

Councils and Creeds after Nicaea

Council of Antioch (Syria) A.D. 327/28 Chaired by: Eusebius of Caesarea	Purpose: A reexamination of the Council of Nicaea Key Events: The removal of Eustathius of Antioch and Asclepas of Gaza; Euphronias, presbyter of Cappadocia, was ordained in Eustathius' stead; the production of 25 disciplinary canons?
Source: Socrates, <i>Hist. eccl.</i> 1.24.1–4	
Council of Caesarea (Palestine) A.D. 334 Chaired by: Eusebius of Caesarea	Purpose: To come to terms with Athanasius
Council of Tyre A.D. 335 Summoned by: Constantine Chaired by: Flaccillus of Antioch	Purpose: Examination into the charges against Athanasius (including the breaking of a sacred chalice, the alleged assassination of Arsenius and removing his arm for magical purposes, etc.) Examination into the charges against Macarius; Peaceful performance of the inaugural ceremonies in the dedication of the church of God in Jerusalem. Key Events: Arius was received back into communion; Athanasius fled to Rome and was thereafter deposed and exiled to Trier.
Sources: Athanasius, <i>Apologia Secunda</i> 6-18, 71-83; Socrates, <i>XXVII</i> and <i>HE</i> 1.28-35; Sozomen, <i>HE</i> 2.23, 25, 28; Theodoret, <i>HE</i> 1.29-31.	
Council of Jerusalem A.D. 335 Summoned by: Constantine	Key Event: Arians invited back into fellowship Key Issue: Dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, readmittance of Arius and his followers into the church
Socrates, <i>HE</i> 1.33; Sozomen, <i>HE</i> 2.27.12-14; Athanasius, <i>De synodis</i> , 21	
Council of Constantinople A.D. 335/36	Purpose: To adjudge Marcellus of Ancrya Key Event: Marcellus was deposed and exiled
Socrates, <i>HE</i> , 1.36	
Council of Constantinople A.D. 338 Summon by: Constantius	Key Events: Paul deposed and Eusebius of Nicomedia was installed as the bishop of Constantinople
Sozomen, <i>HE</i> 3.4.2b-3	
Council of Alexandria A.D. 338/39 (aka "Mareotic" council of Egypt)	Purpose: To gain support for Athanasius who recently returned from exile Key Event: An encyclical letter was sent out to gain the aforementioned support

Summoned by: Athanasius	
Athanasius, <i>Apologia Contra Arianos</i> 3-19	
Council of Antioch (Syria) A.D. 339	Purpose: To address the return of Athanasius to Alexandria; to provide a successor for the bishopric of Alexandria Key Events: Gregory of Cappadocia was established as the bishop of Alexandria
Council of Antioch (Syria) A.D. 341 Summon by: Constantius II Chaired by: Flaccillus of Antioch	Purpose: Dedication of the Great Church, responding to Julius of Rome's request for an eastern delegation to be sent to Rome to deal with the question of Athanasius and Marcellus Key Issue: Dedication of the Great Church, responding to Julius of Rome's request for an eastern delegation to be sent to Rome to deal with the question of Athanasius and Marcellus Key Events: Production of four creeds: First – rejected Julius' charge of Arianism; Second – the official creed; Third – Theophinius of Tyana; Fourth – written up a few months later
Socrates, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> 2.8-2.10.20, 2.18.3-6a; Sozomen, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> 3.5-3.6.8	
There are surviving creeds from Antioch: Creed One Athanasius, <i>De Synodis</i>, 22; Socrates, <i>HE</i> 2.10.4-9 We have not been followers of Arius, – how could Bishops, such as we, follow a Presbyter? – nor did we receive any other faith beside that which has been handed down from the beginning. But, after taking on ourselves to examine and to verify his faith, we admitted him rather than followed him; as you will understand from our present avowals. For we have been taught from the first, to believe in one God, the God of the universe, the framer and preserver of all things both intellectual and sensible. And in one Son of God, only-begotten, who existed before all ages, and was with the Father who had begotten Him, by whom all things were made, both visible and invisible, who in the last days according to the good pleasure of the Father came down; and has taken flesh of the virgin, and jointly fulfilled all His father's will, and suffered and rose again, and ascended into heaven, and sits on the right hand of the Father, and will come again to judge the living and the dead, and remains King and God for all ages. And we believe also in the Holy Ghost; and if it be necessary to add, we believe in the resurrection of the flesh and the life everlasting. Creed Two Athanasius <i>De Synodis</i>, 23; Hilary, <i>De Synodis</i>, 29; Socrates <i>HE</i> 2.10.10-18 We believe, conformably to the evangelical and apostolic tradition, in one God, the Father Almighty, the framer, and maker, and provider of the universe, from whom are all things. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, His Son, only-begotten God (John 1:18), by whom are all things, who was begotten before all ages from the Father, God from God, whole from whole, sole from sole, perfect from perfect, King from King, Lord from Lord, Living Word, Living Wisdom, true Light, Way, Truth, Resurrection, Shepherd, Door, both unalterable and unchangeable; exact image of the godhead, essence, will, power and glory of the Father; the first born of every creature, who was in the beginning with God, God the Word, as it is written in the Gospel, 'and the Word was God' (John 1:1); by whom all things were made and in whom all things consist; who in the last days descended from above, and was born of a Virgin according to the Scriptures, and was made man, Mediator between God and man, and Apostle of our faith, and Prince of life, as He says, 'I came	

down from heaven, not to do my own will, but the will of Him that sent me' (John 6:38); who suffered for us and rose again on the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sat down on the right hand of the Father, and is coming again with glory and power to judge the living and the dead.

And in the Holy Ghost, who is given to those who believe for comfort, and sanctification, and initiation, as also our Lord Jesus Christ enjoined His disciples, saying, 'Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost' (Matthew 28:19); namely of a Father who is truly Father, and a Son who is truly Son, and of the Holy Ghost who is truly Holy Ghost, the names not being given without meaning or effect, but denoting accurately the peculiar subsistence, rank, and glory of each that is named, so that they are three in subsistence, and in agreement one.

Holding then this faith, and holding it in the presence of God and Christ, from beginning to end, we anathematize every heretical heterodoxy. And if any teaches, beside the sound and right faith of the Scriptures, that time, or season, or age, either is or has been before the generation of the Son, be he anathema. Or if anyone says, that the Son is a creature as one of the creatures, or an offspring as one of the offspring's, or a work as one of the works, and not the aforesaid articles one after another, as the divine Scriptures have delivered, or if he teaches or preaches beside what we received, be he anathema. For all that has been delivered in the divine Scriptures whether by prophets or apostles, do we truly and reverently both believe and follow.

Creed Three

Athanasius, *De Synodis* 24

God knows, whom I call as a witness upon my soul, that so I believe: in God the Father Almighty, the creator and maker of the universe, from whom are all things.

And in His only-begotten Son, Word, Power, and Wisdom, our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things; who has been begotten from the Father before the ages, perfect God from perfect God, and was with God in subsistence, and in the last days descended, and was born of the virgin according to the Scriptures, and was made man, and suffered, and rose again from the dead, and ascended into the heavens, and sat down on the right hand of His Father, and will come again with glory and power to judge the living and the dead, and remains forever.

And in the Holy Ghost, the Paraclete, the Spirit of Truth (John 15:26), which God also promised by His prophet to pour out (Joel 2:28) upon His servants, and the Lord promised to send to His disciples, which also He sent as the acts of the apostles witness.

But If anyone teaches, or holds in his mind, anything besides this faith, be he anathema; or with Marcellus of Ancyra, or Sabellius, or Paul of Samosata, be he anathema, both himself and those who communicate with him.

Creed Four

Athanasius, *De Synodis*, 25; Socrates, *HE* 2.18.3-6a

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, creator and maker of all things; from whom all fatherhood in heaven and on earth is named (Ephesians 3:15).

And in His only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, who before all ages was begotten from the Father, God from God, Light from Light, by whom all things were made in the heavens and on the earth, visible and invisible, being Word, and Wisdom, and Power, and Life, and True Light; who in the last days was made man for us, and was born of the holy virgin; who was crucified, and died, and was buried, and rose again from the dead the third day, and was taken up into heaven, and sat down on the right hand of the Father; and is coming at the consummation of the age, to judge the living and the dead, and to render to everyone according to his works; whose kingdom endures indissolubly into the infinite ages; for He shall be seated on the right hand of the Father, not only in this age but in that which is to come.

