

**PRESTIGE OF THE BISHOP  
IN EUSEBIUS' *ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY***

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## Abstract

The *Ecclesiastical History* is the primary historical source of the Christian Church in the pre-Constantinian era. The *History* narrates the nature and work of Christ, the highlights of the apostolic age and the advancement of the Christian Church in the Roman Empire up to the principate of Constantine.

Investigating the *Ecclesiastical History* using a quantitative method reveals Eusebius' preoccupation with the office of the bishop. There is almost no subject that Eusebius addresses that does not reflect his portrayal of the bishop's influence and universal presence. This thesis demonstrates the high status and undisputed authority of the episcopate as presented by Eusebius of Caesarea. The research of this thesis contributes to an understanding of the bishop in Roman society before Imperial favour.

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## Chapter I

### Review of the Literature

Most figures of literary fame become scholastic obsessions, but strangely Eusebius has never earned such attention from modern academics. One can study Thucydides, Tacitus, Suetonius, Cassius Dio, Cicero, and a whole lineage of Graeco-Roman moralist historians and never seem to fall short of secondary material. How is it that the premier historian of Christianity, the first systematic annalist of the movement that overturned the tide of paganism in the Mediterranean world in three short centuries, cannot motivate a wealth of secondary literature? Granted, Eusebius gets passing mention in most historical works and commentaries, but commentaries of his writings are wanting and monographs on the Eusebian corpus are rare. There are few Eusebian scholars. Indeed, of those scholars who have written about Eusebius in this century, none has made him their primary focus. The main scholars associated with Eusebian research are Lawlor, Oulton, Lake, Schwartz, Harnack, Lacqueur, Wallace-Hadrill, Foakes-Jackson, and Gressman, all from decades past. Though Barnes, Attridge, Hata, Grant, Chesnut and Twomey have published recent works, the field of research and secondary literature is still remarkably sparse. T. D. Barnes attests to the disparity that exists between the study of Eusebius and Constantine:

... while biographies of Constantine abound, much of Eusebius' vast output lies neglected. No complete modern edition of his work exists, many of his writings lack competent commentaries of any sort, some have never been edited critically,... Worse still, most historians of the Roman Empire and its institutions decline to read Eusebius' theological, exegetical, and apologetical works, and even historians of the Christian church

overlook precious nuggets of information which lie buried there.<sup>1</sup>

Vincent Twomey writes:

Despite the renewed interest in the writings of Eusebius and Athanasius in recent years, both the *Church History* of Eusebius and the "historico-apologetic" writings of Athanasius are still largely unexplored terrain.<sup>2</sup>

Both Twomey and Barnes, writing in 1982 and 1981 respectively, point out the penury in Eusebian studies. Grant's 1980 work, *Eusebius as Church Historian*, came out as theirs were being completed.

Even with this little "burst" of works in the early 1980's, in the 1986 work *The First Christian Histories*, Glenn F. Chesnut recognizes the continuing oversight of the early Christian historians Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret and Evagrius by modern scholarship:

All five of these historians, and especially Eusebius, have been of enormous importance in the intellectual history of the West. They were nevertheless sadly neglected in modern scholarship in many ways up until the past decade or so. The present volume may aid in the current task, in which increasing numbers of excellent scholars have now become involved, of recalling to the attention of the modern age the significance of these truly formative works of historiography.<sup>3</sup>

Early Church historians tend to evaluate Eusebius' status as historian quite

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<sup>1</sup> T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1981), p v.

<sup>2</sup> Vincent Twomey, *Apostolikos Thronos: The Primacy of Rome as Reflected in the Church History of Eusebius and the historico-apologetic writings of Saint Athanasius the Great* (Germany: Aschendorff Münster, 1982), preface.

<sup>3</sup> Glenn F. Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories: Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius* (Macon GA: Mercer University Press, 1986), p 5.

differently. J.G. Davies identifies Eusebius as “The Father of Ecclesiastical History,”<sup>4</sup> Henry Chadwick as “the church historian”<sup>5</sup> and Richard Horsley as “the first great historian of the church.”<sup>6</sup> Portraying Eusebius in the tradition of “Thucydides, Polybius, Sallust, and the rest,”<sup>7</sup> Glenn F. Chesnut presents Eusebius as a type of moralist-historian. As such, the fundamental preoccupations of the Graeco-Roman philosophical histories (eg. the causation of history, the nature of man, the problem of free will, etc.), become central to the discussion of Eusebius.

But when scholars identify Eusebius as historian, it is not always without qualification. Grant’s *Eusebius as Church Historian* presents a “new picture of Eusebius,” showing the “changing mind” of Christianity’s first historian.<sup>8</sup> Grant presents Eusebius as an annalist, with an apologetic goal.<sup>9</sup> D.S. Wallace-Hadrill underscores Eusebius’

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<sup>4</sup> J.G. Davies, *The Early Christian Church: A History of Its First Five Centuries* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1965), p 165.

<sup>5</sup> Henry Chadwick, *The Early Church* (England: Pelican Books 1967, reprinted in Penguin Books 1990, revised edition 1993), p 112.

<sup>6</sup> Richard Horsley, “Jesus and Judaism: Christian Perspectives,” In *Eusebius, Christianity and Judaism* edited by Harold W. Attridge and Gohei Hata, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992), p 53.

<sup>7</sup> Glenn F. Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories: Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius* (Macon GA: Mercer University Press, 1986), p 33f.

<sup>8</sup> Robert M. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p1ff. Grant’s thesis is to demonstrate how Eusebius’ mind changed, and how the fact ‘he is very desultory in his treatment’ a charge levied by Lightfoot and Westcott in 1880, sometimes makes it possible to detect various ‘strata’ in the *Church History*. He uses the *Chronicle* and *Ecclesiastical History* almost exclusively.

<sup>9</sup> Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian*, p1. Grant describes Eusebius as a synchronizer of biblical and extra-biblical history.



reputation among his near contemporaries as a biblical scholar.<sup>10</sup> Mosshammer focuses on Eusebius as a chronographer “whose main contribution was the invention of a synchronistic format that graphically portrayed both universal history and comparative chronology.”<sup>11</sup>

Perhaps Lightfoot put it best when he described Eusebius as “historian, apologist, topographer, exegete, critic, preacher, dogmatic writer, in turn.”<sup>12</sup> More recently, Neusner has provided a profile of Eusebius that articulates the multi-disciplinary understanding:

If Eusebius lived today in an American university, he would occupy professorships in the departments of political science, sociology, history, religious and theological studies, and, of course, classics.<sup>13</sup>

In the end, it seems that the “historian” classification is the most popular, and though inadequate to grasp the full scope of Eusebius, is convenient and adequately accurate. And so we turn to his major historical work, the *Ecclesiastical History*.

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<sup>10</sup> D.S. Wallace-Hadrill, *Eusebius of Caesarea* (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd., 1960), p 59.

<sup>11</sup> Alden A. Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1979), p 36ff.

<sup>12</sup> J. B. Lightfoot, “Eusebius.” *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*. Henry Wace and William C. Piercy, eds. Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, reprinted from the edition originally titled *A Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature*, published by John Murray, London, 1911. First Printing 1994.

<sup>13</sup> Jacob Neusner, *The Christian and Judaic Invention of History* (Scholars Press: Atlanta Georgia, 1990), p 6.

## Chapter 2

### 2.1 Profile of the *Ecclesiastical History*: Historical Method and Composition

The *Ecclesiastical History* demonstrates clearly Eusebius' wealth of literary and historical skills and interests. His references to apostolic succession, successions of bishops, and bishop lists show indisputably his preoccupation with the lineage of church leadership, setting him apart as an episcopal archivist. Considering his descriptions of synods that occurred throughout the history of the early church, (especially to determine orthodoxy vs. heterodoxy), one senses that Eusebius functioned almost as the resident parliamentarian, devoted to defining the constitutional side of the expanding church. Framing the bulk of his *History* around the time periods of emperors and bishops, Eusebius intended to establish the chronology of the early church (and due to the innovative nature of this method, the establishment of the principate-episcopate chronology is credited to him). Considering Pamphilus' passion to restore the work of Origen, it is no surprise that Eusebius (being Pamphilus' student) was like-minded in elevating Origen's reputation and employed his pen in the work of hagiography. Granted, Eusebius' ranking as the father of church history may establish his credentials, but the title is too narrow.

In the discussion of Eusebius' writing style, scholars are again divided. Some critique his style as desultory,<sup>14</sup> his narrative dull and his prose awkward.<sup>15</sup> Others strive

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<sup>14</sup> Hugh Jackson Lawlor and John Ernest Leonard Oulton, *Eusebius Bishop of Caesarea: The Ecclesiastical History and the Martyrs of Palestine* (London: SPCK, 1954), p 11. Lightfoot assesses Eusebius as "very desultory in his treatment."

<sup>15</sup> Rodney Stark, *The Rise of Christianity* (San Francisco: Harper Collins Publishers, 1997), p xiii. Stark discusses the advice of colleagues with formal training in the classics who explained "that

to vindicate his “singular genius.”<sup>16</sup> One moment he is decorated as an innovative annalist upon whose monumental work the early church is made known; the next, stripped of orthodoxy and integrity, his writings dismissed because of political agenda and an anti-Chilastic bias.<sup>17</sup> Van de Weyer expresses the negative view: “Eusebius was not a great writer. His *History* is poorly constructed. It is more a jumble of disconnected pieces than a narrative; and there is little reflection or insight.”<sup>18</sup> In contrast, Grant has paid Eusebius the ultimate compliment of writing “not a prize essay to be heard for the moment but a possession for all time.”<sup>19</sup>

The purpose of this section is to inquire into the historical method of Eusebius. The approach taken is to analyze the *Ecclesiastical History*, asking several questions: What does the work reflect of Eusebius’ method: his conception of the nature and scope of history, his theory of causation, his conceptual framework, his methods (eg. type and breadth of research materials, uses of sources, organization and style) and his logic and depth of analysis? Is his *Ecclesiastical History* successful in producing an insightful and satisfying work of history? What place is he to be given in the history of historical

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Eusebius actually wrote very dull, awkward prose” and recommended the Lawlor and Oulton version.

<sup>16</sup> Lawlor and Oulton, *Eusebius Bishop of Caesara*, p 28.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p 29. Chiliasm (from Gk. χίλιοι) meaning ‘thousand.’ Also called millenarianism. The belief that Christ’s second coming will result in his thousand year kingdom on earth.

<sup>18</sup> Robert Van de Weyer, *Eusebius: The First Christian Historian* (Worcestershire: Arthur James Ltd., 1996), introduction.

<sup>19</sup> Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian*, p 169. Grant extracts the self-declared timeless value from Thucydides’ *Peloponnesian Wars* and applies the enduring quality to Eusebius’ *Ecclesiastical History*.

writing?

Much attention has been given to the composition of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*. While literary critics scour the text for multiple revisions and historians marvel at the vast storehouse of citations of other early church writers that the ten books preserve, it appears that the proportion of Eusebian material<sup>20</sup> has been neglected. While Eusebius' compartmental work allows the researcher to move through the *History* chronologically and systematically, it appears that this approach has carried with it the less favourable practice of assuming that the books are best treated equally. Somehow the volume of material per book has failed to receive mention. Worse yet, while much has been said about how Eusebius uses sources, little has been done to separate the Eusebian material from the citations.

What could be gained from revisiting the method of Eusebius? Could it be helpful in the process of exegesis to establish a value per book using a criteria that emphasizes Eusebian material? It would be beneficial to know the "raw" Eusebius, separating him from his sources to see if his "mind" (a term used over and over again by Twomey, Grant, Chesnut, et al.) stands on its own as independent thought. Perhaps when the Eusebian material is investigated apart from the framework of the oftentimes lengthy citations, it will reveal more sharply the mind of Eusebius himself.<sup>21</sup>

While Chesnut has pursued an understanding of Eusebius' conceptual framework

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<sup>20</sup> The narrative written by Eusebius that is not citation of others' works.

<sup>21</sup> See Appendices 3 and 4 that illustrate the volume of quotations in each book of the *Ecclesiastical History*.

and Grant that of Eusebius' development in thought, this study makes the specific inquiry of the episcopate in the *History* and Eusebius' preoccupation with the office of the bishop.

### **Eusebius' Own Conception of the Nature and Scope of History**

Other historians have confined themselves to the recording of victories in war and triumphs over enemies, of the exploits of the commanders and the heroism of their men, stained with blood of the thousands they have slaughtered for the sake of children and country and possessions; it is peaceful wars, fought for the very peace of the soul, and men who in such wars have fought for their dear ones, that my account of God's commonwealth will inscribe on imperishable monuments; it is the unshakeable determination of the champions of true religion... that will make it famous for all time.<sup>22</sup>

Perhaps no other quotation from the *Ecclesiastical History* is more descriptive of Eusebius' conception of history. What is of particular interest is his self-styled juxtaposition to other historians. He is clearly aware of the military history that dominates the work of the Graeco-Roman historians and sets his own apart. To Eusebius, his *History* will be of the government of God (τοῦ κατὰ θεὸν πολιτεύματος).

Eusebius sets out to write a history of the Christian church. His purpose is clearly articulated at the outset of his work:

It is my purpose to write an account of the successions of the holy apostles, as well as of the times which have elapsed from the days of our Saviour to our own; and to relate the many important events which are said to have occurred in the history of the Church; and to mention those who have governed and presided over the Church in the most prominent parishes, and those who in each generation have proclaimed the divine word either orally or in writing. It is my purpose also to give the names and number and times of those who through love of innovation have run into the

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<sup>22</sup> *Ecd Hist* V. Introduction. Note: All citations from the *Ecclesiastical History* are from the Lake-Oulton translation, unless otherwise specified.

greatest errors, and, proclaiming themselves discoverers of knowledge falsely so-called have like fierce wolves unmercifully devastated the flock of Christ. It is my intention, moreover, to recount the misfortunes which immediately came upon the whole Jewish nation in consequence of their plots against our Saviour, and to record the ways and the times in which the divine word has been attacked by the Gentiles, and to describe the character of those who at various periods have contended for it in the face of blood and of tortures, as well as the confessions which have been made in our own days, and finally the gracious and kindly succor which our Saviour has afforded them all.<sup>23</sup>

In summary, Eusebius proposes to concentrate on apostolic succession, important events and outstanding leaders, heretical teachers, the calamities of the Jews, persecution and martyrdom.

Of interest to all ancient historians is the matter of self-understanding. What value does Eusebius himself place upon his work? In the introduction, Eusebius provides a disclaimer, while commenting on the innovative nature of his writing:

But at the outset I must crave for my work the indulgence of the wise, for I confess that it is beyond my power to produce a perfect and complete history, and since I am the first to enter upon the subject, I am attempting to traverse as it were a lonely and untrodden path. I pray that I may have God as my guide and the power of the Lord as my aid, since I am unable to find even the barefootsteps of those who have traveled the way before me, except in brief fragments...<sup>24</sup>

In his conception of the nature and scope of history, Eusebius is convinced that the history of the church deserves an accounting (of which he is the first to make such an attempt) and that the person of Christ is the central figure to its understanding. The final sentences of his introduction articulate these positions:

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<sup>23</sup> *Ecc Hist* I.1.1,2 (McGiffert translation).

<sup>24</sup> *Ecc Hist* I.1.2,3 (McGiffert translation).

This work seems to me of special importance because I know of no ecclesiastical writer who has devoted himself to this subject; and I hope that it will appear most useful to those who are fond of historical research. I have already given an epitome of these things in the *Chronological Canons* which I have composed, but notwithstanding that, I have undertaken in the present work to write as full an account of them as I am able. My work will begin, as I have said, with the dispensation of the Saviour Christ -- which is loftier and greater than human conception -- and with a discussion of his divinity; for it is necessary, inasmuch as we derive even our name from Christ, for one who proposes to write a history of the Church to begin with the very origin of Christ's dispensation, a dispensation more divine than many think.<sup>25</sup>

The composition of the *Ecclesiastical History* has been thoroughly scrutinized in the discipline of textual criticism. Consisting of ten books, the *History* is believed to have been written in several editions spanning three decades of Eusebius' life.<sup>26</sup> Two issues related to the textual composition of the *Ecclesiastical History* are relevant to this study: 1) that Books I-VII contain historical information that predates Eusebius, while Books VII-X are contemporary accounts and, 2) that Eusebius took pains to edit his *History*, producing as many as four revisions.

Eusebius attempts to keep his readers informed of his historical method. At the outset of Book VIII, Eusebius summarizes a chronological shift that will set the remaining material in the context of events current to himself:

Having dealt fully with the apostolic succession in seven books, in this eighth section it is surely a matter of the highest importance that for the enlightenment of future generations I should set down the events of my

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<sup>25</sup> *Ecc. Hist* I.1.6-9 (McGiffert translation).

<sup>26</sup> While scholars are divided over many questions pertaining to the text, the central inquiry concerns the date of beginning. When did Eusebius publish the first edition? Was it before the Diocletian persecution of 303, or was it after the Edict of Toleration, signed by Licinius and Constantine in 311? Most are agreed that the last edition was completed between 323 and 326. Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* is divided into ten books. See Appendix 2.

own day, calling as they do for a most careful record.<sup>27</sup>

Eusebius places value on history being “a most careful record.” McGiffert’s translation renders the last phrase “a few of the most important occurrences of our own times, which are worthy of permanent record.”<sup>28</sup> This implies a degree of selectivity in Eusebius’ historical writing.<sup>29</sup> In addition to his separation between past and present events, his assessment of what to include (and exclude) as suggested in the above passage further indicates Eusebius’ awareness of historiography. Such a distinction demonstrates that his decisions (re. inclusion and exclusion) are not based on an impulsive decision, but on the value of events for posterity.

### Theory of Causation: Synergy and Divine Justice

As a Greek, Eusebius writes in the Greek chronographic tradition. As a Christian he writes in the tradition of the Hebrew histories. As a Roman, he follows the moralist tradition that, coupled with his faith, idealizes the theology of church and state that witnessed the Christianization of the empire under Constantine.<sup>30</sup> As the pioneer of

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<sup>27</sup> *Ecl Hist* VIII. Introduction

<sup>28</sup> Eusebius. *The Ecclesiastical History in Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, second series, volume I, trans. by Arthur Cushman McGiffert, eds. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publisher, Inc., First Printing 1890, Second Printing, 1995), p 323.

<sup>29</sup> Virtually all English translations support the concept of Eusebius’ selectivity. Based upon the phrase “οὐ τῆς τυχοῦσης ἀξία ὄντα γραφῆς,” Eusebius is understood to emphasize his selection of events which above are casual record. See *Eusebius*, J.E. Outon, p 251. See also Roy J. Deferrari, *The Fathers of the Church Volume 29, Eusebius Pamphili: Ecclesiastical History* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1955) p 163. Deferrari’s translation reads “those events of our time which are worthy of no casual record...”

<sup>30</sup> Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories*, pp 80-82. Chesnut has noted that this influence is evident by Eusebius’ “good-bad” emperor motif that he seems to have inherited from Dionysius,



ecclesiastical history, he combines influences from all three: critical record-keeping, the sovereignty and justice of God, and the concept of virtue.

While "Thucydides' *History* unfolds without gods or oracles or omens"<sup>31</sup> and the writings of his Roman counterparts tended to flourish with omens and portents, Eusebius can not imagine the history of the church without the occasional entrance of miraculous events. Ultimately, causation is discerned by the will of God. The historical world of humanity must concede to the supernatural. Perhaps the most forceful illustration is in Eusebius' description of Fabian's appointment to the see of Rome:

They say that Fabianus having come, after the death of Anteros, with others from the country, was staying at Rome, and that while there he was chosen to the office through a most wonderful manifestation of divine and heavenly grace. For when all the brethren had assembled to select by vote him who should succeed to the episcopate of the church, several renowned and honourable men were in the minds of many, but Fabianus, although present, was in the mind of none. But they relate that suddenly a dove flying down lighted on his head, resembling the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Saviour in the form of a dove. Thereupon all the people, as if moved by one Divine Spirit, with all eagerness and unanimity cried out that he was worthy, and without delay they took him and placed him upon the episcopal seat.<sup>32</sup>

A second illustration of causation in the *Ecclesiastical History* is Eusebius' account of a miraculous rain storm that saved the Melitene Legion while in battle with the

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whom he quotes at length in book VII. This establishes the gradual development in Eusebius' thought. It seems that his view of the Empire's "Christianization" was attributed to the world-wide expansion of the episcopate in addition to the temporary favour of emperors. The ultimate scenario for Eusebius was realized when the Christian faith and the ecclesiastical hierarchy received the individual attention of a Christian emperor.

<sup>31</sup> Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*. Translated by Rex Warner with an introduction and notes by M.I. Finley. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1954, Introduction and appendices copyright M.I. Finley, 1972), Introduction, p 20.

<sup>32</sup> *Ecc. Hist* VI.29.2-4 (McGiffert translation).

Germans and Samaritans:

... but the soldiers of the legion which is called after Melitene, knelt on the ground according to our own custom of prayer...lightening drove the enemy to flight and destruction, and a shower falling on the army which had prayed to God, refreshed them... The story is both told among writers who are foreign to our faith who have undertaken to write of the times of the above mentioned emperors, and has also been recorded by Christians. By the heathen writers, inasmuch as they were strangers to the faith, the miracle is related, but it was not confessed that it happened through the prayers of the Christians...<sup>33</sup>

What is further gleaned from this passage is Eusebius' historical posture. He again sets himself himself apart from "the pagan chroniclers." At work in Eusebius' mind is the contrasting position that he is taking. His use of the Graeco-Roman method is selective -- mainly used for the purpose of chronological synchronization. Chesnut argues that "Eusebius developed his own distinctive philosophy of historical causation in order to deal with the great issues of Graeco-Roman historiography."<sup>34</sup> What is evident in the *Ecclesiastical History*, then, is its distinctive genre as ecclesiastical history, whose author is keenly aware of its counter-culture approach. In the classic style of the Hebrew historians, Eusebius instructs his readers on the concepts of justice and divine retribution.<sup>35</sup> His primary target is the Jewish nation that is responsible for the crucifixion

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<sup>33</sup> *Ecc Hist* V.5.3-5

<sup>34</sup> Chesnut, *First Christian Histories*, p 33ff. Chesnut describes the pagan concepts of Fate *εἰμαρμένη*, Fortune *τύχη*, etc. that required from Eusebius his own understanding of events. Eusebius affirmed the "concept of human free will..."

<sup>35</sup> Not to suggest that these themes are missing entirely in the Greek and Roman literature. What is distinct in the Judeo-Christian tradition is the belief in a moral universe under a sovereign Creator, as opposed to the capricious will of the gods in pagan mythology. Peter Derow, "Historical Explanation" in *Greek Historiography*, ed. Simon Hornblower (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994, p 78. Derow identifies a single instance of Herodotus subscribing to "what might be called the conflict, or retributive, theory of world order and justice that had been

of Christ. He also adapts the retribution theory to government authorities. The account of Pilate's death, who died because of his role in the death of Jesus, is a case in point:

It is worthy of note that, as the records show, in the reign of Gaius, whose times I am describing, Pilate himself, the governor of our Saviour's day, was involved in such calamities that he was forced to become his own executioner and to punish himself with his own hand: divine justice, it seems, was not slow to overtake him. The facts are recorded by those Greeks who have chronicled the Olympiads together with the events occurring in each.<sup>36</sup>

Divine justice is also at work within the Christian community. In his account of Narcissus,<sup>37</sup> bishop of Jerusalem, Eusebius narrates the calamities that befell those who chose to slander Narcissus:

But the great eye of judgment was not unmoved by these things, but soon looked down upon these impious men, and brought on them the curses with which they had bound themselves. The residence of the first, from nothing but a little spark failing upon it, was entirely consumed by night, and he perished with all his family. The second was speedily covered with the disease which he had imprecated upon himself, from the sole of his feet to his head. But the third, perceiving what had happened to the others, and fearing the inevitable judgment of God, the ruler of all, confessed publicly what they had plotted together. And in his repentance he became so wasted by his great lamentations, and continued weeping to such an extent, that both his eyes were destroyed. Such were the

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developed particularly by Anaximander," i.e. 'they pay their penalties and retributions to each other for their injustice according to the assessment of Time.' Glenn Chesnut, "The Pagan Background" in *The Christian and Judaic Invention of History*, ed. Jacob Neusner (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1990), pp 48. Chesnut claims that Thucydides naturally rejected all ideas of divine retribution. According to Momigliano, the Roman historians "were not concerned with ultimate values ... Their main concern was to keep alive a knowledge of the Roman past," Arnold Momigliano, "Pagan and Christian Historiography in the Fourth Century A.D." in *The Christian and Judaic Invention of History*, p 109.

<sup>36</sup> *Ecd Hist* II.7.1 The concept of divine justice, borne out in grace and judgement, is well attested in the *Ecclesiastical History*. See I.8.3; II.6.8; II.7.1; II.10.1; III.5.6; III.7.9; VI.11.5; VII.30.21; VIII.7.6; VIII.16.3; IX.7.2; IX.11.5,6; X.5.13; X.9.2

<sup>37</sup> 15th of the Gentile bishops of Jerusalem (late second century).

punishments which these men received for their falsehood.<sup>38</sup>

While miraculous events appear in the *History*, and Eusebius does allow for divine activity in the affairs of the natural world, his is not a work filled with such. Thus his *History* matches the historical approach of the more cautious historians in the ancient world, in which it was possible to colour the work with dramatic events from the divine realms.

### Conceptual Framework: Salvation History

Eusebius demonstrates a linear perspective of history. His world view is clearly Judeo-Christian. Everything in the world is subordinate to the sovereignty of God (though Eusebius does not use such terminology). Momigliano uses the word “universal history” to describe the Jewish-Christian doctrine that presented a model of providential history and compelled the convert who abandoned paganism to enlarge his historical horizon.<sup>39</sup> According to Chesnut, Eusebius’ view is best captured in the word *συνεργία* (synergy),<sup>40</sup> where the Spirit cooperates in the temporal world in an interactive relationship with the free will of humanity. Chesnut describes Eusebius’ mind set:

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<sup>38</sup> *Ecl Hist* VI.9.6-8

<sup>39</sup> Momigliano, “Pagan and Christian Historiography,” p 107.

<sup>40</sup> Examples of Eusebius’ concept of synergy: “They were confident indeed in their trust in the divine and wonder-working power which was granted unto them by the Saviour... employing only the demonstration of the divine Spirit, which worked with them (τοῦ συνεργοῦντος) and the wonder-working power of Christ, which was displayed through them...” *Ecl Hist* III.24.3 - [4]; “...they themselves went on again to other countries and nations, with the grace (χάρτι) and the co-operation (συνεργία) of God.” *Ecl Hist* III.37.3 - [4]; “Therefore, by the divine Power working with him (συναιπομένης αὐτῷ δυνάμεως) he [Origen] aroused a great many to his own zeal.” *Ecl Hist* VI.3.7- [1]

The word *συνεργία* itself shows up a number of times in his writings about historical events, but the basic belief - that is, that God's providence could not override, but only work synergistically along with the free, uncoerced cooperation of the human actors in his history - was a basic presupposition of every part of his historical writing even when the term *συνεργία* or its equivalent did not appear.<sup>41</sup>

Central to Eusebius' *History* is his depiction of Christianity in the Empire. In his review of the political association between Christianity and paganism in the Roman Empire, some argue that Eusebius shifted his thinking on the relationship between the two. Chesnut presents the theory (also held by Grant and Barnes)<sup>42</sup> that Eusebius "changed his mind" during the course of writing and editing, and went from a passive view of proselytization to an aggressive one. In dealing with both heretics and pagans, Eusebius shows a commitment to non-violence in the first edition<sup>43</sup> that does not continue in the last part of the work. The difference, Chesnut argues, is dictated by events surrounding the Christianization of the empire under Constantine.

As well, Eusebius seems to have modified his view of the emperor. Chesnut emphasizes that Eusebius was influenced by his sources, in particular, Dionysius of Alexandria. In the latter part of the *History*, Eusebius appears to embrace the concept of the "good" or "bad" emperor. Chesnut explains the theory and its bearing on Eusebius' world view:

In the first edition of his Church History (written before the persecution

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<sup>41</sup> Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories*, p 60.

<sup>42</sup> In reviewing Grant and Barnes, Chesnut notes Grant's thesis presents six specific issues on which Eusebius changed his mind, while Barnes lists sixteen passages that demonstrate the change in Eusebius. Glenn F. Chesnut. *Religious Studies Review* Vol. 9, No.2 / April 1983.

<sup>43</sup> Books I-VII.

that began in 303) Eusebius on occasion toward the end of his history invoked his theory that the “good emperor” would receive earthly rewards and the “bad emperor” would receive earthly punishments as a short reign, a defeat in battle, a bad end to his life... In the earlier parts of his history, Eusebius did not invoke in any explicit fashion the idea of God’s providence bringing bad emperors to bad ends even when it would have been very easy to have done so, as for example with Nero or Domitian. This was therefore a new idea for him, a new way of interpreting events.<sup>44</sup>

Barnes provides further clarification by suggesting that sixteen passages in Book I-VII “must be or contain subsequent additions.”<sup>45</sup> Therefore the changes in the first edition of the *Ecclesiastical History* might well be explained as later interpolations by Eusebius when he was revising the text (although if this is the case one might wonder why the revision was not more thorough).

#### Methods, Research materials, Sources, Organization and Style: Library of Information

Eusebius’s *Ecclesiastical History* appears in seven English translations.<sup>46</sup> This is particularly helpful in reading the *History*, for Eusebius’ narrative style is tedious reading. Varieties of translations provide a distraction from the rigid chronographic saga. The annalistic approach is vintage Eusebius, and in refusing to deviate from it, he sacrifices a flowing narrative for an episodal account. If he had been as creative as he was systematic, it would be hard to put the *History* down (once embarking on a survey of its

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<sup>44</sup> Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories*, p126.

<sup>45</sup> Timothy D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, p 346 n.10.

<sup>46</sup> (1) Christian Frederick Cruse 1850 (2) Arthur C. McGiffert 1890 (3) Kirsopp Lake (Volume I) 1926 and John E.L.Oulton (Volume II) (4) Hugh Jackson Lawlor and John Ernest Leonard Oulton 1927 (5) Hermigild Dressler and Roy Joseph Deferrari 1955 (6) G.A. Williamson 1965 (7) Paul L. Maier 1998.

ten books), for it is not shy of content. Noticeably, a major portion of it is not his own. To a large extent, Eusebius provides material from the writings of others. Two thirds of the *Ecclesiastical History*, (calculated from Williamson's translation, which does omit some material), consists of direct quotations from other historical and apologetical writings. Of the 230 pages that contain direct quotations, forty-eight of those pages consist entirely of cited material.<sup>47</sup> As such, one is required to read Eusebius in the manner of a research paper that is lopsided with citations.<sup>48</sup> But as Momigliano says, (while conceding that we are still the disciples of Herodotus and Thucydides and that we still learn our history of the late empire from Ammianus Marcellinus), "...we have learned to check our references from Eusebius - and this was no small gain..."<sup>49</sup>

If one is reading the *Ecclesiastical History* with an eye for sources, it is obvious that Eusebius quotes from Josephus more than any other single writer from the first-century and that Eusebius regarded his works highly. Of Josephus' records, Eusebius writes:

There is no need to add anything of the historical record...These occurrences were thought worthy of mention by the historian whom I have been quoting, and I cannot do better than to make them available to the readers of this work.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> See Appendices 3 and 4.

<sup>48</sup> Although Eusebius is not a creative writer, his work stands out from his Graeco-Roman predecessors who rarely quoted literary sources, (eg. Thucydides, Sallust, Tacitus, Suetonius, etc.) Even Josephus and Philo, the intellectual Jewish writers that Eusebius uses extensively do not themselves make a practise of citing existing documents. The exception is in polemical literature, and this particularly of Philo (*Against Apion*).

<sup>49</sup> Arnold Momigliano, "Pagan and Christian Historiography," p 121.

<sup>50</sup> *Ecc. Hist* III.7.9

As well, Josephus receives a personal recognition that is rare in Eusebius.<sup>51</sup> In Book III, Eusebius not only acknowledges his dependence upon Josephus, but inserts a veneration of the Jewish historian that is conspicuous by its inclusion:

Besides all this it is well that the origin and ancestry of Josephus himself, who has provided so much material for this present history should be generally known... Of the Jews at that time he was the most famous, not only among his fellow-countrymen but among the Romans too, so that he was honoured with the erection of a statue in the Library.<sup>52</sup>

But can such an accolade be taken at face value? Would Eusebius have had ulterior motives for such a commendation of Josephus? Williamson maintains that some of the citations from Josephus raise problems due to the way that Eusebius uses Josephus to “support the history presupposed by the writings of the New Testament.”<sup>53</sup> While this judgement has an element of truth, it is contested by Michael Harwick. In his book, *Josephus as an Historical Source in Patristic Literature Through Eusebius*, Harwick concludes that while “Eusebius cited a considerable amount of Josephan material,” he was “generally faithful to his source, paraphrasing only seldom.”<sup>54</sup>

Further, one cannot but be impressed by Eusebius’ attempt to provide multiple accounts of the same event. There are a number of occasions in the *History* where

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<sup>51</sup> The section in Book VI in which Eusebius glamorizes the life of Origen has been categorized as hagiographical, and certain accounts of James the brother of Jesus are hagiographic, but Eusebius does not usually pay honour to his historical sources. In this sense he pays to Josephus a tribute that is distinct.

<sup>52</sup> *Ecc. Hist* III.9.1.2

<sup>53</sup> G. A. Williamson, *Eusebius*, revised and edited with a new introduction by Andrew Louth (London, England: Penguin Books, 1965), p 382.

<sup>54</sup> Michael C. Harwick, *Josephus as an Historical Source in Patristic Literature Through Eusebius*. Atlanta (Georgia: Scholars Press, 1989), p 69.



Eusebius provides records or references from various writers to support an account. When discussing the heresy of Simon the Magus and citing a description from Justin's *Defence*, Eusebius reinforces the story with material from Irenaeus:

This is Justin's version, and it is supported by Irenaeus, who in Book I of his *Against Heresies* gives a brief account of the man and his unholy, sordid teaching. To reproduce the latter would be superfluous: those who wish can learn all about the origins and lives of the heresiarchs who followed him, the bases of their false doctrines and the practises they introduced, for they are most carefully described in the work of Irenaeus mentioned above.<sup>55</sup>

Further examples are to be found when Eusebius relates the tradition of the writing of Mark's gospel and points out that the story in Clement's *Outlines* is confirmed by Bishop Papias of Hierapolis.<sup>56</sup> In another section, after quoting a passage from Justin's *Defence*, Eusebius claims that the events are similarly recounted by Melito, the eminent bishop of Sardis.<sup>57</sup>

Perhaps the most forceful illustration of Eusebius' attempt to back up his stories by listing a number of witnesses is in his description of a miraculous rain storm that saved the Melitene Legion. After describing the event, Eusebius writes:

The story can be found in the works of writers remote from our way of thinking, who have undertaken to record the reign of these monarchs; it has also been told by our own. The pagan chroniclers, being aliens to the Faith, have related the astonishing occurrence, but without acknowledging that it was the result of Christian prayers: our own, being lovers of truth, have described the event in a simple guileless fashion. Among these may be mentioned Apolinarius... A reliable witness of these facts is

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<sup>55</sup> *Ecl Hist* II.13.4,5

<sup>56</sup> *Ecl Hist* II.15.2

<sup>57</sup> *Ecl Hist* IV.13.7,8

Tertullian...who...confirmed the story with a stronger and clearer proof.<sup>58</sup>

Clearly Eusebius was preoccupied with making literary documents his primary source of information. There are many explicit statements in the *Ecclesiastical History* that reflect this interest. But he does not seem to invent sources simply because they enhance his argument or give more credibility to his stories. If he is without documentation, his disappointment is apparent. One of Eusebius' disclaimers (given prior to listing the succession of Jerusalem's bishops) illustrates this point:

Of the dates of the bishops at Jerusalem I have failed to find any written evidence - it is known that they were very short lived - but I have received documentary proof of this, that up to Hadrian's siege of the Jews there had been a series of fifteen bishops there."<sup>59</sup>

Another instance involves his lack of documentation from Serapion:

It is probable that other short works from Serapion's pen are in the keeping of other people: none has come into my hands but those addressed to Domnus...<sup>60</sup>

In contrast, when Eusebius does have a literary source, he often makes comment:

I feel justified in reproducing an explanation of the difficulty that has come into my hands. This is to be found in a letter which Africanus... wrote to Aristides on the harmony of the gospel genealogies.<sup>61</sup>

These are the books that have come into my hands dealing with Genesis.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> *Ecc Hist* V.5.3-5

<sup>59</sup> *Ecc Hist* IV.5.1

<sup>60</sup> *Ecc Hist* VI.12.1

<sup>61</sup> *Ecc Hist* I.7.1

<sup>62</sup> *Ecc Hist* II.18.4

The works of Justin that have come into my hands.<sup>63</sup>

Origen wrote a very full reply. From the same author there has also come into my hands a five-volume Dictionary of Dates, compiled with unsparing devotion to accuracy.<sup>64</sup>

I have in my hands, from the pen of a very well-known writer of the day, Agrippa Castor, a most effective refutation of Basilides...<sup>65</sup>

Numerous works of his are still to be found on the shelves of many persons, of which the following have come into my hands...<sup>66</sup>

Of Clement's works the Miscellanies, all eight books, are in my possession...<sup>67</sup>

#### Logic and Depth of Analysis: Accurate Narrative

If Eusebius' writing style is lacking connected narrative and is saturated with excerpts from the writings of others, in the area of logic and analysis he displays some of his best qualities. Throughout his *History*, but particularly the first six books, Eusebius seems preoccupied with providing an accurate account and he seems to feel that to do so means presenting a host of sources wherever he can. This reference method seems to be a mark of accountability.

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<sup>63</sup> *Eccf Hist* IV.18.Title

<sup>64</sup> *Eccf Hist* VI.31.2

<sup>65</sup> *Eccf Hist* IV.7.6

<sup>66</sup> *Eccf Hist* IV.27.1

<sup>67</sup> *Eccf Hist* VI.13.1

Although his use of sources has been questioned,<sup>68</sup> Eusebius' intentions seem clear: to provide information that is accessible to others who wish to investigate further. This is an exceptional feature. Recognising that Eusebius demonstrates a bias in his history, (for example, anti-Chiliasm), it is to his credit that he cites his sources and encourages his audience to refer to the same material that he has used. It would appear that Eusebius exceeds his Graeco-Roman predecessors in this respect. Momigliano compares Eusebius' method to that of his pagan counterparts:

Eusebius, like any other educated man, knew what proper history was. He knew that it was a rhetorical work with a maximum of invented speeches and a minimum of authentic documents. Since he chose to give plenty of documents and refrained from inventing speeches, he must have intended to produce something different from ordinary history...Having started to collect his materials during Diocletian's persecution, Eusebius never forgot his original purpose which was to produce factual evidence about the past... he did away with all that was anecdotal and worldly in the pagan biographies of the philosophers. The new type of exposition chosen by Eusebius proved to be adequate to the new type of institution represented by the Christian Church. It was founded upon authority and not upon the free judgement of which the pagan historians were proud.... A new chapter of historiography begins with Eusebius not only because he invented ecclesiastical history, but because he wrote it with documentation which is utterly different from that of the pagan historians.<sup>69</sup>

It is common to encounter Eusebius' appeals to accuracy in the *Ecclesiastical History*. Throughout his writing, Eusebius appears to exhibit a remarkable dedication to objectivity. Closing a section of citations from Philo that are descriptive of church ministries, Eusebius emphasizes that his interpretations are easily verified:

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<sup>68</sup> Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History*, trans. McGiffert, p 119n. McGiffert argues that Eusebius represents Philo accurately, whereas Stroth contends that Eusebius plundered Philo's works for his own advantage.

