

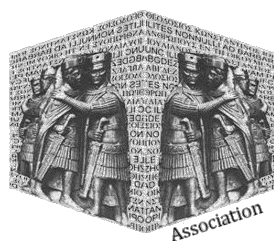
REVUE DES ÉTUDES TARDO-ANTIQUES

Histoire, textes, traductions, analyses, sources et prolongements de l'Antiquité Tardive

(RET)

publiée par l'Association « Textes pour l'Histoire de l'Antiquité Tardive » (THAT)

ANNÉE ET TOME XII
2022-2023



Textes pour
l'Histoire de
l'Antiquité
Tardive

REVUE DES ÉTUDES TARDO-ANTIQUES (RET)

fondée par

E. Amato et †P.-L. Malosse

COMITÉ SCIENTIFIQUE INTERNATIONAL

Nicole Belayche (École Pratique des Hautes Études), Giovanni de Bonfils (Università di Bari), Aldo Corcella (Università della Basilicata), Raffaella Cribiore (New York University), Kristoffel Demoen (Universiteit Gent), Elizabeth DePalma Digeser (University of California), Leah Di Segni (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem), José Antonio Fernández Delgado (Universidad de Salamanca), Jean-Luc Fournet (Collège de France), Geoffrey Greatrex (University of Ottawa), Malcom Heath (University of Leeds), Peter Heather (King's College London), Philippe Hoffmann (École Pratique des Hautes Études), Enrico V. Maltese (Università di Torino), Arnaldo Marcone (Università di Roma 3), Mischa Meier (Universität Tübingen), Laura Miguélez-Cavero (Universidad de Salamanca), Claudio Moreschini (Università di Pisa), Robert J. Penella (Fordham University of New York), Lorenzo Perrone (Università di Bologna), Claudia Rapp (Universität Wien), Francesca Reduzzi (Università di Napoli Federico II), Jacques-Hubert Sautel (Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes), Claudia Schindler (Universität Hamburg), Antonio Stramaglia (Università di Bari).

COMITÉ ÉDITORIAL

Eugenio Amato (Université de Nantes et Institut Universitaire de France), Béatrice Bakhouché (Université de Montpellier 3), †Jean Bouffartigue (Université Paris Nanterre), Sylvie Crogiez-Pétrequin (Université de Tours), Pierre Jaillette (Université de Lille 3), Juan Antonio Jiménez Sánchez (Universitat de Barcelona), †Pierre-Louis Malosse (Université de Montpellier 3), Annick Martin (Université de Rennes 2), Sébastien Morlet (Université Paris-Sorbonne et Institut Universitaire de France), Bernard Pouderon (Université de Tours et Institut Universitaire de France), Stéphane Ratti (Université de Franche-Comté), Giampiero Scafoglio (Université de Nice Sophia Antipolis), Jacques Schamp (Université de Fribourg en Suisse).

DIRECTEURS DE LA PUBLICATION

Eugenio Amato (responsable)

Sylvie Crogiez-Pétrequin

Delphine Lauritzen

Giampiero Scafoglio

SECRÉTAIRE DE RÉDACTION

Miriam Cutino

François Mottais

ASSISTANTS DU COMITÉ DE RÉDACTION

Halima Benchikh-Lehocine

Adrien Bresson

Marie-Emmanuelle Torrès

Peer-review. Les travaux adressés pour publication à la revue seront soumis – sous la forme d'un double anonymat – à évaluation par deux spécialistes, dont l'un au moins extérieur au comité scientifique ou éditorial. La liste des experts externes sera publiée tous les deux ans.

Normes pour les auteurs. Tous les travaux, rédigés de façon définitive, sont à soumettre par voie électronique en joignant un fichier texte au format word et pdf à l'adresse suivante :

redaction@revue-etudes-tardo-antiques.fr

La revue ne publie de comptes rendus que sous forme de recension critique détaillée ou d'article de synthèse (*review articles*). Elle apparaît exclusivement par voie électronique ; les tirés à part papier ne sont pas prévus. Pour les normes rédactionnelles détaillées, ainsi que pour les index complets de chaque année et tome, prière de s'adresser à la page électronique de la revue :

www.revue-etudes-tardo-antiques.fr

La mise en page professionnelle de la revue est assurée par Arun Maltese, Via alla Murta 4, 17011 Albisola Superiore (SV) (Italie) – E-mail : bibliotecnica.bear@gmail.com (www.bibliobear.com).

ISSN 2115-8266

HOW STRONG WAS THE DANUBIAN
AND BALKAN SUPPORT FOR EUSEBIUS OF NICOMEDIA?
A CASE STUDY WITHIN A CHRISTIAN PROSOPOGRAPHY PROJECT
OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE*

Abstract : Relying on the prosopographical work package of the *DANUBIUS* Project of the University of Lille and HALMA-UMR 8164 research centre (<https://danubius.huma-num.fr>), this paper sheds light on Eusebius of Nicomedia's group of followers in the Balkans and along the Danube. His cooperation with the bishops of this region is first attested in the year 335, when a synod was held in Tyre to condemn Athanasius of Alexandria. A commission of six bishops was then created to investigate the accusations against the Alexandrian and no less than three of its members came from the Balkan-Danubian area: Theodore of Heraclea, Valens of Mursa, and Ursacius of Singidunum. A fourth bishop of the same area is also mentioned in the sources in connection with the synod: Alexander of Thessalonica. While the relationship of the latter to Eusebius and his circle of supporters is not entirely clear at that council, the first three bishops were, without any doubt, among his very close associates. Taking into account previous work on the Western Arians, like Michel Meslin's book, but above all returning to the sources, in a pure prosopographical approach, this paper addresses the following questions: 1. Did Eusebius of Nicomedia have any other supporters among the bishops of the region under consideration? 2. What events did Eusebius' collaborators among the bishops of the region participate in and what was their role? 3. Apart from Eusebius, which bishops did they cooperate with? 4. What was the purpose of their cooperation?

