> <p>2.9.4 After giving the preconcerted signal, and learning that the folk privy to the plot were on the spot, he went to the gate of the courtyard belonging to the inn where the bishops were lodging. The doors were opened by one of the household servants, who had been bribed by him. He then conducted the woman into the house, pointed out to her the door of the room where one of the bishops slept, and desired her to enter. Then he went out to call his accomplices.</p> <p>2.9.5 The door which he had pointed out happened to be that of Euphratas, the elder bishop, whose room was the outer of the two. Vincentius, the other bishop, occupied the inner room.</p> <p>2.9.6 When the woman entered the room of Euphratas, he heard the sound of her footsteps, and, as it was then dark, asked who was there. She spoke, and Euphratas was full of alarm, for he thought that it was a devil imitating the voice of a woman, and he called upon Christ the Saviour for aid.</p> <p>2.9.7 Onager, for this was the name of the leader of this wicked band (a name peculiarly appropriate to him, as he not only used his hands but also his feet as weapons against the pious), had in the meantime returned with his lawless crew, denouncing as criminals those who were expecting to be judges of crime themselves. At the noise which was made all the servants came running in, and up got Vincentius.</p> <p>2.9.8 They closed the gate of the courtyards, and captured seven of the gang; but Onager and the rest made</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>off. The woman was committed to custody with those who had been seized. At the break of day the bishops awoke the officer who had come with them, and they all three proceeded together to the palace, to complain of the audacious acts of Stephanus, whose evil deeds, they said, were too evident to need either trial or torture to prove them.</p> <p>2.9.9 The general loudly demanded of the emperor that the audacious act should not be dealt with synodically, but by ordinary legal process, and offered to give up the clergy attached to the bishops to be first examined, and declared that the agents of Stephanus must undergo the torture too. To this Stephanus insolently objected, alleging that the clergy ought not to be scourged. The emperor and the principal authorities then decided that it would be better to judge the cause in the palace.</p> <p>2.9.10 The woman was first of all questioned, and was asked by whom she was conducted to the inn where the bishops were lodging.</p> <p>2.9.11 She replied, that a young man came to her, and told her that some strangers had arrived who were desirous of her company; that in the evening he conducted her to the inn; that he went to look for his band, and when he had found it, brought her in through the door of the court, and desired her to go into the chamber adjoining the vestibule. She added, that the bishop asked who was there; that he was alarmed; and that he began to pray; and that then others ran to the spot.</p> <p>2.10.1 After the judges had heard these replies, they ordered the youngest of those who had been arrested to be brought before them. Before he was subjected to the examination by scourging, he confessed the whole plot, and stated that it was planned and carried into execution by Onager. On being brought in the latter affirmed that he had only acted according to the commands of Stephanus.</p> <p>2.10.2 The guilt of Stephanus being thus demonstrated, the bishops then present were charged to depose him, and expel him from the Church. By his expulsion the Church was not, however, wholly freed from the plague of Arianism. Leontius, who succeeded him in his presidency,</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>was a Phrygian of so subtle and artful a disposition, that he might be said to resemble the sunken rocks of the sea. We shall presently narrate more concerning him.</p> <p>2.10.3 The emperor Constantius, having become acquainted with the plots formed against the bishops, wrote to the great Athanasius once, and twice, aye and thrice, exhorting him to return from the West. I shall here insert the second letter, because it is the shortest of the three.</p>
<p>2.26.9b This last person [Leontius], when a presbyter, had been divested of his rank, because he had castrated himself in order to remove all suspicion of illicit intercourse with a woman named Eustolium, with whom he spent a considerable portion of his time. From then on, he had lived more unreservedly with her, on the ground that there could be no longer any ground for evil surmises.</p> <p>2.26.10 Afterwards however, at the earnest desire of the Emperor Constantius, he was created bishop of the church at Antioch, after Stephen, the successor of Placitus. So much respecting this.</p>		<p>2.24.1 At Antioch, Placidus was succeeded by Stephanus, who was expelled from the Church. Leontius then accepted the Primacy, but in violation of the decrees of the Nicene Council, for he had mutilated himself, and was a eunuch. The cause of his rash deed is thus narrated by the blessed Athanasius.</p> <p>2.24.2 Leontius, it seems, was the victim of slanderous statements on account of a certain young woman of the name of Eustolia. Finding himself prevented from dwelling with her he mutilated himself for her sake, in order that he might feel free to live with her. But he did not clear himself of suspicion, and all the more for this reason was deposed from the presbyterate.</p> <p>2.24.3a So much Athanasius has written about the rest of his earlier life. I shall now give a summary exposure of his evil conduct.</p>
