

## 6.1-Chrysostom, Eutropius, and Gainas (395-400)

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Last updated 6/19/19

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<b>Introduction to Book VI</b>		
<p>6.0.1 We performed the commission which you gave to us, O holy man of God, Theodore, in the five previous books. In these we have related the history of the Church since Constantine to the best of our ability.</p> <p>6.0.2 Notice, however, that we have been by no means diligent in style; for we thought that if we had paid too much attention to the elegance of our writing, we might have missed the purpose.</p> <p>6.0.3 But even if our purpose could still have been accomplished, we completely avoided that power of choice which ancient historians seem to have used so liberally, by which they imagined themselves free to inflate or suppress matters of fact.</p> <p>6.0.4 Moreover, refined writing would by no means be helpful to the masses and illiterate men, who are intent merely on knowing the facts and not on admiring beautiful words.</p> <p>6.0.5 Therefore, in order to make my books profitable to both classes of readers—to the learned on the one hand, because no elaborate language could compel them to rank it with the grandiose eloquence of the writers of antiquity, and to the unlearned on the other, because they could not understand the facts if they are obscured by a flashy display of words—we have purposely adopted a style cleared of all attempts at magnificence, but at the same time understandable and obvious.</p> <p>6.0.6 However, as we begin our sixth book, we must make this comment: in describing the events of our own age, we are worried about advancing matters which may be unpleasant to many. For, many may be displeased either because, according to the proverb, ‘Truth is bitter,’ or because we do not mention the names of those whom some may love, or because we do not praise their actions.</p>		

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<p>6.0.7 The zealots of our churches will condemn us for not calling the bishops ‘Most dear to God,’ ‘Most holy,’ and such like.</p> <p>6.0.8 Others will be critical because we do not call the emperors ‘Most divine,’ and ‘Lords,’ nor apply to them the other epithets they are commonly given.</p> <p>6.0.9 But, since I could easily prove from the testimony of ancient authors that among them the servant was accustomed to address his master simply by name, without reference to his dignity or titles, on account of the urgency of matters, I shall in like manner obey the laws of history, which demand a simple and faithful narration, unobscured by a veil of any kind. I shall proceed to record accurately what either I have seen personally or have been able to verify from actual observers, having tested the truth by the unanimous testimony of the witnesses that spoke of the same affairs, and by every means I could possibly use.</p> <p>6.0.10 Ascertaining the truth was indeed difficult, for many people gave different accounts and some claimed to be eyewitnesses, while others claimed to be more intimately acquainted with these things than any others.</p>		
<b>395 – Arcadius and Honorius succeed Theodosius</b>		
<p>6.1.1 After the death of the Emperor Theodosius, in the consulate of Olybrius and Probinus on the seventeenth of January, his two sons undertook the administration of the Roman empire. Arcadius assumed the government of the East and Honorius of the West.</p> <p>6.1.3 The body of the Emperor Theodosius was taken to Constantinople on the 8th of November in the same consulate and was honorably interred by his son Arcadius with the usual funeral solemnities.</p>	<p>8.1.1 Such was the death of Theodosius, who had contributed so efficiently to the aggrandizement of the Church. He expired in the sixtieth year of his age, and the sixteenth of his reign. He left his two sons as his successors. Arcadius, the elder, reigned in the East, and Honorius in the West. They both held the same religious sentiments as their father.</p>	
<p>6.1.4 Not long afterwards on the 28th day of the same month the army also arrived, which had served under Emperor Theodosius in the war against the usurper.</p> <p>6.1.5 When the Emperor Arcadius met the army outside the gates according to custom, the soldiers slew Rufinus the Praetorian prefect.</p> <p>6.1.6 For he was suspected of aspiring to the sovereignty and had allegedly invited the Huns, a barbarous nation, into the Roman territories.</p>	<p>8.1.2 Armenia and the Eastern provinces were at this time overrun by the barbarian Huns. Rufinus, prefect of the East, was suspected of having clandestinely invited them to devastate the Roman territories to further his own ambitious designs, for he was said to aspire to tyranny.</p> <p>8.1.3 For this reason, he was soon after slain. When the troops returned from defeating Eugenius, the Emperor Arcadius, according to custom, went forth from Constantinople to meet them. The soldiers took this</p>	

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6.1.7 These Huns had already ravaged Armenia, and were at this time making predatory incursions into other provinces of the East.	opportunity to kill Rufinus. 8.1.4 These circumstances helped the church greatly, for the emperors attributed the ease with which the tyrant had been vanquished and with which the plot of Rufinus to gain their government had been foiled to the piety of their father.	
	8.1.5 They readily confirmed all the laws which had been enacted by their predecessors in favor of the churches and bestowed their own gifts in addition. Their subjects profited by their example, so that even the pagans were converted without difficulty to Christianity and the heretics returned to the Catholic Church.	
		5.26.1 Honorius, who inherited the empire of Europe, put a stop to the gladiatorial combats which had long been held at Rome. This action arose from the following circumstance. 5.26.2 There was a certain man named Telemachus who had embraced the ascetic life. He had set out from the East and journeyed to Rome. There, when the terrible spectacle was being exhibited, he went into the stadium and, stepping down into the arena, tried to stop the men who were wielding their weapons against one another. 5.26.3 The spectators of the slaughter were indignant and, inspired by the mad fury of the demon who delights in those bloody deeds, stoned the peacemaker to death. When the admirable emperor was informed of this he numbered Telemachus among the victorious martyrs and put an end to that impious spectacle. 5.27.2 This fact is alone sufficient to show the emperor's care for divine things.
<b>New Bishops of the Most Important Sees</b>		
6.1.2 At that time Damasus was bishop of the church at Imperial Rome, <sup>1</sup> and Theophilus was bishop of the church of Alexandria. John was bishop of Jerusalem, and Flavian was bishop of Antioch, while the episcopal chair at Constantinople or New Rome was filled by Nectarius, as we mentioned in the foregoing book.	Damasus was dead and at this time Siricius was the leader of the church of Rome, Nectarius was leader of the church in Constantinople, Theophilus was bishop over the church of Alexandria, Flavian was bishop over the church of Antioch and John was bishop over the church of Jerusalem.	5.27.2b At the same time the see of Antioch was held

<sup>1</sup> Note that Socrates is incorrect here: Damasus had indeed died and Siricius was the bishop of Rome from 384 to 399, as Sozomen records.

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>by Flavian and that of Laodicea by Elpidius, who had formerly been the comrade of the great Meletius. He had been shaped by Meletius' life and conversation more plainly than wax takes the impression of a seal ring. He succeeded the great Pelagius.</p> <p>5.27.3 And the divine Marcellus was followed by the illustrious Agapetus whom I have already described as conspicuous for high ascetic virtue.</p> <p>In the time of the tempest of heresy, Maximus, the companion of the great John, was bishop of Seleucia and Taurum and Theodorus was bishop of Mopsuestia. Both of them were illustrious teachers.</p> <p>5.27.4 Notable, too, in wisdom and character was the holy Acacius, bishop of Beroea.</p> <p>Leontius, a shining example of many virtues, tended the flock of the Galatians.</p>
<b>Developments among the Arians, Eunomians, and Macedonians</b>		
	<p>8.1.6 Owing to the disputes which had arisen among the Arians and Eunomians, to which I have already alluded, these heretics daily diminished in number. Many of them, in reflecting upon the diversity of sentiments which prevailed among those of their own persuasion, judged that the truth of God could not be present with them and went over to those who held the same faith as the emperors.</p> <p>8.1.7 The fact that they had no bishop in the city affected the plight of the Macedonians of Constantinople. Ever since they had been deprived of their churches by Eudoxius under the reign of Constantius, they had been governed only by presbyters and remained so until the next reign.</p>	
<b>The Novatians and Sisinnius<sup>2</sup></b>		
	<p>8.1.8 The Novatians, on the other hand, although they had been agitated by the controversy concerning the Passover, which was an innovation made by Sabbatius, remained in quiet possession of their churches. They had not been molested by any of the punishments or laws enacted against other heretics, because they maintained that the Three Persons of the Trinity are of the same substance. The virtue of their</p>	

<sup>2</sup> Sissinius was the Novatian bishop of Constantinople.