And in the Holy Ghost, that is, the Paraclete; which, having promised to the Apostles, He sent forth after His ascension into heaven, to teach them and to remind of all things; through whom also shall be sanctified the souls of those who sincerely believe in Him.

But those who say that the Son was from nothing, or from other subsistence and not from God, and, there was a time when He was not, the catholic church regards as aliens.

Council of Rome A.D. 341 Summoned by: Julius I	Purpose: To Resolve the conflict following Nicaea Key Events: Athanasius declared the bishop of Alexandria; Marcellus of Ancrya's deposition and excommunication revoked
Council of Serdica A.D. 343 Summoned by: Constans	Purpose: To resolve the disagreements between East and West over the Arian controversy. Results: Paul and Athanasius restored to their respective sees. Leading Eastern bishops anathematized.

Ossius of Cordova, CPL 537-539 Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.20, 2.22 Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.11.3-3.12.7 Theodore, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.7, 2.8 Athanasius, *Apologia Secunda* 36-50, *Historia Arianorum* 15.3, 18.3, *De Synodis* 25, *Tomus ad Antiochenos* 5, 10 *Collectanea Antiariana Parisina* B.1-2, *Liber ad Constantium* 1.1-2.3

Creed of the Western Serdican Council

Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.* 2.8.37-52

We declare those men excommunicate from the catholic church who say that Christ is God, but not the true God; that He is the Son, but not the true Son; and that He is both begotten and made; for such persons acknowledge that they understand by the term 'begotten,' that which has been made; and because, although the Son of God existed before all ages, they attribute to Him, who exists not in time but before all time, a beginning and an end.

Valens and Ursacius have, like two vipers brought forth by an asp, proceeded from the Arian heresy. For they boastingly declare themselves to be undoubted Christians, and yet affirm that the Word and the Holy Ghost were both crucified and slain, and that they died and rose again; and they persistently maintain, like the heretics, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are of diverse and distinct essences. We have been taught, and we hold the catholic and apostolic tradition and faith and confession which teach that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost have one essence, which is termed substance by the heretics. If it is asked, 'What is the essence of the Son?' we confess, that it is that which is acknowledged to be that of the Father alone; for the Father has never been, nor could ever be, without the Son, or the Son without the Father. It is most absurd to affirm that the Father ever existed without the Son, for that this could never be so has been testified by the Son himself, who said, 'I am in the Father, and the Father in me' (John 14:10) and 'I and my Father are one' (John 10:30). None of us denied that He was begotten; but we say that He was begotten before all things, whether visible or invisible; and that He is the creator of archangels and angels, and of the world, and of the human race. It is written, 'Wisdom, which is the worker of all things, taught me' (Wisdom of Solomon 7:22), and again, 'All things were made by Him' (John 1:3).

He could not have existed always if He had had a beginning, for the everlasting Word has no beginning, and God will never have an end. We do not say that the Father is Son, or that the Son is Father; but that the Father is Father, and the Son of the Father Son. We confess that the Son is Power of the Father. We confess that the Word is Word of God the Father, and that beside Him there is no other. We believe the Word to be the true God, and Wisdom and Power. We affirm that He is truly the Son, yet not in the way in which others are said to be sons: for they are either gods by reason of their regeneration, or are called sons of God on account of their merit, and not on account of their being of one essence, as is the case with the Father and the Son. We confess an only-begotten and a firstborn; but that the Word is only-begotten, who ever was and is in the Father. We use the word firstborn with respect to His human nature. But He is superior (to man) in the new creation (of the Resurrection), inasmuch as He is the

firstborn from the dead.

We confess that God is; we confess the divinity of the Father and of the Son to be one. No one denies that the Father is greater than the Son: not on account of another essence, nor yet on account of their difference, but simply from the very name of the father being greater than that of the Son. The words uttered by our Lord, 'I and my Father are one,' are by those men explained as referring to the concord and harmony which prevail between the Father and the Son; but this is a blasphemous and perverse interpretation. We as Catholics, unanimously condemned this foolish and lamentable opinion: for just as mortal men on a difference having arisen between them quarrel and afterwards are reconciled, so do such interpreters say that disputes and dissention are liable to arise between God the Father Almighty and His Son; a supposition which is altogether absurd and unjustified. But we believe and maintain that those holy words, 'I and my Father are one,' point out the oneness of essence which is one and the same in the Father and in the Son.

We also believe that the Son reigns with the Father, that His reign has neither beginning nor end, and that it is not bounded by time, nor can ever cease: for that which always exists never begins to be, and can never cease.

We believe in and we receive the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, whom the Lord both promised and sent. We believe in it as sent.

It was not the Holy Ghost who suffered, but the manhood with which He clothed Himself; which he took from the Virgin Mary, which being man was capable of suffering; for man is mortal, whereas God is immortal. We believe that on the third day He rose, the man in God, not God in the man; and that He brought as a gift to His Father the manhood which He had delivered from sin and corruption.

We believe that, at a proper and fixed time, He Himself will judge all men and all their deeds.

So great is the ignorance and mental darkness of those whom we have mentioned, that they are unable to see the light of truth. They cannot comprehend the meaning of the words: 'that they may be one in us' (John 17:21). It is obvious why the word 'one' was used; it was because the apostles received the Holy Spirit of God, and yet there were none amongst them who were the Spirit, neither was there anyone of them who was Word, Wisdom, Power, or Only-begotten. 'As you,' He said, 'and I are one, that they may be one in us,' are strictly accurate: for the Lord did not say, 'one in the same way that I and the Father are one,' but He said, 'that the disciples, being knit together and united, may be one in faith and in confession, and so in the grace and piety of God the Father, and by the indulgence and love of our Lord Jesus Christ, may be able to become one.'

Creed of the Eastern Council of Serdica

Hilary, *De Synodis* 34

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Creator and Maker of all things, from whom all fatherhood in heaven and earth is named.

And we believe in His Only-begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, who before all ages was begotten of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, through whom were made all things which are in heaven and earth, visible and invisible; who is the Word and Wisdom and Might and Life and true Light; and who in the last days for our sake was incarnate, and was born of the holy virgin, who was crucified and died and was buried, and rose from the dead on the third day, and was received into heaven, and sits on the right hand of the Father, and shall come to judge the living and the dead and to give to every man according to his works; whose kingdom remains without end for ever and ever. For He sits on the right hand of the Father, not only in this age, but also in the age to come.

We believe also in the Holy Ghost, that is, the Paraclete, whom, according to His promise, He sent to His apostles after His return into the heavens to teach them and to bring all things to their remembrance, through whom also the souls of them that believe sincerely in Him are sanctified.

But those who say that the Son of God is sprung from things non-existent or from another substance and not from God, and that there was a time or age when He was not, the holy catholic church holds them as aliens. Likewise also those who say that there are three Gods, or that Christ is not God and that before the ages He was neither Christ nor Son of God, or that He Himself is the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, or that the Son

is incapable of birth; or that the Father begat the Son without purpose or will: the holy catholic church anathematizes.

Council of Antioch (Syria) A.D. 345	Key Event: The <i>Ekthesis Makrostichos</i> was drawn up, which was to be taken to the council in Milan.
<i>Ekthesis Makrostichos</i> = “<i>Long-lined Creed</i>” (Athanasius, <i>De Synodis</i>, 26; Socrates, <i>HE</i> 2.19.3-28) We believe in one God the Father Almighty, the Creator and Maker of all things, from whom all fatherhood in heaven and on earth is named. And in His Only-begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, who before all ages was begotten from the Father, God from God, Light from Light, by whom all things were made, in heaven and one the earth, visible and invisible, being Word and Wisdom and Power and Life and True Light, who in the last days was made man for us, and was born of the Holy Virgin, crucified and died and was buried, and rose again from the dead on the third day, and was taken up into heaven, and sat down on the right hand of the Father, and is coming at the consummation of the age to judge the living and the dead, and to render to everyone according to his works; whose kingdom endured unceasingly unto all the ages; for He sits on the right hand of the Father, not only in this age, but also in that which is to come. And we believe in the Holy Ghost, that is, the Paraclete, which, having promised to the apostles, He sent forth after the ascension into heaven, to teach them and to remind of all things; through whom also shall be sanctified the souls of those who sincerely believe in Him. But those who say that the Son was from nothing, or from other subsistence and not from God; and that there was a time or age when He was not, the catholic and holy church regards as aliens. Likewise those who say that there are three Gods, or that Christ is not God, or that before the ages He was neither Christ nor Son of God, or that Father and Son or Holy Ghost are the same, or that the Son is ingenerate, or that the Father begat the Son not by choice or will: the holy and catholic church anathematizes. 1. For neither is it safe to say that the Son is from nothing, (since this is nowhere spoken of Him in divinely inspired Scripture,) nor again of any other subsistence before existing beside the Father, but from God alone do we define Him genuinely to be generated. For the divine Word teaches that the Ingenerate and Unbegone, the Father of Christ, is One. 2. Nor may we, adopting the hazardous position, ‘There was once when He was not,’ from unscriptural sources, imagine any interval of time before Him, but only the God who has generated Him apart from time; for through Him both times and ages came to be. Yet we must not consider the Son to be co-unbegun and co-ingenerate with the Father; for no one can be properly called Father or Son of one who is co-unbegun and co-ingenerate with Him. But we acknowledge that the Father who alone is unbegun and ingenerate, has generated inconceivably and incomprehensibly to all; and that the Son has been generated before ages, and in no wise to be ingenerate Himself like the Father, but to have the Father who generated Him as His beginning; for ‘the head of Christ is God’ (1 Corinthians 11:3). 3. Nor again, in confessing three realities and three persons, of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost according to the Scriptures, do we therefore make Gods three; since we acknowledge the self-complete and ingenerate and unbegun and invisible God to be one only, the God and Father (John 20:17) of the Only-begotten, who alone has being from Himself, and alone vouchsafes this to all others bountifully. 4. Nor again, in saying that the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is one only God, the only ingenerate, do we therefore deny that Christ also is God	

