

4.1-Beginning of the Reign of Valentinian and Valens (364-371)

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Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
February 364 - Valentinian becomes Emperor		
<p>4.1.1 When the Emperor Jovian had died, as we have said, at Dadastana, in his own consulate and that of Varronian his son on the 17th of February, the army left Galatia and arrived at Nicaea in Bithynia in seven days' march. There, they unanimously proclaimed Valentinian emperor, on the 25th of February, in the same consulate.</p> <p>4.1.2 He was a Pannonian by race, a native of the city of Cibalis, and when he was entrusted with a military command, he displayed great skill in tactics.</p> <p>4.1.3 Moreover, he had such a superior intellect, that he always seemed to exceed every degree of honor which he attained.</p>	<p>6.6.2 When the troops arrived at Nicaea in Bithynia, they proclaimed Valentinian emperor. He was a good man and capable of holding the reins of the empire.</p>	<p>4.6.1 When the troops had learned of the emperor's sudden death, they wept for the departed prince as if for a father and made Valentinian emperor in his place. It was he who had struck the officer of the temple and was sent to the castle. He was distinguished not only for his courage, but also for prudence, temperance, justice, and great stature.</p>
	<p>6.6.3 He had not long returned from banishment; for it is said that Julian, immediately after he had risen to the throne, erased the name of Valentinian from the Jovian legions, as they were called. Julian condemned him to permanent banishment, under the pretext that he had failed in his duty of leading the soldiers under his command against the enemy. The true reason of his condemnation, however, was the following:</p> <p>6.6.4 When Julian was in Gaul, he went one day to a temple to offer incense. Valentinian accompanied him, according to an ancient Roman law which was still in effect, and which commanded that the leader of the Jovians and the Herculeans (the legions of soldiers named in honor of Jupiter and Hercules) should always attend the emperor as his body-guard.</p> <p>6.6.5 When they were about to enter the temple, the priest, in accordance with the pagan custom, sprinkled water upon them with the branch of a tree. A drop fell upon the robe of Valentinian; he could scarcely restrain himself, for he was a Christian, and he rebuked the one who had sprinkled him. It is even said, that in full view</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>of the emperor he cut off the portion of the garment on which the water had fallen and flung it away from himself.</p> <p>6.6.6 From that moment Julian harbored hostile feelings against him, and soon after banished him to Melitine in Armenia, under the charge of misconduct in military affairs. For he did not wish to have religion regarded as the cause of the decree, so that Valentinian would not be viewed as a martyr or a confessor. Julian treated other Christians, as we have already stated, in the same manner; for, as was said before, he perceived that subjecting them to perils only added to their reputation and strengthened their religion.</p> <p>6.6.7 As soon as Jovian succeeded to the throne, Valentinian was recalled from banishment to Nicaea. But in the meantime, the death of the emperor took place, and Valentinian, by the unanimous consent of the troops and those who held the chief positions in the government, was appointed his successor.</p>	
	<p>6.6.8 When he was invested with the symbols of imperial power, the soldiers cried out that it was necessary to elect someone to share the burden of government. To this proposition, Valentinian made the following reply: "It depended on you alone, O soldiers to proclaim me emperor; but now that you have elected me, it depends not upon you, but upon me, to perform what you demand. Remain quiet, as subjects ought to do, and leave me to act as an emperor in attending to the public affairs."¹</p>	<p>4.6.2 He was had such a kingly and magnanimous character that when the army attempted to appoint a colleague to share his throne, he uttered the well-known words which are universally repeated, "Before I was emperor, soldiers, it was yours to give me the reins of empire. Now that I have taken them, it is mine, not yours, to take counsel for the state."²</p> <p>4.6.3a The troops were struck with admiration at what he said, and contentedly followed the guidance of his authority.</p>
28 March, 364 - Valens becomes co-emperor		
<p>4.1.4 As soon as they had created him emperor, he immediately proceeded to Constantinople, and thirty days</p>	<p>6.6.9 Not long after his refusal to comply with the soldiers' demands, he traveled to Constantinople and proclaimed his brother emperor. He gave him the East as</p>	<p>4.6.3b Valentinian, however, sent for his brother from Pannonia, and shared the empire with him. If only he had never done so! The rule of Asia and Egypt was</p>

¹ See footnote on previous page.

² This saying of Valentinian is referenced by both Sozomen and Theodoret. While Sozomen's and Theodoret's quotations differ significantly in verbiage, the basic meaning is the same. It is possible that Sozomen's quotation is the more accurate version, and as the story was passed on from person to person and became "universally repeated," the saying took on a shorter form which Theodoret records.

