

5.2 - Synod of Constantinople and its aftermath (381-383)

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Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
May-Jun, 381¹ - Council of Constantinople summoned		
5.8.1 The emperor made no delay and summoned a Synod of the prelates of his own faith, in order that he might establish the Nicene Creed and appoint a bishop of Constantinople.	7.7.1 The emperor soon after convened a council of orthodox bishops, in order to confirm the decrees of Nicaea, and to elect a bishop to the vacant see of Constantinople.	5.7.2b For these reasons only the bishops of his own empire were summoned by the emperor to meet at Constantinople. One hundred and fifty bishops arrived but Theodosius did not allow anyone to tell him which was the great Meletius, for he wished the bishop to be recognized by his dream.
Summary of those gathered		
5.8.2 And since he hoped that he might win the Macedonians over to his own views, he invited the leaders of that sect to be present also. 5.8.3 There met therefore on this occasion these leaders of the ‘homoousian’ party: Timothy from Alexandria and Cyril from Jerusalem, who at that time recognized the doctrine of ‘homoousion,’ having renounced his former opinion. 5.8.4 Melitius from Antioch was there also, since he had arrived there previously to assist at the installation of Gregory, along with Ascholius, who was from Thessalonica, and many others, totaling one hundred and fifty.	7.7.2 He likewise summoned the Macedonians to this assembly. Because their doctrines differed only a little from those of the Catholic Church, he judged that it would be easy to reunite with them. About a hundred and fifty bishops who maintained the consubstantiality of the Holy Trinity were present at this council, as well as thirty-six of the Macedonian bishops, chiefly from the cities of the Hellespont.	

¹ On this council, cf. <http://www.fourthcentury.com/index.php/council-of-constantinople-ad-381/>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
5.8.5 The leaders of the Macedonians were Eleusius of Cyzicus and Marcian of Lampsacus; these with the rest, most of whom came from the cities of the Hellespont, totaled thirty-six in number.	<p>7.7.3 Of these the leaders were Eleusius, bishop of Cyzicus, and Marcian, bishop of Lampsacus. The other party was guided by Timothy, who had succeeded his brother Peter in the see of Alexandria, and by Meletius, bishop of Antioch, who had repaired to Constantinople a short time previously, on account of the election of Gregory, and by Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, who had at this period renounced the tenets of the Macedonians, which he previously held.</p> <p>7.7.4 Ascholius, bishop of Thessalonica, Diodorus, bishop of Tarsus, and Acacius, bishop of Berea, were also present at the council. These bishops unanimously maintained the decrees of Nicaea and urged Eleusius and his partisans to conform to these sentiments. They reminded them, at the same time, of the embassy they had formerly sent to Liberius, and of the confession they conveyed to him through Eustathius, Silvanus, and Theophilus, as has been narrated.</p>	
5.9.3 ² About this period Meletius, bishop of Antioch, fell sick and died. Gregory, the brother of Basil, pronounced a funeral oration in praise of him.		<p>5.8.1 At this time the bishop of Nazianzus was living at Constantinople, continually withstanding the blasphemies of the Arians, watering the holy people with the teaching of the Gospel, catching wanderers outside the flock and removing them from poisonous pasture. So that flock once small he made numerous.</p> <p>5.8.2 When the divine Meletius saw him, (knowing full well the purpose which the makers of the canon had when, with the view of preventing the possibility of ambitious gains, they had forbidden the transferal of bishops) he confirmed Gregory in the episcopate of Constantinople. Shortly afterwards the divine Meletius passed away to the life that knows no pain, crowned by the praises of the funeral eloquence of all the great orators.</p> <p>5.8.3 Timothy, the bishop of Alexandria, who had followed Peter, the successor of Athanasius in the patriarchate, ordained Maximus—a cynic who had only recently allowed his cynic's hair to be shorn and who had been carried away by the flimsy rhetoric of Apollinarius—in place of the admirable Gregory.</p>

² Note that Socrates incorrectly places Meletius' death later in the narrative. Cf. Frend, *The Rise of Christianity*, 1984 by Fortress Press, pg. 638 and 953

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>5.8.4 But this absurdity was beyond the endurance of the assembled bishops—admirable men, and full of divine zeal and wisdom, such as Helladius, successor of the great Basil, Gregory and Peter, brothers of Basil, Amphilochius from Lycaonia, Optimus from Pisidia, and Diodorus from Cilicia.</p> <p>5.8.5 The council was also attended by Pelagius of Laodicea, Eulogius of Edessa, Acacius, our own Isidorus, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gelasius of Caesarea in Palestine, who was renowned alike for lore and life, and many other athletes of virtue.</p>
Those assembled strive for peace among the churches		
<p>5.8.6 Accordingly they were assembled in the month of May, under the consulate of Eucharius and Evagrius.</p> <p>5.8.7 And the emperor strove, along with the bishops who entertained similar sentiments to his own, to bring over Eleusius and his adherents to his own side. They were reminded of the delegation they had sent by Eustathius to Liberius, then bishop of Rome.</p> <p>5.8.8 They were also reminded that they had, of their own accord and not long before, entered into promiscuous communion with the orthodox. The inconsistency and fickleness of their conduct was shown to them, for they were now attempting to subvert the faith which they once acknowledged and in which they professed agreement with the catholics.</p> <p>5.8.9 But they did not take these admonitions and reproofs to heart, choosing to maintain the Arian dogma, rather than to assent to the ‘homoousian’ doctrine.</p>		<p>5.8.6 All these then whom I have named separated themselves from the Egyptians and celebrated divine service with the great Gregory. But he himself implored them, assembled as they were to promote harmony, to suppress all questions concerning personal wrongs for the promotion of agreement with one another.</p> <p>5.8.7 “For,” he said, “I shall be released from many cares and once more lead the quiet life I hold so dear; while you, after your long and painful warfare, will obtain the longed-for peace. What can be more absurd than for men who have just escaped the weapons of their enemies to waste their own strength in wounding one another. By doing so we shall be a laughing stock to our opponents. Find then some worthy man of sense, able to sustain heavy responsibilities and discharge them well, and make him bishop.”</p>
