

## Bahadır İKİCAN

Araştırma Görevlisi

Kocaeli Üniversitesi, Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi, Tarih Bölümü

Kocaeli University, Faculty of Science and Literature, History

Kocaeli, Türkiye

bahadrikican@gmail.com

ORCID: 0000-0002-4227-649X

ROR ID: <https://ror.org/0411seq30>

# Socrates and Sozomen's Church History in Comparative Perspective

Karşılaştırmalı Olarak  
Socrates ve Sozomenus'un  
Kilise Tarihi Eserleri

### Makale Bilgisi | Article Information

Makale Türü / Article Type:

Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article

Geliş Tarihi / Date Received: 6 Ekim 2022 / 6 October 2022

Kabul Tarihi / Date Accepted: 16 Aralık 2022 / 16 December 2022

Yayın Tarihi / Date Published: 31 Aralık 2022 / 31 December 2022

Yayın Sezonu / Pub Date Season: Aralık/December

### Etik Beyan | Ethical Statement

Bu çalışmanın hazırlanma sürecinde bilimsel ve etik ilkelere uyulduğu ve yararlanılan tüm çalışmaların kaynakçada belirtildiği beyan olunur.

*It is declared that scientific and ethical principles have been followed while carrying out and writing this study and that all the sources used have been properly cited (Bahadır İkican).*

### Atıf | Citation

İkican, Bahadır. "Socrates and Sozomen's Church History in Comparative Perspective". *Darulhadis İslami Araştırmalar Dergisi* 3 (Aralık 2022), 287-317.

### Telif Hakkı | Copyright

(CC BY-NC 4.0) Uluslararası Lisansı altında lisanslanmıştır.  
*Licensed under the (CC BY-NC 4.0) International License.*

### Değerlendirme | Peer-Review

İki Dış Hakem / Çift Taraflı Körleme  
*Double anonymized - Two External*

### Etik Bildirim | Complaints

darulhadis@karatekin.edu.tr

### İntihal | Plagiarism

Bu makale, Turnitin yazılımınca taranmıştır.  
İntihal tespit edilmemiştir.  
*This article has been scanned by Turnitin.  
No plagiarism detected.*

### Yayıncı | Published by

Çankırı Karatekin Üniversitesi Darülhadis İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi  
*Çankırı Karatekin University Darulhadis Islamic Studies Center*

### Finansman | Grant Support

Bu araştırmayı desteklemek için dış fon kullanılmamıştır.  
*The author(s) acknowledge that they received no external funding in support of this research.*

## Abstract

Beginning in the fourth-century with Eusebius of Caesarea and continued by writers such as Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoretus, church historiography is very important in terms of historiography. The main purpose of church historians is to tell the story of Christianity, which has survived despite being suppressed and persecuted many times since its first emergence. The Christians, who were exposed to various persecutions until the beginning of the fourth-century century, experienced great relief with the conversion of Constantine the Great to this religion. After this date, the Christians, who found a relatively free environment, focused more on the nature of Jesus and gathered many councils to solve problems within the scope of theology and the hierarchy of the churches. Church History works, which contain these theological and hierarchical debates, need to be carefully examined in order to understand the conflicts. In addition, church historians, who were too concerned about secular events, reflected the turbulences of the Late Roman Empire in their works. At this point, the works of church historians, who sometimes refer to the Germans and from time to time to regions such as Armenia and Persia in the more eastern parts, shed light on political events.

**Keywords:** Socrates Scholasticus, Sozomen, Church Historiography, Church History, Comparative History

## Karşılaştırmalı Olarak Socrates ve Sozomenus'un Kilise Tarihi Eserleri

### Öz

Dördüncü yüzyılda Ceasarealı Eusebius ile başlayan ve Socrates, Sozomenus, Theodoretus gibi yazarlar tarafından devam ettirilen kilise tarihçiliği, tarih yazımı açısından oldukça önemlidir. Kilise tarihçilerinin ana amacı ilk ortaya çıktığı andan itibaren baskı altında tutulmasına ve birçok kez kovuşturmaya uğramasına rağmen ayakta kalmayı başaran Hıristiyanlığın hikayesini anlatmaktır. Nitekim dördüncü yüzyıl başlarına kadar çeşitli zulümlere maruz kalan Hıristiyanlar, Büyük Constantinus'un bu dine ihtida etmesiyle birlikte büyük bir rahatlama yaşamışlardır. Bu tarihten sonra görece daha özgür bir ortam bulan Hıristiyanlar, İsa'nın tabiatı üzerine daha çok eğilmiş, teoloji ve kiliselerin hiyerarşisi kapsamındaki sorunları çözmek için birçok konsil toplamışlardır. Nitekim bu teolojik ve hiyerarşik

tartışmaları içeren Kilise Tarihi eserlerinin, ihtilafların anlaşılması açısından dikkatli bir şekilde incelenmesi gerekmektedir. Bunun yanında seküler olaylara da fazlasıyla eğilen kilise tarihçileri, Geç Roma İmparatorluğu'nun yaşadığı çalkantıları da eserlerine yansıtmışlardır. Bu noktada zaman zaman Germenlere zaman zaman da daha doğu bölümlerde yer alan Armenia ve Persia gibi bölgelere değinen kilise tarihçilerinin eserleri siyasi olaylara da ışık tutmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Socrates Scholasticus, Sozomenus, Kilise Tarihçiliği, Kilise Tarihi, Karşılaştırmalı Tarih

## Introduction

The last 50 years before Christ and the first 50 years after Christ were a period that witnessed "revolutions" both politically and religiously. During this time when Rome adopted imperial rule, a new religion was preached by Jesus of Nazareth in the lands inhabited by the Jews in the Palestine region. The followers of this religion, named Χριστιανός (*Christianos*) from the Greek word Χριστός (*Christos*), created a new culture by adding new interpretations to the classical pagan tradition. The first period of this Christian literature, in which the effects of pagan culture were observed, was the end of the first century, which is also accepted as the beginning of the Patristic Age. This period, which dates from this date to the middle of the eighth century and is considered as the age of the Church Fathers, is very important in terms of creating a unique culture of Christianity.<sup>1</sup>

The apologist tradition, which started to form in the second-century and in which works were written in order to defend Christianity against criticism from pagans and Jews, is also very

---

<sup>1</sup> Frank Leslie Cross-Elizabeth Anne Livingstone (ed.), "Patristics", *The Oxford Dictionary of Christian Church*, (Oxford University Press, 1997), 1233.

important in terms of the formation of Christian culture.<sup>2</sup> Although the works put forward by both the Church Fathers and the apologists were mostly letter-based, they were effective in the formation of a literature.

