

## 6.2 – Chrysostom’s Quarrels and Exiles (401-404)

Copyright 2019 Glen L. Thompson

This document is provided for personal and educational use. It may not be used for commercial purposes without the permission of the copyright holder.

Last updated 6/19/19

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<b>c. 400/401 – The ‘Origenist’ controversy grows</b>		
<p>6.7.11 There were at this time four devout monks serving as superintendents over the monasteries in Egypt named Dioscorus, Ammonius, Eusebius, and Euthymius.</p> <p>6.7.12 these men were brothers and were called ‘the Tall Monks,’ on account of their height. They were further distinguished both by the holiness of their lives and the extent of their learning. For these reasons their reputation was very great in Alexandria.</p> <p>6.7.13 Theophilus in particular, the prelate of that city, loved and honored them exceedingly. He ordained one of them, Dioscorus, bishop of Hermopolis against his will, after forcibly drawing him from his retreat. Two of the others he asked to stay with him and with difficulty convinced them to do so. Still by the exercise of his authority as bishop he accomplished his purpose: when he had given them clerical office, he committed to their charge the management of ecclesiastical affairs.</p> <p>6.7.14 These monks, constrained by necessity, performed the duties imposed on them successfully. Nevertheless, they were unhappy because they were unable to follow their philosophical pursuits and ascetic exercises.</p>	<p>8.12.1 The controversy would most likely have ended then, had it not been renewed by Theophilus himself, on account of hatred for Ammonius, Dioscorus, Eusebius, and Euthymius, who were called “the Tall.” They were brothers and, as we have before stated, became known among the philosophers at Scetis.</p> <p>8.12.2 They were at one period beloved by Theophilus above all the other monks of Egypt. He sought their society, and frequently dwelt with them. He even conferred on Dioscorus the bishopric of Hermopolis. He began to hate them, on account of his hatred of Isidore, whom he had endeavored to ordain in Constantinople after Nectarius.</p>	
	<p>8.12.7 But whatever the cause of the enmity Theophilus might have had, Isidore, immediately after his excommunication, joined his former companions, the monks at Scetis. Ammonius, with a few others, then went to Theophilus and requested that he restore Isidore to communion.</p> <p>8.12.8 Theophilus readily promised to do as they requested. But as time passed away, and nothing more was done for them, and it became evident that Theophilus was pretending. They went to him again and renewed their entreaties and urged him to be faithful to his promise. Instead of complying,</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>Theophilus thrust one of the monks into prison, for the purpose of intimidating the others. But he erred in this.</p> <p>8.12.9 Ammonius and all the monks with him then went to the prison, into which they were readily admitted by the jailer, who imagined that they had come to bring provisions to the prisoner; but having once obtained entrance, they refused to leave the prison.</p> <p>8.12.10 When Theophilus heard of their voluntary confinement, he requested that they come to him. They replied that he ought first to take them out of prison himself, for it was not just, after being subjected to public disgrace, that they should be privately released from confinement. At length, however, they yielded and went to him. Theophilus apologized for what had occurred and dismissed them as if he had no further intention of mistreating them.</p>	
<p>6.7.15 In the course of time, they thought they were being spiritually injured. They also observed that the bishop was devoted to gain and greedily intent on the acquisition of wealth and, according to the common saying, 'left no stone unturned' for the sake of gaining wealth. Therefore, they refused to remain with him any longer, declaring that they loved solitude, and greatly preferred it to living in the city.</p> <p>6.7.16 As long as he was ignorant of the true motive for their departure, he earnestly begged them to abide with him. But when he perceived that they were dissatisfied with his conduct, he became excessively irritated, and threatened to do harm to them.</p>		
<p>6.7.17 But they thought little of his threats and retired into the desert. When this happened, Theophilus, who was evidently a hasty and malevolent person, raised a large commotion against them and earnestly sought to do them injury by every means possible.</p> <p>6.7.18 He also formed a loathing for their brother Dioscorus, bishop of Hermopolis, and he was extremely annoyed at the esteem and honor which he had from the ascetics.</p> <p>6.7.19 However, he knew that he would not be able to harm these people unless he could stir up hostility in the</p>	<p>8.12.11a But on his own he was riled up and angry, and determined to do them ill. He was not certain, however, as to how he could torment them, as they had no possessions, and despised everything but philosophy, until it occurred to him, to disturb the peace of their retirement.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>minds of the monks against them and he used this plan to do so.</p> <p>6.7.20 He knew well that these men in their frequent theological discussions with him, had maintained that the Deity was incorporeal, and by no means had a human form; for [they argued] if he had a human form, he would necessarily also have human passions. Now this had been demonstrated by the ancient writers, especially Origen.</p>	<p>From his former discussion with them he had gathered that they blamed those who believe that God has a human form, and that they adhered to the opinions of Origen.</p>	
<p>6.7.21 Theophilus entertained the very same opinion regarding the Divine nature. Yet to gratify his vindictive feelings, he did not hesitate to lie about what he and they had rightly taught. He taught this to the majority of the monks, men who were sincere but ‘rude in speech,’ the majority of whom were quite illiterate.</p> <p>6.7.22 Sending letters to the monasteries in the desert, he advised them to scorn Dioscorus and his brothers, for they affirmed that God did not have a body.</p> <p>6.7.23 He said, “According to the sacred Scripture God has eyes, ears, hands, and feet, as men have. But the followers of Dioscorus, followers of Origen, introduce the blasphemous dogma that God has neither eyes, ears, feet, nor hands.”</p> <p>6.7.24 By this trick he took advantage of the simplicity of these monks and thus a heated controversy was stirred up among them.</p> <p>6.7.25 Those who had a cultivated mind were not beguiled by this and therefore still adhere to Dioscorus and Origen.</p> <p>6.7.26 but the more ignorant [monks], who greatly exceeded the others in number, were inflamed by an ardent zeal without knowledge and immediately raised an outcry against their brethren.</p> <p>6.7.27 This division having been made, both parties branded each other as impious. Some listened to Theophilus and called their brethren ‘Origenists,’ and ‘impious’ and the others termed those who were convinced by Theophilus ‘Anthropomorphitae.’</p> <p>6.7.28 On account of this violent arguments arose and an undying war between the monks.</p>	<p>8.12.11b Therefore, he brought them into conflict with the multitude of monks who maintained the other view.</p> <p>8.12.12 A terrible controversy prevailed among the monks, for they did not think it worthwhile to persuade one another by flaming arguments in an orderly way, but settled down into insults. They gave the name of ‘Origenists’ to those who maintained the incorporeality of the Deity, while those who held the opposite opinion were called ‘Anthropomorphists.’</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>6.7.29 Theophilus, learning that his plots had succeeded, went to Nitria where the monasteries are, accompanied by a multitude of persons, and armed the monks against Dioscorus and his brethren. These men, being in danger of losing their lives, made their escape with great difficulty.</p> <p>6.7.30 While these things were happening in Egypt, John bishop of Constantinople was ignorant of, them, but flourished in eloquence and became increasingly celebrated for his discourses.</p>		
<b>401 – The Monks flee to John</b>		
	<p>8.13.1 Dioscorus, Ammonius, and the other monks, having discovered the plots of Theophilus, went to Jerusalem and from there proceeded to Scythopolis, for they thought that it would be an advantageous residence there for them on account of the many palms, the leaves of which are used by the monks for their customary work. Dioscorus and Ammonius were accompanied there by about eighty other monks.</p>	
<p>6.9.1 Not long after this, the monks of the desert, together with Dioscorus and his brothers, came to Constantinople.</p> <p>6.9.2 Isidore was also with them, formerly the most intimate friend of the bishop Theophilus, but now his bitterest enemy, on account of the following circumstances.<sup>1</sup></p> <p>6.9.10 John, after he was informed of the facts, gave the men an honorable reception and did not exclude them from communion at prayers, but postponed their communion of the sacred mysteries, until their affairs should be examined.</p>	<p>8.13.2 In the meantime, Theophilus sent messengers to Constantinople, to press complaints against them and to oppose any petitions that they might lay before the emperor. When they learned of this fact, Ammonius and the monks embarked for Constantinople and took Isidore with them.</p> <p>8.13.3 They requested that their case be heard by the emperor and the bishop, for they thought that John, who was careful to do right, would be able to help them in their plight by reason of his boldness. John, although he received them with kindness and treated them with honor and did not forbid them to pray in the church, refused to admit them to the mysteries, for it was not lawful to do this before the investigation.</p>	
	<p>8.13.4 He wrote to Theophilus, pleading with him to receive them back into communion, as their sentiments concerning the Divine nature were orthodox. He also requested that, if he regarded their orthodoxy as doubtful, to send someone to act as their accuser. Theophilus did not reply to this epistle.</p>	

<sup>1</sup> These events were moved to Harmony 6.1, pg. 818-820, in order to present everything in chronological order. Socrates' and Sozomen's ordering is topical, first covering political events concerning Gainas and Eutropius, then recounting the full sequence of events which led to John's exile.