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>after he acquired the imperial dignity, he made his brother Valens his colleague in the empire.</p>	<p>his share of the empire and reserved for himself the regions along the Western Ocean, from Illyria to the furthest coasts of Libya.</p>	<p>committed to Valens, who had not yet accepted unsound doctrines, while Valentinian allotted Europe to himself. 4.6.4 He journeyed to the Western provinces, and beginning with a proclamation of true religion, instructed them in all righteousness.</p>
<p>364 - Valentinian and the Synod of Illyricum</p>		
		<p>4.7.6b Valentinian ordered a council to be held in Illyricum, and he sent the decrees which were ratified by the bishops who assembled there to the disputants. They had decided to hold fast to the creed put forth at Nicaea, 4.6.7 and the emperor himself wrote to them, associating his brother with him in the dispatch, urging that the decrees be kept. The edict clearly proclaims the piety of the emperor and similarly demonstrates Valens' soundness in divine doctrines at that time. I shall therefore give it in full: 4.8.1 The mighty emperors, ever august, augustly victorious, Valentinianus, Valens, and Gratianus, to the bishops of Asia, Phrygia, Carophrygia Pacatiana, greetings in the Lord. A great council has met in Illyricum, and after much discussion concerning the Word of salvation, the most blessed bishops have declared that the Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost is of one substance. They worship this Trinity, in no way neglecting the service which has duly fallen to their lot, the worship of the great King. 4.8.2 It is our imperial will that this Trinity be preached, so that no one may say "We accept the religion of the sovereign who rules this world, regardless of Him who has given us the message of salvation." For, the gospel of our God which contains this judgment says, "we should give to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's." 4.8.3 What do you say, you bishops, you champions of the Word of salvation? If you profess these things, then continue to love one another and stop abusing the imperial dignity. Do not persecute those who diligently serve God, by whose prayers the wars of the earth cease, and the assaults of fallen angels are repelled.</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>4.8.4 These men, as they strive through prayer to repel all harmful demons, know how to pay tribute as the law commands and they do not oppose the power of their sovereign. But with pure minds, they both keep the commandment of the heavenly King and they subject themselves to our laws. But you have been shown to be disobedient. We have tried everything we could.</p> <p>4.8.5 But you have given yourselves up. We, however, wish to be pure from you, just as Pilate, at the trial of Christ when he lived among us, was unwilling to kill him. And when they begged for his death, he (Pilate) turned to the East, asked for water for his hands and washed them, saying “I am innocent of the blood of this righteous man.”</p> <p>And so our majesty has commanded without exception that those who are working in the field of Christ are not to be persecuted, oppressed, or ill-treated. Nor are the stewards of the great King to be driven into exile, so that you may not appear to flourish and abound under our Sovereign, only to trample on his covenant together with your evil counselor, as in the case of the blood of Zacharias.</p> <p>4.8.6 But he and those who belong to him were destroyed by our Heavenly King Jesus Christ after His coming, they and were delivered to death’s judgment, both they and the deadly fiend who encouraged them. We have given these orders to Amegetius,</p> <p>4.8.7 to Ceronius to Damasus, to Lampon and to Brentisius by word of mouth. And we have sent the actual decrees to you also, in order that you may know what was enacted in the honorable synod. To this letter we attach the decrees of the synod, which are briefly as follows.</p>
The decrees of the Synod of Illyricum		
		<p>4.8.8 In accordance with the great and orthodox synod we confess that the Son is of one substance with the Father. And we do not understand the term of one substance in the same way as some formerly interpreted it, who signed their names in false agreement, nor in the same way as some who are now calling the drafters of</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>the old creed “fathers.” But we make the meaning of the word of no effect, following the authors of the statement that “of one substance” means “like,” understanding that since the Son is comparable to none of the creatures made by him, he is like the Father alone.</p> <p>4.8.9 For those who think irreverently, define the Son “as a special creation of the Father.” But we, with the present synods, both at Rome and in Gaul, hold that there is one and the same substance of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in three persons, that is in three perfect essences.</p> <p>4.8.10 And we confess, according to the exposition of Nicaea, that the Son of God, being of one substance, was made flesh of the Holy Virgin Mary, and has been placed among men and fulfilled every act of service for our sakes in birth, in passion, in resurrection, and in ascension into heaven. And he shall come again to judge us according to each man’s manner of life, in the day of judgment, when he will be seen in the flesh, and will show forth his divine power, being God bearing flesh, and not man bearing Godhead.</p> <p>4.8.11 Those who think otherwise we damn, likewise those who do not honestly damn him who said that before the Son was begotten he was not, and who wrote that even before he was begotten he was potentially in the Father. For this is true in the case of all creatures who are not forever with God in the sense in which the Son is ever with the Father, being begotten by eternal generation.</p> <p>Such was the short summary of the emperor. I will now attach the actual dispatch of the synod.</p>
The epistle of the Synod of Illyricum		
		<p>4.9.1 “The bishops of Illyricum to the churches of God, and bishops of the dioceses of Asia, of Phrygia, and Carophrygia Pacatiana, greetings in the Lord.</p> <p>“After meeting together and making a lengthy investigation concerning the Word of salvation, we have proven that the Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost is of one substance. And it seemed fitting to pen a letter to you, not that we write in vain disputation concerning the</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>worship of the Trinity, but rather in humility deemed worthy of the duty.</p> <p>4.9.2 “We have sent this letter by our beloved brother and fellow laborer Elpidius, the presbyter. For it is written not in the letters of our hands, but in the books of our Savior Jesus Christ, ‘I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, I am of Cephas, and I am of Christ.</p> <p>4.9.3 Was Paul crucified for you? Or were you baptized in the name of Paul?’