before ages; as the disciples of Paul of Samosata, who say that after the incarnation He was by advance made God, from being made by nature a mere man. For we acknowledge, that though He be subordinate to His Father and God, yet, being before ages begotten of God, He is God perfect according to nature and true, and not first man and then God, but first God and then becoming man for us, and never having been deprived of being.

5. We abhor besides, and anathematize those who make a pretence of saying that He is but the mere word of God and unexisting, having His being in another – now as if pronounced, as some speak, now as mental – holding that He was not Christ or Son of God or mediator or image of God before ages; but that He first became Christ and Son of God, when He took our flesh from the virgin, not quite four hundred years ago. For they will have it that then Christ began His kingdom, and that it will have an end after the consummation of all and the judgment. Such are the disciples of Marcellus and Scotinus of Galatian Ancyra, who, equally with Jews, rejected Christ's existence before ages, and His Godhead, and unending kingdom, upon pretence of supporting the divine monarchy. We, on the contrary, regard Him not as simply God's pronounced word or self, and Son of God and Christ, being and abiding with His Father before ages, and that not in foreknowledge only, and ministering to Him for the whole framing whether of things visible or invisible. For it is He to whom the Father said, 'Let us make man in our image, after our likeness' (Genesis 1:26), who also was seen in His own person by the patriarchs, gave the law, was spoken by the prophets, and at last became man and manifested His own Father to all men, and reigns to never-ending ages. For Christ has taken no recent dignity, but we have believed Him to be perfect from the first and like in all things to the Father.

6. And those who say that the Father and Son and Holy Ghost are the same, and irreligiously take the three names of one and the same reality and person, we justly proscribe from the Church, because they suppose the illimitable and impassible Father to be also limitable and passable through His becoming man. For such are they whom Romans call Patripassians, and we Sabellians. For we acknowledge that the unchangeable Godhead and that Christ who was sent fulfilled the economy of the Incarnation.

7. And at the same time those who irreverently say that the Son has been generated not by choice or will, thus encompassing God with a necessity which excludes choice and purpose, so that He begat the Son unwillingly, we account as most irreligious and alien to the Church; in that they have dared to define such things concerning God, beside the common notions concerning Him, so, beside the intention of divinely inspired Scripture. For we, knowing that God is absolute and sovereign over Himself, have a religious judgment that He generated the Son voluntarily and freely. Yet, as we have a reverent belief in the Son's words concerning Himself (Proverbs 8:22), 'The Lord created me a beginning of His ways for His works,' we do not understand Him to have been originated like the creatures or works which through Him came to be. For it is irreligious and alien to the ecclesiastical faith, to compare the Creator with handiworks created by Him, and to think that He has the same manner of origination with the rest. For divine Scripture teaches us assuredly and truly that the Only-begotten Son was generated sole and solely. Yet, in saying that the Son is in Himself, and both lives and exists like the Father, we do not on that account separate Him from the Father, imagining place and interval between their union in the way of bodies. For we believe that they are united with each other without mediation or distance, and that they exist inseparably. All the Father encompassing the Son, and all the Son hanging and adhering to the Father, and alone resting on the Father's breast continually. Believing then in the all-perfect triad, the most holy, that is, in the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and calling the Father God, and the Son God, yet we confess in them, not two Gods, but one dignity of Godhead, and one exact harmony of dominion, the Father alone being head over the whole universe wholly, and over the Son Himself, and the Son subordinated to the Father; but, excepting Him, ruling over all things after Him which through Himself have come to be, and granting the grace of the Holy Ghost unsparingly to the saints at the Father's will. For that such is the account of the Divine Monarchy towards Christ, the sacred oracles have delivered to us.

Thus much, in addition to the faith before published in epitome, we have been compelled to draw forth at length, not in any officious display, but to clear away all unjust suspicion concerning our opinions among those who are ignorant of our affairs; and that all in the West may know, both the audacity of the slanders of the heterodox, and as to the Orientals, their ecclesiastical mind in the Lord, to which the divinely inspired Scriptures bear witness without violence, where men are not perverse.

Council of Milan A.D. 345	Purpose: To present the <i>Ekthesis Makrostichos</i> to Constans Key Events: Creation of a formula; condemnation of Marcellus of Ancrya, Paul of Samosata and Photinus of Sirmium; Eastern participants left so as to avoid the condemnation of Arianism
Council of Jerusalem A.D. 346 Summoned by: Maximus	Purpose: To confirm Athanasius' restoration to communion
Athanasius, <i>Apol. c. Ar. 57 Hist. Ar. 25</i> ; Socrates, <i>HE</i> 2.24.1-3a; Sozomen, <i>HE</i> 3.21.5b-3.22	
Council of Alexandria A.D. 346 Summoned by: Athanasius	Purpose: To confirm the conclusions of the councils of Serdica and Jerusalem
Socrates <i>HE</i> 2.26; Sozomen <i>HE</i> 4.1.3	
Council of Cologne A.D. 346	Purpose: To reconcile the eastern and western bishops Key Event: Euphratas of Cologne was deposed for denying the divinity of Christ; Ursacius and Valens were accepted into communion; the works of Arius and Photinus were condemned
The Authenticity of this council is still in question	
Council of Sirmium A.D. 347	Purpose: To oppose Photinus
Hilary, <i>Frag. Hist.</i> B II. 9,1	
Council of Milan A.D. 347	Key Events: Renewal of Photinus' condemnation; request from Valens and Ursacius to join in fellowship
Council of Carthage A.D. 348 Summoned by: Gratus	Key Events: Disciplinary canons written regarding marriage and virginity, self-chosen martyrdom and usury; dissolution of schismatic communities ordered: property would be turned over to the Catholics and those who remained schismatic would be sent into exile.
Council of Sirmium A.D. 351 Summoned by: Constantius II	Purpose: To examine the theology of Photinus Key Events: The debate between Basil and Photinus; Photinus' subsequent condemnation; the production of a formula of faith which repeats that of Antioch AD 341; the production of 27 anathemas against Photinus as well as Marcellus of Ancyra; Athanasius deposed and condemned again.
Athanasius, <i>De Synodis</i> II.27; Epiphanius <i>Panarion</i> 71.1-5; Sulpicius Severus, <i>Chronica</i> 2.37.5; Socrates <i>HE</i> 2.29-30; Sozomen <i>HE</i> 4.6 (<i>The latter two confuse this council with the council held in this city in 357.</i>)	
First Creed of Sirmium (Athanasius, <i>De Synodis</i> 27) We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Creator and Maker of all things, 'from whom all fatherhood in heaven and earth is named.' And in his only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, who before all the ages was begotten from the Father, God from God, light from light, by whom all things were made, in heaven and on the earth, visible and invisible, being Word and Wisdom and True Light and Life, who in the last of days was made man for us, and was born of the holy virgin, and crucified and died and was buried, and rose again from the dead the third day, and	

was taken up into heaven, and sat down on the right hand of the Father, and is coming at the consummation of the age, to judge the living and the dead, and to render to everyone according to his works; whose kingdom being unceasing endures unto the infinite ages; for He shall sit on the right hand of the Father, not only in this age, but also in that which is to come.