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<p>6.1.8 On the very day on which Rufinus was killed, Marcian bishop of the Novatians died, and was succeeded in the episcopate by Sisinnius, of whom we have already made mention.</p> <p>6.22.1 I think that it will not be out of place to give some account of Sisinnius here.</p> <p>6.22.2 He was, as I have often said, a remarkably eloquent man, and well-instructed in philosophy. But he had particularly studied logic and was profoundly skilled in the interpretation of the holy Scriptures, to the point that the heretic Eunomius often avoided him on account of the genius which his reasoning displayed.</p>	<p>leaders also helped them maintain their peace and unity.</p> <p>8.1.9 After the presidency of Agelius they were governed by Marcian, a good man, and on his death, a little earlier, Sisinius was ordained as bishop.</p> <p>He was a very eloquent man, well versed in the doctrines of philosophy and of the Holy Scriptures and so adept in debate that even Eunomius, who was well attested to in this art and effective in this work, often refused to hold debates with him.</p>	
<p>6.22.3 As for his diet he was not simple. Although he practiced the strictest moderation, his table was always luxuriously furnished. He was also accustomed to indulge himself by wearing white garments and by bathing twice a day in the public baths.</p> <p>6.22.4 When someone asked him why he, a bishop, bathed himself twice a day, he replied, "Because it is inconvenient to bathe three times."</p>	<p>8.1.10 His course of life was prudent and above the reach of slander. However, he indulged in luxury to the point of extravagance, so that those who did not know him well were incredulous as to whether he could remain temperate in the midst of so much abundance. His manners were gracious and suave in assemblies, and on this account, he was thought highly of by the bishops of the Catholic Church, by the rulers, and by the learned.</p> <p>8.1.11 His jests were filled with good nature and he could bear ridicule without exhibiting the least resentment. He was very prompt and witty in his responses. Being once asked why he bathed twice daily even though he was a bishop, he replied, "Because I do not bathe three times."</p>	
<p>6.22.5 Going one day to visit the bishop Arsacius out of courtesy, he was asked by one of the friends of that bishop, why he wore a garment so unsuitable for a bishop and where it was written that an ecclesiastic should be clothed in white.</p> <p>6.22.6 "Tell me first," said he, "where it is written that a bishop should wear black?"</p> <p>6.22.7 When the inquirer knew not how to reply to this question, Sisinnius replied: "You cannot show that a priest should be clothed in black. But Solomon is my authority, whose exhortation is, 'Let thy garments be white.' And our Savior in the Gospels appears clothed in white raiment. Moreover, he showed Moses and Elias to the apostles, clad in white garments."</p>	<p>8.1.12 On another occasion, being ridiculed by a member of the Catholic Church because he dressed in white, he asked where it was commanded that he should dress in black. When the other hesitated to reply, he continued, "You can give no argument in support of your position. But I refer you to Solomon, the wisest of men, who says, 'Let your garments be always white.' Moreover, Christ is described in the Gospel as having appeared in white, and Moses and Elias appeared to the apostles in robes of white."</p>	

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6.22.8 His prompt reply to these and other questions impressed those present.		
<p>6.22.9 Again, when Leontius bishop of Ancyra in Galatia Minor, who had taken away a church from the Novatians, was on a visit to Constantinople, Sisinnius went to him, and begged him to restore the church.</p> <p>6.22.10 But he received him rudely, saying, "You Novatians ought not to have churches, for you take away repentance and shut out Divine mercy."</p> <p>6.22.11 As Leontius gave utterance to these and many other such criticisms against the Novatians, Sisinnius replied: "No one repents more heartily than I do."</p> <p>6.22.12 And when Leontius asked him "Why do you repent," he said "That I came to see you."</p>	<p>8.1.13 It seems to me that the following reply was also very ingenious. Leontius, bishop of Ancyra, in Galatia, settled in Constantinople after he had deprived the Novatians in his province of their churches.</p> <p>8.1.14 Sisinius went to him to request that the churches be restored. But, far from yielding, he criticized the Novatians and said that they were not worthy of holding churches, for, by abolishing the observance of penance, they cut off the love and mercy of God. To this Sisinius replied, "No one does penance as I do." Leontius asked him in what way he did penance. "I came to see you," retorted Sisinius.</p>	
<p>6.22.13 On one occasion John, the bishop, was having a contest with him and said, "The city cannot have two bishops." "Nor has it," said Sisinnius.</p> <p>6.22.14 John, irritated at this response, said, "You see, you pretend that you alone are the bishop." "I do not say that," responded Sisinnius, "but I hold that I am not bishop in your eyes only, while I am bishop for many others."</p> <p>6.22.15 John, even more irritated at this reply, said, "I will stop your preaching, for you are a heretic."</p> <p>6.22.16 To which Sisinnius good-humoredly replied, "I will give you a reward, if you will relieve me from so arduous a duty."</p> <p>6.22.17 John being softened a little by this answer, said, "I will not make you cease preaching, if you find speaking so troublesome."</p> <p>6.22.18 This shows how humorous Sisinnius was and how ready at wordplay.</p>		
<p>6.22.19 But it would be tedious to dwell further on his witticisms. By means of a few examples we have shown what sort of a person he was, deeming these sufficient.</p> <p>6.22.20 I will merely add that he was celebrated for his learning and on account of it all the bishops who succeeded him loved and honored him. Not only the bishops but all the leading members of the senate also esteemed and admired him.</p> <p>6.22.21 He is the author of many works, but they are</p>	<p>8.1.15 Many other witty speeches are attributed to him, and he is even said to have written several works with some elegance. But his discourses obtained greater applause than his writings, since he was best at discourse, and was capable of attracting the hearer by his voice and look and pleasing countenance. This brief description may serve as a proof of the disposition and mode of life of this great man.</p>	

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<p>characterized by too great a pretense of elegance and a lavish sprinkling of poetic expressions. On account of this he was more admired as a speaker than as a writer.</p> <p>6.22.22 For there was dignity in his visage and voice, as well as in his form and aspect, and every movement of his person was graceful.</p> <p>6.22.23 On account of these features he was loved by all the sects, and he was in especial favor with Atticus the bishop. But I must conclude this brief notice of Sisinnius.</p>		
<b>Early Life of John Chrysostom (to 398)</b>		
<p>6.3.1 John was a native of Antioch in Syria-Coele, son of Secundus and Anthusa, and scion of a noble family in that country. He studied rhetoric under Libanius the sophist and philosophy under Andragathius the philosopher.</p>	<p>8.2.2 There was at Antioch on the Orontes a certain presbyter named John, a man of noble birth and of exemplary life. He possessed such wonderful powers of eloquence and persuasion that he was declared by the sophist, Libanius the Syrian, to surpass all the orators of the age. When this sophist was on his death-bed he was asked by his friends who should take his place. "It would have been John," he replied, "if the Christians had not taken him from us."</p> <p>8.2.5a His natural abilities were excellent, and he improved them by studying under the best masters. He learned rhetoric from Libanius, and philosophy from Andragathius.</p>	
<p>6.3.2 On the brink of entering the practice of civil law, he reflected on the restless and unjust lives of those who devote themselves to the practice of the forensic courts. Instead he turned to the more tranquil mode of life, which he adopted, following the example of Evagrius. Evagrius himself had been educated under the same masters and had some time before retired to a private mode of life.</p> <p>6.3.3 Accordingly he laid aside his legal practice and applied his mind to the reading of the sacred scriptures, frequenting the church with great diligence.</p> <p>6.3.4 He moreover convinced Theodore and Maximus, who had been his fellow-students under Libanius the sophist, to forsake a profession whose primary goal was gain and embrace a life of greater simplicity.</p> <p>6.3.5 Theodore afterwards became bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia and Maximus of Seleucia in Isauria.</p> <p>6.3.6 At that time being ardent aspirants after perfection, they entered upon the ascetic life under the guidance of</p>	<p>8.2.5b When he was about to begin the legal profession and the career of an advocate, he instead decided to learn the sacred books and to practice philosophy according to the law of the Church.</p> <p>8.2.6 He had as teachers of this philosophy Carterius and Diodorus, two celebrated presidents of ascetic institutions. Diodorus was afterwards the governor of the church of Tarsus, and, I have been informed, left many books of his own writings in which he explained the significance of the sacred words and avoided allegory.</p> <p>8.2.7 John did not receive the instructions of these men by himself, but persuaded Theodore and Maximus, who had been his companions under the instruction of Libanius, to accompany him. Maximus afterwards became bishop of Seleucia, in Isauria and Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia, in Cilicia. Theodore was well conversant with the sacred books and with the rest of the discipline of rhetoricians and philosophers.</p>	