<sup>69</sup> Arnold Momigliano. "Pagan and Christian Historiography," p 112ff.

In addition to this Philo describes the order of dignities which lists among those who carry on the services of the church, mentioning the diaconate, and the office of bishop, which takes the precedence over all the others. But whosoever desires a more accurate knowledge of these matters may get it from the history already cited.<sup>70</sup>

Eusebius follows a similar procedure with the history of Josephus:

But the number of calamities which every where fell upon the nation at that time; the extreme misfortunes to which the inhabitants of Judea were especially subjected,... as well as the many great sieges which were carried on against the cities of Judea,... finally the general course of the whole war, as well as its particular occurrences in detail,... all these things any one that wishes may find accurately described in the history written by Josephus.<sup>71</sup>

Furthermore, Eusebius often prompts his readers with phrases that assure them that his history is accurate.

But whosoever desires a more accurate knowledge (ἀκριβοῦς) of these matters may get it from the history already cited. But that Philo, when he wrote these things, had in view the first heralds of the Gospel and the customs handed down from the beginning by the apostles, is clear to every one.<sup>72</sup>

This clearly proves (παρίστην) beyond question that on the first occasion, in order that the message proclaimed through him might be fully preached, he was rescued from the Lion's mouth, the reference apparently to Nero, because of his bestial cruelty.<sup>73</sup>

These evidences make the truth (πιστωθεῖν) of my account still more certain.<sup>74</sup>

Whatever, then, might be said to detract from Eusebius as a writer because of his

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<sup>70</sup> *Ecc Hist* II.17.23

<sup>71</sup> *Ecc Hist* III.5.3,4

<sup>72</sup> *Ecc Hist* II.17.23 (McGiffert translation).

<sup>73</sup> *Ecc Hist* II.22.4

<sup>74</sup> *Ecc Hist* II.25.8

“excessive” quotation of sources, that feature of his work is both innovative and intentional. He breaks from the typical historical writing of his day by avoiding invented speeches and offers a new indicator of accurate reporting with extensive quotation of sources, usually without explanatory remarks. Eusebius encourages his readers to consult the same works he has cited in his *History*. While this may be mischievous, it appears to be sincere. His quotations are generally accurate and the texts he uses are generally without manipulation on his part.

R.A. Markus writes emphatically about this characteristic of the *Ecclesiastical History*. It appears that Eusebius’ activist method cannot be over-stated:

... his avoidance of invented speeches mark his work off sharply from the classical tradition of history writing. This is all the more remarkable in view of the practise followed by St. Luke in the Acts of the Apostles: a work in almost every way much closer to classical historiographical conventions than Eusebius’s. In avoiding Acts as his model, Eusebius seems to have deliberately turned his back not only on classical, but on Christian historiographical precedents.<sup>75</sup>

#### **Success in Producing an Insightful and Satisfying work of History Valued by His Enemies**

The *Ecclesiastical History* is the centerpiece of the collection of Eusebius’ writings. This is not an insignificant distinction when one considers that Eusebius was a prolific writer. Classics scholar Timothy Barnes calls him the “most voluminous extant writer of the late third and early fourth centuries - Greek or Latin, Christian or pagan.”<sup>76</sup> Eusebius’

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<sup>75</sup> R. A. Markus, *Church History and Early Church Historians: The Materials Sources and Methods of Ecclesiastical History*, ed. D. Baker (Oxford, 1975), p 3

<sup>76</sup> Timothy D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, p v.

*History* has attained such a prominent status due to its practical and unparalleled contribution to Christian historical literature. It stands alone as the first systematic history of the Christian church. Considering that Eusebius' critics held his Christology suspect while endorsing his *History*, the value of his work is established beyond dispute. Even if its author was segregated for subordinationist theology, his theological history was readily embraced.

### Place in the History of Historical Writing: A Place for All Time

Jacob Burckhardt once characterized Eusebius as "the first thoroughly dishonest historian of antiquity."<sup>77</sup> In spite of such a derogatory view of Eusebius, the acclaim of his work far outweighs the accusation that he manipulated his sources. In the vast amount of historical writing, Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* deserves a place of prominence. As Eusebius' premier work, it has rightly gained him the title "Father of Church History." He was a pioneer of ecclesiastical history, both in the genre of historical literature that would follow in his wake, and in the title that many of his followers would later copy. Multiple works entitled *Ecclesiastical History*, from Socrates to Bede, carry on the tradition that he developed.

Partly due to his living at a pivotal time in the history of the Roman Empire, but also because of his general optimism, he was able to portray the Church as victorious, first as successful in expanding throughout the pagan Empire and secondly, as successful in

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<sup>77</sup> George G. Iggers and James M. Powell, *Leopold von Ranke and the Shaping of the Historical Discipline* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1990), p 92.

salvation history (a more gradual optimism) in which he envisioned a marriage between the ecclesiastical and political. His conviction was to write a work that would document the most significant people and events for posterity. As we shall see, bishops dominate the landscape of the expanding church in the Empire.



## 2.2 *Ecclesiastical History*: Composition of the Text

Eusebius is not an Ignatius who wrote letters under the pressure of an imminent martyrdom. Ignatius left letters whose dates of composition are certain. No opportunity for edits meant no dispute over editions. But Eusebius brings a challenge to the modern critics. Following Eusebius' paper trail is an art in historical and textual criticism. Burgess notes that scholars disagree by as much as twenty years over the date of the first edition of the *Ecclesiastical History*.

Scholars of textual criticism have been especially preoccupied with the composition of the *Ecclesiastical History*. Consisting of ten books, the *History* is believed to have been written in as many as four editions spanning three decades of Eusebius' life.<sup>78</sup> While scholars are divided over many questions pertaining to the text, the central inquiry concerns the date of the beginning of the enterprise. When did Eusebius publish the first edition? Was it before the Diocletian persecution of 303 or was it after the Edict of Toleration, signed by Licinius and Constantine in 311? Most are agreed that the last edition was completed between 323 and 326.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> See Appendix 2.

<sup>79</sup> The main factors that establish the completion between 323 and 326 are the death of Crispus and the Council of Nicea. The *History* closes with Crispus still alive. Constantine puts Crispus to death in 326 on suspicion of conspiracy and treason. There is no reference to the Council of Nicea (summer of 325).

### 2.3 Themes in the *Ecclesiastical History*

Eusebius brings unmistakable themes to the foreground of his work. Many are explicitly stated in his introduction.<sup>80</sup> Eusebian scholar Robert Grant reiterates the seven themes in *The Ecclesiastical History* and makes each one of these themes a chapter in his book.<sup>81</sup> 1. Apostolic succession, 2. Events and persons, 3. Heretics, 4. The fate of the Jews, 5. Persecution and martyrdom, 6. The canon of scripture, and 7. The merciful and gracious help of our saviour.

But various divisions of themes could be imagined had not Eusebius made themes an issue in the first page of his work. While Eusebius has made his themes clear to his reader, his categorization is not without a degree of ambiguity. For instance, though he recognizes the theme of events and persons, he does not indicate when he is actually writing under such a theme. This leaves his readers somewhat unsure in cases where there is overlap. For instance, there are times when Eusebius is discussing an event (eg. the succession at Rome) while featuring a certain individual (eg. Fabian). Thus the concept

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<sup>80</sup> See note 54.

<sup>81</sup> Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981) The canon of Scripture is not identified as a theme by Eusebius in his introduction, though later he lists it as a theme (*Ecclesiastical History* III.3.3; V.8.1) Prior to surveying Grant's work on Eusebius, I had detected ten themes while reading Eusebius for this study. They are summarized as follows: 1. Apostolic succession and successions of bishops, 2. Synods that occurred throughout the history of the early church, 3. The prestige of the bishoprics at Rome and Jerusalem, 4. Concentration on heresies, key heretical figures and apologists, 5. Succession of Roman governors and Emperors, 6. Church practices, 7. Canonical writings and harmonization of the gospels, 8. Persecution of Christians, 9. Political uprisings of the Jews, and 10. Theological and doctrinal references. After discovering Eusebius' preoccupation with the bishop, and surveying the *History* for themes (line by line), I came to prefer a different group of themes and categories. Events and persons, persecution and martyrdom, heresies, writings of bishops, literary sources, fate of the Jews, apologetics, theology, episcopal chronology, canon, principate chronology, prologue sections, apostolic succession, epilogue sections.

of “theme” sometimes is not a useful one for enlightening what Eusebius has in mind. Further complicating a survey of the themes is the fact that the material does not always fit well with the themes stated by Eusebius. Chronological sections, writings of bishops and other literary sources serve to illustrate this dynamic.

A content-theme comparison is fairly revealing. There are approximately 1000 lines in the standard manuscript used by Lawlor and Oulton. The multi-disciplinary writing method of Eusebius clearly rises to the surface, but so does his admiration for the office of the bishop and obvious preference for writing about episcopal matters. Writings of bishops, a theme that features the literary works of bishops, makes up almost 5 percent of the work.

What is clear in the data is that bishops are represented in almost every section. In events, it is episcopal assemblies and councils that find a prominent place. In persecution and martyrdom, bishops are discussed in the context of their response (some hiding and some facing the consequences of remaining in their diocese). In the sections that discuss heresies, bishops inevitably enter the narrative as keepers of truth.

## Chapter 3

### 3.1 Bishops in the *Ecclesiastical History*

Given the considerable resource that students of the early church have in Eusebius' writings and considering the general neglect of these writings, most issues related to pre-Constantinian Christianity are likely to gain from an examination of the Eusebian corpus. It is the aim of this thesis to investigate the status of the bishop, largely in its pre-Constantinian setting. The investigation will involve a detailed reading of the *Ecclesiastical History*, with an eye to determining Eusebius' presentation of this office. From that presentation, this thesis will draw conclusions about the role of the bishop in the early church, with particular interest in the status gained by that position by the time of Constantine's conversion. What happens in the elevation of the episcopal office after the conversion of Constantine, in a church with considerable resources of the emperor behind it, is another story.

### 3.2 The Distinction Between Presbyter and Bishop

The office of the presbyter, or elder,<sup>82</sup> was once synonymous with bishop. Henry C. Sheldon summarizes the consensus opinion:

The presbyters, or elders, were the highest local authority in the church. They formed a presiding council analogous to the board of elders in the Jewish synagogue. The episcopal title, on the other hand, the name overseer, or bishop, was of Gentile origin.... Originally both names related entirely to the same office.<sup>83</sup>

Patristic scholars assert that the leadership of the early church witnessed an evolution within the main office of presbyter-bishop. The consensus position holds that the church was originally led by a twofold ministerial of deacons and presbyters-bishops. It was not until the second century that a threefold ministry emerged, which, while continuing the diaconate, distinguished bishops from presbyters.<sup>84</sup> Given the scope of Eusebius' *History* (Apostolic to the Constantinian age), it is reasonable to ask whether the progression of a diversification in the leading office of the church is evident in Eusebius' work. Does Eusebius reflect the two distinct periods: the earlier one in which presbyter and bishop were synonymous, and the later during which the office of the bishop becomes elevated above that of the presbyterate?

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<sup>82</sup> πρεσβύτερος: transliterated as presbyter and often translated as "elder."

<sup>83</sup> Henry C. Sheldon, *History of the Christian Church*. Volume 1. The Early Church (New York: Thomas Y. Cromwell, 1895. Reprint. Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1988), p 123.

<sup>84</sup> Tony Lane, *Exploring Christian Thought* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1984), p 13. Lane contrasts the writings of Clement, bishop of Rome (d.101, see *Ecl Hist* III.34.1) with Ignatius(c.35-c.107). He notes Clement to be unaware of a threefold ministry, (using the words "bishop" and "presbyter" to refer to the same person), and Ignatius as "the first writer clearly to present the threefold pattern of ministry: one bishop in a church with his presbyters and deacons."

Ignatius, at the beginning of the second century, is the first of the Church Fathers to articulate the threefold distinction.<sup>85</sup> Guided by this landmark, we can investigate Eusebius' *History* to determine what distinction is made between the presbyter and bishop in material he discusses from the period before the second century.

The first method is to follow his chronology. If the common assumption is correct that the terms bishop and presbyter were used interchangeably during the first century we should expect to find the terms to be used indifferently. As we read the material in Eusebius' *History* that chronicles the apostolic age, we find a surprise. While Eusebius uses the terminology of deacons and bishops at the outset of Book II, he does not use the term presbyter until he has passed the midway point of Book III. Perhaps the siren is not a loud one; nonetheless, an alarm has sounded: Why would Eusebius use the terms bishop and deacon as he narrates the earliest period of the Church, and not use presbyter? What does Eusebius portray the early episcopal office to be?

The bishopric earns notice with its entrance at the very outset of Book II. The status that Eusebius gives the bishop is not one that the consensus position envisions of the episcopate in the first century. What is most unexpected is that every reference to the office of the bishop in Book II appears to assume an understanding of monepiscopacy. One of the early leaders most highly elevated in the *History* is James, the brother of Jesus. As the first bishop of Jerusalem, his ordination predates the principate of Nero (54-62). Tradition places James in Jerusalem as the head of church there. Lightfoot, who has

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<sup>85</sup> Ignatius, in his letter to the *Trallians* writes: "Likewise let all respect the deacons (διακόνους) as Jesus Christ, even as the bishop (ἐπίσκοπον) is also a type of the Father, and the presbyters (πρεσβυτέρους) as the council of God and the college of Apostles." *Ignatius to the Trallians* III.1

provided much of our understanding of the ministry in this period, notes that “the episcopate was formed not out of the apostolic order by localization but out of the presbyterate by elevation.”<sup>86</sup> This concept, applied to James, is further clarified by Lightfoot:

If in some passages [in the Acts of the Apostles] St. James is named by himself, in others he is omitted and the presbyters alone are mentioned. From this it may be inferred that, though holding a position superior to the rest, he was still considered as a member of the presbytery, that he was in fact the head or president of the college.<sup>87</sup>

Thus, according to Lightfoot, James “can claim to be regarded as a bishop in the later and more special sense of the term.”<sup>88</sup> But Lightfoot limits this elevation of the bishop’s office to the mother Church of Jerusalem. According to Lightfoot, “the New Testament presents no distinct traces of such organization in the Gentile congregations.”<sup>89</sup> James’ position is seen as somewhat unusual for the first century.

Of note, James is not the only leader during the reign of Nero that enjoys designation as bishop by Eusebius. Annianus is introduced as a figure contemporary with Nero: “In the eighth year of the reign of Nero Annianus was the first after Mark the Evangelist to receive the charge of the diocese of Alexandria.”<sup>90</sup> Andrew Louth, who edited and revised the 1965 Williamson translation, overstates the case when he says that

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<sup>86</sup> J.B.Lightfoot, *The Christian Ministry*, ed. Philip Edgcumbe Hughes (Morehouse-Barlow Co., Inc. Wilton, Connecticut, 1983), p 46.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p 47.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p 46.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p 47.

<sup>90</sup> *Ecc Hist* II.24.1

“Eusebius studiously avoids the term ‘bishop’”<sup>91</sup> in this passage. What Louth is implying is that Eusebius has some awareness that the office of monarchical bishop was out of place in the first century. But Eusebius is not so astute and free of anachronisms. Nor should we expect him to be. Contrary, then, to Louth’s sense, Eusebius’ image of the bishop is monarchical from first mention. Let us, then, examine Eusebius’ treatment of Annianus more closely.

Although Eusebius has not actually used the term ἐπίσκοπος for Annianus, Eusebius does designate Annianus’ office as πρῶτος μετὰ Μάρκον τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παροικίας Ἀννιανὸς τὴν λειτουργίαν διαδέχεται.<sup>92</sup> While this phrase does not include the technical term “bishop” (ἐπίσκοπος), there is no doubt that Eusebius is referring to the episcopate. Support for this interpretation comes from other passages within the *History* where Eusebius uses the same construction to identify bishops in the post-Ignatian era and much later in the ante-Nicene period. Indeed, in the second reference to Annianus in Book III Eusebius writes: “In the fourth year of Domitian the first Bishop of Alexandria, Annianus, after completing twenty-two years, passed away, and was succeeded by the second, Avilus.”<sup>93</sup> The phrase penned by Eusebius in both cases uses identical terminology, i.e. πρῶτος... παροικίας translated “the first of the see,” “the first of the diocese,” or “the first bishop.” The last translation is used by Louth himself in III.41.1, the very phrase Louth had argued earlier that indicated Eusebius’ studious

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<sup>91</sup> Williamson, *Eusebius*, p 344.

<sup>92</sup> *Ecd Hist* II.24.1 “...Annianus was the first after Mark the Evangelist to receive charge of the diocese of Alexandria.”

<sup>93</sup> *Ecd Hist* III.14.1 (McGiffert translation).



avoidance of the term bishop.<sup>94</sup> This exposes an inconsistency in Louth's editorial work, as well as his misunderstanding of Eusebius. In other words, Louth has said that Eusebius intentionally skirted the word "bishop" when identifying Annianus, but then Louth translates the next reference to Annianus as "bishop" when Eusebius has not provided Louth with the word "ἐπίσκοπος."

Clearly Eusebius intended the bishop's office by his use of diocesan terminology in all eleven passages where παροικίας is used without the actual word ἐπίσκοπος, as most English translations recognize. In three other cases (where Eusebius uses diocesan terminology) Louth fails to caution against Williamson's translation of παροικίας as bishop.<sup>95</sup> In fact, Louth continues to emphasize that Eusebius avoids the term "bishop" of Abilius, Eumenes, Celadion, (bishops of Alexandria), yet neglects to reach the same judgement in the cases of Demetrius of Alexandria, Polycrates of Ephesus, Gregory and Athenodore of Pontus, Helenus of Tarsus, and finally, of both Socrates and Stephen of Laodicea, though the same phrase is used in all these cases.<sup>96</sup>

Louth implies that Eusebius was cautious about using the word ἐπίσκοπος for

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<sup>94</sup> Williamson, *Eusebius*, p 344. Louth writes, "Eusebius studiously avoids the term bishop."

<sup>95</sup> *Ecl Hist* III.14.1; VII.28.1; VII.32.22

<sup>96</sup> Of Abilius, *Ecl Hist* III.21.1 παροικίας... ἡγησάμενον διαδέχεται (to which Louth again argues that Eusebius avoids the term 'bishop,' p 350 ); of Eumenes, *Ecl Hist* IV.5.5 παροικίας τὴν προστασίαν (Louth qualifies again "not called bishop" p 367); of Celadion, *Ecl Hist* IV.19.1 παροικίας...προστάντος (Louth qualifies again "though not called bishop" p 355). But in other passages where the identical phrase is used, Louth does not argue that Eusebius avoided episcopal designation, i.e. in the cases of Demetrius, *Ecl Hist* V.22.1 τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παροικιῶν τὴν λειτουργίαν ἐγγχειρίζεται Δημήτριος.; of Polycrates; *Ecl Hist* V.22.1 παροικίας; of Gregory and Athenodore, *Ecl Hist* VII.28.1 παροικιῶν ποιμένες; of Helenus, *Ecl Hist* VII.28.1 παροικίας; of Socrates, *Ecl Hist* VII.32.5 παροικίας ἡγήσατο; and finally of Stephen *Ecl Hist* VII.32.22 παροικίας ὄστατος.

individuals in the earliest period. In fact, Eusebius shows no awareness of the earlier use of the word ἐπίσκοπος as a synonym for πρεσβύτερος. He reflects the threefold ministry even in the first century in the case that Louth thinks reflects Eusebius' caution. For Eusebius, Annianus, as a bishop, is a single authority figure over a diocese, and not one of many presbyters in Alexandria as early as the eighth year of Nero's reign (in 61 A.D.). If Eusebius is accurately describing the church hierarchy at Alexandria, we would then be obliged to entertain a bishopric (and monepiscopacy) in a Gentile community in the middle of the first century.

Further, Louth's argument that Eusebius has consciously chosen not to refer to Annianus with the title "bishop" is significant only if Eusebius has avoided the term "bishop" in references to other church leaders in the early period. He has not. Eusebius does not shy from the title of "bishop" for the first century. He identifies bishops with the technical term "episkopos" in eight of the ten occurrences in Book II.<sup>97</sup>

If Eusebius is reluctant to call Annianus a bishop and uses παροικίας to avoid episcopal recognition, as Louth contends, then one must ask why Eusebius uses παροικίας as often as he does, particularly in cases where there can be no question about the validity of the use of the term ἐπίσκοπος in that context. What we find is that Eusebius seems to think that the term παροικίας is adequate to specify an episcopal context. In fact, in all but two of the cases of the use of παροικίας,<sup>98</sup> Eusebius couples the word θρόνος

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<sup>97</sup> See Appendix 8 on terms used for bishop.

<sup>98</sup> For example, *Ecl Hist* III.31.2 παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος in reference to Polycrates, "bishop of the diocese of Ephesus;" and *Ecl Hist* VII.32.23 παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος of Stephen, "one who was immediately proclaimed bishop of that community."

(thronos) rather than ἐπίσκοπος with it, though the episcopal context is clear from the use of the word θρόνος.<sup>99</sup>

Does Eusebius exercise diligence by avoiding the term “bishop,” as Louth contends? Was Eusebius aware of anachronism, and motivated by such a high degree of historical integrity that he used ambiguous terminology of Annianus’ leadership at Alexandria so that his readers would not get the impression that the progression from twofold to threefold ministry happened earlier than it actually did? Clearly this “anti-anachronistic” explanation does not work and forces an historical astuteness on Eusebius that his work cannot bear (nor that the work of any ancient historian is likely to bear).

We find various situations that compel us to conclude that Eusebius placed the distinct title of bishop (and the threefold distinction) earlier than Ignatius’ time, and in more instances than James, whom Lightfoot considers to be an exceptional case.

In addition to Annianus of Alexandria, there are two other first-century leaders identified as bishops in the Williamson-Louth translation. Linus, the first bishop of Rome is recorded by Eusebius to have served twelve years<sup>100</sup> and is easily dated by the information provided by Eusebius. Linus is reported to have handed the episcopate (ἐπισκοπή) to Anencletus in the second year of Titus’ reign. Given that Titus’ reign began in 79 A.D., we can deduce that Linus completed his twelve year episcopate in 80, allowing us to determine his ascension to the Roman bishopric in 68.<sup>101</sup> Others date his term of

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<sup>99</sup> *Ecc Hist* III.11.1 Simeon...was worthy of the throne of the diocese p 233 “τοῦ τῆς αὐτόθι παποικίας θρόνου ἀξίον εἶναι δοκιμάσαι.”

<sup>100</sup> *Ecc Hist* III.13.1

<sup>101</sup> Williamson (Louth), *Eusebius*, p 385 dates his episcopate 64-74 A.D.

office even earlier.<sup>102</sup> Ultimately though, we have record of a Roman bishop in office as a monepiscopal figure thirty years before the writings of Ignatius, according to Eusebius. Finally, Ignatius himself must be considered. Eusebius provides a chronology of the period under discussion using Ignatius and Simeon; the second bishops of Antioch and Jerusalem respectively:

Moreover, at the time mentioned, Ignatius was famous as the second bishop at Antioch where Evodius had been the first. Likewise at this time, Simeon was second after the brother of our Saviour to hold the ministry of the church in Jerusalem.<sup>103</sup>

Ignatius (and Simeon) represent second-generation bishops. Each case shows continuation of an office by an individual (specifically named "bishop") who is a generation removed from the apostolic founding of the particular see. Eusebius speaks of this early succession naturally, giving no hint that he knows of a situation where the bishop's office had not developed in the first century.

According to Eusebius, then, the office of the bishop existed in Jerusalem, Alexandria and Rome, well before the turn of the century. As such, he represented the record of these sees with monepiscopacy in mind. Eusebius simply imposes a fourth-century panoramic view of the Church on the early bishoprics, projecting to them the clericalism of his era in which the concept of apostolic succession was important. There is nothing to be gained in arguing on Eusebius' behalf that his terminology is reflective of his studiousness. In most of his accounts, (as would be expected), Eusebius reflects the

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<sup>102</sup> G. Salmon, *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, "Linus," p 668 calculates A.D. 55-67 from Eusebius, but is cautious of the accuracy.

<sup>103</sup> *Ecd Hist* III.22.1

later development. None the less, even though he may project an episcopal universalism (more aligned with the third century Catholic Church) on the early episcopate in Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rome and Antioch, his account of numerous episcopates in the first century is hard to ignore. As well, given that Lightfoot elects to explain Jerusalem, not as a later projection, but as an exception (thereby admitting the existence of first-century monarchical leaders), we should pause before dismissing the other three episcopates as later projections.

There are, however, a few passages in Eusebius where the terms presbyter and bishop appear to be interchangeable leadership titles. But these passages are in quotations and it is not clear that Eusebius is aware of the use; at least, he calls no attention to it. Referring to the late apostolic age when John administered the Asian churches, Eusebius records a story from Clement of Alexandria.<sup>104</sup> In the story, which Eusebius calls a true tradition, he recounts the practice of John who travelled throughout Asia, in some places appointing bishops. In one of the cities, John discerns a young man to be a potential leader and entrusts his spiritual preparation to the local bishop. As the story progresses, Clement (and Eusebius) refer to the local church leader using the terms bishop and presbyter synonymously:

The bishop received him, and promised everything, and the same conversations and protestations were used. John then returned to Ephesus and the presbyter took to his house the young man entrusted to him, brought him up, looked after him, and finally baptized him.<sup>105</sup>

G. W. Butterworth, translator of Clement's writings, makes special note of this passage:

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<sup>104</sup> *Ecc Hist* III.23.5ff; *The Rich Man's Salvation (Who is the Rich Man that Shall Be Saved?)* XLII.

<sup>105</sup> *Ecc Hist* III.23.7,8

It will be noticed that Clement here applies the terms “bishop” and “presbyter” to the same person. This may be due to the fact that in the story he followed a written authority coming down from a time when the two terms were synonymous, as they are in the New Testament. On the other hand, it is possible that the sharp distinction between “bishop” and “presbyter,” though well-known elsewhere, was not yet recognized at Alexandria.<sup>106</sup>

The above account, while it provides some insight into the terms under discussion, needs to be relegated to the “non-Eusebian” category. This story, recorded by Clement, is quoted verbatim by Eusebius. While we learn that Eusebius was willing to quote Clement’s story, we have little awareness of Eusebius’ agreement with the terms used. He simply copies the story and uses the same words as Clement.

A similar dynamic is at work in the recounting of Papias’ writings. While Eusebius includes excerpts from Papias,<sup>107</sup> he himself does not clarify or define Papias’ terms.<sup>108</sup> Again, this leaves us unable to comment on Eusebius’ view of church office in the first century. We know that he uses Papias to provide an eye-witness account (through the presbyters known to Papias) of the Apostolic age, and that Eusebius is particularly interested in Papias for his evidence of the existence of two persons by the name of John at Ephesus.<sup>109</sup> While the following passage is rich with the term “presbyter,” the content is Papias’ testimony of his education under the presbyters who knew the disciples:

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<sup>106</sup> *Clement of Alexandria*, trans. G.W.Butterworth, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1919), p 359.

<sup>107</sup> Papias (c. 60-130), bishop of Hierapolis.

<sup>108</sup> Although Eusebius does make a derogatory comment in describing Papias as a “man of very little intelligence.” *Ecc. Hist* III.39.13

<sup>109</sup> Eusebius wants to document the identification of two by the name of John; the Apostle and the presbyter. *Ecc. Hist* III.39.5

And I shall not hesitate to append to the interpretations all that I ever learnt well from the presbyters and remember well, for of their truth I am confident... I inquired into the words of the presbyters, what Andrew or Peter or Philip or Thomas or James or John or Matthew, or any other of the Lord's disciples, had said, and what Aristion and the presbyter John, the Lord's disciples, were saying.<sup>110</sup>

Another passage that reflects the use of the terms bishop and presbyter as synonymous is found in Book V. Surprisingly, the literary source of this reference is dated to the last decade of the second century. Eusebius quotes Irenaeus (c.130 - c.200) bishop of Lyons who is writing to Victor ("who presided at Rome") in the context of a confrontation over the dating of Easter.<sup>111</sup> Irenaeus, though agreeing with Victor's practice, requests leniency be exercised upon those whose custom is otherwise. He appeals to precedent set by Victor's predecessors:

Among these too were the presbyters before Soter, who presided over the church of which you are now leader, I mean Anicetus and Pius and Telesphorus and Xystus. They did not themselves observe it [the Quartodeciman practice], nor did they enjoin it on those who followed them, and though they did not keep it they were none the less at peace with those from the dioceses in which it was observed... no one was ever rejected for this reason, but the presbyters before you who did not observe it sent the Eucharist to those from other dioceses who did...<sup>112</sup>

Eusebius makes no comment about the use of the word presbyter here where bishops are obviously intended. Eusebius merely reflects the wide-spread view that bishops generally

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<sup>110</sup> *Ecc. Hist* III.39.2ff

<sup>111</sup> The Paschal Controversy. The dispute centred over the dating of Easter. Victor took a strong stand against Quartodecimanism, the custom of observing Easter on the 14th day of Nisan, whatever the day of the week, and not on the following Sunday. He threatened Polycrates of Ephesus and other bishops of Asia Minor with excommunication if they refused to give up their practise of keeping Easter on the 14th day of Nisan, rather than the following Sunday. *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* Ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone, pp 425, 538.

<sup>112</sup> *Ecc. Hist* V.24.1-4ff

have prior status as presbyters. Neither Eusebius, nor others who occasionally use the term “presbyter” for bishop intend to reflect a time when the terms were synonymous.

Another title relevant in the discussion of church leaders in the early period is “apostolic presbyter.” The term is copied by Eusebius in correspondence from Irenaeus.

He also quotes treatises of a certain apostolic presbyter whose name he passes by in silence and gives his interpretation of divine Scripture.<sup>113</sup>

Eusebius is careful to note that the context is from an earlier period in the history of the church:

At the beginning of this work we made a promise to quote from time to time the sayings of the presbyters and writers of the church of the first period, in which they have delivered the traditions which came down to them about the canonical Scriptures.<sup>114</sup>

Given that Eusebius makes such a notification for his readers, we may conclude that Eusebius recognizes the appropriateness of the use of the term “presbyter” for the apostles. The letters of Peter and John reflect this use. Eusebius reflects no more awareness than this. Although there are two instances in the *History* of presbyters and deacons listed together in the absence of bishop,<sup>115</sup> the context in each case does not support an interpretation of presbyter being understood as interchangeable with bishop. A letter sent from an assembly of pastors serves to illustrate the usual ministry structure known to Eusebius:

To Dionysius and Maximus and to all our fellow-ministers throughout the world, bishops, presbyters and deacons,... and all the others who, with us,

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<sup>113</sup> *Ecc. Hist* V.8.8

<sup>114</sup> *Ecc. Hist* V.8.1

<sup>115</sup> *Ecc. Hist* VII.22.8; VII.30.12



sojourn in the adjacent cities and provinces, bishops and presbyters and deacons and the churches of God, as to brethren beloved in the Lord send greeting.<sup>116</sup>

For the most part, Eusebius identifies the presbytery as a distinct office from that of the episcopate. The two offices are not equal, and except for a few exceptional instances, Eusebius clearly depicts the presbyterate as an office subordinate to that of the episcopate.

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<sup>116</sup> *Ecc. Hist* VII.30.2

### 3.3 The Principate-Episcopate Chronology

The chronological perspective of Eusebius is predictable throughout the *Ecclesiastical History*, once we appreciate the influence of Greek historiography. The matter is discussed at some length in *The Chronicle of Eusebius and the Greek Chronographic Tradition* by Alden A. Mosshammer. The *Ecclesiastical History*, while an historical account with detours in apologetics, panegyric, hagiography, exegesis and numerous other literary genres, is anchored fundamentally by the chronological framework, particularly the first seven books.

If an ancient author had predominant chronological interest, there was, however, no universally accepted standard to use as a framework. In the selection of a workable chronological reference point Eusebius is innovative, though this is not always recognized. Eusebian scholar Andrew Louth sees the structure of the *Ecclesiastical History* organized around the succession of Roman Emperors, and he does not concede any ground of innovation to Eusebius. Louth reports the chronological method of Eusebius that is mainly principal, and though he does admit that there is a secondary episcopal subdivision within that, he sees the overall method as largely typical of various annalistic precedents.

The basic structure of the work is the succession of Roman Emperors: all the material is fitted into their successive reigns. Within this division of material the succession of bishops in the four great sees of the pre-Nicene Church - Rome, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem (or Aelia, as it was renamed after the Jewish War of 132-35) - provides a further set of subdivisions.... Such a method of writing history is not, in fact, at all new: in this respect Eusebius is simply following classical precedent. The histories of Thucydides, Polybius, Josephus and others (and also history books in the Bible such as 1 and 2 Samuel and 1 and 2 Kings) are similarly

annalistic: the narrative proceeds year by year....<sup>117</sup>

Although Louth is correct in his judgement that Eusebius' *History* is annalistic, he has failed to appreciate Eusebius' departure from his classical predecessors. While Eusebius follows quite naturally in the lineage of annalists, he does in fact initiate a distinctive method, and one that ironically, Louth has himself identified, namely: the episcopate. If Eusebius' method of historiography "is not, in fact, at all new," as Louth has reported, then how does one account for Eusebius' episcopal structure? Is Louth aware of an episcopal-like structure in the classical Graeco-Roman or ancient Hebrew historians?

Various authors did refine the starkly annalistic framework. The Greek historian Thucydides was an exceptional writer who strove to exceed the former expectations of historical recording keeping. His predecessor Herodotus remained in the tradition of mythological writing that was compliant to the Greek legends and the full complement of gods, oracles and omens. Thucydides makes a distinct innovative and intentional departure from Herodotus. In his *History of the Peloponnesian War*, he uses in combination years, seasons,<sup>118</sup> events and the length of reign of rulers to establish a reliable chronology, a matter of little importance to Herodotus, who, without hesitation accepted mythological timeframes. To document the outbreak of the war between Athens and

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<sup>117</sup> G. A. Williamson, trans., *Eusebius. The History of the Church*, xix.

<sup>118</sup> Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, trans. Rex Warner (London: Penguin Books, first published 1954, revised 1972), 22. In the introduction, M.I. Finley describes Thucydides' chronological approach, "To write a coherent narrative, therefore, Thucydides had to invent his own system. After fixing the beginning of the war, he dated all subsequent events first by counting the number of (solar) years that elapsed from the start, and then by dividing each war year into 'winter' and 'summer.'"

Sparta he writes:

I have recorded the events as they occurred each summer and each winter. The thirty years' truce which was entered into after the reconquest of Euboea lasted for fourteen years. In the fifteenth year, the forty-eighth year of the priestess-ship of Chrysis at Argos, the year when Aenesias was ephor at Sparta, and two months before the end of the archonship of Pythodorus at Athens, six months after the battle at Potidaea, just at the beginning of spring, a Theban force of rather over 300 men, commanded by the Boeotarchs Pythangelus, the son of Phylides, and Diemporus, the son of Onetorides, came at about the first watch of the night and made an armed entry in Plataea, a town in Boeotia and an ally of Athens (*History of the Peloponnesian War* II, 2-3).

Somewhat earlier than Thucydides, the Hebrews (Israelites) established a chronology based on the reigning monarchs,<sup>119</sup> though the final refinement of this probably should be dated around the late 500's and 400's in the Jewish compilation of the Hebrew Bible. In *A Chronology of the Hebrew Kings*, Edwin Thiele identifies two common chronological methods.<sup>120</sup> The first is a synchronism in which the commencement of a ruler from Judah was recorded alongside the year of reign of a ruler from Israel. An example of this method is in 2 Kings 13:1:

... in the three and twentieth year of Joash the son of Ahaziah king of Judah Jehoahaz the son of Jehu began to reign over Israel in Samaria, and reigned seventeen years.

The second method employed by the Jewish chronographers calculated the number of reigning years of a presiding ruler against the length of time that had transpired since the

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<sup>119</sup> "At that time King Xerxes reigned from his royal throne in the citadel of Susa, and in the third year of his reign he gave a banquet for all his nobles and officials." (Esther 1:2) "In the month of Nisan in the twentieth year of King Artaxerxes, when wine was brought for him, I took the wine and gave it to the king. I had not been sad in his presence before;..." (Nehemiah 2:1)

<sup>120</sup> Edwin R. Thiele, *A Chronology of the Hebrew Kings* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1977), pp 9,10.

death of former ruler. “And Amaziah the son of Joash king of Judah lived after the death of Jehoash son of Jehoahaz king of Israel fifteen years” (2 Kings 14:17)

In addition, the Jews went outside of their own chronologies to calculate events in conjunction with the regnal years of neighboring nations.

At that time King Xerxes reigned from his royal throne in the citadel of Susa, and in the third year of his reign he gave a banquet for all his nobles and officials. The military leaders of Persia and Media, the princes, and the nobles of the provinces were present. (Esther 1:2).

A final example of chronographical frameworks, this time depicting the ancient Roman historians, is drawn from Tacitus. Evident in this first-century historian is his awareness of the Roman timeline. Traditionally, the Roman historians calculated chronology using the establishment of Rome as the central chronological landmark. Tacitus provides such a chronological backdrop in his account of “The Fall of Messalina”:

This year being the eight hundredth since Rome’s foundation, Secular games were celebrated, sixty-four years after those of Augustus. The calculations undertaken by the two emperors I omit, since they have been sufficiently described in my account of Domitian’s reign (*Annals* XI.10).

Eusebius’ distinctive refinement is the use of the episcopal office as a prominent chronological marker in his *Ecclesiastical History*. Similar to the historical writings of his Graeco-Roman predecessors, Eusebius uses regnal years to establish time periods. Unlike his predecessors, he introduces episcopal years as a parallel chronological concept, thereby creating a 2-tiered chronological system that distinguished sacred and secular rulers. As the first systematic Christian historian, his presentation suggests that the reigns of the bishops, and especially prominent ones, were of adequate importance and familiarity to his readers to provide a chronological framework and that Eusebius grasped

this element as a key chronological tool. In other words, the major sees of Alexandria, Rome, Antioch and Jerusalem had gained enough recognition to render an authoritative timeline based on their episcopal years. In light of this, Louth is denying Eusebius the recognition he deserves as an innovator in the field of chronology. Neither the Graeco-Roman nor Hebrew historians so thoroughly used sacred magistrates to establish chronology.

A Roman historian might have considered the priests and priestesses of Roman paganism to coincide with the Emperor, but such figures were largely local.<sup>121</sup> It is not likely that the priesthood would have had the regional or social status required to establish the Empire-wide recognition that a historian-chronicler could employ. The framework would have been useful to a considerably limited readership.

Eusebius is able to capitalize on the eminent episcopates because they were gaining recognition throughout the churches in the Roman Empire, another piece of evidence that points to the "catholic consciousness" of early Christianity in contrast to the perspective of Graeco-Roman religion. In one sense he had a monopoly on the procedure. No pagan historian would have had any interest in Christian leaders as chronological markers in the way that Christians would have had in secular Roman figures as markers.