This literature, which was kneaded within three centuries after Christ, led to the birth of a new type of writing in the fourth-century: Church Historiography. It is accepted that church historiography began with the Greek work *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία* (*History of the Church*) by Eusebius of Caesarea. Eusebius, who wrote the events from the time of Jesus Christ to his time from the perspective of Christianity, created a new historiography with his work written in the first quarter of the fourth-century. The *History of the Church*, which Eusebius put forward based on documents, also deeply influenced church historians such as Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoretus in the following process. Like Eusebius, Socrates and Sozomen also gave much space to documents while creating their works bearing the name of Church History.

Church historians, who emerged in the period known as the Late Roman Empire, wrote their works in a process where there was a lot of political and religious conflict. Considering the period of the works of Socrates and Sozomen, the first three church councils were convened in this period, and the Roman Empire was oppressed by the Germanic tribes in the north and the Sassanid State in the east.

---

<sup>2</sup> Turhan Kaçar, *Geç Antikçağ'da Hıristiyanlık*, (İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2015), 32; Alister Edgar McGrath, *Historical Theology An Introduction to the History Of Christian Thought*, (Blackwell Publisher, 1998), 17. Eusebius says that an apology dealt with in the second-century: Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*: trans. Arthur Cushman McGiffert, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1890), IV. 3.

Church historians, who wrote their works in such a complex period, were not only interested in theological discussions, but also included political events in their works. In this respect, it is essential to examine the works of church historians in the context of understanding both religious debates and political conflicts. In this study, the Church History works of Socrates and Sozomen, who were among the first four church historians, will be examined, and the similarities and differences between these two authors will be pointed out.

### 1. The Life of Socrates Scholasticus

Socrates, one of the most important names in church historiography, was born in 380 in Constantinople. It is estimated that Socrates, about whom there is not much information other than what he provided, used the title of Scholasticus. The term Scholasticus, which refers to the students or teachers who study in the school where rhetorical education is given in Latin, suggests that Socrates was occupied in higher education (generally legal) in same capacity.<sup>3</sup> There are also researchers who think that the title of Scholasticus is related to attorneyship.<sup>4</sup> In addition to knowing this language in the context of Socrates' writing in Greek, it is estimated that he also knew Latin because he had a legal education.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> Peter Geoffrey William Glare (ed.), "Scholasticus", *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, (Oxford University Press, 1968), 1702.

<sup>4</sup> David Rohrbacher, *The Historians of Late Antiquity*, (Routledge, 2002), 108.

<sup>5</sup> Theresa Urbainczyk, *Socrates of Constantinople*, (The University of Michigan Press, 2000), 19.

In the last quarter of the fourth-century, by the order of Emperor Theodosius, pagan temples were burnt down in many parts of the empire on the grounds that they harbored sin and spread evil. Christians, who had been persecuted in previous periods, almost wanted to avenge that maltreatment and attempted to destroy the temples in the imperial cities. The Temple of Serapeum in Alexandria, which was considered one of the leading cities of paganism -perhaps the most important- at that time, also got its share of the confusion. Many people, both pagan and Christian, lost their lives as a result of the events that took place due to the Christians attacking the temple. However, with the leadership of Theophilus, the bishop of Alexandria, one of the most important figures in the city, the Christian community's victory over the pagans caused pagan thinkers to migrate to other cities. During this "brain drain", Ammonius and Helladius, pagan thinkers who left Alexandria and settled in Constantinople, later taught grammar to Socrates.<sup>6</sup> However, it is recorded that the pagans did not easily submit to the Christians during the events in Alexandria, and Helladius was responsible for the deaths of nine Christians during these events.<sup>7</sup> Socrates' classical Greek education by these two pagan thinkers enabled him to display a relatively moderate attitude towards paganism and heretical beliefs.

It is estimated that Socrates, who is thought to have spent most of his life in Constantinople, the city where he was born, besides the little information he gave about himself, may have made trips to the eastern provinces of the empire in the context of the content of his

---

<sup>6</sup> Socrates Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Philip Schaff, trans. A.C. Zenos, (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1890), V. 16.

<sup>7</sup> Glenn Forrest Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories*, (Editions Beauchesne, 1976), 179.

work.<sup>8</sup> According to some researchers, he did not travel anywhere except to Thessaly. However, although some researchers make inferences that it has been found in Paphlagonia and Cyprus, it is very difficult to support them with solid evidence.<sup>9</sup>

Although he was a Christian, Socrates, who was sympathetic to classical Greek education, thought that this education could be used to refute the claims of heretics and pagans who could not find the right way.<sup>10</sup> It is emphasized that Socrates, who is known to be influenced by the philosophy of both Plato and Plotinus, put forward an impressive expression by combining the thoughts of these two philosophers and added consistency to his expression by opposing dogmatism.<sup>11</sup>

Although there is not much information about Socrates' personality, it is concluded that he was a peace-loving person, did not like war, and wanted to end theological discussions.<sup>12</sup> In addition, it is thought that he may have been inclined to Novatianism<sup>13</sup> due to the fact that he gave too much space to the Novatian clergy in his work

---

<sup>8</sup> Patrick Joseph Healy, "Socrates", *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912) Retrieved June 2021 from New Advent: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14118b.htm> (Access Date: 03.06.2021)

<sup>9</sup> Urbainczyk, *Socrates of Constantinople*, 17.

<sup>10</sup> Rohrbacher, *The Historians of Late Antiquity*, 109.