Keywords : DANUBIUS Project, Christian Prosopography, Councils, Balkans, Danube, Arianism, Homeism, Bishops, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theodore of Heraclea, Valens of Mursa, Ursacius of Singidunum, Athanasius of Alexandria, Alexander of Thessalonica, Constantius II

Among the great Christian figures of the first half of the 4th century, Eusebius of Nicomedia, a prominent Arian, is certainly the one whose historical impact is

* This article is derived from a paper given in Edinburgh on the 8th of December 2023, at the workshop *Entangled Prosopographies. Connecting the 'Prosopographies of the Later Roman and Byzantine Worlds' across the Eastern Mediterranean and Beyond*, which was organised by Zachary Chitwood, Niels Gaul, Charalambos Gasparis, and Ekaterini Mitsiou, within the framework of the PROSOPON International Research Network (<https://www.ed.ac.uk/history-classics-archaeology/news-events/events-archive/2023/prosopon-workshop-entangled-prosopographies>).

most widely neglected in historical studies. Bishop of three cities, including two imperial residences, and advisor to three successive emperors, he has never yet been the topic of any monograph. We might even say that he, and not Arius, was the main disseminator of Arianism. Obviously, Eusebius had a political agenda and he surrounded himself very early on with a group of followers who strongly supported him in all his actions until his death, and who continued on the same path after it. In Europe, he maintained many connections in the Balkans and along the Danube. His cooperation with the bishops of this region is first attested in the year 335, when a synod was held in Tyre to condemn Athanasius of Alexandria. A commission of six bishops was then created to investigate the accusations against the Alexandrian and no less than three of its members came from the Balkan-Danubian area: Theodore of Heraclea, Valens of Mursa, and Ursacius of Singidunum. A fourth bishop of the same area is also mentioned in the sources in connection with the synod: Alexander of Thessalonica. While the relationship of the latter to Eusebius and his circle of supporters is not entirely clear at that council, the first three bishops were, without any doubt, among his very close associates. As later history has endeavoured to present the West as a sort of hermetic stronghold against Arianism, the study of the Eusebian network and its actual strength in the Balkan and Danubian world is of real interest. Taking into account previous work on the Western Arians, like Michel Meslin's book, but above all returning to the sources, in a pure prosopographical approach, this paper will address the following questions: 1. Did Eusebius of Nicomedia have any other supporters among the bishops of the region under consideration? 2. What events did Eusebius' collaborators among the bishops of the region participate in and what was their role? 3. Apart from Eusebius, which bishops did they cooperate with? 4. What was the purpose of their cooperation? Before trying to answer all these questions, let us briefly present the general framework in which this case study fits, that is to say the volumes of the *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire* for Central and Eastern Europe, which are currently being prepared under the direction of the authors.

The Christian Prosopography Project of Central and Eastern Europe

The Christian prosopography of the Later Roman provinces of Central and Eastern Europe has hitherto been the subject of a few disparate contributions on specific themes, but of no general repertoire. Among the most important « recent » contributions, we can mention Kazimierz Iłski's prosopography of the bishops of Moesia Secunda and Scythia¹, Rumen Boyadzhiev's prosopographical study of nuns

¹ K. ILSKI, *Biskupi Mezji i Sycylii IV-VI w.*, Prosopographia Moesiaca 3: Moesia II et Scythia 2, Poznań 1995.

in Late Antiquity, whose first volume includes the Balkans², or Rajko Bratož's works on the episcopal lists of the dioceses of Pannonia/Illyricum and Dacia³. Like two of these publications, scholars have, for the moment, mainly focused on the prelates and not on the rest of the clergy and others individuals working for the Church (Boyadzhiev's work is therefore particularly original)⁴. The basis for these works is generally the three great episcopal *fasti*: Markus Hansiz's *Germania sacra*⁵, Michel Le Quien's *Oriens Christianus*⁶, as well as Daniele Farlati and Jacobo Coleti's *Illyricum sacrum*⁷. The great directories of episcopal lists published later, first Pius Bonifacius Gams' *Series episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae*⁸, then Giorgio Fedalto's two *Hierarchiae*⁹, did not bring any fundamental novelties, since they were based almost entirely on the three series of works mentioned above¹⁰.

Unlike the situation which prevails for Late Antiquity, the Byzantine period (from 641) in the territories concerned here was the subject of a complete prosopography, including the entire clergy: the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften's *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit – PmbZ* (<http://www.pmbz.de>). Relying on these observations, Dominic Moreau (University of

² R. BOYADZHIEV, *Късноантичното женско монашество в Рим и духовните му покровители на Апенините и в Източното Средиземноморие (381-431). Prosopographia feminarum christianorum <Saec. IV-VI>*, I, Sofia 2011.

³ R. BRATOŽ, *Die kirchliche Organisation in Westillyricum (vom späten 4. Jh. bis um 600) – Ausgewählte Fragen*, in O. HEINRICH-TAMÁSKA (éd.), *Keszthely-Fenekpuszta im Kontext spätantiker Kontinuitätsforschung zwischen Noricum und Moesia*, Budapest-Leipzig-Keszthely-Rahden/Westf. 2011, pp. 211-248.

⁴ For other examples, even if older, L. PETIT, « Les évêques de Thessalonique », *Échos d'Orient* 4, 1900-1901, pp. 136-145, and 212-221; and 5, 1901-1902, pp. 26-33, 90-97, 150-156, and 212-219; L. PETIT, « Nouveaux évêques de Thessalonique », *Échos d'Orient* 6, 1902-1903, pp. 292-298.

⁵ M. HANSIZ, *Germaniae sacrae tomus I[-III]*, Augsburg-Wien 1727-1754.

⁶ M. LE QUIEN, *Oriens Christianus, in quatuor patriarchatus digestus; quo exhibentur Ecclesiae, Patriarchae, caeterique praesules totius Orientis*, Paris 1740.

⁷ D. FARLATI – J. COLETI, *Illyrici sacri tomus primus[-octavus]*, Venice 1751-1819. We often forget that this encyclopaedic work of immense value was preceded by a preliminary study published more than thirty years before the first volume. See F. RICEPUTI, *Prospectus Illyrici sacri, cujus historiam describendam*, Padua 1720. Additionally, supplements, considered as volumes 9 and 10 of the series, even if unofficially, were published in the 20th and 21st centuries. See F. BULIĆ, *Accessiones et correctiones all' Illyricum sacrum del P. D. Farlati*, Split 1910 (seen as the volume 9); and M. AHMETI – E. LALA, *Illyricum sacrum* 10, Tirana 2007.

⁸ B. P. GAMS, *Series episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae, quotquot innotuerunt a Beato Petro apostolo*, Regensburg 1873 (the supplements published subsequently do not concern our period, but only the 19th century).

⁹ G. FEDALTO, *Hierarchia ecclesiastica Orientalis. Series episcoporum Ecclesiarum Christianarum Orientalium*, Padua 1988-2006; G. FEDALTO, *Hierarchia Catholica usque ad saecula XIII-XIV sive series episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae*, Padua 2012.

¹⁰ For instance, see J. DARROUZÈS, *rec. in Revue des études byzantines* 48, 1990, pp. 297-299.