Several questions arise for consideration: As an annalist, what value did Eusebius see in using the episcopate as a chronological landmark? To what degree does his method

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<sup>121</sup> Ramsay MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), p 99. MacMullen tends to emphasize the priesthoods and cults of paganism as local religious entities in the larger syncretistic society. The apparent exception is Jupiter Dolichenus who "enjoyed an active and prominent priesthood."

help the modern investigator? Did his own position as bishop of Caesarea influence his choice of this kind of chronological marker?

Examining the chronological approach of Eusebius, one discovers a departure from past practises of theological history. Inheriting the *Chronicle* of Africanus,<sup>122</sup> Eusebius could have developed his own *Chronicle* on the same timeline. According to Mosshammer, Eusebius departs from past chronologies scripted by Christian historians by beginning with Abraham, rather than the pre-history Genesis account.<sup>123</sup> This method alone was to gain him the merit of providing a compelling historical timeline that would become the basis of world chronology from Abraham to Constantine.<sup>124</sup>

Among those scholars who applaud Eusebius' contribution to the world of chronology is James Campbell. Of Eusebius' chronological tables he says:

Nothing could be more unattractive in appearance than these bald, synchronized annals, and yet they are the model for the chronicles, universal and local, which are in fashion for a thousand years in the West. They present a scheme of ancient chronology which has been accepted almost unaltered down to our day.<sup>125</sup>

Seen in this light, Eusebius is a type of Thucydides. Both appear to have considered the

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<sup>122</sup> C. H. Turner, "The Early Episcopal Lists" *JTS*, p 195. "Julius Africanus of Nicopolis (Emmaus) in Palestine. Africanus is a personage of more than ordinary interest, for he combined the widest Christian culture and scholarship with an active participation in civil life...It is certain then that his *Chronicle* [no italics] (published in the fourth year of Elagabalus, A.D. 221) represented the highest attainable standard of the day; it is certain also that Eusebius was familiar with it, for he not only mentions it in the *History* (vi 31), but alludes to Africanus in the *Chronicle* as 'the chronographer.' To what extent Eusebius may have borrowed from him, it is less easy to say."

<sup>123</sup> Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius*, p 35.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, p 15.

<sup>125</sup> James Marshall Campbell, *The Greek Fathers* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers Inc., 1963), p 44,45.

historical methods of previous writers and set out to pioneer improvements. As Thucydides exceeded the historical methods of Herodotus that were steeped in mythology and oracle, Eusebius surpassed the accounts of early Christianity by producing a systematic chronological history that documented three hundred years of the Christian faith in the pagan Empire, adequate to such a degree that no one attempted to replace this work, though others copied his method.

The *Chronicle* of Eusebius is pivotal to the current discussion. Eusebius himself provides the rationale:

I have already summarized the material in the chronological tables which I have drawn up, but nevertheless in the present work [*Ecclesiastical History*] I have undertaken to give the narrative in full detail.<sup>126</sup>

D.S. Wallace-Hadrill explains Eusebius' methodology in *Eusebius of Caesarea*, arguing "that Eusebius was not satisfied with the method of presentation adopted in the Chronological Canons is evident from his deeming it necessary to cover the same ground again in the *History*."<sup>127</sup> The connection between the *Chronicle* and the *History* is widely recognized.<sup>128</sup> It deserves emphasis because it establishes the dominant method of Eusebius being annalistic. As an annalist, Eusebius believes that he is providing an innovative work for posterity:

To work at this subject I consider especially necessary, because I am not aware that any Christian writer has until now paid attention to this kind of writing; and I hope that its high value will be evident to those who are

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<sup>126</sup> *Ecc Hist* I.1.6

<sup>127</sup> D.S. Wallace-Hadrill, *Eusebius of Caesarea*, p 158.

<sup>128</sup> C.H. Turner, "The Early Episcopal Lists" *JTS*, p 183. "The *Chronicle* and the *History* of Eusebius are brought into close relation with one another."



convinced of the importance of a knowledge of the history.<sup>129</sup>

Eusebius is correct in claiming innovation as a historian; in particular he shows a dissatisfaction with mere chronological tables. Rather, he writes a narrative, though the substantial chronological framework that he had already developed is clearly visible beneath that narrative. The centerpiece of his chronology is the unit of time that he features in his historical writing. While other writers used regnal years, Eusebius anchored events by using the episcopate alongside the principate. Along with the reigns of Roman emperors, the episcopal terms of office became essential in establishing time and events.

Eusebius' method of combining the principate with prominent episcopates is a strength and weakness. As a strength it permits his events to be secured around prominent societal figures. As a weakness, he uses it so uncompromisingly as to forfeit a flowing narrative. In Wallace-Hadrill's words, "the material of the *History* is fitted into its framework of interlocking regnal years of emperors and episcopates of bishops with a consistency that destroys real continuity."<sup>130</sup>

Credible chronographical writing utilizes public figures. The method, while by appearance a simple strategy, is easily misused. Mosshammer indicates the criteria for using a public office (i.e. an archon), for dating:

An archon's name can be a date to a historian only if events are regularly associated with archons' names, if it is possible to count the interval between an archon and another, and if there is some assurance that anyone

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<sup>129</sup> *Ecl Hist* I.1.5

<sup>130</sup> Wallace-Hadrill, *Eusebius of Caesarea*, p 160.

who wishes to verify the interval will make the same count.<sup>131</sup>

There is a caution to the predictable chronology of Eusebius. Though it reads as monotonous to the modern reader (who is accustomed to calendar dating), the question needs to be raised – “how was this received by his fourth-century audience?” It is possible that what appears mundane to the twentieth-century reader would have been revolutionary to Eusebius’ audience. What may be Eusebius’ most innovative contribution as a historian-chronographer was his consistent linking of bishops to emperors. Consider the context of his society. Christianity was now at the end of its third century of existence and had gradually expanded throughout the Roman Empire. The Graeco-Roman, and even Jewish audience, had been saturated with the chronological method employed by pagan historians of using regnal years as chronological landmarks. Enter Eusebius with his method of assigning episcopate in tandem with principate.

Not only was this progressive on Eusebius’ part, but it clearly demonstrates the Christian audience of Eusebius and perhaps, if Eusebius sees this as a work for a wider audience, and that, insofar as it may be pagan, the pagan audience will observe the prominence of the Christian bishop in the larger society as well. If the power and influence of the bishop had not been firmly entrenched in the Church, and gaining recognition in Roman society, Eusebius’ chronological method would have been a dismal failure.

One of the closest similarities to Eusebius’ method is the Hebrew canonical writings. Many of the authors of the Hebrew scripture reference their chronology by the

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<sup>131</sup> Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius*, p 88.

reign of a prominent pagan ruler. Eusebius, while writing his chronography, probably gained a degree of confidence in using secular archons knowing that the Hebrews before him had done so. Their sacred writings cannot be overlooked in the influences of which Eusebius would have been aware and likely to adopt.<sup>132</sup>

The method of the Jewish chroniclers is of further significance, for they influenced the Jewish historian Josephus, who himself influenced Eusebius. Josephus is quoted extensively in the *Ecclesiastical History*.<sup>133</sup> But did Josephus do more than that, and did Eusebius follow? If Josephus established chronology by the dates of secular rulers in conjunction with Jewish high priests, then the method is clearly a link between Eusebius and Josephus. Josephus, in fact, employs a chronology based on intervals of time. He introduces each book in the *Antiquities of the Jews* and the *Wars of the Jews* by establishing the spectrum of time that he will narrate. For instance, in *Antiquities of the Jews*, Josephus introduces Book XV: "Containing an interval of eighteen years, from the death of Antigonus to the Finishing of the Temple by Herod." In the *Wars of the Jews* Book IV Josephus writes, "Containing the interval of about one year, from the siege of Gamala to the coming of Titus to Besiege Jerusalem." His chronological method establishes intervals landmarked by prominent individuals (often kings and emperors) and events. Josephus does not employ the reigns of priests to establish chronology. Judaism, unlike the syncretism of Roman paganism, could have provided for a systematic chronology centered

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<sup>132</sup> Mosshammer, *The Chronicle*, p 35. Mosshammer, in describing the text of the *Chronicle*, points out that Eusebius determined to demonstrate that "Judeo-Christian history and literature was considerably older than Graeco-Roman."

<sup>133</sup> Josephus is a major historical source for the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius. *Eccl's Hist* I.11; II.5; II.6i; II.10; II.11; II.20; II.21i; II.23; II.26; III.6; III.8; III.9; III.10; VI.8; VII.32.

around the High Priest in Jerusalem but Josephus did not develop this. Eusebius' method, influenced by Hebrew texts, Greek chronicles and by Josephus, strikes off in a novel direction, which we find as early as the *Chronicle*.<sup>134</sup>

While the discussion of episcopal chronology raises debate over Eusebius' innovation and borrowing from other chronographic sources, it also strikes a nerve among historians and theologians who argue for the prominence of certain sees. For instance, Vincent Twomey argues for the primacy of Rome and believes that Eusebius reflects this. Barnes proposes that both the episcopates of Rome and of Alexandria are central to Eusebius' chronological framework.<sup>135</sup> Turner contends the episcopal lists of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem are no less important than the Roman.<sup>136</sup>

Above all else, what was Eusebius' motive in the new chronology? While he is influenced by the classic works of the Graeco-Roman and Hebrew historians, there is reason to believe that he views none of these as the ideal way of reporting the history of the Church. His method, while exhibiting the essential features of earlier historical method, is innovative.

Harnack depreciates Eusebius' use of the episcopate chronology arguing that:

... the real reason why Eusebius used imperial rather than episcopal chronology for his framework was that the 'successions from the holy apostles' were for him the lines not only of bishops but of teachers, and that as he did not possess a complete chronology of the latter he

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<sup>134</sup> Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian*, pp 5,6.

<sup>135</sup> T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, p 130. While Barnes recognizes the four prominent sees of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, he elevates the position of Rome and Alexandria based on the completeness of bishop lists and reliability of dates.

<sup>136</sup> C. H. Turner, "The Early Episcopal Lists" *JTS*, p 183.

determined to make only a subordinate use of the chronology of the former.<sup>137</sup>

According to Harnack, the entire chronology of the *History* is ranged around the emperors, and in the judgement of Turner, Harnack shows himself as anxious to magnify Eusebius' interest in the imperial succession as he is elsewhere to minimize his interest in the episcopal succession.<sup>138</sup>

Against Harnack's assessment, Turner maintains Eusebius' usage of the episcopate as a chronological designation to be remarkable. Wallace-Hadrill lends support.<sup>139</sup> In addition, Turner considers Eusebius' usage of the imperial chronology to be natural and expected, but the notion of an eastern writer depending on a papal system to be surprising.<sup>140</sup> That Eusebius with a keen eye for chronological issues, would supplement the normative method is not.

Unlike Thucydides, (who rarely used the advantage of documentary evidence), Eusebius used the writings of others in abundance. The difference was, according to

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<sup>137</sup> Harnack cited in Turner, "The Early Episcopal Lists" *JTS*, p 196.

<sup>138</sup> C. H. Turner. "The Early Episcopal Lists" *JTS*, p 199.

<sup>139</sup> Wallace-Hadrill, *Eusebius of Caesarea*, p 160. "A tabular analysis of book vi of the *History* may serve to indicate the way in which Eusebius put together material derived from diverse sources. It is seen to hang on the framework of the regnal years of emperors and the terms of office of bishops, drawn from the *Chronicle*."

<sup>140</sup> Turner, "The Early Episcopal Lists" *JTS*, p 200. While Turner is certainly right in assessing Eusebius as an eastern writer who would more likely perpetuate imperial chronology than papal, his use of the term "papal" is certainly not adequate for the period. The papacy (hardly an institution in the day of Eusebius) is a later development. Turner succumbs to the trap of imposing terminology of his own day upon that of Eusebius'. The chronology that Eusebius surprises his readers with is an episcopal system, not papal.

Finley, that Thucydides' "research was among people, not among papers,"<sup>141</sup> whereas Eusebius researched both. Of the *Chronicle*, Grant says:

It is surprising how little content would remain in the *Chronicle* if one were to remove the lists of emperors and bishops and, up to the end of the first century, the contributions of Josephus.... A very rough calculation suggests that apart from succession lists Eusebius has fewer than a hundred historical items for the period from the birth of Christ to the beginning of the persecution under Diocletian - and nothing not imperial or episcopal from that point to 325.<sup>142</sup>

The *Chronicle*, Eusebius' chronological work that preceded his *History*, found its underpinnings given full narrative in the latter. Not only does Eusebius continue his preoccupation with chronology, but he uses the office of the bishop as a chronological landmark equal in importance to that of the principate. This is one of Eusebius' most distinctive marks as a historian.

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<sup>141</sup> Finley, *Thucydides*, p 20.

<sup>142</sup> Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian*, pp 5,6.

### 3.4 The Status of the Episcopate in Eusebius' Universal History: Considering Geography and Chronography

Eusebius' historical method articulated a universal history.<sup>143</sup> But we know that Eusebius was not the first to initiate this approach. There were several key writers in the developing Christian historiography that provided a foundation for Eusebius to work with. Momigliano identifies the Christian chronographers and their contribution that preceded Eusebius:

The Christian chronographers had to summarize the history which converts were now supposed to consider their own; they had also to show the antiquity of the Jewish-Christian doctrine, and they had to present a model of providential history. The result was that, unlike pagan chronology, Christian chronology was also a philosophy of history... The convert, in abandoning paganism, was compelled to enlarge his historical horizon: he was likely to think for the first time in terms of universal history.<sup>144</sup>

Momigliano further recognizes that Eusebius corrected and improved the historical writings that preceded him.<sup>145</sup> Others before him, in creating a framework for the "administration of the world," "transformed Hellenistic chronography into a Christian science and added the lists of the bishops of the most important sees to the lists of kings and magistrates of the world."<sup>146</sup> Eusebius systematizes these earlier efforts and, according to Momigliano, deserves the credit for establishing Christian chronography as the typical

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<sup>143</sup> Johannes Quasten *Patrology* Volume III (Westminster, Maryland: Christian Classics, Inc., 1990), p 312, 315. Johannes Quasten credits to Eusebius (in addition to his major contribution of sacred history), the marking of universal history.

<sup>144</sup> Momigliano, ed. by Jacob Neusner, "Pagan and Christian Historiography" (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1990), p 107

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, p 108.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, p 108.

form of Christian instruction in the fourth century.<sup>147</sup>

Rudolph Bultmann argues for a more substantial departure from the earlier Christian chronologies in Eusebius' *History*. Bultmann downplays the earlier works by Julius Africanus and Hippolytus of Rome that began with the Genesis account and that were tied to the chronologies deduced from the apocalyptic writing of Daniel. Setting Eusebius' work apart as superior, Bultmann says:

Only Eusebius abandoned this apocalyptic reckoning and begins his history with Abraham, because only from Abraham's time onward can a trustworthy chronology be given. Eusebius combines erudition with scientific method and works scrupulously according to the documents (the sources). With this, world-history in a strict sense comes into being for the first time.<sup>148</sup>

This is by no means a small achievement. In proliferating a universal perspective of chronology (marked by a framework shared by episcopate and principate), Eusebius further adds a geographic concentration (marked solely by the episcopate). This feature of the *Ecclesiastical History* appears to have been overlooked by Eusebian scholars. It is well known that topography was important to Eusebius.<sup>149</sup> Given that geography was one of his many interests, it follows that an examination of the correlation of episcopal-chronology and episcopate-geography may be worthwhile. Secondly, we can investigate

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<sup>147</sup> Momigliano, "Pagan and Christian Historiography," p 109.

<sup>148</sup> Rudolph Bultmann, *The Presence of Eternity: History and Eschatology* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), p 57.

<sup>149</sup> Lightfoot, *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*. "Eusebius," p 329, 331. Lightfoot lists the topographical works of Eusebius: *Interpretation of the Ethnological Terms in the Hebrew Scriptures*, *Chronography of Ancient Judaea, with the Inheritances of the Ten Tribes*, *A Plan of Jerusalem and the Temple*, and *The Names of Places in Holy Scripture*. Lightfoot summarizes the last work as a "treatise that arises from the close acquaintance which Eusebius had with the geography of Palestine in his own day."



Eusebius' understanding of the episcopate in the universal advance of the Christian faith. Eusebius consciously focuses on certain bishoprics, but there is also an apparent determination on his part to sketch a broader picture of episcopates throughout the Empire and indeed throughout the world. That Eusebius is presenting the establishment of churches and episcopates systematically is made clear by his statement: "Now as we go on our way the chronological details of the succession of the Apostles will be related..."<sup>150</sup>

The larger geographic analysis that most scholars identify gives prominence to three centres: Alexandria, Antioch and Rome, with Jerusalem granted a qualified place of honour. A more focused question that has divided scholars since the early church has been the primacy of Rome. For the present thesis, a consideration of Eusebius' understanding of the bishop and the bishop's office will hopefully yield insights into the following inquiries: 1. Does Eusebius provide a chronology of the development of sees? 2. How does the universal perspective of history work itself out in regard to the bishopric?

These questions are not altogether unique. To some extent we will examine ground previously covered by J. B. Lightfoot (1885) and Vincent Twomey (1981). In the case of Lightfoot, we will address inquiries of Eusebius, in particular, that Lightfoot once asked of church sources in general. Further, we note that Twomey advanced a theory that Rome's prominence was reflected in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*. The episcopal focus of this study justifies revisiting these earlier inquiries. Building on Lightfoot's late-19th-century commentary on ministry in the early church, can we establish conclusions about the episcopate with any greater certainty on the verge of the 21st? Does, as Twomey

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<sup>150</sup> *Ecd Hist* III.4.11

argues, Eusebius portray the see of Peter as the preeminent diocese, either in the geography, chronology or universal history?

Eusebius narrates the history of the pre-Constantinian Church following a systematic chronological method. The nature of this method lends itself to objectivity. By moving chronologically he is able to establish events in sequence, so that while his content remained subject to his discernment, the movement of events in time could not be, (apart from carelessness or error). Applying chronology specifically to the episcopate we notice the advancement of sees and their ensuing distribution throughout the Empire.

It can be argued that Eusebius presents the bishoprics in a semblance of chronological ordering. In Book II, the order of reference to the episcopate as it is identified by geography presents Jerusalem, Hierapolis, Alexandria, Rome, and Corinth. Conspicuous by its absence is Antioch. The data prescribes the following observation: Jerusalem preceded Hierapolis, which preceded Alexandria, which preceded Rome, and so forth.

To determine the chronological order of the episcopates in Book II, we must separate the discussion of certain sees from Eusebius' episcopal sources. For instance, while Hierapolis was not a significant city in western Asia Minor when John wrote the *Apocalypse*,<sup>151</sup> that it had a church at an early date is easily demonstrated.<sup>152</sup> Along with

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<sup>151</sup> *Apocalypse*, or better known as *The Book Of Revelation* (held by most to be written by the Johannine school towards the close of the first century), contains letters addressed to churches located in prominent cities of Asia Minor.

<sup>152</sup> Thomas A. Robinson, *The Bauer Thesis Examined: The Geography of Heresy in the Early Church* (Lewiston/Queenston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1988), p 151ff.

Laodicea, Hierapolis is recognized in the New Testament *Letter to the Colossians*.<sup>153</sup> Although Hierapolis may well be “after Jerusalem and before Alexandria” in order of appearance in the *History*, we must note that Hierapolis appears under the literary source of Papias, bishop of that city in the first half of the second century. Hierapolis, then, is only listed due to its association with Papias as a literary source.<sup>154</sup> Similarly, Dionysius, the bishop of Corinth, is not to be considered in the chronological sequence.<sup>155</sup> Even the lone reference to the episcopate at Rome is to be disregarded.<sup>156</sup> Eliminating episcopal references that are outside of episcopates focused on by Eusebius, we are left with Jerusalem first, and Alexandria second.

With Book III we are confronted with a different problem. At the outset Eusebius provides a brief description of the regions that were allotted to the “holy Apostles and disciples.” While Eusebius does not specifically pair the apostles with episcopates, he does indicate geographic regions according to their apostolic jurisdiction.

Thomas, as tradition relates, obtained by lot Parthia, Andrew Scythia, John Asia (and he stayed there and died in Ephesus), but Peter seems to have preached to the Jews in the Dispersion in Pontus and Galatia and Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia, ...What need be said of Paul, who fulfilled

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<sup>153</sup> “Epaphras, who is one of you and a servant of Christ Jesus, sends greetings. He is always wrestling in prayer for you, that you may stand firm in all the will of God, mature and fully assured. I vouch for him that he is working hard for you and for those at Laodicea and Hierapolis.” Colossians 4:12,13

<sup>154</sup> *Ecl Hist* II.15.2 “Clement quotes the story in the sixth book of the *Hypotyposes*, and the bishop of Hierapolis, named Papias, confirms him.”

<sup>155</sup> “And that they [Peter and Paul] were both martyred at the same time Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, affirms in this passage of his correspondence with the Romans...” *Ecl Hist* II.25.7

<sup>156</sup> “... a writer of the Church named Caius, who lived when Zephyrinus was bishop of Rome.” *Ecl Hist* II.25.6 Zephyrinus is the bishop of Rome from 199-217. Reference to his episcopate is simply a chronological marker for the writer Caius.

the gospel of Christ from Jerusalem to Illyria....?<sup>157</sup>

Further, while Rome is the first episcopate identified in Book III, it is recognized in the context of the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul. One must wait for Eusebius' chronological pattern to emerge later.

It appears reasonable to conclude that chapter four provides the first impression of chronological order. Eusebius relates that "Paul laid the foundations of the churches from Jerusalem to Illyricum."<sup>158</sup> While this is a geographic statement, it also has the appearance of chronology. In the life of Paul, we know that Jerusalem was the starting point. We know, as well, that Illyricum was not the furthest geographic region of his travels (Rome or Spain being further). But we do not want to impose extensive analysis on a sentence with which Eusebius probably intended to imply simplicity. Cited from *Romans*<sup>159</sup> the reference is best left as an elevation of Paul's missionary activity, with geographic and chronographic implications.

The first clear instance of an episcopal diocese in Eusebius is that which documents the commissioning of Timothy and Titus: "Thus Timothy is related to have been the first appointed bishop of Ephesus, as Titus of the churches in Crete."<sup>160</sup> Continuing with the inauguration of churches by Paul, Eusebius lists Gaul and Rome:

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<sup>157</sup> *Ecd Hist* III.1,2

<sup>158</sup> *Ecd Hist* III.4.1

<sup>159</sup> "I will not venture to speak of anything except what Christ has accomplished through me in leading the Gentiles to obey God by what I have said and done - by the power of signs and miracles, through the power of the Spirit. So from Jerusalem all the way around to Illyricum, I have fully proclaimed the gospel of Christ." *Romans* 5:18,19

<sup>160</sup> *Ecd Hist* III.4.5,6

Of the other followers of Paul there is evidence that Crescens was sent by him to Gaul, and Linus, who is mentioned in the second Epistle to Timothy as present with him in Rome has already been declared to have been the first after Peter to be appointed to the bishopric of the Church in Rome... In addition to these...the first bishop of the Church at Athens was that member of the Areopagus, the other Dionysius.<sup>161</sup>

Antioch finally makes its appearance in chapter 22 of Book III. In a lengthy chronological section, in which Eusebius recognizes the Roman and Alexandrian episcopates, he lists the bishops of Antioch and Jerusalem:

Moreover, at the time mentioned, Ignatius was famous as the second bishop at Antioch where Evodius had been first. Likewise at this time, Simeon was second after the brother of our Saviour to hold the ministry of the church in Jerusalem.<sup>162</sup>

Eusebius appears to assume that all other bishoprics established during the Apostolic era were founded by John.<sup>163</sup> He identifies Smyrna and Hierapolis. While little detail is provided, we are even in the case of Hierapolis given clear record of the episcopal presence in these cities:

At this time there flourished in Asia Polycarp, the companion of the Apostles, who had been appointed to the bishopric of the church in Smyrna by the eyewitnesses and ministers of the Lord. Distinguished men at the time were Papias, who was himself bishop of the diocese of Hierapolis, and Ignatius, still a name of note to most men, the second after Peter to succeed to the bishopric of Antioch.<sup>164</sup>

While there are several other references to churches and bishops in Book III, the

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<sup>161</sup> *Ecl Hist* III.4.8-10

<sup>162</sup> *Ecl Hist* III.22.1

<sup>163</sup> At the outset of Book III, John is associated with the Asian region. Further, Eusebius makes reference to John establishing various churches. *Ecl Hist* III.23.6

<sup>164</sup> *Ecl Hist* III.36.1-3

information provided is not conclusive to establish their inauguration. For instance, Magnesia and Tralles are recorded by Eusebius in his account of Polycarp. The narrative, while providing names of the pastors and bishops, does not specify the apostolic succession. The apostolic origins of Magnesia and Tralles (Asian) are inferred to be under the authority of John. Similarly, we can safely assume that Athens was founded by Paul.<sup>165</sup>

According to the information provided by Eusebius we can determine a chronological list of episcopates founded during the apostolic age. They were established in the following order: Jerusalem, Alexandria, Ephesus, Crete, Gaul, Rome, Athens, Antioch, Smyrna, Hierapolis, Magnesia and Tralles. Several New Testament books attest to the presence of churches in all of these cities, with the exception of Alexandria, Magnesia and Tralles.<sup>166</sup> Though one might wish that Eusebius would have provided more detail, the chronology and geography that he narrates do contribute to a view of the early episcopates, (founded especially by Paul, Mark, John and Peter).

From Ignatius' letters<sup>167</sup> we know that Magnesia (bishop Damas) and Tralles (Polybius) were well established at the beginning of the second century.<sup>168</sup> Thomas A.

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<sup>165</sup> Eusebius provides greater detail of the origins of the see at Athens in Book IV: "Moreover, he [Dionysius, bishop of Corinth] mentions that Dionysius the Aeropagite was converted by the Apostle Paul to the faith, according to the narrative in the Acts, and was the first to be appointed to the bishopric of the diocese of Athens." *Ecd Hist* IV.23.3

<sup>166</sup> Jerusalem (Acts 8:1; 11:22; 15:2,4), Ephesus (Acts 20:17; Ephesians 1:1; 1 Timothy 1:1-3), Crete (Titus 1:5), Rome (Romans 1:7), Athens (Acts 17:15,16,22; 18:1; 1 Thessalonians 2:17), Antioch (Acts 11:26; 13:1; 15:23; 15:30), Smyrna (Revelation 1:1), Hierapolis (Colossians 4:13).

<sup>167</sup> *Ignatius to the Magnesians; Ignatius to the Trallians.*

<sup>168</sup> *Ecd Hist* III.36.5ff.

Robinson reflects this position:

The office of the monarchical bishop would seem to have been introduced in Magnesia, then, at some time prior to the appointment of young Damas to the bishop's position.... We must date the introduction of the monarchical office at least as early as the leader in the church before Damas's appointment.... Summarizing the situation, then, for Magnesia, Ignatius's letter confirms not a weak monarchical office, nor a recent introduction of that office, nor a strong antimonarchical faction. In each case, the letter suggests the opposite.<sup>169</sup>

From Eusebius we know that Alexandria was an early established diocese. Although Eusebius "projected the Church of the third century back into the first two centuries and assumed that Christian churches had always been numerous,"<sup>170</sup> his chronological viewpoint of the Church's development retains its value.

As Eusebius writes the narrative of the expanding church, he includes his recognition of the geographic advancement. As he documents the chronology of the apostolic successions he occasionally complements the regional establishment of sees with a view of the larger picture. In the back of his mind Eusebius has been calculating the numerical growth of the episcopates and appears as preoccupied with catholicism as clericalism. Many of the cities and regions that Eusebius mentions appear to be recognized, in part, for their place in the Church that is now to be found throughout the Empire. His glorified view of the Church in the first two centuries does not impede the emphasis that he gives the world-wide presence of the church. In vintage Eusebian method, he is not satisfied in making grandiose statements without documentation. For

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<sup>169</sup> T.A. Robinson, *The Bauer Thesis Examined*, pp 189,190.

<sup>170</sup> Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, p 142.

Eusebius, the chronology of the churches and sees is convincing proof of the universal scope of the Church.

In the midst of establishing the chronology of the apostolic successions, Eusebius makes broad statements (somewhat boastful) about the Church's missionary zeal and the resulting expansion. In Book II we sense his anticipation:

Thus, under the influence of heavenly power, and with the divine co-operation, the doctrine of the Saviour, like the rays of the sun, quickly illumined the whole world; and straightway, in accordance with the divine Scriptures, the voice of the inspired evangelists and apostles went forth through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world.<sup>171</sup>

In Book III, he gladly concedes his inability to document in full the names of the leaders and their churches.

But since it is impossible for us to enumerate the names of all that became shepherds or evangelists in the churches throughout the world in the age immediately succeeding the apostles, we have recorded, as was fitting, the names of those only who have transmitted the apostolic doctrine to us in writings still extant.<sup>172</sup>

Further, he impresses upon his readers the overwhelming success of the Apostolic ministry. It was no small achievement for the Apostles to take the Church to the world, and even in foreign lands, they were able to meet the pressing need to find local leaders to guide each church.

These pious disciples of great men built in every place on the foundations of the churches laid by the Apostles. They spread the preaching and scattered the saving seeds of the kingdom of Heaven, sowing them broadcast through the whole world... As soon as they had no more than laid the foundations of the faith in some strange place, they appointed

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<sup>171</sup> *Ecd Hist* II.3.1

<sup>172</sup> *Ecd Hist* III.36.4



others as shepherds and committed to them the task of tending...<sup>173</sup>

Events recorded in Book IV clearly mark for Eusebius the established success of the Church in its universal mission. In one of his more “poetic” moments, Eusebius blends metaphor with his historical narration to give his readers a view of the church: “Like brilliant lamps the churches were now shining throughout the world.”<sup>174</sup>

Having established to his own satisfaction the universal expansion of the apostolic successions, he chooses to include letters from bishops that include a world-wide greeting that further attests to the reality of the phenomenal expansion of the Church. From Serapion, bishop of Antioch, to Caricus and Pontius against the so-called Montanist heresy:

That you may see that the doings of this lying band of the new prophecy, so called, are an abomination to all the brotherhood throughout the world, I have sent you writings of the most blessed Claudius Apolinarius, bishop of Hierapolis in Asia.<sup>175</sup>

In a letter from Polycrates:

And I also, Polycrates, the least of you all, do according to the tradition of my relatives, some of whom I have closely followed. For seven of my relatives were bishops; and I am the eighth. And my relatives always observed the day when the people put away the leaven. I, therefore, brethren, who have lived sixty-five years in the Lord, and have met with the brethren throughout the world...<sup>176</sup>

Eusebius again alludes to the world-wide network of bishops in the letters that

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<sup>173</sup> *Ecd Hist* III.37.1,2

<sup>174</sup> *Ecd Hist* IV.7.1

<sup>175</sup> *Ecd Hist* V.19.1,2

<sup>176</sup> *Ecd Hist* V.24.6,7

Demetrius sent (in an attempt to belittle Origen) to “bishops throughout the world.” While Eusebius’ primary motive in this instance is to demonstrate the poor judgement of Demetrius, the geographic recognition is significant for it amplifies Demetrius’ universal appeal against Origen, and this was no small matter for Eusebius.<sup>177</sup>

Finally, in documenting the judgement of the episcopal synod against Paul of Samosata, Eusebius enunciates the world-wide impact of the excommunication against him by presenting the letter written by the bishops to announce their judgement. Eusebius’ view of the universal presence of the Church appears to have graduated to a level of transcendence.

In Aurelian’s day a final synod of an exceedingly large number of bishops was assembled, and the leader of the heresy at Antioch, being unmasked and now clearly condemned of heterodoxy by all, was excommunicated from the Catholic Church under heaven.<sup>178</sup>

While Williamson continues the Eusebian phrase “throughout the world” in his translation, Eusebius clearly writes ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν. This is echoed by Eusebius’ citation of the letter from the bishops who attended the synod:

To Dionysius and Maximus and to all our fellow-ministers throughout the world, bishops, presbyters and deacons, and to the whole Catholic Church under heaven...<sup>179</sup>

In this passage, the position of the church is recognized by both distinctions, i.e. “world-wide” and “under heaven.”

Throughout Books II to VII Eusebius portrays the church’s expansion in no

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<sup>177</sup> *Ecl Hist* VI.8.4

<sup>178</sup> *Ecl Hist* VII.29.1

<sup>179</sup> *Ecl Hist* VII.30.2

uncertain terms. Coupling the chronological and geographic advancement of the church Eusebius felt he was able to present the church as universal -- literally fulfilling its "catholic" title. How he does this is important. The church is universal because there are episcopates established throughout the world: from Egypt to Gaul; and Africa to Asia. This in itself reflects his high view of the episcopate. To Eusebius, where there is an episcopate, there is a church; where there is a church, there is an episcopate. It is altogether possible that Eusebius became a universal historian because of his view of the the bishop. His chronological analysis of the apostolic successions drew his attention to the geographic expansion of the Church. Because of his geographic interests Eusebius, in the clericalism which he chronicled, may have discovered universal history.

### 3.5 The Status and Role of The Bishop

While Ignatius has been deemed the champion of episcopal authority, we might recognize Eusebius as the champion of apostolic succession. Whereas Ignatius instructs the church to embrace the bishop, Eusebius demonstrates the immense reach of the bishop's apostolic authority. Whereas Ignatius sets the stage for the bishop's throne, Eusebius records the unfolding drama that features the bishop in his leading role. Both Patristic authors accept and attempt to perpetuate the prominence of the bishop in the church. Their distinct roles as promoters of the episcopate are largely determined by chronology.

Ignatius (c. 35-107) predates Eusebius (260-340) by some 200 years. Writing at the end of the apostolic era Ignatius recommends the bishop as paramount to the leadership of the church, and Eusebius, writing at the dawn of the Empire's Christianization, follows up with a convincing narrative of how the bishop was paramount. Maier describes Ignatius using "his charismatic authority to strengthen existing institutions of leadership to protect the Asian churches from divisive influences."<sup>180</sup> By the time of Eusebius, the hierarchical authority of the bishop that Ignatius recommends is established convincingly throughout the Empire. There is a type of tandem relationship between the two authors. Both were preoccupied with the office of the bishop – one projecting the authority of the apostles' successor and the other proving it. The role of the bishop that I promote is the substance of Eusebius' bishop-

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<sup>180</sup> Harry O. Maier, *The Social Setting of the Ministry as Reflected by the Writings of Hermas, Clement and Ignatius* (Waterloo: Laurier University Press, 1991), p 170.

filled narrative.

The value of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* for a study of the early church hierarchy, however, has been utilized differently by modern authors. On the one hand, J. B. Lightfoot's *Christian Ministry* relies primarily on Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* to understand the office of the bishop; on the other, Agnes Cunningham's work, *The Role of the Episkopos*, makes not a single reference to Eusebius' *History*. Cunningham focuses on the role of the bishop and surveys a 600-year period of episcopal activity, whereas Lightfoot concentrates on the development of the episcopal office in the pre-Constantinian era.

Agnes Cunningham's book, *The Role of the Episkopos*, uses eighteen primary sources to demonstrate the responsibilities of the bishop.<sup>181</sup> She has provided a panoramic view of the episcopal office without reference to Eusebius, but Cunningham's work

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<sup>181</sup> Agnes Cunningham, *The Bishop in the Church: Patristic Texts on the Role of the Episkopos* (Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1986). The episcopal responsibilities in Cunningham's book may be summarized as follows: 1. ordain bishops, 2. render the service of ordaining bishops, 2. render the service of prophets and teachers, 3. authorize baptism and agape meal, 4. represent God and Christ, 5. oversee the ministry of the Church, 6. administer charity, 7. continue the work of the apostles, 8. refute erroneous teaching, 9. provide remedies needed for salvation, 10. judge over matters of faith, 11. serve as model of Christian conduct, and 12. shepherd the flock. As well, three characteristics of the episopate are identified: 1. an office requiring ordination, 2. an office based upon apostolic succession and authority, and 3. the highest office in the three-fold ministry of bishop, presbyter and deacon. Cunningham also demonstrates the ecclesiastical power of the bishop from Ignatius' letters: 1. Be in harmony with the bishop, 2. don't oppose the bishop, and 3. don't undertake anything without the bishop. In attempting to present patristic texts that portray the responsibility of the episcopal ministry in the early church, Agnes Cunningham has drawn on primary sources that follow a chronological order from the first to the sixth century. Unfortunately, the treatment of the subject is scattered and, other than being chronological, no systematic method emerges as she set out to "discern and follow the development of patristic thought from Clement of Rome to Caesarius of Arles." References to the bishop are often listed without suitable interpretation or recognition of context. While she includes several writers of limited distinction, she excludes prominent ones. Eusebius of Caesarea is perhaps the most conspicuous by his absence.

unintentionally shows Eusebius' genius of grasping the role of the episcopate. Virtually all of the episcopal responsibilities that Cunningham discusses are evident in Eusebius' narration of the early church. The *Ecclesiastical History* provides in a single source mention of all of the responsibilities of the *episkopos* that Cunningham has discovered in eighteen patristic writers. Such rich access to our understanding of the ancient bishop provided by Eusebius is further illustrated by Grant's comment about Eusebius' earlier work, *The Chronicle*. He says that the bishop references are the body of the writing, and that without them, there would be little left.<sup>182</sup> The same could be said for much of the *Ecclesiastical History*. If the bishop references were eliminated, we would have no bishop lists, no discussion of synods attended by bishops, no references to the impact of persecutions upon bishops, no ordination of or by bishops, no debates between bishops, no references to their letters, et cetera -- a considerable shortening of the *History*.

By the fourth-century, not only had Christianity become the dominant religion, but the episcopate was posturing itself to become colleague to that of the principate.<sup>183</sup> Although we may be unable to reconstruct fully the episcopate in the first three centuries of Christianity's expansion, nonetheless, we can determine to some extent the role the

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<sup>182</sup> Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian*, p 6.

<sup>183</sup> Norbert Brox, *A Concise History of the Early Church*, trans. John Bowden 1995 (New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1983), p 64. Brox identifies some of the key changes initiated by Constantine: "The bishops as the representative of the new imperial religion were given the status of officials with the privileges which went with that status, like the rights of dignitaries, exemption from taxes and so on. For example, in 318 they were given the right to sit in judgement in civil trials in which Christians were involved, and other legal authority... Depending on their rank they had the right to a throne, incense, kissing of the hand, a choir... Bishops were only recognizable as dignitaries, and no longer as servants."

bishop's office played in the church and perhaps to some extent in the larger society from Eusebius' bishop-filled history. The episcopate clearly kept pace with the expansion of the Church that was under its care. As the Christian faith became the Imperial Church, it is not surprising that its leaders became influential societal figures. But the importance of Eusebius is that he emphasizes the office of the bishop and episcopal leadership throughout the period prior to this. We need to determine why.

The understanding of the bishop in the early Church is settling into a consensus among historians. In 1980, Henry Chadwick presented a paper entitled "The Role of the Christian Bishop in Ancient Society." Responses to Chadwick's paper were written by Peter Brown, Robert M. Grant, Ramsey MacMullen, and Massey H. Shepherd. Through the exercise of this dialogical study, the role of the bishop was articulated with clarity and brevity. Subsequent works by other scholars will probably depend heavily upon Chadwick's research. Dominating that discussion of the bishop was the authority of his position (albeit an authority whose magnitude increased gradually), and the areas of his influence and ministry.