</p> <p>Indeed, it seemed fitting to our humility not to pen any letter to you, on account of the great terror which your preaching causes to all the region under your jurisdiction, as you separate the Holy Spirit from the Father and Son. We were therefore forced to send to you our lord and fellow laborer Elpidius to figure out if your preaching is really of this character and to carry this dispatch from the imperial government of Rome.</p> <p>4.9.4 Let them who do not regard the Trinity as one substance be anathema, and if any man is detected to be in communion with them, let him be anathema. But for them that preach that the Trinity is of one substance, the Kingdom of Heaven is prepared. Therefore, we encourage you brethren to teach no other doctrine, nor even to hold any other in vain belief, but that always and everywhere, as you preach the Trinity to be of one substance, you may be able to inherit the Kingdom of Heaven.</p> <p>While writing on this point, we have also been reminded to pen this letter to you about the present or future appointment of our fellow ministers as bishops. If there are any sound men among the bishops who have already discharged a public office, appoint them. And if not, appoint bishops from the order of presbyters,</p> <p>4.9.5 in the same way as you appoint presbyters and deacons out of the actual priestly order, so that they may be blameless in every way, and not from the ranks of the senate and army.</p> <p>We have been unwilling to pen you a letter at length, because it is the representative mission of our lord and fellow laborer Elpidius, to diligently find out about your</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>preaching, if it really is how we have heard from our lord and fellow laborer Eustathius.</p> <p>4.9.6 In conclusion, if at any time you have been in error, put off the old man and put on the new. The same brother and fellow laborer Elpidius will instruct you how to preach the true faith--namely, that the Holy Trinity, of one substance with God the Father, together with the Son and Holy Ghost, is hallowed, glorified, and made manifest, Father in Son, Son in Father, with the Holy Ghost forever and ever.</p> <p>4.9.7 For since this has been made evident, we shall clearly be able to confess the Holy Trinity to be of one substance according to the faith formerly set forth at Nicaea, which the Fathers confirmed.</p> <p>4.9.8 As long as this faith is preached, we will be able to avoid the snares of the deadly devil. When he is destroyed we will be able pay due homage to one another in letters of peace, as we live in peace. We have therefore written to you in order that you may know that the Ariomaniacs have been deposed, who do not confess that the Son is of the substance of the Father nor the Holy Ghost. We attach their names:</p> <p>4.9.9 Polychronius, Telemachus, Faustus, Asclepiades, Amantius, Cleopater. This we write to the glory of Father and Son and Holy Ghost forever and ever, amen. We pray to the Father and the Son, our Savior Jesus Christ, together with the Holy Ghost, that you may fare well for many years.”</p>
The heresy of the Audiani		
		<p>4.10.1 And so the illustrious emperor took heed of the apostolic teachings, but Audaus, a Syrian both in race and in speech, appeared at that time as an inventor of new teachings. Long ago, he had already begun to devise wicked doctrines, and now he appeared in his true character.</p> <p>4.10.2 At first, he understood the passage “Let us make man in our image, after our likeness” in an absurd sense. Because he failed to understand the meaning of the divine passage, he took the Divine Being to have a</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>human form and conjectured that it was enveloped in bodily parts.</p> <p>4.10.3 For Holy Scripture frequently describes divine actions with the names of human parts, since by these means, the providence of God is made more intelligible to minds that are incapable of perceiving immaterial ideas. To this impiety, Audaeus added others of a similar kind. By an eclectic process he adopted some of the doctrines of Manes and denied that the God of the universe is creator of either fire or darkness.</p> <p>4.10.4 But the followers of this sect conceal these and all similar errors. They claim that these errors are separated from the assemblies of the church. But while some of them exact a cursed usury, and others live unlawfully with women without the bond of marriage, those who are innocent of these practices live freely in fellowship with the guilty. So, they hide the blasphemy of their doctrines by how they live their lives. The plea is however an impudent one, and the natural result of Pharisaic teaching.</p> <p>4.10.5 For the Pharisees accused the physician of souls and bodies with their question to the holy apostles, "How is it that your Master eats with tax-collectors and sinners?" And through the prophet, God says concerning such men: "You who say, 'keep away from me for I am pure,' this is the smoke of my wrath." But this is not the time to refute their unreasonable error. I therefore move on to the remainder of my narrative.</p>
The heresy of the Messaliani		
		<p>4.11.1 The heresy of the Messaliani also arose at this time. Those who translate their name into Greek call them Euchitae. They also have another name, which came about naturally as a result of their practice. For they are called "enthusiasts" because they come under the influence of a certain demon, which they think is the advent of the Holy Ghost.</p> <p>Men who have become infected with this plague to its full extent shun manual labor as sinful; and, giving themselves over to laziness, they call the imaginations of their dreams "prophesies."</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>4.11.2 Dadoes, Sabbas, Adelphius, Hermas, and Simeones were leaders of this heresy, and others besides, who did not restrict the communion of the Church. They claim that neither good nor harm comes from the divine food, of which Christ our master said “Whoever eats my flesh and drinks my blood shall live forever.”</p> <p>In their effort to hide their unsoundness, they shamelessly deny it even after they are convicted, and they renounce men whose opinions are in harmony with their own secret beliefs.</p> <p>4.11.3 Under these circumstances Letoius, a man full of divine zeal who was the leader of the church of Melitine, saw that many monasteries, or should I rather say, dens of robbers, had drunk deeply of this disease. Therefore, he burned them down and drove the wolves out of the flock.</p> <p>4.11.4 In the same way, the illustrious Amphilochius, to whom was committed the charge of the metropolis of the Lycaonians and who ruled all the people, made this pestilence depart from his borders as soon as he learned that it had invaded his diocese. And freed from its infection, he fed the flocks.</p> <p>4.11.5 And when Flavianus, the renowned high-priest of the Antiochenes, had learned that these men were living at Edessa and attacking all with whom they came into contact with their peculiar poison, he sent a company of monks and had them brought to Antioch. In the following way, he convicted them when they denied their heresy.