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<p>Diodorus and Carterius, who then presided over a monastic institution.</p> <p>6.3.7 Diodorus was later elevated to the bishopric of Tarsus and wrote many treatises in which he limited his attention to the literal sense of scripture, avoiding that which was mystical.</p>		
	<p>8.2.8 After studying the ecclesiastical laws, and frequenting the society of holy men, Theodore was filled with admiration of the ascetic mode of life and condemned city life. He did not stay in the same purpose, but after becoming an ascetic, he was drawn back to his former course of life.</p> <p>8.2.9 To justify his conduct, he cited many examples from ancient history, with which he was well acquainted, and went back into the city. On hearing that he was engaged in business and intent on marriage, John composed an epistle, more divine in language and thought than the mind of man could produce and sent it to him.</p> <p>8.2.10 Upon reading it, Theodore repented and immediately gave up his possessions, renounced his intention of marrying, and was saved by the advice of John, and returned to the philosophic career. This seems to me a remarkable instance of the power of John's eloquence, for he forced conviction on the mind of one who was himself accustomed to persuade and convince others.</p>	
<p>6.3.8 But enough about these people. Now John was then living on the most intimate terms with Basil, who at that time was made a deacon by Meletius, but afterwards was ordained bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia. Accordingly, Zeno the bishop, on his return from Jerusalem, appointed him a reader in the church at Antioch.</p> <p>6.3.9 While he was a reader he composed the book <i>Against the Jews</i>.</p> <p>6.3.10 Meletius conferred on him the rank of deacon not long after. John produced these works while he was a deacon: <i>On the Priesthood</i>, <i>Against Stagirus</i>, <i>On the Incomprehensibility of the Divine Nature</i>, and <i>On the Women who lived with the Ecclesiastics</i>.</p> <p>6.3.11 Afterwards, upon the death of Meletius at Constantinople—for there he had gone on account of</p>		



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<p>Gregory Nazianzen's ordination—John separated himself from the Meletians, without entering into communion with Paulinus, and spent three years in retirement.</p> <p>6.3.12 Later, when Paulinus was dead, he was ordained a presbyter by Evagrius the successor of Paulinus. This is a brief outline of John's career previous to his call to the episcopal office.</p>		
<p>6.3.13 It is said that on account of his zeal for self-restraint he was stern and severe and one of his early friends has said that in his youth he showed a disposition to irritability, rather than to modesty. Because of the uprightness of his life he was free from anxiety about the future and his simplicity of character made him open and trustworthy.</p> <p>6.3.14 Nevertheless the freedom of speech which he allowed himself was offensive to many. In public teaching he was powerful in reforming the morals of his hearers, but in private conversation he was frequently thought haughty and overbearing by those who did not know him.</p>	<p>8.2.3 Many of those who heard the discourses of John in the church were excited to the love of virtue and to the reception of his own religious sentiments. For by living a divine life he imparted zeal from his own virtues to his hearers. He produced convictions similar to his own, because he did not enforce them by rhetorical art and strength but expounded the sacred books with truth and sincerity.</p> <p>8.2.4 For a word which is ornamented by deeds customarily shows itself as worthy of belief; but without these the speaker appears as an impostor and a traitor to his own words, even though he teaches earnestly. Praise in both regards was due to John. He devoted himself to a prudent course of life and to a severe public career, while he also used a clear diction, united with brilliance in speech.</p> <p>8.2.11 By the same eloquence, John attracted the admiration of the people. While he strenuously convicted sinners even in the churches, he fought with boldness against all acts of injustice, as if they had been perpetrated against himself. This boldness pleased the people, but grieved the wealthy and the powerful, who were guilty of most of the vices which he denounced.</p>	
<b>398 – John Chrysostom made Bishop of Constantinople</b>		
<p>6.2.1 A short time later Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople died, during the consulate of Caesarius and Atticus, on the 27th of September.</p> <p>6.2.2 A contest immediately arose regarding the appointment of a successor, some proposing one person, and some another. At length it was determined to send for John, a presbyter of the church at Antioch, for there was a report that he was very instructive and eloquent at the same time.</p> <p>6.2.3 By the general consent therefore of both the clergy</p>	<p>8.2.1 Nectarius died around this time, and lengthy debates were held on the topic of a successor. They all voted for different individuals, and it seemed impossible for all to unite on one, and the time passed heavily.</p> <p>8.2.12 Being, then, held in such high estimation by those who knew him by experience and by those who were acquainted with him through the reports of others, John was judged worthy, in word and in deed, by all the subjects of the Roman Empire, to be the bishop of the church of</p>	<p>5.27.1 On the death of Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, Arcadius, who had succeeded to the Eastern empire, summoned John, the great luminary of the world. He had heard that he was numbered in the ranks of the presbyterate, and now issued orders to the assembled bishops to confer on him divine grace and appoint him shepherd of that mighty city.</p>

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<p>and laity he was summoned very soon afterwards to Constantinople by the Emperor Arcadius.</p> <p>6.2.4 To render the ordination more authoritative and imposing, several prelates were requested to be present, among whom was Theophilus bishop of Alexandria.</p>	<p>Constantinople.</p> <p>8.2.13 The clergy and people were unanimous in electing him; their choice was approved by the emperor, who also sent the embassy which brought him and, to confer greater solemnity on his ordination, a council was convened.</p>	
	<p>8.2.14 Not long after the letter of the emperor reached Asterius, the general of the East. He sent for John, asking him to come, as if he had need of him. On his arrival, he at once made him get into his chariot, and conveyed him speedily to a military station called Pagras, where he delivered him to the officers whom the emperor had sent for him.</p> <p>8.2.15 Asterius acted very prudently in sending for John before the citizens of Antioch knew what was about to occur, for they probably would have rebelled and inflicted injury on others or subjected themselves to acts of violence, rather than allow John to be taken from them.</p>	
<p>6.2.5 This person did everything he could to detract from John's reputation, wanting to promote Isidore, a presbyter of his own church, to whom he was greatly attached, on account of a very delicate and perilous affair which Isidore had undertaken to serve his interests, to that See. What this was I must now unfold.</p>	<p>8.2.16 When John had arrived at Constantinople and when the priests were assembled together, Theophilus opposed his ordination and proposed as a candidate in his stead, a presbyter of his church named Isidore, who took charge of strangers and of the poor at Alexandria. I have been informed by persons who were acquainted with Isidore that from his youth upwards he practiced the philosophic virtues, near Scetis.</p>	
<p>6.2.6 While the Emperor Theodosius was preparing to attack the usurper Maximus, Theodosius sent Isidore with gifts and two letters and commanded him to present both the gifts and the proper letter to him who became the victor.</p> <p>6.2.7 In accordance with these instructions Isidore awaited the end of the war at Rome. But this business did not long remain a secret, for a reader who accompanied him privately read the letters.</p> <p>6.2.8 When this happened Isidore returned to Alexandria in great alarm.</p> <p>6.2.9 This was the reason why Theophilus so warmly favored Isidore.</p>	<p>8.2.17 Others say that he had gained the friendship of Theophilus by being a participant and a familiar in a very perilous undertaking. For it is reported that during the war against Maximus, Theophilus entrusted Isidore with gifts and letters addressed both to the emperor and to the tyrant and sent him to Rome, wanting him to remain there until the end of the war, when he was to deliver the gifts, with the letters, to him, who might prove the victor.</p> <p>8.2.18 Isidore acted according to his instructions, but the plan was detected and, fearful of being arrested, he fled to Alexandria. From then on Theophilus showed great favor towards him and, with a view of repaying his services, strove to raise him to the bishopric of Constantinople.</p>	
<p>6.2.10 The court however gave the preference to John. Because many had renewed their accusations against Theophilus and prepared memorials of various charges for</p>	<p>8.2.19 But whether there was really any truth in this report, or whether Theophilus desired to ordain this man because of his excellence, it is certain that he eventually yielded to those</p>	