And in the Holy Ghost, that is, the Paraclete; which, having promised to the Apostles to send forth after His ascension into heaven, to teach and to remind them of all things, He did send; through whom also are sanctified the souls of those who sincerely believe in Him.

1. But those who say that the Son was from nothing or from other subsistence and not from God, and that there was a time or age when He was not, the holy and catholic church regards as aliens.

2. Again we say, whoever says that the Father and the Son are two Gods, be he anathema.

3. And whosoever, saying that Christ is God, before ages Son of God, does not confess that He has subserved the Father for the framing of the universe be he anathema.

4. Whoever presumes to say that the ingenerate, or a part of Him, was born of Mary, be he anathema.

5. Whoever says that according to foreknowledge the Son is before Mary and not that, generated from the Father before ages, He was with God, and that through Him all things were originated, be he anathema.

6. Whoever shall pretend that the essence of God is dilated or contracted, be he anathema.

7. Whoever says that the essence of God being dilated made the Son, or shall name the dilation of His essence Son, be he anathema.

8. Whoever calls the Son of God the mental or pronounced Word, be he anathema.

9. Whoever says that the Son from Mary is man only, be he anathema.

10. Whoever, speaking of Him who is from Mary, God and man, thereby means God the Ingenerate, be he anathema.

11. Whoever explains, 'I God the first and I the last, and besides me there is no God' (Isaiah 44:6), which is said for the denial of idols and of gods that are not, to the denial of the only-begotten, before ages God, as Jews do, be he anathema.

12. Whoever hearing 'the Word was made flesh' (John 1:14), considers that the Word has changed into flesh, or shall say that He has undergone alteration by taking flesh, be he anathema.

13. Whoever hearing the only-begotten Son of God to have been crucified, shall say that His Godhead has undergone corruption, or passion, or alteration, or diminution, or destruction, be he anathema.

14. Whoever says that 'Let us make man' (Genesis 1:26), was not said by the Father to the Son, but by God to Himself, be he anathema.

15. Whoever says that Abraham saw, not the Son, but the ingenerate God or part of Him, be he anathema.

16. Whoever says that Jacob wrestled, not the Son as man, but the ingenerate God or part of Him, be he anathema.

17. Whoever shall explain, 'The Lord rained fire from the Lord' (Genesis 19:24), was not the Father and the Son, and says that He rained from Himself, be he anathema. For the Son, being Lord, rained from the Father who is Lord.

18. Whoever, hearing that the Father is Lord and the Son Lord and the Father and Son Lord, for there is Lord from Lord, says there are two Gods, be he anathema. For we do not place the Son in the Father's order, but as subordinate to the Father; for He did not descend upon Sodom without the Father's will, nor did He rain from Himself, but from the Lord, that is, the Father authorizing it. Nor is He of Himself set down on the right hand, but He hears the Father saying, 'Sit on my right hand' (Psalms 110:1).

19. Whoever says that the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost are one Person, be he anathema.

20. Whoever, speaking of the Holy Ghost as Paraclete, shall mean the ingenerate God, be he anathema.

21. Whoever denies, what the Lord taught us, that the Paraclete is other than the Son, for He said, 'and the Father shall send you another Paraclete, whom I will ask' (John 14:16) be he anathema.

22. Whoever says that the Holy Ghost is part of the Father or of the Son, be he anathema.

23. Whoever shall say that the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost are three Gods, be he anathema. 24. Whoever says that the Son of God came to be at the will of God, as one of the works, be he anathema. 25. Whoever says that the Son has been generated, the Father not wishing it, be he anathema. For not by compulsion, led by physical necessity, did the Father, as He wished not, generate the Son, but He at once willed, and, after generating Him from Himself apart from time and passion, manifested Him. 26. Whoever says that the Son is without beginning and ingenerate, as if speaking of two unbegun and two ingenerate, and making two Gods, be he anathema. For the Son is the head, namely the beginning of all; and God is the head, namely the beginning of Christ. And so to one unbegun beginning of the universe do we religiously refer all things through the Son. 27. And in accurate delineation of the idea of Christianity we say this again: Whoever does not say that Christ is God, Son of God, as being before ages, and having subserved the Father in the framing of the universe, but that from the time that He was born of Mary, from there He was called Christ and Son, and took an origin of being God, be he anathema.	
Council of Alexandria A.D. 353 Summoned by: Athanasius	Key Event: Athanasius' innocence confirmed and letter signed by c. 80 Egyptian bishops sent to Liberius
Council of Rome A.D. 353 Summoned by: Constantius	Key Event: The council read the letter from the Mareotic council concerning decisions made at the council of Sirmium
Socrates, <i>HE</i> 2.34.5b-6; Sozomen, <i>HE</i> 4.8.1	
Council of Arles A.D. 353 Summoned by: Constantius	Key Events: Subscription to the condemnation of Athanasius; refusal of Paulinus of Trier
Sulpicius Severus, <i>Chronicorum Libri</i> II.39 (92-93); Hilary, <i>Coll. Antiar.</i> A VII.1-6 (89-94) and <i>Liber ad Constant.</i> I.8	
Council of Gangra ca. A.D. 355 Chaired by: Eusebius of Nicomedia	Key Events: A total of 20 canons were adopted to counter the extreme form of asceticism introduced by Eustathius of Sebaste. In particular, the following Eustathian errors were condemned: theoretical rejection of marriage and family, liturgical separation, vegetarianism, fasting, clothing and rebellion. An epilogue to the canons describes what true asceticism should involve.
Socrates, <i>HE</i> 2.43.1-6; Sozomen, <i>HE</i> 4.24.3-16	
Council of Milan A.D. 355 Chaired by: Dionysius of Milan (?)	Purpose: Pope Liberius asked Constantius to call a general council to deal with the eastern bishops' doctrinal claims and their condemnation of Athanasius. Key Events: Imperial supporters reaffirm the condemnation of Athanasius; Eusebius of Vercelli, Lucifer of Cagliari and Dionysius of Milan were exiled; the anti-Nicene Auxentius replaced Dionysius as bishop.
Hilary <i>Liber ad Constantium</i> 1.8; Athanasius <i>HA</i> 31-34; Rufinus <i>HE</i> 1.20; Socrates <i>HE</i> 2.36; Sozomen <i>HE</i> 4.9; Theodoret <i>HE</i> 2.15 (2.12 in <i>NCPNF</i>), Sulpicius Severus, <i>Chronicle</i> 2.39.	
Council of Baeterrae A.D. 356/57	Key Event: Condemnation of Hilary of Poitiers (exiled to Phrygia)

