

5.4-Church Matters During Theodosius' Reign (c. 388-392)

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Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
388 – The Death of Paulinus and Flavian, Bishop of Antioch		
<p>5.15.1 About the same period, the following events took place at Antioch in Syria. After the death of Paulinus, the people who had been under his guidance refused to submit to the authority of Flavian. Instead they ordained Evagrius as bishop of their own party.</p>	<p>7.15.1a Paulinus, bishop of Antioch, died about this period, and those who had been convened into a church with him persisted in their aversion to Flavian, although his religious sentiments were precisely the same as their own, because he had violated the oath he had formerly made to Meletius. Therefore, they elected Evagrius as their bishop.</p>	<p>5.23.1 At Antioch the great Meletius had been succeeded by Flavian who, together with Diodorus, had undergone great struggles for the salvation of the sheep. Paulinus had indeed desired to receive the bishopric, but he was opposed by the clergy on the ground that it was not right that Meletius, at his death, should be succeeded by one who did not share his opinions. They thought that the care of the flock ought to be advanced to one who was known for many toils and had run the risk of many perils for the sheep's sake.</p> <p>5.23.2 Thus a lasting hostility arose among the Romans and the Egyptians against the East, and the ill feeling was not even destroyed on the death of Paulinus. After him, when Evagrius had occupied his see, hostility was still shown to the great Flavian, even though the promotion of Evagrius was a violation of Church law.</p> <p>5.23.3 For he had been promoted by Paulinus alone in disregard of many canons. For a dying bishop is not permitted to ordain another to take his place, and all the bishops of a province are ordered to be convened. Again, no ordination of a bishop is permitted to take place without three bishops.</p> <p>5.23.4 Nevertheless they refused to acknowledge any of these laws and instead embraced the communion of Evagrius and filled the ears of the emperor with complaints against Flavian, so that he summoned him to Constantinople, and ordered him to repair to Rome.</p> <p>Flavian, however, urged in reply that it was now winter, and promised to obey the command in spring. He then returned home.</p>
<p>5.15.2 Since he did not survive his ordination long, Flavian brought it about that no other was ordained in his place.</p>	<p>7.15.1b Evagrius did not survive long in this appointment, and although Flavian prevented the election of another bishop, those who had seceded from communion with him still continued to hold their assemblies apart.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
5.15.3 Nevertheless those who disliked Flavian on account of his having violated his oath, held their assemblies apart.		
Destruction of Temples in Antioch		
		<p>5.21.1 Now the faithful emperor diverted his energies to resisting paganism, and published edicts in which he ordered the shrines of the idols to be destroyed. Constantine the Great, most worthy of all eulogy, was indeed the first to grace his empire with true religion; and when he saw the world still given over to foolishness he issued a general prohibition against the offering of sacrifices to the idols. He had not, however, destroyed the temples, though he ordered them to be kept shut.</p> <p>5.21.2 His sons followed in their father's footsteps. Julian restored the false faith and rekindled the flame of the ancient fraud.</p> <p>5.21.3 When Jovian became emperor he once more placed an interdict on the worship of idols and Valentinian the Great governed Europe with like laws. Valens, however, allowed everyone else to worship any way they pleased and to honor their various objects of adoration. Against the champions of the Apostolic decrees alone he persisted in waging war.</p> <p>5.21.4 Accordingly during the whole period of his reign the altar fire was lit, libations and sacrifices were offered to idols, public feasts were celebrated in the forum, and initiates in the orgies of Dionysus ran about in goat-skins, mangling hounds in Bacchic frenzy and generally behaving in such a way as to show the iniquity of their master.</p> <p>5.21.5 When the right faithful Theodosius found all these evils he pulled them up by the roots and consigned them to oblivion.</p> <p>The first of the bishops to put the edict in force and destroy the shrines in the city committed to his care was Marcellus, who trusted in God rather than in the hands of a multitude.</p> <p>5.21.6 The occurrence is remarkable, and I shall proceed to narrate it. On the death of John, bishop of Apamea, whom I have already mentioned, the divine Marcellus, fervent in spirit, according to the apostolic law, was appointed in his stead.</p> <p>5.21.7 Now the prefect of the East had arrived at Apamea with two tribunes and their troops. Fear of the troops kept the</p>

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		<p>people quiet. An attempt was made to destroy the vast and magnificent shrine of Jupiter, but the building was so firm and solid that to break up its closely compacted stones seemed beyond the power of man; for they were huge and well and truly laid, and moreover clamped fast with iron and lead.</p> <p>When the divine Marcellus saw that the prefect was afraid to begin the attack, he sent him on to the rest of the towns, while he himself prayed to God for aid in the work of destruction.</p> <p>5.21.8 Next morning there came uninvited to the bishop a man who was no builder, or mason, or artificer of any kind, but only a laborer who carried stones and timber on his back. "Give me," said he, "two workmen's pay; and I promise you I will easily destroy the temple." The holy bishop did as he was asked, and the following was the fellow's contrivance.</p> <p>5.21.9 Round the four sides of the temple went a portico which was united to it, and on which its upper story rested. The columns were of great bulk, proportionate to the temple, each being sixteen cubits in circumference.</p> <p>5.21.10 The quality of the stone was exceptionally hard and offered great resistance to the masons' tools. In each of these the man made an opening all round, propping up the superstructure with olive timber before he went on to another. After he had hollowed out three of the columns, he set fire to the timbers.</p> <p>5.21.11 But a black demon appeared and would not allow the wood to be consumed, as it naturally would be, by the fire, and stayed the force of the flame. After the attempt had been made several times, and the plan was proved ineffectual, news of the failure was brought to the bishop, who was taking his noontide sleep.</p> <p>5.21.12 Marcellus forthwith hurried to the church, ordered water to be poured into a pail, and placed the water upon the divine altar. Then, bending his head to the ground, he prayed to the loving Lord, that he would not allow the usurped power of the demon, but would lay bare its weakness and exhibit His own strength, lest the unbelievers find excuse for greater wrong.</p> <p>5.21.13 With these and other like words he made the sign of the cross over the water and ordered Equitius, one of his deacons, who was armed with faith and enthusiasm, to take the</p>

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		<p>water and sprinkle it in faith, and then apply the flame. His orders were obeyed, and the demon, unable to endure the approach of the water, fled. Then the fire, affected by its foe the water as though it had been oil, caught the wood, and consumed it in an instant. When their support had vanished the columns, themselves fell down and dragged the other twelve with them. The side of the temple which was connected with the columns was dragged down by the violence of their fall and carried away with them. The crash, which was tremendous, was heard throughout the town and all ran to see the sight.</p> <p>5.21.15 No sooner did the multitude hear of the flight of the hostile demon than they broke out into a hymn of praise to God.</p> <p>Other shrines were destroyed in like manner by this holy bishop.</p> <p>5.21.16 Though I have many other most admirable doings of this holy man to relate, —for he wrote letters to the victorious martyrs, and received replies from them, and himself won the martyr’s crown—for the present I hesitate to narrate them, lest by over-zealousness I weary the patience of those into whose hands my history may fall.</p> <p>I will therefore now pass to another subject.</p>
390 – Ambrose, Theodosius, and the massacre at Thessalonica		
		<p>5.16.6 Often it happens that one who has kept clear of lascivious passion is fixed fast in the toils of avarice; and if he prove superior to greed there on the other side is the pitfall of envy, and even if he leap safe over this he will find a net of passion waiting for him on the other side ... Other innumerable stumbling blocks the enemy sets in men’s paths, trying to catch them to their ruin.</p> <p>5.16.7 Then he has at his disposal the bodily passions to help the wiles which he lays against the soul. The mind alone, if it keep awake, gets the better of him, frustrating the assault of his devices by its inclination to what is Divine. Now, since this admirable emperor had his share of human nature, and was not free from its emotions, his righteous anger passed the bounds of moderation, and caused a savage and lawless deed. I must tell this story for the sake of those into whose hands it will fall; it does not, indeed, only involve blame of the admirable</p>

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	<p>7.25.1 After the death of Eugenius, the emperor went to Milan, and went towards the church to pray within its walls. When he drew near the gates of the edifice, he was met by Ambrose, the bishop of the city, who took hold of him by his purple robe, and said to him, in the presence of the multitude,</p> <p>7.25.2 “Stand back! a man defiled by sin, and with hands imbrued in blood unjustly shed, is not worthy, without repentance, to enter within these sacred precincts, or partake of the holy mysteries.” The emperor, struck with admiration at the boldness of the bishop, began to reflect on his own conduct, and, with much contrition, retraced his steps.</p>	<p>emperor, but so redounds to his credit as to deserve to be remembered.</p> <p>5.18.2 The emperor, on his arrival at Milan, wished to enter the church according to custom. Ambrosius met him outside the outer porch and forbade him to step over the sacred threshold. “You seem, sir, not to know,” said he, “the magnitude of the bloody deed that has been done. Your rage has subsided, but your reason has not yet recognized the character of the deed. Perhaps your Imperial power prevents your recognizing the sin, and power stands in the light of reason.</p> <p>5.18.3 We must however know how our nature passes away and is subject to death; we must know the ancestral dust from which we sprang, and to which we are swiftly returning. We must not because we are dazzled by the sheen of the purple fail to see the weakness of the body that it robes. You are a sovereign, Sir, of men of like nature with your own, and who are in truth your fellow slaves.</p> <p>5.18.4 For there is one Lord and Sovereign of mankind, Creator of the Universe. With what eyes then will you look on the temple of our common Lord—with what feet will you tread that holy threshold, how will you stretch forth your hands still dripping with the blood of unjust slaughter? How in such hands will you receive the all holy Body of the Lord? How will you who in your rage unrighteously poured forth so much blood lift to your lips the precious Blood? Begone. Attempt not to add another crime to that which you have committed. Submit to the restriction to which the God the Lord of all agrees that you be sentenced. He will be your physician, He will give you health.”</p>
	<p>7.25.3 The occasion of the sin was as follows. When Buthericus was general of the troops in Illyria, a charioteer saw him shamefully exposed at a tavern and attempted an outrage; he was apprehended and put in custody. Some time after, some magnificent races were to be held at the hippodrome and the populace of Thessalonica demanded the release of the prisoner, considering him necessary to the celebration of the contest. As their request was not attended to, they rose up in sedition and finally slew Buthericus.</p>	<p>5.17.1 Thessalonica is a large and very populous city, belonging to Macedonia, but the capital of Thessaly and Achaia, as well as of many other provinces which are governed by the prefect of Illyricum. Here arose a great sedition, and several of the magistrates were stoned and violently treated.</p> <p>5.17.2 The emperor was enraged when he heard the news, and unable to endure the rush of his passion, did not even check its onset by the curb of reason, but allowed his rage to be the minister of his vengeance.</p>

