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THE TITLES OF HOLDERS OF ECCLESIASTICAL OFFICES IN PHILOSTORGIUS'S *CHURCH HISTORY*¹

Abstract: This paper analyzes the use of titles for holders of various ecclesiastical offices in Philostorgius's *Church History* in the *Epitome* of Photius and compares it with the way they are used in the *Church History* of Eusebius, in the works of the ecclesiastical historians Socrates Scholasticus, Sozomen, and Theodoret, and in the *Bibliotheca* of Photius. Compared to the wide range of titles for various ecclesiastical offices that had become established in the Church in the first half of the fifth century, the *Church History* of Philostorgius in the *Epitome* of Photius presents a rather modest selection: bishop (ἐπίσκοπος, ἀρχιερεύς, ἑφορος), presbyter (πρεσβύτερος), deacon (διάκονος), monk (μόναχος), and clergy (κλήρος, πλήρωμα). The paper shows how frequently each of these terms occurs, how their use in Philostorgius's work differs from that of other selected authors, and how their meaning changed with the development of church organization. Particular attention is paid to the term ἑφορος.

Keywords: ecclesiastical hierarchy, bishop, presbyter, deacon, Philostorgius, Photius, Eusebius of Caesarea, Socrates Scholasticus, Sozomen, Theodoret

This paper explores the ecclesiastical hierarchy as described by Philostorgius in Photius's *Epitome* of his *Church History*, focusing on the titles of individual orders of clergy. By the second century, a hierarchy of orders was formed in the Church, which included bishops, presbyters (sometimes also identical with ἐπίσκοποι),² and deacons (διάκονος, later also referred to as λευίτης).³ Later the orders of subdeacons

¹ The idea for the topic of this paper was inspired by Ralph W. Mathisen's study "The Orders of the Clergy in the *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*," presented at the international conference *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum: The Text in Its Contexts* held at the University of Fribourg on October 19th–21st, 2023, which served as a guide and model. The paper was written as part of the program Slovenian History (program no. P6-0235), funded by the Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency (ARIS).

² J. G. Mueller, *Presbyter*, Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum 28 (Stuttgart 2018), 97–112; K. Pennington, *The Growth of Church Law*, The Cambridge History of Christianity, vol. 2: Constantine to c. 600, ed. A. Casiday, F. W. Norris (Cambridge, 2007), 387–388.

³ T. Klauser, *Diakon*, Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum 3 (Stuttgart 1957), 897.

(ὑποδιάκονος, third century)⁴ and archdeacons (ἀρχιδιάκονος, πρωτοδιάκονος, *archidiaconus*, fourth century)⁵ were added, along with others in due course, as the church organization continued to develop with the expansion of Christianity.⁶ In the fifth century, Pope Zosimus⁷ explained that a boy that entered the ranks of the clergy as a child is first a lector (until age twenty), then an acolyte (ἀκόλουθος) or subdeacon for four years, and a deacon for at least five years, before he can advance again and become a presbyter and after an unspecified time eventually a bishop.⁸ The actual time before receiving the next spiritual order was not so precisely determined as given by Zosimus, but it may have varied.⁹ According to the *Apostolic Constitutions* (*Constitutiones Apostolorum*),¹⁰ from the end of the fourth century, the orders in the hierarchy of the Church were ἐπορκιστής (ἐξορκιστής) ‘exorcist’, ψάλτης (ᾠδοί, ψαλτωδοί) ‘singer’, ἀναγνώστης ‘reader’, ὑποδιάκονος ‘subdeacon’, διακόνισσα ‘deaconess’, διάκονος ‘deacon’, πρεσβύτερος ‘presbyter’, and ἐπίσκοπος ‘bishop’. In addition to these orders, ὁμολογητής ‘confessor’, παρθένος ‘virgin’, and χήρα ‘widow’ are also mentioned, but it is said that they are not ordained.¹¹ In texts written before the middle of the fifth century, the term ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ‘patriarch’ is also present, but it is not found in the *Apostolic Constitutions*.¹²

⁴ P. van Geest, *Ordination*, Brill Encyclopedia of Early Christianity Online, (2018), https://doi-org.nukweb.nuk.uni-lj.si/10.1163/2589-7993_EECO_SIM_00002476.

⁵ T. Klauser, *Diakon*, Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum 3 (Stuttgart 1957), 900. Among the authors discussed in greater detail in this paper, the title is found in Socrates (*h.e.* 7.7.2) and Sozomen (*h.e.* 4.28.6–7, 6.30.8, 7.19.6, 8.9.1, 8.15.2).

⁶ For the gradual development of the role and importance of bishops, see R. Van Dam, *Bishop and Society*, The Cambridge History of Christianity, vol. 2: Constantine to c. 600, ed. A. Casiday, F. W. Norris (Cambridge, 2007), 343–366.

⁷ Zosimus papa, *Epistola ad Esicium Salonitanum episcopum* (PL 56, 572–573 = PL 20, 671). See also G. D. Dunn, *The Clerical Cursus honorum in the Late Antique Roman Church*, *Patrologia Pacifica Tertia: Selected Papers Presented to the Asia-Pacific Early Christian Studies Society* (Scrinium 9), ed. P. Allen, V. Baranov (Piscataway, NJ, 2013), 129–132, <https://doi.org/10.31826/9781463235642>.

⁸ See also G. D. Dunn, *The Clerical Cursus honorum in the Late Antique Roman Church*, *Patrologia Pacifica Tertia: Selected Papers Presented to the Asia-Pacific Early Christian Studies Society* (Scrinium 9), ed. P. Allen, V. Baranov (Piscataway, NJ, 2013), 122–124, <https://doi.org/10.31826/9781463235642>.

⁹ T. Klauser, *Diakon*, Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum 3 (Stuttgart 1957), 898.

¹⁰ *Const. App.* 2.26, 2.28, 8.16–28, 47. Details on the number of holders of various offices within the church hierarchy during late antiquity and at the beginning of the Middle Ages are provided by R. Van Dam, *Bishop and Society*, The Cambridge History of Christianity, vol. 2: Constantine to c. 600, ed. A. Casiday, F. W. Norris (Cambridge, 2007), 352.

¹¹ Regarding the exorcists, it is also stated in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (8.26) that the office is not ordained. It is classified among the minor orders, after the subdeacon, reader, and singer. For the offices of *ordines minores*, see B. Domagalski, *Ordines minores*, Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum 26 (Stuttgart 2015), 398–459. Epiphanius of Salamis lists bishops, presbyters, deacons, and subdeacons among the priests, and he separates lecturers, deaconesses, exorcists, translators (ἐρμηνευταί), gravediggers (κοπιαταί, *fossores*), and doorkeepers (θυρωροί, *ostiarii*) from these clerical positions; *Epiph. exp. fid.* 21.8–11. Of the offices listed (except the exorcist), the following are also mentioned in the *Apostolic Constitutions*: lecturers, deaconesses, and gatekeepers (πυλωροί); *Const. App.* 2.26, 2.28, 3.11, 6.17.

¹² On the vague terminology in the ecclesiastical hierarchy see C. Rapp, *The Elite*

Although the focus of this paper is on the *Church History* by the Anomoean/Eunomian Philostorgius, it also examines whether it is possible to detect deviations in his use of terms compared to Eusebius of Caesarea and pro-Nicene Greek ecclesiastical historians of the authors' time, Socrates Scholasticus, Sozomen, and Theodoret. Attention is also paid to the extent to which the terms used could be influenced by the fact that Philostorgius's work was not preserved in its original form but only through adaptations by other authors. Because the work was preserved to its greatest extent in Photius's *Epitome*, attention is primarily dedicated to this version.

As Ralph W. Mathisen pointed out,¹³ the problem faced in analyzing and interpreting the meaning of the terms is the fact that the terms used by the authors do not always have the same meaning and do not always denote the same functions. Therefore, sometimes the exact meaning of a term is not easy to grasp.