<p>5.8.10 Having made this declaration, they departed from Constantinople; moreover, they wrote to their followers in every city, and ordered them not to conform to the creed of the Nicene Synod under any circumstances.</p>	<p>7.7.5 The Macedonians, however, declared openly that they would never admit the Son to be of the same substance as the Father, whatever confession they might formerly have made to Liberius, and immediately withdrew. They then wrote to their adherents in every city, exhorting them not to conform to the doctrines of Nicaea.</p>	
Gregory of Nazianus abdicates bishopric of Constantinople; Demophilus rejected as bishop		
<p>5.7.1 Now at that time Gregory of Nazianzus, after his transfer to Constantinople, held his assemblies within the</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
city in a small oratory. Adjacent to this the emperors later built a magnificent church and named it Anastasia.		
5.7.2 But Gregory, who far excelled in eloquence and piety all those of the age in which he lived, understood that some grumbled at his appointment, because he was a stranger. Therefore, after expressing his joy at the emperor's arrival, he resigned the bishopric of Constantinople.	7.7.6 The bishops who remained at Constantinople now turned their attention to the election of a prelate to the see of that city. It is said that the emperor, from profound admiration of the sanctity and eloquence of Gregory, judged that he was worthy of this bishopric. The greater number of the Synod was of the same opinion, for they too admired his virtue. At first Gregory agreed to accept the leadership of the church of Constantinople. But afterwards, when he found that some of the bishops, particularly those from Egypt, objected to the election, he withdrew his consent.	
5.7.3 When the emperor found the church in this state, he began to consider by what means he could make peace, effect a union, and enlarge the churches. 5.7.4 Immediately, therefore, he intimated his desire to Demophilus, who presided over the Arian party, and inquired whether he was willing to assent to the Nicene Creed and thus reunite the people and establish peace.	7.7.7 For my part, this wisest of men is worthy of admiration, not only for his universal qualifications, but also for his conduct under the present circumstances. His eloquence did not puff him up with pride, nor did arrogance lead him to desire the control of a church, which he had received when it was no longer in danger. 7.7.8 He surrendered his appointment to the bishops when it was required of him, and never complained of his many labors, or of the dangers he had incurred in the suppression of heresies. Had he retained possession of the bishopric of Constantinople, it would have been no detriment to the interests of any individual, as another bishop had been appointed in his stead at Nazianzen. But the council, in strict obedience to the laws of the fathers and ecclesiastical order, withdrew from him, with his own acquiescence, the office which had been confided to him, without making an exception in favor of so eminent a man.	
	7.7.9a The emperor and the priests therefore proceeded to the election of another bishop, which they regarded as the most important affair at that time. The emperor was insistent that a diligent investigation be made, so that the most excellent individual might be entrusted with the high-priesthood of the great and royal city. 7.7.9b The council, however, was divided in sentiment; for each of the members desired to see one of his own friends ordained over the church.	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>5.7.5 When Demophilus would not accept this proposal, the emperor said to him, “Since you reject peace and harmony, I order you to leave the churches.”</p> <p>5.7.6 When Demophilus heard this, he considered the difficulty of contending against superior power. He then called his followers in the church together and, standing in the midst of them, spoke:</p> <p>5.7.7 “Brethren, it is written in the Gospel, ‘If they persecute you in one city, flee to another.’ Since the emperor needs the churches, from now on we will hold our assemblies outside the city.”</p> <p>5.7.8 Having said this he departed. He did not, however, understand correctly the meaning of that passage in the Evangelist, for the real meaning of the sacred oracle is this: those who want to avoid the course of this world must seek the heavenly Jerusalem.</p> <p>5.7.9 He therefore went outside the city gates and held his assemblies there. Lucius also went out with him, who having been ejected from Alexandria, as we have before related, had made his escape to Constantinople, and dwelt there.</p> <p>5.7.10 In this way the Arians, after possessing the churches for forty years, were driven out of the city, in Gratian’s fifth consulate, and the first of Theodosius Augustus, on the 26th of November, because they opposed the peace proposed by the emperor Theodosius.</p> <p>5.7.11 And in this way the adherents of the ‘homousian’ faith regained possession of the churches.</p>		
Ordination of bishops at Council of Constantinople		
<p>5.8.11 The bishops of the other party remaining at Constantinople entered into a consultation about the ordination of a bishop; for Gregory, as we have before said, had resigned that see, and was preparing to return to Nazianzus.</p> <p>5.8.12 Now there was a person named Nectarius, of a senatorial family, mild and gentle in his manners, and admirable in his whole course of life. At that time he bore the office of proctor. This man was seized upon by the people and elected to the episcopate and was</p>	<p>7.8.1 A certain illustrious senator of Tarsus in Cilicia was at this period residing at Constantinople. Since he was about to return to his own country, he called upon Diodorus, bishop of Tarsus, to inquire whether he had any letters to send with him.</p> <p>7.8.2 Diodorus was fully intent upon the ordination, which was the subject of everyone’s attention. He had no sooner seen this senator, who was named Nectarius, than he considered him worthy of the bishopric because of the venerable age of the man, his form so befitting a priest, and his affable manners.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>ordained accordingly by one hundred and fifty bishops then present.</p> <p>5.8.15a To Nectarius therefore was allotted the great city and Thrace.