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	8.13.5 Sometime after Ammonius and his companions presented themselves before the wife of the emperor, as she was riding out, and complained of the machinations of Theophilus against them. She knew what had been plotted against them and she stood up in honor of them. Leaning forward from her royal chariot, she nodded, and said to them, “Pray for the emperor, for me, for our children, and for the empire. For my part, I shall shortly cause a council to be convened, to which Theophilus shall be summoned.”	
<p>6.9.11 While matters were proceeding in this manner, a false report was brought to Theophilus that John had both admitted them to the mysteries and was also ready to give them assistance.</p> <p>6.9.12 Therefore he resolved not only to be avenged on Isidore and Dioscorus, but also if possible to cast John out of his episcopal chair.</p> <p>6.9.13 For this purpose he wrote to all the bishops of the various cities and, concealing his real motive, condemned the books of Origen which Athanasius, his predecessor, had used in confirmation of his own faith, frequently appealing to the testimony and authority of Origen’s writings, in his orations against the Arians.</p>	8.13.6 A false report came to Alexandria that John had received Dioscorus and his companions into communion and had given them every aid and encouragement in his power. Therefore, Theophilus began to reflect upon what measures it would be possible to adopt in order to eject John from his episcopate.	
<b>401-402 - John’s Actions stir up animosity among the clergy</b>		
<p>6.4.2 Because he frustrated the clergy, he was disliked by them, and therefore many of them distanced themselves from him as a passionate man, and others became his bitter enemies. Serapion, one of his deacons, led him to frustrate them even more.</p> <p>6.4.3 Once, in presence of the whole assembly of clergy, he cried out with a loud voice to the bishop— “You will never be able to govern these men, my lord, unless you drive them all with a rod.” This speech of his caused a general feeling of animosity against the bishop;</p>	8.9.1a The clergy’s hatred of John was greatly increased by Serapion, his archdeacon. He was an Egyptian, naturally prone to anger and always ready to insult his opponents.	
6.4.4a Not long after the bishop also expelled many of them from the church, some for one cause, and some for another.	8.6.1 John was informed that the churches in Asia and the nearby areas were governed by unworthy people; furthermore, that they bartered the priesthood for the income and gifts received or bestowed that dignity as a matter of private favor. Therefore, he went to Ephesus and removed thirteen bishops, some in Lycia and Phrygia and others in Asia itself, and appointed others in their stead.	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>8.6.2b John also expelled Gerontius, bishop of the church in Nicomedia.</p> <p>8.6.3 This man had been a deacon under Ambrose, of the church of Milan. He had declared – I do not know why, either with an intention to invent a miracle, or because he had been himself deceived by the art and phantasms of a demon – that he had seized something resembling an ass (ονοσκελις) at night, had cut off its head, and flung it into a grinding-house. Ambrose regarded this mode of discourse as unworthy of a deacon of God and commanded Gerontius to remain in seclusion until he had made amends for his fault by repentance.</p> <p>8.6.4 However, Gerontius was a very skillful physician and he was eloquent and persuasive and knew well how to gain friends. Therefore, he scorned the command of Ambrose, and went to Constantinople. In a short time he obtained the friendship of some of the most powerful men at court and, not long after, was elevated to the bishopric of Nicomedia.</p> <p>8.6.5 He was ordained by Helladius, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, who did this for him all the more eagerly because he had been instrumental, through his presence at court, in obtaining a high office in the army for the bishop’s son. When Ambrose heard of this ordination, he wrote to Nectarius, the bishop of the church of Constantinople, asking him to expel Gerontius from the priesthood and to not permit both him and the ecclesiastical order to be so abused.</p> <p>8.6.6 However much Nectarius might have desired to obey this command, he could never successfully complete it, because of the determined resistance of the people of Nicomedia. But John deposed Gerontius and ordained Pansophius, who had formerly been preceptor to the wife of the emperor, and who, though a man of decided piety and of a mild and gentle disposition, was not liked by the Nicomedians.</p> <p>8.6.7 They arose in frequent revolt and recited publicly and privately the virtues of Gerontius and the great assistance which they received from his knowledge of medicine and how he used it generously and actively for the rich and poor alike.</p> <p>8.6.8 As is usual when we applaud those we love, they ascribed many other virtues to him. They went about the</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	streets of their own city and Constantinople as if some earthquake or pestilence or other visitation of Divine wrath had occurred and sang psalms and repeatedly petitioned that they might have Gerontius for their bishop. They were at length compelled to yield to necessity and parted with grief and groans from Gerontius, receiving in his place a bishop whom they regarded with fear and dislike.	
6.4.4b And, as it usually happens when persons in office adopt such forceful measures, those who were expelled by him formed groups and spoke against him to the people.	8.6.9 The bishops who had been deposed along with all their followers denounced John as the leader of a revolution in the churches and as changing the rights of the ordained, contrary to the ancestral laws. Because of their complaints, they condemned deeds done by him which were worthy of praise in the opinion of most people. Among other matters, they reproached him for the actions that had been taken against Eutropius.	
	8.9.1b The feelings of hostility were further increased by the counsel which Olympias received from John. Olympias was of most illustrious birth and although she had become a widow while young and was zealously attached to the exercises of monastic philosophy according to the laws of the church, Nectarius had still ordained her as deaconess. 8.9.2 John learned that she bestowed her goods freely on anyone who asked her for them and that she neglected everything besides the service of God. He said to her: "I applaud your intentions; but you should know that those who aspire to perfect virtue according to God ought to distribute their wealth with prudence. You, however, have been bestowing wealth on the wealthy, which is as useless as if you had cast it into the sea. 8.9.3 Know you not that you have voluntarily, for the sake of God, devoted all your possessions to assisting the poor? You ought, therefore, to regard your wealth as belonging to your Master, and to remember that you have to account for its distribution. If you will listen to me, in the future you will regulate your donations according to the wants of those who seek your aid. In this way you will be able to extend the reach of your benevolence and your mercy and zealous care will receive reward from God."	
	8.9.4 John had several disputes with many of the monks, particularly with Isaac. He highly commended those who	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	remained in calm in the monasteries and practiced philosophy there and he protected them from all injustice and generously supplied whatever they needed. But the monks who went out of doors and made their appearance in cities, he reproached and regarded as insulting philosophy.	
<p>6.4.5 What contributed greatly to these complaints was the fact that the bishop was not willing to eat with anyone else and never accepted an invitation to a feast. On account of this the plot against him became widespread.</p> <p>6.4.6 No one knew with any certainty his reasons for not eating with others, but some, attempting to justify his conduct, stated that he had a very delicate stomach and weak digestion, which obliged him to be careful in his diet, and for this reason he ate alone. Others thought this was due to his rigid and habitual abstinence.</p> <p>6.4.7 Whatever the real motive may have been, the circumstance itself contributed greatly to the accusations of his enemies.</p>	<p>8.9.5 For these reasons he incurred the hatred of the clergy and of many of the monks, who called him a hard, passionate, morose, and arrogant man. They therefore attempted to bring his life into public disrepute, by stating as if it were the truth, that he would eat with no one and that he refused every invitation to a meal that was offered him.</p> <p>8.9.6 I know of no reason that could have given rise to this assertion, except that, as I have been assured by a man of undoubted truthfulness, John had rendered himself liable to pain in the head and stomach by rigorous asceticism and was thus prevented from being present at some of the choicest meals. From this, however, originated the greatest accusation that was ever devised against him.</p>	
<p>6.4.8 Nevertheless, the people continued to regard him with love and honor on account of his valuable speeches in the church, and therefore those who sought to criticize him only made themselves contemptible.</p> <p>6.4.9 How eloquent, convincing, and persuasive his sermons were, both those which were published by himself, and those which were noted down by short-hand writers as he delivered them! What need have we to speak of them more? Those who desire to form an adequate idea of them must read them for themselves and they will both enjoy them and profit from them.</p>		
<b>401-402 - The Controversy between Severian and Serapion</b>		
<p>6.11.1 The hatred against John Chrysostom was considerably increased by another event, which happened as follows: two bishops flourished at that time named Severian and Antiochus, both Syrians by birth.</p> <p>6.11.2 Severian presided over the church at Gabala, a city of Syria, and Antiochus over that of Ptolemais in Phoenicia.</p> <p>6.11.3 They were both renowned for their eloquence, but although Severian was a very learned man, he did not</p>	<p>8.10.1 John likewise incurred the enmity of the empress, through the machinations of Severian, bishop of Gabali in Syria. Severian and Antiochus, bishop of Ptolemais, a city in Phoenicia, were both learned men, and well qualified to teach in the churches. Antiochus had so fine a voice and delivery that, by some persons, he was surnamed Chrysostom. Severian, on the other hand, had the harshness of the Syrians in his speech; but, in point of knowledge and the evidences of the Scriptures, he was considered superior to Antiochus.</p>	



Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
succeed in using the Greek language perfectly. So, while speaking Greek, he betrayed his Syrian origin.		
6.11.4 Antiochus came to Constantinople first and, having preached in the churches for some time with great zeal and ability and having earned a large sum of money, he returned to his own church.	8.10.2a It appears that Antiochus was the first to visit Constantinople; he gained great approval by his discourses, amassed some property, and then returned to his own city.	
<p>6.11.5 Severian heard that Antiochus had collected a fortune by his visit to Constantinople and decided to follow his example.</p> <p>6.11.6 Therefore he prepared for the occasion, composed a number of sermons, and set out for Constantinople.</p> <p>6.11.7 Having been most kindly received by John to a certain point, he soothed and flattered the man, and was himself no less beloved and honored by him. Meanwhile his discourses gained him great notoriety, so that he attracted the notice of many people of rank, including the emperor himself.</p>	8.10.2b Severian followed his example, and went to Constantinople. He formed an intimacy with John, spoke frequently in the churches, and was admired. He was in honor and became well known to many of those in power, and to the emperor and empress.	
<p>6.11.8 Because the bishop of Ephesus died at that time, John was obliged to go to Ephesus for the purpose of ordaining a successor.</p> <p>6.11.9 When he arrived at the city, the people were divided in their choice, some proposing one person, and some another.</p> <p>6.11.11 John perceived that both parties were in a quarrelsome mood, and that they did not wish to adopt his counsel. Therefore, he resolved to end their dispute by referring to the bishopric a certain Heraclides, his own deacon and a Cypriot by descent. Thus, both parties desisted from their strife with each other and had peace. Now as his time [at Ephesus] was lengthened, Severian continued to preach at Constantinople, and daily grew in favor with his hearers.</p> <p>6.11.12 John was not left ignorant of this, for he was promptly made acquainted with whatever happened. Serapion, whom we have spoken of before, communicated the news to him and asserted that the church was being agitated by Severian. Therefore, the bishop was aroused to jealousy.</p>	<p>8.6.2a The bishop of Ephesus was dead, and therefore he <b>[John]</b> ordained Heraclides over the church. Heraclides was a native of Cyprus and was one of the deacons under John. Formerly he had joined the monks at Scetis, and had been a disciple of the monk Evagrius.</p> <p>8.10.3 When John went to Asia, he commended the Church to his care; for he was so far deceived by the adulation of Severian as to imagine him to be his zealous friend. Severian, however, thought only of gratifying his auditors, and of pleasing the people by his discourses. When John was apprised of this, he was filled with jealousy; and his resentment was further kindled, it is said, by the reports of Serapion.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>6.11.13 After depriving many of the Novatians and Quartodecimans of their churches among other matters, he returned to Constantinople. Here he resumed care of the churches under his jurisdiction.</p> <p>6.11.14 But no one could bear Serapion's arrogance. Having won John's unbounded confidence and regard, he was so puffed up by it that he treated everyone with contempt.</p> <p>6.11.15 On account of this, hostility against the bishop increased all the more. On one occasion when Severian passed by him, Serapion refused to pay him the homage due to a bishop, but remained seated [instead of rising], indicating plainly how little he cared for his presence.</p> <p>6.11.16 Severian, unable to endure patiently this [supposed] rudeness and contempt, said with a loud voice to those present, 'If Serapion dies a Christian, Christ has not become incarnate.' Serapion, taking opportunity from this remark, publicly incited Chrysostom to hostility towards Severian.</p> <p>6.11.17 He left the conditional clause of the sentence, 'If Serapion die a Christian,' out entirely and, saying that he had made the assertion that 'Christ has not become incarnate,' he brought several witnesses of his own party to sustain this charge.</p>	<p>8.10.4 After the return of John from Asia, Serapion happened to see Severian passing by. But, instead of rising to salute him, he kept his seat, in order to show his utter contempt for the man. Severian was offended by this show of disrespect, and exclaimed, "If Serapion dies a clergyman, then Christ was not incarnate."</p> <p>8.10.5 Serapion reported these words and John, in consequence, expelled Severian from the city as insolent, and as a blasphemer against God. For witnesses were brought forward to attest that the above words had been really uttered by him. Some of the friends of Serapion even went so far as to leave out part of the speech of Severian, and to affirm that he had declared that Christ was not incarnate. John also rebuked Severian, by asking whether, "If Serapion should not die among the clergy, would it follow that Christ had not been incarnate?"</p>	
<p>6.11.20<sup>2</sup> But on being informed of this the Empress Eudoxia severely reprimanded John and ordered that Severian should be immediately recalled from Chalcedon in Bithynia. He returned immediately but John would not converse with him at all, nor did he listen to any one urging him to do so, until at length the Empress Eudoxia herself, in the church called The Apostles, placed her son Theodosius, who now so happily reigns, but was then quite an infant, before John's knees, and beseeched him repeatedly by the young prince her son, and finally with difficulty prevailed upon him to be reconciled to Severian.</p>	<p>8.10.6 As soon as the wife of the emperor was informed of what had occurred by the friends of Severian, she immediately sent for him from Chalcedon. But despite all her appeals, John positively refused to hold any conversation with him, until the empress placed her son Theodosius on his knees in the church named after the apostles. Then she pleaded with him persistently, and frequently beseeched him, until John reluctantly consented to receive Severian into friendship. Such are the accounts which I have received of these events.</p>	

<sup>2</sup> Please note that the section numbering skips 6.11.18 and 19. This is due to the existences of two different versions of the account with different numberings which survive in the Greek manuscripts; our translation follows one version over the other, and thus omits 18 and 19.