Lille / HALMA-UMR 8164 research centre), who had been thinking about such an idea since the defence of his PhD in 2012, began assembling an international team in 2016 to lay the foundations of the future volumes of the *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire* dedicated to the Roman dioceses in Central and Eastern Europe. Since the project was practically starting from scratch, while covering a very large geographical area, it was decided to associate it with another emerging project that the same associate professor was launching on the Christianisation of the Lower Danube, through the study of archaeological and epigraphic sources. The provinces of Dacia Ripensis, Moesia Secunda, and Scythia would thus serve as a proof of concept for the planned prosopographical publication project. It soon became necessary to include the northern Black Sea in the investigation, as an element of comparison outside the Empire, given the significant number of links (cultural, economic, and religious) with the Lower Danube.

Inspired by the different search engines for online databases, it was also decided to create an innovative platform linking the archaeological and epigraphic sources to prosopography, while being connected to a GIS model. This entire project, which was associated with participation in an archaeological excavation on the site of the late antique fortress of Zaldapa (Krushari, Bulgaria), which was an important Christian centre in the 6th century, is now known by the name of the *DANUBIUS Project* (<https://danubius.huma-num.fr>). Funded initially by the University of Lille, the HALMA-UMR 8164 research centre (University of Lille, CNRS, French Ministry of Culture), the *Maison Européenne des Sciences de l'Homme et de la Société* – MESHS, and the *Réseau national des Maisons des Sciences de l'Homme* – RnMSH, the project was awarded two major grants from 2018 until 2022, the first from the I-SITE ULNE Foundation (now known as the *Initiative d'Excellence de l'Université de Lille*), the second from the French National Research Agency – ANR (<https://anr.fr/Projet-ANR-18-CE27-0008>). Currently, a new initiative associated with the project, called *D(OA)NUBIUS* (for *DANUBIUS* in Open Access), is being funded by the University of Lille Foundation for the period 2024-2025, in order to make the latest computer corrections in the tool created and to launch it online fully open access (<https://fondation.univ-lille.fr/projets/les-projets-en-cours/soutenir-les-excellences-scientifiques-et-pedagogiques/doanubius>).

But what exactly does the prosopographical part of the project consist of ? First, in keeping with the guidelines established for the majority of previous volumes in the series (only the volume on the diocese of Asia differs from the others on this point), all Christians will be considered, regardless of whether they belonged to the clergy, with the exception of the emperors and officials already appearing in the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*. Two formats will be produced, each with different characteristics. First, a succinct digital, online and open access version will extend from the first attestations of Christians in Central and Eastern Europe to the year 787, the date of the Second Council of Nicaea, whose proceedings are the last source from the 8th century to mention the full

clerical order in the region under consideration (we have to wait until the 9th century for the next mentions). Second, a printed version is planned, which will be derived from this database but more complete in terms of information and references. It will begin with the First Council of Nicaea in 325, whose list of participants is the first historical document attesting to an actual ecclesiastical organisation in Central and Eastern Europe, and will finish with the year 641, which is the *terminus post quem* of the *PmbZ*. Four volumes are planned, each designed around a Roman civil diocese, together with nearby regions that would not find a place in the series if we did not consider them here: 1. *Dioecesis Pannoniarum/Illyrici et Provincia Raetia*; 2. *Dioecesis Daciae et Dacia Traiana*; 3. *Dioecesis Macedoniae*; 4. *Dioecesis Thraciarum, Cherronesus Taurica, et Bosphorus Cimmerius et Zechia*.

From the first moments of the project, contact was made with Rajko Bratož, who introduced Dominic Moreau to Alenka Cedilnik (University of Ljubljana) and Aleš Maver (University of Maribor). To consolidate their academic ties and their common participation in the project, they obtained a « Hubert Curien » Partnership from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Higher Education, Research, and Innovation, as part of the Franco-Slovenian Proteus programme, which ran from 2019 to 2021. Today, their collaboration continues, with other Slovenian researchers, notably Matej Petrič (University of Ljubljana), who was a PhD student at the time of the above-mentioned partnership. The University of Ljubljana (« Slovenska zgodovina » research programme) recently even recruited a postdoctoral fellow, Matteo Pola, to work on the prosopographical project full time for eight months from the summer of 2024, under the direction of Alenka Cedilnik.

Other researchers have contributed and continue to contribute to the prosopographical project: Nelu Zugravu (Universitatea « Alexandru Ioan Cuza » of Iași, Romania) who provided all the preliminary material for the prosopography of the province of Scythia; Ekaterina Nechaeva (University of Lille) who worked on the northern Black Sea; Ivan Gargano (now Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade, Serbia – but formerly participating in the *DANUBIUS* project as a PhD student at the University of Lille and the *Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana* – PIAC, Vatican City) and Mohamed-Arbi Nsiri (as a postdoctoral fellow at the University of Lille), who both worked on Dacia Ripensis; and Jerzy Szafranowski (University of Warsaw, Poland) who is working on Moesia Secunda. In addition to the database, several case studies, like the one presented here, have been published so far, the present article on the Danubian and Balkan support for Eusebius of Nicomedia being the fifth joint contribution by Alenka Cedilnik and Dominic Moreau¹¹.

¹¹ A. CEDILNIK – D. MOREAU, « Eudoxius of Antioch/Constantinople and the Pro-Arian Bishops of Illyricum. Contribution (III) to the Christian Prosopography of the Dioecesis Thraciarum », in M. RAKOCIJA (ed.), *Ниш и Византија. Деведнаести међународни научни скуп, Ниш, 3-*

Eusebius of Nicomedia as the Leader of the Eusebians

Athanasius of Alexandria presents Eusebius of Nicomedia as the leader of a politico-religious party, known as the Eusebians in his polemical writings. However, he is not the only one who attributes such a role to him. Indeed, Emperor Constantine sent a letter in 325 to the Church of Nicomedia to announce his decision to banish Eusebius and his followers. If we rely on this source, we understand that the bishop was already accompanied by a turbulent crowd of followers (ὁ προειρημένος Εὐσέβιος «σὺν» δὲ τῶν συναγομένων αὐτῷ)¹² when he arrived in Nicomedia as the new bishop, between 315 and 317¹³.

This role of chief of a party is first attributed to Eusebius in the Encyclical Letter of Alexander of Alexandria that was written after Arius and his followers¹⁴ were deposed and expelled by a synod gathering 100 bishops in Egypt, probably as early as 318¹⁵. In this letter, Eusebius of Nicomedia is quite unequivocally defined both as the leader of those who are following Arius' teaching¹⁶ and the so-called « Eusebians » (οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον)¹⁷. This is, however, not the only information that can be gleaned from the letter. The bishop of Alexandria seems also to assume that this group of Eusebius' adherents existed even before the Arian controversy arose and that Eusebius' basic goal was not only to support Arius, but also to promote his own agenda.