Council of Sirmium A.D. 357	Purpose: To create a confession of faith that avoided the extremes of Arianism but subordinates the Son to the Father Key Event: The production of an anti-Nicene creed, the so-called “Blasphemy of Sirmium.”
Athanasius <i>Apol. Sec. 39</i> and <i>De Synodis</i> II.28; <i>Apol de Fuga</i> 5; <i>HA</i> 45; Hilary <i>De Synodis</i> 11; Phoebadius <i>Con. Arianos</i> 3; Sozomen <i>HE</i> 4.6, 12; Socrates <i>HE</i> 2.29 The Second Creed of Sirmium (Athanasius, <i>De Synodis</i> 28) It is held for certain that there is one God, the Father Almighty, as also is preached in all the world. And His one only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, generated from Him before the ages; and that we may not speak of two Gods, since the Lord Himself has said, ‘I go to my Father and your Father, and my God and your God’ (John 20:17). On this account He is God of all, as also the Apostle taught: ‘Is He God of the Jews only, is He not also of the Gentiles? Yes of the Gentiles also; since there is one God who shall justify the circumcision from faith, and the uncircumcision through faith’ (Romans 3:29, 30). And everything else agrees, and has no ambiguity. But since many persons are disturbed by questions concerning what is called in Latin <i>substantia</i>, but in Greek <i>ousia</i>, that is, to make it understood more exactly, as to ‘coessential,’ or what is called, ‘like-in-essence,’ there ought to be no mention of any of these at all, nor exposition of them in the Church, for this reason and for this consideration, that in divine Scripture nothing is written about them, and that they are above men’s knowledge and above men’s understanding; and because no one can declare the Son’s generation, as it is written, ‘Who shall declare His generation?’ (Isaiah 53:8) For it is plain that the Father only knows how He generated the Son, and again the Son how He has been generated by the Father. And to none can it be a question that the Father is greater. For no one can doubt that the Father is greater in honor and dignity and Godhead, and in the very name of Father, the Son Himself testifying, ‘The Father that sent me is greater than I’ (John 10:29, 14:28) And no one is ignorant, that it is catholic doctrine, that there are two persons of Father and Son, and that the Father is greater, and the Son subordinated to the Father together with all things which the Father has subordinated to Him, and that the Father has no beginning, and is invisible, and immortal, and impassible; but that the Son has been generated from the Father, God from God, light from light, and that His origin, as aforesaid, no one knows, but the Father only. And that the Son Himself and our Lord and God, took flesh, that is, a body, that is, man, from Mary the virgin, as the Angel preached beforehand; and as all the Scriptures teach, and especially the apostle himself, the doctor of the Gentiles, Christ took man of Mary the virgin, through which he has suffered. And the whole faith is summed up, and secured in this, that a Trinity should ever be preserved, as we read in the Gospel, ‘Go and baptize all the nations in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost’ (Matthew 28:19). And entire and perfect is the number of the Trinity; but the Paraclete, the Holy Ghost, sent forth through the Son, came according to the promise, that He might teach and sanctify the Apostles and all believers. (Note: This formula is also occasionally referred to as the Anomoean Creed. This is in reference to the fact that the document contains neither the word <i>homoousios</i> (“of the same substance”) nor <i>homoiousios</i> (“of like substance”). Rather, the Anomoeans believed that the Son was “unlike” the Father (<i>anomoios</i>)).	
Council of Antioch A.D. 357 Summoned by: Eudoxius of Antioch	Key Event: Approval of the Formula of Sirmium (357)
Council of Sirmium A.D. 358 Summoned by: Constantius	Purpose: Council intended to examine the doctrinal statements of Basis of Ancyra from the Council of Ancyra earlier in the year. Key Event: Envoy sent to Emperor Constantius with anathemas for Eudoxius and the Aetian influence and with pleas to uphold the creeds of Serdica and Sirmium; subsequent letter from Constantinius to the Church of

	Antioch; Eunomius exiled to Midaeos in Phrygia; Aetius exiled to Pepuzza in Phrygia; Eudoxius exiled to Armenia; Third Creed of Sirmium (not surviving); reaffirmation of the First Sirmian Creed and the Second Creed of Antioch.
Sozomen, <i>HE</i> 4.15.1-3	
Council of Antioch A.D. 358 Summoned by: Eudoxius of Antioch	Key Event: Welcome and approval of the Second Sirmian Creed
Council of Ancyra A.D. 358	Key Events: Antithemas against the influence of Aetius; envoy sent to Constantius. Address the letter written by George of Laodicea, which warned against the influence of Aetius in Antioch
Hilary, <i>De Synodis</i> (PL 10) 13 (490) – 28 (501); Sozomen, <i>HE</i> 4.13.1b-6.	
Council of Sirmium A.D. 359	Purpose: To create a formulary that would serve as the basis for the upcoming councils in Ariminum and Seleucia Key Events: Production of the fourth creed of Sirmium, also known as the “Dated Creed”
Fourth Creed of Sirmium (Athanasius, De Synodis 8) The catholic faith was published in the presence of our master, the most religious and gloriously victorious Emperor, Constantius, Augustus, the eternal and august, in the consulate of the most illustrious Flavii, Eusebius and Hypatius, in Sirmium on the eleventh of the Calends of June We believe in One only and true God, the Father Almighty, creator and framer of all things. And in one only-begotten Son of God, who, before all ages, and before all origin, and before all conceivable time, and before all comprehensible essence, was begotten impassibly from God; through whom the ages were disposed and all things were made; and Him begotten as the only-begotten, only from the only Father, God from God. Like to the Father who begat Him, according to the Scriptures; whose origin no one knows save the Father alone who begat Him. We know that He, the only-begotten Son of God, at the Father’s bidding came from the heavens for the abolishment of sin, and was born of the virgin Mary, and conversed with the disciples, and fulfilled the Economy according to the Father’s will, and was crucified, and died and descended into the parts beneath the earth, and regulated the things there, whom the gate-keepers of hell saw (Job 38:17) and shuddered; and He rose from the dead the third day, and conversed with the disciples, and fulfilled all the Economy, and when the forty days were full, ascended into the heavens, and sits on the right hand of the Father, and is coming in the last day of the resurrection in the glory of the Father, to render to everyone according to his works. And in the Holy Ghost, whom the only-begotten of God Himself, Jesus Christ, had promised to send to the race of men, the Paraclete, as it is written, ‘I go to my Father, and I will ask the Father, and He shall send unto you another Paraclete, even the Spirit of truth He shall take of mine and shall teach and bring to your remembrance all things’ (John 14:16, 17, 26, 16:14) But whereas the term ‘essence,’ has been adopted by the Fathers in simplicity, and gives offence as being misconceived by the people, and is not contained in the Scriptures, it has seemed good to remove it, that it be never in any case used of God again, because the divine Scriptures nowhere use it of Father and Son. But we say that the Son is like the Father in all things, as also the Holy Scriptures say and teach.	
Council of Arminum (Rimini) A.D. 359	Purpose: Constantius’ effort to achieve compromise between the pro and anti-Nicene bishops Key Events: The anti-Nicene Valens and Ursacius led c. 80 bishops to oppose the majority; the majority deposed this group and condemned their propositions; later Constantius II forced the council to submit to a

Summoned by: Constantius II Chaired by: Restitutus of Carthage	vague compromise that defined the Son as “like the Father”; the anti-Nicene party viewed this as a victory.
Hilary <i>Coll. Antiar</i> A 5-6, B 7.2; Athanasius <i>De Synodis</i> 10.1-11.2, 55.1-7; Socrates <i>HE</i> II.37; Sozomen <i>HE</i> 4.17-19; Theodoret <i>HE</i> 2.18-20 (2.15 in <i>NCPNF</i>); Jerome <i>adv. Luciferanos</i> 17-18; Sulpicius Severus <i>Chronica</i> 2.41-45; Collectio Avellana 1a (Liber precum), 13-19	
Council of Nike (Thrace) A.D. 359 Summoned by: Constantius	Purpose: To present the “Nicene” creed Key Events: Decisions at Ariminum disowned; excommunication of Ursacius, Valens, Germinius and Gaius disavowed; subscription of the creed brought by the other delegates from Ariminum
Socrates, <i>HE</i> 2.37.96; Sozomen, <i>HE</i> 4.19.8; Theodoret, <i>HE</i> 2.21 (2.16 in <i>NCPNF</i>); <i>CSEL</i> 56.85.20-86.23 in Wickham The Thracian-Nicene Creed (Theodoret, <i>Hist. eccl.</i> 2.21.3-7a) We believe in one only true God, Father Almighty, of whom are all things. And in the only-begotten Son of God, who before all ages and before every beginning was begotten of God, through whom all things were made, both visible and invisible; alone begotten, only-begotten of the Father alone, God of God; like the Father that begat Him, according to the Scriptures, whose generation no one knows except only the Father that begat Him. This only-begotten Son of God, sent by His Father, we know to have come down from heaven, as it is written, for the destruction of sin and death; begotten of the Holy Ghost and the virgin Mary, as it is written, according to the flesh. Who companied with His disciples, and when the dispensation was fulfilled, according to the Father’s will, was crucified, died and was buried, and descended to the world below, at whom Hell himself trembled. On the third day He rose from the dead and companied with His disciples forty days. He was taken up into Heaven, and sits on the right hand of His Father, and is coming at the last day of the Resurrection, in His Father’s glory, to render to everyone according to his works. And we believe in the Holy Ghost, which the only-begotten Son of God, Jesus Christ, both God and Lord, promised to send to man, the Comforter, as it is written, the Spirit of Truth. This Spirit He Himself sent after He had ascended into Heaven and sat at the right hand of the Father, from there to come to judge both the living and the dead. But the word ‘substance,’ which was too simply inserted by the Fathers, and, not being understood by the people, was a cause of scandal through its not being found in the Scriptures, it has seemed good to us to remove, and that for the future no mention whatever be permitted of the ‘substance’ of the Father and the Son. Nor must one ‘essence’ be named in relation to the person of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. And we call the Son like the Father, as the Holy Scriptures call Him and teach; but all the heresies, both those already condemned, and any, if such there be, which have risen against the document thus put forth, let them be anathema.	
Council of Seleucia A.D. 359 Summoned by: Constantius II Chaired by: Leonas (a civil	Purpose: Constantius’ effort to achieve compromise between the pro and anti-Nicene bishops Key Events: The leaders of the pro-Nicene party imposed the creed of Antioch of 341 and rejected a compromise put forward by Acacius of Caesarea; supporters of the latter compromise were deposed.