Leontius allows Arian sentiments to prevail in Antioch		
		<p>2.24.3b Now, though he shared the Arian error, he always endeavored to conceal his unsoundness. He observed that the clergy and the rest of the people were divided into two parts, the one, in giving glory to the Son, using the conjunction “and,” the other using the preposition “through” of the Son, and applying “in” to the Holy Ghost. He himself offered all the doxology in silence, and all that those standing near him could hear was the “For ever and ever.”</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>2.24.4 And had not the exceeding wickedness of his soul been betrayed by other means, it might have been said that he adopted this contrivance from a wish to promote concord among the people. But when he had wrought much mischief to the champions of the truth, and continued to give every support to the promoters of impiety, he was convicted of concealing his own unsoundness. He was influenced both by his fear of the people, and by the grievous threats which Constantius had uttered against any who had dared to say that the Son was unlike the Father.</p> <p>2.24.5 His real sentiments were however proved by his conduct. Followers of the Apostolic doctrines never received from him either ordination or indeed the least encouragement. Men, on the other hand, who sided with the Arian superstition, were both allowed perfect liberty in expressing their opinions, and were from time to time admitted to priestly office.</p>
Aetius is excommunicated for teaching that the Son is dissimilar to the Father, but still favored by Leontius		
	<p>4.12.1 About this time, Aetius broached his peculiar opinions concerning the Godhead. He was then deacon of the church of Antioch, and had been ordained by Leontius. He maintained, like Arius, that the Son is a created being, that He was created out of nothing, and that He is dissimilar from the Father. As he was extremely addicted to contention, very bold in his assertions on theological subjects, and prone to have recourse to a very subtle mode of argumentation, he was accounted a heretic, even by those who held the same sentiments as himself.</p> <p>4.12.2 When he had been, for this reason excommunicated by the heterodox, he feigned a refusal to hold communion with them. Because, he claimed, they had unjustly admitted Arius into communion after he had perjured himself by declaring to the Emperor Constantine that he maintained the doctrines of the council of Nicaea. Such is the account given of Aetius.</p>	<p>2.24.6 At this juncture Aetius, the master of Eunomius, who promoted the Arian error by his speculations, was admitted to the diaconate.</p> <p>2.24.7 Flavianus and Diodorus, however, who had embraced an ascetic career, and were open champions of the Apostolic decrees, publicly protested against the attacks of Leontius against true religion. That a man nurtured in iniquity and scheming to win notoriety by</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>ungodliness should be counted worthy of the diaconate, was, they urged, a disgrace to the Church. They further threatened that they would withdraw from his communion, travel to the western empire, and publish his plots to the world.</p> <p>2.24.8a Leontius was now alarmed, and suspended Aetius from his sacred office, but continued to show him marked favour.</p>
Aside: Flavianus and Diodorus invent the antiphonal choir in Antioch		
		<p>2.24.8b That excellent pair Flavianus and Diodorus, though not yet admitted to the priesthood and still ranked with the laity, worked night and day to stimulate men's zeal for truth.</p> <p>2.24.9 They were the first to divide choirs into two parts, and to teach them to sing the psalms of David antiphonally. Introduced first at Antioch, the practice spread in all directions, and penetrated to the ends of the earth. Its originators now collected the lovers of the Divine word and work into the Churches of the Martyrs, and with them spent the night in singing psalms to God.</p>
Leontius allows many Arians to enter clergy at Antioch		
		<p>2.24.10 When Leontius perceived this, he did not think it safe to try to prevent them, for he saw that the people were exceedingly well-disposed towards these excellent men. However, putting a colour of courtesy on his speech, he requested that they would perform this act of worship in the churches.</p> <p>2.24.11 They were perfectly well aware of his evil intent. Nevertheless, they set about obeying his behest and readily summoned their choir to the Church, exhorting them to sing praises to the good Lord. Nothing, however, could induce Leontius to correct his wickedness. Yet he put on the mask of equity, and concealed the iniquity of Stephanus and Placidus.</p> <p>2.24.12 Men who had accepted the corruption of the faith of priests and deacons, although they had embraced a life of vile irregularity, he added to the roll; while others adorned with every kind of virtue and firm adherents of apostolic doctrines, he left unrecognized.</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>2.24.13 Thus it came to pass that among the clergy were numbered a majority of men tainted with heresy, while the mass of the laity were champions of the faith, and even professional teachers lacked courage to lay bare their blasphemy. In truth, the deeds of impiety and iniquity done by Placidus, Stephanus, and Leontius, in Antioch are so many as to want a special history of their own, and so terrible as to be worthy of the lament of David.</p> <p>2.24.14 For of them too it must be said “For lo thy enemies make a murmuring and they that hate thee lift up their head. They have imagined craftily against the people and taken counsel against thy secret ones. They have said come and let us root them out that they be no more a people: and that the name of Israel may be no more in remembrance.”</p> <p>Let us now continue the course of our narrative.</p>