5. јун 2020. Сbornик радова / Niš and Byzantium. Nineteenth International Symposium, Niš, 3-5 June 2020. *The Collection of Scientific Works*, Niš 2021, pp. 447-476; A. CEDILNIK – D. MOREAU, « How Ulphilas became an Arian Bishop? Contribution (I) to the Christian Prosopography of the *Dioecesis Thraciarum* », *Classica et Christiana* 19/1, 2024, pp. 95-120; A. CEDILNIK – D. MOREAU, « Demophilus, the last Arian bishop of Constantinople? Contribution (II) to the Christian Prosopography of the *Dioecesis Thraciarum* », *Classica et Christiana* 19/1, 2024, pp. 121-148 ; A. CEDILNIK – D. MOREAU, « Macedonius of Constantinople, a True Eusebian? Contribution (IV) to the Christian Prosopography of the *Dioecesis Thraciarum* », *Classica et Christiana* 19/1, 2024, pp. 149-173.

¹² Ath. Alex., *Decr.* 41, 12; H. C. BRENNECKE – U. HEIL – A. VON STOCKHAUSEN – A. WINTJES (eds), *Athanasius Werke*, III/1. *Dokumente zur Geschichte des Arianischen Streites*, Lieferung 3. *Bis zur Ekthesis Makrostichos*, Berlin-New York 2007, pp. 118-120.

¹³ Ath. Alex., *Decr.* 41, 9-16. See BRENNECKE – HEIL – VON STOCKHAUSEN – WINTJES (eds), *Athanasius Werke*, III/1 [n. 12], pp. xix et passim.

¹⁴ Ath. Alex., *Decr.* 35, 6; BRENNECKE – HEIL – VON STOCKHAUSEN – WINTJES (eds), *Athanasius Werke*, III/1 [n. 12], p. 79.

¹⁵ On the more detailed chronological reconstruction of the dispute, see BRENNECKE – HEIL – VON STOCKHAUSEN – WINTJES (eds), *Athanasius Werke*, III/1 [n. 12], pp. xix-xxxiv.

¹⁶ Ath. Alex., *Decr.* 35, 4-5; BRENNECKE – HEIL – VON STOCKHAUSEN – WINTJES (eds), *Athanasius Werke*, III/1 [n. 12], pp. 78-79.

¹⁷ Ath. Alex., *Decr.* 35, 11; BRENNECKE – HEIL – VON STOCKHAUSEN – WINTJES (eds), *Athanasius Werke*, III/1 [n. 12], p. 79.

From about the same time as Constantine's letter or a bit after¹⁸, Bishop Eustathius of Antioch wrote a report on the Council of Nicaea. In the extract of this report given by Theodoret¹⁹, we can read, as previously in Alexander's and Constantine's writings, that Eusebius of Nicomedia was at the head of a group of followers (τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Εὐσέβιον)²⁰.

The sources thus clearly attribute to Eusebius of Nicomedia the role of leader of the group of like-minded supporters before, during, and after the Council of Nicaea. Since these sources are earlier than Athanasius' polemical writings, they clearly show that Eusebius' group existed regardless of Athanasius' writing.

A Byzantine author, Nicetas Choniates²¹ (1155-1217), preserved the memory of 22 names of Arian bishops at the Council of Nicaea: from Upper Libya were Sentianus of Boreum, Dachius of Berenice, Secundus of Teuchira, Zopyrus of Barce, Secundus of Ptolemais, and Theonas of Marmarica; from Thebes in Egypt was Melitius; from Palestine were Patrophilus of Scythopolis and Eusebius of Caesarea; from Phoenicia, Paulinus of Tyre and Amphion of Sidon; from Cilicia, Narcissus of Irenopolis, Athanasius of Anazarbus, and Tarcondimatus of Aegae; from Cappadocia, Leontius, Longianus, and Eulalius; from Pontus, Basileus of Amaseia and Meletius of Sebastopolis; from Bithynia, Theognis of Nicaea, Maris of Chalcedon, and Eusebius of Nicomedia.

If we combine this information Theodoret of Cyrus' writing, it does not seem impossible to assume that at the Council of Nicaea Eusebius stood at the head of this group of bishops or at least of a part of it. A significant number of these bishops are also most often identified in the sources as the Eusebians. A list compiled by David M. Gwynn²² and relying on Athanasius includes the following bishops among those usually described by Athanasius as the Eusebians: Eusebius of Nicomedia, Asterius « the Sophist », Theognis of Nicaea, Athanasius of Anazarbus, Maris of Chalcedon, Patrophilus of Scythopolis, Theodore of Heraclea, Narcissus of Neronias, Ursacius of Singidunum, Valens of Mursa, and George of Laodicea.

¹⁸ R. P. C. HANSON, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God. The Arian Controversy, 318-381*, Edinburgh 1997, p. 160, dates the report between 325 and 330.

¹⁹ Theod. Cyr., *Hist. eccl.* 1, 8, 1-5.

²⁰ Theod. Cyr., *Hist. eccl.* 1, 8, 3.

²¹ Nicetas (*Thesaurus orthodoxae fidei*) in Philost., *Hist. eccl.* 1, 8a. Bruno Bleckmann and Markus Stein point out that the list may be based on a tendentious Arian tradition: B. BLECKMANN – M. STEIN (eds), *Philostorgios. Kirchengeschichte, II. Kommentar*, Paderborn 2015, p. 88.

²² D. M. GWYNN, *The Eusebians. The Polemic of Athanasius of Alexandria and the Construction of the "Arian Controversy"*, Oxford 2007, p. 115.

Eusebius' Supporters among the Bishops of the Balkan and Danubian Regions

The Council of Nicaea was the first event for which we know for sure that, in addition to the bishop of Nicomedia, the bishops of the Balkan and Danubian provinces also attended. Among the bishops mentioned by Nicetas Choniates, there is not even one who came from this region. Yet, we know that the council was attended by up to 14 bishops from the Balkan and Danubian region: Paideros of Heraclea (Europe)²³, Protogenes of Serdica (Dacia Mediterranea)²⁴, Marcus of *Kalabria*/Tomis? (Scythia?)²⁵, Pistos of Marcianopolis (Moesia Secunda)²⁶, Alexander of Thessalonica (Macedonia Prima)²⁷, Budios (Pudius) of Stobi (Macedonia Secunda)²⁸, Dacus of Scupi (Dardania)²⁹, Pistos of Athens (Achaea)³⁰, Marsos/Marcus of Boia (of Euboea, Achaea)³¹, Strategius of Hephaestia (Lemnos,

²³ Socr., *Hist. eccl.* 1, 13, 12; E. HONIGMANN, « La liste originale des Pères de Nicée », *Byzantion* 14, 1939, pp. 17-76 : 33, 48, n° 186; H. GELZER – H. HILGENFELD – O. CUNTZ, *Patrum Nicaenorum nomina Latine, Graece, Coptice, Syriace, Arabice, Armeniace*, Leipzig 1898 [augm. repr. Stuttgart-Leipzig 1995, with a foreword by C. MARKSCHIES], p. 69, n° 197. Around 335, Paideros was succeeded as bishop of Heraclea by Theodore: HONIGMANN, « La liste originale », p. 59.