<sup>11</sup> Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories*, 174.

<sup>12</sup> Philip Schaff (ed.), *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers Series II*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1890), Volume 2, 9.

<sup>13</sup> Novatianism is a separatist Christian faction that emerged during the prosecution of Christians by Emperor Decius in the middle of the 3rd century. This faction, formed by the clergy Novatian, did not accept the supremacy of the Roman church: Cross-Livingston (ed.), "Novatianism", *The Oxford Dictionary of The Christian Church*, (Oxford University Press, 1997), 1165.

and his positive attitude towards them.<sup>14</sup> In addition, his interpretation of the death of the Christian Goths as martyrdom in the passage he dealt with shows that he approached heretical sects with tolerance.<sup>15</sup>

### 1.1. *Church History of Socrates Scholasticus*

Approaching historiography as the history of disagreements, Socrates says that it is unnecessary to record the events that took place in times of peace and harmony, and that the historian can only exist as long as there are disagreements.<sup>16</sup> Based on this idea, some researchers argue that Socrates may have ended his work because there was no conflict environment in the context of thinking that peace was dominant in the church after 439.<sup>17</sup>

It is thought that Socrates used many sources while writing the *History of the Church*. The works and authors used by Socrates, who refer to both oral and written literature, are as follows: Eusebius' *Church History* and *Life of Constantine*, Rufinus' *Church History*, Archelaus' *Acts*, Sabinus' *Collection of the Acts of the Synod*, Epiphanius' *Ancoratus*, George of Laodicea, many works written by Athanasius, Evagrius, Palladius, Nestorius and Origen. It is also thought that he used many official documents, letters inside and outside the church

---

<sup>14</sup> Philip Schaff (ed.), *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers Series II*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1890), Volume 2, 9.

<sup>15</sup> Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV. 33; Schaff, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers Series II*, 10.

<sup>16</sup> Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, VII. 48.

<sup>17</sup> Schaff (ed.), *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers Series II*, 14.



in his work.<sup>18</sup> Auxanon, one of the clergy in the Council of Nicaea, was also used by Socrates as a source in the context of providing valuable information about this council.<sup>19</sup> Undoubtedly, the establishment of a new library after Constantinople, which was created as a new city in 330, was made the capital city, facilitated Socrates' access to the resources he needed.<sup>20</sup> It is estimated that this library in Constantinople, whose foundations were laid during the reign of Constantine the Great, functioned as one of the largest libraries in the world for about 1000 years in the context of the works it contained after the burning of the Library of Alexandria.<sup>21</sup>

Socrates' Church History works consists of seven books, and each book is devoted to the reign of an emperor -with the exception of Julian and Jovian. The reigns of Julian and Jovian were written in a single book. At this point, the first book covers the period of Constantine the Great, the second book includes the period of Constantius II, the third book covers the period of Julian and Jovian, the fourth book includes the period of Valens, the fifth book includes the period of Theodosius I, the sixth book includes the period of Arcadius, and the seventh book includes the period of Theodosius II. Since Socrates' work mostly deals with the Eastern Empire, it has been used in the classification of Eastern Emperors.

---

<sup>18</sup> Schaff (ed.), *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers Series II*, 15-16.

<sup>19</sup> Urbainczyk, *Socrates of Constantinople*, 17.

<sup>20</sup> Nigel Wilson, "The Libraries of the Byzantine World", *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, 8, 1, (1967), 54.

<sup>21</sup> Veronika Parkers, "From Papyrus to Parchment: The Imperial Library of Constantinople": <https://www.ancient-origins.net/history-important-events/papyrus-parchment-imperial-library-constantinople-007251> (Access Date: 07.06.2021)

Looking at the chronology of the Church History work, it is seen that Socrates wrote down the events between 306 and 439. Considering that Sozomen refers to Socrates, Socrates must have written his work between 439 and 443. Because, it is estimated that Sozomen wrote his work after 443.<sup>22</sup> This process, which covers a historical period of approximately 140 years, which is the subject of the work, is a very complex period both theologically and politically.

The third-century writer Origen, who is a very important writer in Christian historiography, deeply influenced Socrates as well as many other writers in the context of his allegorical interpretation in Bible readings. At this point, it is thought that Socrates' understanding of tolerance towards heretics emerged as a result of this. An example of this effect is Socrates' negative attitude towards Theophilus of Alexandria, who was against Origen's thoughts.<sup>23</sup> Taking lessons from two pagan thinkers, such as Ammonius and Helladius, is another factor in Socrates' tolerance towards pagans and heretics.

Dedicating his work to a person named Theodore, as he mentioned in the last part of the seventh chapter, Socrates composed his work, which he called *Church History*, from seven individual books.<sup>24</sup> Socrates, who wrote a preface to his work as an introduction, promised that he would deal with the subjects that Eusebius did not

---

<sup>22</sup> Urbainczyk, *Socrates of Constantinople*, 20.

<sup>23</sup> Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories*, 170.

<sup>24</sup> Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, VII, 48. Theodore was a jurist who took part in the nine-person commission formed by the emperor to compile the Codex Theodosianus. It is thought that Socrates had a deep respect for this person due to his piety and being a lawyer and dedicated his work to him: Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories*, 169.

include in his work, before discussing the events that took place from where he left off to his own time.<sup>25</sup>

It is seen that Socrates, who wrote his first book under 40 titles, started his work with the political turmoil that arose after Diocletian and Maximian retired from the empire. In his first book, which he concluded with the death of Emperor Constantine, he also touches on religious debates and practices, since he is a church historian. In this way, Socrates, who dealt with the Arius debate, made comments on the first ecumenical church council held in Nicaea in 325, and included the belief creed accepted in the council. While he was dealing with this subject, he used the letters written by many people as a source in his work, and he quoted passages from some parts of the belief creed.<sup>26</sup> In addition, the Council of Nicaea, which attracted attention as the first universal meeting aimed at uniting the Christian world, could not provide unity among the clergy. In this context, the ongoing debates between the supporters of Arius and the adherents of the Nicæan Creed are the subjects discussed in Socrates' work. Socrates, who also wrote a passage on the foundation of Constantinople in the chapter, mentions that the emperor's mother found some parts of the cross on which Jesus was crucified and built a church here.<sup>27</sup> Socrates, who did not limit his book only to regions within the empire, also touched upon the Christianization of India and Iberia. He also devoted the last two chapters of his first book to Constantine's illness and death, and reported that the emperor was buried in the Church of the Apostles after his death.<sup>28</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup> Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, I. 1.