The bishop was the central figure of authority in the early church. His power rested upon the supposed link to the apostles (apostolic succession), a status of authority derived from the belief that the leadership of God's earthly kingdom was primarily transmitted through Peter and Paul.<sup>184</sup> As Chadwick says: "the shepherds of the flock

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<sup>184</sup> Other apostles such as John and Andrew also receive moderate acclaim. Of interest, James receives mixed reviews by modern scholars. Twomey, *Apostolikos Thronos*, pp 2-5, in arguing for the primacy of Rome in the *Ecclesiastical History*, reduces the status of the Jerusalem episcopate. He claims that Jerusalem is not an apostolic see, but an episcopal one only, having short-term importance in 'Salvation History.' In contrast, Robert B. Eno, *Teaching Authority in the Early Church* (Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1984), p 25 contends that the Jerusalem

derive their tenure from the succession from the apostles themselves."<sup>185</sup>

With the rise of the Gnostic teachers who claimed esoteric wisdom, which was passed successively from one teacher to another, the development of apostolic succession appears, at least in part, to be reactionary. Davies emphasizes the tendency of orthodox writers to emphasize the succession of authority through its recognized teachers in the church -- the bishops.<sup>186</sup> The Gnostic threat to apostolic teaching prompted a reaction from local congregations as they emphasized their claim to apostolic origins. The apostolic foundation of churches continued in the post-apostolic age with a demonstrable link with the apostolic generation -- the link being documented with the list of the ecclesiastical leaders, the bishops.<sup>187</sup>

The bishop's status as apostolic successor meant more than an honorary title. The apostolic authority with which the episcopate was endowed gradually developed into a role within the church that was both pervasive and diverse. The magnitude of expectations and responsibilities was even overwhelming. Brown calls for an appreciation<sup>188</sup> that the role of the pre-Constantinian bishop was expansive and

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see is pre-eminent in the *Ecclesiastical History*. F. J. Foakes-Jackson, *Eusebius Pamphili: Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine and the First Christian Historian* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., 1933), p 86,66 concludes that the Roman see, included consistently by Eusebius in the bishop lists and recognized as important, is nonetheless elaborated upon sparsely, and that it is the bishop of Jerusalem that is central to the ministry of the Church.

<sup>185</sup> Henry Chadwick, *The Role of the Christian Bishop in Ancient Colloquy* 35 (Berkeley: Center for Hermeneutical Studies in Hellenistic and Modern Culture, 1980), p 1.

<sup>186</sup> J.G. Davies, *The Early Christian Church*, p 93.

<sup>187</sup> Eno, *Teaching Authority in the Early Church*, p 24.

<sup>188</sup> Chadwick, *The Role of the Christian Bishop in Ancient Society*, p 17.



influential.

As well, the development of the church's primary office deserves notice. Before the time of Constantine, the network of episcopates had spread widely. The empowerment of the bishops was not the exclusive accomplishment of Constantine. The episcopacy was well developed before the Christianization of the Empire. Although one can propose the theory that the early church owed its status to the emperor Constantine, to some extent Constantine simply authorized a religion to be recognized for what it had already become. Brox defines the recognizable structures of pre-Constantinian Christianity being "hierarchical organization, an ideal unity throughout the Empire, universalism and a capacity to establish itself in history."<sup>189</sup> Eusebius attributes the success for all of these structures to the episcopate.

Barnes comments that prior to Constantine's extension of increased authority to bishops, the bishop already had legal powers to grant freedom to slaves:

It was already the case that masters could give their servants freedom in a Catholic church, provided that they did so before the congregation in the presence of bishops who could ensure that a written record of the transaction be produced, duly authenticated by themselves.<sup>190</sup>

Whether one believes that paganism was in decline or vibrant,<sup>191</sup> the expansion by the

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<sup>189</sup> Norbert Brox, *A Concise History of the Early Church*, p 49.

<sup>190</sup> Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, p 50, 51. Reference to *Codex Justinianus* 1.13.1 Barnes writes, "In 316 Constantine assured Protogenes of his right to preside over such transactions."

<sup>191</sup> For an appreciation of the various interpretations of paganism and the rise of Christianity, one can consult Ramsey MacMullen's works, *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981) and *Christianizing the Roman Empire A.D. 100-400* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984). Some scholars defend the vibrancy of paganism, others (considered the consensus view) hold that paganism was in decline.

bishop into the social fabric of ancient Rome is undeniable. By the end of the third century, the bishop was a prominent figure.

The persecution of Christianity is one evidence. Whereas early persecution of Christians under such emperors as Nero was randomly targeted at what was considered an insubordinate minority causing annoyances to the Roman rule of religious tolerance, the later persecutions became widespread systematic measures designed to obliterate the Christian faith that was threatening to replace Roman paganism. Hinson reports that the Emperors Maximin, Gallus and Valerian concentrated their efforts on the bishop.<sup>192</sup> Fifty years before Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, the bishops, along with presbyters and deacons, were perceived as a threat to the good of Roman society and as the ecclesiastical authorities that should be eliminated. Through persecution, the indispensable role of the bishop clearly emerges. Harnack forcibly argues this:

The extent to which the episcopate, along with the other clerical offices which it controlled, formed the backbone of the church, is shown by the fierce war against it by the state during the third century (Maximinus, Thrax, Decius, Valerian, Diocletian, Daza, Licinius), as well as from many isolated facts... When Cyprian lingered in retreat during the persecution of Decius, the whole community threatened to lapse. Hence one can easily see the significance of the bishop for the church; with him it fell, with him it stood,...<sup>193</sup>

The bishops had risen to such a visible position that the Roman emperors targeted them primarily. Torture the bishop to secure his recantation, and put those bishops to death that resist. The method was designed to demoralize the flocks under their leadership.

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<sup>192</sup> Hinson, *The Early Church*, p 126.

<sup>193</sup> Adolf Harnack, trans. and ed. James Moffatt, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries* (Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith, 1972), p 440.

Harnack describes the influence of the bishop as a “missionary function.” The faithful testimony of a bishop during persecution “preserved individuals from relapsing into paganism, while any Bishop who really filled his post was the means of winning over many fresh adherents.”<sup>194</sup> This is supported somewhat in the *History*. Eusebius’ commentary of martyrdoms, while not exclusively narrating the martyrdoms of bishops, certainly emphasizes the dependency upon the bishop through martyrdom and persecution. This dynamic is made clear in Eusebius’ paraphrase of Publius’ martyrdom account by Dionysius of Corinth during the persecution under Marcus Aurelius. Dionysius admonishes the Athenian church:

... the letter to the Athenians is a call to faith and to life according to the gospel, and for despising this he rebukes them as all but apostates from the truth since the martyrdom of Publius, their leader, in the persecution of that time. He mentions that Quadratus was appointed their bishop after the martyrdom of Publius and testifies that through his zeal they had been brought together and received a revival of their faith.<sup>195</sup>

While this account does not confirm the wide-spread influence argued by Harnack, it does provide a significant example of the pivotal role of the bishop in the faith of his community in the midst of persecution.

Even as early as the middle of the third century, we see evidence of the increasing prominence of the Christian bishop in society. During the Decian persecution which broke out in 249 A.D., Cyprian, bishop of Carthage (d. 258) alludes to the prominent status of the bishop at Rome:

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<sup>194</sup> Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, p 441.

<sup>195</sup> *Ecc. Hist* IV.23.2,3

Then afterwards, when he had undertaken the episcopate, not obtained by solicitation nor by extortion, but by the will of God who makes priests; what a virtue there was in the very undertaking of his episcopate, what strength of mind, what firmness of faith, -- a thing that we ought with simple heart both thoroughly to look into and to praise, -- that he intrepidly sat at Rome in the sacerdotal chair at that time when a tyrant, odious to God's priests, was threatening things that can, and cannot be spoken, inasmuch as he [Decius] would much more patiently and tolerantly hear that a rival prince was raised up against himself than that a priest of God was established at Rome.<sup>196</sup>

Massey H. Shepherd, Jr. presents this report from Cyprian as evidence of the bishop's high status in Roman society. Shepherd appears to accept the excerpt from Cyprian's epistle as factual,<sup>197</sup> as does the classical historian Michael Grant,<sup>198</sup> but it appears more reasonable to think that Cyprian's words are an exaggeration. While Decius may have been suspicious of the growing power of the Roman episcopate, we must bear in mind that the passage Shepherd quotes as the words of Decius are actually the words of Cyprian. We cannot fully embrace the comment (according to Cyprian) that "Decius<sup>199</sup> had said that he feared a new bishop in Rome more than a rival to his throne."<sup>200</sup> If taken at face value, we would be required to believe that Decius would rather have civil war in Rome than see a new bishop in the episcopate. Cyprian's statement must be tempered for it much more probably reflects Cyprian's mind than Decius'; yet the likelihood of

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<sup>196</sup> Cyprian *Epist.* II.9,1 See Shepherd response to Chadwick in *The Role of the Christian Bishop in Ancient Society*, p 31.

<sup>197</sup> Shepherd misses the fact that the words are not Decius', but Cyprian's.

<sup>198</sup> Michael Grant, *The Roman Emperors* (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1985), p 157.

<sup>199</sup> Emperor A.D. 249-51.

<sup>200</sup> Chadwick, *The Role of the Christian Bishop in Ancient Society*, p 31.

Decius detesting the Roman episcopate is reasonable. That he was irritated by the allegiance and honour given the Roman bishop by the laity is probable. That the throne of the bishop had trespassed on property that the emperor once enjoyed as his exclusive domain is arguably part of the cause for the ensuing persecution. As the episcopate grew in prominence and threatened, in part, the principate, it appears that the Empire was not big enough for both. It drew the seething anger of Decian who unleashed an Empire-wide persecution that had no earlier rival. Hinson describes Decius' persecution in this way:

For the first time, persecution arose not from religious fanaticism or popular hatred but from cold and calculated administrative logic designed to destroy Christianity as a fearful threat to the empire.... Although the Decian persecution did not single out bishops and other leaders, it turned in that direction as a way to force them to set an example of unfaithfulness... At Rome, Fabian was martyred on January 20, 250, scarcely three months after Decius ascended the throne.<sup>201</sup>

While the Decian persecution did not initially single out the episcopate, it is clear that the bishop soon became the primary target in attacking the spread of Christianity. This swift and decisive action taken by Decius to execute Fabian, perhaps even as a perceived "rival to his throne," is compelling.

Eusebius' Book VIII covers the period of the persecution of the church from Diocletian to Maximian. Eusebius concentrates on the persecution and martyrdom of bishops. He reports the Imperial decree that took place in the nineteenth year of the reign of Diocletian:

But not long afterwards we were further visited with other letters, and in

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<sup>201</sup> Glenn Hinson, *The Early Church* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1996), pp 122,123.

them the order was given that the presidents of the churches should all, in every place, be first committed to prison, and then afterwards compelled by every kind of device to sacrifice.<sup>202</sup>

More important for determining the status of the bishop in the larger society prior to imperial favour under Constantine is Eusebius' analysis of the responses to persecution and freedom. Eusebius relates a period of apparent favour shown toward the bishop by the Roman procurators and governors, as well as the aggressive building programs initiated by the church just prior to the last great persecution. Eusebius discredits the church hierarchy for wandering from discipline to indolence. The genre of the moral-historian is reminiscent of his pagan predecessors:

With what favour one might note that the rulers in every church were honoured by all procurators and governors.... they were no longer satisfied with buildings of olden time, and would erect from the foundations churches of spacious dimensions ...And as these things went forward with the times, and day by day increasingly grew mightier, no envy could stop them, nor was any evil spirit able to cast its spell or hinder them by human devices... But when, as the result of great freedom, a change to pride and sloth came over our affairs, we fell to envy and fierce railing against one another, warring upon ourselves...and rulers attacked rulers...<sup>203</sup>

Eusebius attributes the prosperity enjoyed by the bishops as the catalyst for arrogance and greed. It appears that the rulers of the churches had succumbed to an empire-building mentality as they associated with local governors and that they were not ready for the harsh treatment they would face in persecution when the tide changed and they lost their place of favour with Rome.

When the Church finds a more permanent ally in Rome (under Constantine),

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<sup>202</sup> *Ecd Hist* VIII.2.5

<sup>203</sup> *Ecd Hist* VIII.1.5-7.

there is an acceleration in the influence of the bishop's office. Norbert Brox, in speaking of the policies implemented by Constantine, notes that the church found much to its advantage. "Its bishops were appointed to an elevated social status with important state roles (they were judges in the courts)."<sup>204</sup> Even Constantine himself applied the title of bishop to himself, assuming the "role of bishop of those outside."<sup>205</sup> After his reign, the societal power of the episcopate continued to be influential and prominent. Peter Brown demonstrates such to be the case in Athanasius' *Festal Letters* in the latter part of the fourth-century (370 AD). He notes Athanasius' reference to "the court of the bishop" and draws attention to "the language of patronage" that becomes predominant during Athanasius' time.<sup>206</sup> He uses Ambrose of Milan (c. 339-387) to illustrate the abusive control of the bishop:

Bishops, such as Ambrose of Milan, are usually treated as having been the decisive figures in the late fourth-century Latin Christianity. They are held to have bullied the laity, from the emperor downwards, into a less tolerant mood.<sup>207</sup>

As well, he identifies the place of the bishop in "the governing class of the eastern Empire as a whole" by the middle of the fifth century.<sup>208</sup> This is full-blown: Eusebius offers us clues that the bishops were already on their way to that kind of prominence as early as

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<sup>204</sup> Norbert Brox, *A Concise History of the Early Church*, p 49.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, p 49.

<sup>206</sup> Peter Brown, *Authority and the Sacred* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). pp 51, 74.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, p 18. This is significant for Brown as he establishes a reason for the anticlericalism that followed, i.e. especially among "lay elites."

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, p 51.

Constantine.

A resistance emerged as the bishop's office continued to expand in jurisdiction and status. Described by modern scholars as "anti-clericalism," the reaction was not a movement against ecclesiastical institutions, but was a reaction on the part of the laity to counter the disproportionate power of the bishop.<sup>209</sup> But this type of anticlericalism is not evident in Eusebius' *History* (though he does criticize the power and greed of the bishops). The anticlericalism that Eusebius writes against is the threat to episcopal government by Montanists and the threat to episcopal apostolic authority by heretical leaders, (or heresiarchs).<sup>210</sup>

A second element of anti-clericalism is evident in the elevating of "the confessors." These Christians, who had experienced persecution but who had not had to sacrifice their lives, were highly respected for their confession of faith through persecution and their endurance in the face of death. Their leadership became associated with their achievement of faith. The spiritualism of the confessors strangely challenged the institutionalism of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, especially when individual bishops took flight under persecution. This was perhaps one of the greatest challenges to the status and role of the bishop. In spite of the rising authority of the confessors, their popularity did not contest the bishop's authority for long. Jules Lebreton and Jacques Zeiller comment

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<sup>209</sup>Peter Brown, *Authority and the Sacred*, p 18, 19.

<sup>210</sup> It is generally recognized that Gnosticism and Montanism were a threat to the institutional leadership of the catholic church. Ironically, as Gnosticism challenged apostolic succession and Montanism the lack of prophetic leadership, the episcopal structure gained ground. Sheldon summarizes: "The reaction awakened by Gnosticism and Montanism contributed much to the growth of the hierarchy." Henry C. Sheldon, *History of the Christian Church*, p 248.



on the enduring role of the bishop:

In point of fact we have here in another domain something like a reappearance of the tendency so impetuously manifested in Montanism, i.e. the tendency to oppose the "spirituals" to the bishop, and individuals charisms to the hierarchy... In spite of the crisis which for a moment seemed to threaten their authority, the bishops nonetheless remain the sole heads of the churches, of which they are, so to speak, the incarnation.<sup>211</sup>

The growing institutional authority of the bishop led to the bishop's role as patron. As in the broader Roman society in which patron-client relationships functioned between those with power and those without, the bishop, as a figure of power, assumed a patron position. The Church became a unique institution in the Roman Empire, and the role that its bishops assumed under Constantine was extensive. Indeed, the bishop from the earliest period had responsibilities beyond the sacred; he provided charitable relief and administered a range of activities, from burial to holding deeds of church property and providing hospitality. Thus the extension of secular duties to bishops under Constantine complimented roles the bishop had already come to exercise in society, beyond the liturgical and sacred.

One of the more striking instances of patronage in the *History* is seen in the administration of the paschal vigil. The incident recorded by Eusebius involves Philip, who succeeded Gordian in the principate (244 A.D.):

It is recorded that he [Philip], being a Christian, wished on the day of the last paschal vigil to share along with the multitude the prayers at the church, but was not permitted to enter by him who was then presiding, until he confessed and numbered himself among those who were reckoned to be in sins and were occupying the place of penitence; for that otherwise,

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<sup>211</sup> Jules S. J. Lebreton and Jacques Zeiller, *The History of the Primitive Church* Volume IV The Church in the Third Century (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne Ltd, 1948), p 974.

had he not done so, he would never have been received by (the president) on account of the many charges against him. And it is said that he obeyed readily, displaying by his actions how genuine and pious was his disposition to the fear of God.<sup>212</sup>

The bishop involved is believed to be Babylas, bishop of Antioch.<sup>213</sup> Such an authority and client-patron relationship that put the emperor in the subordinate role must have been highly unusual for this time, but it might be accurate. Eusebius portrays Philip willingly abiding by the laws of the episcopate. Louth rejects as “certainly false” Eusebius’ claim that Philip was a Christian.<sup>214</sup> Grant argues that Eusebius is perpetuating gossip and that at best, Philip was tolerant of Christians.<sup>215</sup> Hinson, in contrast, agrees that Philip may have been born into a Christian family and that “his ruthless seizure of power from Gordian caused Christians to look askance at him.”<sup>216</sup> Robert M. Grant notes that Eusebius “uses an unnamed source to tell how the Christian emperor, or perhaps his son, observed Easter.”<sup>217</sup> None of the above authors reject the authority of the bishop. The disagreement relates to the Christian status of Philip. The authority of the bishop over an emperor who seeks ecclesiastical favour is not challenged. By the middle of the third

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<sup>212</sup> *Ecc. Hist* VI.34.1

<sup>213</sup> Lawlor and Oulton, *Eusebius Bishop of Caesarea*, p 225.

<sup>214</sup> Eusebius. *The History of the Church*. Translated by G. A. Williamson. Revisions and new editorial matter © Andrew Louth, 1989, *The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine* (London, England: Penguin Books, 1965), p 406.

<sup>215</sup> Michael Grant, *The Roman Emperors*, p 155.

<sup>216</sup> Hinson, *The Early Church*, p 121.

<sup>217</sup> Harold W. Attridge and Gohei Hata, *Eusebius, Christianity and Judaism* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992) p 663.

century, the bishop clearly controlled the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical affairs, and Eusebius hints that if the secular ruler was hoping for preferential treatment, he had to play by the same rules that the bishop imposed on the average lay person. Whether or not the incident about Philip is accurate, exaggerated, or false, we see the prestige of the bishop from Eusebius' perspective. He wants to impress his readers with the clout of the bishop. The emperor himself did not receive preferential treatment when the place of penitence was required. Even the emperor followed ecclesiastical protocol if he wanted to participate in the paschal vigil.

MacMullen accounts for the growing societal power of the bishop by pointing to the size of the laity. As the church grew, the bishop, being the overseer of large groups of people, gained status through the size of his congregation. Referring to the dynamics of the mid-fourth century, MacMullen says: "such masses underneath a bishop, however, were an essential development in his influence with secular authority."<sup>218</sup> Whatever the reasons for the growing importance of the bishop, there is little doubt that Eusebius finds the bishop a focal element for his portrayal of the church in the first three centuries, and as the church became more prominent in society, the more prominent became the role of the bishop.

Having established the importance of the bishop to Eusebius' *History* and having cautioned that Eusebius has no intention to provide us with a detailed description of the duties of the bishop, it is interesting to observe just how complete a portrait of the role of the bishop one can see develop from Eusebius' anecdotal accounts.

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<sup>218</sup> Ramsay MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire*, p 55.

That Eusebius' *History* is crucial to understanding the status and role of the bishop in the Empire is amplified by the solitary place he holds as a primary source. Eusebius provides information about the second century that few others can offer. Keresztes gives full attention to this facet of the *History*:

Apart from some scraps of information from Christian and non-Christian authors, and some rare Acts of Martyrs and Passion stories Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica* is practically the only ancient source for the relationship of Imperial Rome and Christianity in this particular era.<sup>219</sup>

A final consideration in the status and role of the bishop is the expanding jurisdiction of the major centres. Sheldon indicates that there were three stages to the development of the episcopate. He says that "the first bishops were generally bishops of individual churches," or "in the larger cities, a number of congregations may have come under a single bishop;" that in the second stage of development the episcopate received "express emphasis upon its importance;" and that the third stage witnessed the rise of archbishops where "a kind of jurisdiction over the surrounding territory became attached to the bishops of large cities, and the rank of archbishop [was] more or less definitely established."<sup>220</sup>

Eusebius, while not using the titles "metropolitan" or "archbishop," provides instances of episcopates that are unique in having, or gaining, a regional jurisdiction. Demetrius is recognized by Eusebius as holding a position of authority over the

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<sup>219</sup> Paul Keresztes, *Imperial Rome and the Christians from Herod the Great to about 200 A.D.* Volume I (Lanham: University Press of America, 1989), p 143.

<sup>220</sup> Henry C. Sheldon, *History of the Christian Church*, pp 246-249.

Alexandrian dioceses.<sup>221</sup> This would reflect the third stage as described by Sheldon. The notion of dioceses is clearly distinct from that of churches. Similarly, Irenaeus was bishop of the dioceses of Gaul.<sup>222</sup> The concept of a provincial bishop is evident in the description of Irenaeus: “from the Gallic province, over which Irenaeus presided.”<sup>223</sup> In yet another instance Eusebius identifies Basilides as “bishop of the communities in the Pentapolis.”<sup>224</sup> Although these passages do not require the position of a superior bishop who presided over subordinate bishops, the concept of provincial authority stands out. In light of these references, we can assume that the concept of regional bishops was developing in Alexandria and Gaul by the end of the second century, and by the middle of the third century in the Pentapolis (Lybia).

It is the assembling of bishops in synods that appears to have contributed to the concept of a senior bishop. The clearest indication of a provincial bishop with authority over other bishops in the region is the description of Palmas: “there are others [letters] from the Pontic bishops, presided over by Palmas as the senior.”<sup>225</sup> This reference appears to indicate that authority was given to a regional bishop to supervise the synod of the dioceses in his region. This was in place by the time of Palmas (bishop of Amastris

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<sup>221</sup> *Ecd Hist* V.22.1

<sup>222</sup> *Ecd Hist* V.23.3

<sup>223</sup> *Ecd Hist* V.23.4 Williamson translates the phrase τῶν κατὰ Γαλλίαν δὲ παροικιῶν ᾧς Ἐιρηναῖος ἐπισκόπει. Obviously he is understanding the concept of “dioceses” to indicate an expanding provincial jurisdiction.

<sup>224</sup> *Ecd Hist* VII.26.2

<sup>225</sup> *Ecd Hist* V.23.4 (McGiffert translation).

and regional bishop of Pontus) at the end of the second century.

Lebreton and Zeiller identify the evolution of one episcopate gaining a regional preeminence over other episcopates. Largely, a relationship of subordination between episcopates developed due to the expansion from a "mother church."

Churches which owed their foundation to another naturally attributed to the latter a certain superiority, but as a mother church was very often situated in the most important city in the province which had naturally been the object of its missionary efforts, the position of these mother churches naturally coincided with the metropolitan sees of the provinces. This prepared the way for the institution of metropolitan sees, which incidentally do not seem to have been established as an actual and official institution before the fourth century, and even then only in the East at first.<sup>226</sup>

According to Sheldon's three stage proposal of the development of the episcopate, we see the first two stages clearly represented in the *Ecclesiastical History*. The monarchical role of the bishop (first stage) and the emphasis upon his importance (second stage) are evident throughout the *History*. The third stage which attests to the development of the metropolitan sees is only to be noted in its infancy. While Eusebius upholds the prominent status of the bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and even Jerusalem, we know that the official establishment of the patriarchates was not accomplished for Rome, Alexandria and Antioch until 325. Constantinople and Jerusalem followed later; in 381 and 451 respectively.<sup>227</sup>

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<sup>226</sup> Jules Lebreton and Jacques Zeiller, *The History of the Primitive Church*, pp 987, 988.

<sup>227</sup> Sheldon, *The History of the Church*, pp 249, 450.

### 3.6 Conciliar Power: Synods of Bishops

While the bishop enjoyed the prestige of his ecclesiastical office, he also belonged to the authoritative assembly of bishops. These assemblies were called synods or councils. The synod (σύνοδος), the meeting of ecclesiastical authorities, had become a permanent institution by the time of Eusebius. While the Council of Nicea (325 A.D.) is understood to be the first ecumenical council, it is known that assemblies of church leaders were functional well before Constantine convened Nicea. Henry Sheldon describes the establishment of church councils in the early period:

The growing sense of a demand for concerted action found expression at an early date in the assembling of synods, or councils. We find traces of such bodies at the middle of the second century, and during the third they were of frequent occurrence.<sup>228</sup>

Of the synods that flourished in the ante-Nicene era, it is clear that the assembling of bishops was predominantly a practise of the eastern Church. Harnack notes this aspect:

Yet the entire synodal system really flourished in the East alone (and to some extent in Africa). In the West, it no more blossomed than did the system of metropolitans, a fact which was of vital moment to the position of Rome and of the Roman bishop.<sup>229</sup>

The western Church appears to have recognized the central authority of the Roman bishop. In matters of dispute, it seems that the bishop of Rome was consulted for arbitration.

In contrast, the conciliar movement in the eastern church operated in a broader

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<sup>228</sup> Sheldon, *History of the Christian Church*, p 259.

<sup>229</sup> Harnack, *Mission and Expansion*, pp 441, 442.

cooperation of episcopates. Church leaders assembled to determine critical decisions. The reasons for assembling the bishops varied dramatically. Most often the issues centred around church praxis or doctrine. It seems that bishops in cities and provinces began meeting for decision-making and resolution of matters of dispute in their ecclesiastical jurisdiction whenever those matters required authorization above that which could be offered by a single episcopate or bishop. At first they represented local or regional interests, but ultimately some would attract the attention of the churches throughout the Roman Empire.

The increasing activity of synods sometimes resulted in the development of competitive councils. As one council of bishops convened and issued a verdict, another assembly of bishops would convene to overturn the decision or to oppose the authority of the earlier synod. Chadwick recognizes this development and comments on Eusebius' view of the role of synods under these circumstances:

The conflicts of the Arian controversy weakened the respect in which episcopal synods were held. They still enjoyed high reverence and authority, but not as much as they had before the controversy began since there had been too many instances of rival synods producing incompatible manifestos. Eusebius of Caesarea early in the fourth century remarked that councils are indispensable to the good order of the Church.<sup>230</sup>

If Chadwick's understanding of rival synods is correct, then either Eusebius chose not to include them, or he was unaware of their convening. That he elected to remain silent of their activities is the more likely of the two.<sup>231</sup> We know that while he was sometimes

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<sup>230</sup> Chadwick, *The Early Church*, p 238.

<sup>231</sup> That Eusebius is aware of rival synods is likely, for he makes a point of documenting the resolutions beyond his own record with the letters of other bishops, eg. V.25.1; VI.33.3; VII.43.4.



lacking knowledge of the west, his lifelong residence in the east and commitment to accumulating a mass of literary sources gave him a thorough grasp of eastern affairs. Yet Eusebius mentions nothing of the synod convened by Alexander to excommunicate Origen.<sup>232</sup> That omission must be intentional.

There are several synods that are given Eusebius' attention in the *History*. Most are in the east, while two are in the west. The matters requiring conciliar attention varied from the replacement of one bishop to the excommunication of another. Our question here is: what can we learn of his preoccupation with the bishop from the synods that he includes? What do his synodal reports tell us of his sense of the bishop's importance?

The first synod that Eusebius deems worthy of entry in his *History* is actually a cluster of episcopal conferences that were convened in different regions. Eusebius first mentions the meetings convened in Palestine: at Caesarea presided by Theophilus and at Jerusalem under Narcissus. Other synods were held at Rome (under Victor), at Pontus (under Palmas), in Gaul (under Irenaeus) and in Osrhoene (under Bacchyllus of Corinth). All of these synods dealt with the same issue: the dating of Easter. The Asian churches (under Polycrates) followed the Jewish dating system and observed Easter on the 14th day of Nisan rather than on the following Lord's Day. Victor of Rome strongly refuted the practise and "immediately tried to cut off from the common unity the dioceses of all Asia, together with the adjacent churches."<sup>233</sup> The Roman bishop was opposed successfully by Irenaeus of Gaul who argued for personal preference in the custom.

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<sup>232</sup> Hieron. *Ep* 33

<sup>233</sup> *Ecccl Hist* V.24.9

From this account we learn that the bishop and the synods were central to determining the customs of the church. One can argue for Roman primacy (based on the perceived authority of Victor to threaten excommunication). On the other hand, it could be argued that Eusebius introduces Irenaeus' successful opposition to Victor's threat to show the authority of the conciliar network. This appears more Eusebian. As an eastern writer he favours the unity of the bishops gained through assemblies.

Regarding the Easter issue presented in the *Ecclesiastical History*, there is no doubt left in the mind of the reader that bishops are in charge. Presbyters and deacons are not mentioned in the account. The synods held to determine the dating of Easter were either convened in the absence of presbyters and deacons, or these offices were inconsequential in the process and therefore not mentioned by Eusebius.

From a geographic perspective, Eusebius shows how Polycrates, as a provincial bishop, can have such overwhelming influence. From one vantage point it appears that Victor of Rome<sup>234</sup> is on one extreme, with Polycrates of Asia on the other. It is Irenaeus of Gaul (with the support of the Palestinian bishops) who brings moderation to the larger question concerning the churches throughout the world. In the regional dynamics it is ironic that it is a western bishop (Irenaeus) who challenges the bishop of Rome.<sup>235</sup>

Moving on to Book VI it is no surprise that two of the synods recorded by Eusebius serve as a platform to elevate Origen. Book VI is largely dedicated to Origen

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<sup>234</sup> Lawlor and Oulton, *Eusebius Bishop of Caesara*, p 185. Lawlor and Oulton date the synod between 189 and 192.

<sup>235</sup> Irenaeus may have been in a unique position to bridge the gap between Polycrates and Victor. We know that Irenaeus was originally from Asia before becoming bishop of the western province of Gaul.

and so the synods mentioned in that book are most certainly inspired by Eusebius' ulterior motive of portraying Origen in the best light possible.

The first of these synods takes place in Antioch. Beryllus, the bishop there, was charged with heresy in denying the pre-existence and independent divinity of Christ. The synod was convened to examine Beryllus' beliefs. Eusebius appears eager to report that the assembly of bishops was not successful in its dialogue with Beryllus.

Whereupon, after a large number of bishops had held questionings and discussions with the man, Origen, being invited along with others, entered in the first place into conversation with the man to discover what were his opinions, and when he knew what it was he asserted, he corrected what was unorthodox, and, persuading him by reasoning, established him in the truth as to the doctrine and restored him to his former sound opinion.<sup>236</sup>

The bishops again dominate the synod held at Antioch. Presbyters and deacons go without notice. Other than Origen, only bishops are mentioned.

Next, Eusebius transports his readers to Arabia where a similar villain required episcopal confrontation. This time a singular heretic is not the threat, but rather, a group of teachers who had introduced unorthodox views on the nature of the soul. Again, Eusebius describes the synod (a large one) and he uses this opportunity to feature Origen's ministry:

Moreover, when a synod of no small dimensions was then assembled together, Origen was again invited, and there opened a discussion in public on the subject in question, with such power that he changed the opinions of those who had formerly been deluded.<sup>237</sup>

Origen is central to the council of bishops. This clearly establishes the impact of Origen,

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<sup>236</sup> *Ecc. Hist* VL33.2,3

<sup>237</sup> *Ecc. Hist* VL37.1

but without the widely-accepted recognition of the decision-making power of the synods, the account would not have served Eusebius' purposes. In other words, Eusebius does not need to argue for the authority of the bishop and the episcopal assemblies. The office of the bishop and the convening of bishops in synod is already established. Therefore he uses an established practise – episcopal councils, that have wide-spread authority to elevate Origen (a controversial theologian whose reputation required advocacy).

The final synod described in Book VI is assembled at Rome in response to the charges against Novatus. Described as the arrogant leader of a separatist sect, Novatus is thoroughly chastized by the council of bishops. The synod is large, with 60 bishops attending "and still a greater number of presbyters and deacons, while in the rest of the provinces the pastors in their several regions individually considered the question as to what should be done."<sup>238</sup> The central charge against Novatus is his deceptive conduct. Novatus committed the unpardonable sin: he gained the office of the bishop by fraud. Eusebius quotes the letter of Cornelius, bishop of Rome:

...this highly distinguished person, who was in the habit of pledging himself by some terrible oaths in no wise to seek out the office of a bishop, of a sudden appears as a bishop as if he were cast into our midst by some contrivance. For in sooth this master of doctrine, this champion of the Church's discipline, when he was attempting to wrest and filch away the episcopate that was not given him from above, chose to himself two companions... he forcibly compelled them to give him a bishop's office by a counterfeit and vain laying on of hands, an office that he assumed by crafty treachery since it did not fall to his lot.<sup>239</sup>

Eusebius includes further rebuke of Novatus as one who aspired to the episcopate by

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<sup>238</sup> *Ecc. Hist* VI.43.2

<sup>239</sup> *Ecc. Hist* VI.43.8-10

placing confidence in his own deeds and conduct.<sup>240</sup> Such conduct was recognized as nothing short of direct Satanic influence. Cornelius reports: "The occasion of his acceptance of the faith was Satan, who resorted to him and dwelt in him for a long time." But there is more. Not only was Novatus indwelt by Satan, but once having received the ministry of exorcism, he refused the sealing of the bishop, leaving him without the Holy Spirit!

Eusebius leaves a deep imprint in the minds of his readers with this overcharged language of polemics. Novatus and the five presbyters with him are cut off from the communion of the church for his "insane arrogance."<sup>241</sup> Novatus' downfall is due to two catastrophic errors: 1. exploiting the office of the bishop, and 2. refusing the seal of the bishop, thereby foregoing being filled with the Holy Spirit. While Ignatius instructed his readers to respect the authority of the episcopate, Eusebius reports how grave the consequences are when the episcopate is undermined.

It should be noted that Eusebius mentions the presence of presbyters and deacons. Although they are represented in large numbers, it does not appear that their role is significant, at least not in comparison to that of the bishops. Sheldon clarifies this dynamic:

In the membership of the councils, the bishops were the main factor. Not infrequently, it is true, priests and deacons were present, and sometimes laymen invited; but in most instances the decrees were signed only by the

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<sup>240</sup> *Ecd Hist* VI.43.13

<sup>241</sup> *Ecd Hist* VI.43.20

bishops.<sup>242</sup>

It appears that Eusebius notifies his readers of the large numbers of bishops, presbyters and deacons (as well as the pastors who remained in their cities but who were active in considering the charges against Novatus) to emphasize the gravity of the synod. As well, he could be including the presbyters and deacons to demonstrate their subordinate role to the episcopate, i.e. they, as church leaders below the episcopate, endorse the strict discipline of presbyters who assume the office of the bishop by deception.

The next synod that Eusebius documents is that which confronts Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch. The charge brought against Paul was heresy due to his “low and mean views of Christ.”<sup>243</sup> The synod at Antioch is attended by a large number of bishops, presbyters and deacons. In the course of describing the synod, Eusebius quotes at length from a letter written by the bishops who attended.

The letter provides many details that reveal expectations placed upon the office of the bishop (eg. doctrinal purity, humility of character, the ecclesiastical title, etc.). Of Paul, it was clear that his Christology was perverse, his character arrogant and his use of the title of *ducenarius* rather than bishop offensive. Eusebius is clearly impressed by the action taken by the bishops attending the synod. After multiple meetings, the bishops eventually decide to depose Paul.

We were compelled therefore, as he opposed himself to God and refused to yield, to excommunicate him, and appoint another bishop in his stead

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<sup>242</sup> Sheldon, *History of the Christian Church*, p 259.

<sup>243</sup> *Ecd Hist* VII.26.2

for the Catholic Church (choosing) by the Providence of God.<sup>244</sup>

Paul persists in resisting the decree of the synod. Eusebius describes the involvement required of the emperor to intervene, a surprising appeal by the church to an emperor prior to the development of friendly church-state relations under Constantine.

When Paul, then, had fallen from the episcopate as well as from his orthodoxy in the faith, Domnus, as has been said, succeeded to the ministry of the church at Antioch. But as Paul refused on any account to give up possession of the church-building, the emperor Aurelian, on being petitioned, gave an extremely just decision regarding the matter, ordering the assignment of the building to those with whom the bishops of the doctrine in Italy and Rome should communicate in writing. Thus, then, was the aforesaid man driven with the utmost indignity from the church by the ruler of this world.<sup>245</sup>

To Eusebius and to the church, the only thing more powerful than the office of the bishop was the collective voice of the bishops. In the judicial affairs of the church that required the selection of a bishop or impeachment of one who had acquired the office by deception or who had fallen from orthodoxy of faith, the synod was paramount. Eusebius is not required to establish the authority of these synods. They are clearly established by the time of his writing. As such, they document for us the power of the bishop's office that was inherent in the mandate and authority of the episcopal councils.

While Eusebius reports two other synods in Book X, the details appear less significant to him. By this time his view is preoccupied with the role of Constantine. The synods that Eusebius includes appear in a section in which he quotes Imperial Letters.<sup>246</sup>

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<sup>244</sup> *Ecc. Hist* VII.30.17

<sup>245</sup> *Ecc. Hist* VII.30.19

<sup>246</sup> *Ecc. Hist* X.5.18,21

Constantine is shown to take an active role in the initiation of synods. In both cases cited, the emperor calls for the bishops to deal with matters causing dissension among their ranks.



### 3.7 Origen in Eusebius: Patron of Bishops

We have already demonstrated that the bishop dominates much of Eusebius' presentation of the history of the early church in its first three centuries. We have further determined that, though Eusebius does not intend to provide a comprehensive description of the bishop's office, he has in fact provided a fairly full portrait of the office due simply to the frequency of his mention of many aspects of that office in writing his history. Further, we have seen that Eusebius' perspective is largely eastern, and he is uninfluenced by any efforts that may have been going on in the west to bow to Roman primacy.

There can be no doubt of the importance of the bishop to Eusebius. But why is it so important? The chapter that Eusebius dedicates to Origen gives us an indication.

Origen (c. 185-254) was a prolific writer and excelled as a theologian. He wrote a vast number of biblical commentaries and theological works. His literary output has been estimated to exceed 2000 works.<sup>247</sup> In the *Ecclesiastical History* Eusebius refers to twenty-one of his writings.<sup>248</sup> Probably the most brilliant mind of the third-century, his teachings influenced the early church so deeply that his rejection by the west and acceptance by the east is believed to be the antecedent of the doctrinal divergences which later divided the two.<sup>249</sup> In fact, Lebreton and Zeiller present him as the most significant

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<sup>247</sup> Davies, *The Early Christian Church*, p 124, "Origen's output was vast; according to Jerome, he was the author of no fewer than 2,000 books, but many of these were short lectures..." *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, p 773, "Epiphanius says (*Haer.* lxiv. 63) that in popular reports no less than 6,000 works were ascribed to Origen. Jerome denies this (*Ep.* lxxii.7) and brings down the number to a third (*adv. Ruf.* ii.c.22; cf. c.13)."