</p> <p>4.11.6 He said that their accusers were slandering them, and that the witnesses were giving false evidence. And he approached Adelphius, who was a very old man, with expressions of kindness, and ordered him to take a seat at his side. Then he said, “We, O venerable sir, who have lived to an advanced age, have more accurate knowledge of human nature, and of the tricks of the demons who oppose us, and we have learned by experience the character of the gift of grace. But these younger men have no clear knowledge of these matters,</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>and they cannot bear to listen to spiritual teaching. Therefore, tell me in what sense you say that the opposing spirit retreats, and the grace of the Holy Ghost overcomes.”</p> <p>4.11.7 The old man was won over by these words and let out to all his secret venom, for he said that no benefit results for the recipients of Holy Baptism, and that it is only by sincere prayer that the in-dwelling demon is driven out. For everyone who is born into the world inherits a slavery to the demons from his first father, just as he inherits his nature. But when these are driven away, then the Holy Ghost comes, giving tangible and visible signs of his presence, at once freeing the body from the impulse of the passions and completely ridding the soul of its inclination to evil. The result is that there is no more need for fasting that restrains the body, nor of teaching or training that corrects it and instructs it how to walk rightly. And not only is the recipient of this gift liberated from the wanton desires of the body, but he also clearly foresees things which are to come and beholds the Holy Trinity with his very eyes.</p> <p>4.11.8 In this way, the divine Flavianus dug into the foul fountain-head and succeeded in laying bare its streams. Then he addressed the wretched old man, “O you that have grown old in evil days, your own mouth convicts you, not I, and your own lips testify against you.” After their unsoundness had been exposed, they were expelled from Syria, and withdrew to Pamphylia, which they filled with their pestilential doctrine.</p>
A comparison of Valens and Valentinian		
<p>4.1.5 They both professed Christianity but did not hold the same Christian creed. For Valentinian respected the Nicene Creed, but Valens was more inclined to favor the Arian opinions.</p>	<p>6.6.10 Both the brothers were Christians, but they differed in opinion and attitude. For Valens, when he was baptized, employed Eudoxius as his initiator, and became zealously attached to the doctrines of Arius, and would have readily compelled all mankind by force to yield to them. Valentinian, on the other hand, maintained the faith of the council of Nicaea and favored those who upheld the same beliefs, without bothering those who entertained other opinions.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>4.1.6 And he held this prejudice because he was baptized by Eudoxius, bishop of Constantinople.</p> <p>4.1.7 Each of them was zealous for the views of his own party; but when they had attained sovereign power, they showed very different attitudes.</p> <p>4.1.8 For previously in the reign of Julian, when Valentinian was a military tribune, and Valens held a command in the emperor's guards, they both proved their zeal for the faith.</p> <p>4.1.9 For when they were forced to sacrifice, they chose rather to give up their military rank than to do so and renounce Christianity.</p> <p>4.1.10 Julian, however, kept them each in their respective positions, knowing how much the state needed them, which Jovian, his successor in the empire did as well.</p> <p>4.1.11 Later on, when they were invested with imperial authority, they agreed in the management of public affairs. But in regards to Christianity, as I have said, they behaved very differently.</p> <p>4.1.12 For Valentinian, while he favored those who agreed with him in belief, offered no violence to the Arians.</p> <p>4.1.13 But Valens, in his eagerness to promote the Arian cause, grievously disturbed those who differed from them, as the course of our history will show.</p>		
Valens begins to side with the Arians		
		<p>4.12.1 I will now pursue the course of my narrative and will describe the beginning of the tempest which stirred up many great winds to beat against the Church. Valens, when he first received the imperial dignity, was distinguished by his faithfulness to apostolic doctrine. But when the Goths had crossed the Danube and were ravaging Thrace, he decided to assemble an army and march against them.</p> <p>4.12.2 Accordingly, he resolved not to take the field without the garment of divine grace, but first to protect himself with the act of Holy Baptism. At first, by resolving to do this he acted well and wisely, but his subsequent conduct betrays a very great feebleness of character, which resulted in his abandonment of the truth.</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>4.12.3 His fate was the same as that of our first father, Adam. For he too, won over by the arguments of his wife, lost his freedom and became not only a captive but an obedient listener to a woman's wily words.</p> <p>4.12.4 His wife had already been entrapped in the Arian snare, and now she caught her husband, and persuaded him to fall along with her into the pit of blasphemy. Their leader and initiator was Eudoxius, who still held the tiller of Constantinople, to the effect that the ship was not steered onwards but sunk to the bottom instead.</p> <p>4.13.1 At the very time of Valens' baptism, Eudoxius bound the unhappy man by an oath to abide in the impiety of his doctrine, and to expel those who held contrary opinions from every jurisdiction. In this way, Valens abandoned the apostolic teaching, and went over to the opposite faction; nor was it long before he fulfilled the rest of his oath.</p> <p>4.13.2 For he expelled the great Meletius from Antioch, the divine Eusebius from Samosata, and he deprived Laodicea of her admirable shepherd Pelagius. Pelagius had taken upon himself the yoke of wedlock when he was a very young man. And in the very bridal chamber, on the first day of his nuptials, he persuaded his bride to choose chastity over intercourse, and he taught her to accept brotherly affection in the place of marital union.</p> <p>4.13.3 In this way, he gave all honor to temperance, and he also possessed within himself the sister virtues in harmony with it. For these reasons he was unanimously chosen for the bishopric. Nevertheless, not even the bright beams of his life and speech impressed the enemy of the truth. Valens banished him to Arabia, the divine Meletius to Armenia, and Eusebius—that persistent laborer in apostolic work—he banished to Thrace.</p> <p>4.13.4 Persistent he was indeed, for when he learned that many churches were now deprived of their shepherds, he travelled around Syria, Phoenicia and Palestine, wearing the garb of war and covering his head with a tiara, ordaining presbyters and deacons and filling</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		up the other ranks of the Church. And if he happened to come across bishops with similar beliefs to his own, he appointed them to empty churches.