official) and Lauricius (a military officer)	
Hilary <i>Contra Constantium</i>; Hilary <i>Coll. Antiar</i> B 7.1; Athanasius <i>De Synodis</i> 12.1-4; Socrates <i>HE</i> 2.39, 40; Sozomen <i>HE</i> 4.22; Philostorgius <i>HE</i> 4.2; Theodoret <i>HE</i> 2.26.4-6a (2.22 in NCPNF) Ninth Confession (Athanasius, <i>De Synodis</i> 29) We decline not to bring forward the authentic faith published at the Dedication at Antioch; though certainly our fathers at the time met together for a particular subject under investigation. But since ‘coessential’ and ‘like-in-essence,’ have troubled many persons in times past and up to this day, and since moreover some are said recently to have devised the Son’s ‘unlikeness’ to the Father, on their account we reject ‘coessential’ and ‘like-in-essence,’ as alien to the Scriptures, but ‘unlike’ we anathematize, and account all who profess it as aliens from the Church. And we distinctly confess the ‘likeness’ of the Son to the Father, according to the Apostle, who says of the Son, ‘Who is the image of the invisible God’ (Colossians 1:15) And we confess and believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Maker of heaven and earth, of all things visible and invisible. And we believe also in our Lord Jesus Christ, His Son, generated from Him impassibly before all the ages, God the Word, God from God, Only-begotten, Light, Life, Truth, Wisdom, Power, through whom all things were made, in the heavens and on the earth, whether visible or invisible. He, as we believe, at the end of the world, for the abolishment of sin, took flesh of the holy virgin, and was made man, and suffered for our sins, and rose again, and was taken up into heaven, and sits on the right hand of the Father, and is coming again in glory to judge the living and the dead. We believe also in the Holy Ghost, which our Savior and Lord named Paraclete, having promised to send Him to the disciples after His own departure, as He did send; through whom He sanctifies those in the Church who believe, and are baptized in the name of Father, Son and Holy Ghost. But those who preach anything beside this faith the catholic Church regards as aliens. And that to this faith that is equivalent which was published lately at Sirmium, under sanction of his religiousness the Emperor, is plain to all who read it.	
Council of Constantinople A.D. 360 Summoned by: Constantius	Key Events: Council of Rimini/Ariminum confirmed; main spokesmen for each side (Arian/Anti-Arian) were condemned
Athanasius, <i>De Synodis</i>, 30; Socrates, <i>HE</i> 2.41-42; Sozomen, <i>HE</i> 4.24-25; Theodoret, <i>HE</i> 2.27 (2.23 in NCPNF) The Homoian Creed (Athanasius <i>De Synodis</i> 30) We believe in one God, Father Almighty, from whom are all things. And in the only-begotten Son of God, begotten from God before all ages and before every beginning, by whom all things were made, visible and invisible, and begotten as only-begotten, only from the Father only, God from God, like to the Father that begat Him according to the Scriptures; whose origin no one knows, except the Father alone who begat Him. He as we acknowledge the only-begotten Son of God, the Father having sent Him, came here from the heavens, as it is written, for the undoing of sin and death, and was born of the Holy Ghost, of Mary the virgin according to the flesh, as it is written, and conversed with the disciples, and having fulfilled the whole Economy according to the Father’s will, was crucified and died and was buried and ascended to the parts below the earth, at whom hades itself shuddered; who also rose from the dead on the third day, and abode with the disciples, and forty days being fulfilled, was taken up into the heavens, and sits on the right hand of the Father to come in the last day of the resurrection in the Father’s glory, that He may render to every man according to his works. And in the Holy Ghost, whom the only-begotten Son of God Himself, Christ, our Lord and God, promised to send to the race of man, as Paraclete, as it is written, ‘the Spirit of truth’ (John 16:13), which He sent to the them when He had ascended into the heavens.	

But the name of ‘essence,’ which was set down by the Fathers in simplicity, and, being unknown by the people, caused offense, because the Scriptures do not contain it, it has seemed good to abolish, and for the future to make no mention of it at all; since the divine scriptures have made no mention of the essence of Father and Son. For neither ought ‘subsistence’ to be named concerning Father, Son and Holy Ghost. But we say that the Son is like the Father, as the divine Scriptures say and teach; and all the heresies, both those which have been already condemned, and whatever are of modern date, being contrary to this published statement, be they anathema.

Council of Paris A.D. 360	Key Events: Disavowal of Rimini; subscription to Nicaea; deposition of Saturninus of Arles and Paternus of Perigueux
Council of Antioch A.D. 360/61 Summoned by: Constantius	Key Events: Meletius of Antioch deposed; Euzoius set up to serve in place of Meletius
Athanasius, <i>De Synodis</i> , 31; Socrates, <i>HE</i> , 2.45.9-15; Sozomen, <i>HE</i> , 4.29	
Council of Paris A.D. 361 Chaired by: Hilary of Poitiers	Purpose: To reverse the decision reached at Rimini/Seleuci Key Events: Excommunication of Saturninus
Council of Antioch A.D. 362 Summoned by: Euzoius	Key Events: Aetius rehabilitated
Council of Alexandria A.D. 362	Key Events: Arian controversy confronted; Publication of synodal letter <i>Tomus ad Antiochenos</i> ; moderate discipline for the pro-Arians; call for unity; anathemas to those who deemed the Holy Spirit a creature; call for clearer language regarding <i>hypostases</i> ; vague compromising formula

Socrates, *HE*, 3.7-8 *Tomus ad Antiochenos* (PG XXVI 796)

***Tomus ad Antiochenos* “Statement to the Antiochians”**

To our beloved and much-desired fellow-ministers Eusebius , Lucifer , Asterius , Kymatius, and Anatolius, Athanasius and the bishops present in Alexandria from Italy and Arabia, Egypt and Libya; Eusebius, Asterius, Gaius, Agathus, Ammonius, Agathodæmon, Dracontius, Adelphius, Hermæon, Marcus, Theodorus, Andreas, Paphnutius, another Marcus, Zoilus, Menas, George, Lucius, Macarius and the rest, all greeting in Christ.

We are persuaded that being ministers of God and good stewards you are sufficient to order the affairs of the Church in every respect. But since it has come to us, that many who were formerly separated from us by jealousy now wish for peace, while many also having severed their connection with the Arian madmen are desiring our communion, we think it well to write to your courtesy what ourselves and the beloved Eusebius and Asterius have drawn up: yourselves being our beloved and truly most-desired fellow-ministers. We rejoice at the said tidings, and pray that even if any be left still far from us, and if any appear to be in agreement with the Arians, he may promptly leave their madness, so that for the future all men everywhere may say, 'One Lord, one faith Ephesians 4:5.' For as the psalmist says, what is so good or pleasant as for brethren to dwell in unity. But our dwelling is the Church, and our mind ought to be the same. For thus we believe that the Lord also will dwell with us, who says, 'I will dwell with them and walk in them ' and 'Here will I dwell for I have a delight therein. ' But by 'here' what is meant but there where one faith and religion is preached?

2. Mission of Eusebius and Asterius.

We then of Egypt truly wished to go to you along with our beloved Eusebius and Asterius, for many reasons, but chiefly that we might embrace your

affection and together enjoy the said peace and concord. But since, as we declared in our other letters, and as you may learn from our fellow-ministers, the needs of the church detain us, with much regret we begged the same fellow-ministers of ours, Eusebius and Asterius, to go to you in our stead. And we thank their piety in that although they might have gone at once to their dioceses, they preferred to go to you at all costs, on account of the pressing need of the Church. They therefore having consented, we consoled ourselves with the consideration that you and they being there, we all were present with you in mind.