In comparison to the wide range of titles for various ecclesiastical offices that had become established in the Church by the first half of the fifth century, Philostorgius's *Church History* offers a rather modest selection. In Photius's *Epitome* of this work, the following ecclesiastical positions and functions are cited: bishop (ἐπίσκοπος, ἀρχιερεύς, ἑφορος), presbyter (πρεσβύτερος), deacon (διάκονος), monk (μόναχος, once), and clergy (κλήρος,¹⁴ once also πλήρωμα,¹⁵ seven times). The function of a bishop, as the most important in the church hierarchy at that time, is mentioned most often. Bishops are usually referred to by the term ἐπίσκοπος, which appears fifty-two times and is therefore the most frequent title for orders of the clergy in the *Epitome*. However, the term is not the only one that Philostorgius/Photius used to refer to bishops. In addition, the term for the episcopal function or dignity, ἐπισκοπή,¹⁶ is cited four times in the *Epitome*, and once the participle ἐπισκοπήσας,¹⁷ from the verb ἐπισκοπέω, appeared with the meaning of performing episcopal office.¹⁸ However, the terms ἐπίσκοπος, ἐπισκοπή, and ἐπισκοπήσας are not the only ones used to indicate the dignity of a bishop and his office in the Church. The terms ἀρχιερεύς for a bishop and ἀρχιερωσύνη for his office are sometimes cited instead of them. The term ἀρχιερεύς is written four times¹⁹ and

Status of Bishops in Late Antiquity in Ecclesiastical, Spiritual, and Social Contexts, Arethusa 33(3) (2000), 381.

¹³ See n. 1.

¹⁴ Philost. *h.e.* 2.5.2, 5.1.5, 6.1.1, 6.1.3, 6.1.5, 7.4.5, 9.7.

¹⁵ Philost. *h.e.* 10.1.1.

¹⁶ Philost., *h.e.* 3.12.2: τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας (the see of Alexandria), 3.12.3: τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν (referring to the see of Alexandria); 3.19: Σεκοῦνδου καὶ Σέρρα εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν τὸν Ἀέτιον προχειριζομένων; 4.3.2: τὸ μὲν ἀξίωμα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς (referring to the title of the bishop of Rome).

¹⁷ Philost., *h.e.* 4.12.2: Εὐδόξιος, ὁ τότε τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐπισκοπήσας.

¹⁸ Cf. Philost., *h.e.* 3.12.4: κάκει διήγεν τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπισκοπούμενος (and there spent his time looking after his own concerns; translated by Philip R. Amidon).

¹⁹ Philost., *h.e.* 1.8: τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ συστήναι σύνοδον ἐν ᾗ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχιερέων θεοῦ (high priests of God) καὶ Βασιλέα τὸν Ἀμασειᾶς ἐπίσκοπον παρεῖναι καὶ Μελέτιον τὸν Σεβαστουπόλεως; 2.10: Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερέως Ἀλεξάνδρου, τὸν Νικομηδείας φησὶν Εὐσέβιον εἰς τὸν τῆς νεοκτίστου πόλεως ἀρχιερατικὸν μεταστήσαι θρόνον (He says that at the death of Alexander, the archbishop of the city, Eusebius of Nico-

ἀρχιερωσύνη two times.²⁰ Two times the adjective ἀρχιερατικός²¹ is also used. The following terms, which refer to bishops in the *Epitome*, are ἔφορος (four times)²² and words related to it: ἐφοράω (once),²³ ἐφορεία (once),²⁴ and ἐφορεύω (twice).²⁵ In two cases, the verb ἱεράομαι (ιεράσθαι) and once the noun ἱερωσύνη are used to denote the function of bishops, and in one case a bishop is referred to by the phrase τῆς δὲ κατὰ Συρίαν Λαοδικείας ἐπιστατῶν.²⁶ In addition to the terms above, the

media, moved to the archiepiscopal throne of the newly founded city; translated by Philip R. Amidon); 5.1.4: ὁ δὲ Ἀκάκιος ... ἀνατρέχων ἐπὶ τὴν Καισάρειαν ταῖς χηρευούσαις ἐκκλησίαις ἀρχιερεῖς καθίστη (Now Acacius, ..., returned to Caesarea and appointed high priests to the widowed churches; translated by Philip R. Amidon); 7.8.2: ἐπίσκοπος ἦν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ὁ Βαβύλας. Νομεριανῶ δὲ τῷ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ ἦ, ὡς ἔνιοι, Δεκίῳ φασι κατὰ δὴ τινα δαίμονα γνῶμην ἐμπεσεῖν πληθυσίᾳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰσελθεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ. τὸν δὲ γε τοῦ θεοῦ ἀρχιερέα κατὰ τὰ προτύλεια στάντα τοῦ νεῶ ... (When Babylas was bishop of Antioch, some demon, they say, put it into the head of the Roman emperor Numerian, or, as some say, Decius, to enter the church when it was full. But the high priest of God stood in the entrance of the church ...; translated by Philip R. Amidon).

²⁰ Philost., *h.e.* 1.3: Ὅτι οὗτος ὁ δυσσεβὴς φησι τὰς ψήφους τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἐπ' Ἀρειον φερομένας αὐτὸν μᾶλλον Ἀλέξανδρον προτιμήσαντα ἑαυτοῦ, περιελθεῖν αὐτῷ ταύτας καταπράξασθαι (The impious fellow says that the votes for the archbishopric were in favour of Arius, who preferred Alexander to himself and managed to have them transferred to him; translated by Philip R. Amidon); 2.11.2: τὸν δὲ Ἀθανάσιον κρατυνόμενον τὰ καθ' ἑαυτόν, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς πόλεως πρὸς βασιλέα γράψαι τὴν εἰς τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀνάρρησιν αὐτοῦ. τὸν δὲ νομίσαντα κοινῆς βουλῆς εἶναι τὸ γράμμα, ἐπιψηφίσαι τὴν κατοχὴν τοῦ θρόνου (But when Athanasius had secured his position, he sent the emperor an announcement of his elevation to the archbishopric that was made to seem as though it had come from the city itself. The emperor, thinking that the letter had been written by the city council, endorsed his possession of the throne; translated by Philip R. Amidon).

²¹ Philost., *h.e.* 2.10: Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερέως Ἀλεξάνδρου, τὸν Νικομηδείας φησὶν Εὐσέβιον εἰς τὸν τῆς νεοκτίστου πόλεως ἀρχιερατικὸν μεταστῆσαι θρόνον (He says that at the death of Alexander, the archbishop of the city, Eusebius of Nicomedia, moved to the archiepiscopal throne of the newly founded city; translated by Philip R. Amidon.); 2.11.5: διότι μὴ παρ' αὐτῶν ἀνάσχοιτο τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν χειροθεσίαν ὑποστῆναι (because he had refused to accept ordination to the archiepiscopal office from their hands; translated by Philip R. Amidon).

²² Philost., *h.e.* 1.9: τὸ δὲ ἄλλο στίφος τῶν Ἀρειανῶν ἐφόρων (the remaining group of Arian leaders; translated by Philip R. Amidon); 3.4.3: καὶ ἐφόρου λαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν ὁμοδόξων ἀξίωμα (he received the dignity of bishop from those who shared his beliefs; translated by Philip R. Amidon); 3.12.5: Ἀέτιον δὲ τὸν ἔφορον τῆς Παλαιστίνης (Aetius, the bishop of Palestine; translated by Philip R. Amidon); 3.15.6: ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔφορος ἐγγέγονει (but when Antony became bishop; translated by Philip R. Amidon).

²³ Philost., *h.e.* 3.6.5: πολλῆς δὲ τῆς τιμῆς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον ἀξιοθεῖς, πόλιν μὲν ἰδίαν ἐφορᾶν οὐκ ἐκληρώσατο (He was shown great honor by the emperor upon his return, although he did not receive a city of his own as his see; translated by Philip R. Amidon).

²⁴ Philost., *h.e.* 3.15.2: ὃς ἐκ τῆς ἐφορείας Τύρου εἰς τὴν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας μετέστη (who had transferred from the see of Tyre to that of Antioch; translated by Philip R. Amidon).