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<p>presentation to the bishops who had convened, Eutropius, the chief officer of the imperial bed-chamber, collected these documents, and showed them to Theophilus, bidding him choose between ordaining John and undergoing a trial on the charges made against him. Terrified at this alternative, Theophilus agreed to ordain John.</p> <p>6.2.11 Accordingly John was invested with the episcopal dignity on the 26th of February, under the following consulate, which the Emperor Honorius celebrated with public games at Rome, and Eutychian, then Praetorian prefect, at Constantinople.</p> <p>6.2.12 But since the man is famous, both for the writings he has left, and the many troubles he fell into, it is proper that I should not pass over his affairs in silence, but to relate as briefly as possible whence he was, and from what ancestry. Also, I shall relate the particulars of his elevation to the episcopate and the means by which he was subsequently degraded and finally how he was more honored after his death, than he had been during his life.</p>	<p>who decided for John. He feared Eutropius, who was artfully eager for this ordination. Eutropius then presided over the imperial house. They say he threatened Theophilus, that unless he would vote with the other bishops, he would have to defend himself against those who desired to accuse him, for there were many written accusations against him at that time before the council.</p>	
<b>John in the Bishopric</b>		
<p>6.4.1 Being such a man in personality and manners, and now promoted to the episcopacy, John's conduct with the clergy under him was more conceited and overbearing than was proper. He aimed to correct the morals of the clergy under him.</p>	<p>8.3.1 As soon as John was ordained as bishop, he devoted his attention to the reformation of the lives of his clergy. He reprimanded and amended their ways and diet and every procedure of their many actions. He also ejected some of the clergy from the Church. He was naturally disposed to correcting the misconduct of others, and to righteously oppose those who acted unjustly and he gave way to these characteristics still more in the episcopate.</p> <p>8.3.2 For his nature, having attained power, led his tongue to reproof, and nerved his wrath more readily against the enemy. He did not confine his efforts to the reformation of his own church but, as a good and large-minded man, he sought to rectify abuses throughout the world.</p>	<p>5.28.1 When the great John had received the tiller of the Church, he boldly convicted certain wrong doers, made seasonable exhortations to the emperor and empress, and admonished the clergy to live according to the laws laid down. Transgressors against these laws he forbade to approach the churches, urging that they who showed no desire to live the life of true priests ought not to enjoy priestly honor.</p> <p>5.28.2 He acted with this care for the church not only in Constantinople, but throughout the whole of Thrace, which is divided into six provinces, and likewise of Asia, which is governed by eleven governors. Pontica too, which has a like number of rulers with Asia, was happily brought under the same discipline by him.</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<b>398<sup>3</sup> – Flavian is recognized as the bishop of Antioch</b>		
<p>5.15.4a Meanwhile Flavian ‘left no stone unturned,’ as the saying goes, to bring these <b>[the followers of Paulinus]</b> also under his control.</p>	<p>8.3.3a Immediately upon entering the episcopate, he <b>[John]</b> strove to put an end to the dissension which had arisen concerning Paulinus between the Western and Egyptian bishops and the bishops of the East, since on this account a general division was overpowering the churches in the whole empire.</p>	
<p>5.15.5 For both these <b>[Damasus and Theophilus]</b> had been greatly displeased with Flavian, both for the perjury he had committed, as well as for the schism he had caused among the previously united people.</p>		<p>5.23.5 But then the bishops of Rome, not only the admirable Damasus, but also Siricius his successor and Anastasius the successor of Siricius, appealed to the emperor more vehemently. They claimed that, while he put down the rivals against his own authority, he suffered bold rebels against the laws of Christ to maintain their usurped authority. Then he sent for Flavian again and tried to force him to undertake the journey to Rome.</p> <p>5.23.6 On this Flavian in his great wisdom spoke very boldly, and said, “If, sir, there are some who accuse me of being unsound in the faith, or of life and conversation unworthy of the priesthood, I will accept my accusers themselves for judges, and will submit to whatever sentence they may give. But if they are contending about see and primacy I will not contest the point; I will not oppose those who wish to take them; I will give way and resign my bishopric. So, sir, give the episcopal throne of Antioch to whom you will.”</p> <p>5.23.7 The emperor admired his manliness and wisdom, and bade him go home again, and tend the church committed to his care.</p>
		<p>5.23.8 After a considerable time had elapsed the emperor arrived at Rome, and once more encountered the charges advanced by the bishops on the ground that he was making no attempt to put down the tyranny of Flavian. The emperor ordered them to set forth the nature of the tyranny, saying that he himself was Flavian and had become his protector.</p> <p>5.23.9 The bishops responded that it was impossible</p>

<sup>3</sup> Simonetti, M. “Antioch of Syria: III. Schism” in *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*, 2014 by InterVarsity Press, pg. 155. To read the preceding events, see Harmony 5.4, pg. 753-754

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>for them to dispute with the emperor. He then exhorted them in future to join the churches in concord, put an end to the quarrel, and quench the fires of a useless controversy. Paulinus, he pointed out, had long since departed this life; Evagrius had been irregularly promoted; the eastern churches accepted Flavian as their bishop.</p> <p>5.23.10 Not only the east but all Asia, Pontius, and Thrace were united in communion with him, and all Illyricum recognized his authority over the oriental bishops.</p>
<p>5.15.4b This he soon did, when he appeased the anger of Theophilus, then bishop of Alexandria, by whose mediation he reconciled with Damasus bishop of Rome also.</p> <p>5.15.6 Theophilus therefore being pacified, sent Isidore a presbyter to Rome, and thus reconciled Damasus, who was still offended; representing to him the prudence of overlooking Flavian's past misconduct for the sake of producing concord among the people.</p>	<p>8.3.3b He requested the assistance of Theophilus in effecting the reconciliation of Flavian with the bishop of Rome. Theophilus agreed to co-operate with him in the restoration of harmony. Acacius, bishop of Berea, and Isidore, whom Theophilus had proposed as a candidate for ordination instead of John</p> <p>8.3.4a were sent on an embassy to Rome. They soon attained the object of their journey and sailed back to Egypt. Acacius repaired to Syria, bearing conciliatory letters to the adherents of Flavian from the priests of Egypt and of the West.</p>	<p>5.23.11 In submission to these counsels the western bishops promised to bring their hostility to a close and to receive the envoys who should he sent them. When Flavian had been informed of this decision he sent certain worthy bishops with presbyters and deacons of Antioch to Rome, giving the chief authority among them to Acacius bishop of Berea, who was famous throughout the world.</p> <p>5.23.12 On the arrival of Acacius and his party at Rome they put an end to the protracted quarrel, and after a war of seventeen years gave peace to the churches. When the Egyptians were informed of the reconciliation they too gave up their opposition, and gladly accepted the agreement which was made. At that time Anastasius had been succeeded in the primacy of the Roman Church by Innocent, a man of prudence and ready wit.<sup>4</sup> Theophilus, whom I have previously mentioned, held the see of Alexandria.</p>
<p>5.15.7 Communion was restored to Flavian in this way and the people of Antioch soon acquiesced in the union secured.</p> <p>5.15.8 Such was the conclusion of this affair at Antioch. But the Arians of that city, ejected from the churches, were accustomed to hold their meetings in the suburbs</p>	<p>8.3.4b And the churches, after a long delay once more laid aside their discord and took up communion with one another.</p> <p>8.3.5 The people at Antioch, who were called Eustathians, continued, indeed, for some time to hold separate assemblies, although they possessed no bishop. Evagrius, the successor of Paulinus, did not, as we have stated, long survive him; and I think reconciliation became easier for the bishops on account of there being no one to oppose. The laity, as is customary</p>	

<sup>4</sup> Theodoret's dating is a little late when he identifies Innocent as the Pope at this time; Damasus was still pope at the time of reconciliation, as Socrates and Sozomen indicate. Again, cf. *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*, pg. 155.