<sup>248</sup> See Appendix 6: Literary Sources in the *Ecclesiastical History*

<sup>249</sup> Lebreton and Zeiller, *The History of the Primitive Church*, p 772.

writer in the whole of Christian antiquity.<sup>250</sup> Although he was first systematic theologian and arguably the leading scholar among Patristic writers, there developed wide-ranging speculations about his writings. In the views of some, opinions that Origen expressed were heterodox. Sometimes the critiques were insightful; at other times Origen was simply misunderstood. When he accepted ordination to the presbyterate by the Palestinian bishops, he was excommunicated by Demetrius, the bishop of Alexandria. In the Decian persecution he was tortured severely. Although released from imprisonment, he died soon afterward as a result of the suffering inflicted upon him.<sup>251</sup>

Pamphilus was influenced by the teachings of Origen.<sup>252</sup> Eusebius, in turn, was influenced by Pamphilus. The result of such a legacy manifests itself in Eusebius' hagiographic treatment of Origen. Chadwick captures the essence of the distinction that Eusebius gives Origen.

Eusebius of Caesarea, the church historian, looked back on Origen as the supreme saint and highest intelligence in the catalogue of heroes in his history; and no Greek commentator on scripture could escape his influence.<sup>253</sup>

It stands to reason that many great personalities will be enshrined in a history of the Christian Church. One might bring the question to the *History*: of whom will Eusebius be most enamoured? Josephus, Philo, Peter and James dominate Books I-III, joined by

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<sup>250</sup> Ibid., p 771.

<sup>251</sup> Davies, *The Early Christian Church*, p 117.

<sup>252</sup> Pamphilus embraced Origen's teaching while studying under Pierius, known as "Origen the Younger."

<sup>253</sup> Chadwick, *The Early Church*, p 122.

Papias in Book IV. Irenaeus and Polycarp are the personalities of choice in Books III through V, with a guest appearance from Justin Martyr in Book IV. Dionysius of Alexandria takes a principal role in Books VI and especially VII. The emperor Constantine enjoys centre stage in Books IX and X. But apart from John (the longest living apostle) and Jesus himself, no one graces the pages of the *Ecclesiastical History* as much as Origen of Alexandria (184-253). Compared to Peter and Paul, Origen finishes slightly ahead of Paul and leaves Peter a distant third.

Thus Origen has a pride of place similar to leading individuals from the apostolic age, and no individual from the post-apostolic age receives even remotely the attention Origen receives at the hands of Eusebius. More surprising, Origen is not a bishop, and it is usually leading bishops that receive attention from Eusebius in the post-apostolic period. How do we make sense of this prominence of Origen?

The biographical details of Origen's life are "chiefly known to us through Book VI of the *Ecclesiastical History*."<sup>254</sup> Not only is Origen prominently featured in Eusebius' works, Eusebius is an exception in featuring Origen at all. Eusebius' appreciation of Origen was not shared by a (growing) number of his contemporaries. Chadwick identifies several leading contemporaries of Origen who were violent critics of Origen's theology: Eustace, the bishop of Antioch; Athanasius, the bishop of Alexandria; and Marcellus, the bishop of Ancyra.<sup>255</sup> Yet in spite of a half century of increasing hostility to Origen since his death, Eusebius identified clearly with him. By elevating Origen in his *History*,

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<sup>254</sup> The Oxford Classical Dictionary, p 756.

<sup>255</sup> Chadwick, *The Early Church*, p 134ff.

Eusebius created tension later for those who would honour him, but who had little regard for Origen. For example, Pope Pelagius II writes, “among heresiarchs who can be found worse than Origen, and among historiographers who more honourable than Eusebius? And who of us does not know with how great praises Eusebius extols Origen in his books?”<sup>256</sup>

Eusebius knew Origen through his teacher Pamphilus, the presbyter and scholar who collaborated with Eusebius to write *Defence of Origen*. The work is no longer extant with the exception of the first book, which was translated by Rufinus and is preserved in his Latin version.<sup>257</sup> Although Origen had vigorous enemies during his lifetime, controversy surrounding his teachings continued after his death. His influence was especially profound among the churches of Palestine and Asia Minor in the century after his death.<sup>258</sup> But Origen’s enemies increased as doctrine developed in directions unseen in his writings, and his continuing influence among some led several writers to compose books against his theology. Although a full-blown rupture did not occur until the Origenist controversy in 374, Chadwick indicates that antecedents were brewing earlier, pointing to the Lycian bishop Methodius, who attacked Origen’s spiritualising doctrine of the resurrection.<sup>259</sup>

It is not surprising to find a large section of the *Ecclesiastical History* devoted to

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<sup>256</sup> Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History*, McGiffert, “The Life and Writings of Eusebius”, p 64.

<sup>257</sup> *Ibid.*, p 36.

<sup>258</sup> Chadwick, *The Early Church*, p 113.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*, p 112.

Origen, for Eusebius had recently written a work in defence of Origen and had published *Life of Pamphilus*, from whom he had learned to admire Origen. Thus Eusebius could hardly address the period in which Origen was a leading figure without in some way coming to his defence. The question one must address in this study is why the episcopal references continue to flourish (and become even more numerous) in Book VI even though Eusebius has taken the role of the hagiographer? In other words, why does Eusebius write about bishops when his agenda is to write about Origen?

In discussing Eusebius' hagiographic style, Chesnut emphasizes the elevation of Justin and Irenaeus, but particularly Origen.<sup>260</sup> On the other hand, Origen's antagonists rarely factor into Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*. Apart from identification within bishop lists, the references to Origen's opponents are minimal.<sup>261</sup> As well, the nature of Eusebius' recognition of such individuals is not always favourable. Bishop Demetrius of Alexandria (189-231/32) is the prime example.<sup>262</sup> He is included in the story of Origen because of his central role in the catechetical school at Alexandria. As well, his denunciations of Origen presuming to teach while still a layman and his later ordination at the hands of the Palestinian bishops are landmark conflicts. Essentially Demetrius' status is too prominent for Eusebius to exclude him entirely. He appears in the *History* as an antagonist figure. Eusebius seems to take the narrative of Demetrius' disapproval of

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<sup>260</sup> Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories*, p 121. Citations calculated by the number of instances in which Eusebius identifies the person by name: Irenaeus - 45; Justin Martyr - 27; Origen - 73.

<sup>261</sup> Eustace, bishop of Antioch (324-331); Methodius, bishop of Lycia (d.c.311); Marcellus, bishop of Ancrya (d.374); Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria (296-373). Only Marcellus is mentioned in the *History*, VII.XI.6.

<sup>262</sup> Demetrius (189-231/32) was the bishop of Alexandria, successor of Julian.

Origen in stride. Resolved that Origen is above the unreasonable and isolated disciplinary measures of Demetrius, Eusebius does not shy away from narrating some of the conflict between these two leaders.<sup>263</sup> In fact, if he can demonstrate Demetrius' fault, he has much to gain. Unlike Clement who omits comment on Demetrius altogether,<sup>264</sup> Eusebius includes the bishop of Alexandria, it appears, to contrast the misapplied episcopal authority of Demetrius with that of his colleagues. In contrast to Jerome, who records Demetrius as the bishop who condemns Origen and excommunicates him as a heretic, with "only the bishops of Palestine, Arabia, Phenicia, and Achaia dissenting,"<sup>265</sup> Eusebius depicts Demetrius as double-minded – in one breath praising Origen; in the next, retracting his earlier endorsement and reporting Origen's insubordination to bishops throughout the world. The Eusebian portrait of Demetrius attributes to the Alexandrian bishop an overriding jealousy. Demetrius appears unable to harness the talents of Origen, and in the end, grossly mishandles the brilliant biblical scholar under his episcopal supervision.<sup>266</sup>

The conflict between Origen and Demetrius reaches a high point when Origen

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<sup>263</sup> While Eusebius gives some detail of the conflict, he does not include the council assembled by Demetrius to excommunicate Origen.

<sup>264</sup> Chadwick, *The Early Church*, p 99. According to Chadwick Clement of Alexandria never mentions Demetrius at all. Chadwick does not provide a reason for the omission of Demetrius, other than Clement sharing Tertullian's reticence about the external life of the church to which he belongs. Chadwick writes, "He [Clement] never mentions the contemporary bishop of Alexandria." Obviously it was significant for Chadwick to note Clement's exclusion of Demetrius. Although an argument from silence, Clement, the theologian from Alexandria was not likely impressed enough with Demetrius to spend any ink on his memory.

<sup>265</sup> Jerome, *Letter XXXIII To Paula*.

<sup>266</sup> *Ecccl Hist* VI.8

accepts ordination to the presbyterate from a bishop other than Demetrius, a violation of at least protocol, since Demetrius was Origen's bishop. While Origen clearly deserves the recognition allotted to him in another episcopal jurisdiction, he at the same time is subject to criticism for receiving ordination without the approval of Demetrius, his own bishop. Inherent in the clerical administration of the church is the government of each diocese. With Origen under the authority of the Alexandrian see, he was subject to the rule of Demetrius. When Origen accepted ordination to the office of presbyter while serving temporarily in Palestine, he assumed a title that should have been conferred by Demetrius. An irony arises in the dynamic created by such an ordination, namely: anticlericalism. While Origen accepted the ecclesiastical promotion by the bishops of Caesarea and Jerusalem, he seems to have bypassed the episcopal authority of Demetrius.

Eusebius' narrative of Demetrius' disapproval of Origen's ordination<sup>267</sup> is one of the few instances of considerable chronological dislocation in Book VI.<sup>268</sup> This is a striking detail for Eusebius to include. While himself endorsing the subordination expected from those under episcopal government, Eusebius had to justify Origen's ordination at the hands of bishops outside of the diocese to which he was subject. Here

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<sup>267</sup> *Ecc. Hist* VI.8.4 It could be argued that either Eusebius was unconscious of his departure from chronology, or that he intended it. If unconscious, then we need not regard it as significant. If intentional, it is conspicuous by its insertion. If it is inserted out of sequence with his otherwise rigid chronological structure, we are obliged to consider it as important. It appears that the intention of his narrative is to expose the double-mindedness of Demetrius. As such, Eusebius was compelled to contrast the change in Demetrius' position that spanned the time period from Origen's "deed" as a young man to his ordination as a presbyter many years later (c. 230). If Eusebius had not included the contrast at this juncture, he would likely have imposed it later in Book VI, appealing to the story of Origen's youth at the time of Origen's ordination.

<sup>268</sup> Wallace-Hadrill, *Eusebius*, p 165, argues that the insertion of Demetrius' disapproval of Origen's ordination to the office of presbyter should have been included with the narrative in Book VI.23.4, where Eusebius refers again to the ordination of Origen (20 years later).

we see Eusebius in one of his more devious, if not brilliant moments. He wants to defend Origen, but needs to work around the circumvention of ecclesiastical protocol that might be used to discredit Origen's integrity.

To make his argument work, Eusebius resorts to the simple tactic of pitting Demetrius' judgement against that of other bishops. It includes a three-step process: 1. establish a degree of incompetence in Demetrius, 2. establish Origen as deserving of the presbyterate, and 3. establish the credibility of the bishops who performed Origen's ordination.

In the first instance, Eusebius is careful to inform his readers that Demetrius, while the bishop of Alexandria, approved of Origen's "zealous action."<sup>269</sup> While Demetrius' endorsement of the "incident" might not have been crucial at the time (other than to encourage Origen to continue in his work of teaching) it proved valuable information to Eusebius when he needed to deprecate Demetrius in the conflict of Origen's later years. During Origen's first visit to Palestine (c. 215), he is requested to engage in public teaching ministry. This request comes by way of the bishops Alexander of Jerusalem (212-251) and Theoctistus of Caesarea (c. 215-257/9), but the decision is severely criticized by Demetrius who argues that entrusting laymen to the duties of the presbytery is without precedent. Alexander and Theoctistus respond to Demetrius' letter by

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<sup>269</sup> Early in his teaching career it appears that Origen castrated himself as an act of obedience to a literal understanding of Matthew 19:12. See Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History*, trans. McGiffert, p 254. McGiffert identifies the practise, fuelled by extreme asceticism in the early church, as not exclusive to Origen. Other sources (Justin Martyr *Apology* and the first canon of the council of Nicea) indicate that the practise was somewhat common.



appealing to similar practises in other sees.<sup>270</sup> Demetrius recalls Origen to Alexandria and Origen complies. Of interest, Eusebius includes the fact that it was the deacons who, in addition to the letter from Demetrius, urged Origen to return. Eusebius may well include this to raise further questions about Demetrius: Is he so abusive of his authority that he requires deacons to make an appeal to Origen?<sup>271</sup> Has Demetrius lost so much episcopal sovereignty that he needs to rely upon his deacons to serve notice to Origen?

In spite of the tension between Origen and Demetrius, Origen returned to assume his subordinate role to Demetrius. At a later time,<sup>272</sup> Eusebius describes Origen's journey to Greece to attend to matters of "urgent necessity."<sup>273</sup> While passing through Palestine, he is ordained by the bishops there. This action led to his excommunication by Demetrius,<sup>274</sup> whose argument against Origen is jurisdictional.<sup>275</sup> Jerome says that

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<sup>270</sup> *Ecccl Hist* VI.19.17

<sup>271</sup> Chadwick, *The Early Church*, p 109, describes Origen's opinion of Demetrius as a "worldly, power-hungry prelate consumed with pride in his own self-importance."

<sup>272</sup> *Ibid.*, p 110. Chadwick places this trip in 229.

<sup>273</sup> *Ecccl Hist* VI.23.4

<sup>274</sup> Davies, *The Early Christian Church*, p 124. "His settlement at Caesarea for the second period of his work from 231 until his death was forced upon him by his excommunication by a synod under bishop Demetrius. This was the outcome of a number of events that had steadily annoyed his ecclesiastical superior, although Eusebius states that jealousy of his reputation played its part. Demetrius held against him his self-mutilation, his presumption in preaching at Caesarea in 215, when he was not a presbyter, and his ordination, fifteen years later while on another visit to Palestine."

<sup>275</sup> Dictionary of Christian Biography, "Demetrius," B.F.Wescott, p 251, "The statement that Demetrius first changed the singular ecclesiastical arrangement of Egypt, by appointing three bishops in addition to the bishop of Alexandria, ... is probably correct. Possibly this change was due to special views on church government which may have influenced Demetrius in his harsh judgement on the ordination of Origen beyond the limits of his jurisdiction."

Demetrius “ was so wildly enraged at him [Origen] that he wrote everywhere to injure his reputation.”<sup>276</sup> In the end, Eusebius appears to have been successful in contrasting the innocence of Origen and the jealousy of Demetrius, for even Jerome agrees with his record.

Secondly, Eusebius makes the case that Origen was deserving of the presbyterate. Some have argued that the bishops of Palestine chose to ordain Origen as a precautionary measure, so as not to incite Demetrius again by their request to have Origen fulfill the preaching ministry while not ordained. McGiffert describes this position:

As to the cause of Origen’s ordination, it is quite possible, as Redepenning suggests, that when he went a second time to Palestine, his old friends, the bishops of Caesarea, of Jerusalem, and of other cities, wished to hear him preach again, but that remembering the reproof of the bishop Demetrius, called forth by his preaching on the former occasion, he refused, and that then the Palestinian bishops, in order to obviate that difficulty, insisted on ordaining him.<sup>277</sup>

That these bishops acted properly is emphasized by Eusebius. In his vintage hagiographic style Eusebius describes Theoctistus and Alexander as the most highly approved (οἱ μάλιστα δόκιμοι)<sup>278</sup> and distinguished bishops in Palestine. His point, obviously, is to elevate the status of those conferring the holy orders. Eusebius realizes that as a self-appointed advocate for Origen’s reputation, he is up against the prestigious bishop of Alexandria. His readers will be drawn into a comparison of episcopates and he realizes that he needs to overcome the prominent position of Demetrius. Eusebius is effective.

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<sup>276</sup> Jerome, *Lives of Illustrious Men*, Chapter LIV.

<sup>277</sup> Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History* trans. McGiffert, p 397.

<sup>278</sup> Eusebius refers later to Theodore as “especially distinguished” (ἐπιστήμους μάλιστα) and to Gregory as “renowned” (διαβόητος), *Ecc Hist* VI.30.1

Having exposed the faulty character of Demetrius, he then elevates the bishops who ordained Origen.

Eusebius refers to Theoctistus and Alexander on three occasions. In chronological sequence, Theoctistus and Alexander first request Origen to preach in their dioceses although he had not been ordained to the presbyterate. When Demetrius disapproves, Theoctistus and Alexander write in Origen's defence. Their letter appeals to precedents set in the other sees of Laranda (Euelpis by Neon) in Iconium (Paulinus by Celsus) and in Synnada (Theodore by Atticus).<sup>279</sup> On Origen's second visit to Palestine, Theoctistus and Alexander are among the group of bishops that ordain him to the presbyterate.<sup>280</sup> Subsequent to Origen's ordination and resulting expulsion from Alexandria by Demetrius, Theoctistus and Alexander remain in a catechetical relationship with Origen.<sup>281</sup> Eusebius permits no doubt of Origen's enduring ability and influence as an expositor. As well, he emphasizes the exclusive position that Origen holds as an instructor to these bishops.

Thirdly, while one might allow Eusebius the generous description of the Palestinian bishops, it seems that he crossed the line with his statements of esteem for the presbyter's office. That Eusebius would extol the office of the presbytery as a rank of privilege, highest honour and great esteem is glaring when speaking of Origen in comparison to his otherwise moderate position on the authority of the presbyterate. His description of Origen's ordination is certainly overstated:

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<sup>279</sup> *Ecl Hist* VI.19.16-18

<sup>280</sup> *Ecl Hist* VI. 23.3; VI.8.4

<sup>281</sup> *Ecl Hist* VI.27.1

... the most highly approved and distinguished bishops in Palestine, namely those of Caesarea and Jerusalem, deeming Origen worthy of privilege and the highest honour, ordained him to the presbyterate by laying on of hands. So, as he had advanced to a position of great esteem,... Demetrius spread grave scandal...<sup>282</sup>

Apart from the account of Origen's ordination to the office of presbyter, no other account of ordination receives such decoration. In no other instance in the *Ecclesiastical History* is the presbytery lauded as "the highest honour" (τῆς ἀνωτάτω τιμῆς ἀξίον). Eusebius, using the recurring phrase "deemed worthy of the presbyterate" to describe the ordinations of Dionysius (of Rome), Malchion and Dorotheus (at Antioch), Pamphilus (at Caesarea, Palestine), Alexandria Achilles and Pierius (at Alexandria) in addition to that of Origen (at Caesarea), clearly establishes a standard representation of ordination to the presbyterate.<sup>283</sup>

While Eusebius has elevated unduly the status of the presbyter in the case of Origen's ordination, he further accommodates his personal view and polemical posture against Demetrius' activity by elevating the Palestinian bishops for a second purpose – that of impressing his audience with the spiritual authority held by these Palestinian bishops. Eusebius' audience will recognize his conscription of their episcopal reputation to marshal arguments for Origen's worthiness and they will appreciate the impact of his chess game between Demetrius and his Palestinian counterparts, a matter of particular interest to those in the eastern empire who would immediately be sympathetic to the

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<sup>282</sup> *Ecl Hist* VI.8.4

<sup>283</sup> *Ecl Hist* VII.7.6 πρεσβείου ἡξιωμένον; *Ecl Hist* VII.29.2 πρεσβείου ἡξιωμένος; *Ecl Hist* VII.32.2 πρεσβείου ἡξιωμένον; *Ecl Hist* VII.32.25 πρεσβείου ἡξιωμένον; *Ecl Hist* VII.32.30 πρεσβείου ἡξιωμένος; *Ecl Hist* VI.Table.23 πρεσβείου ἡξιώθη.

situation. If a bishop from the prestigious city of Alexandria will not perform an ordination (impeded by his own jealousy in conferring holy orders on Origen – the worthiest of men) it is judicious to sanction the actions of those Palestinian bishops who will. Henry C. Sheldon offers this insightful summary:

Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, became animated by an implacable opposition to Origen. Jealousy of the overshadowing reputation of the great teacher may have been among the motives of the Alexandrian bishop, but the immediate occasion of his persecuting policy was the irregular honours bestowed upon Origen by certain bishops of Palestine, - first, by inviting him while a layman to preach; and then ordaining him, without consultation with the Alexandrian see, to the office of presbyter. Demetrius seems to have regarded this as an unpardonable trespass against his episcopal dignity, and did not rest until he had deposed Origen from the priesthood, and excommunicated him from the church of Alexandria.<sup>284</sup>

It can be difficult to be specific when addressing questions of the ante-Nicene era, but Eusebius' text has a way of escorting one to a sense of poignancy in episcopal polity. One might conclude that the Palestinian bishops are acting autonomously, ignoring established ecclesiastical government by engaging Origen as teacher, while a layman, and then affirming him to the presbyterate, while being aware of his affiliation with the see of Alexandria. On the other hand, it is possible to judge Demetrius as too possessive of his diocese (in a network of sees that has yet to establish jurisdictional restrictions), and unreasonably controlling of a teacher who by talent and character should be elevated to the office of presbyter (regardless of the particular diocese). Eusebius has driven a wedge between the bishops of Palestine and Demetrius of Alexandria. He forces the question: which of the bishops are acting the most uncharacteristic of reasonable and practical

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<sup>284</sup> Henry C. Sheldon. *History of the Christian Church*, p 321.

church government?

Ultimately it is Demetrius who is found to be at fault. Not only by Jerome, who perpetuated Eusebius' depiction of the Alexandrian bishop as jealous and unreasonable, but by much of modern scholarship. Other than McGiffert, who considers Eusebius and Jerome to be "too harsh in their judgement,"<sup>285</sup> most scholars tend to accept the assessment of Eusebius and Jerome. This signals two things: 1. That Eusebius and Jerome appear to have reasonably assessed the episcopal conflict between Demetrius and the bishops Theoctistus and Alexander, and 2. That given the judgement by Eusebius and Jerome, episcopal jurisdiction was not fully enough established-at the time to condemn Origen's ordination. In other words, Demetrius, by imposing his own disapproval upon Origen and the bishops that ordained him, acted contrary to a regional concept of episcopal authority that had yet to be universally accepted in the first part of the third century. Nor was their action deemed offensive by either Eusebius or Jerome at the time of their writings, even though by that time a more rigid sense of jurisdiction had developed.

As argued at the outset of this study, the episcopal office is prominent in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, and therefore when he addresses the period in which Origen was the leading character, bishops are a natural and necessary tool in defending a character who obviously needed defence. With the strategy to support Origen within the context of the episcopal authority, Eusebius presents Origen's influence among prominent bishops. It is likely that Eusebius was marshalling instances, hoping to elevate the memory of

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<sup>285</sup>Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History* trans. McGiffert, p 395.

Origen's reputation within the Christian communities, either for the good of Origen's legacy or to substantiate Eusebius' own Origenist theology. In doing so, his own view was not likely the popular one.<sup>286</sup> In an environment that was hostile to Origenism, Eusebius was a vocal defender, even in his history of the Church, and it is the office of the bishop that appears to be Eusebius' most effective tool.

As we have seen, the presbyter Pamphilus had an extraordinary influence upon Eusebius.<sup>287</sup> Under the instruction of Pamphilus, Eusebius' determination developed to defend Origen, whose theology and philosophy he himself had come to embrace. This places him in the Origenist camp and explains his vigorous defence of Origen, in what appears to be almost an extended detour of the *Ecclesiastical History*.<sup>288</sup>

The central point in the present argument is to demonstrate that the episcopal references in Book VI could be used as a platform to endorse the ministry of Origen. Origen, although not a bishop himself, is often discussed in connection with prominent bishops. A number of narrative sections in *Ecclesiastical History* depict the "fame of Origen." With the inclusion of Origen in references to prominent bishops, at least two

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<sup>286</sup> *Defence of Origen*, although a distinct polemic, indicates the motive of Eusebius that continued in his *Ecclesiastical History*.

<sup>287</sup> Wallace-Hadrill claims Pamphilus as "the major influence upon Eusebius." Lawlor and Oulton maintain the most noteworthy event in Eusebius' early life to be his introduction to "the famous scholar and martyr, Pamphilus, from whom he took his name." Foakes-Jackson has gone so far as to state "that without Pamphilus the compilation of the *History* would have been impossible."

<sup>288</sup> Wallace-Hadrill dates *Defence of Origen* between 307 and 309. Most Eusebian textual critics (eg. Lake, Wallace-Hadrill, Lawlor/Oulton, Schwartz) place the *Ecclesiastical History*, Books I-VIII, between 303 and 312. Given, then, that the works extend over the same brief time period, it seems plausible to maintain that Eusebius wrote regarding Origen in both the *Defence of Origen* and the *Ecclesiastical History* with the same purpose.

conclusions might be drawn. 1. That Origen is used to elevate the status of the bishops, or 2. That the bishops are used to elevate Origen. Given that Origen is the one under attack in the broader Christian community, only the second conclusion is probable.

As Eusebius highlights the association between Origen and those in episcopal leadership of the church, notice should be given in particular to the emphasis upon who initiated the relationship. For example, Origen is not pleading with bishops Gregory and his brother Athenodore to enroll in his academy; they are presented by Eusebius as coming to Origen for the study of divine truth.<sup>289</sup> Nor is Origen portrayed as submitting his resume as a candidate in the denouncing of heretical teachers. When Beryllus' teachings come under question, it is Origen who is invited to refute heresy and correct what was unorthodox.<sup>290</sup> Origen is not postured with hat in hand. Quite the opposite. The senior ranking bishops are sending for Origen:

Now at this time Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, was distinguished; he displayed such esteem for Origen, that at one time he would summon him to his own parts for the benefit of the churches; at another, journey himself to Judaea, and spend some time with him for his own betterment in divine things. Nay further, Alexander, who presided over the church of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus, who presided at Caesarea, continued their attendance on him the whole time, as their only teacher, and used to concede to him the task of expounding the divine Scriptures, and the other parts of the Church's instruction.<sup>291</sup>

Not only does Eusebius depict Origen's service to be delivered at the request of prominent bishops, but he demonstrates the stark irony of the anti-Origen attacks. The

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<sup>289</sup> *Ecd Hist* VI.30

<sup>290</sup> *Ecd Hist* VI.33

<sup>291</sup> *Ecd Hist* VI.26.1



narrative alerts the reader to the reason that Origen's services are requested: namely, bishops depend on Origen to help them learn the Scriptures that they might be better equipped to teach their own congregations. And what is the charge against Origen? That he is a heresiarch. Eusebius turns the tables in a most ingenious way. Rather than presenting the teachings of Origen as orthodox, he lets events speak for themselves -- and they are often stronger on their own. In fact, the distinctive linking of Origen to bishops as an apologetic tactic may be Eusebius' stellar argument for Origen. That is, nothing speaks more strongly for Eusebius' preoccupation with the power of the bishop than his use of the episcopate in the defence of the hotly criticized Origen. Eusebius defends Origen, one of the most attacked writers of early Christendom, with his most authoritative defence, the office of the bishop.

Other observations may be noted in the fabric of the episcopal defence that Eusebius constructs for Origen. One of the more dramatic ironies that Eusebius employs is the catechetical relationship between Origen and "bishops-to-be." In the description of Origen's influence and reputation, Eusebius relates that his instruction was of the utmost importance for two figures, Theodore (also known as Gregory, bishop of Neocaesarea in Pontus c. 233-270), and his brother Athenodore (bishop in Pontus c. 233-c. 268):

Now while Origen was plying his accustomed tasks at Caesarea, many came to him... Among these as especially distinguished we know to have been Theodore... and his brother Athenodore.... Five whole years they continued with him, and made such progress in divine things that while still young both of them were deemed worthy of the episcopate in the

churches of Pontus.<sup>292</sup>

There are at least two features of this account that are of note. The first one is Origen's ability to prepare young men for the episcopate. Eusebius accentuates the unique mentoring relationship that Origen has with his students as he prepares them for the episcopate. Keep in mind the chronology of Eusebius. He is fully aware that the many years that Origen served as the head of the catechetical school in Alexandria had not given him the opportunity for promotion to the presbyterate. Once Origen is transplanted to another diocese, the leaders have no question about his qualification for the priesthood, and they promote him rapidly. Obviously to Eusebius, Origen is able to contribute to and indeed, even instruct episcopal candidates to the highest office in the church once he is liberated from the territorial clutches of his former episcopal overlord.

A second and more striking element in the account is the accelerated advancement of the young ministers tutored by Origen. Not only is Origen ordained to the office of presbyter, but he is able to prepare episcopal candidates in five short years. That this is exceptional irony hardly requires comment. What one would expect to encounter is the preparation of episcopal candidates by those who have already attained to the bishop's office. Gregory and Athenodore are given particular notice by Eusebius. Eusebius describes their instruction under Origen as if it were a rare exception. For two young men to be mentored into the episcopate so quickly speaks forcibly for their ability, as well as that of their teacher. Yet, we are presented with a scenario that demonstrates, not so much the exceptional ability of the young ministers, Gregory and Athenodore, but that

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<sup>292</sup> *Ecccl Hist* VI.30.1

of Origen, who not only prepares them in a short period of time, but does so while not a bishop himself. Who else could be capable of such a feat? The eminence of the episcopate allows Eusebius to paint a truly unique picture of his hero. Origen, a man only recently ordained to the office of presbyter, is appraised below his value. For if such a man can instruct episcopal candidates, he is a type of bishop himself -- almost a bishop to bishops.

As if to emphasize the influence of Origen, we find Eusebius unable to suppress a reiteration of their instructional dependence on Origen in Book VII. In the context of episcopal chronology, Eusebius lists the episcopates of Gregory and his brother Athenodore:

At that time Xystus was still ruling the church of the Romans Demetrian, who came after Fabius, the church at Antioch, and Firmilian at Caesarea in Cappadocia; and moreover Gregory and his brother Athenodore, pupils of Origen.<sup>293</sup>

Eusebius savours the overwhelming impact that the bishops of Pontus have. Not only does their status allow them his use as chronological bishops (a status we have learned to be reserved for prominent bishops) but he is unable to contain himself from playing his trump card again -- they are bishops because of Origen. If Eusebius has not been successful in convincing his audience in Book VI (dedicated to Origen) he has included a carefully crafted reference well into book VII that will certainly catch them by surprise. And if their anti-Origenist bias compells them to tear out the page, at the very least, he

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<sup>293</sup> *Ecd Hist* VII.14.1

has indulged himself to a second reference of his favorite story.<sup>294</sup>

Another bishop introduced by Eusebius in this same chronological list of bishops is Theotecnus, bishop of Caesarea, Palestine c. 260-c. 300. He is listed among the bishops of Caesarea in Palestine and is a successor in the episcopate to Domnus, who had succeeded Theoctistus. Eusebius closes the succession at Caesarea with information of Theotecnus' connection with Origen, adding that "he was also of the school of Origen."<sup>295</sup>

One final inquiry focuses on the identity and geography of the bishops that Eusebius weaves into the story of Origen. Although we risk some repetition of personalities and incidents, this section is useful to give a comprehensive view of the individual bishops that Eusebius associates with Origen. Who does Eusebius use to endorse Origen? Does he use the most powerful, or does he portray those of his preference as the most powerful? Does he use the bishop of Rome? Are the eastern bishops important to him? Who are the bishops of choice?

That Eusebius links Origen to certain people and dioceses is evident. The interpretation of the "name dropping" that he employs is less clear. For instance, Twomey, arguing for evidences of Roman primacy, emphasizes the association between Origen and the bishop of Rome:

Our author [Eusebius] is still involved in Book 6 in a presentation of the Church's history where Rome's primacy is undisputed (though not explicitly defined). This he indicated in Book 6 by his allocation of the first place of the successions at Rome in relationship to the other

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<sup>294</sup> It could be argued that this brief passage is one of the key texts in the entire *History*, for in it Eusebius couples his love for episcopal chronology with his admiration and defence of Origen. These two characteristics of the work are among those most central in the Eusebian material.

<sup>295</sup> *Ecd Hist* VII.14.1

successions....and by his semi-biographical sketch of Origen, who was portrayed as one who enjoyed communion with the bishop of Rome both at the opening and conclusion of his career, and so reflected the Peter-Mark prototype found in Book 2.<sup>296</sup>

In his treatment of the material in Book VI, Twomey, in developing his thesis, considers a number of bishops identified by Eusebius. In order of appearance he lists Demetrius, whom Eusebius uses to show Origen's restraint.<sup>297</sup> Secondly, Twomey includes the succession of bishops in Jerusalem. Twomey explains the unusual amount of space allotted to the Jerusalem see (for he is not disposed to conceding the prominence of Jerusalem) by the culmination of the account in Alexander, the bishop who ordained Origen to the presbyterate.<sup>298</sup> Thirdly, Twomey provides a general recognition of the successions at Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, which are "not, as usual, grouped under the notice of the Roman bishop's succession, but are spaced out within the period of his reign, since most of these Bishops were deserving of some special comment, mostly due to their connection with Origen."<sup>299</sup> Fourthly, the bishop Fabian is given Twomey's

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<sup>296</sup> Twomey, *Apostolikos Thronos*, p 119.

<sup>297</sup> Ibid., p 111. Twomey presents the Origen material in the narrative of Demetrius and the succession at Jerusalem as an effort on Eusebius' part to "gain the maximum sympathy of the reader for the cause of Origen." Twomey n161, proposes *Ecl Hist* VI.8.4-5 to be an interpolation, and that the original reference to Origen's ordination is VI.23.4a, where Eusebius omitted any reference to the consecrating bishops. The reader of *Apostolikos Thronos* is left to assume that this interpolation theory justifies the omission of the Palestinian bishops' names in secondary literature. Wallace Hadrill, see n14 above.

<sup>298</sup> Ibid., p 111.

<sup>299</sup> Ibid., p 112. While Twomey recognizes that Eusebius wants to connect these prominent sees with Origen, he cannot help restrain himself from inserting a coda argument that reiterates his own thesis, namely: that the Roman bishop "enjoys the primacy in each case." It must not go without mention that Twomey has so misunderstood Eusebius' argument that he (Twomey) assumes that bishops are linked to Origen, rather than Origen linked to bishops. I have argued for the opposite (see page 116).

attention. Again we find Twomey presuming Eusebius' affiliation with those who conceded a subordinate position to the Roman bishop. Rather than argue the obvious, (that Eusebius is interested in defending Origen and not promoting the see of Rome particularly), Twomey insists on a tandem meaning of the text. He asserts that Eusebius presented the acceptance of letters sent from Origen to Fabian as "recognition by these Bishops of Origen's orthodoxy," and an emphasis of the primacy of Rome at the same time. Twomey poses the question: "It is [sic] possible that the inclusion of the story of St. Fabian's divine election in the *History* had its *raison d'être* in Eusebius' intention to highlight the divine guidance which directs the authority of the Bishop of Rome?" While Twomey recognizes several other bishops that are eminent in Book VI, he does not establish an association with Origen.<sup>300</sup>

The furthest one can surmise of Eusebius' attitude toward the Roman bishop is his concession that Rome is a prominent see in the catholic church and the single most prominent see in the west. The text permits nothing more. James McCue critiques Twomey in a similar fashion.

Twomey, it seems to me, is guilty of two rather pervasive errors. He leans too hard on texts, often making them say more than seems to me to be justified. And he generally presupposes that the orthodox consensus or catholic tradition was firmly and unambiguously in place much sooner than I think the facts warrant, so that the absence of a particular motif in Eusebius is taken as some sort of failure on his part.

That Eusebius recognizes the authority of Rome is evident; that Roman authority is universal, is not.

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<sup>300</sup> Twomey, p115.

Having discussed briefly Twomey's perception of Book VI and noticed that his thesis on Roman primacy is less than compatible with the text, we return to the question: Why does Eusebius focus on the bishops in Book VI if his goal is to defend Origen?<sup>301</sup> Twomey would have us believe that Eusebius sought to establish Origen's standing with certain bishops, Roman ones in particular, in an effort to present the superior status of the Roman diocese. What seems more tenable is that Eusebius focused on Origen as the central theme, and simply described the bishops associated with him in episodal fashion. Rather than promoting a certain episcopate, Eusebius is promoting a certain individual -- Origen. This makes more sense of Eusebius' appeal to bishops such as Theotistus, Alexander, Theotecnus, Gregory and Athenodore. As William Moore (translator and commentator on select works of Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa) has observed: "no province of the Roman Empire had in those early ages received more eminent Christian bishops than Cappadocia and the adjoining district of Pontus."<sup>302</sup> Moore's commentary on the dynamics of episcopates in the pre-Constantinian era aligns well with Book VI (and even VII) of the *History* in which Eusebius uses bishops from these districts to defend Origen.<sup>303</sup>

Eusebius wants to silence those who would condemn Origen. He promotes Origen's character, intelligence, statesmanship and orthodoxy. When Eusebius has

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<sup>301</sup> Not only does Eusebius continue his concentration on the office of bishop throughout Book VI, but the number of references in Book VI is actually the highest. Book VI contains more references to bishop than any other single book in the *History*.

<sup>302</sup> William Moore, *Select Writings and Letters of Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa*, p 1.

<sup>303</sup> It seems more reasonable to adjust our mind set to the thinking of Eusebius who was determined to use bishops for Origen's advantage. Rather than subverting Eusebius' singleness of purpose, we must stay on the path that he set for his readers.

finished taking his audience through his museum on Origen, he wants them to stand in awe of a leader who was indispensable to the episcopate (and perhaps astonished that Origen would not have been elevated to the bishop's office). Origen's teachings were the lifeblood of the church. His catechetical instruction prepared episcopal candidates, his superior knowledge of the Scriptures was a resource for bishops, and his ability to defend the Church against heresy made him the unrivalled hero of orthodoxy. To defend this construction, Eusebius brings to memory the bishops of renown that were associated with (and in some cases dependent upon) Origen.

Firmilian (bishop of Cappadocia c. 230-268), occupying first place in the list of prominent bishops assembled at the synod against Paul of Samosata,<sup>304</sup> is strongly associated with Origen. Eusebius writes:

Now at this time Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, was distinguished; he displayed such high esteem for Origen, that at one time he would summon him to his own parts for the benefit of the churches; at another, journey himself to Judaea, and spend some time with him for his own betterment in divine things.<sup>305</sup>

Reminiscent of the embellished description of Origen's ordination to the presbyterate, Eusebius leaves no room for his audience to interpret Firmilian's regard for Origen as typical. On the contrary, Eusebius reports the unusual impact that Origen had upon Firmilian, who was so impressed by Origen's teaching, that he summoned Origen to teach the churches of his region.

Finally, lest Eusebius has failed in his campaign to eradicate doubt about Origen

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<sup>304</sup> *Ecd Hist* VII.28.1

<sup>305</sup> *Ecd Hist* VI.27.1



under the Alexandrian diocese, Dionysius of Alexandria becomes important tactically. Dionysius (bishop of Alexandria 247- c. 264) is the successor of Heraclas, who succeeded Demetrius. Under Heraclas, Origen remains estranged from his former city, but under Dionysius, Origen regains the favour of this Egyptian episcopate and prominent city in the Roman Empire. Though Demetrius was unable to honour Origen, Dionysius, who was once Demetrius' pupil,<sup>306</sup> seeks Origen's opinion in doctrinal matters. In this way Eusebius restores to Origen the status of being the leading theologian in his time - even recognized by the bishop in a diocese that had excommunicated him.