²⁵ Philost., *h.e.* 8.17.1: Θεόδωρος μὲν, φησὶν, ἐκδηλότατος ἐγγέγονει, τῆς ἐν Θράκῃ ἐφορεύων Ἡρακλείας (the most renowned was Theodore, bishop of Heraclea in Thrace; translated by Philip R. Amidon); 9.8.3: ἐτεθνήκει γὰρ Εὐγένιος ὁ ταύτην ἐφορεύων (Eugenius, its bishop, had died; translated by Philip R. Amidon).

²⁶ Philost., *h.e.* 8.17.1: ...who was bishop of Laodicea in Syria; translated by Philip

term *θρόνος* is used sixteen times to denote an episcopal seat/chair or bishop's cathedral, also indicating at the same time the bishop's office and its power,²⁷ and the term *παροιμία* twice in the meaning of 'bishopric'.²⁸

In the *Epitome*, presbyters are mentioned much less often than bishops. Only the term *πρεσβύτερος* is used to denote this office, and it appears ten times.²⁹

R. Amidon.

²⁷ Philost., *h.e.* 2.10: τὸν Νικομηδείας φησὶν Εὐσέβιον εἰς τὸν τῆς νεοκτίστου πόλεως ἀρχιερατικὸν μεταστῆσαι θρόνον (Eusebius of Nicomedia, moved to the archiepiscopal throne of the newly founded city; translated by Philip R. Amidon); 2.11.2: τὸν δὲ νομίσαντα κοινῆς βουλῆς εἶναι τὸ γράμμα, ἐπιπηφίσαι τὴν κατοχὴν τοῦ θρόνου; 2.18: ἐπεὶ Γρηγόριον ἐμεμαθήκει τετελευτηκότα, ὡς εἶχεν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς νεῶς εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν χωρῆσαι καὶ τὸν θρόνον ἀναλαβεῖν (Learning that Gregory had died, he made his way just as he was straight from the ship to the church and resumed the throne; translated by Philip R. Amidon); 3.3: Ὅτι φησὶν ὡς ὁ Κωνσταντίος γνοὺς Ἀθανάσιον τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας θρόνον ἀναλαβεῖν, ...; 3.15.3: ἀντ' αὐτοῦ δὲ Εὐάλιος τὸν θρόνον ἔσχεν; 3.18: Ὅτι φησὶ Φλαβιανὸν καὶ Παυλῖνον, οἳ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Ἀντιοχείας θρόνον εἶχον διανειμῶμενοι (He says that Flavian and Paulinus, who later shared the see of Antioch; translated by Philip R. Amidon); 4.3.2: τὸν μὲν Ὅσιον εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παροιμίαν τὴν Κουδρουβὴν τῆς Ἰσπανίας ἐπανελθεῖν καὶ τοῦ θρόνου ἄρχειν (Hosius [he says] returned to his bishopric of Cordova and governed his see; translated by Philip R. Amidon); 4.4.1: Εὐδόξιον, φησὶν, ἐκ Γερμανικείας μεταστησάμενοι οἱ ὁμόδοξοι ἐπιβιάζουσι τῷ θρόνῳ (those who shared the same views brought Eudoxius over from Germanicia and installed him on the throne; translated by Philip R. Amidon); 4.12.2: Εὐδόξιος, ὁ τότε τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐπισκοπήσας, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ὑπελθὼν θρόνον; 5.1.1: Ὅτι, φησὶ, μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀκάκιος τοὺς περὶ Βασίλειον καὶ Εὐστάθιον, ..., καθαιρεῖ τῶν θρόνων (He says that afterwards Acacius deposed Basil and Eustathius and the company from their sees; translated by Philip R. Amidon); 5.1.1: Εὐδόξιος ἐξ Ἀντιοχείας Κωνσταντίου γνώμῃ ἀντικαθιδρύεται τῷ θρόνῳ (Eudoxius from Antioch was enthroned as his successor with Constantius's approval; translated by Philip R. Amidon); 5.1.5: Μελέτιον δὲ τῆς Σεβαστείας τῶν Ἀρμενίων μεταπεμψάμενος ἀντὶ Εὐδοξίου τῷ θρόνῳ ἐγκαθιδρύει ([Acacius] also summoned Meletius from Sebaste in Armenia and enthroned him in place of Eudoxius; translated by Philip R. Amidon); 5.1.6: τοῦ δὲ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐπάρχας θρόνον, θερμὸς ἦν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου ὑπέρμαχος (but once enthroned in Antioch he became a doughty defender of the consubstantialist doctrine; translated by Philip R. Amidon); 7.2.2: Γεωργίου διαφθαρέντος, τὸν οἰκεῖον θρόνον ὁ Ἀθανάσιος ... ἀναλαμβάνεται (Once George was slain, however, Athanasius resumed his own throne; translated by Philip R. Amidon); 7.4.3: μηχανᾶται τοὺς ἐν αἰτίαις ἐκβεβλημένους τῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ τοὺς ἀντ' ἐκείνων ἔχοντας τοὺς θρόνους εἰς πόλεμον συρράξει (he thought up the idea of kindling war between those bishops who had been banished on various charges and those who had replaced them in their sees; translated by Philip R. Amidon); 9.14.1: Ὅτι, τελευτήσαντος Εὐζώϊου τοῦ Ἀντιοχείας, ὁ Δωρόθεος ἐξ Ἡρακλείας τῆς Θράκης πρὸς τὸν ἐκείνου μεθίσταται θρόνον. In Philostorgius's *Church History*, the term is not only used to denote an episcopal office and power. It can also have other meanings: a seat of a praetorian prefect (3.28.4) or a throne of a usurper (10.8).

²⁸ Philost., *h.e.* 4.3: τὸν μὲν Ὅσιον εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παροιμίαν τὴν Κουδρουβὴν τῆς Ἰσπανίας ἐπανελθεῖν; 6.4.3: καὶ θάπτον αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπαναδραμεῖν ἐκέλευεν παροιμίαν (ordering him to return at once to his own see; translated by Philip R. Amidon).

²⁹ Philost., *h.e.* 1.4: Ἀλέξανδρον τινα πρεσβύτερον Βαύκαλιν ἐπονομαζόμενον; 2.8: ὃς ... πρεσβύτερός τε κατέστη παρὰ τῶν ὁμοφρόνων (the information refers to Agapetus); 3.15.5: τὴν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τάξιν (the information refers to Antony, Aetius's teacher, who was first a presbyter and later a bishop of Tarsus); 3.15.6: πρεσβύτερος δὲ ἦν ὁ Λεόντιος; 3.17.1: Ὅτι Λεόντιος, φησὶν, ὃν ὁ ἔμπροσθεν λόγος πρεσβύτερόν; 6.1.2: τινος τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πρεσβυτέρου, Ἡσυχίου τοῦνομα; 8.17.2: τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐκκλησίας πρεσβύτεροι; 9.9.1: πρεσβύτερος Ἀνύσιος; 10.1.1: οἱ δὲ ταύτης πρεσβύτεροι Ἀστέριός τε καὶ Κρισπίνος;

Among the holders of this function are eight persons that the author mentions by name: the Alexandrian presbyter Alexander Baucalis, Philostorgius's fellow sectarian Agapetus, Leontius (later bishop of Antioch; twice), Hesychius, who incited the Church in Constantinople against Eunomius, Philostorgius's grandfather Anysius, Asterius and Crispin (pro-Arian presbyters of Antioch), and Philostorgius's fellow sectarian Eudoxius (the ascetic).

Deacons³⁰ are also mentioned relatively rarely. For their rank only the term διάκονος is used, and it appears five times.³¹ In addition to the term διάκονος, one also comes across the term διακονία (four times) to define a diaconate (the office of a deacon).³² In one case, the part of the church used by ministers (the sacristy), διακονικόν,³³ is also mentioned. Whereas various persons that were directly connected to Philostorgius or Aetius, were adherents of Eunomius's doctrine, or were at least of pro-Arian orientation, are mentioned as presbyters, almost only Aetius (five times) and Eunomius (three times) are mentioned as deacons.