²⁴ Socr., *Hist. eccl.* 1, 13, 12; HONIGMANN, « La liste originale » [n. 23], p. 48, n° 187; GELZER – HILGENFELD – CUNTZ, *Patrum Nicaenorum nomina* [n. 213], p. 69, n° 198.

²⁵ Socr., *Hist. eccl.* 1, 13, 12; HONIGMANN, « La liste originale » [n. 23], p. 48, n° 188; GELZER – HILGENFELD – CUNTZ, *Patrum Nicaenorum nomina* [n. 213], p. 69, n° 199. E. HONIGMANN, « The Original List of the Members of the Council of Nicaea, the Robber-Synod and the Council of Chalcedon », *Byzantion* 16, 1944, pp. 20-80 : 22-23 and 27, proposes that Marcus was the bishop of Tomi in Scythia Minor. The other solution would be that Marcus was bishop of Metropolis in Thessalia, as he is presented as *metropolitanus* without further precision in some versions of the list of those who participated in Nicaea. See also C. H. TURNER, *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima. Canonum et conciliorum Graecorum interpretationes Latinae post Christophorum Iustel, Paschasium Quesnel, Petrum et Hieronymum Ballerini, Ioannem Dominicum Mansi, Franciscum Antonium Gonzalez, Fridericum Maassen I*, Oxford 1899-1939, p. 84; FEDALTO, *Hierarchia ecclesiastica* [n. 9], 1, p. 467.

²⁶ Socr., *Hist. eccl.* 1, 13, 12; HONIGMANN, « La liste originale » [n. 23], p. 48, n° 189; GELZER – HILGENFELD – CUNTZ, *Patrum Nicaenorum nomina* [n. 213], p. 69, n° 200.

²⁷ Socr., *Hist. eccl.* 1, 13, 12; HONIGMANN, « La liste originale » [n. 23], p. 48, n° 190; GELZER – HILGENFELD – CUNTZ, *Patrum Nicaenorum nomina* [n. 213], p. 69, n° 202.

²⁸ Socr., *Hist. eccl.* 1, 13, 12; HONIGMANN, « La liste originale » [n. 23], pp. 41 and 48, n° 191; GELZER – HILGENFELD – CUNTZ, *Patrum Nicaenorum nomina* [n. 23], p. 70, n° 208.

²⁹ Socr., *Hist. eccl.* 1, 13, 12; HONIGMANN, « La liste originale » [n. 23], p. 41, n° 209; GELZER – HILGENFELD – CUNTZ, *Patrum Nicaenorum nomina* [n. 213], p. 70, n° 203.

³⁰ Socr., *Hist. eccl.* 1, 13, 12; HONIGMANN, « La liste originale » [n. 23], p. 48, n° 192; GELZER – HILGENFELD – CUNTZ, *Patrum Nicaenorum nomina* [n. 213], p. 70, n° 204.

³¹ Socr., *Hist. eccl.* 1, 13, 12; GELZER – HILGENFELD – CUNTZ, *Patrum Nicaenorum nomina* [n. 213], p. 70, n° 205. HONIGMANN, « The Original List » [n. 25], pp. 27-28, raises the possibility that Marcus is an Epirote bishop of Euroia.

Achaea)³², Klaudianos of Larissa³³ (Thessalia) and/or Cleonicus of Phthiotic Thebes³⁴ (Thessalia) (?), Domnus / Domnius of Sirmium (Pannonia Secunda) (?)³⁵, and Cyriacus of Naissus (Dacia Mediterranea) (?)³⁶. None of them supported the doctrine of Arius at the council and they all signed the Nicene Creed.

The future religious orientation of some of them shows that the situation in this area changed considerably after the Council. Should Arius' condemnation to exile in Illyricum³⁷ be taken into account (especially since he seemed to never give up his efforts to spread his teaching)³⁸ ? However, Arius was not the only one who tried to prevent the Nicene creed being imposed in Central and Eastern Europe.

On the initiative of Eusebius of Nicomedia and his collaborators, as well as on the order of Emperor Constantine, a synod met in Tyre in 335, in order to judge Athanasius of Alexandria³⁹. In connection with the synod, we find among Eusebius' followers, as already mentioned, three bishops of the Balkan and Danubian provinces⁴⁰: Theodore of Heraclea, Valens of Mursa⁴¹, and Ursacius of Singidunum⁴². The three of them were members of a commission of six prelates – along with Diognitus/Theogni(tu)s of Nicaea, Maris of Chalcedon, and Macedonius of Mopsuestia – sent by the synod to Marcotis/Marea near Alexandria⁴³ in order to

³² Socr., *Hist. eccl.* 1, 13, 12 ; HONIGMANN, « La liste originale » [n. 23], p. 48, n° 193; GELZER – HILGENFELD – CUNTZ, *Patrum Nicaenorum nomina* [n. 213], p. 70, n° 206.

³³ Socr., *Hist. eccl.* 1, 13, 12 ; HONIGMANN, « La liste originale » [n. 23], p. 41, n° 213; GELZER – HILGENFELD – CUNTZ, *Patrum Nicaenorum nomina* [n. 213], p. 70, n° 207.

³⁴ HONIGMANN, « La liste originale » [n. 23], p. 41, 48, n° 194. See also E. SCHWARTZ, *Über die Bischofslisten der Synoden von Chalkedon, Nicaea und Konstantinopel*, München 1937, p. 77.

³⁵ Socr., *Hist. eccl.* 1, 13, 12 ; E. HONIGMANN, « Une liste inédite des Pères de Nicée : cod. Vatic. gr. 1587, fol. 355r-357v », *Byzantion* 20, 1950, pp. 63-71: 67, n° 186; GELZER – HILGENFELD – CUNTZ, *Patrum Nicaenorum nomina* [n. 23], p. 70, n° 209 ; BRATOŽ, *Die kirchliche Organisation* [n. 13], pp. 211-248 : 240.