358 - Eudoxius succeeds Leontius as Bishop of Antioch; he supports Aetius and abuses his power		
<p>2.37.7-8 About that time, Leontius died, who had ordained the heretic Aëtius as deacon. At this time, Eudoxius bishop of Germanicia—this city is in Syria—was then at Rome. Thinking that no time was to be lost, he deceptively expressed to the emperor that the city over which he presided was in need of his counsel and care, and he requested permission to return there immediately.</p> <p>2.37.9 This the emperor readily agreed to, having no suspicion of a clandestine purpose. Eudoxius having some of the principal officers of the emperor’s bedchamber as helpers, deserted his own diocese and fraudulently installed himself in the see of Antioch.</p> <p>2.37.10 His first desire was to restore Aëtius. Accordingly, he convened a council of bishops for the purpose of reinvesting Aëtius with the dignity of the diaconate.</p>	<p>4.12.3 While the emperor was in the West, tidings arrived of the death of Leontius, bishop of Antioch. Eudoxius requested permission of the emperor to return to Syria, that he might superintend the affairs of that church.</p> <p>4.12.4 On permission being granted, he repaired with all speed to Antioch, and installed himself as bishop of that city without the sanction of George, bishop of Laodicea; of Mark, bishop of Arethusa; of the other Syrian bishops; or of any other bishop to whom the right of ordination pertained. It was reported that he acted with the concurrence of the emperor and of the eunuchs belonging to the palace, who, like Eudoxius, favored the doctrines of Aetius, and believed that the Son is dissimilar from the Father.</p> <p>4.12.5 When Eudoxius found himself in possession of the church of Antioch, he ventured to uphold this heresy openly. He assembled in Antioch all those who held the same opinions as himself, among whom was Acacius, bishop of Tyre, who rejected the terms, “of like</p>	<p>2.25.1a Germanicia is a city on the coasts of Cilicia, Syria, and Cappadocia, and belongs to the province called Euphratisia.</p> <p>2.25.1b Eudoxius, the head of its church, directly after he heard of the death of Leontius, set out for Antioch and clutched the see, where he ravaged the vineyard of the Lord like a wild boar.</p> <p>2.25.2 He did not even attempt to hide his evil ways like Leontius, but raged in direct attack upon the apostolic decrees, and involved in various troubles all who had the courage to oppose him.</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>2.37.11 But this could in no way be brought about, for the hatred with which Aëtius was regarded was more abundant than the exertions of Eudoxius in his favor.</p>	<p>substance,” and “consubstantial,” under the pretext that they had been denounced by the Western bishops.</p> <p>4.12.6 For Hosius, with some of the priests there, had certainly consented, although by compulsion at Sirmium as it is reported, to refrain from the use of the terms "consubstantial" and "of like substance," because such terms do not occur in the Holy Scriptures, and are beyond the understanding of men. They did so with the intention of arresting the contention excited by Valens, Ursacius, and Germanius.</p> <p>4.12.7 They [Eudoxius et. al] sent an epistle to the bishops as though these sustained the writings of Hosius on this point, and conveyed their thanks to Valens, Ursacius, and Germanius, because they had given the impulse of right views to the Western bishops.</p> <p>4.13.1a After Eudoxius had introduced these new doctrines, many members of the church of Antioch who were opposed to them were excommunicated.</p>	
<p>George of Laodicea calls for a council to oppose Aetius and Eudoxius</p>		
	<p>4.13.1b George, bishop of Laodicea, gave them a letter to take to the bishops who had been invited from the neighboring towns of Ancyra in Galatia by Basil, for the purpose of consecrating a church which he had erected. This letter was as follows:</p> <p>4.13.2 George, to his most honored lords Macedonius, Basil, Cecropius, and Eugenius, sends greeting in the Lord.</p> <p>“Nearly the whole city has suffered from the shipwreck of Aetius. The disciples of this wicked man, whom you treated with contempt, have been encouraged by Eudoxius, and promoted by him to clerical appointments. Even Aetius himself has been raised to the highest honor. Go, then, to the assistance of this great city, lest by its shipwreck the whole world should be submerged.</p> <p>4.13.3 Assemble yourselves together, and solicit the signatures of other bishops, that Aetius may be ejected from the church of Antioch, and that his disciples who have been manipulated beforehand into the lists of the clergy by Eudoxius, may be cut off. If Eudoxius persists in affirming with Aetius, that the Son is dissimilar from</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	the Father, and in preferring those who uphold this dogma to those who reject it, the city of Antioch is lost to you.” 4.13.4a Such was the strain of George’s letter.	