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>6.11.21 In this manner then these men were outwardly reconciled. Nevertheless, they continued to cultivate a grudge with each other internally. Such was the origin of [John's] animosity towards Severian.</p>		
<b>Conflict between the Homoousians and the Arians</b>		
<p>6.7.31 Moreover he [John] first developed the prayers in the nocturnal hymns, for the reason I am about to explain.</p> <p>6.8.1 The Arians, as we have said, held their meetings outside the city.</p> <p>6.8.2 As often as the festal days occurred—I mean Saturday and Lord's day—in each week, on which assemblies are usually held in the churches, they congregated within the city gates in the public squares. There they sang responsive verses adapted to the Arian heresy.</p> <p>6.8.3 They did this during the majority of the night and again in the morning, chanting the same songs, which they called responsive. They paraded through the midst of the city and then passed out of the gates to go to the places where they assembled.</p> <p>6.8.4 But they continued to make use of insulting expressions about the Homoousians, often singing such words as these: "Where are they that say three things are but one power?" John feared that the simpler members of the church would be drawn away from the church by this kind of hymn. Therefore, John sent some of his own people to them, who also employed themselves in chanting hymns at night, so that they could obscure the effort of the Arians and confirm his own party in the profession of their faith.</p> <p>6.8.5 John's design indeed seemed to be good, but it resulted in tumult and dangers.</p>	<p>8.8.1 After being deprived of their churches in Constantinople during the reign Theodosius, the Arians held their church services outside the walls of the city. Before they had assembled by night in the public porticoes and were divided into bands, so that they sang antiphonally, for they had composed certain refrains which reflected their own dogma, and at the break of day marched in procession, singing these hymns until they reached the places in which they held their churches.</p> <p>8.8.2 They proceeded in this manner on all solemn festivals, and on the first and last days of the week. The sentiments propounded in these odes were such as were likely to engender disputes. For instance, they sang the following: "Where are those who say that the Three Persons constitute one Power?" Other similar belligerent thoughts were scattered throughout their songs.</p> <p>8.8.3a John was fearful that some of his own church members would be led astray by witnessing these demonstrations and therefore commanded them to sing hymns in the same manner.</p>	
<p>6.8.6 For when the Homoousians performed their nocturnal hymns with greater display—for John made silver crosses for them on which lighted wax-tapers were carried, provided at the expense of the empress Eudoxia—the Arians who were very numerous, and fired with envy, resolved to get revenge by a desperate and riotous attack upon their rivals.</p>	<p>8.8.3b The orthodox became more distinguished, and in a short time surpassed the opposing heretics in number and processions; for they had silver crosses and lighted wax tapers borne before them.</p> <p>8.8.4 The eunuch of the empress was appointed to organize these processions, to pay the cost of whatever might be required, and to prepare hymns. Hence the Arians, compelled</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>6.8.7 Because they remembered their own recent influence, they were full of confidence in their ability to overcome and disdained their adversaries.</p> <p>6.8.8 Without delay on one of these nights, they engaged in a conflict. Briso, one of the eunuchs of the empress, who was at that time leading the chanters of these hymns, was wounded by a stone in the forehead, and some of the people on both sides were killed.</p> <p>6.8.9 At which point the emperor was angered and forbade the Arians to chant their hymns any more in public.</p>	<p>either by jealousy or revenge, attacked the members of the Catholic Church. Much bloodshed ensued on both sides.</p> <p>8.8.5 Briso (for this was the name of the imperial eunuch) was wounded on the forehead by a stone that was thrown at him. The anger of the emperor was kindled, and he put a stop to the Arian assemblies. After beginning the custom of singing hymns in the manner and for the cause above stated, the members of the Catholic Church did not stop the practice but have retained it to the present day.</p> <p>8.8.6 Establishing these processions and his services in the Church endeared John to the people, but he was hated by the clergy and the powerful on account of his boldness, for he never failed to rebuke the clergy when he found them in acts of injustice, nor to exhort the powerful to return to the practice of virtue when they abused their wealth, committed impiety, or yielded to extravagance.</p>	
<p>6.8.10 Such were the events of this occasion. We must now make some reference to the origin of this custom in the church of responsive singing.</p> <p>6.8.11 Ignatius third bishop of Antioch in Syria from the apostle Peter, who had spoken with the apostles themselves, saw a vision of angels singing in alternate chants to the Holy Trinity. Accordingly, he introduced the mode of singing he had observed in the vision into the Antiochian church.</p> <p>6.8.12 From there it was transmitted by tradition to all the other churches. Such is the account [we have received] related to these responsive hymns.</p>		
<b>403 – Epiphanius stirs up Controversy in Constantinople</b>		
<p>6.12.1 Not long after this, at the suggestion of Theophilus, the bishop Epiphanius went from Cyprus to Constantinople. He brought with him a copy of the synodical decree in which they did not excommunicate Origen himself but condemned his books.</p> <p>6.12.2 On reaching St. John’s church, which is seven miles from the city, he disembarked, and there celebrated a service. Then, after he had ordained a deacon, he again entered the city.</p>	<p>8.14.6 Epiphanius was the first to sail from Cyprus; he landed at Hebdomos, a suburb of Constantinople; and after having prayed in the church erected at that place, he proceeded to enter the city. In order to do him honor, John went out with all his clergy to meet him.</p> <p>8.14.7a Epiphanius, however, clearly showed by his conduct that he believed the accusations against John. For, although he was invited to reside in the ecclesiastical residences, he would not go there, and refused to meet with John in them.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>6.12.3a Following Theophilus' instructions, he declined John's courtesy and found apartments in a private house.</p>		
<p>6.12.3b Afterwards, he assembled the bishops who were then in the capital and, after producing his copy of the synodical decree condemning Origen's works, recited it before them. He was not able to give any reason for this judgment, besides that it seemed fit to Theophilus and himself to reject them.</p> <p>6.12.4 Some, out of respect for Epiphanius, subscribed to the decree. But many refused to do so: among them was Theotimus bishop of Scythia, who thus addressed Epiphanius: —</p> <p>6.12.5 "I neither choose, Epiphanius," he said, "to insult the memory of one who ended his life piously long ago, nor dare I be guilty of so impious an act, as that of condemning what our predecessors did not reject; especially when I know of no evil doctrine contained in Origen's books."</p> <p>6.12.6 Having said this, he brought forward one of that author's works, and reading a few passages, showed that the sentiments were in perfect accordance with the orthodox faith. He then added, "Those who speak evil of these writings are unconsciously casting dishonor upon the sacred volume from which their principles are drawn."</p> <p>6.12.7 This was the reply which Theotimus, a bishop celebrated for his piety and upright life, made to Epiphanius.</p>	<p>8.14.7b He also privately assembled all the bishops who were residing in Constantinople and showed them the decrees which he had issued against the discourses of Origen. He persuaded some of the bishops to approve of these decrees, while others objected to them.</p> <p>8.14.8 Theotimus, bishop of Scythia, strongly opposed the deeds of Epiphanius, and told him that it was not right to cast insult on the memory of one who had long been numbered with the dead. Further he argued that it was blasphemous to assail the conclusion to which the ancients had arrived on the subject, and to set aside their decisions. While speaking on this topic, he drew forth a book of Origen's which he had brought with him and, after reading aloud a passage helpful to the education of the Church, he remarked that those who condemned such sentiments acted absurdly, for they were in danger of insulting the subjects themselves about which these words treated.</p>	
<p>6.14.1 John was not offended because Epiphanius, contrary to the ecclesiastical canon, had made an ordination in his church, but instead invited him to remain with him at the episcopal palace.</p> <p>6.14.2 He, however, replied that he would neither stay nor pray with him, unless he would expel Dioscorus and his brethren from the city, and with his own hand subscribe the condemnation of Origen's books.</p> <p>6.14.3 Now, as John deferred doing these things, saying that nothing ought to be done rashly before</p>	<p>8.14.9 John still had respect for Epiphanius and invited him to join in the meetings of his church, and to dwell with him. But Epiphanius declared that he would neither reside with John nor pray with him publicly, unless he would denounce the works of Origen and expel Dioscorus and his companions.</p> <p>8.14.10a Not considering it just to act in the manner proposed until judgment had been passed on the case, John tried to postpone matters.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>investigation by a general council, John's adversaries led Epiphanius to adopt another course.</p>		
<p>6.14.4 They planned that, when a meeting was held in the church named The Apostles, Epiphanius would come forth before all the people, condemn the books of Origen, excommunicate Dioscorus with his followers, and charge John with accommodating them.</p> <p>6.14.5 These things were reported to John. On the following day he sent the following message to Epiphanius just as he entered the church:</p> <p>6.14.6 "You do many things contrary to the canons, Epiphanius. In the first place you have made an ordination in the churches under my jurisdiction: then without my appointment, you have on your own authority officiated in them. Moreover, when I invited you to visit, you refused to come, and now you take that liberty yourself.</p> <p>6.14.7 Beware therefore, for if a riot begins among the people, you would also be in danger."</p>	<p>8.14.10b When the assembly was about to be held in the Church of the Apostles, those ill-disposed to John arranged it so that Epiphanius should go beforehand and publicly decry the books of Origen to the people, and decry Dioscorus and his companions as the partisans of this writer. Also, he would attack the bishop of the city as the assistant of those heretics. Some helped this, for they thought that by this means the affections of the people would be turned from their bishop.</p> <p>8.14.11 The following day, when Epiphanius was about to enter the church, in order to carry his design into execution, he was stopped by Serapion, at the command of John, who had received warning of the plot. Serapion proved to Epiphanius that while the project he had devised was unjust in itself, it could also be of no personal advantage to him: for if it excited a popular reaction, he would be regarded as responsible for the outrages that followed. By these arguments Epiphanius was convinced to relinquish his attack.</p>	
	<p>8.15.1 About this time, the son of the empress was attacked by a dangerous illness, and the mother, concerned about the illness, implored Epiphanius to pray for him. Epiphanius answered that the sick one would live, as long as she avoided all communication with the heretic Dioscorus and his companions.</p> <p>8.15.2 To this message the empress replied as follows: "If it be the will of God to take my son, His will be done. The Lord who gave me my child, can take him back again. You have no power to raise the dead, otherwise your archdeacon would not have died." She alluded to Chrispion, the archdeacon, who had died a short time previously. He was the brother of Fuscon and Salamanus, monks whom I mentioned when describing the history of events under the reign of Valens. He had been a companion of Epiphanius, and had been appointed his archdeacon.</p>	
	<p>8.15.3 Ammonius and his companions went to Epiphanius, at the permission of the empress. Epiphanius inquired who they were, and Ammonius replied, "We are, O father, the Tall Brothers; we come respectfully to know whether you have read any of our works or those of our disciples?" On</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>Epiphanius replying that he had not seen them, he continued, “How is it, then, that you consider us to be heretics, when you have no proof as to what sentiments we may hold?”</p> <p>8.15.4 Epiphanius said that he had formed his judgment by the reports he had heard on the subject; and Ammonius replied, “We have pursued a very different line of conduct from yours. We have conversed with your disciples, and read your works frequently, and among others, that entitled ‘The Anchored.’ When we have met with people who have ridiculed your opinions, and asserted that your writings are filled with heresy, we have contended for you, and defended you as our father. Ought you then to condemn the absent upon mere report, and of whom you know nothing with assured certainty, or return such an exchange to those who have spoken well of you?”</p>	
<b>403 – Epiphanius departs Constantinople</b>		
<p>6.14.8 Epiphanius, becoming alarmed on hearing these admonitions, left the church. After accusing John of many things, he set out on his return to Cyprus.</p> <p>6.14.9 Some say that when he was about to depart, he said to John, “I hope that you will not die a bishop.”</p> <p>6.14.10 To this John replied, “Do not expect to arrive at your own country.”</p> <p>6.14.11 I cannot be sure that those who reported these things to me spoke the truth. Nevertheless the events happened as prophesied above.</p> <p>6.14.12 For Epiphanius did not reach Cyprus, but died on board the ship during his voyage and John a short time afterwards was driven from his see, as we shall show in proceeding.</p>	<p>8.15.5 Epiphanius was convinced and dismissed them. Soon after he embarked for Cyprus, either because he recognized the futility of his journey to Constantinople, or because, as there is reason to believe, God had revealed to him his approaching death; for he died while on his voyage back to Cyprus.</p> <p>8.15.6 It is reported that he said to the bishops who had accompanied him to the place of embarkation, “I leave you the city, the palace, and the stage, for I shall shortly depart.”</p> <p>8.15.7 I have been informed by several persons that John predicted that Epiphanius would die at sea, and that this latter predicted the deposition of John. For it appears that when the dispute between them was at its height, Epiphanius said to John, “I hope you will not die a bishop,” and that John replied, “I hope you will never return to your bishopric.”</p>	
<b>John speaks against the Empress Eudoxia</b>		
<p>6.15.1 When Epiphanius was gone, John was informed by some person that the Empress Eudoxia had provoked Epiphanius against him.</p> <p>6.15.2 Since he had a fiery temperament and a swift utterance, he soon spoke publicly against women in general.</p>	<p>8.16.1 After the departure of Epiphanius, John, when preaching in the church as usual, chanced to speak against the vices to which females are particularly prone. The people imagined that his admonition was directed against the wife of the emperor. The enemies of the bishop did not fail to report his speech to the empress. She, conceiving herself to have been insulted, complained to the emperor, and urged the</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>6.15.3 The people readily took this as uttered indirectly against the empress and so the speech was laid hold of by evil-disposed persons and reported to those in authority.</p> <p>6.15.4 At length, learning of this, the empress immediately complained to her husband, telling him that the insult offered to herself was equally an insult against him.</p> <p>6.15.5 The emperor therefore authorized Theophilus to convoke a Synod without delay against John. Severian also co-operated in promoting this, for he still retained his grudge against Chrysostom.</p>	<p>necessity for the speedy presence of Theophilus and the convocation of a council.</p> <p>8.16.2 Severian, bishop of Gabala, who had not yet relented in his hatred of John, cooperated in the promotion of these measures. I am not in possession of sufficient knowledge to determine whether there was any truth in the current report that John delivered the discourse above mentioned with express allusion to the empress, because he suspected her of provoking Epiphanius against him.</p>	
<b>Autumn, 403<sup>3</sup> – John’s First Exile</b>		
		<p>5.34.1 But envy could not endure the bright rays of his philosophy. It put in practice its wonted wiles and deprived the imperial city—aye indeed the whole world—of his eloquence and his wisdom.</p> <p>5.34.2 At this part of my history I know not what sentiments to entertain. As much as I want to relate the wrong inflicted on Chrysostom, yet in other ways I respect the character of those who wronged him. I shall therefore do my best to conceal their names.</p>
<p>6.15.6 Not long afterwards Theophilus arrived, having convinced several bishops from different cities to accompany him. These had been summoned by the emperor’s orders as well.</p> <p>6.15.7<sup>4</sup> When most of these bishops had come together, there was also a great many others who were angry at John for some other reason. There were also a great number who had lost the bishopric.</p> <p>6.15.8 Many of the bishops in Asia had been deposed when John went to Ephesus and ordained Heraclides.</p> <p>6.15.9a Accordingly, all of them assembled at Chalcedon in Bithynia by previous agreement.</p>	<p>8.16.3 Soon after Theophilus arrived at Chalcedon in Bithynia, and was followed there by many bishops. Some of the bishops joined him because of his invitation, and others in obedience to the commands of the emperor. The bishops whom John had deposed in Asia went to Chalcedon as quickly as possible. So, did all those who had any feeling of hostility against him. The ships which Theophilus expected from Egypt had already come to Chalcedon.</p>	
<p>6.15.9b Cyrinus was bishop of Chalcedon at that time, an Egyptian by birth, who said many things to the bishops against John, denouncing him as ‘the impious,’</p>	<p>8.16.4 When they had convened again in the same place, and when they had deliberated how the attempt against John might proceed, Cyrinus, leader of the church of Chalcedon, who was an Egyptian and a relative of Theophilus, and who</p>	