</p>	<p>7.8.3 He lead him, as if upon some other business, to the bishop of Antioch, and requested him to use his influence to procure this election. The bishop of Antioch scoffed at this request, for the names of the most eminent men had already been proposed for consideration. However, he called Nectarius to him and asked him to remain with him for a short time.</p> <p>7.8.4 Sometime later the emperor commanded the priests to draw up a list of the names of those whom they thought worthy of the ordination. He reserved the right to choose any name which was submitted to him. All the bishops complied with this mandate and, among the others, the bishop of Antioch wrote down the names of those whom he proposed as candidates for the bishopric. At the end of his list, for Diodorus' sake, he included the name of Nectarius.</p> <p>7.8.5 The emperor read the list of nominations and stopped at the name of Nectarius at the end of the document, on which he placed his finger, and seemed for some time lost in reflection. He ran it up to the beginning and again went through the whole and then chose Nectarius.</p> <p>7.8.6 This nomination excited great astonishment. All the people were anxious to ascertain who Nectarius was, his manner of life, and birthplace. When they heard that he had not been initiated their amazement was increased at the decision of the emperor. I believe that Diodorus himself was not aware that Nectarius had not been baptized.</p> <p>7.8.7 For, had he been aware of this fact, he would not have ventured to give his vote for the priesthood to one uninitiated. It appears reasonable to suppose that, on perceiving that Nectarius was of advanced age, he took it for granted that he had been initiated a long time ago. But these events did not take place without the interposition of God. For when the emperor was informed that Nectarius had not been initiated, he remained of the same opinion, although opposed by many priests. When at last, consent had been given to the imperial mandate, Nectarius was initiated, and while clad in his initiatory</p>	<p>5.8.8a The excellent pastors, moved by these counsels, appointed as bishop of that mighty city Nectarius, a man of noble birth and distinguished in every kind of virtue as well as his excellent ancestry.</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>robes, he was proclaimed bishop of Constantinople by the unanimous voice of the Synod.</p> <p>7.8.8 Many have conjectured that the emperor was led to make this election by a divine revelation. I shall not decide whether this conjecture is true or false. But I feel convinced, when I reflect on the extraordinary circumstances attending this ordination, that the events were not brought about without divine strength and that God led this mild and virtuous and excellent man into the priesthood. Such are the details which I have been able to ascertain concerning the ordination of Nectarius.</p>	
<p>5.8.15b Helladius, the successor of Basil in the bishopric of Caesarea in Cappadocia, obtained the patriarchate of the diocese of Pontus in conjunction with Gregory, Basil's brother, bishop of Nyssa in Cappadocia, and Otreius, bishop of Melitina in Armenia.</p> <p>5.8.16 The Asiatic diocese was assigned to Amphilochius of Iconium and Optimus of Antioch in Pisidia.</p> <p>5.8.17 The oversight of the churches in Egypt was committed to Timothy of Alexandria.</p> <p>5.8.18 The administration of the churches of the East fell to Pelagius of Laodicea, and Diodorus of Tarsus; however this authority did not infringe on the honor reserved for the Antiochian church and conferred on Melitius, who was then present.</p> <p>5.8.19 They further decreed that when it was necessary, the ecclesiastical affairs of each province should be managed by a Synod of the province.</p>		
Decrees of the Council of Constantinople		
<p>5.8.13 Moreover, the same prelates published a decree stipulating 'that the bishop of Constantinople should have the second most honor after the bishop of Rome, because that city was New Rome.'</p> <p>5.8.14 They also reaffirmed the Nicene Creed. Then patriarchs were established and the provinces distributed, so that no bishop could exercise any authority over other churches outside of his own diocese; for this had been done often and indiscriminately before, during the persecutions.</p>	<p>7.9.1 After these transactions, Nectarius and the other priests assembled together and decreed that the faith established by the council of Nicaea should remain dominant and that all heresies should be condemned. They also decreed that the churches everywhere should be governed according to the ancient canons and that</p>	<p>5.8.9 They next enacted canons concerning the government of the church and published a confirmation of the faith set forth at Nicaea. Then they each returned to their own country.</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>each bishop should remain in his own church and not go elsewhere under a trivial pretext or, without invitation, perform ordinations in which he had no right to interfere, as had frequently been the case in the Catholic Church during the times of persecution.</p> <p>7.9.2 They likewise decreed that the affairs of each church should be subjected to the investigation and control of a council of the province and that the bishop of Constantinople should rank next in precedence to the bishop of Rome, since they occupied the see of New Rome.</p> <p>7.9.3 For, Constantinople was not only already favored in this way, but it also enjoyed many of the same privileges, such as a senate of its own and the division of the citizens into ranks and orders. It was also governed by its own magistrates and possessed contracts, laws, and immunities in equal degree to those of Rome in Italy.</p> <p>7.9.4 The council also decreed that Maximus had not been nor was now a bishop, that those individuals whom he had ordained were not of the clergy, and that all that had been done by him, or in his name, was null and void. Maximus was a native of Alexandria, and, by profession, a cynical philosopher. He was zealously attached to the Nicene doctrines and had been secretly ordained bishop of Constantinople by bishops who had assembled in that city from Egypt.</p> <p>7.9.5 Such were the decrees of the council. They were confirmed by the emperor, who decreed that the faith established at Nicaea should be dominant. Furthermore, he established that the churches everywhere should be placed in the hands of those who acknowledged one and the same Godhead in the ‘hypostasis’ of three Persons of equal honor and of equal power, namely, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.</p> <p>7.9.6 To designate them even more precisely, the emperor declared that the leaders he referred to were those who held communion with Nectarius, at Constantinople, and with Timothy, bishop of Alexandria, in Egypt; in the churches of the East with Diodorus, bishop of Tarsus, and in Syria with Pelagius, bishop of</p>	<p>5.8.8b Because he participated in the insanity of Apollinaris, they stripped Maximus of his episcopal rank and rejected him.</p>