Putting aside Philostorgius's fondness for Aetius and Eunomius, it can be summarized that, compared to deacons and presbyters, the role of bishops was certainly seen as more important—or at least more prominent—in key events in the history of the Church, which is why they are mentioned much more frequently in Photius's *Epitome* of Philostorgius's work.³⁴ As already shown, in addition to the term ἐπίσκοπος to designate bishops, the terms ἀρχιερεὺς and ἔφορος are also used. In the past they all denoted holders of various functions.³⁵ However, whereas

10.12: πρεσβυτέρου δὲ τὴν τάξιν.

³⁰ The oldest evidence for the existence of the function in the Church is Phil. 1, 1; the virtues that candidates for bishops and deacons must possess are presented in 1 Tim. 3, 1–13; see T. Klauser, *Diakon*, Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum 3 (Stuttgart 1957), 888–889.

³¹ Philost., *h.e.* 3.4.3: καὶ δὴ καὶ εἰς βαθμὸν διακόνων παραγγεῖλαι (He even entered the ranks of the deacons; translated by Philip R. Amidon [the information refers to Theophilus the Indian]); 4.8.4: τὴν τε χειροτονίαν τοῦ διακόνου ὑποδέχεται (the information refers to Eunomius); 4.12.1: Βασιλείος ἕτερος ..., διακόνων ἔτι τάξιν ἔχων; 4.12.2: Ἀέτιος μὲν καὶ Εὐνόμιος ... διακόνων ἑκάτερος βαθμὸν ἀνέχων; 4.12.5: οὐκ ἔφασαν δεῖν ἐπισκόπους ὄντας διακόνῳ περὶ δογμάτων εἰς λόγους καθίστασθαι ([they] said that those who were bishops should not dispute with a deacon about doctrine; translated by Philip R. Amidon [the information refers to Aetius]).

³² Philost., *h.e.* 3.17.1: εἰς διακονίαν τὸν μαθητὴν προχειρίζεται (the information refers to Aetius); 3.17.1: ὁ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὸ τῆς διακονίας ἔργον ὑπεστάλη (the information refers to Aetius); 4.5.1: Ὅτι Εὐδόξιος μὲν, φησὶν, εἰς διακονίαν Εὐνόμιον προχειρίζεται; 8.4.4: μετὰ τὴν καθάρσιν τῆς διακονίας (the information refers to Aetius and his deposition from the diaconate).

³³ Philost., *h.e.* 7.3.4: ἐν τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διακονικῷ (to the sacristy of the church; translated by Philip R. Amidon). For διακονικόν see also T. Klauser, *Diakon*, Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum 3 (Stuttgart 1957), 901.

³⁴ One can probably imagine that the figures would be different if the author had focused on the everyday life of Christian community rather than on important events related to developments in the politico-ecclesiastical sphere. In presenting everyday life, the role of presbyters and deacons would probably have come much more to the fore, and the role of bishops would have been more in the background.

³⁵ For instance, ἐπίσκοπος can also refer to a supervisor, or inspector, sent by Athens to subject states; Aristophanes. *Aves* 1023.

the terms ἐπίσκοπος³⁶ and ἑφορος were never used in the past to describe priests of other religions, the term ἀρχιερεύς meant precisely that: a high priest in the pagan religion and also in Judaism.³⁷ The beginnings of the usage of the latter term (ἀρχιερεύς) for bishops can be traced back to Hippolytus of Rome,³⁸ whereas the traces of the use of the term ἐπίσκοπος in the meaning of ‘bishop’ can be traced—as the scriptures prove³⁹—back to the beginnings of the Christian community’s formation. As already shown, the term ἀρχιερεύς is rarely used in the *Epitome*. If one compares the frequency of its occurrence (four times) with the number of the cases in which the terms ἐπίσκοπος (fifty-two times) and ἑφορος (four times) are used to denote the function of a bishop, it can be seen that the term appears in only slightly more than 6.5% of all cases. However, if, in addition to the terms that refer directly to the function of a bishop, one also considers the terms that indicate the episcopal see and bishop’s authority, the percentage reached by the terms ἀρχιερεύς, ἀρχιερωσύνη, and ἀρχιερατικός is slightly more than 8%. If one compares the frequency of use of the term ἑφορος with that of other terms referring to bishops, exactly the same result is obtained.

It is interesting to compare how the terms (ἀρχιερεύς, ἀρχιερωσύνη, and ἀρχιερατικός) are used by the ecclesiastical historians Socrates Scholasticus, Sozomen, and Theodoret of Cyrus, who wrote their *Church Histories* around the same time as Philostorgius. In Socrates’s *Church History*,⁴⁰ the term ἀρχιερεύς appears only once, and it does not denote a bishop, but the dignity of Pontifex Maximus assumed by Emperor Julian. In Sozomen, the term ἀρχιερεύς appears three times.⁴¹ The word twice refers to a high priest of a pagan religion (once again it is used to denote Julian as a high priest / Pontifex Maximus). The term ἀρχιερωσύνη is also

³⁶ On the use of the term in the non-Christian environment, see H. W. Beyer, H. Karpp, *Bischof*, Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum 2 (Stuttgart 1954), 395–399.

³⁷ B. Botte, *Archiereus*, Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum 1 (Stuttgart 1950), 602–603.

³⁸ B. Botte, *Archiereus*, Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum 1 (Stuttgart 1950), 603.

³⁹ Phil. 1, 1; Acts. 20, 28; see also H. W. Beyer, H. Karpp, *Bischof*, Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum 2 (Stuttgart 1954), 400.

⁴⁰ Socr., *h.e.* 3.1.39: περιῶν γὰρ κατὰ πόλεις τοὺς τε ναοὺς ἀνοίγων τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν προσέφερεν καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀρχιερεῖα ὠνόμαζεν (but everywhere opened the pagan temples, offering sacrifice to the idols; and designating himself [i.e., Julian] “Pontifex Maximus”; translated by A. C. Zenos).

⁴¹ Soz., *h.e.* 5.1.2: πρότερον χριστιανίζειν δοκῶν, ἀρχιερεῖα ὠνόμαζεν ἑαυτὸν (although he had previously confessed Christianity, he declared himself [i.e., Julian] high-priest; translated by Chester D. Hartranft); 5.16.5: Ἐπιστολὴ Ἰουλιανοῦ βασιλέως Ἀρσακίῳ ἀρχιερεῖ Γαλατίας (The letter of Emperor Julian to Arsacius, High-Priest of Galatia; translated by Chester D. Hartranft); but 6.38.6: οὐχ οἷός τε γὰρ εἶμι φέρειν ἀρχιερέως ὄνομα καὶ τιμὴν ἀξίως (I am not worthy of the honor of bearing the name and dignity of chief priest [i.e., bishop]; translated by Chester D. Hartranft).

used three times,⁴² and it refers twice to the episcopal see of Alexandria and once to the episcopal see of Constantinople. A similar pattern is found in Photius's *Epitome*, except that there the term refers only to the episcopal see of Alexandria.⁴³

Much more often, the terms are used by Theodoret. The term ἀρχιερεύς was written by him thirty-two times,⁴⁴ ἀρχιερατικός ten times,⁴⁵ and ἀρχιερωσύνη sev-

⁴² Soz., *h.e.* 2.17.5: Ἐγὼ δὲ πείθομαι τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον οὐκ ἄθεεῖ παρελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην (For my part, I am convinced that it was by Divine appointment that Athanasius succeeded to the high-priesthood; translated by Chester D. Hartranft); 6.19.1: Ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐτελεύτησεν Ἀθανάσιος ὁ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίας ἡγούμενος, ἀμρὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἐνιαυτοὺς τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀνύσας (Athanasius, bishop of the church of Alexandria, died about this period, after having completed his high-priesthood in about forty-six years; translated by Chester D. Hartranft); 7.7.9: ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα καλὸς τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς εὖρεθῇ, ᾧ δέοι πιστεῦσαι τῆς μεγίστης καὶ βασιλευούσης πόλεως τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην (so that the most excellent and best individual might be intrusted with the high-priesthood of the great and royal city; translated by Chester D. Hartranft).

⁴³ Palladius in *Dialogus de vita S. Joanni Chrysostomi* 7 (p. 39, 5) uses the term ἀρχιερεύς to refer to the bishop that heads the *dioecesis* of Egypt, the later patriarchate of Alexandria.