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	<p>7.25.4 On hearing of this deed, the wrath of the emperor was excited immediately, and he commanded that a certain number of the citizens should be put to death. The city was filled with the blood of many unjustly shed; for strangers, who had but just arrived there on their journey to other lands, were sacrificed with the others.</p> <p>7.25.5 There were many cases of suffering well worthy of commiseration, of which the following is an instance. A merchant offered himself to be slain as a substitute for his two sons who had both been selected as victims and promised the soldiers to give them all the gold he possessed, if they made the exchange. They could not help but have mercy on his misfortune and consented to take him as a substitute for one of his sons but declared that they did not dare to let off both the young men, as that would render the appointed number of the slain incomplete.</p> <p>7.25.6 The father gazed on his sons, groaning and weeping; he could not save either from death, but he continued hesitating until they had both been put to death, being overcome by an equal love for each. I have also been informed, that a faithful slave voluntarily offered to die instead of his master, who was being led to the place of execution.</p>	<p>5.17.3 When the imperial passion had received its authority, as though itself an independent prince, it broke the bonds and yoke of reason unsheathed swords of injustice right and left without distinction and slew innocent and guilty together. No trial preceded the sentence. No condemnation was passed on the perpetrators of the crimes. Multitudes were mowed down like ears of corn in harvest-tide. It is said that seven thousand perished.</p> <p>5.18.1 News of this lamentable calamity reached Ambrosius.</p>
	<p>7.25.7a It appears that it was for these and other acts of cruelty that Ambrose rebuked the emperor, forbade him to enter the church, and excommunicated him. Theodosius publicly confessed his sin in the church, and during the time set apart for penance, refrained from wearing his imperial ornaments, according to the usage of mourners.</p>	<p>5.18.5 Educated as he had been in the sacred oracles, Theodosius knew clearly what belonged to priests and what to emperors. He therefore bowed to the rebuke of Ambrose, and retired sighing and weeping to the palace. After a considerable time, when eight months had passed away, the festival of our Savior's birth came and the emperor sat in his palace shedding a storm of tears.</p> <p>5.18.6 Now Rufinus, at that time controller of the household, and, from his familiarity with his imperial master, able to use great freedom of speech, approached and asked him why he wept.</p> <p>5.18.7 With a bitter groan and yet more abundant weeping "You are trifling, Rufinus," said the emperor, "because you do not feel my troubles. I am groaning and lamenting at the thought of my own calamity; for menials and for beggars the way into the church lies open; they can go in without fear and</p>

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		<p>put up their petitions to their own Lord. I dare not set my foot there, and besides this for me the door of heaven is shut.</p> <p>5.18.8 For I remember the voice of the Lord which plainly says, 'Whatsoever ye bind on earth shall have been bound in heaven.' ”</p> <p>Rufinus replied “With your permission I will hasten to the bishop, and by my entreaties induce him to remit your penalty.” “He will not yield” said the emperor. “I know the justice of the sentence passed by Ambrose, nor will he ever be moved by respect for my imperial power to transgress the law of God.”</p> <p>5.18.9 Rufinus urged his suit again and again, promising to win over Ambrosius; and at last the emperor commanded him to go with all speed. Then, the victim of false hopes, Theodosius, in reliance on the promises of Rufinus, followed in person, himself.</p> <p>5.18.10 No sooner did the divine Ambrose perceive Rufinus than he exclaimed, “Rufinus, your impudence matches a dog’s, for you were the adviser of this terrible slaughter; you have wiped shame from your brow, and guilty as you are of this mad outrage on the image of God you stand here fearless, without a blush.”</p> <p>5.18.11 Then Rufinus began to beg and pray, and announced the speedy approach of the emperor. Fired with divine zeal the holy Ambrosius exclaimed “Rufinus, I tell you beforehand; I shall prevent him from crossing the sacred threshold. If he is for changing his sovereign power into that of a tyrant I too will gladly submit to a violent death.”</p> <p>5.18.12 On this Rufinus sent a messenger to inform the emperor in what mind the archbishop was and exhorted him to remain within the palace. Theodosius had already reached the middle of the forum when he received the message. “I will go,” said he, “and accept the disgrace I deserve.”</p> <p>5.18.13 He advanced to the sacred precincts but did not enter the holy building. The archbishop was seated in the house of salutation and there the emperor approached him and besought that his bonds might be loosed.</p> <p>5.18.14 “Your coming” said Ambrose “is the coming of a tyrant. You are raging against God; you are trampling on his laws.” “No,” said Theodosius, “I do not attack laws laid down,</p>

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		<p>I do not seek wrongfully to cross the sacred threshold; but I ask you to loose my bond, to take into account the mercy of our common Lord, and not to shut against me a door which our master has opened for all them that repent.”</p> <p>5.18.15 The archbishop replied “What repentance have you shown since your tremendous crime? You have inflicted wounds right hard to heal; what salve have you applied?”</p> <p>“Yours” said the emperor “is the duty alike of pointing out and of mixing the salve. It is for me to receive what is given me.”</p>
	<p>7.25.7b He also enacted a law prohibiting the officers entrusted with the execution of the imperial mandates from inflicting the punishment of death till thirty days after the mandate had been issued, in order that the wrath of the emperor might have time to be appeased, and that room might be made for the exercise of mercy and repentance.</p>	<p>5.18.16 Then said the divine Ambrosius “You let your passion minister justice, your passion not your reason gives judgment. Put forth therefore an edict which shall make the sentence of your passion null and void; let the sentences which have been published inflicting death or confiscation be suspended for thirty days awaiting the judgment of reason.</p> <p>5.18.17 When the days shall have elapsed let them that wrote the sentences exhibit their orders, and then, and not till then, when passion has calmed down, reason acting as sole judge shall examine the sentences and will see whether they be right or wrong.</p> <p>5.18.18 If it finds them wrong it will cancel the deeds; if they be righteous it will confirm them, and the interval of time will inflict no wrong on them that have been rightly condemned.”</p> <p>This suggestion the emperor accepted and thought it admirable. He ordered the edict to be put out forthwith and gave it the authority of his sign manual. On this the divine Ambrosius loosed the bond.</p>
	<p>7.25.8 Ambrose, no doubt, performed many other actions worthy of his priestly office, which are known, as is likely, only to the inhabitants of the country.</p>	
	<p>7.25.9 Among the illustrious deeds that are attributed to him, I have been made acquainted with the following. It was the custom of the emperor to take a seat in assemblies of the church within the palisades of the altar, so that he sat apart from the rest of the people. Ambrose, considering that this custom had originated either from subservience or from want of discipline, caused the emperor to be seated without the trellis work of the altar, so that he sat in front of the people, and behind the</p>	<p>5.18.19 Now the very faithful emperor came boldly within the holy temple but did not pray to his Lord standing, or even on his knees, but lying prone upon the ground he repeated David’s cry “My soul cleaveth unto the dust, quicken thou me according to thy word.”</p> <p>He plucked out his hair; he smote his head; he besprinkled the ground with drops of tears and prayed for pardon.</p> <p>5.18.20 When the time came for him to bring his oblations to the holy table, weeping all the while he stood up and</p>

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	<p>priests. The emperor Theodosius approved of this best tradition, as did likewise his successors; and we are told that it has been ever since scrupulously observed.</p>	<p>approached the sanctuary. After making his offering, as he was wont, he remained within at the rail, but once more the great Ambrosius kept not silence and taught him the distinction of places.</p> <p>5.18.21 First he asked him if he wanted anything; and when the emperor said that he was waiting for participation in the divine mysteries, Ambrose sent word to him by the chief deacon and said, "The inner place, sir, is open only to priests; to all the rest it is inaccessible; go out and stand where others stand; purple can make emperors, but not priests."</p> <p>5.18.22 This instruction too the faithful emperor most gladly received and intimated in reply that it was not from any audacity that he had remained within the rails, but because he had understood that this was the custom at Constantinople.</p> <p>5.18.23 "I owe thanks," he added, "for being cured too of this error."</p> <p>So both the archbishop and the emperor showed a mighty shining light of virtue. Both to me are admirable; the former for his brave words, the latter for his docility; the archbishop for the warmth of his zeal, and the prince for the purity of his faith.</p>
		<p>5.18.24 On his return to Constantinople, Theodosius kept within the bounds of piety which he had learnt from the great archbishop. For when the occasion of a feast brought him once again into the divine temple, after bringing his gifts to the holy table he straightway went out. The bishop at that time was Nectarius, and on his asking the emperor what could possibly be the reason for his not remaining within, Theodosius answered with a sigh "I have learnt after great difficulty the differences between an emperor and a priest. It is not easy to find a man capable of teaching me the truth.</p> <p>5.18.25 Ambrosius alone deserves the title of bishop." So great is the gain of conviction when brought home by a man of bright and shining goodness.</p>
391 - Conflict between pagans and Christians in Alexandria		
<p>5.16.1 At the request of Theophilus bishop of Alexandria, the emperor issued an order at this time for the demolition of the heathen temples in that city. He also commanded that it should be done under the direction of Theophilus.</p>	<p>7.15.2 About this period, the bishop of Alexandria, to whom the temple of Dionysus had, at his own request, been granted by the emperor, converted the edifice into a church. The statues were removed, the adyta were</p>	<p>5.22.1 The illustrious Athanasius was succeeded by the admirable Peter, Peter by Timothy, and Timothy by Theophilus, a man of sound wisdom and lofty courage. By him Alexandria was set free from the error of idolatry, for, not</p>