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	<p>Laodicea, and in Asia with Amphilochius, president of the churches in Iconium; to those in the cities by the Pontus, from Bithynia to Armenia, who held communion with Helladius, bishop of the church of Caesarea in Cappadocia; with Gregory, bishop of Nyssa; and with Otreinus, bishop of Melitene; and to the cities of Thrace and Scythia, who held communion with Terentius, bishop of Tomi, and with Martyrius, bishop of Marcianopolis.</p> <p>7.9.7 The emperor was personally acquainted with all these bishops and had ascertained that they governed their respective churches wisely and piously. After these transactions, the council was dissolved, and each of the bishops returned homewards.</p>	
5.8.20 These arrangements were confirmed by the emperor's admiration. Such was the result of this Synod.		
382 - Letter from assembled bishops at Constantinople a year later		
		<p>5.8.10 Next summer the majority of them assembled again in the same city, summoned once more by the needs of the church. They received a synodal letter from the bishops of the west inviting them to come to Rome, where a great synod was being assembled.³</p> <p>5.8.11 However they begged to be excused from travelling far abroad, for, they said, doing so would be useless. Instead they wrote both to point out the storm which had risen against the churches, and to hint at the carelessness with which the western bishops had treated it. They also included in their letter a summary of the apostolic doctrine, but the boldness and wisdom of their counsel will be more clearly shown by the letter itself.</p>
		<p>5.9.1 "To the right honorable lords our revered brethren and colleagues Damasus, Ambrosius, Britton, Valerianus, Ascholius, Ahemius, Basilius and the rest of the holy bishops assembled in the great city of Rome, the holy synod of the orthodox bishops assembled at the great city of Constantinople sends greeting in the Lord.</p> <p>"To recount all the sufferings inflicted on us by the influence of the Arians and to attempt to give information</p>

³ On this council, cf. <http://www.fourthcentury.com/index.php/the-council-of-rome-ad-382/>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>to your reverences, as though you were not already well acquainted with them, might seem superfluous.</p> <p>5.9.2 For we do not believe that you, pious people, consider what is befalling us as so unimportant that you are ignorant of our plight and need information on matters which certainly evoke your sympathy. Nor indeed were the storms which beset us so insignificant that they easily escaped notice. Our persecutions only happened yesterday. The memories of persecution are still near to us, who suffered, and near to you, whose love made the sufferers' pain their own.</p> <p>5.9.3 It was but a day or two ago, if I may so say, that some who were released from chains in foreign lands returned to their own churches through many afflictions. The relics of others who had died in exile were brought home.</p> <p>5.9.4 Others, even after their return from exile, found the passion of the heretics still at boiling heat and were slain by them with stones just as the blessed Stephen was, meeting a sadder fate in their own land than in a stranger's land. Others, worn away with various cruelties, still bear in their bodies the scars of their wounds and the marks of Christ.</p> <p>5.9.5 Who could tell the tale of fines, of disfranchisements, of individual confiscations, of intrigues, of outrages, of prisons? In truth we experienced trials without number, perhaps because we were paying the penalty of sins, perhaps because the merciful God was trying us by means of the multitude of our sufferings. For these we give all thanks to God, who by means of such afflictions trained his servants and, according to the greatness of his mercies, brought us again to rejuvenation.</p> <p>5.9.6 Indeed we needed long leisure, time, and toil to restore the church once more. Like physicians healing the body after long sickness and expelling its disease by gradual treatment, we intend to bring her back to her ancient health of true religion.</p> <p>5.9.7 It is true that, on the whole, we seem to have been delivered from the violence of our persecutions and to be just now recovering the churches which have for a long</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>time been the prey of the heretics. But we are still troubled by wolves who, though they have been driven from the fold, still harass the flocks up and down the meadows. They dare to hold rival assemblies, to stir up treason among the people, and to shrink from nothing which can be done to damage to the churches.</p> <p>5.9.8 So, as we have already said, we must labor longer. However, you showed your brotherly love to us by inviting us (as though we were your own members) by the letters of our most religious emperor to the synod which you are gathering by divine permission at Rome. You intended that you should not now reign apart from us when our emperors are unified with us in the true religion, but that we, to use the apostle's phrase, should reign with you, since we alone were then condemned to suffer persecution. Therefore, our prayer was for all of us to leave our churches, if it were possible, and gratify our longing to see you rather than consult the needs of our churches.</p> <p>5.9.9 For who will give us wings like a dove so we may fly and be at rest? But this course seemed likely to leave the churches who were just recovering quite undefended, and the undertaking was impossible for most of us. Furthermore, in accordance with the letters sent a year ago from your holiness after the synod at Aquileia to the most pious emperor Theodosius, we had journeyed to Constantinople equipped only for travelling so far as Constantinople, and we acquired the consent of the bishops remaining in the provinces for this synod alone. We had not expected any longer journey nor had we heard a word about it before our arrival at Constantinople. In addition to all this, and on account of the narrow amount of time which allowed no preparation for a longer journey, nor of communicating with the bishops of our communion in the provinces and of obtaining their consent, the journey to Rome was impossible for the majority. We have therefore adopted the next best course open to us under the circumstances, both for the better administration of the church, and for manifesting our love towards you, by strongly urging our most venerated, and honored</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>colleagues and brother bishops Cyriacus, Eusebius and Priscianus, to travel to you.