<sup>26</sup> Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, I. 8.

<sup>27</sup> Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, I. 16-17.

<sup>28</sup> Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, I. 40.

Socrates, who seems to have written his work in a chronological framework, mentioned the events that took place after the death of Constantine in his second book containing 47 chapters. In this book, which he started with an introduction, he stated that his first two books were reviewed, and he showed the aim of correcting the chronological mistakes in Rufinus' Church History, which he wrote in Latin.<sup>29</sup> This book, which includes information on the Council of Serdica, synods gathered in Milan and Seleucia, also includes information about the event of the usurped Magnentius, who claimed the throne politically. Socrates finished his second book with the death of Constantius II.

In the third book that Emperor Julian started with his education and lineage, Socrates did not include an introduction, unlike his first two books. Mentioning the work called *μισοπύγων*, written by the emperor against the natives of Antiocheia, he dealt with the tensions between Julian and the Christians as the main theme in the third book. Wanting to ignite the Christian-Jewish conflict, Julian provided the necessary materials for the Jews to rebuild their temples in Jerusalem. Socrates, who also includes miracles in the passage, said that a fire came down from the sky, which caused the construction to stop with the prayers of the Jerusalem bishop.<sup>30</sup> The author, who also mentioned the short-lived dominance of Jovian, who took the throne after Julian died during the Persian expedition, ended his third book with his death.

The fourth chapter, one of the longest chapters in Socrates' Church History, is the part where the most important political events

---

<sup>29</sup> Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, II. 1.

<sup>30</sup> Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, III. 20.

take place. At this point, the book started with the administrations of Valentinian and Valens, two brothers who came to power after Jovian. Mentioning the usurping Procopius incident in the first chapters, the author concluded his fourth book with the Battle of Adrianople, which affected the fate of the Roman Empire and was compared with the Battle of Cannae by Ammianus Marcellinus.<sup>31</sup> This section, which also includes the Christianization adventure of the Gothic communities, relates the Goths' adoption of Arian Christianity with the fact that Emperor Valens became a follower of this sect. Valens, who sided with Fritigern in the civil war between the two Gothic leaders Fritigern and Athanaric, became involved in the civil war of the Goths. Valens, who had a share in the victory of the Fritigern faction, also started the Christianization adventure of the Goths. In the next process, Ulfilas created the Gothic alphabet and translated the Gothic Bible.<sup>32</sup> However, Socrates, who seems to have turned his gaze to the more eastern parts, also included the Arabs' adoption of Christianity in the chapter.

In his fifth book, which he started with an introduction as in his first two books, Socrates talked about the union of church and state affairs. In this respect, he stated that the deterioration of the affairs of the state is also responsible for the deterioration of the affairs of the church, and stated that these two institutions constitute an inseparable whole.<sup>33</sup> The Council of Constantinople, which was convened in 381 and was the second universal Christian meeting, and

---

<sup>31</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum Gestarum*, trans. John C. Rolfe, XXXI. XIII. 19:

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2007.01.0081%3Abook%3D31%3Achapter%3D13%3Asection%3D19> (Access Date: 22.08.2022)

<sup>32</sup> Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV. 33.

<sup>33</sup> Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, V. Intro.

the disagreements between the Novatians and the Arians are other theological issues included in the chapter. At this point, researchers who deduce that Socrates gives privileges to Novatians in his work think that he tends to Novatianism.<sup>34</sup> Besides, in the same period, a rebellion broke out in the empire, which caused a change of ruler. A commander named Maximus rebelled against the rulers in the east and west and killed the Western Roman Emperor Gratian, and the Eastern Roman Emperor Theodosius soon succeeded in ending this rebellion.<sup>35</sup> The section, which also includes hieroglyphs found in the Temple of Serapis, ended when Theodosius fell ill and died.

The sixth chapter, which started with the division of the empire between the two sons after Theodosius' death, based on the previous book, includes the political uprising of the Gothic leader Gainas, in which he tried to seize power in Constantinople but failed. However, the most striking event of the period was the conflicts between the bishop of Constantinople, John Chrysostomos, and the empress Eudoxia. As a result of the disagreement he had with the empress in this way, John, who was from the seat of the episcopacy, could not escape from being exiled. Although the bishop was recalled from exile after a while, he was exiled again on the grounds that he had moved to the empress Eudoxia.<sup>36</sup> The episode ends with the death of Arcadius.

The seventh book, the last part of the Church History, was started with Anthemius, the commander who was assigned to rule the east on behalf of Theodosius II. The episode, which includes the capture and looting of Rome by the Gothic leader Alaric, draws attention as one of

---

<sup>34</sup> Rohrbacher, *The Historians of Late Antiquity*, 109.

<sup>35</sup> Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, V. 14.

<sup>36</sup> Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, VI. 18.

the rare Antiquity works featuring Hypatia of Alexandria, the first female philosopher. Showing the murder of Hypatia as a crime committed by Cyril and the people of Alexandria, Socrates stated that such massacres did not take place in the essence of Christianity.<sup>37</sup> At this point, it is seen that Socrates tries to act as impartially as possible. In addition, Socrates, who included theological issues in this chapter, as in the previous books, also clarified the religious conflicts within the framework of Nestorius' views in the context of the Θεοτόκος (*Theotokos*: Mother of God) and Χριστοτόκος (*Christotokos*: Mother of Christ) debate. In addition, a separate title was devoted to the virtues of Emperor Theodosius II, and a panegyric<sup>38</sup> was written in honor of the emperor. This honor, made only on Theodosius II, shows that he was in a more important position for Socrates than other emperors. Touching on the Christianization of the Jews in Crete, Socrates noted that these people became Christians after realizing that they had been deceived by a false Messiah.<sup>39</sup> The seventh and last book of the work ends with the forty-eighth chapter, where Thalassius is the bishop of Cappadocia.