⁴⁴ Thdt. *h.e.* 1.7.2, 1.7.3, 1.7.7, 1.7.10, 1.9.14, 1.1.2, 1.21.9, 1.31.2, 1.33.1, 1.33.2, 2.7.1 (bishops); 2.8.57, 2.9.4 (Euphratas, bishop of Cologne, and Vicentius, bishop of Capua), 2.26.5 (bishops), 2.27.2 (Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem), 4.11.5 (Flavianus, bishop of Antioch), 4.19.3, 4.20.2 (bishops), 5.8.7 (bishop of Constantinople), 5.18.8, 5.18.12, 5.18.13, 5.18.15, 5.18.23, 5.18.24 (Ambrosius, bishop of Mediolanum), 5.21.5 (bishops), 5.21.8, 5.21.15 (Marcellus, bishop of Apamea), 5.22.3 (Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria), 5.37.2 (bishop of Constantinople?), 5.37.7 (Eunomius, bishop of Theodosiopolis).

⁴⁵ Thdt. *h.e.* 1.3.3: τῆς δὲ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατὰ τοῦτον αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν Ἀλέξανδρος τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς ἡξιοῦτο λειτουργίας (At this same period also, Alexander, ..., governed the church of Constantinople; translated by Blomfield Jackson); 1.23.8: ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς αὐτῷ χάριτος μεταδούς (After having said this, he conferred upon him the episcopal dignity; translated by Blomfield Jackson); 4.6.7: τοιοῦτον δὴ οὖν καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἀρχιερατικοῖς ἐγκαθιδρύσατε θώκοις (Seat now upon your archiepiscopal throne a man of such character; translated by Blomfield Jackson); 4.7.4: ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ τῆς θείας τοῦ παναγίου βαπτίσματος ἀπήλαυσε δωρεὰς καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν ἐδέξατο χάριν ([Ambrose] then received the divine gift of holy baptism, and the grace of the archiepiscopal office; translated by Blomfield Jackson); 4.21.1: Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς ἀρχιερατικοῖς αὐτὸν ἐνίδρυσαν θώκοις (No sooner had they seated him on the episcopal throne; translated by Blomfield Jackson); 4.23.1–2: ἤτησεν ἀρχιερέα προβληθῆναι τῷ ἔθνει Μωϋσῆν τινα ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ Παλαιστίνης ἐσκηνημένον. ταύτην δεξάμενος ὁ Βάλης τὴν αἴτησιν, εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀπαχθῆναι τὸν θεῖον ἄνδρα προσέταξε, κάκειθεν αὐτὸν τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν ὑποδέξασθαι χάριν ([Mavia] begged that to the dignity of high priest of her tribe might be advanced one, Moses by name, who dwelt on the confines of Egypt and Palestine. This request Valens granted, and ordered the holy man to be conveyed to Alexandria, and there, as the most convenient place in the neighbourhood, to receive episcopal grace; translated by Blomfield Jackson); 4.23.5: μετὰ τῆσδε τῆς ἀξιαγάστου πίστεως τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν εἰσδεξάμενος χάριν, πρὸς τοὺς αἰτήσαντας παρεγένετο (After receiving the episcopal grace of the right worthy faith Moses returned to the people who had asked for him; translated by Blomfield Jackson). In the story of Mavia, the queen of Saracens, and the ordination of Moses, the term ἀρχιερεύς is also used in Sozomen (*h.e.* 6.38.6; see n. 39); 4.35.1: Καὶ Βετράνιον δέ, παντοδαπῇ μὲν λαμπρυνόμενος ἀρετῇ, πάσης δὲ τῆς Σκυθίας τὰς πόλεις ἀρχιερατικῶς ἰθύνειν πεπιστευμένος (Betrano, a man distinguished by various virtues, and entrusted with the episcopal government of all the cities of Scythia (= bishop of all of Scythia); translated by Blomfield Jackson); 5.4.2: Ἀπαμείας δὲ τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν ἐπιμέλειαν Ἰωάννην πεπίστευκεν (The see of Apamea

en times.⁴⁶ In all cases, they denote either a bishop or the dignity and sphere of authority connected with him. Theodoret never expresses the function of a high priest in a pagan religion with these terms.

In his *Bibliotheca*, Photius uses the terms according to the topic he is writing about: when writing about the history of the Jews he uses them to refer to the Jewish high priests, and when writing about Christian Church he uses them to refer to bishops and their authority.

However, they are never found with the meaning 'bishop' in the *Church History* of Eusebius of Caesarea, whose work served the four aforementioned ecclesiastical historians as a model and incentive to continue writing about the history of the Church. The word ἀρχιερεύς appears thirty-five times⁴⁷ and ἀρχιερωσύνη ten times⁴⁸ in his work. They refer either to the dignity of Jesus Christ or to the function of the high priest among the pagans or among the Hebrews and Jews, but they are never used as a designation for bishops. The term most often used to describe a bishop is ἐπίσκοπος, but other terms also appear, such as πρεσβύτερος (in the meaning of 'bishop'),⁴⁹ ποιμήν,⁵⁰ or προηγούμενος.⁵¹

Among the terms used by Philostorgius to denote the function of a bishop, it is also necessary to explore the use of the term ἑφορος. In Photius's *Epitome*, the word appears four times in the meaning of 'bishop'. The word occurs twice in Eusebius's *Church History*, but it never refers to a bishop. In both cases, it denotes God, who oversees and knows everything.⁵² With exactly the same meaning, the term is used twice by Socrates.⁵³ Sozomen uses the word three times, once

Meletius entrusted to John; translated by Blomfield Jackson); 5.8.8: τὸν δὲ Μάξιμον, ὡς τῆς Ἀπολιναρίου φρενοβλαβείας μετεληχότα, τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς ἀξίας γυμνώσαντες ἀπεκήρυξαν (Maximus, as having participated in the insanity of Apollinarius, they stripped of his episcopal rank and rejected; translated by Blomfield Jackson).

⁴⁶ Thdt., *h.e.* 1.2.9 (referring to Alexander, bishop of Alexandria), 1.3.1 (referring to the bishops of Rome), 1.24.11 (referring to the bishop sent by Constantine to convert Iberians to Christianity), 2.26.9 (referring to the bishopric of Cyrillus of Jerusalem), 2.31.5 (bishops), 4.6.6 (an episcopate), 5.35.1 (referring to Alexander, bishop of Antioch).

⁴⁷ Eus., *h.e.* 1.3.2 and 5 (the high priests of the Jews), 1.3.8 (Jesus Christ is the only high priest of all), 1.3.19 (Jesus Christ as the high priest), 1.6.3 (Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews), 1.6.6 and 7 (twice) (the Jewish high priests Aristobulus and Hyrcanus), 1.6.9–10 (the high priest of the Jews), 1.7.12 (Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews), 1.10 (the high priests of the Jews during Jesus Christ's lifetime; seven times), 2.20 (the high priests of the Jews), 2.20.5 (Jonathan, the high priest of the Jews), 3.8.3 (the high priest of the Jews), 4.13.1 (Mark Antony as Pontifex Maximus), 8.14.9 (a high priest set over pagan priests in every province), 4.15.35 (Jesus Christ as the high priest), 8.17.3 (Galerius as Pontifex Maximus), 8.17.4 (Constantine as Pontifex Maximus), 9.4.2 (pagan high priests), 10.4.22–25, 68 (Jesus Christ as the high priest; five times).

⁴⁸ Eus., *h.e.* 1.3.2–11, 1.6.6–8, 1.10.2–5, 2.23.21–24 (the dignity of the high priesthood by the Hebrews and Jews).

⁴⁹ Eus., *h.e.* 3.23.8.

⁵⁰ Eus., *h.e.* 3.4.10, 4.11.6, 7.3.1, 7.28.1., 7.30.1, 10.4.23.

⁵¹ Eus., *h.e.* 3.36.10.

⁵² Eus., *h.e.* 1.2.20: θεὸς ὁ πάντων ἑφορος; 6.9.8: τοῦ πάντων ἐφόρου θεοῦ.