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<p>5.16.2 Seizing this opportunity, Theophilus strove to expose the pagan mysteries to contempt. And to begin with, he caused the Mithreum to be cleaned out and exhibited to public view the tokens of its bloody mysteries.</p> <p>5.16.3 Then he destroyed the Serapeum and he publicly ridiculed the bloody rights of the Mithreum. He showed that The Serapeum was full of extravagant superstitions and he had the phalli of Priapus carried through the midst of the forum.</p>	<p>exposed and, in order to humiliate the pagan mysteries, he made a procession for the display of these objects.</p> <p>7.15.3a The phalli and whatever other objects had been concealed in the adyta which really were ridiculous or merely seemed to be, he made a public exhibition of.</p>	<p>content with razing the idols' temples to the ground, he exposed the tricks of the priests to the victims of their wiles.</p> <p>5.22.2 For they had constructed statues of bronze and wood hollow within and fastened the backs of them to the temple walls, leaving in these walls certain invisible openings. Then coming up from their secret chambers they got inside the statues, and through them gave any order they liked and the hearers, tricked and cheated, obeyed.</p> <p>5.22.3a These tricks the wise Theophilus exposed to the people.</p>
<p>5.16.4 The pagans of Alexandria, and especially the professors of philosophy, were unable to repress their rage at this exposure and exceeded in vengeful ferocity their outrages on a former occasion.</p> <p>5.16.5 For with one accord, at a prearranged signal, they rushed impetuously upon the Christians and murdered everyone they could find. The Christians also made an attempt to resist the assailants, and so the fight worsened. This desperate struggle lasted until their thirst for blood was satisfied.</p> <p>5.16.6 Then it was discovered that very few of the heathens had been killed, but a great number of Christians. The number of wounded on each side was almost innumerable.</p> <p>5.16.7 Fear then possessed the pagans on account of what was done, as they considered the emperor's displeasure.</p>	<p>7.15.3b The pagans, amazed at so unexpected an exposure, could not suffer it in silence, but conspired together to attack the Christians.</p> <p>7.15.3c They killed many of the Christians, wounded others, and seized the Serapion, a temple which was conspicuous for beauty and vastness and which was seated on an eminence.</p>	
	<p>7.15.4 This they converted into a temporary citadel; and there they conveyed many of the Christians, tortured them, and compelled them to offer sacrifice. Those who refused compliance were crucified, had both legs broken, or were put to death in some cruel manner.</p> <p>7.15.5 When the sedition had prevailed for some time, the rulers came and urged the people to remember the laws, to lay down their arms, and to give up the Serapion. Then Romanus, the general of the military legions in Egypt, came and Evagrius, the prefect of Alexandria. Since their efforts, however, to reduce the people to submission were utterly in vain, they made known what had transpired to the emperor.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>7.15.6 Those who had shut themselves up in the Serapion prepared a more spirited resistance, from fear of the punishment that they knew would await their audacious proceedings. They were further instigated to revolt by the inflammatory discourses of a man named Olympius, attired in the garments of a philosopher, who told them that they ought to die rather than neglect the gods of their fathers. Perceiving that they were greatly dispirited by the destruction of the idolatrous statues, he assured them that such a circumstance did not warrant their renouncing their religion, for the statues were composed of corruptible materials, and were mere pictures, and therefore would disappear, whereas, the powers which had dwelt within them, had flown to heaven. By such representations as these, he retained the multitude with him in the Serapion.</p> <p>7.15.7 When the emperor was informed of these occurrences, he declared that the Christians who had been slain were blessed, for they had been admitted to the honor of martyrdom and had suffered in defense of the faith. He offered free pardon to those who had slain them, hoping that they would be the more readily induced to embrace Christianity by this act of mercy and he commanded the demolition of the temples in Alexandria which had been the cause of the popular sedition.</p> <p>7.15.8 It is said that, when this imperial edict was read in public, the Christians uttered loud shouts of joy, because the emperor laid the guilt of what had occurred upon the pagans. The people who were guarding the Serapion were so terrified at hearing these shouts, that they took to flight, and the Christians immediately obtained possession of the spot, which they have retained ever since.</p> <p>7.15.9 I have been informed that, on the night preceding this occurrence, Olympius heard the voice of one singing hallelujah in the Serapion. The doors were shut and everything was still; and as he could see no one, but could only hear the voice of the singer, he at once understood what the sign signified; and unknown to any one he left the Serapion and embarked for Italy.</p>	

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<p>5.16.8 For having done what seemed good in their own eyes, and by their bloodshed having quenched their courage, some fled in one direction, some in another, and many quitting Alexandria, dispersed themselves in various cities.</p> <p>5.16.9 Among these were the two grammarians Helladius and Ammonius, whose pupil I was in my youth at Constantinople. Helladius was said to be the priest of Jupiter, and Ammonius of Simius.</p>		
		<p>5.22.3b Moreover, he went up into the temple of Serapis, which has been described by some as excelling in size and beauty all the temples in the world. There he saw a huge image, the bulk of which struck beholders with terror, increased by a lying report which got abroad that if any one approached it, there would be a great earthquake, and that all the people would be destroyed.</p> <p>5.22.4 The bishop looked on all these tales as the mere driveling of tipsy old women, and in utter derision of the lifeless monster's enormous size, he told a man who had an axe to give Serapis a good blow with it. No sooner had the man struck, than all the folk cried out, for they were afraid of the threatened catastrophe. Serapis however, who had received the blow, felt no pain, for he was made of wood, and uttered never a word, since he was a lifeless block.</p> <p>5.22.5 His head was cut off, and immediately multitudes of mice ran out.</p> <p>5.22.6 For the Egyptian god was a dwelling place for mice. Serapis was broken into small pieces, some of which were committed to the flames, but his head was carried through all the town in sight of his worshippers, who mocked the weakness of him to whom they had bowed the knee. Thus all over the world the shrines of the idols were destroyed.</p>
<p>5.16.10 This disturbance having ended, the governor of Alexandria and the commander-in-chief of the troops in Egypt assisted Theophilus in demolishing the heathen temples.</p> <p>5.16.11 These were razed to the ground, and the images of their gods melted into pots and other convenient utensils for the use of the Alexandrian</p>		