Socrates says that he brought his work until the second year of the 305th Olympics.<sup>40</sup> At this point, although there is a comment by the researchers that the work goes back to 439, when Socrates'

---

<sup>37</sup> Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, VII. 15.

<sup>38</sup> General name given to commendable ceremonial speeches. For more details: Roger Rees, "Panegyric", *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity*, ed. Oliver Nicholson, (Oxford University Press, 2018), 1132.

<sup>39</sup> Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, VII. 38.

<sup>40</sup> Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, VII. 48.

statement is taken into account, it is seen that the work dates back to 442 in the context of Olympic dating.<sup>41</sup>

It is seen that Socrates, who is accepted to use a very understandable language in the literary sense, does not go too deep into the subjects. This situation causes comments to be made that although Socrates is described as a very understandable writer for readers who do not know the subject, it remains too superficial for those who are experts in the subject.<sup>42</sup> However, while it is thought that Socrates is a good writer within the framework of the information he gives about secular events, it is also emphasized that he is weak in reading religious literature.<sup>43</sup>

## 2. The Life of Sozomen

Born in Gaza, Palestine between 370 and 380, Sozomen's real name is Salamanus (Salaminus) Hermeias Sozomen.<sup>44</sup> The name Salamanus is thought to be of Aramaic origin.<sup>45</sup> Although it is a slim possibility,

---

<sup>41</sup> For the calendar dating based on the Olympics, see:

<http://www.numachi.com/~ccount/hmepa/calendars/olympiads301-400.html>  
(Access Date: 08.06.2021)

<sup>42</sup> Rohrbacher, *The Historians of Late Antiquity*, 110.

<sup>43</sup> Peter Van Nuffelen, "Socrates", *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity*, ed. Oliver Nicholson, (Oxford University Press, 2018), Volume 2, 1399.

<sup>44</sup> Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 30:

[https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/photius\\_03bibliotheca.htm#30](https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/photius_03bibliotheca.htm#30) (Access Date 08.06.2021). There are two claims in the literature regarding the date of birth of Sozomen. While some of the researchers think that he was born between 370-380, some of them accept that he was born in 400.

<sup>45</sup> Peter Van Nuffelen, "Sozomen", *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity*, ed. Oliver Nicholson, (Oxford University Press, 2018), Volume 2, 1406.



there are also researchers who think that the name Salamanus was given in reference to Cyprus.<sup>46</sup> Although the name Hermeias, whose origin is based on Greek mythology, has a pagan connotation, it was a common name given to their children by Christian families at that time. Sozomen, on the other hand, is a name that was not very common in that period, and it is estimated that it was given by his father.<sup>47</sup>

Some researchers think that Sozomen, like Socrates, had the title of Scholasticus. In this respect, it is emphasized that Sozomen was also an educated person and especially received legal education. It is estimated that Sozomen, who is presumed to have studied law, came to Constantinople and practiced his profession as a lawyer in this city.<sup>48</sup>

It is estimated that his family was pagan, although many Jews lived near his birthplace. As a matter of fact, information is conveyed that his grandfather converted to Christianity after a miraculous event in the city.<sup>49</sup> After this conversion, many members of the Sozomen' family adopted Christianity.

As a result of the accession of Julian to the throne at the beginning of the 360s, many Christians were oppressed throughout the empire. The Sozomen family also took their share of this pressure. The family, who had to migrate from the city they lived in during this period, lived in exile for about two years. In addition, with the end of

---

<sup>46</sup> Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, trans. Chester D. Hartranft, ed. Philip Schaff, (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1890), 328.

<sup>47</sup> Schaff (ed.), *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers Series II*, 453.

<sup>48</sup> Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories*, 192.

<sup>49</sup> Rohrbacher, *The Historians of Late Antiquity*, 117.

the short reign of Julian, the Sozomen family returned to the city.<sup>50</sup> Sozomen, who spent his childhood in Palestine, was educated by monks in monasteries in the region from a very young age. He, who was affected by the environment he encountered during his first education, wrote long passages on these subjects in his Church History that he wrote in the next period.

Known to have spent most of his life away from Bethelia, the region where he was born, the work of Sozomen, which contains information about a wide geography from the Middle East to Italy, has led to comments that he made many trips.

### **2.1. Ecclesiastical History of Sozomen**

The most important criticism of Sozomen's Church History is that he copied Socrates. Sozomen, who was not very generous in citing his sources, did not give any information about whether he made use of Socrates or not. The passage on Acesius by both authors has led to comments that Sozomen copied Socrates. This event, which is also found in the works of both authors, is mentioned for the first time in the work of Socrates among the ancient sources. However, there are also ideas that Sozomen corrected Socrates' mistakes. As a matter of fact, Socrates said that the Arius bishops who were in the opposition wing in the Council of Nicaea did not sign the council's creed. Sozomen, on the other hand, corrected this historical mistake by stating that the bishops signed the creed.<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>50</sup> Rohrbacher, *The Historians of Late Antiquity*, 118.

<sup>51</sup> Rohrbacher, *The Historians of Late Antiquity*, 123.

The main goal of Sozomen's work was to write the history of the Roman Empire, which became a Christian state at that time, and to glorify Theodosius II.<sup>52</sup> Sozomen, who tried to gain some public gains by attributing his book to Emperor Theodosius, could not achieve this goal.<sup>53</sup> Presenting his work to Theodosius, Sozomen asked the emperor to correct the wrong or incomplete parts. However, how the emperor responded to this request remains a mystery.<sup>54</sup>

Although the exact date when Sozomen wrote his work is not known, it is thought that the work was written between 443 and 450 years. In this context, considering that the work takes Socrates as a reference, it must have been written after 443, and before this date, considering that it was attributed to Theodosius II, and he died in 450.