⁵³ Socr. *h.e.* 1.9.33: τῷ πάντων ἐφόρῳ θεῷ; 1.34.6: ὁ πάντων ἑφορος θεός.

Table 1

	Eusebius of Caesarea, <i>Church History</i>	Photius's <i>Epitome</i> of Philostorgius, <i>Church History</i>	Socrates Scholasticus, <i>Church History</i>	Sozomen, <i>Church History</i>	Theoderet, <i>Church History</i>
ἀρχιερεῖς					
bishops assembled at the Council of Nicaea		8.1			1.7.2, 1.7.3, 1.7.7, 1.9.14
bishops assembled at the Synod of Tyre					1.31.2
bishops assembled at the Synod of Serdica					2.7.1, 2.26.5
bishops of various episcopal sees		5.1.4			1.7.10, 1.1.2, 1.21.9, 1.33.1, 1.33.2, 4.19.3, 4.20.2, 5.21.5
bishop of Constantinople		2.10			5.8.7, 5.37.2
bishop of Alexandria					5.22.3
bishop of Antioch		7.8.2			4.11.5
bishop of Jerusalem					2.27.2
bishop of Apamea					5.21.8, 5.21.15
bishop of Theodosiopolis					5.37.7
bishop of Mediolanum					5.18.8, 5.18.12, 5.18.13, 5.18.15, 5.18.23, 5.18.24
bishop of Cologne					7.8.57, 2.9.4
bishop of Capua					7.8.57, 2.9.4
Moses, requested bishop for Mavia's people				6.38.6	
Pontifex Maximus	4.13.1, 8.17.3, 8.17.4		3.1.39	5.1.2	
pagan high priests	8.14.9, 9.4.2			5.16.5	
Jesus Christ as the high priest	1.3.8, 1.3.19, 4.15.35, 10.4.22–25 (four times), 10.4.68				
the Jewish high priests	1.3.2, 1.3.5, 1.6.3, 1.6.6, 1.6.7, 1.6.9, 1.6.10 (twice), 1.7.12, 1.10 (seven times), 2.20 (three times), 2.20.5, 3.8.3				
ἀρχιερωσύνη					
the dignity of the Hebrew and Jewish high priesthood	1.3.2–11, 1.6.6– 8, 1.10.2–5, 2.23.21–24				
the episcopal see of Alexandria		1.3, 2.11		2.17.5, 6.19.1	1.2.9
the episcopal see of Constantinople				7.7.9	
the episcopal see of Rome					1.3.1
the episcopal see of Jerusalem					2.26.9
the episcopal see of Antioch					5.35.1
referring to the bishop of the Iberians					1.24.11
referring to various bishops					2.31.5, 4.6.6
ἀρχιερατικός					

referring to the episcopal see of Constantinople		2.10			1.3.3, 5.8.8
referring to the bishop of Alexandria		2.11.5			4.21.1
referring to the bishop of Mediolanum					4.6.7, 4.7.4
referring to Moses, requested bishop for Mavia's people					4.23.1-2, 4.23.5
referring to the bishop of Axum					1.23.9
referring to the bishop of all of Scythia					4.35.1
referring to the bishop of Apamea					5.4.2

referring to the omniscient Christian God,⁵⁴ once to Jesus Christ, the guardian of Constantius's Empire,⁵⁵ and once to the pagan god Helios.⁵⁶ Theodoret also uses the term twice in the sense of the all-seeing Christian God,⁵⁷ and in two subsequent cases for referring to people in the role of protectors and overseers.⁵⁸ However, in none of the pro-Nicene ecclesiastical historians does the term refer to a bishop. Only a slightly different picture is presented in Photius's *Bibliotheca*. The term ἑφορος appears four times,⁵⁹ and in one instance it denotes a bishop; that is, Maximus of Jerusalem (Anon., *Life of Paul of Constantinople*).⁶⁰

If one compares the frequency of the use and the meaning given to individual terms by the authors under consideration, the terms ἀρχιερεύς and ἑφορος definitely attract attention. The word ἀρχιερεύς, in addition to its most frequent meaning (a chief priest or a bishop), covers a range of semantic nuances. This is clearly shown by the fact that in *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* almost two pages of fine print are devoted to it.

There are three deviations that immediately catch the eye: 1) very few examples of the use of the terms in the *Church Histories* of Philostorgius, Socrates, and Sozomen, and 2) very frequent use in Eusebius and Theodoret, whereby 3) Eusebius uses the terms exclusively to denote pagan and Jewish high priests and Jesus Christ, and Theodoret to denote bishops, episcopal sees, and their authority. The leap in the meaning of the terms found when comparing the *Church Histories* of Eusebius and Theodoret is not surprising; what is surprising is the fact that the three ecclesiastical historians that wrote their works between the creation of Eusebius's and Theodoret's *Church Histories* hardly use the terms. Based on the material examined, the discrepancy cannot be reliably explained. It probably reflects several rea-

⁵⁴ Soz. *h.e.* 2.28.6.

⁵⁵ Soz. *h.e.* 4.18.2: τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ..., τοῦ καὶ τῆς σῆς βασιλείας ἐφόρου.

⁵⁶ Soz. *h.e.* 6.2.11.

⁵⁷ Thdt. *h.e.* 1.10.2, 1.30.1.

⁵⁸ Thdt. *h.e.* 1.8.4, 5.6.2.

⁵⁹ Photius, *Bibliotheca*, codices 251 (Hierocles, *On Premonition*; used twice) and 279 (Helladius, *Chrestomathy*).

⁶⁰ Photius, *Bibliotheca*, codex 257: Μάξιμος δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἑφορος. However, Photius does not include the word in his *Lexicon* with the meaning of 'bishop', although he interprets the word ἐφορεία in the sense of 'diocese'; C. Theodoridis (ed.), *Photii patriarchae lexicon (E—M)*, vol. 2, Berlin – New York 1998, <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/nukweb.nuk.uni-lj.si/Iris/Cite?4040:032:220098>.

sons: the rapidly growing role of the Christian Church in the Roman Empire and, consequently, the increasing importance of its representatives, for whom new titles were gradually gaining ground.⁶¹ The development shown in Table 1 was probably also influenced by the area where the works were written. In Palestine and Syria, where both bishops, Eusebius and Theodoret, wrote, the influence of Jewish tradition was probably more present than in Constantinople and Cappadocia, where Socrates, Sozomen, and Philostorgius lived and worked. In the *Church Histories* of the latter three, the terms appear more often in Cappadocian Philostorgius and in Sozomen, who was originally from Bethlema near Gaza. In addition, the fact that Eusebius and Theodoret were bishops and therefore may have paid more attention to the use of appropriate titles than the other three ecclesiastical historians, who were laymen, could have also influenced the differences.

The next example that attracts attention is the use of the term ἑφορος. Again, it is a word with a long history, especially of denoting magistrates, of which five *ephoroi* of Sparta are the best known.⁶² As has already been stated and as Table 2 also shows, Philostorgius uses the word to designate bishops. His work, preserved

Table 2

	Eusebius of Caesarea, <i>Church History</i>	Photius's <i>Epitome</i> of Philostorgius, <i>Church History</i>	Socrates Scholasticus, <i>Church History</i>	Sozomen, <i>Church History</i>	Theodoret, <i>Church History</i>	Photius, <i>Bibliotheca</i>
ἑφορος, ...						
bishop		1.9, 3.4.3, 3.12.5, 3.15				Cod. 257
episcopal see		3.6.5, 3.15				
God, who oversees and knows everything	1.2.20, 6.9.8		1.9.33, 1.34.6	2.28.6	1.10.2, 1.30.1	
Jesus Christ				4.18.2		
pagan gods				6.2.11		Cod. 251 (twice), Cod. 279
people in the role of protectors and					5.6.2, 1.8.4	

in Photius's *Epitome*, is the only one among the works under consideration—except for one example in Photius's *Bibliotheca*—in which the word has such a meaning. All other authors, including Photius, use the word to indicate either the Christian God, who oversees and knows everything, Jesus Christ, pagan gods, or human individuals in the role of protectors and overseers. Although it is tempting to think that Philostorgius's use of the word could relate to the formation of a special Anomoean church hierarchy in the summer of 362, this was certainly not the case. Even when reporting on the independent Anomoean synod in Constantinople⁶³ and the appointment of Anomoean bishops there, Philostorgius does not use the term ἑφορος for the ordained bishops, but the most common term, ἐπίσκοπος.