<sup>3</sup> On this council, cf. <http://www.fourthcentury.com/index.php/council-of-constantinople-the-oak-ad-403/>

<sup>4</sup> 6.15.7 was translated by SCD.



Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>'the haughty,' 'the inexorable.' They readily agreed with these insults.</p> <p>6.15.10 But Maruthas bishop of Mesopotamia involuntarily stepped on Cyrinus' foot and he was severely hurt. He was unable to embark with the rest for Constantinople but remained behind at Chalcedon. The rest crossed over.</p>	<p>had also some other difficulties with John, spoke very abusively of him. Justice, however, seemed to follow him speedily.</p> <p>8.16.5 For Maruthas, a native of Mesopotamia, who had accompanied the bishops, happened to tread on his foot. Cyrinus suffered so severely from this accident that he was unable to go with the other bishops to Constantinople, although his aid was necessary for the plans that had been made against John.</p>	
<p>6.15.11 Now Theophilus had so openly stated his hostility towards John, that none of the clergy would go to meet him or pay him honor. But some Alexandrian sailors who happened to be on the spot—for at that time the grain transporting vessels were there—greeted him with joyful acclamations.</p> <p>6.15.12 He excused himself from entering the church, and took up his abode at one of the imperial mansions called 'The Placidian.'</p> <p>6.15.13 Then a torrent of accusations began to be brought against John. No mention was now made of Origen, but all were intent on implicating him in a variety of crimes, many of which were ridiculous.</p> <p>6.15.14 Preliminary matters being settled, the bishops were convened in one of the suburbs of Chalcedon, a place called 'The Oak,' and immediately ordered John to answer the charges which were brought against him.</p>	<p>8.17.1 When Theophilus entered Constantinople, none of the clergy went out to meet him; for his hatred for the bishop had become publicly known. Some sailors from Alexandria, however, who chanced to be on the shore, both from the corn vessels as well as other ships, came together and received him with great shouts of joy.</p> <p>8.17.2 Passing by the church, he proceeded directly to the palace, where a lodging had been prepared for his accommodation. He soon perceived that many people of the city were strongly prejudiced against John, and ready to bring accusations against him. Acting accordingly, he went to a place called "The Oak," in the suburbs of Chalcedon.</p> <p>8.17.3 This place now bears the name of Rufinus. He was a consul who built a magnificent palace and a great church in honor of the apostles, Peter and Paul, there and therefore named it the Apostolium. He appointed a congregation of monks to perform the clerical duties in the church.</p>	
	<p>8.17.4 When Theophilus and the other bishops met for deliberation in this place, he judged it best to make no further allusion to the works of Origen, and called the monks of Scetis to repentance, promising that there would be neither recollection of wrongs nor punishment. His followers zealously seconded his efforts, and told them that they must ask Theophilus to pardon their conduct. Since all the members of the assembly agreed in this request, the monks were troubled and, believing that it was necessary to do what so many bishops thought was right, they used the words which were customarily used, even when injured, and said "spare us."</p> <p>8.17.5 Theophilus willingly received them into his favor, and restored them to communion. The question of the injuries</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>done to the monks of Scetis was ended. I am convinced that this matter would not have been settled so quickly, if Dioscorus and Ammonius had been present with the other monks. But Dioscorus had died some time previously, and had been interred in the church dedicated to St. Mocius the martyr.</p> <p>8.17.6 Ammonius, also, had taken ill at the very time that preparations were being made for the convocation of the council. Although he insisted on going to “The Oak,” his illness greatly increased. He died soon after his journey and now lies in a splendid tomb among the monks of that area. Theophilus, it is said, shed tears on hearing of his death, and declared that, although he had been the cause of much difficulty, there was not a monk to be found of more exalted character than Ammonius. It must, however, be pointed out, that the death of this monk assisted Theophilus’ designs.</p>	
<p>6.15.15 He also summoned Serapion the deacon, Tigris the eunuch presbyter, and Paul the reader to appear there with him, for these men were included in the impeachments, as partners in his guilt.</p> <p>6.15.16 However John ignored those who had ordered him to appear and defend himself, on the ground that they were his enemies, refused to attend, and demanded a general council. Without delay they repeated their citation four times in succession.</p> <p>6.15.17 Since he persisted in his refusal to meet them as his judges, always giving the same answer, they condemned him and deposed him without assigning any</p>	<p>8.17.7 The members of the council summoned all the clergy of Constantinople to appear before them and threatened to depose those who did not obey the summons. They requested that John appear and answer. They requested that Serapion, Tigris the presbyter, and Paul the reader appear as well.</p> <p>8.17.8 John announced to them, through Demetrius, bishop of Pisinus and some of the other clergy, who were his friends, that he would not avoid investigation, but that he was ready, if the names of his accusers and the subject of his accusations were made known to him, to justify his proceedings before a larger council. He did not choose to be considered insane and to recognize his many enemies as judges. The bishops were so indignant at John’s refusal to comply that some of the clergy whom he had sent to the council were intimidated and did not return to him.</p> <p>8.17.9 Demetrius, and those who held his interests above all other considerations, left the council and returned to him. The same day, a courier and a shorthand writer were dispatched from the palace to command John to go to the bishops and to urge the bishops to decide his cause without further delay.</p> <p>8.17.10 After John had been cited four times, and had appealed to a general council, no other accusation could be substantiated against him, except his refusal to obey the summons of the council. For this they deposed him.</p>	<p>5.34.3a These people had different reasons for their hostility and were unwilling to contemplate his brilliant virtue. They found certain wretches who accused him, and, perceiving how obvious their plot was, held a meeting at a distance from the city and pronounced their sentence.</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
other cause for his removal besides refusing to obey the summons.		
<p>6.15.18 When this decision was announced in the evening, it incited the people to a most alarming sedition.</p> <p>6.15.19 They kept watch all night, and would not allow him to be removed from the church by any means, but cried out that his cause ought to be determined in a larger assembly.</p>	<p>8.18.1a The people of Constantinople were informed of the decree of the council towards the evening and they immediately rose up in sedition. At the break of day, they ran to the church, and shouted, among many other plans, that a larger council ought to be convened to discuss the matter.</p>	
<p>6.15.20 A decree of the emperor, however, commanded that he should be immediately expelled, and sent into exile.</p>	<p>8.18.1b They prevented the officers, who had been sent by the emperor to take John into exile, from carrying out the edict.</p>	<p>5.34.3b The emperor, who had confidence in the clergy, ordered him to be banished.</p>
<p>6.15.21 As soon as John was apprised of this, he voluntarily surrendered himself about noon on the third day after his condemnation, unknown to the populace, for he feared any insurrection on his account, and was accordingly led away.</p> <p>6.16.1 Then the people became terribly tumultuous. As frequently happens in such cases, many who hated him before now changed their hostility into compassion, and said of him whom they had so recently desired to see deposed, that he had been wronged.</p>	<p>8.18.2 John, worried that another accusation would be made against him, under the pretext that he had disobeyed the mandate of the emperor or excited an insurrection among the people, secretly made his escape from the church at noon, when the multitude was dispersed, three days after his deposition. When the people became aware that he had gone into exile, the revolt became serious, and many insulting speeches were uttered against the emperor and the council, particularly against Theophilus and Severian, who were regarded as the originators of the plot.</p>	<p>5.34.4 So Chrysostom, without having heard the charges brought against him, or having brought forward his defense, was forced as though convicted on the accusations advanced against him to leave Constantinople and departed to Hieron at the mouth of the Euxine, for so the naval station is named.</p>
<b>Unrest on Account of John's Exile</b>		
<p>6.16.2 By this means those who disagreed with both the emperor and the Synod of bishops became very numerous.</p> <p>6.16.3 But they blamed Theophilus in particular as the origin of these events. For his fraudulent conduct could no longer be concealed, being exposed by many other indications, and especially by the fact that he held communion with Dioscorus, and those termed 'the Tall Monks,' immediately after John's deposition.</p>		
<p>6.16.4 But Severian preached in the church, and thinking it a suitable occasion to speak against John, said: "If John had been condemned for nothing else, the arrogance of his demeanor was a crime sufficient to justify his deposition. Men indeed are forgiven all other sins: but 'God opposes the proud,' [James 4:6] as the Divine Scriptures teach us."</p>	<p>8.18.3 Severian happened to be teaching in the church at the very time that these events were taking place and he took occasion to commend the deposition of John. He stated that, even if he was innocent of other crimes, John deserved to be deposed on account of his pride. For, while God willingly forgives men all other sins, he resists the proud.</p> <p>8.18.4 At this the people became agitated under the wrong, and renewed their wrath, and fell into unrestrainable revolt. They ran to the churches, to the market-places, and even to</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
6.16.5 These reproaches made the people still more inclined to opposition; so that the emperor gave orders for his immediate recall.	the palace of the emperor, and with howls and groans demanded the recall of John.	
<b>October, 403 - John returns from his first exile</b>		
6.16.6 Accordingly Briso, a eunuch in the service of the empress was sent after him. He found John at Praenetum—a commercial town situated across from Nicomedia— and brought him back to Constantinople.	8.18.5 The empress was at length overcome by their urgings. She persuaded her husband to yield to the wishes of the people, then she quickly sent a eunuch, named Briso, in whom she placed confidence, to bring back John from Prenetus, a city of Bithynia. She claimed that she had taken no part in the machinations that had been brought against him, but had, on the contrary, always respected him as a priest and the initiator of her children.	5.34.5 In the night there was a great earthquake and the empress was struck with terror. Envoys were accordingly sent at daybreak to the banished bishop beseeching him to return without delay to Constantinople and avert peril from the town. After these another party was sent and yet again others after them and the Bosphorus was crowded with the couriers.