3. The 'Meletians' to be acknowledged, and all who renounce heresy, especially as to the Holy Spirit. As many then as desire peace with us, and specially those who assemble in the Old [Church] and those again who are seceding from the Arians, call to yourselves, and receive them as parents their sons, and welcome them as tutors and guardians; and unite them to our beloved Paulinus and his people, without requiring more from them than to anathematise the Arian heresy and confess the faith confessed by the holy fathers at Nicæa, and to anathematise also those who say that the Holy Spirit is a Creature and separate from the Essence of Christ. For this is in truth a complete renunciation of the abominable heresy of the Arians, to refuse to divide the Holy Trinity, or to say that any part of it is a creature. For those who, while pretending to cite the faith confessed at Nicæa, venture to blaspheme the Holy Spirit, do nothing more than in words deny the Arian heresy while they retain it in thought. But let the impiety of Sabellius and of Paul of Samosata also be anathematised by all, and the madness of Valentinian and Basilides, and the folly of the Manichæans. For if this be done, all evil suspicion will be removed on all hands, and the faith of the Catholic Church alone be exhibited in purity.

4. The parties at Antioch to unite. But that we, and they who have ever remained in communion with us, hold this faith, we think no one of yourselves nor any one else is ignorant. But since we rejoice with all those who desire re-union, but especially with those that assemble in the Old [church], and as we glorify the Lord exceedingly, as for all things so especially for the good purpose of these men, we exhort you that concord be established with them on these terms, and, as we said above, without further conditions, without namely any further demand upon yourselves on the part of those who assemble in the Old [church], or Paulinus and his fellows propounding anything else, or anything beyond the Nicene definition.

5. The creed of Sardica not an authorised formula. Question of 'hypostasis.' And prohibit even the reading or publication of the paper, much talked of by some, as having been drawn up concerning the Faith at the synod of Sardica. For the synod made no definition of the kind. For whereas some demanded, on the ground that the Nicene synod was defective, the drafting of a creed, and in their haste even attempted it, the holy synod assembled in Sardica was indignant, and decreed that no statement of faith should be drafted, but that they should be content with the Faith confessed by the fathers at Nicæa, inasmuch as it lacked nothing but was full of piety, and that it was undesirable for a second creed to be promulged, lest that drafted at Nicæa should be deemed imperfect, and a pretext be given to those who were often wishing to draft and define a creed. So that if a man propound the above or any other paper, stop them, and persuade them rather to keep the peace. For in such men we perceive no motive save only contentiousness. For as to those whom some were blaming for speaking of three Subsistences, on the ground that the phrase is unscriptural and therefore suspicious, we thought it right indeed to require nothing beyond the confession of Nicæa, but on account of the contention we made enquiry of them, whether they meant, like the Arian madmen, subsistences foreign and strange, and alien in essence from one another, and that each Subsistence was divided apart by itself, as is the case with creatures in general and in particular with those begotten of men, or like different substances, such as gold, silver, or brass—or whether, like other heretics, they meant three Beginnings and three Gods, by speaking of three Subsistences.

They assured us in reply that they neither meant this nor had ever held it. But upon our asking them 'what then do you mean by it, or why do you use such expressions?' they replied, Because they believed in a Holy Trinity, not a trinity in name only, but existing and subsisting in truth, 'both a Father truly existing and subsisting, and a Son truly substantial and subsisting, and a Holy Spirit subsisting and really existing do we acknowledge,' and that neither had they said there were three Gods or three beginnings, nor would they at all tolerate such as said or held so, but that they

acknowledged a Holy Trinity but One Godhead, and one Beginning, and that the Son is coessential with the Father, as the fathers said; while the Holy Spirit is not a creature, nor external, but proper to and inseparable from the Essence of the Father and the Son.

6. The question of one Subsistence (Hypostasis) or three, not to be pressed.

Having accepted then these men's interpretation and defence of their language, we made enquiry of those blamed by them for speaking of One Subsistence, whether they use the expression in the sense of Sabellius, to the negation of the Son and the Holy Spirit, or as though the Son were non-substantial, or the Holy Spirit impersonal. But they in their turn assured us that they neither meant this nor had ever held it, but 'we use the word Subsistence thinking it the same thing to say Subsistence or Essence;' 'But we hold that there is One, because the Son is of the Essence of the Father, and because of the identity of nature. For we believe that there is one Godhead, and that it has one nature, and not that there is one nature of the Father, from which that of the Son and of the Holy Spirit are distinct.' Well, thereupon they who had been blamed for saying there were three Subsistences agreed with the others, while those who had spoken of One Essence, also confessed the doctrine of the former as interpreted by them. And by both sides Arius was anathematised as an adversary of Christ, and Sabellius, and Paul of Samosata, as impious men, and Valentinus and Basilides as aliens from the truth, and Manichæus as an inventor of mischief. And all, by God's grace, and after the above explanations, agree together that the faith confessed by the fathers at Nicæa is better than the said phrases, and that for the future they would prefer to be content to use its language.

7. The human Nature of Christ complete, not Body only.

But since also certain seemed to be contending together concerning the fleshly Economy of the Saviour, we enquired of both parties. And what the one confessed, the others also agreed to, that the Word did not, as it came to the prophets, so dwell in a holy man at the consummation of the ages, but that the Word Himself was made flesh, and being in the Form of God, took the form of a servant, and from Mary after the flesh became man for us, and that thus in Him the human race is perfectly and wholly delivered from sin and quickened from the dead, and given access to the kingdom of the heavens. For they confessed also that the Saviour had not a body without a soul, nor without sense or intelligence; for it was not possible, when the Lord had become man for us, that His body should be without intelligence: nor was the salvation effected in the Word Himself a salvation of body only, but of soul also. And being Son of God in truth, He became also Son of Man, and being God's Only-begotten Son, He became also at the same time 'firstborn among many brethren Romans 8:29.' Wherefore neither was there one Son of God before Abraham, another after Abraham John 8:58: nor was there one that raised up Lazarus, another that asked concerning him; but the same it was that said as man, 'Where does Lazarus lie;' and as God raised him up: the same that as man and in the body spat, but divinely as Son of God opened the eyes of the man blind from his birth; and while, as Peter says 1 Peter 4:1, in the flesh He suffered, as God opened the tomb and raised the dead. For which reasons, thus understanding all that is said in the Gospel, they assured us that they held the same truth about the Word's Incarnation and becoming Man.

8. Questions of words must not be suffered to divide those who think alike.

These things then being thus confessed, we exhort you not hastily to condemn those who so confess, and so explain the phrases they use, nor to reject them, but rather to accept them as they desire peace and defend themselves, while you check and rebuke, as of suspicious views, those who refuse so to confess and to explain their language. But while you refuse toleration to the latter, counsel the others also who explain and hold aright, not to enquire further into each other's opinions, nor to fight about words to no useful purpose, nor to go on contending with the above phrases, but to agree in the mind of piety. For they who are not thus minded, but only stir up strife with such petty phrases, and seek something beyond what was drawn up at Nicæa, do nothing except 'give their neighbour turbid confusion to drink Habakkuk 2:15,' like men who grudge peace and love dissensions. But do ye, as good men and faithful servants and stewards of the Lord, stop and check what gives offense and is strange, and value above all things peace of that kind, faith being sound. Perhaps God will have pity on us, and unite what is divided, and, there being once more one flock John 10:16, we shall all have one leader, even our Lord Jesus Christ.

9. The above terms unanimously agreed upon.

These things, albeit there was no need to require anything beyond the synod of Nicæa, nor to tolerate the language of contention, yet for the sake of peace, and to prevent the rejection of men who wish to believe aright, we enquired into. And what they confessed, we put briefly into writing, we namely who are left in Alexandria, in common with our fellow-ministers, Asterius and Eusebius. For most of us had gone away to our dioceses. But do you on your part read this in public where you are wont to assemble, and be pleased to invite all to you there. For it is right that the letter should be there first read, and that there those who desire and strive for peace should be re-united. And then, when they are re-united, in the spot where all the laity think best, in the presence of your courtesy, the public assemblies should be held, and the Lord be glorified by all together. The brethren who are with me greet you. I pray that you may be well, and remember us to the Lord; both I, Athanasius, and likewise the other bishops assembled, sign, and those sent by Lucifer, bishop of the island of Sardinia, two deacons, Herennius and Agapetus; and from Paulinus, Maximus and Calemerus, deacons also. And there were present certain monks of Apolinarius the bishop, sent from him for the purpose.

10. Signatures.

The names of the several bishops to whom the letter is addressed are: Eusebius of the city of Virgilli in Gaul , Lucifer of the island of Sardinia, Asterius of Petra, Arabia, Kymatius of Paltus, Cœle-Syria, Anatolius of Eubœa. Senders: the Pope Athanasius, and those present with him in Alexandria, viz.: Eusebius, Asterius, and the others above-mentioned, Gaius of Paratonium in Hither Libya, Agathus of Phragonis and part of Elearchia in Egypt, Ammonius of Pachnemunis and the rest of Elearchia, Agathodæmon of Schedia and Menelaitas, Dracontius of Lesser Hermupolis, Adelphius of Onuphis in Lychni, Hermion of Tanes , Marcus of Zygra , Hither Libya, Theodorus of Athribis , Andreas of Arsenoe, Paphnutius of Sais, Marcus of Philæ, Zoilus of Andrôs , Menas of Antiphra.