The key bishops that Eusebius links with Origen are eastern ones. This does not fit into a thesis on Roman primacy. The episcopal figures that Eusebius associates Origen with are: Demetrius, Theoctistus, Alexander, Gregory and his brother Athenodore, Theotecnus, Firmilian and Dionysius. Of all the bishops associated with Origen, only two are from the west -- Zephyrinus (c. 198/99-217) and Fabian (236-250).

While Eusebius mentions Zephyrinus several times in Book VI, only on one occasion does he link him with Origen. The instance referred to does not offer specific information, other than Origen being in Rome for a short time during the reign of Zephyrinus.<sup>307</sup> Eusebius does comment about Origen's reason for being in Rome: "Desiring to see the most ancient city of the Romans."<sup>308</sup> Twomey manipulates this text

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<sup>306</sup> *Ecd Hist* VI.29.4

<sup>307</sup> Lawlor and Oulton, *Eusebius Bishop of Caesarea*, p 201. The authors place this visit between 211 and 217. They argue that Origen might have been at odds with Zephyrinus due to his association with Hippolytus, who "was at this time engaged in a feud against the Zephyrinus."

<sup>308</sup> *Ecd Hist* VI.14.10

to argue yet again for the primacy of the Roman episcopate, but it is more likely that the reference to “the most ancient city” is simply as it appears – to the city, not to the episcopate there. The episcopate at Rome is no older than many other episcopates in the Empire, therefore the fame of that which is “ancient” is most naturally fulfilled by the city itself. The connection with the Roman bishop, at least in this case, is superficial: Zephyrinus was bishop of Rome when Origen visited that city. If Twomey is correct in claiming Eusebius partial to Roman primacy, the record of this incident involving Origen with Zephyrinus would be his prime opportunity to demonstrate it. It appears that the connection between Origen and the Roman bishop is none other than their being in the same city at the same time. Perhaps Eusebius is signalling to his readers, “Look! Origen is in Rome and the bishop is not chastising him for castrating himself! The trip to Rome by the man that Demetrius would later denounce is uneventful.” Is it possible that Eusebius depicts Origen able to travel the Empire unaccosted and that, other than a temporary conflict in Alexandria, Origen is usually esteemed by foreign bishops<sup>309</sup> and that in Rome, he quite naturally remains an unnoticed tourist?

Fabian enjoys a high profile in chapter 29, but like Zephyrinus, is not a key episcopal figure in Origen’s life. Eusebius does take care to mention Fabian’s name in the context of Origen sending letters with reference of his orthodoxy to bishops.<sup>310</sup> While the Roman bishop is significant in matters of orthodoxy, there is no indication of Fabian’s response. Twomey correctly identifies that “the acceptance of the letters would mean the

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<sup>309</sup> *Ecd Hist* VI.19.18

<sup>310</sup> *Ecd Hist* VI.36.4

recognition by these bishops of Origen's orthodoxy,<sup>311</sup> but the text does not permit us to draw a firm conclusion. Eusebius leaves his audience to assume a favourable reception of Origen by Fabian.

Concluding this section, the aftermath of these bishops is noteworthy. Firmilian, Gregory, Athenodore, and Theotecnus are among those bishops who assemble in official synod to confront the heretical Antiochene bishop Paul of Samosata. Dionysius of Alexandria, although invited, is unable to attend, "due to old age and bodily weakness."<sup>312</sup> In spite of his inability to attend, he sends a letter to define his position against Paul. Firmilian and Dionysius receive particular recognition in a letter written by the pastors who had assembled. Reporting on the synod where Paul is excommunicated they describe the process of assembling bishops.

And we wrote inviting many even of the bishops at a distance to come and heal this deadly doctrine, as for example, both Dionysius of Alexandria and Firmilian of Cappadocia, those blessed men.<sup>313</sup>

Finally, by resisting the Decian persecution, Fabian of Rome and Alexander of Jerusalem show the depth of their faith. Both bishops bring fulfilment to their life of service by dying as martyrs. Origen would follow the same fate two years later.

The result for Eusebius' audience is this: Origen's commitment to defend orthodoxy was emulated by his followers. As a biblical scholar he was indispensable during his lifetime. Not only was he the unrivalled champion of orthodoxy, but he

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<sup>311</sup> Twomey, *Apostolicus Thronos*, p 114.

<sup>312</sup> *Ecccl Hist* VII.27.2

<sup>313</sup> *Ecccl Hist* VII.30.3

produced a generation of bishops in the east who, on walking out of his classroom, continued his passion for biblical truth. While he deserved an episcopate, he willingly served in a mentoring role to bishops who would become the most illustrious prelates of their day.

The end result for us is this: Eusebius finds the most effective tool in his defense of an increasingly challenged theologian the approval this individual had from leading bishops. That this conclusion is defensible takes us full-circle back to the profile of Eusebius and the *Ecclesiastical History*. In the core of the work, the bishops are the primary players. It is their writings and actions that deserve an accounting in the *History*. Eusebius demonstrates clearly the authority and universal impact the bishop's office had gained.

Eusebius pioneered a compelling defence of Origen. To accomplish this task, Eusebius assembled an array of weapons -- Gregory, Theoctistus, Athenodore, Firmilian, and others -- the names of bishops. Name-dropping has proved to be an enduring custom. Eusebius executed it as well as anyone. But his command of reporting about select people and events is perhaps secondary, for what stands apart with even greater distinction is his argument. While we have learned that moderns have decorated him with many titles, there is one that they have overlooked. In the course of reading the Greek philosophers, Eusebius was bound to gain at least one more specialty -- attorney. As he accepted the baton from Pamphilus and prepared to write a defence of Origen, he likely surprised his colleagues -- both allies and enemies. Rather than inciting the bishops by sanitizing Origen's theology with an apologetical thesis, he showcased Origen's mass appeal to the

most sanctified memories of the episcopate. Cleverly, he integrated the history of Origen with the history of outstanding bishops and synods. Those who wished to read church history were forced to read about Origen. Those who sought Eusebius' *History* for references of great men would find Origen at the centre -- almost always. Origen's name would be woven in so often that perhaps even his most avid attackers would become desensitized to the accusations held against him and be less accusatory of Origen's theological speculations that wandered left of the orthodox centre.

Origen was rarely a peripheral figure in the *History*. Eusebius narrates the stories so that Origen is almost always indispensable. In recalling the memory of Firmilian, Gregory or other prominent bishops, the reader will find that Origen was their mentor. In revisiting the accounts of the heresies, the reader would inevitably stumble upon Origen -- not as the apostate they assumed him to be, but to the surprise of many, as the hero. And if Eusebius' readers hoped to surgically remove Origen from the accounts, they would tear out the heart of the story. Origen could not be avoided in the stories of bishops or in the victories over heresies. Nor could he be eradicated from the narrative. While Eusebius himself disposed of commendable statements about Crispus in his final revision, he stacked the deck so strongly in Origen's favour that no one could easily corrupt the text. Eliminations and interpolations would be far too demanding a task. In contrast to the *Defence of Origen*, a single polemical work that would have been an easy target to destroy by any of the extreme anti-Origenists, Book VI of the *History* was not

vulnerable to such an assault.<sup>314</sup> In the *History*, Eusebius preserved the history of the church. Anyone devoted to the catholic church was forced to reckon with the memory of Origen.

Like a defence attorney before the jury, Eusebius set up a complex row of dominoes and inserted Origen liberally. No one had fingers slender enough to remove him. Eusebius' *History* is densely populated with the names and stories of bishops and Origen proved to be an essential figure in their pilgrimage of faith. How could anyone attack the theologian who was the patron of bishops? Eusebius couldn't stop anyone from vandalising his record of Origen, but he certainly arranged his *History* so that Origen was protected with the prestige of the bishops. Origen was carefully placed among many of the most prominent.

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<sup>314</sup> The practice of anti-Origenists destroying Eusebius' *Defence of Origen* is likely. Two reasons are compelling. 1. Except for the first book that was translated by Rufinus and is preserved in his Latin version, the work is not extant. 2. That Eusebius would dedicate Book VI to Origen's defence suggests that he realized the precarious state of his earlier polemical work. This explains why so soon after writing the *Defence of Origen* he repeated the effort in his *History*.

### 3.8 Conclusion

Throughout the core of the *Ecclesiastical History* there is an episcopal presence. As the first record of the expanding church in the Empire it is filled with near-constant references to bishops showing its author to be preoccupied with that office.

Because of Eusebius' preoccupation with the episcopal office, the *Ecclesiastical History* serves as a primary source of information on the office of the bishop and, in particular, on that office's development up to the time of Constantine. We might summarize the Eusebian portrait of the bishop as archon-like. The rigid monespiscopacy evident in the *History* underscores the territorial jurisdiction of the bishop. The conciliar authority that developed to sustain orthodoxy of faith and praxis emphasizes the network of bishops that combined to establish universal authority, particularly in the east.

By the time of Christianity's first historian, Christianity's first prelates have a status of power and authority that is well established and is clearly the forceful and distinctive undercurrent of the *History*. Bishops are the undisputed governors of God's Commonwealth. Eusebius is not required to build or defend episcopal reputation -- he assumes it. He sees it as an essential tool or weapon in his attempt to present the first substantial historical account of the development of the early Christian church.

### Appendix I: Primary Church Offices

Eusebius seeks to document apostolic succession. There is no deliberate attempt on his part to chronicle the manner in which the early church institutionalized the leadership functions and various ministries. Like other early church historians, he does not anticipate modern historians analyzing the expanding structure of church leadership. Of the many themes and sub-themes of interest to Eusebius, the development of offices and orders in the early church is not one of them. Rather, such information is secondary, provided within a greater context.

Eusebius often mentions the ministry offices and orders as secondary comments as he documents “persons and events.” But the episcopal references are much more loaded and intentional, frequently emphasizing the status of the bishop, whose prominence was continually developing toward greater ecclesiastical and societal power. In other words, though Eusebius’ *History* does provide insights into the roles and status of the various church offices, especially that of the bishop, presbyter and deacon in an indirect kind of way, it is inevitable that his work will be disproportionately represented by the office of the bishop. Due to the authority of the bishop that is well established by the time of Eusebius, it is inevitable that he will portray the power of that office. As a result, episcopal authority permeates his account of the church and, where necessary, his arguments. The episcopal office becomes a tool for him and it is one that he uses routinely.

There are many church offices and ministry titles that are mentioned by Eusebius in the *Ecclesiastical History*. The context of these references is frequently in passages that



primarily chronicle events or recognize significant individuals and their accomplishments. The mention of church offices and practices is usually secondary information, listed by Eusebius in a manner that assumes familiarity by his audience. Church offices, therefore, are never recorded with explanation. Assuming his audience to have a degree of ecclesiastical knowledge, Eusebius does not provide prescriptions, (eg. duties of each office, qualifications of candidates, instances of ordination, etc.).

### Bishop (ἐπίσκοπος)

As expected, the prominent office of reference in Eusebius is bishop (ἐπίσκοπος). There are over 450 references to the bishop, episcopate and episcopal succession made in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, either by way of discussing a prominent bishop, a diocese, episcopal succession, or synod.<sup>318</sup> Several aspects of that office can be detected: monepiscopacy, apostolic authority, duration and succession of office, and ministerial expectations.

Although the concept of monepiscopacy<sup>319</sup> is rarely explicitly described in Eusebius, (as it is often in Ignatius),<sup>320</sup> it is assumed throughout the *Ecclesiastical History*.

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<sup>318</sup> Searching ἐπίσκοπ- in the Greek text of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* locates 212 citations. There are many other terms used for bishop. See Appendices 5 and 8.

<sup>319</sup> J. G. Davies, *The Early Christian Church*, pp 91, 92. Davies identifies the growth of "monepiscopacy" in the second century as a development "in general and the position of the Roman bishop in particular." The bishop became the focal point of the local church's unity and spiritual life and the guardian of true teaching, and it was this above all that led to the emphasis upon his function. In the second century when the unity of the church was menaced by heresy and schism, stress was placed upon apostolic succession.

<sup>320</sup> Ignatius' letters elevate the role of the bishop, prescribing faithful obedience of each community to its bishop. See *Ignatius to the Philadelphians* IV.1, *Ignatius to the Magnesians* VI.1.

Eusebius routinely identifies the bishop whenever he mentions a particular community,<sup>321</sup> always identifying one bishop, and one bishop only. The following quotes are typical:

Clement quotes the story in the sixth book of the *Hypotyposes*, and the bishop of Hierapolis, named Papias, confirms him<sup>322</sup>

James, the brother of the Lord, to whom the throne of the bishopric in Jerusalem had been allotted by the Apostles.<sup>323</sup> James himself, who is called the Lord's brother, the first bishop of the city...<sup>324</sup>

Further testimony to these events is given by Melito, the famous bishop of the church in Sardis....<sup>325</sup>

Polycarp, who in our days was an apostolic and prophetic teacher, bishop of the Catholic Church in Smyrna.<sup>326</sup>

Of Theophilus, whom we have mentioned as bishop of the church of the Antiochians, three elementary treatises are extant...<sup>327</sup>

The most specific reference to moniscopacy in Eusebius' writings is found in his treatment of Novatus. Discussing Novatus' manner of life and heresy, Eusebius quotes a letter from Cornelius.<sup>328</sup> Addressed to Fabian, the letter seeks to expose the deceitful

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<sup>321</sup> Eusebius' refers to bishops extensively. Eusebius first refers to the office of the bishop at the beginning of Book II in discussing the bishopric of the Church in Jerusalem. One of the significant features of the references is the geographic expansion of Christianity that is evident in the bishop-city citations, of which there are over forty. See Appendix 9.

<sup>322</sup> *Ecd Hist* II.15.2

<sup>323</sup> *Ecd Hist* II.23.1

<sup>324</sup> *Ecd Hist* III.7.8

<sup>325</sup> *Ecd Hist* IV.13.8

<sup>326</sup> *Ecd Hist* IV.15.39

<sup>327</sup> *Ecd Hist* IV.24.1

<sup>328</sup> Succeeded Fabian as Bishop of Rome ( *Ecd Hist* VI. 38.2)

character of Novatus, who persuaded three rural bishops to come to Rome and appoint him as bishop. In discussing the ignorance of Novatus, Cornelius writes (as quoted by Eusebius):

This vindicator, then, of the Gospel did not know that there should be one bishop in a catholic church, in which he was ignorant, (for how could he be)? <sup>329</sup>

Eusebius' commentary of Novatus' ignorance emphasizes the universal practice of monepiscopacy. Behind the accusation against Novatus is the traditional understanding and praxis of episcopal hierarchy accepted by the Catholic church.

The duration of the bishop's term of office seems also to be of particular interest to Eusebius. The reigns of bishops of Alexandria and Rome are often given in detail,<sup>330</sup> with occasional references to the duration of bishop terms in Antioch and Jerusalem. Only once does Eusebius record the length of a bishop's reign from other than these four cities. In that case the reign was particularly long (40 years) and the town (Emesa) was nearby. The bishop there, Silvanus, must have been known to Eusebius personally.<sup>331</sup>

One of the conclusions that may be drawn from the quantitative data compiled from Eusebius' figures is the varying length of office of the major episcopates. For instance, if we calculate from the first era of bishops (c. 60 CE) to the end of the third century (c. 300), we find that the Roman bishops total 28, the Alexandrian 17, the Antiochene 19, and the bishops of Jerusalem 35. In regard to duration of office we can

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<sup>329</sup> *Ecd Hist* VI.43.11

<sup>330</sup> See Graph 2.

<sup>331</sup> *Ecd Hist* IX.6.1

say that the episcopates of Alexandria and Antioch have half the amount of turnover of episcopal leadership, compared to Rome and Jerusalem, where the turnover was fairly high in comparison.

The average reign can be calculated using the figures Eusebius provides. Of the 28 reigns in the Roman see, Eusebius gives the duration of 24. Of the 17 reigns in the Alexandrian see, Eusebius gives the duration of 14. Using these figures we can arrive at the average reign of bishops over a 250 year period in the chief cities. We find that the Alexandrian bishops served in the episcopal office for an average of 16.5 years, those at Rome served 7.86 years,<sup>332</sup> at Jerusalem 7.14 years and at Antioch 13.15. As well, we can determine that the high turnover at Rome happened fairly evenly over the 250 year period, whereas at Jerusalem there are concentrated periods from c. 100 - 180 during the principates of Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius when bishops held relatively short terms in office.

Eusebius' interest in the bishop's length of reign seems to stand in contrast to his interest in the lengths of other offices. But in reality the other offices are rarely treated by Eusebius. He is, as we have seen, particularly interested in the bishops and in various features about them. In his treatment of the lengths of the reigns of bishops, various influencing factors become relevant. In some instances it is his intention to reflect the brevity of term in the midst of his greater subject – martyrdom and persecution, in others

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<sup>332</sup> The shortest term: 1 month by Anteros, bishop of Rome. The longest term: 43 years by Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria. The average length of office (based on 35 instances), 11.46 years. If Eusebius was incorrect, as many think, about Xystus' reign, i.e. 11 months, not 11 years, then the average at Rome would be 7.86 years. Using Eusebius' numbers the average is 8.27 years.

to emphasize the accomplishment of a lengthy term. In the majority of cases, however, the duration of office is mentioned in Eusebius' enshrining of apostolic succession:

About the twelfth year of the reign of Trajan the bishop of the diocese of Alexandria, whom we mentioned a little earlier, passed away, and Primus, the fourth from the Apostles, received the charge of those in that place. At this time too at Rome Alexander, when Evarestus had completed his eighth year, was the fifth to succeed Peter and Paul, and took up the bishopric.<sup>333</sup>

The progression of bishops traced to apostolic ordination is central to Eusebius. Grant questions the reliability of the Eastern churches' bishop lists and states that even the dates of the bishops of Rome are only generally reliable.<sup>334</sup> A typical bishop list is recorded in Book III, beginning at chapter 21:

After Nerva had reigned a little more than a year he was succeeded by Trajan, in whose first year Abilius, after leading the diocese of Alexandria for thirteen years, was succeeded by Cerdo; he was the third in charge of that see after the first, Annianus. At this time Clement was still governing the Romans and he, also, occupied the third place in the list of bishops in Rome after Paul and Peter; Linus was the first and after him Anenctetus. Moreover, at the time mentioned, Ignatius was famous as the second bishop at Antioch where Evodius had been the first. Likewise at this time, Simeon was second after the brother of our Saviour to hold the ministry of the church in Jerusalem.

In the lists that Eusebius provides, we can infer that lifetime service in the same diocese is the norm.<sup>335</sup> In the case of death, it is obvious that a bishop must be replaced,

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<sup>333</sup> *Ecc. Hist.* IV.1.1

<sup>334</sup> Robert M. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian*, pp 54-57.

<sup>335</sup> The practise most adhered to in the episcopate (pre-Constantinian) appears to have been one bishop serving in the same diocese for the duration of his life. Of interest, Eusebius finds himself in an exceptional position being offered the bishopric of Antioch (in A.D. 330 when Eustathius is deposed) while still serving at Caesarea, (Lightfoot, "Eusebius of Caesarea" A Dictionary of Christian Biography, p 319). He declines the promotional opportunity and remains in the see of Caesarea until his death. Eusebius served as bishop for 26 years.

but what of other situations? Even though there is an expectation that the bishop will serve for his lifetime, there are exceptions. Chaermon, bishop of Nilopolis, flees from persecution and never returns.<sup>336</sup> Elsewhere Narcissus retires from his office as bishop of Jerusalem:

But as Narcissus had retired<sup>337</sup> and no one knew where he might be, it seemed good to those presiding over the neighboring churches to proceed to the appointment of another bishop.<sup>338</sup>

These circumstances are exceptional in Eusebius. The usual pattern of succession, (in almost all of Eusebius' accounts), transpires with the death of the reigning bishop. The only unusual circumstances apparent in Eusebius is in the designation of a successor while the reigning bishop is still living. In one situation, Eusebius records Theotecnus procuring his successor before his death:

Theotecnus, bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, first had ordained him to the episcopate, seeking to procure him as his successor in his own community after his death, and indeed for some short time both presided over the same church.<sup>339</sup>

In what appears to be a similar circumstance, (although without the delicate issue of two bishops sharing leadership in the same community), Clement of Rome, also endorsed his successor before his death:

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<sup>336</sup> *Ecl Hist* VI.41.3

<sup>337</sup> ἀναχωρηκότος (pf. of ἀναχωρέω i.e. withdraw, retire ) McGiffert p 256, "having departed," Cruse p 229 "having retired," Lake Vol II p 35 "having retired," Williamson p 188 "had withdrawn." The sense of retirement appears to be philosophical in nature. Narcissus has "withdrawn from the world to religious life" - Lampe p 128.

<sup>338</sup> *Ecl Hist* VI.10.1

<sup>339</sup> *Ecl Hist* VII.32.21

In the third year of the afore-mentioned emperor, Clement handed over the ministry<sup>340</sup> of the bishops of Rome to Evarestos and departed this life, having been in charge<sup>341</sup> of the teaching of the divine word for nine years.<sup>342</sup>

It is clear that Eusebius expects there to be one bishop in each city, and that each bishop is to serve in that office unto death. It is also clear that this office is of unusual importance to Eusebius' understanding of the church. Yet nowhere does Eusebius tell us much about the duties of this office. Two explanations may be offered in tandem. 1. Not being a prescriptive writer in general, we are not surprised that nowhere does Eusebius prescribe the particular ministerial expectations of the bishop. 2. The duties of the bishop appear assumed and already routinized within the structure of the Christian Church. From the above quote, the pivotal duty of Clement appears to have been "the teaching of the divine word." While it is best to be cautious in generalizing episcopal duties from this text, it would appear that Eusebius is comfortable identifying the bishop as a teacher of Scripture in the community under his care.

Other references from which we might detect the bishop's status emphasize the ruling authority of the bishop. This is evident in the reference to Zephyrinus:

Now Adamantius (for this also was Origen's name) when Zephyrinus was at that time ruling<sup>343</sup> the church of the Romans, himself states in writing

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<sup>340</sup> Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p 795, λειτουργίαν i.e. service to God.

<sup>341</sup> Ibid., p 601. ἀρχῆς i.e. ecclesiastical authority.

<sup>342</sup> *Ecd Hist* III.14.1

<sup>343</sup> Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p 601. ἡγουμένου gen. ἡγουμένου i.e. ruler, of bishops, of clergy.

somewhere that he stayed at Rome.<sup>344</sup>

The same is recorded of Maximus:

... and moreover there was Maximus also, who was ruling<sup>345</sup> with distinction the brethren at Bostra.<sup>346</sup>

The way in which Eusebius phrases the above references is not unusual in the *Ecclesiastical History*. He frequently uses such terms to identify the activity of bishops (ἡγέομαι; ἡγούμεναι; ἡγουμενία; ἄρχων; ἀφήγησις). Eusebius refers to the bishop as ruler in 24 instances.<sup>347</sup> From this we can safely assume that the bishop had a ruling function within the community.

We can glean from Eusebius' writing a variety of duties that fall under the authority of the bishop. The attendance at synods (although not exclusive to bishops), appears to be expected of bishops. Eusebius records a synod at Antioch:

In addition to all these he [Dionysius of Alexandria] wrote also to Cornelius of Rome, when he received his letter against Novatus, in which also he clearly indicates that he had been invited by Helenus, bishop at Tarsus in Cilicia, and the rest of the bishops with him, namely Firmilian in Cappadocia and Theoctistus in Palestine, to attend the synod at Antioch...<sup>348</sup>

As well, the bishops carried an authority in the ordinances of the ministry. The act of "sealing," which was crucial in the receiving of the Holy Spirit, appears to be

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<sup>344</sup> *Ecc. Hist* VI.14.10

<sup>345</sup> Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, 601. ἡγετο i.e. rule.

<sup>346</sup> *Ecc. Hist* VII.28.1

<sup>347</sup> See Appendix 8.

<sup>348</sup> *Ecc. Hist* VI.56.3



expected of the bishop. Writing further of Novatus, Eusebius recounts:

Nor yet indeed did he obtain the other things, when he recovered from his sickness, of which one should partake according to the rule of the church, or the sealing of the bishop. And as he did not obtain these, how could he obtain the Holy Spirit?<sup>349</sup>

This passage is typical of Eusebius' reference to this function of the bishop. It is stated as a matter of fact. It did not need to be debated or defended.

### Presbyter (πρεσβύτερος)

The office of the presbyter is easily confused with that of the bishop. The reason is simple. At one time the term presbyter was synonymous with bishop. Lightfoot offered the most convincing and detailed analysis of this question over one hundred years ago.

It is a fact now generally recognized by theologians of all shades of opinion that in the language of the New Testament the same officer in the Church is called indifferently 'bishop' (episkopos) and 'elder' or 'presbyter' (presbyteros).<sup>350</sup>

It was not until the second century that a threefold ministry of bishop-presbyter-deacon became distinguished from the earlier bishop/presbyter-deacon.<sup>351</sup> If one were to depend only on the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius, this earlier distinction would not be readily apparent. In his accounts (as would be expected), Eusebius reflects the later

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<sup>349</sup> *Ecl Hist* VI.43.14

<sup>350</sup> J.B. Lightfoot, *The Christian Ministry*, pp 36,37.

<sup>351</sup> Tony Lane, *Exploring Christian Thought*, p 13. Lane contrasts the writings of Clement, bishop of Rome (d.101, see *Ecl Hist* III.34.1) with Ignatius (c.35-c.107). He notes Clement to be unaware of a threefold ministry, (using the words "bishop" and "presbyter" to refer to the same person), and Ignatius as "the first writer clearly to present the threefold pattern of ministry: one bishop in a church with his presbyters anddeacons."

development. Whether we can find evidence of his knowledge of the earlier tradition is worth pursuing however; for we do want to contribute to the discussion of the evolution of the presbyterate and episcopate if at all possible.

Although there are two instances of presbyters and deacons listed together in the absence of bishop,<sup>352</sup> the context does not support an interpretation of presbyter being understood as interchangeable with bishop. A letter sent from an assembly of pastors serves to illustrate the usual ministry structure known to Eusebius:

To Dionysius and Maximus and to all our fellow-ministers throughout the world, bishops, presbyters and deacons,... and all the others who, with us, sojourn in the adjacent cities and provinces, bishops and presbyters and deacons and the churches of God, as to brethren beloved in the Lord send greeting.<sup>353</sup>

Although there is a degree of overlap in duties between the presbyter and bishop, the two offices are clearly distinct. Of the presbyter, there are various functions evident in the *Ecclesiastical History*. But since Eusebius never intends to list the duties of the presbytry, we can take these references largely as anecdotal (though they may later help us define the role of presbyters more adequately as we examine sources whose intention is to consider office more attentively).

In the midst of a section exposing the leader of a heresy at Antioch, Eusebius complains of the heretical leader's arrogance. While offering details of the leader's vanity, Eusebius, at the same time, provides an insight into the music and teaching activities of a certain presbyter. In this case, we discover Eusebius' sarcastic side and should treat this

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<sup>352</sup> *Ecc Hist* VII.22.8; VII.30.12

<sup>353</sup> *Ecc Hist* VII.30.2

portrait of a presbyter as atypical. Eusebius is actually showing us what a presbyter is not.

... he trains women to sing hymns to himself in the middle of the church on the great day of Pascha, which would make one shudder to hear. Such also is the kind of discourse that he permits the bishops of the neighbouring country and towns, who fawn upon him, and the presbyters as well, to deliver in their sermons to the people.<sup>354</sup>

Evidently presbyters do not expect people to fawn over them, nor train women to serenade them with hymns.

The presbyter does receive recognition as one who ministers to the dying. The role of the presbyter to bring absolution and to administer the eucharist is observed in Eusebius' account of Serapion's deathbed appeal to his grandson:

... he continued for three successive days speechless and unconscious; but on the fourth he rallied a little, and calling his grandson to him, he said: "How long, my child, do ye hold me back?... summon me one of the presbyters." The boy ran for the presbyter. But it was night, and he was unwell and could not come. Yet since I had given an order that those who were departing this life, if they besought it, and especially if they had made supplication before, should be absolved, that they might depart in hope, he gave the little boy a small portion of the eucharist, bidding him to soak it and let it fall in drops down into the old man's mouth.<sup>355</sup>

Finally, we learn that presbyters are included in the synods of church leaders. An example of one is described where sixty bishops gather against Novatus at Rome. Eusebius reports the attendance of presbyters at the assembly and identifies their role. In consideration of action against Novatus, Eusebius writes:

Whereupon a very large synod assembled at Rome, of sixty bishops and still a greater number of presbyters and deacons, while in rest of the provinces the pastors in their several regions individually considered the

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<sup>354</sup> *Ecd Hist* VII.30.10

<sup>355</sup> *Ecd Hist* VI.44.2

question as to what was to be done.<sup>356</sup>

While the presbyters are present at the synod at Rome, Eusebius does not describe their role. Other than Origen, who, as we shall see, serves (as a presbyter) in the public forum of theological debate, the participation of presbyters at synods is not clear. Eusebius does inform his readers that the assemblies are “of bishops.” This would lead us to conclude that presbyters do not participate with equal weight to bishops but serve in a support role only.

#### Deacon (διάκονος)

The deacons have already been identified in several references above. It should be noted that although the office of the deacon is well established in Eusebius, it does not receive significant attention. Whereas the *TLG* cited 212 direct references to the bishop and 71 to the presbyter, there are only 21 citations<sup>357</sup> of deacon. The descending figures attest to the priorities of Eusebius. Deacons are noted in a few key passages that recognize their historical appointment by apostles, their relationship to bishops, their promotion to bishop, some instances of public ministry and inclusion in synods.

The diaconate, or office of the deacon, appears to have claim to apostolic appointment. Eusebius portrays the first century practise of apostolic selection of deacons. As well, he perpetuates the tradition, common by the third century, of seven deacons:<sup>358</sup>

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<sup>356</sup> *Ecc Hist* VI.43.2

<sup>357</sup> Actually 29 citations of διάκον-, one is to sub-deacons (ὑποδιάκόνους), three are participle forms eg. διακονοῦμένους and others are either anti-types of minister or a general reference to servant.

<sup>358</sup> Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, trans. McGiffert, p102.

And there were appointed to the diaconate, for the service of the congregation, by prayer and the laying on of the hands of the apostles, approved men, seven in number, of whom Stephen was one.<sup>359</sup>

Such apostolic endorsement in the diaconate was subject to misuse. In describing such an incident involving followers of the heretic Nicolaus, Eusebius at the same time provides another reference to the apostolic appointment of deacons.

In their day, too, the very short-lived sect of the Nicolaitans came into existence. It is mentioned in the Revelation of John. These sectaries laid claim to Nicolaus, who like Stephen was one of the deacons appointed by the apostle to assist those in want.<sup>360</sup>

It would seem that Eusebius is providing a glimpse of the manipulation of the diaconate. He points out that a heretical movement “laid claim to Nicolaus.” The circumstance appears to imply that the Nicolaitans appealed to the apostolic appointment of Nicolaus in order to substantiate the legitimacy of their sect.

A partial glimpse of the deacon-bishop relationship is evident in one of Eusebius’ accounts of the Roman church’s bishop list. Eusebius promotes the homogeneous nature of the church’s teaching throughout the cities in the Empire. As he emphasizes the sameness of doctrine discovered during the travels of Hegesippus, he at the same time mentions the deacon Eleutherus:

When I was in Rome I recovered the list of the succession until Anicetus, whose deacon was Eleutherus; Soter succeeded Anicetus, and after him came Eleutherus. In each list and in each city things are as the law, the prophets, and the Lord preach.<sup>361</sup>

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<sup>359</sup> *Ecd Hist* II.1.1 (McGiffert translation).

<sup>360</sup> *Ecd Hist* III.29.1 (McGiffert translation).

<sup>361</sup> *Ecd Hist* IV.22.3

It is rare within the *Ecclesiastical History* for an individual deacon to be named.<sup>362</sup>

In the above account, not only is Eleutherus mentioned, but appears to serve the bishop Anicetus in a personal manner, as many deacons did. We also learn that Eleutherus is promoted to the office of bishop, or at the very least, that Eusebius is not concerned to show that Eleutherus did or did not become a presbyter during the reign of Soter. This is significant to know that the threefold ministry structure, i.e. deacon-presbyter-bishop was not necessarily sequential for individual advancement. A second reference more clearly articulates the practise of advancing from the office of the deacon directly to that of the bishop. It is in Dionysius<sup>363</sup> account of the church at Alexandria, cited by Eusebius:

It should be noted that Eusebius,<sup>364</sup> whom Dionysius here calls a deacon, a little later was appointed Bishop of Laodicea in Syria; while Maximus, to whom he refers as a presbyter at that time, succeeded Dionysius himself as head of the Alexandrian church...<sup>365</sup>

From these instances, the movement from deacon to bishop appears to be an accepted practise and one that Eusebius does not elaborate upon, nor disagree with. Very little is mentioned of the duties of the deacon. In one instance, Eusebius cites the all-night vigil of the Pascha. He reports the miracles of Narcissus in the account:

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<sup>362</sup> On only five occasions does Eusebius mention deacon in the singular. See Appendix 7.

<sup>363</sup> Dionysius of Alexandria.

<sup>364</sup> Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, p 146. Eusebius of Laodicea, not Eusebius of Caesarea, (author of *Ecclesiastical History*). Barnes records "that Eusebius went to Syria on business connected with Paul of Samosata and was persuaded (or compelled) to stay as bishop of Laodicea."

<sup>365</sup> *Ecc Hist* VII.11.26

Many other miracles, indeed, of Narcissus do the citizens of that community call to mind... Once at the great all-night vigil of the Pascha it is said that the oil failed the deacons, and that when deep despondency seized the whole multitude, thereupon Narcissus commanded those who were preparing the lights to draw water... its water was changed in quality from water to oil...<sup>366</sup>

From this account (in which Eusebius intends to feature Narcissus), we learn that the deacons must have been responsible for the maintaining the oil lamps at the Easter vigil. This is not presented by Eusebius as a significant function. What is significant in the account is the crisis that arose when the lamps ran out of oil.

The diaconate lived up to the literal meaning of the term *διάκονος*, meaning servant. The few instances in the *Ecclesiastical History* where the deacon duties are alluded to give indication of a serving ministry. The deacons “minister unto the poor”<sup>367</sup> and prepare the burial for the martyrs,<sup>368</sup> which Eusebius reports to be a dangerous duty.

In addition to their serving role, deacons are mentioned in the context of important situations. When Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, sends a letter to recall Origen, it appears strengthened by the later appeal made by the deacons.<sup>369</sup> In another instance the deacons are given the responsibility of exhorting a presbyter who, while under persecution, denied that he was a presbyter.<sup>370</sup> Their importance in the affairs of

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<sup>366</sup> *Ecd Hist* VI.9.1

<sup>367</sup> *Ecd Hist* III.29.1

<sup>368</sup> *Ecd Hist* VII.11.24

<sup>369</sup> *Ecd Hist* VI.19.19

<sup>370</sup> *Ecd Hist* VI.43.16

the church is further understood in their attendance at the assemblies of bishops<sup>371</sup> and their inclusion by Dionysius in his defence against the attacks of Germanus.<sup>372</sup>

### The Practice of Ordination

At the outset of Book II in *Ecclesiastical History*, Eusebius reflects upon the apostolic church. He identifies Stephen as the first to be ordained and later includes Philip:

And Stephen was the first after his Lord not only in ordination, but, as though he had been put forward for this very purpose, also in that he was stoned to death by the Lord's murderers, and so was the first to carry off the crown...<sup>373</sup>

Philip, however, one of those who with Stephen had already been ordained to the diaconate, was among those who were scattered abroad...<sup>374</sup>

Both men were among the leaders of the church before the conversion of Paul. Eusebius uses the term "προχειρισθεντων," i.e. from προχειριζομαι, "appoint to ministerial office,"<sup>375</sup> to acknowledge their authority. Eusebius does not identify the source of their ordination.

Pauline ordination is also identified by the appointing of his disciples, Timothy and Titus. Eusebius relies on the writings of Paul to substantiate his account of the events:

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<sup>371</sup> *Ecc Hist* VI.43.2; VII.28.1

<sup>372</sup> *Ecc Hist* VII.11.3

<sup>373</sup> *Ecc Hist* II.1.1

<sup>374</sup> *Ecc Hist* II.1.10

<sup>375</sup> Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p 1198.



Now it would be clear from Paul's own words and from the narrative of Luke in the Acts that Paul, in his preaching to the Gentiles, laid the foundations of the churches from Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum.... But it is not easy to say how many of these and which of them were genuinely zealous and proved their ability to be the pastors of the churches founded by the Apostles, except by making a list of those mentioned by Paul.... Thus Timothy is related to have been the first appointed bishop of the diocese of Ephesus, as was Titus of the churches in Crete.<sup>376</sup>

In referring to Polycarp,<sup>377</sup> Eusebius identifies authority established through apostolic appointment. Eusebius distinguishes Polycarp's appointment to the bishopric under the authority of the Apostles:

At this time there flourished in Asia Polycarp, the companion of the Apostles, who had been appointed to the bishopric of the church in Smyrna by the eye-witnesses and ministers of the Lord.<sup>378</sup>

Eusebius later quotes from Irenaeus' *Against Heresies* to record events from Polycarp's ministry. In Irenaeus' account, the apostolic authority of Polycarp's ordination is mentioned, i.e. "apostles." (ἀπόστολων, without the definite article).<sup>379</sup> And Polycarp also was not only instructed by apostles and conversed with many who had seen the Lord, but was also appointed bishop by apostles in Asia in the church in Smyrna (according to Irenaeus).<sup>380</sup>

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<sup>376</sup> *Ecc Hist* III.4.1-5

<sup>377</sup> Tony Lane, *Exploring Christian Thought*, p 13. Polycarp, one of the Apostolic Fathers, was the bishop of Smyrna. He was martyred c. 155 (possibly 166 or 177).

<sup>378</sup> *Ecc Hist* III.36.1

<sup>379</sup> Eusebius' anarthrous usage of "ἀπόστολων" i.e. without the definite article implies "apostles" as opposed to "the apostles." The context, however, earlier identifies "apostles" as those who had seen the Lord. It could be argued that Eusebius, limited to the account from Irenaeus, is unsure of the actual persons for his usual method is to identify names, especially persons of authority.

<sup>380</sup> *Ecc Hist* IV.14.3

Another prominent figure in Eusebius is Origen.<sup>381</sup> The account of his ordination is exceptional, featured in the context of Origen's remarkable achievements (and infamous self-castration):

... he (Demetrius) attempted to describe the deed as monstrous to the bishops throughout the world, when the most highly approved and distinguished bishops in Palestine, namely those of Caesarea and Jerusalem, deeming Origen worthy of privilege and the highest honour, ordained him to the presbyterate by laying on of hands.<sup>382</sup>

A final view of ordination to the office of bishop might be thought to reflect the New Testament practice of the lot system<sup>383</sup> used in apostolic selection of candidates. Eusebius records the death of Hadrian as a chronological landmark and then lists the succession of bishops at Rome. Included is the selection of Hyginus.