6.16.7 Even though he had been recalled, John refused to enter the city, declaring he would not do so until his innocence had been admitted by a higher tribunal. Thus he remained at a suburb called Marianae. 6.16.8 Now as he delayed at that place the commotion increased, and caused the people to break forth into very indignant and hateful language against their rulers. Therefore, to check their fury, John was forced to proceed.	8.18.6 When John, on his journey homeward, reached the suburbs belonging to the empress, he stopped near Anapulus and refused to re-enter the city until the injustice of his deposition had been recognized by a larger synod of bishops. But this refusal increased the excitement of the people and led to many public declamations against the emperor and the empress. Therefore he allowed himself to be persuaded to enter the city.	
6.16.9 A vast multitude conducted him on his way to the church with veneration and honor. There they entreated him to seat himself in the episcopal chair, and give them his accustomed benediction. 6.16.10 When he sought to excuse himself, saying that this ought to be brought about by an order from his judges, and that those who condemned him must first revoke their sentence, they were inflamed all the more with the desire to see him reinstated and to hear him address them again. 6.16.11 The people finally prevailed on him to resume his seat and pray as usual for peace upon them. After this, acting under the same constraint, he preached to them. 6.16.12 This compliance on John's part afforded his adversaries another ground of incrimination, but they took no action at that time.	8.18.7 The people went to meet him, singing psalms composed with reference to the circumstances. Many carried light wax tapers. They conducted him to the church and although he refused, and frequently affirmed that those who had condemned him ought first to reconsider their vote, they still compelled him to take the episcopal throne, and to speak peace to the people according to the custom of the priests. 8.18.8 He then delivered an extemporaneous speech, in which, by a pleasing figure of speech, he declared that Theophilus had meditated an injury against his church, even as the king of Egypt had contemplated the violation of Sarah, the wife of the patriarch Abraham, which is recorded in the books of the Hebrews. He then proceeded to commend the zeal of the people, and to extol the emperor and the empress for their good will to him; he stirred the people to much applause and good acclaim for the emperor and his spouse, so that he had to leave his speech half ended.	5.34.6a When the faithful people learned what was going on they covered the mouth of the Propontis with their boats, and the whole population lit up waxen torches and came forth to meet him. For the time indeed, his foes were scattered.
<b>Theophilus flees Constantinople</b>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>6.17.1 At first, Theophilus attempted to investigate the case of the ordination of Heraclides, in case he might possibly again depose John.</p> <p>6.17.2 Heraclides was not present at this scrutiny. He was nevertheless judged in his absence, on the charge of having unjustly beaten some persons, and afterwards dragged them in chains through the midst of the city of Ephesus.</p> <p>6.17.3 As John and his adherents remonstrated against the injustice of passing sentence upon an absent person, the Alexandrians contended that they ought to hear the accusers of Heraclides, although he was not present.</p> <p>6.17.4 A sharp contest therefore ensued between the Alexandrians and the Constantinopolitans.</p> <p>6.17.5 For a riot arose in which many persons were wounded, and some were killed.</p>	<p>8.19.1 Although Theophilus still wanted to bring an accusation against John, under the premise that he had unlawfully reinstated himself in his bishopric, he was deterred from doing so by the fear of offending the emperor, who had been compelled to recall John, as the means of suppressing the popular insurrection. Theophilus, however, made an accusation against Heraclides while the accused was absent, in the hope of thereby authorizing the sentence of condemnation which had been issued against John.</p> <p>8.19.2 But the friends of Heraclides interposed, and declared that it was unjust, and contrary to ecclesiastical law, to condemn one who was absent. Theophilus and his partisans maintained the opposite side of the question: the people of Alexandria and of Egypt sided with them, and were opposed by the citizens of Constantinople. The strife between the two parties became so vehement that bloodshed ensued. Many were wounded, and others slain in the contest.</p>	
<p>6.17.6 Theophilus, seeing what was done, fled to Alexandria without ceremony and the other bishops, except the few who supported John, followed his example, and returned to their respective sees.</p>	<p>8.19.3 Severian, and all the bishops at Constantinople who did not support the cause of John, became apprehensive for their personal safety, and left the city in haste. Theophilus, also, fled the city at the commencement of the winter; and, in company with Isaac the monk, sailed for Alexandria. A wind arose which drove the vessel to Gera, a small city about fifty stadia from Pelusium.</p>	
	<p>8.19.4 The bishop of this city died, and the inhabitants, I have been informed, elected Nilammon to preside over their church; he was a good man, and had attained the summit of monastic philosophy. He dwelt outside the city, in a cell, the door of which was built up with stones. He refused to accept the dignity of the priesthood. But Theophilus visited him in person, to exhort him to receive ordination at his hands. Nilammon repeatedly refused the honor.</p> <p>8.19.5 But, as Theophilus would take no refusal, he said to him, "Tomorrow, my father, you shall act as you please. Today it is necessary that I arrange my affairs." Theophilus came, on the following day, to the cell of the monk, and commanded that the door be opened. But Nilammon exclaimed, "Let us first engage in prayer." Theophilus complied and began to pray.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>8.19.6 Nilammon likewise prayed within his cell, and in the act of prayer he died. Theophilus and those who were standing with him outside the cell, knew nothing at the time of what had occurred. Then, when the greater part of the day had passed away, and the name of Nilammon had been shouted loudly without him answering, the stones were removed from the door, and the monk was found dead. They honored him with a public burial after they had clothed him in the necessary vestments, and the inhabitants built a house of prayer about his tomb. They celebrate the day of his death, in a very marked way, until this day.</p> <p>8.19.7 Thus, died Nilammon, if it can be called death to quit this life for another rather than accept a bishopric which he, with extraordinary modesty, considered himself unworthy of. After his return to Constantinople, John appeared to be more than ever beloved by the people.</p>	
<p>6.17.7 After these events, Theophilus was discredited in everyone's opinion. The hatred against him was increased even more by the shameless way in which he continued to read Origen's works.</p> <p>6.17.8 And when he was asked why he allowed what he had publicly condemned, he replied,</p> <p>6.17.9 "Origen's books are like a meadow full of flowers of every kind. If, therefore, I chance to find a beautiful one among them, I take it, but whatever seems to be thorny, I step over, as that which would prick."</p> <p>6.17.10 But Theophilus gave this answer without reflecting on the saying of the wise Solomon, that "the words of the wise are like goads" [<b>Ecclesiastes 12:11</b>] and those who are pricked by the precepts they contain ought not to kick against them.</p> <p>6.17.11 For these reasons then Theophilus was held in contempt by all men. Dioscorus bishop of Hermopolis, one of those termed 'the Tall Monks,' died a short time after the flight of Theophilus, and was honored with a magnificent funeral, being interred in the church at 'The Oak,' where the Synod was convened on John's account.</p>		
<p>6.17.12 John meanwhile was industriously employed in preaching. He ordained Serapion bishop of Heraclea in Thrace. It had been on his account that the hatred against</p>	<p>8.19.8 Sixty bishops assembled together in that city and annulled all the decrees of the council of "The Oak." They confirmed John in the possession of the bishopric, and</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
John had been raised. Not long after the following events occurred.	enacted that he should officiate as a priest, confer ordination, and perform all the duties of the church usually devolving on the president. At this time Serapion was appointed bishop of Heraclea in Thrace.	
<b>Eudoxia's Silver Statue</b>		
<p>6.18.1 At this time a silver statue of the Empress Eudoxia covered with a long robe was erected upon a column of porphyry supported by a lofty base. This stood neither near nor far from the church named Sophia, but one-half the width of the street separated them. At this statue public games were customarily performed.</p> <p>6.18.2 These John regarded as an insult to the church, and after he regained his ordinary freedom and keenness of tongue, he employed his tongue against those who tolerated them.</p> <p>6.18.3 Now while it would have been proper to induce the authorities by supplication and petition to cease the games, he did not do this, but employed abusive language and ridiculed those who had started such practices.</p> <p>6.18.4 The empress once more applied his speeches to herself as contempt toward her own person. Therefore, she endeavored to call together another council of bishops against him.</p>	<p>8.20.1 Not long after these events the silver statue of the empress, which is still to be seen to the south of the church opposite the grand council-chamber, was placed upon a column of porphyry on a high platform, and the event was celebrated there with applause and popular spectacles of dances and mimes, as was then customary on the erection of the statues of the emperors.</p> <p>8.20.2 In a public speech to the people John argued that these proceedings reflected dishonor on the Church. This remark recalled former grievances to the empress and insulted her so much that she decided to convene another council. He did not yield, but added fuel to her indignation by still more openly speaking against her in the church.</p>	
<p>6.18.5 When John became aware of this, he delivered in the church that celebrated oration which began with these words: "Again Herodias raves; again, she is troubled; she dances again; and again, desires to receive John's head in a bowl." This, of course, angered the empress more.</p>	<p>8.20.3a It was at this period that he pronounced the memorable discourse commencing with the words, "Herodias is again enraged; again she dances; again she seeks to have the head of John in a bowl."</p>	
<b>Spring, 404<sup>5</sup> – John's Second Exile</b>		
<p>6.18.6 Not long after the following bishops arrived: Leontius bishop of Ancyra in Asia, Ammonius of Laodicea in Pisidia, Briso of Philippi in Thrace, Acacius of Berea in Syria, and some others. John spoke fearlessly before them, and demanded an investigation of the charges which were made against him.</p>	<p>8.20.3b Several bishops arrived soon after at Constantinople, and amongst them were Leontius, bishop of Ancyra and Acacius, bishop of Berea. The festival of our Lord's Nativity was then at hand, and the emperor, instead of going to the church as usual, informed John that he could not</p>	