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	with the populace, gradually went over to those who assembled together under the guidance of Flavian; and thus, in course of time, they were more and more united.	
<b>398 – The development of Theophilus’ animosity towards Isidore</b>		
<p>6.9.3 A certain man named Peter was the arch-presbyter of the Alexandrian church at that time. Theophilus was irritated by this person and decided to eject him from the church.</p> <p>6.9.4 As the grounds of expulsion, he brought the charge against him that he had admitted a woman of the Manichaeian sect to the sacred mysteries without first forcing her to renounce her Manichaeian heresy.</p> <p>6.9.5 Peter declared in his defense, that not only had the errors of this woman been previously dealt, but that Theophilus himself had sanctioned her admission to the eucharist. At this Theophilus became indignant, as if he had been grievously slandered. Then he stated that he was altogether unacquainted with the circumstance. Peter therefore summoned Isidore to bear witness to the bishop’s knowledge of the facts concerning the woman.</p> <p>6.9.6 Now Isidore happened to be at Rome at that time on a mission from Theophilus to Damasus the prelate of the imperial city, for the purpose of affecting a reconciliation between him and Flavian, bishop of Antioch.</p> <p>6.9.7 For the adherents of Meletius had separated from Flavian on account of his detestable perjury, as we have already observed.</p> <p>6.9.8 When Isidore had returned from Rome, and was cited as a witness by Peter, he testified that the woman was received by consent of the bishop and that he himself had administered the sacrament to her.</p> <p>6.9.9 Upon this Theophilus became enraged and in anger ejected them both. This was the reason that Isidore’s went to Constantinople with Dioscorus and his brethren: in order to submit to the judgement of the emperor and John the bishop, the injustice and violence with which Theophilus had treated them.</p>	<p>8.12.3 Some say that a woman, belonging to the Manichean heresy, had been converted to the faith of the Catholic Church. Theophilus rebuked the arch-presbyter (towards whom he had other reasons for entertaining resentful feeling), because he had admitted her to the sacred mysteries before she had renounced her former heresy.</p> <p>8.12.4 Peter, (this was the name of the arch-presbyter) maintained that he had received the woman into communion according to the laws of the Church, and with the consent of Theophilus. He referred to Isidore as a witness to the truth of what he had stated.</p> <p>8.12.5 Isidore happened to be at Rome on an embassy at that time; but, on his return, he testified that the assertions of Peter were true. Theophilus resented this confession as a lie and ejected both him and Peter from the Church.</p>	
	8.12.6 This is the account of the events given by some people. I have, however, heard it claimed, by a man of	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>undoubted truthfulness, who was very close to the monks above mentioned, that the hatred of Theophilus towards Isidore originated from two causes. One of these causes was identical with that specified by Peter the presbyter, namely, that he had refused to verify the existence of a testament in which the inheritance was given to the sister of Theophilus. The other cause attested to by this individual was that Isidore refused to give up certain moneys that had been confided to him for the relief of the poor. Theophilus wished to take this money for the erection of churches. He said that it is better to restore the bodies of the suffering, which are more rightly to be considered the temples of God, and for which end the money had been given, than to build walls.</p>	
<b>John's Deeds in the Bishopric</b>		
		<p>5.29.1 On receiving information that Phoenicia was still suffering from the madness of the demons' rites, John got together certain monks who were fired with divine zeal, armed them with imperial edicts, and sent them against the idols' shrines. The money which was required to pay the craftsmen and their assistants who were engaged in the work of destruction was not taken by John from imperial resources, but he persuaded certain wealthy and faithful women to make liberal contributions, pointing out to them how great would be the blessing their generosity would win. Thus, the remaining shrines of the demons were utterly destroyed.</p>
		<p>5.30.1 John saw that the Scythians were caught in the Arian net. Therefore, he devised counter measures and discovered a means of winning them over. Appointing presbyters and deacons and readers of the divine oracles who spoke the Scythian tongue, he assigned a church to them, and by their means won many from their error. 5.30.2 He used to visit it frequently and preach there, using an interpreter who was skilled in both languages, and he got other good speakers to do the same. This was his constant practice in the city, and many of those who had been deceived he rescued by pointing out to them the truth of the apostolic preaching.</p>
		5.31.1 On learning that some of the Nomads

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>encamped along the Danube were thirsty for salvation, but had none to bring them the stream, John sought out men who were filled with a love of labor like that which had distinguished the apostles and gave them charge of the work.</p> <p>5.31.2 I have myself seen a letter written by him to Leontius, bishop of Ancyra, in which he described the conversion of the Scythians, and begged that fit men for their instruction might be sent.</p> <p>5.31.3 On hearing that some men were infected with the plague of Marcion in our district, he wrote to the bishop, charging him to drive out the plague and offering the aid of the imperial edicts to him. I have said enough to show how, to use the words of the divine apostle, he carried in his heart “the care of all the churches.”</p> <p>His boldness may also be learnt from other sources.</p>
<b>399 – Tribigildus leads a revolt for Gainas’ advancement</b>		
<p>6.6.1 I shall now narrate some memorable events that occurred at that time, in which it will be seen how Divine Providence intervened in miraculous ways in order to preserve the city and Roman empire from great peril.</p> <p>6.6.2 Gainas was a barbarian by birth, but after becoming a Roman citizen he engaged in military service and rose by degrees from one rank to another, until he was at length appointed general-in-chief both of the Roman cavalry and army.</p> <p>6.6.3 When he had obtained this lofty position, he forgot his position and relations and was unable to restrain himself. He ‘left no stone unturned’ in his attempt to gain control of the Roman empire.</p>	<p>8.4.1 A barbarian named Gainas, who had taken refuge among the Romans and who had risen from the lowest ranks of the army to military command, formed a plan to usurp the throne of the Roman Empire. With this in view, he asked his countrymen, the Goths, to come from their own homes to the Roman territories and appointed his relatives to be tribunes and chiliarchs.</p>	<p>5.32.1 One Gainas, a Scythian, but still more barbarous in character, and of cruel and violent disposition, was at that time a military commander. He had under him many of his own fellow-countrymen, and with them commanded the Roman cavalry and infantry. Even the emperor was terrified of him, for he suspected him of aiming for the throne.</p>
<p>6.6.4 To accomplish this he sent for the Goths to come out of their own country and gave the principal commissions in the army to his relations.</p> <p>6.6.5 Then when Tribigildus, one of his kinsmen who had the command of the forces in Phrygia, had broken out into open revolt at the instigation of Gainas and was filling the people of Phrygia with confusion and dismay, he managed to have the oversight of matters in the disturbed province assigned to him. Now the Emperor Arcadius, not</p>	<p>8.4.2 Tirbingilus, a relative of his who commanded a large body of troops in Phrygia, began a rebellion. To all perceptive people it was obvious that he was preparing the way. Under the pretext of preventing the destruction of many of the Phrygian cities which had been committed to his protection, Gainas went to assist them.</p>	<p>5.32.8b In the course of time, however, he made known the rebellion which he had long had at heart. He gathered his forces in Thrace and went out ravaging and plundering in many directions.</p>



Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>suspecting any harm, committed these affairs to him.</p> <p>6.6.6 Gainas therefore immediately set out at the head of an immense number of the barbarous Goths, apparently on an expedition against Tribigildus, but with the real intention of establishing his own unjust domination.</p> <p>6.6.7 On reaching Phrygia he began to overturn everything. Consequently, the affairs of the Romans were immediately thrown into great confusion, not only on account of the vast barbarian force which Gainas had at his command, but also because the most fertile and wealthy regions of the East were threatened with destruction.</p>	<p>8.4.3 But on his arrival, when a great number of barbarians had been equipped for war, he revealed his plan which he had previously concealed. He pillaged the cities which he had been commanded to guard and was about to attack others. He then proceeded to Bithynia, encamped in the boundaries of Chalcedon, and threatened war.</p>	
<p>6.6.8 In this emergency the emperor, acting with much prudence, tried to stop the barbarian by diplomacy. Therefore, he sent an embassy to him with instructions to appease him for the present with any concession necessary.</p>	<p>8.4.4 Since the cities of the East of Asia and as many as lived between these regions and about the Euxine, were now in danger, the emperor and his counsellors decided that it would not be safe to venture into any hazardous undertaking without preparation against men who were already desperate. Therefore, the emperor declared that he was ready to be favorable to him in everything and offered him whatever he might demand.</p>	<p>5.32.9 At news of this there arose a universal panic among both princes and subjects and no one was found willing to march against him. No one thought it safe to approach him with an embassy, for everyone suspected his barbarous character.</p>
		<p>5.33.1 Then when everyone else was passed over because of the ubiquitous panic, this great chief <b>[John]</b> was persuaded to undertake the embassy. He took no heed of the dispute which has been related, nor of the ill feeling which it had aroused, but set out for Thrace.</p> <p>5.33.2 No sooner did Gainas hear of the arrival of the envoy than he thought of the bold utterance which John had made on behalf of true religion. He came eagerly from a great distance to meet him, placed his right hand upon his eyes, and brought his children to his saintly knees. So is it the nature of righteousness to silence and vanquish even those who are most opposed to it.</p>
<p>6.6.9 Gainas demanded that Saturninus and Aurelian, two of the most distinguished of the senatorial order and men of consular dignity, be delivered to him, for he knew that they were did not favor him. The emperor yielded most unwillingly to the necessities of the crisis.</p> <p>6.6.10 These two people, prepared to die for the public good, nobly submitted themselves to the emperor. They therefore proceeded to meet the barbarian at a place used</p>	<p>8.4.5 Gainas requested that two consuls, named Saturninus and Aurelian, whom he suspected were opposed to him, be delivered up to him. When they were in his power, he pardoned them. Afterwards he held a conference with the emperor near Chalcedon in the house of prayer in which the tomb of Euphemia the martyr is laid. After he and the emperor had mutually bound themselves by vows of friendship to each other, he threw down his arms and returned</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>for horse-racing some distance from Chalcedon, resolved to endure whatever he might inflict upon them.</p> <p>6.6.11 However, they suffered no harm. The usurper, pretending to be dissatisfied, advanced to Chalcedon, where the emperor Arcadius went to meet him.</p> <p>6.6.12 Both then entered the church where the body of the martyr Euphemia lies and there entered into a mutual pledge on oath that neither would plot against the other.</p>	<p>to Constantinople. There he was appointed general of the infantry and cavalry by an imperial edict.</p>	
<b>399 – The Eunuch Eutropius</b>		
<p>6.5.1 As long as John was in conflict with the clergy only, plots against him were utterly powerless. But when he proceeded to rebuke many of those in public office with immoderate vehemence, the tide of unpopularity began to set against him with far greater impetus.</p> <p>6.5.2 Therefore many stories were told in order to criticize him and most of these found attentive and believing listeners. This growing prejudice was increased yet more by an oration which he pronounced at that time against Eutropius.</p>		
<p>6.5.3 For Eutropius was the chief eunuch of the imperial bed-chamber and the first of all eunuchs that was admitted to the dignity of consul. He, desiring to inflict vengeance on certain persons who had taken refuge in the churches, induced the emperors to make a law excluding delinquents from the privilege of sanctuary, and authorizing the seizure of those who had sought the shelter of the sacred edifices.</p>	<p>8.7.1 Eutropius was originally the chief of the eunuchs and was the first and only person of that rank of whom we have known or heard who attained the consular and patrician dignity.</p> <p>8.7.2 When he was raised to present power, he thought not of the future, nor of the instability of human affairs, but caused those who sought an asylum in churches to be thrust out. He treated Pentadia, the wife of Timasius, in this manner. Timasius was a general in the army, capable and much feared; but Eutropius procured an edict for his banishment to Pasis in Egypt, under the pretext that he aspired to tyranny. I have been informed that Timasius fell a victim to thirst, or dreading lest anything worse might be in store, he was caught in the sands there, and was found dead.</p> <p>8.7.3a Eutropius issued a law, enacting that no one should seek refuge in churches, and that those who had already fled thither should be driven out.</p>	
<p>6.5.4 But its author was punished for this almost immediately. Scarcely had the law been promulgated, before Eutropius himself incurred the displeasure of the emperor and fled for protection to the church.</p>	<p>8.7.3b He was, however, the first to transgress this law. Not long after it was enacted, he offended the empress, immediately left the palace, and fled to the church as a suppliant.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>6.5.5 While Eutropius trembling with fear lay under the table of the altar, the bishop mounted the pulpit from which he was accustomed to address the people in order to be the more distinctly heard and uttered an invective against him.</p> <p>6.5.6 For this reason he seemed to create great unease in some, as he not only denied compassion to the unfortunate, but added insult to cruelty.</p> <p>6.5.7 By the emperor's order Eutropius, though bearing the consulate, was decapitated for certain offences committed by him and his name erased from the list of consuls. The name of Theodore his colleague alone remained in office for that year.</p>	<p>8.7.4 While he was lying beneath the table, John preached a discourse, in which he reprehended the pride of power, and directed the attention of the people to the instability of human greatness. The enemies of John took occasion to cast reproach on him, because he had rebuked instead of showing compassion to one who was suffering under adverse fortunes.</p> <p>8.7.5 Eutropius soon after paid the penalty of his impious plan and was beheaded, and the law which he had enacted was removed from the public inscriptions.</p> <p>8.7.6 After the wrath of God was promptly visited on the injustice that had been done to the Church, prosperity was restored to it, and there was an increase in the Divine worship. The people of Constantinople were more diligent than before in attending the singing of the morning and evening hymns.</p>	
<b>399 - Beginning of the 'Origenist' controversy</b>		
<p>6.6.41 But while the state was troubled by these matters, the leaders of the Church did not cease scheming against each other, to the disgrace of the Christian church.</p> <p>6.6.42 During this time the clergy quarreled amongst themselves. The problem originated in Egypt in the following manner.</p>		
<p>6.7.1 The question had been posed a little earlier, whether God has a corporeal existence, and has the form of man or whether he is incorporeal and without human or, generally speaking, any other bodily shape.</p> <p>6.7.2 This question caused strife and argument among a very great number of persons, some favoring one opinion on the subject and others favoring the opposite.</p> <p>6.7.3 Many of the simpler ascetics asserted that God is corporeal and has a human figure. But most others condemned their opinion and argued that God is incorporeal, and free of all form whatsoever.</p>	<p>8.11.1 A question arose in Egypt at this time, which had been raised a short time before, namely, whether it is right to believe that God is anthropomorphic. Because they interpreted the sacred words with simplicity and without any questioning, most of the monks of that part of the world were of this opinion, believing that God possessed eyes, a face, and hands, and other parts of the body.</p> <p>8.11.2a But those who searched into the hidden meaning of the terms of Scripture held the opposite view and they maintained that those who denied the incorporeality of God were guilty of blasphemy.</p>	
<p>6.7.4 Theophilus bishop of Alexandria agreed with these latter so thoroughly that in the church, in front of all the people, he denounced those who attributed a human form to God, teaching that the Divine Being is wholly incorporeal.</p> <p>6.7.5 When the Egyptian ascetics were told of this, they left their monasteries and came to Alexandria. There they began a riot against the bishop, accusing him of impiety,</p>	<p>8.11.2b This opinion was defended by Theophilus and preached by him in the church. Furthermore, in the epistle which, according to custom, he wrote regarding the celebration of the Passover, he took the occasion to state that God ought to be regarded as incorporeal, as alien to a human form.</p> <p>8.11.3 When the Egyptian monks learned that Theophilus had expressed these sentiments, they went to Alexandria,</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>and threatening to put him to death.</p> <p>6.7.6 Theophilus became aware of his danger and after some thought decided on a course of action to escape from the threatened death.</p> <p>6.7.7 Going to the monks, he said to them in a calming tone: “In seeing you, I beheld the face of God.”</p> <p>6.7.8 This statement calmed their fury and they replied: “If you really admit that God’s face is the same as ours, anathematize Origen’s book, for some, drawing arguments from those books, oppose our opinion. If you will not do this, expect to be treated by us as an impious person, and the enemy of God.”</p> <p>6.7.9 “As far as I am concerned,” said Theophilus, “I will eagerly do what you request. But do not be angry with me, for I also disapprove of Origen’s works, and consider that those who read them should be rebuked.”</p> <p>6.7.10 Thus he succeeded in appeasing and sending away the monks at that time. And probably the whole dispute regarding this subject would have been set at rest, had it not been for another circumstance which happened immediately after.</p>	<p>assembled the people together in one place, started a riot, and resolved to slay the bishop as an impious man. Theophilus, however, presented himself to the insurgents immediately and said to them, “When I look upon you, it is as if I beheld the face of God.”</p> <p>8.11.4 This address sufficiently pacified the men. Giving up their wrath, they replied, “If you really hold orthodox doctrines, do you not denounce the books of Origen, since those who read them are led into these opinions?” “Such has long been my intention,” he replied, “and I shall do as you advise, for I blame all those who follow the doctrines of Origen just as you do.”</p> <p>8.11.5 By these means he deceived the brethren, and broke up the rebellion.</p>	
<b>399 – Epiphanius Convenes a Synod to Condemn Origen<sup>5</sup></b>		
<p>6.10.1 Moreover, he [<b>Theophilus</b>] renewed his friendship with Epiphanius, bishop of Constantia in Cyprus, with whom he had formerly argued. For Theophilus accused Epiphanius of thinking very little of God, by thinking that he had a human form.</p> <p>6.10.2 Now, although Theophilus had not really changed and denounced those who thought that the divinity had human form, yet on account of his hatred of others, he openly denied his own beliefs. He now claimed to be friends with Epiphanius, as if he had changed his mind and agreed with him in his view of God.</p> <p>6.10.3 He then convinced Epiphanius to convene a Synod of the bishops in Cyprus by letter, in order to</p>	<p>8.14.1 Theophilus kept his designs against John as secret as possible; and wrote to the bishops of every city, condemning the books of Origen. It also occurred to him that it would be advantageous to enlist Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, on his side. He was a man who was revered for his life and was the most distinguished of his contemporaries, and he therefore formed a friendship with him, although he had formerly blamed him for asserting that God possessed a human form.</p> <p>8.14.2 As if he repented of having ever entertained any other sentiment, Theophilus wrote to Epiphanius to tell him that he now held the same opinions as himself, and to urge him to attack the books of Origen, as the source of such</p>	

<sup>5</sup> N.B. We diverge significantly from the order of events that Socrates and Sozomen record. These two authors record that the synods on Cyprus and in Alexandria happened after Theophilus discovered that the Tall Monks (cf. Harmony 6.2, pg. 833ff.) had gone to John in Constantinople in 401; in their reconstruction, the synods were a deliberate attack by Theophilus on John, provoked by his acceptance of Theophilus’ rivals. However, because more modern sources date these councils to 399, it is unlikely that Socrates’ and Sozomen’s accounts are accurate in this respect, and instead we propose that the synods happened first, then the monks fled to Constantinople, and then the Synod of the Oaks happened in 403.