³⁶ HONIGMANN, « La liste originale » [n. 23], p. 60, n° 315 ; HONIGMANN, « Une liste inédite » [n. 225], p. 69, n° 287.

³⁷ Philost., *Hist. eccl.* 1, 9c.

³⁸ Philost., *Hist. eccl.* 2, 2 reports that, after he was expelled, Arius spread his teachings with songs, which he also set to music to make them easier to remember.

³⁹ A. CEDILNIK, *Ilirik med Konstantinom Velikim in Teodozijem Velikim. Balkansko-podonavski prostor v poročilih Atanazija, Hilarija, Sokrata Sholastika, Sozomena, Teodoreta in Filostorgija*, Ljubljana 2004, pp. 53-54.

⁴⁰ Valens of Mursa and Ursacius of Singidunum are mentioned for the first time in connection with these events; M. MESLIN, *Les ariens d'Occident, 335-430*, Paris 1967, p. 72. Nevertheless, Ath. Alex., *Ep. Agg. Lib.* 7, 4 reports that even as priests they had problems because of their support for Arianism. See also CEDILNIK, *Ilirik* [n. 39], p. 53.

⁴¹ Socr., *Hist. eccl.* 1, 27, 7.

⁴² Socr., *Hist. eccl.* 1, 27, 7.

⁴³ Socr., *Hist. eccl.* 1, 31, 2-3; Soz., *Hist. eccl.* 2, 25, 19; Ath. Alex., *Apol. sec.* 13; 72, 4-73, 4; 75, 1-4; 76, 2-3. We can suppose that at least some members of the commission already worked together

examine the truth behind the synodal accusations against Athanasius. In his writing, Athanasius unequivocally describes them all as Eusebius' supporters⁴⁴. Indeed, they were very close collaborators until his death and followed his political and theological orientations until the end of their lives.

Unsurprisingly – and based also on the discoveries of the commission – Athanasius was condemned and exiled by the Synod⁴⁵. However, before the announcement of the sentence, he left Tyre and went to Constantinople to meet with Constantine himself⁴⁶. According to the sources⁴⁷, the bishop would probably have succeeded in convincing the emperor that his case should be re-examined in the emperor's presence, but a delegation of Eusebians arrived in the city a few days after Athanasius, turning the situation in their favour. In addition to Theognis of Nicaea, Patrophilus of Scythopolis and Eusebius of Caesarea, this delegation also included the three above-mentioned bishops from the area which interest us here: Valens, Ursacius and Theodore⁴⁸.

Still in connection with the Synod of Tyre, Athanasius of Alexandria mentions another bishop from South-Eastern Europe, Alexander of Thessalonica, who appears to have attended the synod⁴⁹. He was also present at Nicaea and signed the Creed. Although he was still in friendly correspondence⁵⁰ with Athanasius in 332⁵¹, it could be understood that the pro-Arian bishops gathered at Tyre succeeded in turning him⁵². Even so, the bishop of Thessalonica was not satisfied with the course of the trial against Athanasius and, in the end, did not support the conduct of the Eusebians. He wrote to the emperor's representative at the synod, the *comes* Dionysius, and warned him that a conspiracy had been hatched against the bishop of Alexandria⁵³.

before the Synod of Tyre. As Michel Meslin assumes, Valens and Ursacius were probably not introduced to Arian teaching by Arius himself, but rather by Diognitus/Theogni(tu)s of Nicaea and Maris of Chalcedon: MESLIN, *Les ariens* [n. 40], p. 72.

⁴⁴ Ath. Alex., *Apol. sec.* 72, 4-5.

⁴⁵ Soz., *Hist. eccl.* 2, 25, 19.

⁴⁶ CEDILNIK, *Ilirik* [n. 39], pp. 67-68.

⁴⁷ Ath. Alex., *Apol. sec.* 87, 1-3.

⁴⁸ Ath. Alex., *Apol. sec.* 87, 1-3. Socr., *Hist. eccl.* 1, 35, 2-3, omits Eusebius of Caesarea from the list, but adds Maris of Chalcedon, whom Athanasius does not mention. Theodore of Heraclea is mentioned only by Soz., *Hist. eccl.* 2, 28, 13-14.

⁴⁹ CEDILNIK, *Ilirik* [n. 39], p. 62.

⁵⁰ Ath. Alex., *Apol. sec.* 65, 5-66, 3.

⁵¹ H.-G. OPITZ, *Athanasius Werke*, II/1. *Die Apologien*, Lieferung 6. *Apologia secunda* 43,5 - *Apologia secunda* 80,3, Berlin 1938, p. 145 ; L. W. BARNARD, *Studies in Athanasius' Apologia secunda*, Bern-Frankfurt-New York-Paris-Wien 1992, p. 112.

⁵² Ath. Alex., *Apol. sec.* 16, 1. See also BARNARD, *Studies* [n. 51], p. 50.

⁵³ Ath. Alex., *Apol. sec.* 28, 1; 80, 1-3; 81, 2.

In addition to the bishops of the Balkan and Danubian regions already mentioned, Protogenes of Serdica, who attended the Council of Nicaea, may also have participated in the Synod of Tyre. Based on the information recorded in the report of the pro-Arian bishops on their work at the Council of Serdica in 343⁵⁴, Timothy D. Barnes⁵⁵ assumes that Protogenes was in Tyre in 335, as the document recorded that he signed Marcellus of Ancyra's condemnation four times. It is not stated on which occasion the bishop of Serdica signed this condemnation, but Barnes assumes that this could have happened first at Tyre, and later on three other occasions⁵⁶.

While Alexander of Thessalonica's cooperation with the Eusebians is difficult to clearly define, it seems that Protogenes approved, at least partially, their efforts immediately after the Council of Nicaea. However, he was not the only bishop from Central and Eastern Europe to be influenced by the Eusebians in the years following 325. Cyriacus of Naissus, whose participation at Nicaea is not entirely certain, later also brought his position closer to that of the Arians, because of their opposition to Marcellus of Ancyra's teachings⁵⁷. Both Protogenes and Cyriacus attended a synod of Constantinople that met in the presence of Emperor Constantine, probably in 336, and they participated in the condemnation of Marcellus⁵⁸. According to Eusebius of Caesarea⁵⁹, some representatives from Thracia also attended the synod, although we do not have their names or their number. Bishops Protogenes and Cyriacus later changed their opinion and – like other Nicene bishops – supported the convicted Marcellus. Protogenes' conduct was condemned by the pro-Arian bishops gathered at the Council of Serdica. The bishop of Naissus was already dead at that time, but since Athanasius mentions him among the orthodox bishops, we can be sure that he must have revoked his consent to the condemnations⁶⁰. Protogenes, who attended the council, was

⁵⁴ Hil., *Coll. antiar.* A IV 1, 14, 3 ; 1, 20, 1 ; 1, 27, 3.