<sup>5</sup> On this council, cf. <http://www.fourthcentury.com/index.php/council-of-constantinople-ad-404/>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>6.18.7 But when the anniversary of the birth of our Savior occurred, the emperor would not attend church as usual, but sent Chrysostom a message to the effect that he should not partake of the communion with him until he had cleared himself of the crimes with which he stood impeached.</p>	<p>hold communion with him until he had cleared himself of the charges.</p>	
<p>6.18.8 Now, because John maintained a bold and ardent bearing and his accusers seemed to grow faint-hearted, the bishops present set aside all other matters and said that they would only consider this charge: that he had, of his own volition, after his deposition, again seated himself in the episcopal chair, without being authorized by an ecclesiastical council.</p> <p>6.18.9 While he claimed that sixty-five bishops who had held communion with him had reinstated him, the partisans of Leontius objected, saying:</p> <p>6.18.10 “A larger number voted against you, John, in the Synod.”</p> <p>6.18.11 John contended that this was a canon of the Arians, and not of the catholic church, and therefore it was not binding against him, for it had been framed in the council convened against Athanasius at Antioch, for the subversion of the doctrine of consubstantiality. However, the bishops would not listen to his defense, but immediately condemned him, without considering that by using this canon they were sanctioning the deposition of Athanasius himself.</p> <p>6.18.12 This sentence was pronounced a little before Easter; the emperor therefore sent to tell John that he could not go to the church, because two Synods had condemned him.</p>	<p>8.20.4 John spiritedly replied that he was ready to prove his innocence. This so intimidated his accusers that they did not dare to follow up the charges. The judges decided that, having been once deposed, he ought not to be admitted to a second trial. But they called on John to defend himself on this point only: that after he had been deposed, he had sat on the episcopal throne before a synod had reinstated him.</p> <p>8.20.5 In his defense he appealed to the decision of the bishops who had held communion with him after the council of “The Oak.” The judges ignored this argument, arguing that those who had held communion with John were fewer than those who had deposed him, and that a canon was in force by which he stood condemned. Under this pretext they therefore deposed him, although the law in question had been enacted by heretics.</p> <p>8.20.6 For the Arians, after having taken advantage of various plots to expel Athanasius from the church of Alexandria, enacted this law because they feared a change in public affairs, for they struggled to have the decisions against him remain uninvestigated.</p>	<p>5.34.6b But after a few months they endeavored to enact punishment, not for the forged indictment, but because he took part in divine service after his deposition.</p> <p>5.34.7a The bishop argued that he had not pleaded, that he had not heard the indictment, that he had made no defense, that he had been condemned in his absence, that he had been exiled by the emperor, and by the emperor again recalled. Then another Synod met, and his opponents did not ask for a trial, but persuaded the emperor that the sentence was lawful and right.</p>
<p>6.18.13 Accordingly Chrysostom was silenced, and went no more to the church.</p>	<p>8.21.1 After his deposition, John held no more assemblies in the church, but quietly remained in the episcopal dwellings. At the end of the season of Quadragesima, on the same holy night in which the yearly festival in memory of the resurrection of Christ is celebrated, the followers of John were expelled from the church by the soldiers and his enemies, who attacked the people while still celebrating the mysteries.</p> <p>8.21.2 Since this disturbance was unexpected, a great disturbance arose in the baptistery. The women wept and</p>	



Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>6.18.14 But those who were of his party celebrated Easter in the public baths which are called Constantianae, and from there left the church. Among them were many bishops and presbyters, with others of the clerical order.</p> <p>6.18.15 These from that time onward held their assemblies apart in various places, and were known as 'Johnites.'</p>	<p>lamented and the children screamed. The priests and the deacons were beaten, and were forcibly thrown from the church, in the priestly garments in which they had been officiating. They were charged with committing such disorderly acts as can be readily conceived by those who have been admitted to the mysteries, but which I consider necessary to pass over in silence, lest my work should fall into the hands of the uninitiated.</p> <p>8.21.3 When the people perceived the plot, they did not use the church on the following day but celebrated the Paschal feast in the very spacious public baths named after the Emperor Constantius. Bishops, presbyters, and the rest, whose right it is to administer church matters, officiated. Those who espoused the cause of John were present with the people.</p> <p>8.21.4 They were, however, driven from there. Then they assembled on a spot outside the walls of the city, which the Emperor Constantine, before the city had been built, had cleared and enclosed with palisades, for the purpose of celebrating there the games of the hippodrome. From that time on, the people held separate assemblies whenever it was feasible in that place, and sometimes in another. They obtained the name of "Johnites."</p>	
	<p>8.21.5 About this time, a man who was either possessed of a devil, or who feigned to have one, was seized, with a dagger on his person and with the intention of assassinating John. He was apprehended by the people as one who had been hired for this plot and led to the prefect, but John sent some bishops of his party to free him from custody before he had been questioned by torture.</p> <p>8.21.6 Sometime afterwards, a slave of Elpidius the presbyter, who was an avowed enemy of the deacon, was seen running as swiftly as possible towards the episcopal residence. A passer-by endeavored to stop him, in order to find the cause of so much haste, but instead of answering him, the slave plunged his dagger into him.</p> <p>8.21.7 Another person, who happened to be standing by, and who cried out at seeing the other wounded, was also wounded in a similar way by the slave, as was likewise a third bystander. All the people in the neighborhood, seeing what</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>had occurred, shouted that the slave ought to be arrested. He turned and fled.</p> <p>8.21.8 When those who were pursuing called out to those ahead to seize the fugitive, a man, who had just then come out from the baths, strove to stop him, and was so grievously wounded that he fell down dead on the spot. At length, the people managed to encircle the slave. They seized him and took him to the palace of the emperor, declaring that he had intended to assassinate John, and that the crime ought to be punished. The prefect calmed the fury of the people by putting the man into custody and by assuring them that justice should have its course against him.</p> <p>8.22.1 From this time on the most zealous of the people guarded John alternately, stationing themselves about the episcopal residence by night and by day. The bishops who had condemned him complained of this conduct as a violation of the laws of the Church, declared that they could answer for the justice of the sentence that had been enacted against him, and asserted that tranquility would never be restored among the people until he had been expelled from the city.</p>	
<p>6.18.16 For the space of two months, John refrained from appearing in public. After this a decree of the emperor sent him into exile.</p>	<p>8.22.2 So when a messenger conveyed to him a mandate from the emperor demanding his immediate departure, John obeyed and escaped from the city, unnoticed by those who had been appointed to guard him. He made no other censure than that, in being sent into banishment without a legal trial or any of the forms of the law, he was treated more severely than murderers, sorcerers, and adulterers. He was conveyed in a little bark to Bithynia and from there immediately continued his journey.</p> <p>8.22.6b The officers who held John in custody conveyed him to Cucusus, a city of Armenia, which the emperor had appointed as the place of residence for the condemned man by letter.</p>	<p>5.34.7b Chrysostom was then not merely banished but sent to a petty and lonely town in Armenia by the name of Cucusus. Even from there he was removed and deported to Pityus.</p> <p>5.34.8a This was a place at the extremity of the Euxine and on the marches of the Roman Empire, near the wildest savages.</p>
<p>6.18.17 Thus he was led into exile by force, and on the very day of his departure, some of the Johannites set fire to the church.</p>	<p>8.22.3 Some of his enemies were apprehensive that the people, on hearing of his departure, would pursue him, and bring him back by force. Therefore, they commanded the gates of the church to be closed. When the people who were</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>6.18.18 Because of a strong easterly wind, the senate-house also caught on fire. This conflagration happened on the 20th of June, under the sixth consulate of Honorius, which he bore with Aristaenetus.</p> <p>6.18.19 The severities which Optatus, the prefect of Constantinople, a pagan and a hater of the Christians, inflicted on John's friends, and how he put many of them to death on account of this act of incendiarism, I ought, I believe, to pass by in silence.</p>	<p>in the public places of the city heard of what had occurred, great confusion ensued. Some ran to the seashore as if they would follow him, and others fled here and there and were in great terror since the wrath of the emperor was expected to come upon them for creating so much disturbance and tumult.</p> <p>8.22.4 Those who were inside the church barred the exits still further by rushing together upon them, and by pressing upon one another. With difficulty they forced the doors open by the use of great violence: one party shattered them with stones, another pulled them inward, and forced the crowd backward into the building. Meanwhile the church was suddenly consumed on all sides with fire. The flames extended in all directions, and the grand house of the senatorial council, adjacent to the church on the south, was doomed.</p> <p>8.22.5 The two parties mutually accused each other of starting the fire. The enemies of John asserted that his followers had been guilty of the deed from revenge, on account of the vote that had been passed against him by the council. These, on the other hand, maintained that they had been framed, and that the deed was done by their enemies, with the intention of burning them in the church.</p> <p>8.22.6a The fire spread from late afternoon until the morning, and crept forward to the material which was still standing.</p> <p>8.22.7 Other officers were commissioned to arrest all the bishops and clerics who had favored the cause of John, and to imprison them in Chalcedon. Those citizens who were suspected of favoring John were sought out and cast into prison, and compelled to pronounce anathema against him.</p>	