In addition, Sozomen wrote a work consisting of two books, as an introduction to the History of the Church, in which he describes the period from the Ascension and the defeat of Licinius in the struggle for the throne against Constantine, but these records have not survived to the present day.<sup>55</sup>

The sources of Sozomen, who wrote the History of the Church, are quite diverse. At this point, it is thought that the primary source of Sozomen was Socrates. Although some authors claim that he copied Socrates exactly, it is seen that Sozomen corrected many mistakes in Socrates' work. The sources of Sozomen, who wrote a fairly large work, are: Eusebius, Hegesippus, Iulius Africanus, Philo, Athanasius,

---

<sup>52</sup> Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories*, 196.

<sup>53</sup> Peter Van Nuffelen, "Sozomen", 1406.

<sup>54</sup> Arnaldo Momigliano, *Modern Tarihçiliğin Klasik Temelleri*, trans. Güneş Ayas, (İthaki, 2011), 151.

<sup>55</sup> Glanville Downey, "The Perspective of the Early Church Historians", *Greek, Roman, Byzantine Studies*, 6, 1, (Spring, 1965), 64.

episcopal and imperial letters, Rufinus, Philostorgius, Sabinus, Codex Gregorianus, Codex Hermogenianus, Gregory Nazianus, Sulpicius Severus, Palladius.<sup>56</sup>

The Church History written by Sozomen consists of nine books. Sozomen, who makes an evaluation on the purpose of writing his book in the introduction part of the first book in which he started his work, says that the Jews were more reluctant than the Greeks to find the right path, although they had received the information about the coming of the Messiah long ago.<sup>57</sup>

The Church History of Sozomen begins with the political tensions experienced after Constantine's accession to the throne. In the first book of the work, the civil wars of Maxentius and Licinius, and Constantine were handled. In addition to the political events, Sozomen, who gave many places to the people who were very important to the monastery system and the church, added long information about these people by opening separate passages in various parts of his book. Sozomen, who wrote on the birth of the monastic system in his first book, also wrote a long chapter about Antony, who was accepted as the first monk.<sup>58</sup> One of the most important passages in the first book of the History of the Church is about the origin of Arianism. Sozomen, who attributes the birth of this religious movement to Egypt, describes Arianism, which he evaluates within the framework of the Nicaea Creed, as a heretical belief.<sup>59</sup> Based on this interpretation, it is noteworthy that Sozomen had a more strict attitude toward heretics than Socrates. The first book, including

---

<sup>56</sup> Schaff (ed.), *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers Series II*, 367-368.

<sup>57</sup> Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, I. 1.

<sup>58</sup> Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, I. 13.

<sup>59</sup> Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, I. 15.

the Council of Nicaea, ended with the notification that the decisions taken in the council were sent to other religious centers.

The second book in the History of the Church began when Helena, the mother of Emperor Constantine, found the pieces of the cross on which Jesus was crucified. It is seen that Sozomen turned his direction to regions far from the imperial border in the context of his processing of the Christianization of the Iberians, Indians, Armenians and Persians in the book. In this book, in which passages are written on many monks and martyrs, a letter written by Constantine to the Persian ruler Shapur is also included. Constantine aimed to stop Christian persecution in Persia with the letter he wrote.<sup>60</sup> The second book, which also included the religious strife between Athanasius and the Arian priests, ended with the death of Constantine.

After the Council of Nicaea convened under the supervision of Constantine, the religious debates seemed to have stopped for a while, but after the death of the emperor, conflicts arose between the Arians and the clergy of the Nicaea Creed. It was at this point that the third book of Sozomen' work began. The synod, which was gathered in Serdica in 343 and shown as one of the most important crossroads between the east-west churches, is also included in this book. According to Sozomen, this synod created a crossroads between the east-west churches.<sup>61</sup> In this part of his book, Sozomen openly reveals

---

<sup>60</sup> Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, II. 15.

<sup>61</sup> Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, III. 13. Although this synod greatly increased the tension between the east-west churches, it is not possible to talk about a complete separation in this period. For a detailed review, see: Turhan Kaçar, "Serdica Konsili M.S. 343: Doğu ve Batı Kiliselerinin Yol Ayrımı Mı?" *Sencer Şahin Anısına Yazılar*, ed. Burak Takmer, Ebru N. Akdoğu Arca, Nuray Gökalp Özdil, Vol. 1, (Kabalıcı, 2016), 461-470.

that he was a Nicæan Creed, and in this respect, it is obvious that he had a prejudice against the Arian clergy.

The fourth book of the work begins with the death of Constans. In this part of his work, Sozomen also gave information about the councils gathered in various cities such as Sirmium and Milan, taking care to deal with the issues of the western churches. The fifth book begins with Julian's accession to the throne after the death of Constantius II. Written from a strictly Christian point of view, this section focuses on Julian's attempt to end Christianity, and for this he allowed the Jews to rebuild their old temples in Palestine. In addition, Julian, who wanted to benefit from theological debates among Christians, adopted a way of benefiting from the conflicts by ordering the release of the exiled clergy. Seeing Greek education as an extension of pagan culture, Julian also prohibited Christians from being educated in this language.<sup>62</sup>

The sixth book of Church History begins with the death of Julian. After Julian, Jovian, who was emperor for a short time, was succeeded by Valentinian and his brother Valens. Tribal migration, which was set in motion by the Huns in the second half of the fourth-century, is one of the most important events that took place in this process. According to this, Sozomen, who says that by coincidence, the Huns crossed the lake between the Goths and started a migration to the north of the Danube, tells that Fritigern adopted Arianism because the Romans helped him in the civil war.<sup>63</sup> However, it is noteworthy that there is a historical inaccuracy here. From the narration of Sozomen, it is understood that the conflict between Athanaric and Fritigern

---

<sup>62</sup> Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, V. 18.