⁶¹ See also C. Rapp, *The Elite Status of Bishops in Late Antiquity in Ecclesiastical, Spiritual, and Social Contexts*, *Arethusa* 33(3) (2000), 379–381, 392–398.

⁶² Photius also explains the word in his *Lexicon* in this way: (2468) ἑφορον: ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι ἄρχοντες εἰσι, κληθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντα ἐφορᾶν; C. Theodoridis (ed.), *Photii patriarchae lexicon (E–M)*, vol. 2, Berlin – New York 1998, <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu.nukweb.nuk.uni-lj.si/Iris/Cite?4040:032:220295>.

⁶³ Philost. *h.e.* 7.6.

As follows from Table 3, Philostorgius uses the terms in connection with the following bishops: Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nicaea, Maris of Chalcedon, and Theodore of Heraclea (the last three were important supporters

Table 3

Photius's <i>Epitome</i> of Philostorgius, <i>Church History</i>	Book 1	Book 2	Book 3	Book 4	Book 5	Books 6–7	Book 8	Books 9–12
ἔφορος								
Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nicaea, and Maris of Chalcedon at the Council of Nicaea	1.9							
Theophilus the Indian			3.4.3					
Aetius of Lydda in Palestine			3.12.5					
Antony, pro-Arian bishop of Tarsus, Aetius's teacher			3.15.6					
ἔφορεύς								
Theophilus of Indus has no city as his episcopal see			3.6.5					
ἔφορεία								
Aetius's teacher Paulinus's episcopal see of Tyre			3.15.2					
ἔφορεύς								
Theodore, bishop of Heraclea in Thrace							8.17.1	

of Eusebius of Nicomedia, and thus important representatives of the Eusebians), Antony of Tarsus, Paulinus of Tyre, Theophilus the Indian, and Aetius of Lydda. All these bishops were pro-Arian, but they did not all have the same views as Aetius. Although at least some of the Eusebians—for instance, Maris of Chalcedon—supported Aetius at the end of the 350s, one cannot know the position of Eusebius, Theognis, and Theodore regarding Aetius in the critical situation of 360, when the Synod of Constantinople excommunicated him because they were already dead by that time. However, it is known that Theophilus was Aetius's supporter, and that Antony and Paulinus were his teachers. Thus, Aetius of Lydda is the only person in the group of bishops above that Philostorgius was certainly not in favor of. The reason for his aversion was Aetius's participation in the synod called by Maximus of Jerusalem to rehabilitate Athanasius.⁶⁴ Philostorgius thus undoubtedly also uses the term ἔφορος when referring to the bishops that were not supports of Aetius's doctrine.⁶⁵ Furthermore, the possibility that the word could be in any way related

⁶⁴ Philost. *h.e.* 3.12; Ath. *apol. sec.* 57. Regarding Aetius's participation in the synod, see also H.-G. Opitz (ed.), *Athanasius Werke*, II/3. *Die Apologien: Apologia de fuga sua* (c.19–27) – *Apologia secunda* (c. 1–43). Berlin, 1938, 137, <https://doi-org.nukweb.nuk.uni-lj.si/10.1515/9783111433639>; P. R. Amidon (trans. and comm.), *Philostorgius: Church History*, Atlanta 2007, 51, n. 47.

⁶⁵ Philost. *h.e.* 3.12.5: καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους μὴ προσδέχεσθαι, Ἀέτιον δὲ τὸν ἔφορον τῆς Παλαιστίνης, ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ καταγγελλόμενον καὶ βουλευθέντα τῇ πρὸς Ἀθανάσιον ἐπιχωρήσει τὸ αἰσχρὸς ἐπικαλύψασθαι, πρὸς τὴν ἐκεῖνον δόξαν αὐτομολῆσαι· δοῦναι δ' οὖν ὁμῶς ὀξύτατα τὴν δίκην, τοῦ αἰδοίου διασαπέντος καὶ σκώληκας βρῦσαντος, καὶ οὕτω τοῦ ζῆν ἐλαθέντα (None of them agreed except Aetius, the bishop of Palestine, who had been denounced for fornication and, hoping to conceal his disgrace by yielding to Athanasius, defected to his doctrine. But he paid a very heavy penalty when his genitals putrefied and swarmed with worms, and thus he died; translated by Philip R. Amidon).

to a specific Anomoean hierarchy challenges the fact that it is most often used in the third book, in which the events before the formation of the separate Anomoean Church are reported.

The aforementioned Aetius of Lydda is also interesting for other reasons. The synod he attended was convened by the same Maximus of Jerusalem, who is also mentioned in Photius's summary of the *Life of Paul of Constantinople* by an anonymous author. When Athanasius was returning from exile in 346, the synod of Jerusalem, as has been written before, welcomed him on his way to Alexandria. In addition to that, the third book of Philostorgius's *Church History*, in which the term appears most often, covers approximately the same period as the *Life of Paul of Constantinople*. The anonymous author of this work reports the events he writes about almost as Socrates does,⁶⁶ although he omits some information, and the order of the events is not always the same as in Socrates. When writing passages that most closely match the content of the *Life of Paul of Constantinople*, Socrates also relied on Sabinus, a bishop of the Macedonian doctrine, and his lost work συναγωγή.⁶⁷ Could it therefore be possible that the author of the *Life of Paul of Constantinople* also relied on this author? However, where Socrates refers to Maximus⁶⁸ as ἐπίσκοπος, the anonymous author uses the term ἑφορος; for instance, where Socrates⁶⁹ uses the term ἱερωσύνη (referring to the episcopal see of Alexandria), the anonymous author writes ἀρχιερωσύνη.⁷⁰

Because the focus is on the term ἑφορος—which, apart from the author of the *Life of Paul of Constantinople*, has also been encountered in Philostorgius's *Church History* in the meaning of 'bishop'—the information about the theological orientation of the anonymous author is of course important. The latter consistently

⁶⁶ Socr., *h.e.* 2.6, 2.7, 2.8, 2.9.1, 2.10.1–2, 2.10.19–20, 2.11.6, 2.12.1–2, 2.13, 2.15.1–4, 2.16.1–14, 2.18, 2.19.1–2, 2.20.1, 2.20.3–5, 2.20.7, 2.20.9–10, 2.22.3–4, 2.25.6–7, 2.26.6, 2.38.5–10, 2.38.31, 2.38.34–43, 5.8.1–5, 5.8.7–8, 5.8.12, 5.8.14, 5.8.20, 5.9.1.

⁶⁷ F. Geppert, *Die Quellen des Kirchenhistorikers Socrates Scholasticus*, Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche, III/4, Aalen 1972, 118–121, 127. Other important sources Socrates used in writing these passages was Novatian Auxanon, who was his oral source, and Athanasius.

⁶⁸ When writing about Maximus of Jerusalem (the report refers to the Synod of Antioch (341) that the bishop did not attend), Socrates (*h.e.* 2.8.3) relied on Sabinus; F. Geppert, *Die Quellen des Kirchenhistorikers Socrates Scholasticus*, Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche, III/4, Aalen 1972, 118.

⁶⁹ Socr., *h.e.* 2.8.6.

⁷⁰ In presenting the life of Bishop Paul of Constantinople, in his *Vita Pauli confessoris* Symeon Metaphrastes, the most renowned Byzantine hagiographer from the tenth century, follows the text of the anonymous author of the *Life of Paul of Constantinople* closely, usually quite verbatim (PG 116, 883–896). See also W. Telfer, *Paul of Constantinople*, The Harvard Theological Review (1950), 32. When presenting the Synod of Antioch (341), he also mentions that Bishop Maximus of Jerusalem did not attend it. Like the anonymous author, Symeon Metaphrastes uses the term ἑφορος to denote Bishop Maximus and ἀρχιερωσύνη when referring to the episcopal see of Alexandria (PG 116, 885 A–B). The same author also uses the term ἑφορος in *Vita et martyrium sancti Luciani* to describe the function of a bishop when he writes about Peter, Bishop of Alexandria (PG 114, 401 D).

expresses his theological point of view throughout the text and is undoubtedly pro-Nicene. Thus, it might be assumed that the use of the term was not conditioned by the writer's theological beliefs.