The state of ecclesiastical affairs		
<p>4.1.14 Now at that time, Liberius presided over the Roman church. At Alexandria, Athanasius was bishop of the <i>Homoousians</i>, while Lucius had been placed as George's successor by the Arians.</p> <p>4.1.15 At Antioch, Euzoius was the leader of the Arians, but the <i>Homoousians</i> were divided into two parties, one of which Paulinus was chief, Meletius being the leader of the other.</p> <p>4.1.16 Cyril was again placed over the church at Jerusalem. The churches at Constantinople were under the government of Eudoxius, who openly taught the dogmas of Arianism, but the <i>Homoousians</i> had only one small building in the city in which to hold their assemblies.</p> <p>4.1.17 Those of the Macedonian heresy who had dissented from the Acacians at Seleucia, then retained their churches in every city. Such was the state of ecclesiastical affairs at that time.</p>		
Spring 365 - The Synod of Lampsacus		
<p>4.2.1 One of the emperors, i.e. Valentinian, speedily went to the western parts of the empire; for the urgency of affairs required his presence there.</p>		
<p>4.2.2 Meanwhile Valens, residing at Constantinople, was addressed by most of the prelates of the Macedonian heresy, requesting that another synod might be convened for the correction of the creed.</p> <p>4.2.3 Because the emperor supposed that they agreed in doctrine with Eudoxius and Acacius, he gave them permission to do so.³ They then made preparations for assembling in the city of Lampsacus.</p>	<p>6.7.1 When Valentinian was journeying from Constantinople to Rome, he had to pass through Thrace. The bishops of Hellespontus and of Bithynia, among others who maintained that the Son is consubstantial with the Father, dispatched Hypatian, bishop of Heraclea in Perinthus, to meet him, and to request permission to assemble together for discussion on doctrinal questions.</p> <p>6.7.2 When Hypatian had delivered the message he had been entrusted with, Valentinian made the following reply: "I am one of the laity, and I have no right to</p>	

³ Socrates says that Valens gave the permission for the Synod of Lampsacus, but Sozomen says that Valentinian was the one who had given permission. Since Sozomen wrote his history by working off of Socrates' history, and Sozomen's account is more detailed here, perhaps Sozomen had some information that Socrates did not, and gives the more reliable account here.

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>interfere in these things; let the priests, to whom such matters pertain, assemble where they please.”</p> <p>6.7.3a When the bishops had received this answer through Hypatian, their deputy, they assembled at Lampsacus.</p>	
<p>4.2.4 But Valens proceeded with the utmost haste toward Antioch in Syria, fearing that the Persians would violate the treaty into which they had entered for thirty years during the reign of Jovian, and invade the Roman territories.</p> <p>4.2.5 They however remained quiet; and Valens used this time of outward peace to wage a war of extermination against all who acknowledged the <i>homoousion</i>. He left Paulinus their bishop unmolested, because of his great piety.</p> <p>4.2.6 Melitius he punished with exile, and he drove out all the rest who refused to commune with Euzoius from the churches in Antioch, and he subjected them to various losses and punishments.</p> <p>4.2.7 It is even said that he ordered many to be drowned in the river Orontes, which flows by that city.</p> <p>4.4.1 While these events were taking place there could be no peace either in the church or in the state.</p>	<p>6.7.10 He then passed over into Syria, because he was afraid that the Persians would break the truce which they had held with Jovian for thirty years. However, when he found that the Persians were not inclined to rebel, he stayed in Antioch. He sent Meletius, the bishop, into banishment, but spared Paul, because he admired the sanctity of his life. Those who were not in communion with Euzoius were either ejected from the churches or mistreated and harassed in some other way.</p>	
<p>4.4.2 Now those who had been empowered by the emperor to hold a council assembled at Lampsacus in the consulate just mentioned. This was seven years after the council of Seleucia.</p> <p>4.4.3 There, after confirming the Antiochian Creed which they had subscribed to at Seleucia, they anathematized the creed which had been established at Ariminum by those who they formerly agreed with. Moreover, they again condemned the party of Acacius and Eudoxius, and declared that they had been justly deposed.</p>	<p>6.7.3b After they had conferred together for two months, they nullified everything that had been decreed at Constantinople, through the machinations of Eudoxius’ and Acacius’ followers.</p>	
	<p>6.7.4 Likewise, they nullified the formulary of faith which had been circulated under the lie that it was the work of the Western bishops, and which had obtained the signatures of many bishops by promising that the dogma of dissimilarity as to substance would be condemned—a promise which had never been carried out. They decreed that they should hold fast to the doctrine that the Son is in substance like the Father; for</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>they said that it was necessary to resort to using the term “like” to indicate of the essences of the Godhead.</p> <p>6.7.5 They agreed that the form of belief which had been confessed at Seleucia and set forth at the dedication of the church of Antioch, should be maintained by all the churches. They directed that all the bishops who had been deposed by those who believe that the Son is dissimilar from the Father, should immediately be reinstated in their sees, because they had been ejected from their churches unjustly.</p> <p>6.7.6 They declared that if any wished to bring accusations against them, to do so at their own risk. The orthodox bishops of the province and of the neighboring countries were to preside as judges, and to assemble in the church, with the witnesses who would give testimony about their conduct.</p>	