<sup>63</sup> Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, VI. 37.

took place after the Romans gave settlement permission to the Goths; whereas this civil war must have happened before the Goths were allowed to settle in Thrace.<sup>64</sup> This book, which contains the most narratives on monks and clergy besides political issues, also includes the issue of the Christianization of the Arabs. The sixth book concludes with the death of Valens during the Battle of Adrianople with the Goths. Sozomen interpreted Valens' death as divine providence as a result of his persecutions against Christians who adopted the Nicæan Creed.<sup>65</sup>

It is noteworthy that at the beginning of the seventh chapter of the work, it is stated that the Arabs sent aid to the Roman Empire. The barbarians, who won the Battle of Adrianople, advanced to the walls of Constantinople with the courage of destroying the Roman army. However, the Arabs' aid to the Roman Empire in the defense caused the siege to fail.<sup>66</sup> Gratian, who ruled the western part of the empire instead of Valens, who died during the war with the Goths, appointed Theodosius, a soldier of Spanish origin, as co-emperor. Touching on the civil war between the usurper Eugenius and Theodosius, who later claimed the imperial throne, Sozomen reveals one of his most striking statements in the passage in which Theodosius wrote about the tension he had with Bishop Ambrose while he was in Milan after winning the civil war. Accordingly, Theodosius, who wanted to go to the church of the city and pray, was met by Ambrose, the bishop of

---

<sup>64</sup> Peter Heather-John Matthews, *Goths in The Forth Century*, (Liverpool University Press, 2004), 97.

<sup>65</sup> Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, VI. 40.

<sup>66</sup> According to ancient sources, the most important factor in the failure of the barbarians in the siege of Constantinople was the attack of the Arabs: Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum Gestarum*, XXXI. XVI. 5.

Milan. However, the emperor faced a hostile attitude as well as not getting the attention he expected from the bishop. In the passage in which Sozomen emphasizes the superiority of the church over the empire, Theodosius is blamed by Ambrose for the massacre he carried out against the Christians in Thessaloniki. Theodosius, who admitted his guilt, also repented by paying atonement in order to be cleansed of his sins.<sup>67</sup> Based on this narrative, it is noteworthy that Sozomen put the church above the state in hierarchical terms. In addition, the book also contains information about the second universal council held in 381. In this context, the Council of Constantinople came to the fore with the theological decisions it took, as well as the elevation of the Patriarch of Constantinople to the second position after the Roman patriarch hierarchically.<sup>68</sup> This rise of the Constantinople church disturbed both the Roman church and the eastern churches. The issue of the supremacy of the churches aroused controversy in later councils.

The eighth book, which deals with the events after Theodosius' death, develops around John Chrysostomos. John, who had a disagreement with the empress Eudoxia because of his approach to women, could not escape being exiled. John, who was soon recalled from exile, was exiled again due to a conflict with the empress. John died while the bishop of Rome attempted to recall John, who was sentenced to exile for the second time, claiming that he had been unfairly tried.<sup>69</sup>

---

<sup>67</sup> Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, VII. 25.

<sup>68</sup> Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, VII. 9.

<sup>69</sup> Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, VIII. 28.



The ninth book, the last book of Sozomen, begins with the death of Arcadius. The book, which contains the narrative of Alaric's capture of Rome in 410, has more politically focused content than the other chapters. In addition, this part is kept shorter than the other books of the work. In this respect, it is thought that the work has been left unfinished. The book ends abruptly in chapter seventeen with a narrative about the discovery of the remains of the Prophet Zechariah and a martyr.

### **3. Similarities and Differences Between Ecclesiastical History of Socrates and Sozomen**

Two of the most compared authors among ancient authors are Socrates and Sozomen. One of the biggest reasons for this comparison is that both authors wrote works with the same name and roughly the same period. In addition, both authors wrote their works in Greek. In addition, the fact that Socrates wrote his work earlier has led to comments that it was copied by Sozomen. According to contemporary writers, there is a connection between Socrates and Sozomen in the context of the narrative of Acesius, who was a Novatian and participated in the Council of Nicaea. This narrative is mentioned for the first time in Socrates among the ancient sources. In addition, Socrates said that he heard this narrative from Auxanon, who attended the council, while Sozomen did not give a source.<sup>70</sup>

Although today's researchers tend to emphasize the similarities between the two authors, there are also many differences between the

---

<sup>70</sup> Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories*, 197; Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, I. 10; Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, I. 22.

authors. At this point, although it is thought that Sozomen knew the work of Socrates and used it from time to time, it seems that he corrected many of his mistakes as explained above. In terms of style, it is accepted even in antiquity that Sozomen is a better writer than Socrates.<sup>71</sup> In addition, in terms of historiography, it is accepted that Sozomen is more mundane than Socrates.<sup>72</sup>

It can be said that the two church historians had similar aims in general. In this respect, both authors want the church to be prosperous. However, the method they use to do this is different. Contrary to Socrates, who attributed the peacefulness of the church to the flawless administration of the empire, Sozomen kept the church in a position above the empire. In addition, Socrates was more tolerant of heretics and people who did not have his own opinion, while Sozomen was more hostile to heretics.

Both authors have similar thoughts in terms of understanding the universe. In this respect, it can be accepted that Sozomen inherited his understanding of cosmic sympathy from Socrates. The understanding of cosmic sympathy, which emerged in the context of Stoic philosophy, is explained as a disorder in any part of the universe creating chaos in other parts. In this respect, the Hun attack, the usurpation of the empire, and various rebellions can be interpreted as the expression of the unrest within the church in the works of both Socrates and Sozomen.<sup>73</sup> However, while Socrates thinks that there is a mutual interaction between church and state organizations, Sozomen emphasizes the church among these two institutions. At this

---

<sup>71</sup> Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 30.

<sup>72</sup> Momigliano, *Modern Tarihçiliğin Klasik Temelleri*, 151.

<sup>73</sup> Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories*, 198.

point, the most important task of the emperors for Socrates was to manage both the church and the state well. The one who showed the most ideal management for this was Constantine the Great.<sup>74</sup> Especially since Constantine had a very important position due to being the first Christian emperor, emperors rose to the highest position in church administrations. According to Sozomen, what the emperors should do is submit to the bishops, who are the representatives of the will of God.<sup>75</sup> In this context, it is seen that Socrates has a closer point of view on the thoughts of the imperial palace.