358¹² - A council in Ancyra writes to Constantius; Eudoxius is banished		
	4.13.4b The bishops who were assembled at Ancyra perceived by the enactments of Eudoxius at Antioch, that he contemplated the introduction of innovations in doctrine. They notified the emperor of this fact, and besought him that the doctrine established at Sardica, at Sirmium, and at other councils might be confirmed, and especially the dogma that the Son is of like substance with the Father.	
	4.13.5 In order to offer this request to the emperor, they sent to him a deputation composed of the following bishops: Basil, bishop of Ancyra; Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste; Eleusius, bishop of Cyzicus; and Leontius, the presbyter of the imperial bed-chamber.	2.25.3 Now at this time Basilius had succeeded Marcellus, and held the helm of the church of Ancyra, the capital of Galatia. Also, Sebastia, the chief city of Armenia, was under the guidance of Eustathius. No sooner had these bishops heard of the iniquity and madness of Eudoxius, than they wrote to inform the Emperor Constantius of his audacity.
		2.25.4 Constantius was now still tarrying in the west, and, after the death of the tyrants, was endeavoring to heal the harm they had caused. Both bishops were well known to the Emperor and had great influence with him on account of the high character they bore.
	4.13.6 On their arrival at the palace, they found that Asphalius, a presbyter of Antioch and a zealot of the Aetian heresy, was at the point of taking his departure, after having terminated the business for which he undertook the journey and having obtained a letter from the emperor. On receiving, however, the intelligence concerning the heresy conveyed by the deputation from Ancyra, Constantius condemned Eudoxius and his followers. He withdrew the letter he had confided to Asphalius, and wrote the following one:	2.26.1 On receiving 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.
358 - Constantius’s letter to Antioch demanding they renounce the teaching of Aetius		

¹² <http://www.fourthcentury.com/index.php/council-of-ancyra-358/>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>4.14.1 Constantius Augustus the Conqueror, to the holy church in Antioch. Eudoxius came without our authority; let no one suppose that he had it, for we are far from regarding such persons with favor. If they try to deceive others in transactions like this, they give evidence that they will refine away the truth in still higher things. For from what will they voluntarily refrain, who, for the sake of power, go about the cities, leaping from one to another as a kind of wanderer, prying into every nook, led by the desire for more?</p> <p>4.14.2 It is reported that there are among these people certain quacks and sophists, whose very names are scarcely to be tolerated, and whose deeds are evil and most impious. You all know to what set of people I allude; for you are all thoroughly acquainted with the doctrines of Aetius and the heresy which he has cultivated.</p> <p>4.14.3 He and his followers have devoted themselves exclusively to the task of corrupting the people. Furthermore, these clever fellows have had the audacity to publish that we approved of their ordination. Such is the report they circulate, after the manner of those who talk overmuch; but it is not true, and, indeed, far removed from the truth.</p> <p>4.14.4 Recall to your recollection the words of which we made use, when we first made a declaration of our belief; for we confessed that our Savior is the Son of God, and of like substance with the Father. But these people, who have the audacity to set forth whatever enters their imagination concerning the Godhead, are not far removed from atheism. Moreover, they strive to propagate their opinions among others.</p> <p>4.14.5 We are convinced that their iniquitous proceedings will fall back upon their own heads. In the meantime, it is sufficient to eject them from synods and from ordinary conference. For I will not now allude to the chastisements which must hereafter overtake them, unless they will desist from their madness.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>4.14.6 How great is the evil they perpetrate, when they collect together the most wicked persons, as if by an edict, and they select the leaders of heresy for the clergy, thus debasing the reverend order as though they were allowed to do what they please! Who can bear with people who fill the cities with impiety, who secrete impurity in the most distant regions, and who delight in nothing but in injuring the righteous? What an evil-working unity it is, which limps forward to enthrone itself in the diviner seats!</p> <p>4.14.7 Now is the time for those who have cultivated the truth to come forward into the light. And whoever was previously restrained through fear, and now would escape from conventionalism, let them step into the middle; for the clever tricks of these evil men have been thoroughly defeated, and no sort of device can be invented which will deliver them from acting impiously. It is the duty of good men to retain the faith of the Fathers, and, so to speak, to augment it, without busying themselves with other matters. I earnestly exhort those who have escaped, though but recently, from the precipice of this heresy, to assent to the decrees which the bishops who are wise in divine learning, have rightly determined for the better.”</p> <p>Thus, we see that the heresy usually denominated Anomian was very nearly becoming predominant at this period.</p>	