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>condemn the writings of Origen.</p> <p>6.10.4 Epiphanius was a man of simple mind and manners on account of his extraordinary piety and was easily influenced by the letters of Theophilus.</p>	<p>nefarious dogmas. Epiphanius had long regarded the writings of Origen with peculiar aversion and was therefore easily led to believe the epistle of Theophilus.</p>	
<p>6.10.5 When he had assembled a council of bishops on the island, he proposed a prohibition of reading Origen's works.</p> <p>6.10.6 He also wrote to John, encouraging him to abstain from the study of Origen's books and to convoke a Synod for decreeing the same thing as he had done.</p> <p>6.10.7 When Theophilus had in this way deluded Epiphanius, who was famous for his piety, and he saw his plan succeed according to his wish, he became more confident and also assembled a great number of bishops.</p> <p>6.10.8 Pursuing the same course as Epiphanius, he caused a similar sentence of condemnation to be pronounced on the writings of Origen in that convention, who had been dead nearly two hundred years. But this was not his primary purpose, but rather his purpose was revenge on Dioscorus and his brethren.</p>	<p>8.14.3 He soon after assembled the bishops of Cyprus together, and prohibited the examination of the books of Origen. He also wrote to the other bishops, and, among others, to the bishop of Constantinople, exhorting them to convene. Synods, and to make the same decision.</p> <p>8.14.4a Theophilus, perceiving that there could be no danger in following the example of Epiphanius, who was the object of popular praise, and who was admired for the virtue of his life, whatever his opinion might be, passed a vote similar to that of Epiphanius, with the agreement of the bishops under his jurisdiction.</p>	
<p>6.10.9 John paid little attention to the letters of Epiphanius and Theophilus and was instead intent on instructing the churches.</p> <p>6.10.10 He flourished more and more as a preacher but paid no heed to the plots which were laid against him.</p>	<p>8.14.4b John, on the other hand, paid little attention to the letters of Epiphanius and Theophilus.</p>	
<p>6.10.11 However, as soon as it became apparent to everybody that Theophilus was trying to divest John of his bishopric, then all those who had any ill-will against John combined in speaking against him.</p> <p>6.10.12 And thus many of the clergy and many of those in office and of those who had great influence at the court, believing that they had found an opportunity now of avenging themselves upon John, exerted themselves to procure the convocation of a Grand Synod at Constantinople, partly by sending letters and partly by dispatching messengers in all directions for that purpose.</p>	<p>8.14.5 Those among the powerful and the clergy, who were opposed to him, perceived that Theophilus wanted to eject John from the bishopric. Therefore, they endeavored to convene a council in Constantinople, in order to carry this out. Theophilus, knowing this, exerted himself to the utmost in convening this council. He commanded the bishops of Egypt to journey by sea to Constantinople and he wrote to request Epiphanius and the other Eastern bishops to proceed to that city with as little delay as possible, and he himself set off on the journey there by land.</p>	
<b>Author's Defense of Origen</b>		
<p>6.13.1 But, since complaining critics have imposed upon many persons and have succeeded in deterring them from reading Origen, as though he were a blasphemous</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>writer, I think it is reasonable to make a few observations regarding him.</p> <p>6.13.2 Worthless people and those who lack the ability to obtain fame for themselves, often seek to be noticed by belittling those who excel them.</p> <p>6.13.3 First Methodius, bishop of a city in Lycia named Olympus, labored under this malady. Next Eustathius, who for a short time presided over the church at Antioch, after him Apollinaris, and lastly Theophilus suffered similarly.</p> <p>6.13.4 This group of critics has slandered Origen, but not on the same grounds, one having found one cause of accusation against him, and another, another. Thus each has demonstrated that what he has taken no objection to, he has fully accepted.</p> <p>6.13.5 For since one has attacked one opinion in particular, and another has found fault with another, it is evident that each has admitted as true what he has not assailed, giving an implicit praise to what he has not attacked.</p> <p>6.13.6 Methodius indeed had in various places railed against Origen. But afterwards, as if retracting all he had previously said, expresses his admiration of the man in a dialogue which he entitled <i>Xenon</i>.</p> <p>6.13.7 But I affirm that from the censure of these men, greater commendation goes to Origen.</p> <p>6.13.8 For those who have sought out whatever they deemed worthy of reproach in him, and yet have never charged him with holding unsound views regarding the Holy Trinity, are in this way most distinctly shown to bear witness to his orthodox piety: by not reproaching him on this point, they commend him by their own testimony.</p> <p>6.13.9 But Athanasius the defender of the doctrine of consubstantiality, in his Discourses against the Arians continually cites this author as a witness of his own faith, interweaving his words with his own, and saying,</p> <p>6.13.10 “The most admirable and assiduous Origen, by his own testimony confirms our doctrine concerning the Son of God, affirming him to be co-eternal with the Father.”</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>6.13.11 Those therefore who load Origen with hatred, overlook the fact that their maledictions fall at the same time on Athanasius, the eulogist of Origen.</p> <p>6.13.12 So much will be enough for the vindication of Origen; we shall now return to the course of our history.</p>		
<b>400 – Gainas and Chrysostom</b>		
<p>6.5.8 It is said that John afterwards spoke against Gainas, who was then commander-in-chief of the army, in the same way, treating him with characteristic rudeness. He did this because Gainas had presumed to ask that the emperor assign one of the churches within the city to the Arians, with whom he agreed in sentiment.</p>	<p>8.4.6 Prosperity so far beyond what he deserved was more than he could bear with restraint. Because, contrary to all expectations, he had succeeded so well in his former enterprise, he determined to undermine the peace of the Catholic Church. He was a Christian, and, like the rest of the barbarians, confessed the Arian heresy.</p> <p>8.4.7 Urged on, either by the leader of this party or by his own ambition, he asked the emperor to place one of the churches of the city in the hands of the Arians. He argued that it was neither just nor proper that, while he was general of the Roman troops, he should be forced to leave the city when he wished to pray.</p> <p>8.4.8 John did not remain inactive when he learned of these proceedings. He assembled all the bishops who were residing in the city and went with them to the palace. He spoke at great length in the presence of the emperor and Gainas, reproaching the latter by reminding him that he was a stranger and a fugitive. He also reminded him that his life had been saved by the father of the emperor, to whom he had sworn fidelity, and likewise to his children, to the Romans, and to the laws which he was striving to overturn.</p> <p>8.4.9 When he had made this speech he showed the law which Theodosius had established, forbidding the heterodox to hold a church within the walls. Then, addressing himself to the emperor, John exhorted him to maintain the laws which had been established against heretics and told him that it would be better to be deprived of the empire, than to be guilty of impiety by becoming a traitor to the house of God.</p> <p>8.4.10a Thus did John speak boldly like a man and did not allow change in the churches under his care.</p>	<p>5.32.2 Gainas was an Arian and requested that the emperor grant him the use of one of the churches. Arcadius replied that he would see to it and have it done. He then sent for the divine John, told him of the request that had been made, reminded him of the power of Gainas, hinted at the plot which was being aimed at, and asked him to quench the anger of the barbarian by yielding.</p> <p>5.32.3 “But, sir,” that noble man said, “make no such promise, nor order what is holy to be given to the dogs. I will never permit the worshippers of the Divine Word to be expelled and their church to be given to those who blaspheme Him.</p> <p>5.32.4 Have no fear, sir, of that barbarian; call us both before you and listen in silence to what is said. I will both curb his tongue and persuade him not to ask what it is wrong to grant.”</p> <p>The emperor was delighted with what Chrysostom said, and on the next day summoned both the bishop and the general before him.</p> <p>5.32.5 Gainas began to request the fulfilment of the promise, but the great John said in reply that the emperor, who professed the true religion, had no right to act against it. Gainas argued that he also must have a place to pray in. “Why,” said the great John, “every church is open to you, and nobody prevents you from praying there when you are so disposed.”</p> <p>5.32.6 “But I,” said Gainas, “belong to another sect, and I ask to have one church with them. Surely I, who undergo so many toils in war for Romans, may fairly make such a request.” “But,” said the bishop, “you have greater rewards for your labors.</p> <p>5.32.7 For you are a general and are vested in the consular robe, and you must consider what you were</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>formerly and what you are now—your past poverty and your present prosperity. Consider what kind of garment you wore before you crossed the Ister and what you are clothed in now. Consider, I say, how short your labors are and how great your rewards are and be thankful to those who have shown you honor.”</p> <p>5.32.8a With these words the teacher of the world silenced Gainas and compelled him to stand dumb.</p>
<p>6.5.9 Many others of the higher orders he reprimanded with the same unceremonious freedom for a variety of causes. By these means he created many powerful adversaries.</p> <p>6.5.10 Therefore Theophilus bishop of Alexandria, plotted his overthrow immediately after John’s ordination and arranged measures for this purpose in secret, both with the friends who were around him and with those who were far away by letter.</p> <p>6.5.11 For it was not so much the boldness with which John persecuted whatever was offensive to him that affected Theophilus, as his own failure to place his favorite presbyter Isidore in the episcopal chair of Constantinople.</p> <p>6.5.12 In such a state were the affairs of John the bishop at that time; mischief thus threatened him at the very commencement of his episcopate. But we shall enter into these things more as we proceed.</p>		
<b>400 – Gainas attempts to seize power again</b>		
<p>6.6.13 The emperor indeed kept his promise, since he regarded his oath highly, and on that account he was loved by God. But Gainas soon violated it and did not swerve from his original purpose. On the contrary, he was intent on carnage, plunder, and destruction, not only against Constantinople, but also against the entire Roman empire, if he could by any means carry it out.</p> <p>6.6.14 The city was accordingly filled with barbarians and its residents were nearly reduced to captives.</p> <p>6.6.15 Moreover, the danger of the city was so great that a comet of greater size than had ever been seen before, reaching from heaven to earth, was a portent of it.</p> <p>6.6.16 First, Gainas shamelessly attempted to seize the</p>	<p>8.4.10b Gainas, however, regardless of his oaths, attacked the city. His enterprise was portended by the appearance of a comet directly over the city. This comet was of extraordinary size, larger, it is said, than any that had previously been seen,</p>	



Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>silver which was publicly exposed for sale in the shops.</p> <p>6.6.17 But when the shop-owners, advised of his intentions beforehand by a report, did not display it on their counters, he thought of another plan: he sent a large party of barbarians at night to burn down the palace.</p> <p>6.6.18 Then indeed it was clear that God’s providence watched over the city, for a multitude of angels appeared to the rebels, in the form of towering armed men.</p> <p>6.6.19 Imagining that they were a large army of brave troops, the barbarians turned away terrified and departed.</p> <p>6.6.20 When this was reported to Gainas, it seemed to him quite impossible—for he knew that the majority of the Roman army was at a distance, dispersed as a garrison in the Eastern cities—and he sent another group on the following night and repeatedly afterwards.</p> <p>6.6.21 But since they constantly returned with the same statement—for the angels of God always presented themselves in the same form—he himself came with a large group and witnessed it for himself.</p>	<p>reaching almost to the earth itself.</p> <p>8.4.11 Gainas intended to first seize upon the stores of the bankers and hoped to appropriate their enormous wealth. But since the rumor of his plan was spread, the bankers concealed their wealth and no longer set forth silver upon the tables, as they were accustomed to do in public. Gainas then sent some of the barbarians by night to set fire to the palace.</p> <p>8.4.12 But they were unskilled and overcome with fear, so they turned back. For when they drew near the building, they thought that they saw force of heavily armed men of immense stature, and they returned to inform Gainas that fresh troops had just arrived.</p> <p>8.4.13 Gainas did not believe their report, for he was confident that no troops had entered the city. However, as others whom he dispatched to the palace for the same purpose on the following night returned with the same report, he went out himself to be an eye-witness of the extraordinary spectacle.</p>	
<p>6.6.22 Then, supposing that what he saw was really a body of soldiers who hid themselves by day and foiled his designs by night, he ceased this course of action. Instead, he resolved to follow another course which he thought would harm the Romans. However, the event proved to be very advantageous for them instead.</p> <p>6.6.23 Pretending to be possessed by a demon, he left as if for prayer to the church of St. John the Apostle, which is seven miles from the city.</p> <p>6.6.24 With him went barbarians who carried out arms concealed in casks and other false coverings.</p> <p>6.6.25 When the soldiers who guarded the city gates found these and would not allow them to pass, the barbarians drew their swords and killed them.</p> <p>6.6.26 Because of this a fearful tumult arose in the city and death seemed to threaten everyone. Nevertheless, the city remained secure at that time, for its gates were well defended.</p> <p>6.6.27 With timely wisdom the emperor proclaimed Gainas a public enemy and ordered that all the barbarians who remained in the city be slain.</p>	<p>8.4.14 Imagining that the army before him consisted of soldiers who had been withdrawn from other cities, and that these troops protected the city and palace by night and concealed themselves by day, Gainas pretended to be possessed by a demon. Under the pretext of offering up a prayer, he went to the church which the father of the emperor had erected in honor of John the Baptist at Hebdomos.</p> <p>8.4.15 Some of the barbarians remained in Constantinople, and others accompanied Gainas. They secretly carried weapons and pots full of darts in the women’s chariots, but when they were discovered, they slew the guard at the gates, who attempted to stop them from carrying the weapons out. Because of this the city was filled with great confusion and uproar, as if it had suddenly been captured.</p> <p>8.4.16 But a level head ruled this terrible moment, for the emperor declared Gainas a public enemy without delay and commanded that all the barbarians who remained in the city</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>6.6.28 Thus one day after the guards of the gates had been killed, the Romans attacked the barbarians within the walls near the church of the Goths—for those who remained in the city had taken refuge there.</p> <p>6.6.29a After killing a great number of them they set the church on fire and burnt it to the ground.</p>	<p>should be slain. No sooner was this mandate issued than the soldiers rushed upon the barbarians and slew the majority of them.</p> <p>8.4.17 Then they set fire to the church which was named after the Goths. As was customary, the barbarians had gathered there in the house of prayer, because there was no other refuge, for the gates were shut.</p>	
<p>6.6.29b When Gainas was informed of the slaughter of those of his party who did not manage to get out of the city, he perceived that all his plans had failed and left St. John’s church, advancing rapidly towards Thrace.</p> <p>6.6.30 On reaching the Chersonnese he endeavored to pass over there and take Lampsacus, for he thought that he might be able make himself master of the East from that place.</p> <p>6.6.31 Since the emperor had immediately sent forces in pursuit both by land and by sea, another wonderful work of Divine Providence occurred.</p> <p>6.6.32 For while the barbarians, destitute of ships, hastily put together rafts and attempted to cross, the Roman fleet suddenly appeared and the west wind began to blow hard.</p> <p>6.6.33 This afforded an easy passage to the Romans, but the barbarians and their horses, tossed up and down in their frail rafts by the violence of the gale, were at length overwhelmed by the waves. Many of them were also destroyed by the Romans.</p> <p>6.6.34 In this manner a vast number of the barbarians perished during the passage. But Gainas, departing from there, fled into Thrace, where he encountered another body of the Roman forces and was slain by them together with the barbarians that attended him.</p> <p>6.6.35 Let this cursory notice of Gainas suffice here.</p> <p>6.6.38 This war ended under the consulate of Stilicho and Aurelian.</p>	<p>8.4.18 On hearing of this catastrophe, Gainas passed through Thrace, and proceeded towards the Cherronesus, intending to cross the Hellespont. He thought that if he could conquer the opposite coast of Asia, he could easily subjugate all the provinces of the empire in the East. All these things proved contrary to his hopes, because the Romans were there favored by Divine power.</p> <p>8.4.19 For the army sent by the emperor was present by land and by sea, under the command of Fravitus, who although a barbarian by birth, was a good man, and an able general. The barbarians, having no ships, unwisely attempted to cross the Hellespont to the opposite continent on rafts, when suddenly a great wind blew and violently separated them and drove them against the Roman vessels.</p> <p>8.4.20 The majority of the barbarians and their horses were drowned; but many were slain by the military. Gainas escaped with a few of his followers, but not long after, when fleeing through Thrace, they encountered another detachment of the Roman army, and Gainas, with all his barbarians, perished.</p> <p>8.4.21a Such was the end of the daring schemes and life of Gainas.</p>	
<p>6.6.36 Those who desire a more detailed account of that war should read <i>The Gainea</i> of Eusebius Scholasticus, who was at that time a pupil of Troilus the sophist. A spectator of the war, he related the events of it in a heroic poem consisting of four books. Since the events alluded to had recently taken place, he acquired great notoriety.</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>6.6.37 The poet Ammonius has also recently composed another description in verse of the same events, which he recited before the emperor in the sixteenth consulate of Theodosius the younger, which he bore with Faustus.</p>		
<p>6.6.39 In the following year the consulate was celebrated by Fravitus, also a Goth by descent, who was honored by the Romans and showed great faithfulness and dedication to them, rendering important services in this very war. 6.6.40 For this reason he obtained the dignity of consul. In that year on the tenth of April a son was born to Emperor Arcadius, the good Theodosius.</p>	<p>8.4.21b Fravitus had made himself very famous in this war and was therefore appointed consul. During his consulate, and that of Vincentius, a son was born to the emperor. The young prince was named after his grandfather and, at the commencement of the next consulate, was proclaimed Augustus.</p>	