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<p>church; for the emperor had instructed Theophilus to distribute them for the relief of the poor.</p> <p>5.16.12 All the images were accordingly broken to pieces, except one statue of the god before mentioned, which Theophilus preserved and set up in a public place; ‘Lest,’ said he, ‘at a future time the heathens should deny that they had ever worshiped such gods.’</p> <p>5.16.13 This action gave great umbrage to Ammonius the grammarian in particular, who to my knowledge was accustomed to say that ‘the religion of the Gentiles was grossly abused because that single statue was not also melted, but preserved, in order to render that religion ridiculous.’</p> <p>5.16.14 Helladius however boasted in the presence of some that he had slain nine men with his own hand in that desperate fight. Such were the doings at Alexandria at that time.</p>		
Hieroglyphics found in the Temple of Serpis		
<p>5.17.1 When the Temple of Serapis was torn down and laid bare, certain characters which they call hieroglyphics were found in it, engraved on stones in the forms of crosses.</p>	<p>7.15.10a It is said that when the temple was being demolished, some stones were found, on which were hieroglyphic characters in the form of a cross.</p>	
<p>5.17.2 Both the Christians and pagans on seeing them, appropriated and applied them to their respective religions: for the Christians who affirm that the cross is the sign of Christ’s saving passion, claimed this character as peculiarly theirs.</p> <p>5.17.3 But the pagans alleged that it might pertain to both Christ and Serapis, “for,” they said, “it symbolizes one thing to Christians and another to heathens.”</p> <p>5.17.4 While this point was being argued among them, some of the heathen converts to Christianity who were conversant with these hieroglyphic characters interpreted the form of a cross and said that it signifies ‘Life to come.’</p> <p>5.17.5 This the Christians exultingly laid hold of as decidedly favorable to their religion.</p>	<p>7.15.10b These, on being submitted to the inspection of the learned, were interpreted as signifying the life to come. These characters led to the conversion of several of the pagans, as did likewise other inscriptions found in the same place which contained predictions of the destruction of the temple. It was thus that the Serapion was taken,</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>5.17.6 But after other hieroglyphics had been deciphered containing a prediction that ‘When the cross should appear,’—for this was ‘life to come,’—‘the Temple of Serapis would be destroyed,’ a very great number of the pagans embraced Christianity, and confessing their sins, were baptized.</p> <p>5.17.7 Such are the reports I have heard about the discovery of this symbol in form of a cross. But I cannot imagine that the Egyptian priests foreknew the things concerning Christ, when they engraved the figure of a cross.</p> <p>5.17.8 For if ‘the advent’ of our Saviour into the world ‘was a mystery hid from ages and from generations,’ as the apostle declares; and if the devil himself, the prince of wickedness, knew nothing of it his ministers, the Egyptian priests, are likely to have been still more ignorant of the matter.</p> <p>5.17.9 But Providence doubtless purposed that in the enquiry concerning this character, there should take place something analogous to what happened before at the preaching of Paul.</p> <p>5.17.10 For he, made wise by the Divine Spirit, employed a similar method in relation to the Athenians, and brought over many of them to the faith. For, having read the inscription on one of their altars, he accommodated and applied it to his own discourse.</p> <p>5.17.11 Unless indeed any one should say, that the Word of God worked in the Egyptian priests, as it did in Balaam and Caiaphas; for these men uttered prophecies of good things in spite of themselves. This will suffice on the subject.</p>	<p>and, a little while after, converted into a church; it received the name of the Emperor Arcadius.</p>	
Emperor Theodosius makes reforms in Rome		
<p>5.18.1 The emperor Theodosius, during his short stay in Italy, conferred the greatest benefit on the city of Rome, by grants on the one hand and annulments on the other.</p> <p>5.18.2 His generosity was indeed very great, and he removed two of the most infamous abuses which existed in the city.</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>5.18.3 One of them was the following: there were buildings of immense magnitude, erected in ancient Rome in former times, in which bread was made for distribution among the people. Those who had the charge of these edifices, who were called <i>Mancipes</i> in the Latin language, had converted them into dens for thieves.</p> <p>5.18.4 Now as the bake-houses in these structures were placed underneath, they built taverns at the side of each, where they kept prostitutes, by which means they entrapped many of those who went thither either for the sake of refreshment, or to gratify their lusts.</p> <p>5.18.5 For by a certain mechanism they dropped guests from the tavern into the bake-house below. This was done chiefly to strangers.</p> <p>5.18.6 And those who were in this way kidnapped were compelled to work in the bake-houses, where many of them were imprisoned until old age. They were not allowed to go out and so they gave the impression to their friends that they were dead.</p> <p>5.18.7 It happened that one of the soldiers of the emperor Theodosius fell into this snare. Once he was shut up in the bake-house, and hindered from going out, he drew a dagger which he wore and killed those who stood in his way. The rest were terrified and allowed him to escape.</p> <p>5.18.8 When the emperor found out about the situation he punished the <i>Mancipes</i> and ordered these haunts of lawless and abandoned characters to be pulled down.</p> <p>5.18.9 This was one of the disgraceful nuisances of which the emperor purged the imperial city. The other was of this nature: when a woman was found in adultery, they punished the offender not by punishing her but rather by increasing her crime.</p> <p>5.18.10 For shutting her up in a narrow brothel, they forced her to prostitute herself in a most disgusting manner. Little bells rang at the time of the unclean deed so that those who passed were not ignorant of what was going on within. This was</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>doubtless intended to brand the crime with greater shame in public opinion.</p> <p>5.18.11 As soon as the emperor was told of this indecent punishment, he would by no means tolerate it. He ordered that the <i>Sistra</i>—for so these places of penal prostitution were called—be pulled down and he appointed other laws for the punishment of adulteresses.</p> <p>5.18.12 Thus did the emperor Theodosius free the city from two of its worst abuses.</p> <p>5.18.13 And when he had arranged all other affairs to his satisfaction, he left the emperor Valentinian at Rome.</p> <p>5.18.14 He returned with his son Honorius to Constantinople and entered that city on the 10th of November, in the consulate of Tatian and Symmachus.</p>		
Abolition of Penitentiary Priests		
<p>5.19.1 At this time it was deemed necessary to abolish the office of those presbyters in the churches who had charge of the penitence: this was done on the following account.</p>	<p>7.16.1 Around this time Nectarius abolished the office of the presbyter whose duty it was to preside over the imposition of penance. This is the first instance of the suppression of this office in the Church. This example was followed by the bishops of every region. Various accounts have been given of the nature, the origin, and the cause of the abolition of this office. I shall state my own views on the subject.</p>	
	<p>7.16.2 Purity is a Divine attribute and does not belong to human nature. Therefore, God has decreed that pardon should be extended to the penitent, even after many transgressions. As in supplicating for pardon, it is first necessary to confess the sin and it seems probable that the priests, from the beginning, considered it irksome to make this confession in public, before the whole assembly of the people. They therefore appointed a presbyter of the utmost sanctity and the most undoubted prudence to act on these occasions;</p> <p>7.16.3 The penitents went to him and confessed their transgressions; and it was his office to indicate the kind of penance suitable to each sin and then, when satisfaction had been made, to pronounce absolution.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>5.19.2 When the Novatians separated themselves from the Church because they would not communicate with those who had lapsed during the persecution under Decius, the bishops added to the ecclesiastical canon a presbyter of penitence in order that those who had sinned after baptism might confess their sins in the presence of the presbyter thus appointed.</p> <p>5.19.3 And this mode of discipline is still maintained among other heretical institutions by all the rest of the sects; the Homoousians only, together with the Novatians who hold the same doctrinal views, have abandoned it.</p> <p>5.19.4 The latter indeed would never admit of its establishment: and the Homoousians who are now in possession of the churches, after retaining this function for a considerable period, abrogated it in the time of Nectarius, in consequence of an event which occurred in the Constantinopolitan church, which is as follows.</p>	<p>7.16.4 As the custom of doing penance never gained ground among the Novatians, regulations of this nature were of course unnecessary among them, but the custom prevailed among all other heretics and prevails even to the present day.</p>	
	<p>7.16.5 It is observed with great rigor by the Western churches, particularly at Rome, where there is a place appropriated to the reception of penitents, in which spot they stand and mourn until the completion of the services, for it is not lawful for them to take part in the mysteries. Then they cast themselves, with groans and lamentations, prostrate on the ground.</p> <p>7.16.6 The bishop conducts the ceremony, sheds tears, and prostrates himself in like manner; and all the people burst into tears, and groan aloud. Afterwards, the bishop rises first from the ground, and raises up the others; he offers up prayer on behalf of the penitents, and then dismisses them.</p> <p>7.16.7 Each of the penitents subjects himself in private to voluntary suffering, either by fasting, by abstaining from the bath or from diverse kinds of meats, or by other prescribed means, until a certain period appointed by the bishop. When the time arrives, he is made free from the consequences of his sin and assembles at the church with</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	the people. The Roman priests have carefully observed this custom from the beginning to the present time.	
<p>5.19.5 A woman of noble family came to the penitentiary and made a general confession of those sins she had committed since her baptism.</p> <p>5.19.6 And the presbyter prescribed fasting and prayer continually, that together with the acknowledgment of error, she might show that she was worthy of repentance.</p> <p>5.19.7 Sometime after this, the same lady again presented herself, and confessed that she had been guilty of another crime, for a deacon of the church had slept with her.</p>	<p>7.16.8 In the church at Constantinople, a presbyter was always appointed to preside over the penitents, until a lady of the nobility made a deposition to the effect that, when she had resorted as a penitent to the presbyter, to fast and offer supplications to God, and had stayed in the church for that purpose, she had been raped by the deacon.</p>	
<p>5.19.8 When this was proved the deacon was ejected from the church. But the people were very indignant, being not only offended at what had taken place, but also because the deed had brought scandal and degradation upon the Church.</p>	<p>7.16.9a The people were greatly displeased when this occurrence was made known to them, on account of the discredit that would result to the church, and the priests in particular were scandalized.</p>	
<p>5.19.9 When in consequence of this, clergy were subjected to taunting and reproach, Eudaemon a presbyter of the church, by birth an Alexandrian, persuaded Nectarius the bishop to abolish the office of penitentiary presbyter, and to leave everyone to his own conscience with regard to the participation of the sacred mysteries: for thus only, in his judgment, could the Church be preserved from scandal.</p>	<p>7.16.9b Nectarius, after much hesitation as to what means ought to be adopted, deposed the deacon; and, at the advice of certain persons, who urged the necessity of leaving each individual to examine himself before participating in the sacred mysteries, he abolished the office of the presbyter presiding over penance.</p>	