</p> <p>Through them we wish to make it plain that our disposition is for peace, with unity for its sole object, and that we are full of zeal for the right faith.</p> <p>5.9.10 For we, whether we suffered persecutions or afflictions or the threats of emperors or the cruelties of princes or any other trial at the hands of heretics, have undergone all for the sake of the evangelic faith, ratified by the three hundred and eighteen fathers at Nicaea in Bithynia.</p> <p>5.9.11 This is the faith which ought to be sufficient for you, for us, for all who do not mangle the words of the true faith; for it is the ancient faith; it is the faith of our baptism; it is the faith that teaches us to believe in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. According to this faith there is one Godhead, Power and Substance of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. The dignity is equal and the majesty is equal in three perfect essences and three perfect persons. Thus, there is neither room for the heresy of Sabellius by the confusion of the essences or destruction of the individualities; thus, the blasphemy of the Eunomians, of the Arians, and of the Pneumatomachi is nullified, which divides the substance, the nature and the godhead and superimposes on the uncreated, consubstantial, and co-eternal trinity a nature posterior, created and of a different substance.</p> <p>5.9.12 We moreover preserve untainted the doctrine of the incarnation of the Lord, holding the tradition that the arrangement of the flesh is neither soulless nor mindless nor imperfect; and knowing full well that God's Word was perfect before the ages, and then became perfect in the last days for our salvation.</p> <p>5.9.13 Let this suffice for a summary of the doctrine which is fearlessly and frankly preached by us. You will be even further satisfied if you read the report of the synod of Antioch, as well as the report issued last year by the ecumenical council held at Constantinople. In these we have set forth our confession of the faith at greater length</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>and have appended an anathema against the heresies which innovators have recently inscribed.</p> <p>5.9.14 Now as to the particular administration of individual churches: an ancient custom, confirmed by the actions of the holy fathers at Nicaea, as you know, has become common, that, in every province, the bishops of the province, and, with their consent, the neighboring bishops as well, should perform ordinations as the situation may require.</p> <p>5.9.15 In accordance with these customs note that other churches have been administered to by us and that the priests of the most famous churches have been publicly appointed. Accordingly, over the newly made (if the expression be permissible) church at Constantinople, which, as though from a lion's mouth, we have lately snatched from the blasphemy of the heretics by God's mercy, we have ordained as bishop the right reverend and most religious Nectarius. We have done this in the presence of the ecumenical council, with common consent, before the most religious emperor Theodosius, and with the assent of all the clergy and of the whole city.</p> <p>5.9.16 And over the most ancient and truly apostolic church in Syria, where first the noble name of Christians was given them, the bishops of the province and of the eastern diocese have met together and canonically ordained bishop the right reverend and most religious Flavianus. This rightful ordination was performed with the consent of all the church, who as though with one voice joined in expressing their respect for him and also received the sanction of the general council.</p> <p>5.9.17 We also make known that the right reverend and most religious Cyril is bishop of the church at Jerusalem, mother of all the churches. He was canonically ordained by the bishops of the province some time ago and has in several places fought a good fight against the Arians. We beseech your reverence to rejoice at what has thus been rightly and canonically settled by us, by the intervention of spiritual love and by the influence of the fear of the Lord, compelling the feelings then and making the edification of churches more important than individual grace or favor.</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>5.9.18 Therefore, since among us there is agreement in the faith and Christian charity has been established, we shall cease to use the phrase condemned by the apostles, ‘I am of Paul and I of Apollos and I of Cephas,’ and all appearing as Christ’s, who is not divided in us. By God’s grace we will keep the body of the church whole and will boldly stand at the judgment seat of the Lord.”</p> <p>5.9.19 These things they wrote against the madness of Arius, Aetius, and Eunomius; and, moreover, against Sabellius, Photinus, Marcellus, Paul of Samosata, and Macedonius. Similarly, they openly condemned the innovation of Apollinaris in the phrase, “And we preserve the doctrine of the incarnation of the Lord, holding the tradition that the dispensation of the flesh is neither soulless, nor mindless, nor imperfect.”⁴</p> <p>5.11.15b These events happened during the life of Gratianus.</p>
	<p style="text-align: center;">Martyrius the physician</p> <p>7.10.1 Nectarius was acquainted with the routine of sacred ceremonies under the instruction of Cyriacus, bishop of Adana, since he had requested Diodorus, bishop of Tarsus, to leave with him for a short period. Nectarius also retained several other Cilicians with him, amongst whom was Martyrius, his physician, who had been a witness of the irregularities of his youth. Nectarius was desirous of ordaining him deacon.</p> <p>7.10.2 But Martyrius refused the honor, pointing out his own unworthiness for such a divine service and calling upon Nectarius himself to witness as to the course of his past life. To this Nectarius replied: “Although I am now a priest, do you not know that my past career was a guiltier one than yours, for you were but a means in my numerous, shameless excesses?”</p> <p>7.10.3 “But you, O blessed one,” replied Martyrius, “were cleansed by baptism, and were then accounted worthy of the priesthood. Both these ordinances are</p>	

⁴ Note that Theodoret here produces two letters of Damasus which, while harmonious with his line of thought, are taken out of context chronologically. To find these two letters, cf. pg. 671-675 in Harmony 4.4.