Eusebius also signs the following in Latin, of which the translation is:

I Eusebius, according to your exact confession made on either side by agreement concerning the Subsistences, also add my agreement; further concerning the Incarnation of our Saviour, namely that the Son of God has become Man, taking everything upon Himself without sin, like the composition of our old man, I ratify the text of the letter. And whereas the Sardican paper is ruled out, to avoid the appearance of issuing anything beyond the creed of Nicæa, I also add my consent, in order that the creed of Nicæa may not seem by it to be excluded, and [I agree] that it should not be published. I pray for your health in the Lord.

I Asterius agree to what is above written, and pray for your health in the Lord.

11. The 'Tome' signed at Antioch.

And after this Tome was sent off from Alexandria, thus signed by the aforesaid, [the recipients] in their turn signed it:

I Paulinus hold thus, as I received from the fathers, that the Father perfectly exists and subsists, and that the Son perfectly subsists, and that the Holy Spirit perfectly subsists. Wherefore also I accept the above explanation concerning the Three Subsistences, and the one Subsistence, or rather Essence, and those who hold thus. For it is pious to hold and confess the Holy Trinity in one Godhead. And concerning the Word of the Father becoming Man for us, I hold as it is written, that, as John says, the Word was made Flesh, not in the sense of those most impious persons who say that He has undergone a change, but that He has become Man for us, being born of the holy Virgin Mary and of the Holy Spirit. For the Saviour had a body neither without soul, nor without sense, nor without intelligence. For it were impossible, the Lord being made Man for us, that His body should be without intelligence. Wherefore I anathematise those who set aside the Faith confessed at Nicæa, and who do not say that the Son is of the Father's Essence, and coessential with the Father. Moreover I anathematise those who say that the Holy Spirit is a Creature made through the Son. Once more I anathematise the heresy of Sabellius and of Photinus , and every heresy, walking in the Faith of Nicæa, and in all that is above written. I Karterius pray for your health.

Council of Alexandria A.D. 363	Key Event: Letter sent from Athanasius to Emperor Jovian reaffirming the Nicene Creed
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Council of Antioch A.D. 363 Summoned by: Meletius	Key Events: Nicene Creed of 325 accepted; Emperor Jovian left the creed open to interpretation
Socrates, <i>HE</i> 3.25.6-21; Sozomen, <i>HE</i> 6.3.6-11.	
Council of Lampsacus A.D. 364/65 Chaired by: Eleusis	Key Events: formulae of Rimini (359) and Constantinople (360) invalidated; formula of Antioch (341) affirmed; <i>homoiousios</i> propounded; deposed bishops from Constantinople restored
Socrates, <i>HE</i> 4.4; Sozomen, <i>HE</i> 6.7.3-8a.	
Council of Sicily A.D. 365	Key Events: Confirmation of Liberius and Nicaea
Socrates, <i>HE</i> 4.12.38	
Council of Nicomedia A.D. 365/66	Key Events: Eleusius of Cyzicus is forced to sign an Arianizing creed.
Council of Singidunum A.D. 366	Purpose: To address the issue of Germinius
Council of Antioch A.D. 366/67	Key Events: Nicene Creed rejected; Antiochene Creed of 341 reaffirmed
Council of Tyana A.D. 367	Key Events: Approval of <i>homoousion</i> formula
Sozomen, <i>HE</i> 6.12.2-5.	
Council of Rome A.D. 369	Key Events: Confirmation of the Nicene Creed; condemnation of Auxentius of Milan
Council of Alexandria c. A.D. 370 Summoned by: Athanasius	Key Events: Synodical letter confirming and clarifying anti-arian doctrine produced
Council of Rome A.D. 374	Key Events: Condemnation of Eustathius of Sebaste and Apollinaris of Laodicea
Council of Valentia/Valence A.D. 374	Key Events: 4 disciplinary canons: access to order, penitence of <i>virgines lapsae</i> , rebaptism by heretics
Council of Ancrya A.D. 375	Purpose: To arrest Gregory of Nyssa Key Event: Gregory of Nyssa was deposed

Council of Iconium A.D. 376	Purpose: To oppose Macedonian heretics who denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit
Council of Sirmium A.D. 377/78	Purpose: Anti-Arian Key Events: Reaffirmation of Nicaea; affirmation of consubstantiality; condemnation of the Arians
Theodoret, <i>HE</i> 4.8,9	
Council of Antioch (Caria) A.D. 378	Key Events: <i>Homoousios</i> condemned and <i>homoiousios</i> reaffirmed
Sozomen, <i>HE</i> 7.2; Socrates, <i>HE</i> 5.4	
Council of Rome A.D. 378	Purpose: To examine the accusation against Damasus Key Events: Damasus was declared innocent and a letter was sent to Gratian
Council of Antioch (Syria) A.D. 378/79	Purpose: reply to the West's rejection of Gregory Key Events: publication of a creed (lost); subscriptions to anti-Arian and anti-Apollinarian documents; rejected Pope Damasus' demand that Paulinus take Gregory's see to alleviate tension
Council of Rome A.D. 380	Purpose: To evaluate the case of Maximus the Cynic Key Events: Maximus declared legitimate over Gregory of Nazianzen
Council of Caesaraugusta/Saragossa A.D. 380	Purpose: To discuss asceticism, address Priscillianism, determine Christian community boundaries and discuss the roles of men and women in private and public settings. Key Events: December 17 – January 6 declared a solemn holiday; condemnation of Priscillian and Elpidius (both laymen) as well as Instantius and Salvianus (both bishops).
Council of Milan A.D. 380 Chaired by: Ambrose	Purpose: To examine the charges against the virginity of Indicia Key Event: Indicia found innocent
Council of Antioch (Syria) A.D. 380	Purpose: To reorganize after the death of Valens Key Events: Council cut short by Theodosius' anti-Arian edicts
Council of Aquilea A.D. 381 Summoned by: Gratian Chaired by: Valerian of Aquilea	Purpose: To confirm the Nicene understanding of the coeternity and consubstantiality of the Father and the Son; continue to condemn Arians (namely Palladius of Ratiaria, Secundianus of Singidunum and Attalus, the presbyter) Key Events: Ambrose's argument with Arian-leaning Palladius of Ratiaria and Secundus of Singidunum; the removal of several anti-Nicene bishops from the episcopate
Parisinus 8907	

Council of Constantinople May – July A.D. 381 Regard as second “Ecumenical” Council after Nicaea Summoned by: Theodosius I Chaired by: Meletius of Antioch, Gregory Nazianzus, and Nectarius (Secretary)	Purpose: To discuss the term <i>homoousian</i> as a solution to the Arian controversy Key Events: The death of Meletius; the brief election to the bishopric and chairmanship of Gregory; the election of Nectarius; the condemnation of the Macedonians, Eunomians, Sabellians, and Appolinarians; the adoption of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed
Socrates <i>HE</i> 5.8, 9; Sozomen <i>HE</i> 7.7-11; Theodoret <i>HE</i> 5.6-8; Rufinus <i>HE</i> 2.19 Creed of Constantinople We believe in one God, the Father, the Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, of all that is, seen and unseen. And [we believe] in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, eternally begotten of the Father, Light from Light, true God from true God, begotten, not made, of one being with the Father. Through him all things were made. For us, humans, and for our salvation, he came down from heaven, was incarnate of the Holy Spirit and the virgin Mary, and became fully human. For our sake he was crucified under Pontius Pilate. He suffered death and was buried. He rose again on the third day in accordance with the Scriptures. He ascended into heaven and is seated at the right hand of the Father. He will come again in glory to judge the living and the dead, and his kingdom will have no end. And [we believe] in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the giver of life, who proceeds from the Father, who in unity with the Father and the Son is worshiped and glorified, who has spoken through the prophets. [We believe] in one holy universal and apostolic Church. We acknowledge one baptism for the forgiveness of sins. We look for the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come. Amen. (Note: Today this creed is often referred to as the “Nicene Creed” although it is quite different from the original Nicene Creed. Sometimes also referred to as the “Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed”)	