⁵⁵ T. D. BARNES, *Athanasius and Constantius. Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire*, Cambridge/MA-London 1993, p. 260, n. 19.

⁵⁶ BARNES, *Athanasius* [n. 55], p. 260, n. 19, assumes that, apart from the synods of Tyre and Constantinople, Protogenes signed the condemnation of Marcellus at two other synods, which condemned the bishop again after he returned in 337.

⁵⁷ Hil., *Coll. antiar.* A IV 1, 3 ; A IV 20. See CEDILNIK, *Ilirik* [n. 39], p. 75.

⁵⁸ BRENNECKE – HEIL – VON STOCKHAUSEN – WINTJES (eds), *Athanasius Werke*, III/1 [n. 12], pp. 132-136. On the role of the Eusebians in deposing Marcellus at the Synod of Constantinople, see Socr., *Hist. eccl.* 1, 36, 7.

⁵⁹ BRENNECKE – HEIL – VON STOCKHAUSEN – WINTJES (eds), *Athanasius Werke*, III/1 [n. 12], p. 132, 1-12.

⁶⁰ Ath. Alex., *Ep. Aeg. Lib.* 8, 4. This is also confirmed by the letter that the pro-Arian bishops at the Synod of Serdica sent to various bishops of the East and West. They wrote that at the synod not only Protogenes supported Marcellus of Ancyra, but also Cyriacus. Although the record is not

excommunicated by the pro-Arian bishops gathered there⁶¹, and he was not the only Nicene bishop of the Balkan and Danubian area to be condemned. Gaudentius of Naissus was also condemned, because he did not sign the condemnations against the bishops to whom they were opposed, contrary to the conduct of his predecessor Cyriacus⁶².

The views of the bishop of Ancyra were not the only controversial issue that worried the bishops of the Balkan and Danubian area. Paul of Constantinople, whom the Eusebians strongly opposed, also aroused their scruples. Among the bishops of the Balkan-Danubian regions, Protogenes of Serdica was again the one who condemned Paul⁶³.

Among the events associated with the dispute between pro-Nicenes and pro-Arians that shook the area in question in the years that followed the Council of Nicaea, we can still mention the deposition of Domnus/Domnius of Sirmium in 337⁶⁴. Who deposed him and why is not known. We can imagine that two bishops of the neighbouring Churches, Valens of Mursa and Ursacius of Singidunum, who had been among Eusebius' closest associates since 335, were involved in the event. However, Domnus/Domnius was not the only Balkan Nicene bishop who was deposed in the years following Nicaea. Several years before him, Eutropius of Adrianople was also removed from his see⁶⁵. Athanasius⁶⁶ reports that Eutropius was deposed because he had often openly confronted Eusebius in the past, and was also warning others against him. Athanasius does not directly mention Eusebius of Nicomedia as the one who removed Eutropius from his Church⁶⁷. Nevertheless, such an involvement of the bishop of Nicomedia can be concluded from the mention of Basilina, the mother of the future emperor Julian, in the context of

entirely accurate, since Cyriacus did not attend the synod, it confirms the assumption that the bishop of Naissus later revoked his condemnation of Marcellus. See Hil., *Coll. antiar.* A IV 1, 3, 4.

⁶¹ Hil., *Coll. antiar.* A IV 1, 27; Soz., *Hist. eccl.* 3, 11, 8.

⁶² Hil., *Coll. antiar.* A IV 1, 27; Soz., *Hist. eccl.* 3, 11, 8.

⁶³ Hil., *Coll. antiar.* A IV 1, 20, 1; and 1, 27, 3.

⁶⁴ J. ZEILLER, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l'Empire romain*, Paris 1918, pp. 143 and 145, assumes that the deposition took place in 335. See also M. SIMONETTI, *La crisi ariana nel IV secolo*, Rome 1975, pp. 109-110; R. BRATOŽ, *Christianisierung des Nordadria- und Westbalkanraumes im 4. Jahrhundert*, in R. BRATOŽ (ed.), *Westillyricum und Nordostitalien in der spätrömischen Zeit / Zabodni Ilirik in severovzhodna Italija v poznorimski dobi*, Ljubljana 1996, p. 322; CEDILNIK, *Ilirik* [n. 39], pp. 74-75.

⁶⁵ Ath. Alex., *H. Ar.* 5; Ath. Alex., *Fug.* 3.

⁶⁶ Ath. Alex., *H. Ar.* 5.

⁶⁷ In the preceding passage, Athanasius describes the deposition of Eustathius of Antioch, which probably did not come about through the intervention of the bishop of Nicomedia, but of Eusebius of Caesarea. See BRENNECKE – HEIL – VON STOCKHAUSEN – WINTJES (eds), *Athanasius Werke*, III/1 [n. 12], p. 122.

this deposition, since she was Eusebius' relative⁶⁸. We can thus place the event between 328, when Eusebius of Nicomedia returned from exile, and 331, when Basilina died⁶⁹. A few years later, another bishop of Adrianople, Lucius, Eutropius' successor, was also deposed and exiled⁷⁰. Although the sources do not provide the names of the bishop or bishops who were responsible for his removal, we can suppose that Eusebius and his followers were behind it. The hypothesis is all the more credible since Lucius' removal was defined as unjustified by both the Synod of Rome of 341, and the Council of Serdica of 343. Although, based on the possibility that the bishop was Eutropius' direct successor, it might be supposed, that Eusebius of Nicomedia and his followers were behind Lucius' appointment as bishop⁷¹, there is no definitive evidence for the Eusebians' involvement in the event.

Another important event in which the bishop of Nicomedia certainly played a prominent role was the Synod of Antioch of 341. At the initiative of Emperor Constantius II, the synod met between January and September, for the purpose of dedicating the Great Church of Antioch⁷². The leading bishops of the East attended it, including prominent representatives of the Eusebians⁷³: Acacius of Caesarea, Patrophilus of Scythopolis, Eudoxius of Germanicia, Gregory of Alexandria, Dianius of Cappadocian Caesarea, and George of Laodicea. As the only formal representative of the Balkan-Danubian regions, Theodore of Heraclea participated alongside Eusebius himself (now bishop of Constantinople). The bishops Valens of Mursa⁷⁴ and Ursacius of Singidunum are not mentioned among the participants of the synod. However, they are listed – together with Theodore – among the signatories of the letter that Eusebius sent to Julius of Rome before the synod, to explain the reasons for Athanasius' condemnation at Tyre. Together with these three most faithful Eusebians of Central and Eastern Europe, Valens, Ursacius and Theodore, the letter was also signed by Maris of Chalcedon and Diognitus/Theogni(tu)s of Nicaea⁷⁵. Valens and Ursacius almost certainly did not

⁶⁸ Amm. Marc. 22, 9, 4. See H.-G. OPITZ, *Athanasius Werke*, II/1. *Die Apologien*, Lieferung 7. *Apologia secunda* 80,3 - *Historia Arianorum* 32,2, Berlin 1940, p. 185.