<p>5.19.10 Having heard this explanation of the matter from Eudaemon I have ventured to put in the present treatise: for as I have often remarked, I have spared no pains to procure an authentic account of affairs from those who were best acquainted with them, and to scrutinize every report, lest I should advance what might be untrue. My observation to Eudaemon, when he first related the circumstance, was this: "Whether, O presbyter, your counsel has been profitable for the Church or otherwise, God knows; but I see that it takes away the means of rebuking one another's faults, and prevents our acting upon that precept of the apostle, 'Have no fellowship with the unfruitful</p>	<p>7.16.10 From that period, therefore, the performance of penance fell into disuse. It seems to me that extreme laxness of principle supplanted the severity and rigor of antiquity. Under the ancient system, I think, offences were rarer, for people were deterred from their commission by the dread of confessing them and of exposing them to the scrutiny of a severe judge.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>works of darkness, but rather reprove them.”” Concerning this affair let this suffice.</p>	<p>7.16.11 I believe it was from similar considerations, that the Emperor Theodosius, who was always zealous in promoting the glory of the Church, issued a law, enacting that women should not be admitted into the ministry, unless they had had children, and were upwards of sixty years of age, according to the precept of the Apostle Paul. By this law it was also decreed, that women who had shaved their heads should be ejected from the churches; and that the bishop by whom such women were admitted should be deposed from the bishopric. 7.17.1a Such subjects as the above, however, are best left to the decision of individual judgment.</p>	
Division among the Heretics		
<p>5.20.1 I believe it is right to also mention the proceedings of the other religious bodies, such as the Arians, Novatians, and those who received their names from Macedonius and Eunomius. 5.20.2 For the Church, once it was divided, rested not in that schism, but the separatists took occasion from the slightest and most frivolous pretenses to disagree among themselves. 5.20.3 The manner and time, as well as the causes for which they raised mutual dissensions, we will state as we proceed.</p>		
<p>5.20.4 But let it be observed here, that the emperor Theodosius persecuted none of them except Eunomius. But since the latter corrupted many with his doctrines by holding meetings in private houses at Constantinople where he read the works he had composed, he ordered him to be sent into exile</p>	<p>7.17.1b About this time the emperor condemned Eunomius to banishment. This heretic had taken up residence in the suburbs of Constantinople and held frequent church meetings in private houses, where he read his own writings. He led many to embrace his sentiments, so that the sectarians who were named after him became very numerous. He died not long after his banishment, and was interred at Dacora, his birthplace, a village of Cappadocia, situated near Mount Argeus, in the territory of Caesarea.</p>	
<p>5.24.1 Neither did the followers of Eunomius remain without dissensions: for Eunomius himself had long before this separated from Eudoxius who ordained him bishop of Cyzicus, taking occasion</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>from that bishop's refusal to restore to communion his master Aëtius who had been ejected. But those who derived their name from him were subsequently divided into several factions.</p>		
<p>5.24.2 For first Theophronius a Cappadocian, who had been instructed in the art of disputation by Eunomius and had acquired a smattering of Aristotle's Categories and his Book of Interpretation, composed some treatises which he entitled, "On the Exercise of the Mind."</p> <p>5.24.3 Having, however, drawn down the accusations of his own sect upon himself, he was ejected as an apostate. He afterwards held assemblies apart from them and left behind him a heresy which bore his own name.</p>	<p>7.17.2 Theophronius, who was also a native of Cappadocia, and who had been his disciple, continued to promulgate his doctrines. Having gotten a smattering of the writings of Aristotle, he composed an introduction to the study of the syllogisms in them, which he entitled "Exercises for the Mind."</p> <p>7.17.3 But he afterwards engaged, I have understood, in many unprofitable controversies, and soon ceased to confine himself to the doctrines of his master. Being eager for new things, he endeavored to prove, from the terms which are placed in the Sacred Scriptures, that though God foreknows that which is not, and knows that which is, and remembers what has happened, he does not always have that knowledge in the same manner with respect to the future and present and changes his knowledge of the past. As this hypothesis appeared positively absurd to the Eunomians, they excommunicated him from their church. He made himself the leader of a new sect called Theophronians, after himself.</p>	
<p>5.24.4 Furthermore at Constantinople a certain Eutychius withdrew from the Eunomians on account of some absurd dispute and still continues to hold separate meetings.</p> <p>5.24.5 The followers of Theophronius are denominated 'Eunomiotheophronians'; and those of Eutychius have the appellation of 'Eunomieutychians.'</p> <p>5.24.6 What those nonsensical terms about which they differed were, I consider unworthy of being recorded in this history, lest I should go into matters foreign to my purpose. I shall merely observe that they adulterated baptism: for they do not baptize in the name of the Trinity, but into the death of Christ.</p>	<p>7.17.4 Not long after, Eutychus, one of the Eunomians, began another sect in Constantinople, to which his own name was given. For the question had been proposed, whether the Son of God is or is not acquainted with the last hour; and for its solution, the words of the evangelist were quoted, in which it is stated that the day and hour are known only to the Father.</p> <p>7.17.5 Eutychus, however, contended that this knowledge belongs also to the Son, since He has received all things from the Father. When Eunomian presidents condemned this opinion, he seceded from communion with them, and went to join Eunomius in his place of banishment. A deacon, and some other individuals, who had been dispatched from Constantinople to accuse Eutychus, and, if necessary, to oppose him in argument, arrived first at the place of destination.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>7.17.6 When Eunomius was acquainted with the object of their journey, he expressed himself in favor of the sentiments propounded by Eutychus; and, on his arrival, prayed with him, although it was not lawful to pray with anyone who travels without letters written in sacred characters, attesting his being in communion.</p> <p>7.17.7 Eunomius died soon after this contention and the Eunomian president at Constantinople refused to receive Eutychus into communion, for he irritated him from jealousy because he was not even of clerical rank, and because he could not answer his arguments, and did not find it possible to solve his problems. Eutychus, therefore, separated those who had espoused his sentiments into a personal heresy.</p> <p>7.17.8 Many assert that he and Theophronius were the first who propounded the peculiar views entertained by the Eunomians concerning divine baptism. The above is a brief account of such details as I have been able to give in order to afford a succinct knowledge of the causes which led the Eunomians to be divided among themselves. I would say too much if I entered into further particulars; and, indeed, the subject would be by no means an easy one to me, since I have no such dialectic skill.</p>	
<p>5.24.7 Among the Macedonians also there was for some time a division, when Eutropius, a presbyter held separate assemblies and Carterius did not agree with him.</p> <p>5.24.8 There are possibly in other cities sects which have emanated from these.</p> <p>5.24.9 But living at Constantinople, where I was born and educated, I describe more particularly what has taken place in that city; both because I have myself witnessed some of these transactions, and also because the events which have occurred there are of pre-eminent importance and are therefore worthier of commemoration. Let it be understood that what I have here related happened at different periods, and not at the same time.</p> <p>5.24.10 But if anyone should be desirous of knowing the names of the various sects, he may</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
easily satisfy himself, by reading a book entitled Ancoratus, composed by Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus.		
<p>5.23.1 But dissensions arose among the Arians also on this account. The contentious questions which were daily agitated among them, led them to start the most absurd propositions.</p> <p>5.23.2 For although it has always been believed in the church that God is the Father of the Son, the Word, it was asked whether God could be called 'Father' before the Son had subsistence?</p> <p>5.23.3 Thus in asserting that the Word of God was not begotten of the Father, but was created out 'of nothing,' and thus falling into error on the chief and main point, they deservedly fell into absurd quibbling about a mere name.</p>	7.17.9a The following question was, in the meantime, agitated among the Arians of Constantinople: Prior to the existence of the Son (whom they regard as having proceeded out of nothing), is God to be termed the Father?	
5.23.4 Therefore Dorotheus, who was sent for by them from Antioch, maintained that God neither was nor could be called Father before the Son existed.	7.17.9b Dorotheus, who had been summoned from Antioch to rule over them in the place of Marinus, was of opinion that God could not have been called the Father prior to the existence of the Son, because the name of Father has a necessary connection with that of Son.	
5.23.5 But Marinus whom they had summoned out of Thrace before Dorotheus, galled by the superior deference which was paid to his rival, undertook to defend the contrary opinion.	7.17.10 Marinus, on the other hand, maintained that the Father was the Father, even when the Son existed not. He advanced this opinion either from conviction, or else from the desire of contention, and from jealousy at the preference that had been shown to Dorotheus in the Church.	
5.23.6 Because of these things there arose a schism among them and, being divided regarding this term, each party held separate meetings. Those under Dorotheus retained their original places of assembly, but the followers of Marinus built distinct oratories for themselves, and asserted that the Father had always been Father, even when the Son was not.	7.17.11a The Arians were thus divided into two parties; Dorotheus and his followers retained possession of the houses of prayer, while Marinus, and those who seceded with him, erected new edifices in which to hold their own churches.	
<p>5.23.7 This section of the Arians was denominated Psathyrians, because one of the most zealous defenders of this opinion was Theoctistus, a Syrian by birth, and a cake-seller [<i>Psathyropola</i>] by trade.</p> <p>5.23.8 Selenas bishop of the Goths adopted the views of this party, a man of mixed descent; he was a</p>	7.17.11b The name "Psathyrians" and "Goths" were given to the partisans of Marinus: Psathyrians, because Theoctistus, a certain cake-vender (<i>ψαθυροπλῆς</i>) was a zealous advocate of their opinions and Goths because their sentiments were approved by Selinus, bishop of that nation. Almost all these barbarians followed the	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>Goth by his father's side, but by his mother's a Phrygian, by which means he taught in the church with great readiness in both these languages.</p>	<p>instructions of Selinus and they gathered in churches with the followers of Marinus. 7.17.12 The Goths were drawn to Selinus particularly because he had formerly been the secretary of Ulphilas and had succeeded him as bishop. He was capable of teaching in their churches, not only in the vernacular, but also in the Greek language.</p>	
<p>5.23.9 This faction however soon quarreled among themselves, Marinus disagreeing with Agapius, whom he had ordained to the bishopric of Ephesus. 5.23.10 They disputed, however, not about any point of religion, but in narrow-mindedness about precedence. In these matters the Goths sided with Agapius. 5.23.11 Because of this, many of the clergy under their jurisdiction, detesting the vain-glorious contest between these two, abandoned them both, and became adherents to the 'homoousian' faith.</p>	<p>7.17.13 Soon after a contest for precedency arose between Marinus and Agapius, whom Marinus himself had ordained bishop over the Arians at Ephesus. In the quarrel which ensued the Goths took the part of Agapius. It is said that many of the Arian clergy of that city were so much irritated by the ambition displayed by these two bishops that they communed with the Catholic Church. Such was the origin of the division of the Arians into two factions—a division which still exists.</p>	
<p>5.20.5 Of the other heretics he [Theodosius] interfered with no one; nor did he constrain them to hold communion with himself; but he allowed them all to assemble in their own churches and to entertain their own opinions on points of Christian faith. 5.20.6 Permission to build churches outside the cities was granted to the rest. But because the Novatians held sentiments precisely identical with his own as to faith, he ordered that they should be allowed to continue unmolested in their churches within the cities, as I have before noticed. 5.20.7 Concerning these I think it opportune, however, to give in this place some farther account, and shall therefore retrace a few circumstances in their history.</p>		
A Division among the Novatians		
<p>¹5.21.5 He [Agelius] died shortly thereafter, and Marcian was ordained bishop of the Novatians. But a division arose in their church also, from this cause.</p>	<p>7.18.1 A division arose during the same reign among the Novatians concerning the celebration of the festival of Easter, and from this dispute originated another, called</p>	