In his first year Telesphorus passed away in the eleventh year of his ministry, and Hyginus received the lot of the bishopric of the Romans.<sup>384</sup>

The term κλήρος carries the multiple meaning of "lot," "inheritance," "office," "appointment," and "clergy" itself. The Latin term *clericatus* refers to the clerical order. In the appointment of Hyginus to the bishopric of Rome, the term κλήρος is best understood as "office." Although the same term (lot) appears in English translations of the *Ecclesiastical History*, the lot does not fall to Hyginus as a system of selection, but he

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<sup>381</sup> Glenn E. Hinson, *The Early Church*, p 191.

<sup>382</sup> *Ecc. Hist* VI.8.4,5

<sup>383</sup> See Acts of the Apostles 1:24-26 Then they prayed, "Lord, you know everyone's heart. Show us which of these two you have chosen to take over this apostolic ministry, which Judas left to go where he belongs." Then they cast lots, and the lot fell to Matthias; so he was added to the eleven apostles.

<sup>384</sup> *Ecc. Hist* IV.10.1 Ὅτινος τὸν κλήρον τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς παραλαμβάνει.

receives the lot (office) of the episcopate.

### Minor Church Offices and Orders

Perhaps the most celebrated text of the *Ecclesiastical History* in the study of church office is contained in the letter from Cornelius to Fabian (quoted above to illustrate monepiscopacy).<sup>385</sup> The passage is intended to substantiate the ignorance of Novatus in matters of church polity. The structure of the church offices and orders is presented as what appears to be common knowledge:

This vindicator, then, of the Gospel did not know that there should be one bishop in a catholic church, in which he was ignorant (for how could he be?) that there are forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven sub-deacons, forty-two acolytes, fifty-two exorcists, readers and door-keepers, above fifteen hundred widows and persons in distress, all of whom are supported by the grace and loving-kindness of the Master.<sup>386</sup>

### Sub-Deacon (ὑποδιάκονος)

The sub-deacon is mentioned only once in Eusebius. In the above reference, the office of the sub-deacon immediately follows that of the deacon. Apart from it being listed in Eusebius' description of accepted church structure, it does not receive further mention. We can, however, derive its importance in the hierarchy of offices, assume that its title denotes a close connection with the diaconate, and note its significance in being equal in number to the deacon, i.e. "seven" (in a catholic church καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ). Eusebius does not provide us with any information in which to discern the duties of the

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<sup>385</sup> Kenan B. Osborne, *Priesthood: A History of Ordained Ministry in the Roman Catholic Church* (New York: Paulist Press, 1988), p 196. Osborne states that this passage from Eusebius "is the oldest extant data on these various ministries."

<sup>386</sup> *Ecd Hist* VI.43.11

sub-deacon or relationship to the bishopric.<sup>387</sup>

### Reader (ἀναγνώστης)

There are several references in *Ecclesiastical History* that provide some insight into the ministry of the reader. Eusebius uses the term “ἀναγνώστης” which literally means, “reader,” and is regarded as a position within the ecclesiastical order.<sup>388</sup> The first reference, a letter from the Roman bishop Soter, indicates the practice of public reading, while establishing the prominence of Clement’s letter to the Corinthians:

In this same letter he also quotes the letter of Clement to the Corinthians, showing that from the beginning it had been the custom to read it in the church.<sup>389</sup>

A second reference further establishes that the public reading of Scripture was customary:

Long ago, as we listened to the reading aloud of Holy Writ which told of the miraculous signs that God gave and the wondrous deeds that the Lord had wrought...<sup>390</sup>

Describing persecution, Eusebius indicates the elevated status of the reader. With bishops, presbyters and deacons, the reader is included in a list of offices that may be considered “presidential”:

... an imperial command went forth that the presidents of the churches everywhere should be thrown into prison and bonds. And the spectacle of what followed surpasses all description; for in every place a countless

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<sup>387</sup> Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p 1448. “One next below deacon; ranked with bishops, priests and deacons as having been instituted by the apostles.”

<sup>388</sup> Ibid., p. 99.

<sup>389</sup> *Ecc Hist* IV.23.11

<sup>390</sup> *Ecc Hist* X.4.4

number were shut up, and everywhere the prisons, that long ago had been prepared for murderers and grave-robbers, were then filled with bishops and presbyters and deacons, readers and exorcists...<sup>391</sup>

As reflected by Eusebius, the office of reader appears to have been position of relative prominence in the early church. Although he offers few citations, we are left with two impressions: 1. There is a high degree of respect for the public reading of scripture and, 2. Listing the church offices in hierarchical order, Eusebius gives a prominent place to the reader among the minor orders.

#### Exorcist (ἐξορκιστής)

As the reader is represented in the above citation, so too is the exorcist. Recorded as the fourth on one occasion,<sup>392</sup> and fifth in another,<sup>393</sup> the exorcist appears to have been an important office in ministry. Further to the two references above that identify the office of exorcist as prominent, there is a passage in the *Ecclesiastical History* that illustrates the nature of the exorcist ministry. Recording the events in the continuing account of Novatus, Eusebius recalls the role of the exorcists:

The occasion of his acceptance of the faith was Satan, who resorted to him and dwelt in him for a long time. While he was being healed by the exorcists he fell into a grievous sickness, and, as he was considered to be all but dead, received baptism by affusion...<sup>394</sup>

What is apparent of the exorcist's ministry is when it is offered. In the above text we can see that exorcism follows after the acceptance of the faith. Baptism, if carried out, would

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<sup>391</sup> *Ecc Hist* VIII.6.8

<sup>392</sup> *Ecc Hist* VI.43.11

<sup>393</sup> *Ecc Hist* VIII.6.8

<sup>394</sup> *Ecc Hist* VI.43.14

be preceded by exorcism. We do not have enough occurrences in the *History* to argue for an established sequence.

#### Acolyte (ἀκόλουθος)

The term acolyte, is a transliteration from the greek word ἀκόλουθος. While suggesting the concept of church ministry as “fitting; suitable; to keep in good order,”<sup>395</sup> it is understood as a technical term meaning “follower.” Apart from a single instance of identification in the structure of the church in Rome, Eusebius provides no information on this church order. We can derive from the text: “forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven sub-deacons, forty-two acolytes,”<sup>396</sup> that the hierarchical nature of the ministry list assumes the acolyte to be “the highest of the minor orders.”<sup>397</sup>

#### Doorkeeper (πυλωρός)

In similar fashion to the acolyte, the ‘door-keeper’ is simply listed once in Eusebius. The term is derived from πυλωρός that carries the literal meaning of “gate-keeper; door-keeper.”<sup>398</sup> The number of door-keepers suggests that there may have been a similar number of congregations, i.e. fifty-two doorkeepers, 46 presbyters, 42 acolytes, perhaps one for each church.

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<sup>395</sup> Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p 63.

<sup>396</sup> *Ecc Hist* VI.43.11

<sup>397</sup> Tom Robinson, “*Recognized Terms of Office in the Early Church*” (University of Lethbridge, 1997). “Acolyte: lit. follower. The highest of the minor orders, assisted the deacons in some way. At first, may have been another name for a sub-deacon, though later the offices are distinct.”

<sup>398</sup> Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, pp 1207,1208. πυλών: “gateway; porch of church.” Arndt and Gingrich, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature*, p 736, “gate of righteousness.”

### Widow (χήρα)

According to Davies, “the third century witnessed the establishment of two orders of women: that of the widows and that of the deaconesses.”<sup>399</sup> Hinson notes that “widows were classified as an ‘order,’ although an unordained one.”<sup>400</sup> The number of widows appears massive in contrast to the numbers of other distinct orders that Eusebius lists. They appear to have been a significant group within the structure of church ministries. Unfortunately, Eusebius does not elaborate on their duties and practices.

### Other Leadership Titles

There are several titles mentioned by Eusebius that are not terms of church office, but deserve mention. Some, in particular, raise critical questions. Each one receives little attention by Eusebius, but as a modern reader examines the *Ecclesiastical History* for indications of the development of offices, they are of interest.

### Evangelist (εὐαγγελίστρα)

The term is used almost exclusively in Eusebius to identify the authors of the gospels, i.e. Matthew, Mark, Luke and John,<sup>401</sup> although it is also used of Philip.<sup>402</sup> Eusebius promotes John in the accounts, referring to John as “the Evangelist.”<sup>403</sup> Mark

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<sup>399</sup> Davies, *The Early Christian Church*, p 133.

<sup>400</sup> Glenn Hinson, *The Early Church*, p 177.

<sup>401</sup> *Ecc Hist* III.23.1; VI.31.3; III.38.2

<sup>402</sup> *Ecc Hist* III.31.5

<sup>403</sup> *Ecc Hist* III.23.1

is also called “the Evangelist,” who was succeeded as bishop of Alexandria by Annianus.<sup>404</sup>

In general terms the apostles are called “shepherds or evangelists in the churches throughout the world.”<sup>405</sup>

The only non-apostolic figure to be called an evangelist is Pantaenus. Eusebius describes him as a prominent teacher. Head of the school in Alexandria, Pantaenus is credited for his inspired zeal that is based “on the apostolic model for the increase and building up of the divine word.”<sup>406</sup>

#### Pope (πάπας)

An inquiry into Eusebius’ record of Roman primacy is of interest. It is known that Eusebius’ account traces the progress of the church from the earliest times to 324.<sup>407</sup> Davies writes that “by the end of the second century a primacy of honour but not jurisdiction was being accorded to the bishops of Rome.”<sup>408</sup> Burkill notes that the power of the Roman bishop increased with Constantine’s decision to shift the imperial capital from Rome to Byzantium, but that Roman primacy was largely in the west. He presents the bishop of Rome emerging as the “most important figure in the West”, and that from 330 onward the papal office gained “increasing temporal or secular power.”<sup>409</sup> Sheldon

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<sup>404</sup> *Ecc Hist* II.24.1

<sup>405</sup> *Ecc Hist* III.38.4

<sup>406</sup> *Ecc Hist* V.10.1

<sup>407</sup> Lane, *Exploring Christian Thought*, p 27.

<sup>408</sup> Davies, *The Early Christian Church*, p 135.

<sup>409</sup> T. A. Burkill, *The Evolution of Christian Thought* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1971), p 79.



contends that the title “pope” was only first applied to the Roman bishop as a title in a pre-eminent sense by Ennodius, the bishop of Ticinium (510).<sup>410</sup> Given the ecclesiastical background in the second and third centuries, it is curious to note that the title is not attributed to a Roman bishop.

“Pope” (πάπας) occurs only once in the *Ecclesiastical History*.<sup>411</sup> Citing Dionysius of Alexandria, Eusebius alerts his readers to the context: dealing with those who have come to the church from the heresies.

This rule and pattern I myself received from our blessed pope Heraclas. For those who came over from the heresies, although they had not departed from the Church... he drove from the Church, and refused to listen to their entreaties until they publicly declared all that they had heard... and then he admitted them to the congregation, without requiring of them a second baptism.<sup>412</sup>

It is no surprise that Dionysius would recognize a bishop (Heraclas) from his own city as pope. What is surprising, is that Dionysius speaks of Heraclas as pope while writing to Philemon, (bishop of Rome). It would appear that the term had not yet become a technical one that would eventually be used of the bishop of Rome, and of none other.

In Eusebius’ *Ecclesiastical History* there are several references to Heraclas:

... and also Heraclas, who now has a seat in the presbytery of the Alexandrians...<sup>413</sup>

At that very time also Zebennus, bishop of Antioch, departed this life and Babylas succeeded to the rule; and in Alexandria, Heraclas, having received

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<sup>410</sup> Henry Sheldon, *History of the Christian Church*, p 476.

<sup>411</sup> *Ecc Hist* VII.7.4

<sup>412</sup> *Ecc Hist* VII.7.4

<sup>413</sup> *Ecc Hist* VI.19.13

the ministry after Demetrius...<sup>414</sup>

It was the third year of his reign when Heraclas departed this life, after presiding for sixteen years over the churches at Alexandria; Dionysius took up the episcopal office.<sup>415</sup>

In regard to Eusebius' view of Heraclas, there does not appear to be any favoritism toward the Alexandrian bishop, and certainly no hagiographic material written about him by Eusebius. The title is used by Dionysius and appears to have little impact upon Eusebius. The fact that Eusebius includes the honorary title of Heraclas, the bishop of Alexandria who continued the judgement against Origen, is significant. If Eusebius understood "pope" as a title of pre-eminence, then he is able to put any personal agenda against Heraclas aside and permit (without alteration) the citation from Dionysius. On the other hand, the title may not carry the understanding of pre-eminence for Eusebius. If this is the case, then Eusebius would not have considered the title to be important.

#### Heresiarch (αἰρεσιάρχων)

In the course of doctrinal debate, orthodoxy and heresy is established within the early church. Eusebius uses the title αἰρεσιάρχων to identify those who are considered heretical:

This is what Justin says, and Irenaeus agrees with him in the first book against heresies where he collects the stories about Simon and his unholy and foul teaching. It would be superfluous to relate this in detail the origin and life and the false doctrinal principles of the heresiarchs who followed him and the customs introduced by them all...<sup>416</sup>

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<sup>414</sup> *Ecd Hist* VI.29.4

<sup>415</sup> *Ecd Hist* VI.35.1

<sup>416</sup> *Ecd Hist* II.13.4

In a similar context, speaking of Natalius, Eusebius employs the title “bishop of this heresy.”<sup>417</sup>

### Obscure Titles

Two other terms, “consistentes” and “ducenarius” are used by Eusebius. Both words are somewhat obscure and appear only once.

### Consistentes

Consistentes appear to be part of the laity. Eusebius writes:

... so they received and admitted them to the worship of the Church as *consistentes*, and gave them fellowship in their prayers and feasts.<sup>418</sup>

Kirsopp Lake identifies the consistentes as “the highest order of penitents,” who were “admitted to the eucharistic prayers, but debarred from communion.”<sup>419</sup>

### Ducenarius

The Latin title of “ducenarius” identified a procurator of high rank in Roman government.<sup>420</sup> Appearing as an exceptional incident, Paul of Samosata assumes the title as a substitute for bishop. Eusebius’ disapproval is evident:

... he set his mind on high things and is lifted up, clothing himself with worldly honours and wishing to be called *ducenarius* rather than bishop...

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<sup>417</sup> *Ecd Hist* V.28.10 ἐπίσκοπος κληθῆναι ταύτης τῆς αἵρέσεως

<sup>418</sup> *Ecd Hist* VI.42.5

<sup>419</sup> Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History*, translated by Kirsopp Lake, Volume II (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1926), p112.

<sup>420</sup> *Ibid.*, p 216. “A procurator of high rank, so called because he had a salary of 200 sesteria.”

### Summary

The purpose of this section has been to list the variety of church offices and orders, as well as various titles recognized within the the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius. We have attempted to provide a selective analysis that investigates the references to church offices and offers some understanding of the terms and their context.

Without question, the *Ecclesiastical History* contains a wealth of information. While Eusebius did not intend to dictate the development of church office for later generations, he has, nonetheless, introduced persons and described events that by their very nature give varying degrees of insight into the offices and ministries of the early church. Avoiding isolated references that cannot be consulted for general conclusions, we are left with abundant references that allow us to make some statements about church offices (especially the episcopate) in the pre-Constantinian period.

1. The primary offices of the church were the bishop, presbyter and deacon. The bishop served as the primary ruler and teacher of the community. The presbyter assisted in teaching and the deacon in service ministries.
2. Moniscopacy was the established practice i.e. one bishop in each community. A bishop was not appointed to a diocese until the death of the reigning bishop. At the bishop's death, a replacement was sought for the diocese. In the case of prominent sees, it was common practice to hold a public assembly for such an appointment. In the case where a reigning bishop secured his successor, it was acceptable for the senior bishop to affirm his successor and for the two to serve simultaneously until the death of the former.
3. All of the primary offices i.e. bishop, presbyter and deacon, required ordination. A bishop shall be ordained by at least three other bishops.
4. Although Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* attests to the threefold understanding of church office (i.e. bishop, presbyter and deacon) and is a central assumption of Eusebius, there is also reflected a contrast between the apostolic and the pre-Constantinian eras. In the apostolic era, presbyters are referred to without or with little distinction from the bishop. After the apostolic era, the bishop and presbyter

are clearly separate offices.

5. Minor offices are organized as hierarchical. There are few references to the minor offices, keeping us from making general conclusions.
6. The title of Evangelist reflects the gospel writers primarily. The ministry of evangelists continued with the expansion of the church, although not a dominant ministry.
7. The primacy of Rome did not affect the jurisdiction of the pre- Constantinian church. Though Eusebius writes at the outset of the third century he does not ascribe the title of pope to the bishop of the Roman church. Indeed, he only uses the term once, quoting Dionysius of Alexandria who uses pope to refer to Heraclas.
8. Some heretical leaders were possibly given 'anti-titles' eg. Heresiarch.
9. The church (and its episcopates) expanded throughout the Roman empire. Eusebius identifies by name over forty cities and their bishops.
10. The bishop usually served in the same episcopate until his death. The average length of term was 11.46 years.
11. Synods, (always attended by bishops and sometimes presbyters and deacons), were utilized to maintain orthodoxy and authorize decisions for the catholic church. While presebyters and deacons were present (in great numbers) at some of the synods, their role is secondary.

Appendix 2: Editions of Ecclesiastical History

Most scholars posit multiple editions of the *Ecclesiastical History*. It appears that Eusebius wrote the *History* in stages i.e. chronological and revisional. Modern scholars are divided on the number of editions and the dates accorded to each one. While there are chronological breaks between books VII, VIII and IX, scholars are not agreed when they were written in Eusebius’ literary career. Some determine a break between books VII and VIII; others between Books VIII and IX. Those who argue for the “changing mind of Eusebius” have a stronger argument the longer the duration of the writing period. The following chart provides a compilation of the edition theories of the prominent Eusebian scholars.

Author	Edition I	Edition II	Edition III	Edition IV
Schwartz <sup>421</sup>	312 Bks I-VIII	315 Bk IX	317 Bk X	325 Revision Bks I-X
Barnes <sup>422</sup>	Before 300 Bks I-VII	After 313 added Bks VIII and IX	Before the autumn of 316 Bks I-X	324-26 Revisions
Wallace-Hadrill <sup>423</sup>	Before 303 Bks I-VII	311 Bks I-VIII	after 318 Bks I-X	

<sup>421</sup> Kirsopp Lake. *The Ecclesiastical History: Volumes I and II* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1926), p xix-xxi. The 4 edition theory of Schwartz is summarized by Lake. He recognizes Schwartz as a leading authority on the manuscript evidence.

<sup>422</sup> Timothy D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1981, Fifth printing 1996), pp 277, 278.

<sup>423</sup> D. S. Wallace-Hadrill, *Eusebius of Caesarea* ( London: A.R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd., 1960), p 39-58. D. S. Wallace-Hadrill “The Eusebian Chronicle: The Extent and Date of Composition of it Early Editions.” *Journal of Theological Studies* Volume 6 (1955): 248-53.

Author	Edition I	Edition II	Edition III	Edition IV
Lawlor/ Oulton <sup>424</sup>	311 Bks I-VIII	313 revision of Bks I-VIII addition of Bk IX	325 revision of Bks I-IX added Bk X	
Glen Chesnut <sup>425</sup>	before persecution of 303 Bks I-VII	313 Bks I-IX	315 Bks I-X.7	325 Bks I-X 326 minor reediting
Kirsopp Lake <sup>426</sup>	311 Bks I-VIII	315 Bk IX	317 Bk X	after 323
Westcott, Lightfoot and A.C. McGiffert <sup>427</sup>	Before 314 Bks I-IX	324 Bk X and alterations to IX		
Richard Laqueur <sup>428</sup>	303 Bks I-VII	311 Bk VIII	After 317 Bk X *Bk IX is an expansion of VIII	
R. W. Burgess <sup>429</sup>	313/14 Bks I-X	315/316 edit Bk VIII	324/325 revision	326 final edition

<sup>424</sup> Hugh Jackson Lawlor, and John Ernest Leonard Oulton, *Eusebius Bishop of Caesarea: The Ecclesiastical History and the Martyrs of Palestine* (London: SPCK, 1954), pp 2-11.

<sup>425</sup> Glenn F. Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories: Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius* (Macon GA: Mercer University Press, 1986), p 125.

<sup>426</sup> Kirsopp Lake. *The Ecclesiastical History: Volumes I and II* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1926), p xix-xxvii.

<sup>427</sup> Arthur Cushman McGiffert, eds. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Volume I. Second Series (Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publisher, Inc., Second Printing, 1995), p 45.

<sup>428</sup> D. S. Wallace-Hadrill, *Eusebius of Caesarea*, (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd., 1960), pp 40-42. Wallace Hadrill compares several *EHI* dating theories. He finds Laqueur's to be the most innovative, eg. "[Laqueur] changed the whole course of the discussion." (p 40) "Laqueur again breaks new ground when he argues that book IX... never stood at the end of the work in any of its editions, and that books VII, VIII and X are the only books which included the whole work at various stages." (p 41).

<sup>429</sup> R. W. Burgess, "The Dates and Editions of Eusebius' *Chronici Canones* and *Historia Ecclesiastica*," *Journal of Theological Studies* (1997): 471-504.

**Appendix 3: Source Content in the Ecclesiastical History**

Eusebius quotes extensively in the History. The following chart shows the extent to which literary sources are used. The page numbers and calculations are based on the translation of the *Ecclesiastical History* by G.A.Williamson.

<i>Ecc Hist</i> Book	A. Pages without quotations (identified as page number)	B. Pages with quotations (identified as page number)	C. Pages consisting entirely of quotation (identified as page number)
I	1,2,8,19,23,26,30,34 (8)	3,4,5,6,7,9-18,20,22,24,25,27,28,29,31 (23)	21,32,33 (3)
II	35,37,38,40,48,54,55,58 , (8)	36,39,41-47,49,50,51,52,53,56,57, 59,60, 61,62,63,64 (22)	(0)
III	65-68,86,87,88, 89, 100, (9)	69-85,90,91,92,93,94,95,96,97,98,99,101, 102,103,104 (31)	70-72,84,85 (5)
IV	105,107-110,118,130, 137 (8)	106,111-117,119-129,131,132, 133,134, 135,136 (25)	120-122,134 (4)
V	138,151,170 (3)	139-150,152- 169,171-178 (38)	140-147,161,166, 177 (11)
VI	179-188,191,194,198, 199,203-209 (21)	189,190,192,193,195,196,197,200-202, 210-220 (21)	210-213,216 (5)
VII	232-234,244,245,249, 250,251,254,255 (10)	221- 231,235,236,237,238,239,240,241, 242, 243,246,247,248,252, 253 (24)	227-229,237,240-243, 247 (9)
VIII	256- 265,269,270, 271-278,281 (21)	266,267,268,279,280 (5)	(0)
IX	284-286,290,291, 300,302 (7)	282,283,287- 289,292-299,301 (14)	295 (1)
X	305,328,329-333 (7)	303,304,306-327(24)	308-327 (20)
Totals	(102)	(227)	(46)



Appendix 4: Literary Sources in the *Ecclesiastical History*<sup>430</sup>

In addition to nine works by himself, Eusebius quotes from or identifies 168 literary works by over 40 other authors. Works by Origen and Philo are the most numerous.

Author	Title of Work	<i>Ecd Hist</i> Reference
Aggripa Castor	untitled reference "Refutation of Basilides"	IV.7
Alexander, bishop from Cappadocia	"a letter to the Antiochenes"	VI.11
Anatolius	<i>Elements of Arithmetic</i>	VII.32*
Apolinarius	Against the Greeks (five books)	IV.27
Apolinarius	<i>Truth I and II</i>	IV.27
Apolinarius	<i>Against the Jews I and II</i>	IV.27
Apollonius	"a refutation against the Phrygian sect"	V.13*,18,19
Anatolius	<i>Elements of Arithmetic</i>	VII.32*
Aristides	<i>Defence of the Faith</i>	IV.3
Bardaisan, the Syrian	<i>Destiny</i>	IV.30;
Cassian	<i>Chronological Record</i>	VI.13*
Church of God at Smyrna	untitled (a letter to the church at Philomelium)	IV.15
Clement of Alexandria	<i>Outlines</i>	II.9,15*; V.11* ;VI.14
Clement of Alexandria	<i>The Rich Man Who Finds Salvation</i>	III.23; VI.13*
Clement of Alexandria	<i>Miscellanies (Titus Flavius Clemens' Miscellanies: Gnostic Publications in the Light of the True Philosophy)</i>	III.29; V.11; VI.13

<sup>430</sup> Doesn't include biblical references.  
\*While the source is identified by Eusebius, it is not quoted in the text of the *Ecclesiastical History*.

Author	Title of Work	Ecc Hist Reference
Clement of Alexandria	<i>Epistle to the Corinthians</i>	IV.22,23*
Clement of Alexandria	<i>Exhortation</i>	VI.13*
Clement of Alexandria	<i>The Tutor</i>	VI.13*
Clement of Alexandria	<i>The Easter Festival</i>	VI.13*
Clement of Alexandria	<i>Fasting</i>	VI.13*
Clement of Alexandria	<i>Slander</i>	VI.13*
Clement of Alexandria	<i>Exhortation to Patience (For the Newly Baptized)</i>	VI.13*
Clement of Alexandria	<i>Canon of the Church (An Answer to the Judaizers)</i>	VI.13*
Constantine	an inscription on the sign of the Saviour	IX.9
Constantine and Licinius	"Imperial Ordinances of Constantine and Licinius"	X.5-7
Didache	<i>Didache</i>	V.18
Dionysius bishop of Alexandria	<i>Promises</i>	III.28
Dionysius bishop of Alexandria	"a letter directed against Germanus"	VI.40
Dionysius bishop of Alexandria	letters to Bishop Fabius of Antioch	VI.41,44
Dionysius bishop of Alexandria	letter to Novatus	VI.45
Dionysius bishop of Alexandria	letters to the Egyptians, Bishop Colon of Hermopolis, to Laodicea, to Armenia, to Cornelius of Rome, Novatus, and, to the Romans.	VI.46
Dionysius bishop of Alexandria	letters on baptism	VII.2-11*

Author	Title of Work	Ecol Hist Reference
Dionysius bishop of Alexandria	"Letters of Dionysius on the Easter Festival and on events in Alexandria"	VII.19-26
Dionysius bishop of Corinth	<i>Letter to the Romans</i>	II.25; IV.23
Dionysius bishop of Corinth	<i>Letter to the Spartans</i>	IV.23*
Dionysius bishop of Corinth	<i>Letter to the Nicomedians</i>	IV.23*
Dionysius bishop of Corinth	<i>Letter to the church at Gortyna</i>	IV.23*
Dionysius bishop of Corinth	<i>Letter to the communities of Crete</i>	IV.23*
Dionysius bishop of Corinth	<i>Letter to the church at Amastris</i>	IV.23*
Dionysius bishop of Corinth	<i>Letter to the church at Pontus</i>	IV.23*
Dionysius bishop of Corinth	<i>Letter to the Cnossians</i>	IV.23*
Eusebius	<i>Chronological Tables</i>	I.1
Eusebius	<i>Selections From the Prophets</i>	I.2,7
Eusebius	<i>History of the Church</i>	I.5
Eusebius	<i>Martyrdom of Pionius</i>	IV.15*
Eusebius	<i>Early Martyrdoms</i> - p 123*	IV.15*
Eusebius	<i>Collection of Martyrs</i>	V.Introduction*;V4*
Eusebius	<i>Defence of Origen</i>	VI.23*,33*,36*
Eusebius	<i>Life of Pamphilus</i>	VI.32*
Eusebius	<i>Festival Oration on the Building of the Churches</i>	X.4
Emperors	"recantation by the emperors of our time"	VIII.17
Gaius	<i>Dialogue</i>	II.25; III.28,31
Hadrian	untitled - "letter from Hadrian"	IV.9

Author	Title of Work	Excl Hist Reference
Hegesippus	untitled ("five short works" p 129)	III.19,32; IV.22
Heraclitus	<i>The Epistles of Paul</i>	V.27*
Heraclitus	<i>The Origin of Evil</i>	V.27*
Heraclitus	<i>Matter and the Result of a Creative Act</i>	V.27*
Heraclitus	<i>The Six Days of Creation</i>	V.27*
Heraclitus	<i>The Resurrection</i>	V.27*
Hippocrates	<i>Breaths</i>	X.4
Hippolytus	<i>The Easter Festival</i>	VI.22*
Hippolytus	<i>The Six Days</i>	VI.22*
Hippolytus	<i>The Song</i>	VI.22*
Hippolytus	<i>The Sequel to the Six Days</i>	VI.22*
Hippolytus	<i>Against Marcion</i>	VI.22*
Hippolytus	<i>Against All Heresies</i>	VI.22*
Ignatius	<i>Romans</i>	III.36
Ignatius	<i>Smyrnaeans</i>	III.36
Irenaeus	<i>Against Heresies</i>	II.13*; III.18,23, 28,36,39; IV.11,14,18, 29; V.5*,7,8
Irenaeus	<i>Refutation and Overthrow of Knowledge Falsely so Called</i>	V.7
Irenaeus	<i>To Blastus, on Schism</i>	V.20*
Irenaeus	<i>To Florinus, on Sole Sovereignty (God is not the Author of Evil)</i>	V.20
Irenaeus	<i>The Ogdoad</i>	V.20*
Irenaeus	<i>Scientific Knowledge</i>	V.26*
Irenaeus	<i>Exposition of the Apostolic Teaching</i>	V.26*
Josephus	<i>Antiquities</i>	I.5,6,8,10,11; II.5,11,12, 20,23; III.9*,10

Author	Title of Work	Ecccl Hist Reference
Josephus	<i>History of the Jewish War</i>	I.5,6,8,9; II.4,6,19,20,26; III.5,6,7,8,9*
Josephus	<i>Against Apion (Antiquities of the Jews)</i>	III.9,10
Josephus	<i>Life of Josephus</i>	III.10
Justin Martyr	<i>Defence</i>	II.13; III.26; IV.8,11,16, 17
Justin Martyr	<i>A Second Defence of our Faith</i>	IV.18*
Justin Martyr	<i>A Refutation</i>	IV.18*
Justin Martyr	<i>The Sovereignty of God</i>	IV.18*
Justin Martyr	<i>The Harpist</i>	IV.18*
Justin Martyr	<i>The Soul</i>	IV.18*
Justin Martyr	<i>Dialogue Against the Jews</i>	IV.18*
Justin Martyr	<i>Against Marcion</i>	IV.11
Justin Martyr	<i>Against the Greeks</i>	IV.11,16
Justin Martyr	<i>A Defence of our Faith</i>	IV.11
Maximin	"Maximin's Rescript"	IX.7
Maximin	"Copy of a Translation of the Tyrant's Letter"	IX.9
Maximin	"Copy of the Tyrant's Ordinance in Favour of the Christians"	IX.10
Melito, bishop of Sardis	<i>Defence of our Doctrine</i>	IV.13
Melito, bishop of Sardis	<i>The Easter Festival</i>	IV.25*
Melito, bishop of Sardis	<i>Prophets and the Christian Way of Life, The Church and The Lord's Day.</i>	IV.25*
Melito, bishop of Sardis	<i>The Faith of Man, Creation, Obedience to the Faith, and The Senses</i>	IV.25*
Melito, bishop of Sardis	<i>Soul and Body and Baptism, Truth, Faith and the Birth of Christ</i>	IV.25*

Author	Title of Work	Ecl Hist Reference
Melito, bishop of Sardis	<i>Book of Prophecy, Soul and Body, Hospitality, The Key, The Devil, The Revelation of John and God in Bodily Form</i>	IV.25*
Melito, bishop of Sardis	<i>Petition to Antonius</i>	IV.25*,26
Melito, bishop of Sardis	<i>Extracts</i>	IV.26
Miltiades	<i>Against the Greeks</i>	V.17*
Miltiades	<i>Against the Jews</i>	V.17*
Miltiades	<i>Defence before the Rulers of this World</i>	V.17*
Origen	<i>Hexapla</i>	VI.17*
Origen	<i>Tetrapla</i>	VI.17*
Origen	<i>The Harmony of Moses and Jesus</i>	VI.19*
Origen	<i>Commentaries on the Holy Scriptures</i>	VI.23*
Origen	<i>Commentary on John's Gospel</i>	VI.24*,25,28*
Origen	<i>Commentary on Genesis</i>	III.1*VI.24*
Origen	<i>Commentary Psalms i-xxv</i>	VI.24*
Origen	<i>Commentary on Lamentations</i>	VI.24*
Origen	<i>Resurrection</i>	VI.24*
Origen	<i>On First Principles</i>	VI.24*
Origen	<i>Miscellanies</i>	VI.24*
Origen	<i>Commentary on Matthew</i>	VI.25,36*
Origen	<i>Homilies on the Epistle to the Hebrews</i>	VI.25
Origen	<i>Martyrdom</i>	VI.28*
Origen	<i>Dictionary of Dates</i>	VI.31*
Origen	<i>Commentary on Isaiah</i>	VI.32*
Origen	<i>Commentary on Ezekiel</i>	VI.32*;
Origen	<i>Commentary on the Song of Songs</i>	VI.32*
Origen	<i>True Doctrine</i>	VI.36*

Author	Title of Work	Ecol Hist Reference
Origen	<i>Commentary on the Minor Prophets</i>	VL36*
Origen	"a published sermon on Psalm lxxxii"	VL38
Palestinian bishops	"a lengthy review of the tradition about the Easter festival"	V.25
Papias	<i>The Sayings of the Lord Explained</i>	III.39
Phileas	"Excerpt from the letter of Phileas to the Thmuities"	VIII.9
Philo	<i>The Virtues</i>	II.6*
Philo	<i>The Contemplative Life</i>	II.17
Philo	<i>Allegories of the Sacred Laws</i>	II.18*
Philo	<i>Questions and Answers in Genesis</i>	II.18*
Philo	<i>Questions and Answers in Exodus</i>	II.18*
Philo	<i>Farming</i>	II.18*
Philo	<i>Drunkenness</i>	II.18*
Philo	<i>What the Sober Mind Desires and Detests</i>	II.18*
Philo	<i>The Confounding of Tongues</i>	II.18*
Philo	<i>Flight and Discovery</i>	II.18*
Philo	<i>Study Groups</i>	II.18*
Philo	<i>Who Inherits the Treasures of God</i>	II.18*
Philo	<i>The Division into Equivalents and Opposites</i>	II.18*
Philo	<i>The Three Cardinal Virtues Expounded by Moses</i>	II.18*
Philo	<i>New Names and Why They Were Given</i>	II.18*
Philo	<i>Covenants (Books I and II)</i>	II.18*
Philo	<i>Emigration</i>	II.18*
Philo	<i>Life of a Wise Man Perfected in Righteousness (Unwritten Laws)</i>	II.18*
Philo	<i>Giants (The Immutability of the Godhead)</i>	II.18*
Philo	<i>The Mosaic Conviction that Dreams are Sent From God</i>	II.18*

Author	Title of Work	<i>Ecd Hist</i> Reference
Philo	<i>The Tabernacle</i>	II.18*
Philo	<i>The Ten Commandments</i>	II.18*
Philo	<i>Laws Classified under the Appropriate Headings of the Decalogue</i> (Books I-IV)	II.18*
Philo	<i>Sacrificial Animals and Varieties of Sacrifice</i>	II.18*
Philo	<i>How the Law Rewards Virtue and Punishes and Denounces Vice</i>	II.18*
Philo	<i>The Statesman</i>	II.18*
Philo	<i>Providence</i>	II.18*
Philo	<i>The Jews</i>	II.18*
Philo	<i>Alexander (Rational Behavior)</i>	II.18*
Philo	<i>Every Bad Man is a Slave</i>	II.18*
Philo	<i>Every Good Man is Free</i>	II.18*
Philo	<i>Interpretations of Hebrew Names in the Law and the Prophets</i>	II.18*
Polycarp	<i>Philippians</i>	III.36
Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus (head of the Asian churches)	"a letter to Victor and the Roman Church"	V.24
Porphyry	"his treatise against the Christians"	VI.19
Sabinus, the Prefect	a letter to the provincial governors	IX.1
Serapion	<i>The So-Called Gospel of Peter</i>	VI.12
Servants of Christ at Vienne and Lyons	"to our brothers in Asia and Phrygia"	V.1.2
Septuagint	<i>The Septuagint</i>	V.8
Tatian	<i>Diatessaron</i>	IV.29*
Tatian	<i>Against the Greeks</i>	IV.29*; VI.13*
Tatian	<i>Problems</i>	V.13*
Tatian	<i>The Six Days of Creation</i>	V.13*
Tertullian	<i>Defence of the Christians</i>	II.2,25,20,33; V.5



Author	Title of Work	Ecc Hist Reference
Theophilus, bishop of Antioch	<i>To Autolycus</i>	IV.24*
Theophilus, bishop of Antioch	<i>Against the Heresy of Hermogenes</i>	IV.24*
Theophilus, bishop of Antioch	<i>Manuals of Elementary Instruction</i>	IV.24*
unknown	"a polemic ... against Artemon's heresy"	V.28
Valerian	decree	VII.13
various bishops	"the bishops' letter condemning Paul"	VII.29,30

### Appendix 5: Bishop References<sup>431</sup> in *The Ecclesiastical History*

No.	Ecc Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
2.1	II, Table	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1,3,4] charge of the see [2]	Mark Annianus - the first to be appointed bishop of the church of the Alexandrians.	Title.
2.2	II, 1.2	τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ...θρόνον	(throne of) the bishopric [1] episcopal (throne) [2] the episcopate [3] bishop [4]	James, brother of Jesus, the first elected to the throne of the bishopric of the Church in Jerusalem.	Jerusalem.
2.3	II, 1.3	ἐπίσκοπον	bishop [1,4]	James the Just as bishop of Jerusalem.	Jerusalem.
2.4	II, 15.2	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1,4]	Clement quotes the story in the sixth book of the <i>Hypostases</i> , and the bishop of Hierapolis, named Papias, confirms him	Hierapolis.
2.5	II, 17.23	τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς προεδρία	episcopate [1-3] the office of bishop [4]	...both to the diaconate and to the supremacy of the episcopate at the head over all.	Eusebius citing Philo's description of ministries i.e. diaconate and episcopate.
2.6	II, 23.1	τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ...θρόνος	the bishopric [1] episcopal (throne) [2] episcopal (seat) [3,4]	...the Jews were disappointed.... and turned against James, the brother of the Lord, to whom the throne of the bishopric in Jerusalem had been allotted by the apostles.	Jerusalem. The Jews turn against James.
2.7	II, 23.4	διαδέχεται τὴν ἐκκλησίαν	the charge of the church [1] control of the church [2] the government of the church [3,4]	The charge/government of the church passed to James the brother of the Lord, together with the Apostles.	Hegesippus' account of James.

<sup>431</sup> Excerpts copied from the translation by Lake and Oulton, unless otherwise indicated. Translations numbered as follows:[1] Lake, 1926 and Oulton, 1932 [2] Williamson, 1965 [3] Cruse, 1850 [4] McGiffert, 1890.