Although both works contain the same periods chronologically, Sozomen' work is larger in volume. At this point, Sozomen, who wrote a longer work unlike Socrates, did not only deal with the affairs of the eastern churches, but also touched on the situation of the western churches. In addition, getting to the root of the Arius debate, in-depth analysis of the Christianization of elements such as "barbarians", Arabs and Persians, and his extensive knowledge of the monastic system made him a much more interesting writer than Socrates.<sup>76</sup> Although both writers had great respect for Theodosius II, Sozomen attributed his work to the emperor Theodosius II, while Socrates attributed it to Theodore, who was a lawyer.

There are also differences between the two authors in terms of the length and ending of their works. Socrates ends his Church History with seven books, while Sozomen's work consists of nine books. However, the work of Sozomen, who said that he would take

---

<sup>74</sup> Downey, "The Perspective of the Early Church Historians", 60.

<sup>75</sup> Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, VII. 25.

<sup>76</sup> Downey, "The Perspective of the Early Church Historians", 65.

his work until 439, ends in 435. In addition, the fact that Sozomen's last book includes more secular subjects and is shorter than other books has led to the interpretation that this book may have been left unfinished.<sup>77</sup>

### Conclusion

The fourth-century, in which ecclesiastical historiography emerged, is a very complex period both politically and theologically. The collapse of the tetrarchy implemented by Diocletian, who emerged victorious from the Military Anarchy in the third-century, caused civil wars at the beginning of the fourth-century. The conversion of Constantine to Christianity, who was victorious in a series of civil wars that lasted for about 20 years, enabled this religion to gain more influence in the empire than ever before. After this point, the church, which experienced political and economic relief, started to experience conflicts within itself this time. These discussions, which initially focused on the essence of Jesus, and later evolved into the struggle for political rent among the churches, led to the holding of many universal councils. The first quarter of the fourth-century, when there was a political and theological disorder, also witnessed the birth of church historiography.

In the period when Socrates and Sozomen wrote their works, Council of Nicaea (325), Council of Constantinople (381) and Council of Ephesus (431), which are described as the ecumenical councils of Christianity, were convened. However, important political events

---

<sup>77</sup> Theresa Urbainczyk, "Observations on the Differences between the Church Histories of Socrates and Sozomen", *Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, Bd. 46, H. 3 (3rd Qtr., 1997), 358.

took place in this process. At this point, events such as the Battle of Adrianople between the Roman Empire and the Goth tribes in 378, and the looting of the Roman city by the Gothic leader Alaric in 410 were the most important political events of the period. In the context of previously mentioned arguments, the Church Histories of Socrates and Sozomen provide very important information in terms of understanding the theological and political events that took place during the period.

## Kaynakça/References/المصادر

### Primary Sources

- Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum Gestarum*, trans. John C. Rolfe, Harvard University Press, 1935:  
<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2007.01.0082> (Access Date: 12.06.2021)
- Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, trans. Arthur Cushman McGiffert, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1890.
- Socrates Scholasticus, trans. A.C. Zenos, ed. Philip Schaff, Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1890.
- Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, trans. Chester D. Hartranft, ed. Philip Schaff, Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1890.

### Secondary Works

- Alister Edgar McGrath, *Historical Theology An Introduction to the History Of Christian Thought*, Blackwell Publisher, 1998.
- Chesnut, Glenn Forrest. *The First Christian Histories*, Editions Beauchesne, 1976.
- Cross, Frank Leslie-Livingstone, Elizabeth Anne (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Christian Church*, (Oxford University Press, 1997), 1233-4.
- Downey, Glanville. "The Perspective of the Early Church Historians", *Greek, Roman, Byzantine Studies*, 6, 1, (Spring, 1965), 57-70.
- Glare, Peter Geoffrey William (ed.). "Scholasticus", *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, 1968, 1702.
- Healy, Patrick Joseph. "Socrates", *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Robert Appleton Company, 1912. Retrieved 2021 from New Advent:  
<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14118b.htm> (Access Date: 03.06.2021).
- Heather, Peter-Matthews, John. *Goths in The Forth Century*, Liverpool University Press, 2004.

- <http://www.numachi.com/~ccount/hmepa/calendars/olympiads301-400.html>  
(Access Date: 08.06.2021)
- Kaçar, Turhan. "Serdica Konsili M.S. 343: Doğu ve Batı Kiliselerinin Yol Ayrımı Mı?" Sencer Şahin Anısına Yazılar, ed. Burak Takmer, Ebru N. Akdoğu Arca, Nuray Gökbalp Özdil, Vol. 1, Kabalıcı, 2016, 461-470.
- Kaçar, Turhan. Geç Antikçağ'da Hıristiyanlık, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2015.
- Momigliano, Arnaldo. Modern Tarihçiliğin Klasik Temelleri, trans. Güneş Ayas, İthaki, 2011.
- Nuffelen, Van Peter. "Socrates", The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity, ed. Oliver Nicholson, Oxford University Press, 2018, 1399.
- Nuffelen, Van Peter. "Sozomen", The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity, ed. Oliver Nicholson, Oxford University Press, 2018, 1406.
- Parkers, Veronika. "From Papyrus to Parchment: The Imperial Library of Constantinople": <https://www.ancient-origins.net/history-important-events/papyrus-parchment-imperial-library-constantinople-007251> (Access Date: 07.06.2021)
- Photius, Bibliotheca:  
[https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/photius\\_03bibliotheca.htm#30](https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/photius_03bibliotheca.htm#30) (Access Date: 08.06.2021)
- Rees, Roger. "Panegyric", The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity, ed. Oliver Nicholson, Oxford University Press, 2018, 1132.
- Rohrbacher, David. The Historians of Late Antiquity, Routledge, 2002.
- Schaff, Philip. Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers Series II Vol 2, Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1890.
- Urbainczyk, Theresa. "Observations on the Differences between the Church Histories of Socrates and Sozomen", Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte, Bd. 46, H. 3 (3rd Qtr., 1997), 355-373.
- Urbainczyk, Theresa. Socrates of Constantinople, The University of Michigan Press, 2000.