¹ Note that Socrates here records the events of Agelius' death (5.21.1-4); however, he dates the end of Agelius' time as Bishop to 385 AD, in the middle of Mazimus' revolt, and so the account is placed there; cf. Harmony 5.3 pg. 745.

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>5.21.6 Marcian had promoted a converted Jew named Sabbatius to the rank of presbyter. He nevertheless continued to retain many of his Jewish prejudices and moreover was very ambitious about becoming a bishop.</p> <p>5.21.7 Having confidentially allied himself with two presbyters, Theoctistus and Macarius, who knew his plans, he decided to defend that innovation made by the Novatians concerning the festival of Easter in the time of Valens, at Pazum a village of Phrygia, which I have already spoken of.</p> <p>5.21.8 And under pretext of more ascetic austerity, he privately withdrew from the church, saying that 'he was grieved on account of certain persons whom he suspected of being unworthy of participation in the sacrament.' It was however soon discovered that his object was to hold assemblies apart.</p> <p>5.21.9 When Marcian understood this, he bitterly regretted his own error in ordaining people so intent on vain-glory as presbyters.</p> <p>5.21.10 He frequently said that it would have been better for him to have laid his hands on thorns, than to have imposed them on Sabbatius.</p> <p>5.21.11 To put a stop to his plans, Marcian convened a Synod of Novatian bishops to be convened at Angarum, a commercial town near Helenopolis in Bithynia.</p> <p>5.21.12 On assembling there, they summoned Sabbatius and asked him to explain the cause of his discontent.</p>	<p>the Sabbatian. Sabbatius, who, with Theoctistus and Macarius, had been ordained presbyter by Marcian, adopted the opinion of the co-presbyters, who had been convened at Pazoucoma during the reign of Valens, and maintained that the feast of the Passover (Easter) ought to be celebrated by Christians as by Jews.</p> <p>7.18.2 He seceded from the Church at first for the purpose of exercising greater austerity, for he professed to adopt a very austere mode of life. He also declared that one motive of his secession was that many persons who participated in the mysteries appeared to him to be unworthy of the honor. When, however, his design of introducing change was detected, Marcian expressed his regret at having ordained him, and, it is said, was often heard to exclaim that he would rather have laid his hands upon thorns than upon the head of Sabbatius.</p> <p>7.18.3 Perceiving that the people of his diocese were being rent into two factions, Marcian summoned all the bishops of his own persuasion to Sangarus, a town of Bithynia, near the seashore, not far from the city of Helenopolis. When they had assembled, they summoned Sabbatius.</p>	
<p>5.21.13 There he affirmed that he was troubled about the disagreement that existed regarding the Feast of Easter, that it ought to be kept according to the custom of the Jews, and that he was agreeable to that sanction which those convened at Pazum had appointed. But the bishops present at the Synod perceived that this assertion was a mere subterfuge to disguise his desire after the episcopal chair and forced him to pledge himself on oath that he would never accept a bishopric.</p>	<p>7.18.4a They asked him to state the cause of his grievance and, since he merely complained of the diversity prevailing in regard to the feast, they suspected that he made this a pretext to disguise his love of authority and made him declare upon oath that he would never accept the episcopal office.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>5.21.14 When he had sworn this oath, they passed a canon respecting this feast, which they entitled “indifferent,” declaring that “a disagreement on such a point was not a sufficient reason for separation from the church and that the council of Pazum had done nothing prejudicial to the catholic canon. Although the ancients who lived nearest to the times of the apostles differed about the observance of this festival, it did not prevent their communion with one another, nor create any dissension.</p>	<p>7.18.4b When he had taken the required oath, all were of the same opinion, and they voted to hold the church together, for the difference prevailing in the celebration of the Paschal feast ought by no means to be made an occasion for separation from communion.</p>	
<p>5.21.15 Besides that the Novatians at imperial Rome had never followed the Jewish usage, but always kept Easter after the equinox, and yet they did not separate from those of their own faith, who celebrated it on a different day.”</p>		
<p>5.21.16 From these and many such considerations, they made the “Indifferent” Canon, above-mentioned, concerning Easter, whereby everyone was at liberty to keep the custom which he had by predilection in this matter, if he so pleased; and that it should make no difference in regard to communion, but even though celebrating differently they should be in accord in the church.</p>	<p>7.18.4c And they decided that each individual should be at liberty to observe the feast according to his own judgment. They enacted a canon on the subject, which they styled the “Indifferent (αδιαφορος) Canon.”</p>	
<p>5.21.17 After this rule had been thus established, Sabbatius being bound by his oath, anticipated the fast by keeping it in private, whenever any discrepancy existed in the time of the Paschal solemnity, and having watched all night, he celebrated the sabbath of the Passover. Then on the next day he went to church, and with the rest of the congregation partook of the sacraments. He pursued this course for many years, so that it could not be concealed from the people.</p>	<p>7.18.5 Such were the transactions of the assembly at Sangarus. From that time onward Sabbatius followed the custom of the Jews, and unless all happened to observe the feast at the same time, he fasted, according to the custom, but in advance, and celebrated the Passover with the usual ceremonies by himself. He passed the Saturday, from the evening to the appointed time in watching and in offering up the prescribed prayers and on the following day he assembled with the multitude and partook of the mysteries.</p>	
<p>5.21.18 In imitation of which some of the more ignorant, and chiefly the Phrygians and Galatians, supposing they should be justified by this conduct imitated him and kept the Passover in secret after his manner. 5.21.19 But Sabbatius afterwards disregarding the oath by which he had renounced the episcopal</p>	<p>7.18.6 This mode of observing the feast was at first unnoticed by the people but as, in process of time, it began to attract observation, and to become more generally known, he found a great many imitators, particularly in Phrygia and Galatia, to whom this celebration of the feast became a national custom. Eventually he openly seceded from communion and</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
dignity, held schismatic meetings, and was constituted bishop of his followers, as we shall show later.	became the bishop of those who had espoused his sentiments, as we shall have occasion to show in the proper place.	
On Easter, and other matters		
5.22.1 As we have touched the subject I deem it unreasonable to say a few words concerning Easter. It appears to me that neither the ancients nor moderns who have decided to follow the Jews, have had any rational foundation for contending so obstinately about it.	7.18.7 I am, for my own part, astonished that Sabbatius and his followers attempted to introduce this innovation. The ancient Hebrews, as is related by Eusebius, on the testimony of Philo, Josephus, Aristobulus, and several others, offered the sacrifices after the vernal equinox, when the sun is in the first sign of the zodiac, called by the Greeks the Ram, and when the moon is in the opposite quarter of the heavens, and in the fourteenth day of her age.	
<p>5.22.2 For they have not taken into consideration the fact that when Judaism was changed into Christianity, the obligation to observe the Mosaic law and the ceremonial types ceased. And the proof of the matter is plain.</p> <p>5.22.3 For no law of Christ permits Christians to imitate the Jews. On the contrary the apostle expressly forbids it; not only rejecting circumcision, but also deprecating contention about festival days. In his epistle to the Galatians he writes,</p> <p>5.22.4 “Tell me, you who want to be under the law, are you not aware of what the law says?” [Gal 4:21]²And continuing his argument, he demonstrates that the Jews were in bondage as servants, but that those who have come to Christ are called into the liberty of sons. Moreover, he exhorts them in no way to regard days, and months, and years.</p> <p>5.22.5 Again in his epistle to the Colossians he distinctly declares, that such observances are merely shadows: he says, “Therefore do not let anyone judge you by what you eat or drink, or with regard to a religious festival, a New Moon celebration or a Sabbath day. These are a shadow of the things that were to come.” [Col 2:16-17a]</p>		

² All scripture references are taken from the NIV 2011.