<p>4.4.4 The impending civil war prevented Eudoxius bishop of Constantinople from either opposing or revenging these resolutions.</p> <p>4.4.5 For this reason, Eleusius bishop of Cyzicus and his followers became the stronger party for a little while, as they supported the teachings of Macedonius, which before were only known obscurely, but now had acquired great publicity through the Synod at Lampsacus.</p> <p>4.4.6 This Synod, I think, was the cause of the increase of the Macedonians in the Hellespont; for Lampsacus is situated in one of the narrow bays of the Hellespont. Such was the issue of this council.</p>	<p>6.7.7 After making these decisions, the bishops summoned the partisans of Eudoxius, and urged them to repentance; but since they would give no heed to these warnings, the decrees enacted by the council were sent to all the churches.</p> <p>6.7.8a Judging that Eudoxius would likely attempt to persuade the emperor to side with him and would slander them, they decided to approach him and inform him of their proceedings in Lampsacus.</p> <p>6.7.8b Their deputies met the Emperor Valens as he was returning from Heraclea to Thrace, where he had been traveling in company with his brother, who had gone on to Old Rome.</p> <p>6.7.9 Eudoxius, however, had previously gained over the emperor and his courtiers to his own beliefs. So, when the deputies of the council of Lampsacus presented themselves before Valens, he merely urged them not to disagree with Eudoxius. The deputies replied by reminding him of the trickery Eudoxius had resorted to at Constantinople, and of his plot to nullify the decrees of the council of Seleucia. These words kindled Valens’ wrath, and he condemned the deputies to banishment, and turned the churches over to Eudoxius’ party.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
365-366 - Procopius the Usurper		
<p>4.3.1 While Valens was occupied with these things in Syria, a usurper at Constantinople arose, named Procopius, who having collected a large body of troops in a very short time, planned an expedition against the emperor.</p> <p>4.3.2 This intelligence created extreme anxiety in the emperor's mind and checked for a while the persecution he had undertaken against all who dared to differ from him in opinion.</p>	<p>6.8.1 It is probable that a severe persecution might have ensued at this time, had not Procopius commenced a civil war. As he began to play the tyrant at Constantinople, he soon collected a large army, and marched against Valens.</p>	
<p>4.3.3 And while the commotions of a civil war were painfully anticipated, an earthquake occurred which did great damage to many cities.</p> <p>4.3.4 The sea also changed its usual boundaries, and overflowed to such an extent in some places, that ships could have sailed where roads had previously existed. But it withdrew so much from other places, that the ground became dry.</p> <p>4.3.5 These events happened in the first consulate of the two emperors.</p> <p>4.5.1 Under the consulate of Gratian and Dagalaifus in the following year, the war was begun.</p> <p>4.5.2 For as soon as the usurper Procopius left Constantinople and began his march at the head of his army toward the emperor, Valens hurried from Antioch, and engaged him in battle near a city of Phrygia, called Nacolia.</p>		
<p>4.5.3 In the first encounter he was defeated; but soon after he took Procopius alive, through the treachery of Agilo and Gomarius, two of his generals, whom he subjected to the most extraordinary punishments.</p>	<p>6.8.2 The latter [Valens] left Syria, and met Procopius near Nacolia, a city of Phrygia, and captured him alive through the treachery of Agelon and Gomarius, two of his generals. Valens put him and his betrayers to a cruel death.</p>	
<p>4.5.4 He had the traitors executed by being ripped apart, disregarding the oaths he had sworn to them. Two trees standing near each other were forcibly bowed down; one of the usurper's legs was fastened to each of them, and after, the trees were suddenly permitted to recover their erect position, ripping the tyrant in two. By being torn apart in this way, the usurper perished.</p>	<p>6.8.3 And although it is said that he had sworn to show favor to the two generals, he caused them to be ripped apart. He commanded Procopius to be fastened by the legs to two trees which had been bent to the ground, and he allowed these to spring up; when the trees were left to resume their natural position, the victim was torn in two.</p>	
Valens resumes persecuting pro-Nicene bishops		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>4.6.1 After the emperor had so successfully ended the conflict, he immediately began to move against the Christians, with the aim of converting every sect to Arianism.</p>	<p>6.8.4 When the war had ended, Valens retired to Nicaea. Things being peaceful once again, he immediately began to attack those who differed from him in opinion concerning the Divine nature. His anger was unbounded against the bishops of the council of Lampsacus, because they had condemned the Arian bishops and the formulary of faith set forth at Ariminum.</p>	
<p>4.6.2 But he was especially enraged against those who had composed the Synod at Lampsacus, not only because they deposed the Arian bishops, but also because they had anathematized the creed published at Ariminum.</p>		
<p>Eleusius the bishop of Cyzicus</p>		
<p>4.6.3 Therefore, when he arrived at Nicomedia in Bithynia, he sent for Eleusius bishop of Cyzicus, who, as I have said before, closely adhered to the teachings of Macedonius.</p> <p>4.6.4 Therefore, after the emperor convened a council of Arian bishops, he commanded Eleusius to express agreement with their faith.</p> <p>4.6.5 At first he refused to do so, but when they threatened him with banishment and confiscation of property, he became intimidated and assented to the Arian belief.</p>	<p>6.8.5 Harboring these resentful feelings, he summoned Eleusius from Syria, and after he had called together a Synod of bishops who held his own beliefs, he tried to compel him to agree to their doctrines. At first, Eleusius manfully refused to cooperate. But afterwards, from the dread of exile and deprivation of his property, as the emperor had threatened, he yielded to the mandate.</p>	
<p>4.6.6 Immediately afterwards, however, he repented. And when he returned to Cyzicus, he lamented bitterly before all the people, asserting that his cooperation was due to violence, and not his own choice. Then he urged them to seek another bishop for themselves, since he had been compelled to renounce his own beliefs.</p> <p>4.6.7 But the inhabitants of Cyzicus loved and venerated him too much to think of losing him; so, they refused to subject themselves to any other bishop, nor would they permit him to retire from his own church.</p> <p>4.6.8 And so they continued under his oversight and remained steadfast in their own heresy.</p>	<p>6.8.6 He soon repented of his weakness, and when he returned to Cyzicus he made a public confession of his fault in the church and urged the people to choose another bishop. For he said that he could not discharge the duties of a priesthood after having been a traitor to his own doctrine. But the citizens respected his conduct and were very well disposed towards him, so they did not choose to have another bishop.</p>	
<p>Eunomius attempts to replace Eleusius</p>		
<p>4.7.1 When the bishop of Constantinople became informed of these circumstances, he appointed Eunomius as bishop of Cyzicus, because he was able to win over the</p>	<p>6.8.7 Eudoxius, president of the Arians in Constantinople, however, ordained Eunomius as bishop of Cyzicus; for he expected that by his great powers of</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>minds of the multitude to his own way of thinking, with his eloquence.</p>	<p>eloquence, Eunomius would easily draw the people of Cyzicus over to his own beliefs.</p>	