⁶⁹ See OPITZ, *Athanasius Werke*, II/1 [n. 241], p. 185; SIMONETTI, *La crisi* [n. 64], p. 109.

⁷⁰ Ath. Alex., *Fug.* 3, 3; Socr., *Hist. eccl.* 2, 15, 2; Soz., *Hist. eccl.* 3, 8, 1.

⁷¹ For this option, see HANSON, *The Search* [n. 18], p. 279.

⁷² Socr., *Hist. eccl.* 2, 8-10; Soz., *Hist. eccl.* 3, 5; GWYNN, *The Eusebians* [n. 22], pp. 220-223.

⁷³ Soz., *Hist. eccl.* 3, 5, 10; GWYNN, *The Eusebians* [n. 22], p. 223.

⁷⁴ Valens' absence could perhaps be connected with the events in Aquileia on the eve of the election of the new bishop there, which took place at about the same time and in which the bishop participated; Hil., *Coll. antiar.* B II 2, 4. See BRENNECKE – HEIL – VON STOCKHAUSEN – WINTJES (eds), *Athanasius Werke*, III/1 [n. 202], pp. 222-230; CEDILNIK – MOREAU, « Eudoxius » [n. 11], pp. 453-454.

⁷⁵ Hil., *Coll. antiar.* B II 1, 2, 1.

attend the synod of Antioch, as Julius' letter was sent to Eusebius and other participants of the Synod of Antioch after the Synod of Rome, and they are not listed among the addressees⁷⁶. Otherwise, at least three members of the commission sent to Mareotis are included among these addressees: Maris, Macedonius and – as the only representative of the Balkan-Danubian provinces – Theodore of Heraclea.

Thus, the commission of 335 can be reliably considered as Eusebian, and the close connection of its members with Eusebius can also be demonstrated by the narrative of the ecclesiastical historian Socrates, who tells us about those who supposedly inherited Eusebius' power after his death⁷⁷. Indeed, the same group of bishops (i.e. Theognis, Maris, Theodore, Ursacius, and Valens) would have been the ones to appoint Macedonius as his successor⁷⁸. Before becoming the head of the Church of Constantinople, this Macedonius had participated, as it seems, in establishing the appropriate conditions to exclude Paul from his see and to pave the way for Eusebius⁷⁹.

Conclusion

In the group of Eusebius' close associates, there were, between 335 and 341, three bishops from the Balkan-Danubian area: Theodore of Heraclea, Valens of Mursa and Ursacius of Singidunum. They were members of the commission sent to Mareotis in 335 ; they also went to Constantinople in the same year to convince the emperor of Athanasius' culpability, and all of them appear as signatories of a letter sent to Julius of Rome. The only event in which the three of them were not present was the Synod of Antioch of 341, which was attended only by Theodore of Heraclea. In the sources, they are unequivocally characterised as Eusebians.

In addition to them, we can connect some other bishops of the same regions to the so-called Eusebians: Alexander of Thessalonica, Protogenes of Serdica and Cyriacus of Naissus. However, they appear to have only temporarily followed the Eusebians' instructions. At least, this could have been the case for Protogenes' conduct, since his participation in the condemnation of Paul of Constantinople⁸⁰ was primarily in line with the interests of Eusebius and his efforts to hold ascendancy over Constantinople.

⁷⁶ Ath. Alex., *Apol. sec.* 21, 1.

⁷⁷ Socr., *Hist. eccl.* 2, 12, 2-5. CEDILNIK, *Ilirik* [n. 39], p. 77.

⁷⁸ Socr., *Hist. eccl.* 2, 12, 2-3 ; Soz., *Hist. eccl.* 3, 7, 4.

⁷⁹ CEDILNIK – MOREAU, « Macedonius » [n. 11], pp. 150-155.

⁸⁰ Hil., *Coll. antiar.* A IV 1, 20, 1; 1, 27, 3.

The influence of Eusebius and his Eusebians can also be sensed in the deposition of some bishops in the area in question, which were carried out in the years after the Council of Nicaea. Indeed, Domnus/Domnius of Sirmium, as well as Eutropius and Lucius of Adrianople were all bishops of cities that were relatively close to sees controlled by Eusebian bishops. Thus, we can assume that Valens and Ursacius were behind the deposing of Domnus/Domnius, while Eusebius and Theodore were behind the deposing of the two bishops of Adrianople. The sources do not report their direct involvement in the cases of Domnus/Domnius and Lucius, but they unequivocally report Eutropius' confrontation with Eusebius as the reason for his deposition.

The activities in which the Eusebians of the Balkan-Danubian regions were involved were of a politico-theological nature. To exert their group's ascendancy as much as possible, they made great efforts to have people favourable to their interests in positions of influence. In these efforts, they remained faithful to Eusebius' guidelines even after his death. It is thanks to the group of Eusebian bishops, including Valens, Ursacius and Theodore, that Macedonius, another member of the Eusebians, succeeded Eusebius as head of the Church of Constantinople.

In direct connection with the Arian controversy, the sources mention, for the period 325-341, 17 bishops in the Balkan-Danubian area. These are the bishops of almost half of the sees known in these regions at the same moment (36 sees). If we subtract from this number the bishops who are only mentioned in connection with the Council of Nicaea (14 or 13 bishops), we see that 9 bishops were very actively involved in the above-mentioned controversy, at the same period. This is about a quarter of all the sees in the Balkan-Danubian area in this period mentioned in the ancient texts. Not less than three of these bishops acted as Eusebius' closest associates: the Eusebians. Thus, these three form more than a quarter of those bishops who are most often described as Eusebians in the sources and who formed the core of this politico-religious party (11 bishops), which so strongly marked Later Roman history.

Univerza v Ljubljani (Slovénie)

Alenka CEDILNIK
alenka.cedilnik@ff.uni-lj.si

Université de Lille, UMR 8164 - HALMA
(Univ. Lille, CNRS, MC)

Dominic MOREAU
dominic.moreau@univ-lille.fr