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>5.22.6 The same truths are also confirmed by him in the epistle to the Hebrews in these words: “For when the priesthood is changed, the law must be changed also.” [Heb 7:12]</p> <p>5.22.7 Neither the apostles, therefore, nor the Gospels, have anywhere imposed the yoke of servitude on those who have embraced the truth, but have left Easter and every other feast to be honored by the gratitude of the recipients of grace.</p> <p>5.22.8 For these reasons, and because men love festivals, because they afford them cessation from labor, each individual in every place, according to his own pleasure, has by a prevalent custom celebrated the memory of the saving passion.</p> <p>5.22.9 By no law have the Savior and his apostles commanded us to keep this feast; nor do the Gospels and apostles threaten us with any penalty, punishment, or curse if we neglect it, as the Mosaic law does the Jews.</p> <p>5.22.10 It is merely for the sake of historical accuracy, and for the reproach of the Jews, because they polluted themselves with blood on their feast days, that it is recorded in the Gospels that our Savior suffered in the days of “unleavened bread.”</p> <p>5.22.11 The aim of the apostles was not to appoint festival days, but to teach a righteous life and piety.</p>		
<p>5.22.12 And it seems to me that, just as many other customs have been established in individual localities according to usage, So also the feast of Easter came to be observed in each place according to the individual peculiarities of the peoples, for none of the apostles legislated on the matter.</p> <p>5.22.13 That the festival originated, not as a command, but as a custom the facts themselves indicate.</p> <p>5.22.14 In Asia Minor most people observed it on the fourteenth day of the moon, disregarding the Sabbath.</p> <p>5.22.15 Yet they never separated from those who did otherwise until Victor, bishop of Rome,</p>	<p>7.18.8 Even the Novatians themselves, who have studied the subject with some accuracy, declare that the founder of their heresy and his first disciples did not follow this custom, which was introduced for the first time by those who assembled at Pazoucoma, and that at old Rome the members of this sect still observe the same practice as the Romans, who have not deviated from their original usage in this particular, the custom having been handed down to them by the holy apostles Peter and Paul.</p> <p>7.18.9 Further, the Samaritans, who are scrupulous observers of the laws of Moses, never celebrate this festival till the first-fruits have reached maturity; they say it is, in the law, called the Feast of First-Fruits, and before</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>influenced by too ardent a zeal, wrote a sentence of excommunication against the Quartodecimans in Asia.</p> <p>5.22.16 Wherefore also Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons in France, severely censured Victor by letter for his immoderate temper, telling him that, although the ancients differed in their celebration of Easter, they did not stop communing together.</p> <p>5.22.17 He also told him that Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, who afterwards suffered martyrdom under Gordian, continued to communicate with Anicetus bishop of Rome, although he himself, according to the practice of his native Smyrna, kept Easter on the fourteenth day of the moon, as Eusebius attests in the fifth book of his Ecclesiastical History.</p> <p>5.22.18 While therefore some in Asia Minor observed the day above-mentioned, others in the East kept that feast on the Sabbath but differed regarding the month.</p> <p>5.22.19 The former thought the Jews should be followed, though they were not exact; the latter kept Easter after the equinox, refusing to celebrate with the Jews. "For," said they, "it ought to be celebrated when the sun is in Aries, in the month called Xanthicus by the Antiochians and April by the Romans."</p> <p>5.22.20 In this practice, they maintain, they conformed not to the modern Jews, who are mistaken in almost everything, but to the ancients, and to Josephus according to what he wrote in the third book of his Jewish Antiquities.</p> <p>5.22.21 Thus these people were at issue among themselves. But all other Christians in the Western parts, and as far as the ocean itself, are found to have celebrated Easter after the equinox, from a very ancient tradition.</p> <p>5.22.22 And in fact these acting in this manner have never disagreed on this subject. It is not true, as some have pretended, that the Synod under Constantine altered this festival.</p>	<p>these appear, it is not lawful to observe the feast; and, therefore, necessarily the vernal equinox must precede.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>5.22.23 For Constantine himself, writing to those who differed respecting it, recommended that, since they were few in number, they could agree with the majority of their brethren.</p> <p>5.22.24 His letter will be found at length in the third book of the Life of Constantine by Eusebius.</p> <p>5.22.25 But the passage in it relative to Easter runs thus: “It is an appropriate practice which all the churches in the Western, Southern, and Northern parts of the world observe, and some places in the East also.</p> <p>5.22.26 For this reason all on the present occasion have judged it right and I have pledged myself that it will have the approval of your prudence, that what is unanimously observed in the city of Rome, throughout Italy, Africa, and the whole of Egypt, in Spain, France, Britain, Libya, and all Greece, the diocese of Asia and Pontus, and Cilicia, your wisdom will also readily embrace.</p> <p>5.22.27 Consider not only that the number of churches in the aforesaid places is greater, but also that while there should be a universal concurrence in what is most reasonable, it is fitting to have nothing in common with the deceitful Jews.”</p>		
<p>5.22.28 Such is the tenor of the emperor’s letter. Furthermore, the Quartodecimans affirm that the observance of the fourteenth day was delivered to them by the apostle John, while the Romans and those in the Western parts assure us that their usage originated with the apostles Peter and Paul.</p> <p>5.22.29 However, neither of these parties can produce any written testimony in confirmation of what they assert. That the time of keeping Easter in various places is dependent on individual practice, I infer from this, that those who agree in faith, differ among themselves on questions of practice.</p> <p>5.22.30-32 And it will not perhaps be unseasonable to notice here the diversity of customs in the churches. The fasts before Easter will be found to be differently observed among different people. Those at</p>	<p>7.18.10 Hence arises my astonishment that those who profess to adopt the Jewish custom in the celebration of this feast, do not conform to the ancient practice of the Jews. With the exception of the people above mentioned, and the Quartodecimans of Asia, all heresies, I believe, celebrate the Passover in the same manner as the Romans and the Egyptians. The Quartodecimans are called that because they observe this festival, like the Jews, on the fourteenth day of the moon, and hence their name.</p> <p>7.18.11 The Novatians observe the day of the resurrection. They follow the custom of the Jews and the Quartodecimans, except when the fourteenth day of the moon falls upon the first day of the week, in which case they celebrate the feast as many days after the Jews as there are intervening days between the fourteenth day of the moon and the following Lord’s day.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>Rome fast three successive weeks before Easter, excepting Saturdays and Sundays.</p> <p>5.22.33 Those in Illyrica and all over Greece and Alexandria observe a fast of six weeks, which they term ‘The forty days’ fast.’</p> <p>5.22.34 Others commence their fast from the seventh week before Easter and fast three five days only, and that at intervals, yet call that time ‘The forty days’ fast.’</p> <p>5.22.35 It is indeed surprising to me that, although they differ in the number of days, they are called by the same name. Yet some assign one reason for it, and others another, according to their fancies.</p> <p>5.22.36 One can see both a disagreement about the manner of abstinence from food, as well as about the number of days. Some wholly abstain from things that have life, while others feed on fish only of all living creatures.</p> <p>5.22.37 Many eat fowl along with fish, saying that, according to Moses, these were likewise made out of the waters.</p> <p>5.22.38 Some abstain from eggs, and all kinds of fruits, while others partake of dry bread only, and others don’t even eat this.</p> <p>5.22.39 While others having fasted till the ninth hour, then afterwards take any sort of food without distinction. And among various nations there are other usages, for which innumerable reasons are assigned.</p> <p>5.22.40 However, since no one can produce a written command as an authority, it is evident that the apostles left each one to his own free will in the matter, so that each might perform what is good not by constraint or necessity.</p> <p>5.22.41 Such is the difference in the churches on the subject of fasts. Nor is there less variation in regard to religious assemblies.</p> <p>5.22.42 For although almost all churches throughout the world celebrate the sacred mysteries on the sabbath of every week, the Christians of</p>	<p>7.18.12 The Montanists, who are called Pepuzites and Phrygians, celebrate the Passover according to a strange fashion which they introduced. They blame those who regulate the time of observing the feast according to the course of the moon and state that it is right to attend exclusively to the cycles of the sun. They reckon each month to consist of thirty days and account the day after the vernal equinox as the first day of the year, which, according to the Roman method of computation, would be the ninth day before the calends of April. It was on this day, they say, that the two great luminaries appointed for the indication of times and of years were created.</p> <p>7.18.13 This they prove by the fact that every eight years the sun and the moon meet together in the same point of the heavens. The moon’s cycle of eight years is accomplished in ninety-nine months and in two thousand nine hundred and twenty-two days and during that time there are eight revolutions made by the sun, each comprising three hundred and sixty-five days, and the fourth part of a day.</p> <p>7.18.14 For they compute the day of the creation of the sun, mentioned in Sacred Writ, to have been the fourteenth day of the moon, occurring after the ninth day before the calends of the month of April, and answering to the eighth day prior to ides of the same month. They always celebrate the Passover on this day, when it falls on the day of the resurrection; otherwise they celebrate it on the following Lord’s day; for it is written according to their assertion that the feast may be held on any day between the fourteenth and twenty-first.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>Alexandria and at Rome have ceased to do this on account of some ancient tradition.</p> <p>5.22.43 The Egyptians in the neighborhood of Alexandria, and the inhabitants of Thebes, hold their religious assemblies on the sabbath, but do not participate in the mysteries in the manner which is customary among Christians in general.</p> <p>5.22.44 After eating and satisfying themselves with food of all kinds, they partake of the mysteries in the evening while making their offerings.</p> <p>5.22.45 At Alexandria again, on the Wednesday in Passion week and on Good Friday, the scriptures are read, and the doctors expound them and all the usual services are performed in their assemblies, except the celebration of the mysteries.</p> <p>5.22.46 This practice in Alexandria is very old, for it appears that Origen often taught in the church on those days.</p> <p>5.22.47 Since he was a very learned teacher in the Sacred Books and perceived that the “impotence of the law” of Moses was weakened by literal explanation, he gave it a spiritual interpretation.</p> <p>5.22.48 He declared that there has only been one true Passover, which the Savior celebrated when he hung upon the cross. At that time, he vanquished the opposing powers and erected this as a trophy against the devil.</p> <p>5.22.49 In the same city of Alexandria, readers and chanters are chosen both from the catechumens and the faithful, but in all other churches the faithful only are promoted to these offices.</p> <p>5.22.50 I myself, also, learned of another custom in Thessaly. If a clergyman in that country, after taking orders, should sleep with his wife, whom he had legally married before his ordination, he would be degraded. In the East, indeed, all clergymen, and even the bishops themselves, abstain from their wives: but this they do of their own accord, and not by the necessity of any law, for there have been many</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>bishops among them who have had children by their lawful wives during their episcopate.</p> <p>5.22.51 It is said that the author of the custom which persists in Thessaly was Heliodorus bishop of Tricca in that country under whose name there are love books extant, entitled Ethiopica, which he composed in his youth. The same custom prevails at Thessalonica, and in Macedonia, and in Greece.</p> <p>5.22.52 I have also known of another peculiarity in Thessaly, which is, that they only baptize on the days of Easter. Because of this a very great number of them die without having received baptism.</p> <p>5.22.53 At Antioch in Syria the site of the church is inverted; so that the altar does not face toward the east, but toward the west.</p> <p>5.22.54 In Greece, however, and at Jerusalem and in Thessaly they go to prayers as soon as the candles are lighted, in the same manner as the Novatians do at Constantinople.</p> <p>5.22.55 At Caesarea likewise, and in Cappadocia, and in Cyprus, the presbyters and bishops expound the Scriptures in the evening, after the candles are lit.</p> <p>5.22.56 The Novatians of the Hellespont do not perform their prayers in the exact same manner as those of Constantinople, but in most things their usage is similar to that of the prevailing church.</p> <p>5.22.57 In short, it is impossible to find anywhere, among all the sects, two churches which agree exactly in their ritual regarding prayers.</p> <p>5.22.58 At Alexandria no presbyter is allowed to address the public, a regulation which was made after Arius had raised a disturbance in that church. At Rome they fast every Saturday.</p> <p>5.22.59 At Caesarea of Cappadocia they exclude from communion those who have sinned after baptism as the Novatians do. The same discipline was practiced by the Macedonians in the Hellespont, and by the Quartodecimans in Asia.</p> <p>5.22.60 The Novatians in Phrygia do not admit those who have married twice, but those of</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>Constantinople neither admit nor reject them openly, while in the Western parts they are openly received.</p> <p>5.22.61 This diversity came about, as I imagine, by the bishops who governed the churches in their respective eras, and those who received these many rites and customs handed them down as laws to their posterity.</p> <p>5.22.62 However, to give a complete catalogue of all the various customs and ceremonial observances in use throughout every city and country would be difficult—rather impossible.</p> <p>5.22.63 But the instances we have mentioned are sufficient to show that the Easter Festival was celebrated differently in every particular province on account of some distant precedent.</p> <p>5.22.64 Therefore, those who assert that the time of keeping Easter was altered in the Nicene Synod talk at random, for the bishops who convened there earnestly labored to reduce the dissenting minority to uniformity of practice with the rest of the people.</p> <p>5.22.65 Even the apostles knew that many differences existed of the church caused by many such subjects, even in the apostolic age, as the book of The Acts testifies.</p> <p>5.22.66 For when they understood that a disturbance occurred among believers on account of a dissension with the Gentiles, they all met together and declared a Divine law, giving it the form of a letter.