<p>4.7.2 When he arrived at Cyzicus, an imperial edict was published which ordered that Eleusius should be ejected, and Eunomius installed in his place. 4.7.3 When this was carried out, those who were with Eleusius, erected a sacred building outside the city and assembled with him there.</p>	<p>6.8.8a When he arrived at that city, he expelled Eleusius, for he was furnished with an imperial edict to that effect and he took possession of the churches himself. The followers of Eleusius built a house of prayer outside the walls of the city, and there they held their assemblies.</p>	
<p>4.7.4 But enough has been said of Eleusius. Let us now give an account of Eunomius. He had been secretary to Aetius, surnamed Atheus, whom we have spoken of before. And he had learned, from conversing with him, 4.7.5 to imitate his sophistical way of reasoning, being unaware that while he exercised himself in framing deceptive arguments and in using certain insignificant terms, he was really deceiving himself. 4.7.6 This habit however inflated him with pride, and he fell into blasphemous heresies, and so became an advocate of the dogmas of Arius, and in many ways an adversary to the doctrines of truth. And having very little knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, he was unable to delve into them deeply. Yet he abounded in words and was accustomed to repeat the same thoughts in different terms, without ever arriving at a clear explanation of what he had proposed to himself. 4.7.7 His seven books <i>On the Apostle's Epistle to the Romans</i>, on which he labored in vain, is a remarkable proof of this. 4.7.8 For although he has employed an immense number of words in an attempt to expound it, he has by no means succeeded in apprehending the scope and object of that epistle. 4.7.9 All other extant works of his are of a similar character, and he that would take the trouble to examine them, would find in them a great lack of sense, amidst an abundance of verbiage. 4.7.10 Eudoxius promoted this Eunomius to the see of Cyzicus, who, after he had come there, astonished his listeners by the extraordinary display of his 'dialectic' art, and there was disorder at Cyzicus.</p>	<p>6.8.8b I will soon again have the opportunity to come back to Eunomius and the heresy which bears his name.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>4.7.11 After a while, the people drove him out of their city, unable to endure any longer the empty parade of his language. And taking up residence with Eudoxius at Constantinople, he was regarded as a titular bishop.</p> <p>4.7.12 But in order that we do not come across as saying these things to belittle him, let us hear what Eunomius himself has the boldness to utter in his sophistical discourses concerning the Deity himself, for he uses the following language:</p> <p>4.7.13 ‘God knows no more of his own substance than we do; nor is this more known to him, and less to us,</p> <p>4.7.14 but whatever we know about the Divine substance, that precisely is known to God; and on the other hand, whatever he knows, the same also you will find without any difference in us.’</p> <p>4.7.15 Eunomius was accustomed to saying these and many other things, being utterly unaware of his own folly. We will state in its proper place, on what account he afterwards separated from the Arians.</p>		
An oracle found inscribed on the wall of Chalcedon		
<p>4.8.1 An order was issued by the emperor that the walls of Chalcedon, a city opposite to Byzantium, should be demolished. For he had sworn to do this, after he conquered the usurper, because the Chalcedonians had sided with the usurper, and had used insulting language toward Valens and shut their gates against him as he passed by their city.</p> <p>4.8.2 On account of the imperial decree, therefore, the walls were razed and the stones were carried to Constantinople for the construction of the public baths called “Constantianae.”</p> <p>4.8.3 On one of these stones an oracle was found engraved, which had been concealed for a long time.</p> <p>4.8.4 In this oracle, it was predicted that when the city would be supplied with abundance of water, then the wall would serve as a bath; and that after innumerable hordes of barbarian nations had overrun the provinces of the Roman empire, and done a great deal of mischief, they themselves would finally be destroyed.</p> <p>4.8.5 We will insert this oracle here for the sake of the studious:</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>4.8.6 ‘When nymphs their mystic dance with wat’ry feet Shall tread through proud Byzantium’s stately street; When rage the city wall shall overthrow, Whose stones to fence a bathing-place shall go, Then savage lands shall send forth myriad swarms, Adorned with golden locks and burnished arms, That having Ister’s silver streams o’erpast, Shall Scythian fields and Moesia’s meadows waste. But when with conquest flushed they enter Thrace, Fate shall assign them there a burial-place,’</p> <p>4.8.7 Such was the prophecy. And indeed, it afterwards happened, that when Valens supplied Constantinople with an abundance of water by building an aqueduct, the barbarian nations made various invasions, as we will later see.</p> <p>4.8.8 But some explained the prediction in a different way. For when the aqueduct was completed, Clearchus the prefect of the city built a stately bath called ‘the Plentiful Water,’ in what is now known as the Forum of Theodosius.</p> <p>4.8.9 On account of this, the people celebrated a festival, by which, they say these words of the oracle were accomplished: ‘their mystic dance with wat’ry feet Shall tread through proud Byzantium’s stately street.’</p> <p>4.8.10 But the completion of the prophecy took place afterwards. While the demolition was in progress, the Constantinopolitans begged the emperor to halt the destruction of the walls;</p> <p>4.8.11 and the inhabitants of Nicomedia and Nicaea, coming from Bithynia to Constantinople, made the same request.</p> <p>4.8.12 But because the emperor was exceedingly exasperated against the Chalcedonians, he was persuaded only with difficulty to listen to their petitions.</p> <p>4.8.13 But in order to follow through on his oath, he commanded that the walls be pulled down, while at the same time the breaches be repaired by being filled up with other small stones.</p> <p>4.8.14 It is from this, that in the present day one may see in certain parts of the wall very inferior materials laid upon</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
prodigiously large stones, forming the unsightly patches which were made on that occasion. So much will be sufficient on the walls of Chalcedon.		