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>appointed by the Divine law for purification from sin, and it seems to me that you now differ in no respect from a new-born infant; but I long ago received holy baptism, and have since continued in the same abusive course.” It was under this plea that he excused himself from receiving ordination; and I commend the man for his refusal, and therefore would give him a part in my history.</p>	
Paul, exiled Bishop of Constantinople, given an honorable burial		
<p>5.9.1 The emperor at that time caused the body of the bishop Paul to be removed from the city of Ancyra. This was the man whom Philip the prefect of the Praetorium had banished at the instigation of Macedonius and ordered to be strangled at Cucusus, a town of Armenia, as I have already mentioned.</p> <p>5.9.2 He therefore received the remains with great reverence and honor and deposited them in the church which now takes its name from him, which the Macedonian party were formerly in possession of while they remained separate from the Arians. They were expelled at that time by the emperor, because they refused to adopt his sentiments.</p>	<p>7.10.4a The Emperor Theodosius, on being informed of various events connected with Paul, formerly bishop of Constantinople, ordered his body to be removed to the church erected by Macedonius, his enemy, and buried there.</p> <p>7.10.4b This temple is a spacious and most distinguished edifice and is still named after Paul. For this reason, many persons who are ignorant of the facts of the case, particularly women and the mass of the people, imagine that Paul, the apostle, is interred therein.</p>	
381 – The remains of Meletius, Bishop of Antioch, are conveyed to Antioch		
<p>5.9.4a⁵ The body of the deceased bishop was conveyed to Antioch by his friends.</p>	<p>7.10.5 The remains of Meletius were at the same time conveyed to Antioch and deposited near the tomb of Babylas the martyr. It is said that the relics were received within the walls in every city along the public way, by the command of the emperor but contrary to Roman custom, and were honored with singing of psalms antiphonally in these places, until they were transferred to Antioch.</p>	

⁵ Note that Socrates incorrectly places the death of Meletius here, after II Constantinople, instead of during. Cf. pg. 723.

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
381 - Flavius of Antioch and the Schism there		
<p>5.9.4b There those who had identified themselves with his interests again refused to accept Paulinus as bishop, but instead caused Flavian to take Meletius' office, and the people began to quarrel anew.</p> <p>5.9.5 Thus the church in Antioch was divided again into rival factions, not grounded on any difference of faith, but simply on a preference of bishops.</p>	<p>7.11.1 After the pompous interment of the remains of Meletius, Flavian was ordained in his stead. This, too, was in direct violation of the oath he had taken, for Paulinus was still alive. This gave rise to fresh troubles in the church of Antioch. Many persons refused to maintain communion with Flavian and held their church apart with Paulinus.</p> <p>7.11.2 Even the priests differed among themselves on this subject. The Egyptians, Arabians, and Cypriots were indignant at the injustice that had been done to Paulinus. On the other hand, the Syrians, the Palestinians, the Phoenicians, and the greater part of Armenia, Cappadocia, Galatia, and Pontus, sided with Flavian.</p> <p>7.11.3 The bishop of Rome, and all the Western priests, regarded the conduct of Flavian with the utmost displeasure. They addressed the customary epistles, called synodicals, to Paulinus as bishop of Antioch, and took no notice of Flavian. They also withdrew from communion with Diodorus, bishop of Tarsus, and Acacius, bishop of Berea, because they had ordained Flavian.</p> <p>7.11.4 To consider the affair further, the Western bishops and the Emperor Gratian wrote to the bishops of the East and summoned them to attend a council in the West.</p>	
383 - Theodosius holds a conference of the sects to promote unity; makes Arcadius, his son, co-Augustus		
<p>5.10.1 Great disturbances occurred in other cities as well, as the Arians were ejected from the churches.</p> <p>5.10.2a I cannot sufficiently admire the emperor's prudence in this situation. He was unwilling to allow these disturbances within the cities to continue, if he could do anything about it, and so after a very short time he called together a general conference of the sects.</p>	<p>7.12.1 Although all the houses of prayer were at this period in the possession of the Catholic Church, many troubles occurred in various parts of the empire, instigated by the Arians. Therefore, the Emperor Theodosius soon after the council previously mentioned, again summoned together the presidents of the sects which were flourishing, in order that they might either bring others to their own state of conviction on disputed topics or be convinced themselves.</p>	