From this it can be concluded that the way Philostorgius uses the term ἔφορος is probably not a consequence of his Anomoean/Eunomian orientation. In any case, bearing in mind that Sabinus was a Macedonian bishop, then it might be possible that the term could have been established among the followers of some other pro-Arian doctrine.⁷¹ It also seems unlikely that it was the result of local usage because the term does not appear in this meaning in the works of the three great Cappadocian theologians—Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory of Nazianzus—who were Philostorgius's compatriots and contemporaries.

Nevertheless, it can perhaps be assumed that the term was used more frequently in everyday life in connection with the function of a bishop than is apparent from the texts examined. Although in his lexicon Photius explains the term ἔφορος as God, who is the overseer and spectator of everything, and the term ἔφοροι in the sense of Spartan chief officials, he understands the term ἐφορεία—like Philostorgius—in the sense of ἐπισκοπή (diocese).⁷² As is briefly explained below, the word ἐφορεία is also associated with the function of a bishop after Photius's time. In his article "At the Origins of *ephoreia*," Zachary Chitwood explains the meaning of ἐφορεία in the Byzantine Empire, when the term denoted one of the most important forms of monastic trusteeship. This form, which has no basis in Roman law, was originally reserved exclusively for churchmen (in the function of ἔφορος,⁷³ an overseer of the lands of other churchmen or monks)⁷⁴—as the author notes and as the legal norms from the eleventh century, which reflect the law actually practiced in society, testify—because it was feared that church property (a church or monastery) might otherwise fall into the hands of laymen.⁷⁵ As Zachary Chitwood notes, legal practices evident from the eleventh-century texts "reflect an intermediate phase whereby the term which designated a bishop's supervisory au-

⁷¹ For terms used for barbarian 'Arian' clerics, see R. W. Mathisen, *Barbarian 'Arian' clergy, Church Organisation, and Church Practices*, Arianism: Roman Heresy and Barbarian Creed, ed. G. M. Berndt – R. Steinacher, Farnham, Surrey 2014, 170–172, 191. The following terms were used for bishops: *antistes*, *episcopus*, *patriarcha*, *praesul*, *primas*, and *sacerdos*.

⁷² Photius, *Lexicon*, s.vv. ἔφορος, ἔφοροι, ἐφορεία; C. Theodoridis (ed.), *Photii patriarchae lexicon (E—M)*, vol. 2, Berlin – New York 1998, <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/nukweb.nuk.uni-lj.si/Iris/Cite?4040:032:220295>. See also Z. Chitwood, *At the Origins of ephoreia*, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 37(1) (2013), 55. Based on Photius's explanations of the selected terms in his *Lexicon*, it can be concluded that, when summarizing the content of the works he read, Photius did not alter the terminology used by the authors of those works. Thus, not only in the *Epitome* of Philostorgius's *Church History* but also in the work of anonymous author *Life of Paul of Constantinople*, the term ἔφορος is used in a meaning that is not given in Photius's *Lexicon*.

⁷³ Later, in the form of ἐφορεία, an ἔφορος could be a layman or churchman; Z. Chitwood, *At the Origins of ephoreia*, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 37(1) (2013), 58.

⁷⁴ In the Peira, bishops are explicitly named as having the right of ἐφορεία; Z. Chitwood, *At the Origins of ephoreia*, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 37(1) (2013), 56–57, 61.

⁷⁵ Z. Chitwood, *At the Origins of ephoreia*, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 37(1) (2013), 53–58.

thority over the churches and monasteries within his jurisdiction began to indicate the trusteeship of a bishop over independent religious houses.”⁷⁶ A more general form of monastic trusteeship in the Middle Byzantine period was *ἐπιτροπή*, which has its origins in Roman legal categories. It was that of the *ἐπίτροπος* and was not reserved for churchmen only. By the middle of the eleventh century, the different meanings of the two terms, *ἐφορος* and *ἐπίτροπος*, had merged to such an extent that they meant the same thing.⁷⁷

In modern Greek, the terms *ἐφορεία* and *ἐφορος* have no semantic reference to the function of a bishop or a diocese or to the church in general. The word *ἐφορία* still refers to a trusteeship but also has the following meanings: ‘revenue office, department and tax office, excise office’. The meaning of the word *ἐφορος* is similar, denoting ‘trustee, curator, custodian’, as well as ‘tax inspector, director of taxes’.⁷⁸ All other terms used by Philostorgius to describe clerical orders retain the meaning they had in Philostorgius’s time in modern Greek: *ἐπίσκοπος*, *αρχιερέας*, *πρεσβύτερος*, and *διάκονος*.

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НАЗИВИ НОСИЛАЦА ЦРКВЕНИХ СЛУЖБИ
У ФИЛОСТОРГИЈЕВОЈ ЦРКВЕНОЈ ИСТОРИЈИ

Чланак, на основу Филосторгијеве Црквене историје у Фотијевом сажетку, у поређењу са Црквеном историјом Евсевија, делима црквених историчара Сократа Схоластика, Созомена и Теодорета, као и Фотијевим делом Библиотхецца, анализира употребу назива носилаца различитих црквених служби у Филосторгијевој Црквеној историји. У поређењу са широком палетом назива за различите црквене службе који су се усталили у Цркви до прве половине 5. века, Филосторгијева Црквена историја у Фотијевом сажетку доноси прилично скроман избор: епископ (*ἐπίσκοπος*, *ἀρχιερεύς*, *ἐφορος*), презбитер (*πρεσβύτερος*), ђакон (*διάκονος*), монах (*μόναχος*) и свештенство (*κλήρος*, *πλήρωμα*). Најчешће се у делу спомиње функција епископа. С обзиром на то да су као носиоци највиших функција у тадашњој црквеној хијерархији на црквено-политичком подручју имали врло важну улогу и често су одлучујуће утицали на догађања у Цркви, разумљиво је да су у делу о историји Цркве посебно истакнути. Много ређе се помињу изрази *πρεσβύτερος* и *διάκονος*. Међу изразима који означавају епископе, израз *ἐπίσκοπος* је далеко најчешће коришћен. Преостала два (*ἀρχιερεύς*, *ἐφορος*) се ретко користе, али су врло занимљива, јер извори лепо кажу како се њихов значај с развојем црквене организације постепено мењао. Посебна пажња у чланку посвећена је изразу *ἐφορος*. Израз, који је из периода пре настанка хришћанства најпознатији као назив за

⁷⁶ Z. Chitwood, *At the Origins of ephoreia*, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 37(1) (2013), 58–59.

⁷⁷ Z. Chitwood, *At the Origins of ephoreia*, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 37(1) (2013), 61.

⁷⁸ All explanations of words in modern Greek are from D. N. Stavropoulos, *Oxford Greek–English Learner’s Dictionary*, Oxford 1997 (ninth impression). See also G. D. Babinotis, *Λεξικό της νέας ελληνικής γλώσσας: με σχόλια για τη σωστή χρήση των λέξεων*, Athens 1998, 704.

највише државне званичнике у Спарти, одабрани хришћански аутори обично користе за представљање Бога или Исуса Христа. Филосторгије је међу њима готово једини који израз користи у значењу функције епископа. Иако се реч у изворима у овом значењу врло ретко среће, чини се да је била тешње повезана са улогом епископа него што се на први поглед чини. У 11. веку израз *ἐφορεία* означава управљање над манастирима и црквама, што је било поверено искључиво представницима Цркве, често епископима. Већ у 11. веку израз мења своје значење и не укључује само управљање које би било ограничено на представнике Цркве. Данас речи *εφορία* и *εφορος* у модерном грчком језику више нису посебно повезане са Црквом. Насупрот томе, други изрази које Филосторгије користи у својој Црквеној историји за означавање носилаца различитих црквених служби, задржали су значење које су формирали у првим вековима развоја црквене организације.

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