366-377 - Valens persecutes the Novatians		
<p>4.9.1 The emperor however did not cease his persecution of those who embraced the doctrine of the <i>homoousion</i>, but drove them away from Constantinople, and since the Novatians acknowledged the same faith, they were also subjected to similar treatment.</p> <p>4.9.2 He commanded that their churches should be shut up, and he sent their bishop into exile.</p>	<p>6.9.1 The Christians who represented the Nicene doctrines and the followers of the Novatian views were treated with equal severity in the city of Constantinople. Ultimately, they were all expelled from the city; and the churches of the Novatians were closed by order of the emperor. The other party had no churches to be closed, because they had been deprived of them all during the reign of Constantius.</p>	
<p>4.9.3 His name was Agelius, a person that had presided over their churches from the time of Constantine and had led an apostolic life. For he always walked barefoot, and used only one coat, observing the command of the gospel.</p>	<p>6.9.2 At this period, Agelius was condemned to banishment, who had governed the church of the Novatians at Constantinople from the time of Constantius. It is said that he was especially noteworthy for his way of life according to the ecclesiastical laws. With respect to his way of life, he had attained the highest degree of philosophy, namely, freedom from worldly possessions. This was proven by his daily conduct; he had only one tunic, and always walked barefooted. Not long after his banishment, he was recalled, he took back the churches which were under him, and he boldly convened them.</p>	
<p>4.9.4 But the emperor's displeasure against this sect was moderated by the efforts of a pious and eloquent man named Marcian.</p> <p>4.9.5 He had formerly been in military service at the imperial palace, but was at that time a presbyter in the Novatian church and taught grammar to Anastasia and Carosa, the emperor's daughters. The public baths which Valens erected at Constantinople that still stand today, were named after the former (Carosa).</p> <p>4.9.6 Out of respect for this person (Marcian), the Novatian churches which had been closed for some time, were reopened.</p>	<p>6.9.3 This came about through the influence of Marcian, a man of extraordinary virtue and eloquence, who had formerly been enrolled among the troops of the palace, but at this time was a presbyter of the Novatian heresy, and the teacher of grammar to Anastasia and Carosa, the daughters of the emperor. There are still baths at Constantinople which bear the names of these princesses. It was for the sake of Marcian alone that the privilege already mentioned was conceded to the Novatians.</p>	
<p>4.9.7 The Arians however would not allow these people to remain undisturbed, for they disliked them because of the sympathy and love the Novatians showed toward the <i>Homoousians</i>, whom they agreed with in belief.</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
4.9.8 Such was the state of affairs at that time. We may here remark that the war against the usurper Procopius was terminated about the end of May, during the consulate of Gratian and Dagalaifus.		
371 - Birth of Valentinian the Younger		
4.10.1 Soon after the conclusion of this war, and under the same consulate, a son was born to Valentinian, the emperor in the Western parts. This son received the same name as his father, for Gratian had been born prior to Valentinian's becoming emperor.	6.10.1a About this period, a son was born to Valentinian in the West, to whom the emperor gave his own name. 6.10.1b Not long after, he proclaimed his son Gratian emperor; this prince was born before his father held the government.	
Natural disasters in various places, and continued persecution		
4.11.1 On the 2nd of June of the following year, in the consulate of Lupian and Jovian, hailstones fell at Constantinople so large that they would fill a man's hand. 4.11.2 Many affirmed that this hail had fallen as a result of the Divine displeasure, because the emperor had banished many clergymen who refused to commune with Eudoxius. 4.11.3 During the same consulate, on the 24th of August, the emperor Valentinian proclaimed his son Gratian Augustus. 4.11.4 In the next year, when Valentinian and Valens were consuls for the second time, an earthquake happened on the eleventh of October in Bithynia which destroyed the city of Nicaea. This was about twelve years after a similar catastrophe had fallen upon Nicomedia. 4.11.5 Soon afterwards the largest portion of Germa in the Hellespont was reduced to ruins by another earthquake.	6.10.2a In the meantime, although hailstones of extraordinary magnitude fell in various places, and although many cities, particularly Nicaea in Bithynia, were shaken by earthquakes...	
4.11.6 Nevertheless, these occurrences made no impression on the mind of either Eudoxius the Arian bishop, or the emperor Valens, for they did not desist from their relentless persecution of those who dissented from them in matters of faith. 4.11.7 Meanwhile these convulsions of the earth were regarded as a sign of the disturbances which agitated the churches, 4.11.8 for many clergymen were sent into exile, as we have said. Basil and Gregory alone, were exempted from this punishment on account of their eminent piety.	6.10.2b ...Valens the emperor and Eudoxius, the bishop did not stop persecuting Christians who believed differently than them. They succeeded greatly plots against those who kept to the Nicene doctrines; for throughout the majority of Valens' rule, particularly in Thrace, Bithynia, and the Hellespont, and still further beyond, these Christians had neither churches nor priests.	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
4.11.9 The former of these individuals was bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, while Gregory presided over Nazianzus, a little city in the vicinity of Caesarea.		