</p> <p>5.22.67 By this sanction they liberated Christians from the bondage of formal observances and from all empty arguments about these things and they taught them the path of true piety, requiring only those things which were conducive to its attainment.</p> <p>5.22.68 The epistle itself, which I shall here transcribe, is recorded in The Acts of the Apostles.</p> <p>5.22.69 “The apostles and elders, your brothers, to the Gentile believers in Antioch, Syria and Cilicia: Greetings. We have heard that some went out from us without our authorization and disturbed you,</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>troubling your minds by what they said. So we all agreed to choose some men and send them to you with our dear friends Barnabas and Paul— men who have risked their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore we are sending Judas and Silas to confirm by word of mouth what we are writing. It seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us not to burden you with anything beyond the following requirements: You are to abstain from food sacrificed to idols, from blood, from the meat of strangled animals and from sexual immorality. You will do well to avoid these things. Farewell.” [Acts 15:23b-29]</p> <p>5.22.70 These things indeed pleased God: for the letter expressly says, “It seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us not to burden you with anything beyond the following requirements.” [Acts 15:28]</p> <p>5.22.71 There are nevertheless some people who, disregarding these precepts, suppose all fornication to be an indifferent matter; but contend about holy-days as if their lives were at stake, thus contradicting the commands of God. They make laws for themselves and ignore the decree of the apostles, nor do they perceive that they are themselves practicing those things which are contrary to that which God approved.</p> <p>5.22.72 It is easily possible to extend our discourse regarding Easter and demonstrate that the Jews observe no exact rule either in the time or manner of celebrating the paschal solemnity: and that the Samaritans, who are an offshoot from the Jews, always celebrate this festival after the equinox.</p> <p>5.22.73 But this subject would require a distinct and copious treatise: I shall therefore merely add that those who try so hard to imitate the Jews and are so very anxious about an accurate observance of types, ought to depart from them.</p> <p>5.22.74 For if they have chosen to be so correct, they must not only observe days and months, but all other things also, which Christ (who was “made</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>under the law”) did in the manner of the Jews or which he unjustly suffered from them or wrought typically for the good of all men.</p> <p>5.22.75 He entered into a ship and taught. He ordered the Passover to be made ready in an upper room. He commanded an ass that was tied to be loosed. He proposed a man bearing a pitcher of water as a sign to them for hastening their preparations for the Passover. [He did] an infinite number of other things of this nature which are recorded in the gospels.</p> <p>5.22.76 And yet those who suppose themselves to be justified by keeping this feast, would think it absurd to observe any of these things in a bodily manner.</p> <p>5.22.77 For no doctor ever dreams of going to preach from a ship—no person imagines it necessary to go up into an upper room to celebrate the Passover there—they never tie, and then loose an ass again—and finally no one asks another to carry a pitcher of water, in order that the symbols might be fulfilled. They have justly regarded such things as reminiscent of Judaism.</p> <p>5.22.78 For the Jews are more attentive to outward solemnities than the obedience of the heart, and therefore are they under the curse, because they do not discern the spiritual bearing of the Mosaic law, but rest in its types and shadows.</p> <p>5.22.79 Those who favor the Jews admit the allegorical meaning of these things, and yet they wage a deadly warfare against the observance of days and months, without applying a similar meaning to them.</p> <p>5.22.80 In this way they do not necessarily involve themselves in a common condemnation with the Jews.</p> <p>5.22.81 But enough I think has been said concerning these things. Let us now return to the subject we were previously discussing, the fact that the Church once divided did not stay with that</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>division, but that those separated were again divided among themselves, taking occasion from the most trivial grounds.</p> <p>5.22.82 The Novatians, as I have stated, were divided among themselves on account of the feast of Easter, for the controversy was not restricted to one point only. For in the different provinces some took one view of the question, and some another, disagreeing not only about the month, but about the days of the week as well, and other unimportant matters; in some places they hold separate assemblies because of it, but, in others they unite in mutual communion.</p>		
<p>5.24.11 But I shall content myself with what I have already stated. The public affairs were again thrown into agitation from a cause I shall now relate.</p>		
Rise in Orthodoxy due to the Divisions among the Heretics		
	<p>9.20.1 While the heretics were disrupted among themselves, the Catholic Church increased more and more because of those from the heterodox, on account of the dissensions among them and especially from multitudes of pagans. The emperor, having observed that the practice of idolatry had been greatly assisted by the ability to enter and leave the temple whenever, directed the entrances of all temples to be closed and eventually he commanded the demolition of many of these edifices.</p> <p>9.20.2 When the pagans found themselves deprived of their own houses of prayer, they began to frequent our churches, for they did not dare to offer sacrifices after the pagan form in secret, because it was dangerous, since the sacrifice was under the penalty of death and of confiscation of property.</p> <p>It is said that the river of Egypt did not overflow its banks this year at the proper season; and that the Egyptians angrily ascribed this to the ban of sacrifices to it, according to the ancestral law.</p> <p>9.20.3 The governor of the province, apprehensive lest the general discontent should end in sedition, sent a message to the emperor on the subject. But the emperor, instead of attaching more importance to the temporary</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>fertility produced by the Nile, he paid more attention to the fidelity he owed to God and the interests of religion and replied as follows: “Let the river cease to flow, if magic is required to insure the regularity of its course, or if it delights in sacrifices, or if blood must be mingled with the waters that derive their source from the paradise of God.”</p> <p>9.20.4 Soon afterwards, the Nile overflowed its banks with such violence that the highest grounds were submerged. When it reached the farthest limit and almost had attained the fullest measure, the water did not cease to press upward, so that the Egyptians were thrown into the opposite fear.</p> <p>9.20.5 The dread was that the city of Alexandria and part of Libya would be submerged. The pagans of Alexandria, irritated at this unexpected occurrence, exclaimed in derision at the public theatres that the river, like an old man or fool, could not moderate its own passage. Many of the Egyptians were induced to abandon the superstitions of their forefathers and embrace Christianity. These incidents are given as I have learned them.</p>	
Variant Customs in Different National Churches		
	<p>7.19.1 We have now described the various usages that prevailed in the celebration of the Passover. It appears to me that Victor, bishop of Rome, and Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, came to a very wise decision on the controversy that had arisen between them. For as the bishops of the West did not deem it necessary to dishonor the tradition handed down to them by Peter and by Paul, and as, on the other hand, the Asiatic bishops persisted in following the rules laid down by John the evangelist, they unanimously agreed to continue in the observance of the festival according to their respective customs, without separation from communion with each other. They faithfully and justly assumed that those who agreed in the essentials of worship ought not to separate from one another on account of customs.</p> <p>7.19.2 For exactly different traditions on every point are to be found in all the churches, even though they hold the</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>same opinions. There are, for instance, many cities in Scythia, and yet they all have but one bishop; whereas, in other nations a bishop serves as priest even over a village, as I have myself observed in Arabia, and in Cyprus, and among the Novatians and Montanists of Phrygia.</p> <p>7.19.3 Again, there are even now seven deacons at Rome, precisely the same number ordained by the apostles, of whom Stephen was the first martyr. But, in other churches, the number of deacons is a matter of indifference.</p> <p>7.19.4 At Rome hallelujah is sung once annually, namely, on the first day of the festival of the Passover; so that it is a common thing among the Romans to swear by the fact of hearing or singing this hymn.</p> <p>7.19.5 In that city the people are not taught by the bishop, nor by anyone in the Church. At Alexandria the bishop of the city alone teaches the people, and it is said that this custom has prevailed there ever since the days of Arius, who, though but a presbyter, broached a new doctrine.</p> <p>7.19.6 Another strange custom also prevails at Alexandria which I have never witnessed nor heard of elsewhere, and this is, that when the Gospel is read, the bishop does not rise from his seat. The archdeacon alone reads the Gospel in this city, whereas in some places it is read by the deacons, and in many churches only by the priests, while on noted days it is read by the bishops, as, for instance, at Constantinople, on the first day of the festival of the resurrection.</p> <p>7.19.7 In some churches the interval called Quadragesima, which occurs before this festival, and is devoted by the people to fasting, consists of six weeks, and this is the case in Illyria and the Western regions, in Libya, throughout Egypt, and in Palestine; whereas it is made to comprise seven weeks at Constantinople, and in the neighboring provinces as far as Phoenicia. In some churches the people fast three alternate weeks, during the space of six or seven weeks, whereas in others they fast continuously during the three weeks immediately</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>preceding the festival. Some people, such as the Montanists, only fast two weeks.</p> <p>7.19.8 Assemblies are not held in all churches on the same time or manner. The people of Constantinople, and almost everywhere, assemble together on the Sabbath, as well as on the first day of the week. This custom is never observed at Rome or at Alexandria. There are several cities and villages in Egypt where, contrary to the usage established elsewhere, the people meet together on Sabbath evenings, and, although they have dined previously, partake of the mysteries.</p> <p>7.19.9 The same prayers and psalms are not recited nor the same lections read on the same occasions in all churches. Thus the book entitled “The Apocalypse of Peter,” which was considered altogether spurious by the ancients, is still read in some of the churches of Palestine, on the day of preparation, when the people observe a fast in memory of the passion of the Saviour.</p> <p>7.19.10 Also, the work entitled “The Apocalypse of the Apostle Paul,” though unrecognized by the ancients, is still esteemed by most of the monks. Some people affirm that the book was found during this reign, by Divine revelation, in a marble box, buried beneath the soil in the house of Paul at Tarsus in Cilicia.</p> <p>7.19.11 I have been informed that this report is false by Cilix, a presbyter of the church in Tarsus, a man of very advanced age, as is indicated by his gray hairs, who says that no such occurrence is known among them, and wonders if the heretics did not invent the story.</p> <p>7.19.12 What I have said upon this subject must now suffice. Many other customs are still to be observed in cities and villages; and those who have been brought up in their observance would, from respect to the great men who instituted and perpetuated these customs, consider it wrong to abolish them. Similar motives must be attributed to those who observe different practices in the celebration of the feast which has led us into this long digression.</p>	
Discovery of John the Baptist’s head		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>7.21.1 About this time the head of John the Baptist, which Herodias had asked of Herod the tetrarch, was removed to Constantinople. It is said that it was discovered by some monks of the Macedonian heresy, who originally dwelt at Constantinople, and afterwards fixed their abode in Cilicia.</p> <p>7.21.2 Mardonius, the first eunuch of the palace, made known this discovery at court, during the preceding reign; and Valens commanded that the relic should be removed to Constantinople. The officers appointed to carry it there placed it in a public chariot, and proceeded with it as far as Pantichium, a district in the territory of Chalcedon. Here the mules of the chariot suddenly stopped and neither the application of the lash nor the threats of the horse trainer could make them advance further.</p> <p>7.21.3 So extraordinary an event was considered by all, and even by the emperor himself, to be of God, and the holy head was therefore deposited at Cosilaos, a village in the neighborhood, which belonged to Mardonius.</p> <p>7.21.4 Soon after, the Emperor Theodosius, compelled by an impulse from God, or from the prophet, went to the village. He determined to remove the remains of the Baptist, and it is said met with no opposition, except from a holy virgin, Matrona, who had been the servant and guardian of the relic. He laid aside all authority and force, and after many entreaties, extorted a reluctant consent from her to remove the head.</p> <p>7.21.5 For she bore in mind what had occurred when Valens commanded its removal. The emperor placed it, with the box in which it was encased, in his purple robe, and conveyed it to a place called Hebdomos, in the suburbs of Constantinople, where he erected a spacious and magnificent temple. The woman who had been appointed to the charge of the relic could not be persuaded by the emperor to renounce her religious sentiments, although he resorted to pleas and promises; for she was, it appears, of the Macedonian heresy.</p> <p>7.21.6 A presbyter of the same faith, named Vincent, who also took charge of the coffin of the prophet, and performed the sacred functions over it, followed the</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>religious opinions of the emperor, and entered into communion with the Catholic Church. He had taken an oath, as the Macedonians affirm, never to swerve from their doctrines; but he afterwards openly declared that, if the Baptist would follow the emperor, he also would enter into communion with him and be separated.</p> <p>7.21.7 He was a Persian and had left his country in company with a relative named Addas during the reign of Constantius in order to avoid the persecution which the Christians were then suffering in Persia.</p> <p>7.21.8 On his arrival in the Roman territories, he was placed in the ranks of the clergy, and advanced to the office of presbyter. Addas married and rendered great service to the Church. He left a son named Auxentius, who was noted for his very faithful piety, his zeal for his friends, the moderation of his life, his love of letters, and the greatness of his attainments in pagan and ecclesiastical literature. He was modest and humble in manner, although admitted to familiarity with the emperor and the courtiers and possessed a very illustrious office. His memory is still revered by the monks and zealous men, who were all acquainted with him.</p> <p>7.21.9 The woman who had been entrusted with the relic remained during the rest of her life at Cosilaos. She was greatly distinguished by her piety and wisdom and instructed many holy virgins and I have been assured that many still survive who reflect the honorable character which was the result of training under Matriona.</p>	