<p>5.10.2b He thought that by a discussion among their bishops, their mutual differences might be resolved and unity established.</p>	<p>7.12.2a For he imagined that all would be brought to oneness of opinion if a free discussion were entered into</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>5.10.3 And this purpose of the emperor's, I am persuaded, was the reason that his affairs were so prosperous at that time. In fact, by a special dispensation of Divine Providence, the barbarous nations were reduced to subjection under him.</p> <p>5.10.4 Among others, Athanaric king of the Goths made a voluntary surrender of himself to him, with all his people, and died soon after at Constantinople.</p> <p>5.10.5 At this juncture the emperor proclaimed his son Arcadius Augustus, on the sixteenth of January, in the second consulate of Merobaudes and Saturnilus.</p>	<p>concerning ambiguous points of doctrine. The council, therefore, was convened.</p> <p>7.12.2b This occurred in the year of the second consulate of Merobaudes, and the first of Saturninus, and at the same period that Arcadius was associated with his father in the government of the empire.</p>	
<p>5.10.6 Not long afterwards in the month of June, under the same consulate, the bishops of every sect arrived from all places.</p> <p>5.10.7 The emperor, therefore, sent for Nectarius the bishop, and consulted with him on the best means of freeing the Christian religion from dissensions, and bringing the church to a state of unity. "The subjects of controversy," he said, "ought to be fairly discussed, so that a universal agreement may be achieved by finding and removing the sources of discord."</p>	<p>7.12.2c Theodosius sent for Nectarius, consulted with him concerning the coming Synod, and commanded him to introduce the discussion of all questions which had given rise to heresies, so that the church of the believers in Christ might be one, and might agree on the doctrine according to which piety ought to be observed.</p>	
<p>5.10.8 Hearing this, Nectarius became anxious, and spoke about his concern with Agelius bishop of the Novatians, since he was of like mind in matters of faith.</p> <p>5.10.9 This man, though eminently pious, was by no means competent at handling a dispute on doctrinal points. He therefore proposed Sisinius, his reader, for the position as a fit person to manage a conference.</p>	<p>7.12.3 When Nectarius returned home, feeling anxious about the affair confided to him, he made known the mandate of the emperor to Agelius, the president of the church of the Novatians, who held the same religious sentiments as himself.</p> <p>7.12.4a Agelius proved the virtue of his life by works but he was unaccustomed to the finesse and deception of words. He therefore proposed one of his readers, by name Sisinius, as a substitute in the debate. Sisinius afterwards succeeded him as bishop. He was a man who could see what was practical, and could debate, if that were necessary.</p>	
<p>5.10.10 Sisinius, who was not only learned, but possessed of great experience, and was well informed both in the expositions of the sacred Scriptures and the principles of philosophy, being convinced that disputations, far from healing divisions usually create</p>	<p>7.12.4b Sisinius possessed powers of intellect and of expression. He had an accurate knowledge of the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures and was well acquainted with profane and with ecclesiastical literature.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
heresies of a more inveterate character, gave the following advice to Nectarius.		
5.10.11 Knowing well that the ancients have nowhere attributed a beginning of existence to the Son of God, conceiving him to be co-eternal with the Father, he advised that they should avoid dialectic warfare and bring forward as evidences of the truth the testimonies of the ancients. "Let the emperor," he said, "demand of the heads of each sect, whether they would pay any deference to the ancients who flourished before schism tore the church apart, or whether they would reject them as separate from the Christian faith. 5.10.12 If they reject their authority, then let them also anathematize them. Should they presume to take such a step, they would be instantly abandoned by the people, and so the truth will be decidedly victorious. 5.10.13 But if, on the other hand, they are not willing to set aside the fathers, it will then be our business to produce their books, by which our views will be fully attested."	7.12.5 He proposed that all discussion with the heterodox should be avoided, since it is a constant source of contention and war. Instead, he recommended that they should inquire whether the heretics admitted the testimony of the expositors and teachers of the sacred words who lived before the Church was split into factions. 7.12.6 "If they reject the testimony of these great men," said he, "they will be condemned by their own followers. But if they admit that their authority is adequate to resolve ambiguous points of doctrine, we will produce their books." For Sisinius was well aware that, since the ancients recognized the Son to be eternal like the Father, they had never presumed to assert that He had had an origin from some beginning.	
5.10.14 When Nectarius heard these words of Sisinnius, he hastened to the palace, and told the emperor about the plan which had been suggested to him. 5.10.15 The emperor at once perceived its prudence and propriety and executed it with superb wisdom. For without discovering his object, he simply asked the chiefs of the heretics whether they had any respect for and would accept the teachings of those teachers who lived previous to the dissension in the church. 5.10.16 As they did not repudiate them but replied that they highly revered them as their masters, the emperor inquired of them again whether they would defer to them as official witnesses of Christian doctrine.	7.12.7 Nectarius praised this recommendation and later the Emperor as well. They investigated the opinions entertained by heretics concerning the ancient interpreters of Scripture and it was found that the heretics professed to hold these early writers in great admiration. The emperor asked them openly whether they would defer to the authority of the early writers on controversial topics and test their own doctrines by the sentiments put forth in those works.	
5.10.17 At this question, the leaders of the several parties, with their logical champions,—for many had come prepared for sophistical debate—found themselves extremely embarrassed. 5.10.18 For a division was caused among them as some acquiesced in the reasonableness of the emperor's	7.12.8 This proposition excited great contention among the leaders of the various heretical sects, for they did not all hold the same view about the books of the ancients. The emperor knew that they were convicted by the debates over their own words alone and withdrew the proposition. He blamed them for their opinion and	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>proposition while others shrunk from it, conscious that it was by no means favorable to their interests.</p> <p>5.10.19 The result was that they could no longer agree among themselves, for they all had various opinions towards the writings of the ancients. They dissented not only from other sects, but also those of the same sect differed from one another.</p> <p>5.10.20 Therefore their malice, which had been in harmony, was confounded like the tongues of the giants of old and their tower of mischief was overturned.</p> <p>5.10.21 The emperor, perceiving by their confusion that their sole confidence was in subtle arguments, and that they feared to appeal to the expositions of the fathers, proposed another method.</p> <p>5.10.22 He commanded every sect to set forth in writing their own peculiar tenets.</p> <p>5.10.23 Accordingly those who were accounted the most skillful among them, drew up a statement of their respective creeds, couched in the most circumspect terms they could devise. A day was appointed and the bishops selected for this purpose presented themselves at the palace.</p> <p>5.10.24 Nectarius and Agelius appeared as the defenders of the ‘homoousian’ faith; Demophilus supported the Arian dogma; Eunomius himself undertook the cause of the Eunomians; and Eleusius, bishop of Cyzicus, represented the opinions of those who were called Macedonians.</p> <p>5.10.25 The emperor gave them all a courteous reception. Having received from each their written statement of faith, he shut himself up alone, and prayed very earnestly that God would assist him in his endeavors to ascertain the truth.</p> <p>5.10.26 After inspecting with great care the statement which each had submitted to him, he condemned all the rest, for they introduced a separation of the Trinity, and only approved of the creed which contained the doctrine of the ‘homoousion.’</p>	<p>commanded each party to draw up a written exposition of its own creed.</p>	
	<p>7.12.9a On the day appointed for the presentation of these documents, Nectarius and Agelius appeared at the palace, as representatives of those who maintain the consubstantiality of the Holy Trinity; Demophilus, the Arian president, came forward as the deputy of the Arians; Eunomius represented the Eunomians; and Eleusius, bishop of Cyzicus, appeared for the sectarians called Macedonians.</p> <p>7.12.9b The emperor, after receiving their statements, expressed himself in favor of that one alone in which the consubstantiality of the Trinity was recognized, and destroyed the others.</p>	
Novatians allowed in Constantine, but others are expelled		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>5.10.27 This decision caused the Novatians to flourish again and to hold their meetings within the city.</p> <p>5.10.28 For the emperor published a law securing for them the peaceful possession of their own church buildings and assigned to their churches equal privileges with those to which he gave his more special sanction, for he was delighted with the agreement of their profession with that which he embraced.</p> <p>5.10.29 But the bishops of the other sects, on account of their disagreement among themselves, were despised and rebuked even by their own followers.</p> <p>5.10.30 Overwhelmed with perplexity and vexation they departed. They addressed consolatory letters to their adherents, whom they exhorted not to be troubled because many had deserted them and gone over to the ‘homousian’ party. For they said, ‘Many are called, but few chosen’ —an expression which they never used when the majority of the people was on their side on account of force and terror.</p>	<p>7.12.10a The interests of the Novatians were not affected by this transaction, for they held the same doctrines as the Catholic Church concerning the Divine nature.</p> <p>7.12.10b The members of the other sects were indignant with the priests for having entered into unwise disputations in the presence of the emperor. Many renounced their former opinions and embraced the authorized form of religion.</p> <p>7.12.11 The emperor enacted a law, prohibiting heretics from holding churches, from giving public instructions in the faith, and from conferring ordination on bishops or others. Some of the heterodox were expelled from the cities and villages, while others were disgraced and deprived of the privileges enjoyed by other subjects of the empire.</p>	
<p>5.10.31 Nevertheless the orthodox believers were not wholly exempt from unrest, for the affairs of the Antiochian church caused divisions among those who were present at the Synod.</p> <p>5.10.32 The bishops of Egypt, Arabia and Cyprus, combined against Flavian, and insisted on his expulsion from Antioch: but those of Palestine, Phoenicia, and Syria, contended with equal zeal in his favor. What result issued from this contest I shall describe in its proper place.</p>	<p>7.12.12 Great as were the punishments adjudged by the laws against heretics, they were not always carried into execution, for the emperor had no desire to persecute his subjects. He only desired to enforce uniformity of view about God through the medium of intimidation, and so those who voluntarily renounced heretical opinions received commendation from him.</p>	