No.	Excl / list reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
2.8	II.24.1	παροικίας...τὴν λειτουργίαν διαδέχεται	the charge of the diocese [1] charge of the see [2] administration of the church [3] administration of the parish [4]	Amnianus was the first after Mark the Evangelist to receive charge of the diocese of Alexandria	Alexandria. Diocese established by Mark.
2.9	II.25.6	ἐπίσκοπον	bishop [1-4]	Caius, a writer of the church who confirms the story of Peter and Paul's martyrdom, lived when Zephyrinus was bishop of Rome.	Rome. Chronology.
2.10	II.25.7	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	And that they were both martyred at the same time Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, affirms in this passage...	Dionysius' correspondence with the Romans. Rome and Corinth founded by Peter and Paul.
3.1	III.Table.2	τῆς ἐκκλησίας...πρόσβη	(first) ruler of the church [1,4] (first) bishop [2] presided over the church [3]	The first ruler of the church of Rome.	Title.
3.2	III.Table.11	ἡγείται...τῆς ἐκκλησίας	ruled the church [1,3] rules the church [4]	How after James Simeon ruled the church at Jerusalem.	Title
3.3	III.Table.13	ἡγείται	ruler [1] bishop [3,4]	How Abilius was the second ruler of the Alexandrians.	Title.
3.4	III.Table.14	ἐπισκοπεῖ	bishop [1,3,4]	How Anencletus was the second bishop of the Romans.	Title.
3.5	III.Table.15	τρίτος	the third [1] the third bishop [3,4]	Clement the third bishop of Rome.	Title.
3.6	III.Table.21	τρίτος ἡγείται	the third to rule [1] the third bishop [3] the third ruler [4]	Cerdo becomes the third bishop of the Alexandrians.	Title.
3.7	III.Table.22	δεύτερος	the second [1] the second bishop [3,4]	Ignatius, the second bishop of Antioch.	Title.

No.	Ecd Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
3.8	III.Table.32	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	Symeon, bishop of Jerusalem suffers martyrdom.	Title.
3.9	III..Table.34	τέταρτος... ἡγείται	the fourth to rule [1] bishop [2,3] the fourth bishop [4]	Evaristus, the fourth to rule the church of the Romans.	Title.
3.10	III.Table.35	τρίτος	the third ruler [1] bishop [2-4]	Justus, the third ruler/bishop of the church in Jerusalem.	Title.
3.11	III.2.1	τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν	the bishopric [1,2] the episcopate [3,4]	After the martyrdom of Paul and Peter, Linus was the first appointed to the bishopric of the church of Rome.	Rome. Succession.
3.12	III.4.3	ποιμαίνειν (infinitive)	the pastors [1] to shepherd the churches [2] to feed the churches [3] to tend the churches [4]	... the pastors of the churches founded by the apostles	Paul laid the foundations of the churches from Jerusalem to Illyricum. Reference to the many pastors and the question of their ability and zeal.
3.13	III.4.5	πρώτος τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐληχέναι	first appointed bishop [1] first bishop appointed [2] first received the episcopate [3] first to receive the episcopate [4]	Timothy is related to have been the first appointed bishop of the diocese of Ephesus, as was Titus of the churches in Crete.	Ephesus. Crete.
3.14	III.4.8	τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν	bishopric [1] bishop of [2] episcopate [3,4]	Linus, the first after Peter to be appointed to the bishopric of the Church in Rome.	Rome. Succession. Peter the first bishop.
3.15	III.4.9	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	Clement, the third bishop of Rome.	Rome. Succession.
3.16	III.4.9	ποιμήν	pastor [1-4]	Dionysius, the pastor of the diocese of the Corinthians.	Corinth.
3.17	III.4.10	ἐπίσκοπον	bishop [1-4]	Dionysius, the other, the first bishop at Athens.	Athens.

No.	Exl Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
3.18	III.5.2	τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς θρόνον	(throne of) the bishopric [1] bishop's throne [2] the episcopal seat [3,4]	James, who was the first after the ascension of our Saviour to be appointed to the throne of the bishopric in Jerusalem.	Jerusalem.
3.19	III.7.8	ἐπίσκοποι	bishop [1-4]	... after their [the Jews'] crime against Christ, and during all of them many of the apostles and disciples, and James himself, who is called the Lord's brother, the first bishop of the city, still survived in this world.	The survival of the apostles and disciples during the forty years of suspended destruction of the Jews, for their crime against Christ.
3.20	III.11.1	διαδοχῆς... παροικίας θρόνου	throne of the diocese [1] throne of the Jerusalem see [2] the episcopal seat [3] episcopal throne of that parish [4]	...Simeon the son of Clopas, whom the scripture of the Gospel also mentions, was worthy of the throne of the diocese there.	Jerusalem. Succession.
3.21	III.13.1	ἐπίσκοποι	bishop [1-4]	...Linus, bishop of the church of the Romans, after holding office for 12 years, handed it on to Anencletus.	Rome. Chronology. Succession. Duration of Term.
3.22	III.14.1	παροικίας ὁ πρῶτος... διαδέχεται	first of the see [1] the first bishop [2-4]	...Annius, the first of the see of Alexandria, died after 22 years, and Abilius succeeded him as second.	Alexandria. Chronology. Succession. Duration of Term.
3.23	III.15.1	ἐπισκοπεύοντα... διαδέχεται (aor. active participle)	had been bishop [1,3,4] as bishop of Rome [2]	... Clement succeeded Anencletus after he had been bishop of the church of the Romans for 12 years.	Rome. Chronology. Succession. Duration of Term.
3.24	III.20.6	ἡγήσασθαι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν	leaders of the churches [1,2] they ruled the churches [3,4]	But when they were released they were leaders of the churches, both for their testimony and for their relation to the Lord...	Domitian Persecution. Confessors that obtain leader status?
3.25	III.21.1	παροικίας... ἡγησάμενον διαδέχεται	leading the diocese [1] heading the church [2] governed it [3] who had ruled [4]	... Abilius, after leading the diocese of Alexandria for thirteen years, was succeeded by Cerdo.	Alexandria. Chronology. Succession. Duration of term.
3.26	III.21.1	προέστη	In charge [1] succeeded [2-4]	...he [Cerdo] was the third in charge of that see after the first, Annianus.	Alexandria. Chronology. Succession.

No.	Ecd Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
3.27	III.21.1	ἡγεῖτο	governing [1] head [2] bishop [3] ruled the church [4]	At this time Clement was still governing the Romans and he, also, occupied the third place in the list of bishops in Rome after Paul and Peter; Linus was the first and after him Anencletus.	Rome. Chronology. Succession.
3.28	III.22.1	πρώτου	the first [1] the first bishop [2-4]	... at Antioch where Evodius had been the first.	Antioch. Chronology. Succession.
3.29	III.22.1	δεύτερος	the second bishop [1,4] was becoming famous [2] the second [3]	...at the time mentioned, Ignatius was famous as the second bishop at Antioch where Evodius had been the first.	Antioch. Chronology. Succession.
3.30	III.22.1	δεύτερος... τὴν λειτουργίαν εἶχεν	the second to hold the ministry [1] the next [2] the second that had charge of the church [3] the second ruler [4]	Likewise at this time, Simeon was the second after the brother of our Saviour to hold the ministry of the church in Jerusalem.	Jerusalem. Chronology. Succession.
3.31	III.23.1	διεῖπεν ἐκκλησίας	administered the churches [1] directed the churches [2] governed the churches [3] governing the churches [4]	...John, at once Apostle and Evangelist, still remained alive in Asia and administered the churches there...	Asia. The ministry of John the Apostle after the death of Domitian.
3.32	III.23.6	ἐπισκόπους	bishops [1-4]	John the apostle...used also to go... in some places to appoint bishops, in others to reconcile whole churches...	John's appointing ministry.
3.33	III.23.7	ἐπισκόπῳ	bishop [1-4]	...while looking before them all at the bishop who had been appointed, he saw a young man of strong body....	Story about John appointing a young man to be bishop.
3.34	III.23.12	ἐπίσκοπε	bishop [1-4]	Come now, bishop, pay me back the deposit...	John requests the young man who was entrusted to the older bishop.
3.35	III.28.3	τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν	the bishopric [1,2] the episcopate [3] bishop of the parish [4]	Dionysius... who held the bishopric of the diocese of Alexandria in our time.	Alexandria. Dionysius' writings re. Cerinthus.

No.	Ecd Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
3.36	III.31.2	παροικίας ἐπίσκοπον	bishop of the diocese [1] bishop of Ephesus [2] bishop of the church [3] bishop of the parish [4]	The place of his body is shown by a letter of Polycrates, he was bishop of the diocese of Ephesus...	Ephesus. Polycarp identifies the place of John's grave in a letter to Victor.
3.37	III.31.2	ἐπισκόπῳ	bishop [1-4]	... which he wrote to Victor, bishop of Rome	As above.
3.38	III.32.1	ἐπίσκοπον	bishop [1-4]	Symeon, the son of Clopas, whom we have showed to be the second bishop of Jerusalem, ended his life in martyrdom.	Jerusalem. Sporadic persecution under Trajan (98-117 C.E.) Symeon's martyrdom (c. 106/7)
3.39	III.34.1	ἐπισκόπων	bishops of Rome [1] bishopric of Rome [2] bishop of Rome [3] episcopal government of the church of Rome [4]	Clement handed over the ministry of the bishops of Rome to Evarestos... having been in charge for 9 years.	Rome. Chronology. Succession. Duration of Term.
3.40	III.35.1	τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς θρόνον... διαδέχεται	the bishopric [1,2] episcopate [3] episcopal throne [4]	After Symeon's martyrdom, Justus succeeded to the throne of the bishopric of Jerusalem.	Jerusalem. Chronology. Succession.
3.41	III.36.1	τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν	the bishopric [1] the episcopate [2-4]	At this time... in Asia, Polycarp, the companion of the Apostles, who had been appointed to the bishopric of the church in Smyrna..	Smyrna. Chronology.
3.42	III.36.2	παροικίας... ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	Distinguished men at the same time were Papias, who himself was bishop of the diocese of Hierapolis...	Hierapolis.
3.43	III.36.2	διαδοχῆς... τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν	the bishopric [1,2] the episcopal office [3] bishop [4]	...and Ignatius,...'the second after Peter to succeed to the bishopric of Antioch.	Antioch. Succession. Peter the first bishop.
3.44	III.36.5	ποιμένος	pastor [1-4]	...while he [Papias] was in Smyrna .. mentioning their pastor Onesimus [at Ephesus]...	Papias writes a letter to the church at Ephesus.
3.45	III.36.5	ἐπισκόπου	bishop [1-4]	(at Magnesia) he mentioned the bishop Damas...	Papias writes a letter to the church at Magnesia.

No.	Ecl Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
3.46	III.36.5	ἄρχοντα	ruler [1] rule of [2] bishop [3,4]	... the church in Tralles... Polybius was then the ruler.	Papias writes a letter to the church at Tralles.
3.47	III.36.10	ἐκκλησίᾳ... προηγούμενῳ	head of the church [1] head of that church [2] bishop [3] presided over [4]	... especially with Polycarp who was then the head of this church (Smyrna).	Papias' correspondence with Polycarp.
3.48	III.36.10	ποιμὴν	shepherd [1-4]	He knew well that Polycarp was an apostolic man a like and like a true and good shepherd commends the flock at Antioch to him...	Papias' correspondence with Polycarp. Entrusts the church at Antioch to Polycarp.
3.49	III.36.15	διαδέχεται... τὴν ἐπίσκοπὴν	the bishopric [1] bishop [2] episcopal office [3] the episcopate [4]	Such is the story of Ignatius, and Heros succeeded to the bishopric of Antioch after him.	Antioch. Succession.
3.50	III.37.3	ποιμένες	shepherds [1,2,3] pastors [4]	As soon as they had no more than laid the foundations of the faith in some strange place, they appointed others as shepherds and committed to the task...	The work of the Apostles in starting new churches and appointing local leaders.
3.51	III.37.4	ποιμένες	shepherds [1,4] pastors [2,3]	It is impossible for us to give the number and the names of all who first succeeded the Apostles, and were shepherds or evangelists in the churches throughout the world.	Disclaimer by Eusebius re. impossible task of including the names of all the bishops who succeeded the apostles.
4.1	IV.Table.1	ἐπίσκοποι	bishops [1-4]	Who were the bishops of Rome and Alexandria in the reign of Trajan.	Title.
4.2	IV.Table.4	ἐπίσκοποι	bishops [1,3,4]	The bishops of Rome and Alexandria.	Title.
4.3	IV.Table.5	ἐπίσκοποι	bishops [1-4]	The bishops of Jerusalem.	Title.
4.4	IV.Table.10	ἐπίσκοποι	bishops [1-4]	Who were the bishops of Rome and Alexandria in the reign of Antoninus.	Title.
4.5	IV.Table.19	ἐκκλησίας προϊστάων	leaders of the churches [1] prelates [2] those that presided [3] rulers [4]	Who were the leaders of the churches of Rome and Alexandria in the reign of Verus.	Title.



No.	Ecd Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
4.6	IV.Table.20	οἱ τῆς Ἀντιοχείων	the bishops of Antioch [1,3] rulers [4]	Who were the bishops of Antioch.	Title.
4.7	IV.Table.23	ἐπισκόπου	the bishop [1-4]	On Dionysius, the bishop of Corinth, and his letters.	Title.
4.8	IV.Table.24	ἐπισκόπου	bishop [1-4]	On Theophilus, bishop of Antioch.	Title.
4.9	IV.1.1	παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	About the twelfth year of the reign of Trajan, the bishop [Cerdo] of the diocese of Alexandria... passed away...	Alexandria. Chronology.
4.10	IV.1.1	λειτουργίαν κληροῦται	received the charge [1] chosen to hold office [2] the functions of the office were allotted [3] chosen to the office [4]	...and Primus, the fourth from the Apostles, received the charge of those in that place [Alexandria].	Alexandria. Chronology. Succession.
4.11	IV.1.1	διαδοχὴν τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν	the bishopric [1,2] bishop [3] held the office [4]	At this time, too, at Rome Alexander, when Evarestus had completed his eighth year, was the fifth to succeed Peter and Paul and took up the bishopric.	Rome. Chronology. Succession. Duration of Term.
4.12	IV.4.1	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	In the third year of the same reign Alexander, the bishop of the Romans, died after completing the tenth year of his ministry.	Rome. Chronology. Succession. Duration of Term.
4.13	IV.4.1	διάδοχος	successor [1-4]	...Xystus was his successor.	Rome. Chronology. Succession.
4.14	IV.4.1	παροικίας... προστασίας ...διαδέχεται	rule [1,2] the episcopate [3,4]	At the same time, in the diocese of the Alexandrians, Justus succeeded Primus, who died in the twelfth year of his rule.	Alexandria. Chronology. Succession. Duration of Term.
4.15	IV.5.1	ἐπισκόπων	bishops [1-4]	I have not found any written statement of the dates of the bishops of Jerusalem, for tradition says that they were extremely short-lived.	Jerusalem.
4.16	IV.5.2	ἐπισκόπων διαδοχάς	bishops [1-4]	... up to the siege of the Jews by Hadrian the successions of the bishops were fifteen in number.	Jerusalem.

No.	Eccl Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
4.17	IV.5.2	τῶν ἐπισκόπων λειτουργίας	the episcopal ministry [1] episcopal office [2,3] episcopate [4]	...Hebrews by origin... count worthy even of the episcopal ministry...	Jerusalem.
4.18	IV.5.3	ἐπισκόπων	bishops [1-4]	Since the Jewish bishops ceased, it is now necessary to give their names from the beginning. James, Simeon, Justus, Zacchaeus, Tobias, Benjamin, John, Matthias, Philip, Seneca, Justus, Levi, Ephraim, Joseph, Judas.	Jerusalem. Bishop list.
4.19	IV.5.4	ἐπίσκοποι	bishops [1-4]	Such were the bishops in the city of Jerusalem, from the Apostles down to the time mentioned, and they were all Jews.	Jerusalem. Apostolic succession.
4.20	IV.5.5	διαδέχεται	succeeded [1] succeeded [2,4] succession [3]	Now during the twelfth year of the reign of Hadrian, Telesphorus, the seventh from the Apostles, succeeded Xystus.	Rome. Chronology. Succession.
4.21	IV.5.5	ἐπισκοπῆς	bishopric [1] bishop [2] episcopate [3,4]	Xystus, who had completed ten years in the bishopric of the Romans,	Rome. Chronology. Succession. Duration of Term.
4.22	IV.5.5	παροικίας τὴν προστασίαν	government of the diocese [1] the rule [2] the episcopate [3] the leadership [4]	...and one year and some months later Eumenes succeeded to the government of the diocese of Alexandria	Alexandria. Chronology. Succession.
4.23	IV.5.5	ἕκτω κλήρῳ διαδέχεται	the sixth bishop [1] the sixth to be appointed [2] the sixth in order in the episcopate [3] the sixth in order [4]	... as the sixth bishop, when his predecessor had completed 11 years.	Alexandria. Chronology. Succession. Duration of Term.
4.24	IV.6.4	ἐπισκόπου... λειτουργίαν	bishops [1,2,4] bishop [3]	... after the Jewish bishops the first [Gentile] who was appointed to minister to those there was Marcus.	Jerusalem. The Gentile composition of the church. The first Gentile bishop.
4.25	IV.10.1	τῆς λειτουργίας	ministry [1,2] episcopate [3,4]	In his [Antonius Pius] first year Telesphorus passed away in the eleventh year of his ministry...	Rome. Chronology. Succession. Duration of Term.

No.	Ecc Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
4.26	IV.10.1	κλήρον... τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς	the bishopric [1] the office of bishop [2] the charge [3] bishop [4]	...and Hyginus received the lot of the bishopric of the Romans.	Rome. Chronology. Succession.
4.27	IV.10.1	τὸν ἐπίσκοπον	the bishop [1-4]	Irenaeus relates... in the time of Hyginus, the aforementioned bishop of Rome...	Rome. Account by Irenaeus.
4.28	IV.11.1	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1,2,4] the episcopate [3]	...in the days of Hyginus, the ninth bishop...	As above.
4.29	IV.11.2	ἐνατον κλήρον ...διαδοχῆς	ninth place in the apostolic succession [1] the ninth bishop [2] the ninth, that held the episcopate in succession from the apostles [3] the ninth in the episcopal succession from the apostles [4]	...in the time of Hyginus, who held the ninth place in the apostolic succession from the apostles.	As above.
4.30	IV.11.6	τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς	the episcopate [1] as bishop [2] his office [3] his episcopate [4]	After the fourth year of his episcopate Hyginus died and...	Rome. Chronology. Succession. Duration of Term.
4.31	IV.11.6	τὴν λειτουργίαν	the ministry [1] the office [2] the episcopate [3] the government of the church [4]	...and Pius undertook the ministry of Rome.	Rome. Chronology. Succession.
4.32	IV.11.6	ἀναδείκνυται ποιμῆν	was appointed [1] appointed pastor [2,4] appointed the pastor [3]	In Alexandria Marcus was appointed [pastor] after Eumenes had completed thirteen years,...	Alexandria. Chronology. Succession. Duration of Term.
4.33	IV.11.6	τῆς λειτουργίας	the ministry [1] his ministry [2] his ministrations [3] holding office [4]	and when Marcus rested from the ministry of the church after ten years,...	Alexandria. Chronology. Succession. Duration of Term.
4.34	IV.11.6	τὴν λειτουργίαν	the ministry [1,2] charge of the church [3] the government of the church [4]	... Celadion received the ministry of the church of the Alexandrians.	Alexandria. Chronology. Succession.
4.35	IV.11.7	τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς	ministry [1] episcopate [2-4]	In the city of the Romans Pius passed away in the fifteenth year of his ministry ...	Rome. Chronology. Succession. Duration of Term.

No.	Excl Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
4.36	IV.11.7	προίσταται	presided [1] took charge [2] governed [3] the leadership [4]	...and Anicetus presided over those there [Rome].	Rome. Chronology. Succession.
4.37	IV.11.8	τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς	the episcopate [1-4]	In his time Hegesippus states that he stayed in Rome and remained there until the episcopate of Eleutherus.	Rome. Chronology. Account of Hegesippus.
4.38	IV.13.8	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	Further testimony to these events is given by Melito, the famous bishop of the church in Sardis at that time...	Sardis. Apology written by Melito to the Emperor Verus.
4.39	IV.14.1	ἐκκλησίας ἡγουμένου	ruling the church [1] head of the church [2-4]	During the time of the emperors referred to, while Anicetus was ruling the church of Rome...	Rome. Chronology.
4.40	IV.14.3	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	And Polycarp... was also appointed bishop by apostles in Asia in the church in Smyrna.	Smyrna. Apostolic authority. Story about Polycarp written by Irenaeus from the third book <i>Against Heresies</i> .
4.41	IV.14.5	ὅτε καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀνικίτου	In the time of Anicetus [1,2,4] under the episcopate of Anicetus [3]	In the time of Anicetus he visited Rome.	Rome. Chronology. Anicetus, bishop of Rome 155-166.
4.42	IV.15.2	ἐκκλησίας ἡγεῖτο	the church of which he was leader [1] the church over which he had presided [2] he superintended [3] he himself presided [4]	The document purports to be from the church of which he [Polycarp] was the leader.	Account of Polycarp's martyrdom.
4.43	IV.15.39	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	Polycarp, who in our days was an apostolic and prophetic teacher, bishop of the Catholic Church in Smyrna.	Smyrna. Account of Polycarp's martyrdom.
4.44	IV.19.1	τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ..διαδέχεται	the bishopric [1] bishop [2,4] the episcopate [3]	Now when the reign of this emperor... Soter succeeded Anicetus in the bishopric of Rome, who had completed 11 years...	Rome. Chronology. Succession. Duration of Term.

No.	Ecd Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
4.45	IV.19.1	παροικίας... προστάντος	presided over the diocese [1] headed the see [2] presided over the church [3,4]	When Celadion had presided over the diocese of the Alexandrians for 14 years,...	Alexandria. Chronology. Succession Duration of Term.
4.46	IV.20.1	τὴν διαδοχὴν	the succession [1,2] succeeded [3,4]	Agrippinus took up the succession.	Alexandria. Chronology. Succession.
4.47	IV.20.1	ἕκτος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων	sixth from the apostles [1,2,4] sixth in succession from the apostles [3]	...and in the church of the Antiochians, the famous Theophilus was the sixth from the apostles...	Antioch. Chronology. Apostolic Succession.
4.48	IV.20.1	τετάρτου	the fourth [1,2,4] the fourth of those that presided there [3]	the fourth having been Cornelius,...	Antioch. Chronology. Apostolic Succession.
4.49	IV.20.1	τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν διαδεξαμένου	the bishopric [1,2] the episcopate [3] office of bishop [4]	Cornelius after Hero, and after Cornelius Eros had succeeded to the bishopric in the fifth place.	Antioch. Chronology. Apostolic Succession.
4.50	IV.21.1	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	At this time ... Dionysius, bishop of the Corinthians...	Corinth. Chronology.
4.51	IV.21.1	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	...and Pinytus, another bishop of the Cretans, and Phillip, and in addition to them Apolinarius and Melito and Musanus and Modestus, and above all, Irenaeus.	Crete. Chronology.
4.52	IV.22.1	ἐπισκόποις	bishops [1-4]	... he [Hegesippus] explains how when travelling as far as Rome he mingled with many bishops and that he found the same doctrine among them all.	Hegesippus' travels verify the unity of doctrine among the bishops.
4.53	IV.22.2	ἐπισκοπεύοντος	bishop [1-4]	...the church of the Corinthians remained in the true doctrine until Primas was bishop of Corinth...	Corinth. Hegesippus' commentary.
4.54	IV.22.3	διαδοχὴν	the succession [1,3,4] line of bishops [2]	When I was in Rome I recovered the list of the succession until Anicetus,...	Hegesippus finds the list of succession in Rome.
4.55	IV.22.3	διαδέχεται	succeeded [1-4]	Soter succeeded Anicetus, and after him came Eleutherus.	Rome. Succession.

No.	Ext Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
4.56	IV.22.4	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	After James... Symeon, his cousin... was appointed bishop, whom they all proposed because he was another cousin of the Lord.	Jerusalem. Succession.
4.57	*IV.22.5	ἐπίσκοπον	bishop [1-4]	...but Thebouthis, because he had not be made bishop, begins its corruption by the seven heresies, to which he belonged.	Thebouthis begins a heresy because of not being made bishop.
4.58	IV.23.1	παροικίας... τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς... θρόνον	throne of the episcopate [1] enthroned as bishop [2] appointed over the church [3] appointed bishop of the church [4]	Concerning Dionysius it must first be said that he was appointed to the throne of the episcopate of the diocese of Corinth.	Corinth. Report on Dionysius' outstanding reputation.
4.59	IV.23.2	τὸν προεστώτα	leader [1] bishop [2,3] ruler [4]	... since the martyrdom of Publius, their leader...	Athens. Martyrdom.
4.60	IV.23.3	ἐπισκόπου	bishop [1-4]	... Quadratus was appointed their bishop after the martyrdom of Publius...	Athens. Martyrdom. Succession.
4.61	IV.23.4	τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν	the bishopric [1] bishop [2] the episcopate [3,4]	Dionysius the Areopagite... was the first to be appointed to the bishopric of the diocese of Athens.	Athens. Apostolic authority.
4.62	IV.23.5	ἐπίσκοπον	bishop [1-4]	... and welcomes their bishop Philip...	Gortyna, Crete. Philip commended for his noble acts and position against heretical error.
4.63	IV.23.6	ἐπίσκοπον	bishop [1-4]	... and mentions by name their bishop Palmas	Amastria. Letter from Dionysius to the church at Amastria.
4.64	IV.23.7	παροικίας ἐπίσκοπον	bishop [1-4]	To this list has been added another epistle to Cnossus, in which he exhorts Pinytos, the bishop of the diocese, not to put on the brethren a heavy compulsory burden concerning chastity...	Cnossus. Letter from Dionysius to Pinytos.
4.65	IV.23.9	ἐπισκόπου	bishop [1-4]	... addressed to Soter who was then bishop,...	Rome. Letter from Dionysius to Soter.

No.	Excl Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
4.66	IV.23.10	ἐπίσκοπος	blessed bishop [1,4] revered bishop [2] bishop [3]	Your blessed bishop Soter has not only carried on this habit but has even increased it, by administering the bounty...	Rome. Letter from Dionysius applauding the distribution of aid by Soter.
4.67	IV.24.1	ἐπίσκοπον	bishop [1-4]	Of Theophilus, who we have mentioned as bishop of the church of the Antiochenes	Antioch. Theophilus' writings.
4.68	IV.24.1	ποιμένες	shepherds [1] pastors [2-4]	Heretics were even then no less defiling the pure seed of apostolic teaching like tares, and the shepherds of the churches in every place... excluded them	Theophilus' writings. Campaign against heretical groups.
4.69	IV.24.1	διαδέχεται	successor [1] bishop [2] succeeded [3] succeeded as bishop [4]	His successor in the church of the Antiochenes was Maximinus, seventh from the apostles.	Antioch. Apostolic Succession.
4.70	IV.25.1	ἐπίσκοπον	bishop [1-4]	Philip, whom we know from the words of Dionysius as bishop of the diocese in Gortyna...	Gortyna. Philip's writing against Marcion.
4.71	IV.26.1	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	In their time, too, Melito, bishop of the diocese of Sardis...	Sardis. Melito's apologetic argument to the emperor (Marcus Aurelius).
4.72	IV.26.1	ἐν Ἱεραπόλει	bishop [1-4]	... and Apolinarius, bishop of Hierapolis	Hierapolis. Apolinarius' apologetic argument to the emperor (Marcus Aurelius).
4.73	IV.30.3	ἐπίσκοποι	bishop [1-4]	At this time Soter, bishop of Rome, died.	Rome. Chronology.
5.1	V.Table.6	ἐπισκοπευσάντων	bishops [1-4]	The list of those who were bishops in Rome	Title.
5.2	V.Table.9	ἐπισκοπεύσαντες	bishops [1-4]	Those who were bishops under Commodus	Title.
5.3	V.Table.12	ἐπισκόπων	bishops [1-4]	On the bishops in Jerusalem	Title.
5.4	V.Table.22	ἐπίσκοποι	bishops [1-4]	What bishops were famous in these times.	Title.
5.5	V.Intro	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	Soter, the bishop of the church of Rome, ended his life in the eighth year of his rule.	Rome. Chronology. Duration of Term.

No.	Ecd Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
5.6	V.Intro	ἡγησάμενος	his rule [1,2] episcopate [3,4]	Soter, the bishop of the church of Rome, ended his life in the eighth year of his rule.	Rome. Chronology. Duration of Term
5.7	V.Intro	διαδέχεται	succeeded [1-4]	To him succeeded Eleutherus, the twelfth from the apostles,	Rome. Chronology. Apostolic Succession.
5.8	V.1.29	τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ...πεπιστευμένοι	the bishopric [1,4] the diocese [2] the episcopate [3]	The blessed Pothinus, who had been entrusted with the ministry of the bishopric at Lyons...	Lyons. Martyrdom.
5.9	V.3.4	ἐπισκόπῳ	bishop [1-4]	...Eleutherus, who was then bishop of the Romans..	Rome. Letter composed by various martyrs were collected and sent to Eleutherus.
5.10	V.4.1	ἐπισκόπῳ... (πάτερ)	bishop [1-4]	...the same martyrs commended to the aforementioned bishop of Rome... Father Eleutherus...	Rome. Letter to Eleutherus.
5.11	V.5.8	τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν διαδέχεται	the episcopacy [1] the bishopric [2] the episcopate [3,4]	Irenaeus received the episcopacy of the diocese in Lyons	Lyons. Chronology. Irenaeus promoted from presbyter to bishop.
5.12	V.5.8	ἡγεῖτο	head [1] headed [2]	...of which Pothinus had been the head	Lyons. Chronology. Succession.
5.13	V.5.9	τὴν διαδοχὴν ἐπισκόπων	the succession of the bishops [1-3] list of the bishops [4]	...he [Irenaeus] gives the successions of the bishops in Rome as far back as Eleutherus...	Writings of Irenaeus re. succession of bishops at Rome.
5.14	V.6.1	τὴν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λειτουργίαν	the ministry of the episcopate [1] episcopal office [2] office of the episcopate [3,4]	... the apostles... gave the ministry of the episcopate to Linus.	Rome. Apostolic Succession.
5.15	V.6.1	διαδέχεται	succeeded [1-4]	Anacleus succeeded him...	Rome. Apostolic Succession.
5.16	V.6.2	τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν κληροῦται	the episcopate [1,3,4] the bishopric [2]	...after him Clement obtained the episcopate in the third place from the apostles.	Rome. Apostolic Succession.



No.	Ecc Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
5.17	V.6.4	διαδέχεται	succeeded [1-4]	Evarestus succeeded to this Clement and Alexander to Evarestus...	Rome. Apostolic Succession.
5.18	V.6.4	ἕκτος ...καθίσταται	appointed the sixth [1,2] the sixth [3,4]	and then Xystus was appointed as the sixth from the apostles, and after him Telesphorus... then Hyginus, the Pius, after him Anicetus.	Rome. Apostolic Succession.
5.19	V.6.4	διαδεξαμένου	succeeded [1-4]	Soter succeeded Anicetus, and now in the twelfth place from the apostles...	Rome. Apostolic Succession.
5.20	V.6.4	τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς κατέχει κλῆρον	the lot of the episcopate [1] the position [2] the episcopate [3] the office of the bishop [4]	Eleutherus holds the lot of the episcopate.	Rome. Apostolic Succession.
5.21	V.9.1	ἐγχειρίζεται τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν	the episcopate [1,4] archbishopric [2] superintendence[sic] [3]	...Julian was appointed to the episcopate of the churches in Alexandria...	Alexandria. Chronology. Succession.
5.22	V.9.1	τὴν λειτουργίαν	ministry [1,2] the office [3,4]	... when Agrippinus had completed his ministry after twelve years.	Alexandria. Chronology. Succession. Duration of Term.
5.23	V.11.2	ἐκκλησίας ἡγησάμενός	ruled the church [1] head of the church [2,4] presided over the church [3]	... Clement...who had once ruled the church of Rome	Clement of Alexandria, namesake of Clement of Rome, is discussed in relation to his studies with Pantaeus.
5.24	V.12.1	ἐπίσκοπος...διαδοχὴν	bishop [1-4]	...Narcissus, bishop of the church at Jerusalem. He held the succession in the fifteenth place...	Jerusalem. Chronology. Succession.
5.25	V.12.2	ἐπίσκοπον	bishops [1] bishop [2-4]	... the first of the Gentile bishops was Marcus.	Jerusalem. Chronology. Apostolic Succession.

No.	Ecd Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
5.26	V.12.2	ἐπισκοπεῖσαι (διαδοχαί)	was bishop [1] came bishop [2] held the episcopal office [3] in the episcopate [4]	After him... Cassian was bishop, and after him Publius, then Maximus... Julian... Gaius... after him Symmachus... Gaius the second, and then another Julian, and Capito, ... Valens and Dolichianus...	Jerusalem. Chronology. Apostolic Succession.
5.27	V.12.2	Νάρκισσον, τριακοστὸν ἀπο τῶν ἀποστόλων κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐξῆς διαδοχὴν γεγονυμένον	the thirtieth from the apostles [1,2] the thirtieth in regular succession [3,4]	...and after them all Narcissus, the thirtieth from the apostles according to the regular succession.	Jerusalem. Chronology. Apostolic Succession.
5.28	V.15.1	ὧν ἡγεῖτο	the leader [1] led [2] at the head [3] chief [4]	...in Rome of which Florinus was the leader.	Rome. Florinus, once turned out of the presbytery was now the "leader" of a heresy.
5.29	V.16.16	ιεροὺς ἐπισκόπους	the sacred bishops [1] the holy bishops [2-4]	... the sacred bishops of that time tried to refute the spirit that was in Maximilla...	Confrontation with the spirit in Maximilla.
5.30	V.16.17	ἐπισκόπους	bishops [1-4]	- eminent men and bishops, Zoticus from the village Cumane, and Julian from Apamea...	Cumane and Apamea. Bishops (Zoticus and Julian) who tested the spirit in Maximilla.
5.31	V.19.1	ἐπίσκοπον	bishop [1-4]	...Serapion was bishop of Antioch after Maximinus	Letter from Serapion refuting heresy.
5.32	V.19.3	ἐπισκόπου	bishop [1,2,4] that most blessed bishop [3]	...the writings of Claudius Apolinarius, the bishop of Hierapolis in Asia	The writings of Claudius Apolinarius.
5.33	V.19.3	ἐπίσκοποι	bishops [1-4]	the signatures of various bishops...I, Aurelius Cyrenaeus, a martyr...	Signatures of bishops.
5.34	V.19.4	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	I, Aelius Publius Julius, bishop of Debeltum, ...	Debeltum, colony of Thrace. Signatures of bishops.
5.35	V.19.4	ἐπισκόπων	bishops [1-4]	The autograph signatures of many other bishops who agreed...	Signatures of bishops.

No.	Excl Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
5.36	V.22.1	διαδέχεται	succeeded [1-4]	In the tenth year of the reign of Commodus Victor succeeded Eleutherus...	Rome, Chronology, Succession.
5.37	V.22.1	τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν λε λειτουργηκότα	the episcopate [1,3,4] bishop [2]	...Eleutherus who had served in the episcopate thirteen years.	Rome, Chronology, Succession. Duration of Term, Famous bishops.
5.38	V.22.1	παροικίων τὴν λειτουργίαν	administration of the dioceses [1] responsibility for the Alexandrian province [2] the episcopal charge of the churches [3] the charge of the parishes [4]	Julian had completed his tenth year, and Demetrius was appointed to the administration of the Alexandrian dioceses	Alexandria, Chronology, Succession, Famous bishops.
5.39	V.22.1	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	... the famous Serapion...was bishop of the church of Antioch and the eighth from the apostles.	Antioch, Chronology, Apostolic Succession, Duration of Term, Famous bishops.
5.40	V.22.1	ἡγεῖτο	ruled [1] headed by [2] presided [3,4]	Theophilus ruled Caesarea in Palestine	Caesarea, Palestine, Chronology, Famous bishops.
5.41	V.22.1	ἐκκλησίας ἔτι τότε τὴν λειτουργίαν εἶχεν	holding the administration of the church [1] responsible for the Jerusalem diocese [2] had the administration of the church in Jerusalem [3] had the charge of the church at Jerusalem	Narcissus.... was still holding the administration of the church at Jerusalem	Jerusalem, Chronology, Famous bishops.
5.42	V.22.1	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1,3,4] bishops [2]	Bacchylus was bishop of Corinth in Greece	Greece, Chronology, Famous bishops.
5.43	V.22.1	παροικίας	of the diocese [1,2] of the church [3] of the parish [4]	... and Polycrates of the diocese of Ephesus.	Ephesus, Chronology, Famous bishops.
5.44	V.23.2	ἐπισκόπων	bishops [1-4]	Many meetings and conferences with bishops were held on this point...	Conferences held to determine the orthodox date for the Saviour's Passover.

No.	Ecd Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
5.45	V.23.3	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	Theophilus, bishop of the diocese of Caesarea (Palestine)	Caesarea, Palestine. Theophilus, one of the bishops who convened at the council.
5.46	V.23.3	τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις	bishop [1,3,4] of Jerusalem [2]	...Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem;...	Jerusalem. Narcissus, one of the bishops who convened at the council.
5.47	V.23.3	ἐπίσκοπον	bishop [1,2,4]	...in Rome... Victor as bishop;...	Rome. Reference to a council at Rome.
5.48	V.23.3	ἐπισκόπων	bishops [1-4]	...bishops of Pontus over whom Palmas presided as the oldest...	Pontus. Reference to a council at Rome.
5.49	V.23.3	παροικίων ἐπισκόπει	bishop [1,4] presided [2,3]	...dioceses of Gaul, of which Irenaeus was bishop;...	Gaul. Reference to a council at Rome.
5.50	V.23.3	ἐπισκόπου	bishop [1-4]	Bacchylus, the bishop of the church of Corinth;...	Corinth. Reference to a council at Rome.
5.51	V.24.1	ἐπισκόπων	bishops [1-4]	the bishops in Asia were led by Polycrates	Asia. The council of bishops in Asia prefer to keep the custom handed down to them.
5.52	V.24.4	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	Polycarp at Smyrna, both bishop and martyr	Reference to the "fathers" who kept the fourteenth day of the Passover according to the gospel.
5.53	V.24.4	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	Thraseas, both bishop and martyr, from Eumeneia	As above.
5.54	V.24.5	ἐπίσκοπον	bishop [1-4]	Sagaris, bishop and martyr	As above.
5.55	V.24.6	ἐπίσκοποι	bishops [1-4]	For seven of my family were bishops and I [Polycrates] am the eighth...	Polycrates' appeal to family lineage and tradition.

No.	Earl Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
5.56	V.24.8	ἐπισκόπων	the bishops [1-4]	He [Polycrates] continues about the bishops...	Polycrates refers to other bishops who agreed with his letter re. Passover.
5.57	V.24.8	τῶν ἐπισκόπων	the bishops [1-4]	And I could mention the bishops who are present...	As above.
5.58	V.24.9	προεστῶν	presided at Rome [1] head of the Roman church [2] bishop of the church of Rome [3] who presided over the church at Rome [4]	...Victor, who presided at Rome, immediately tried to cut off from the common unity the dioceses of all Asia...	Victor, the Roman bishop acts in haste to discipline the Asian sees.
5.59	V.24.10	ἐπισκόποις	all [1] all the bishops [2-4]	But by no means all [the bishops] were pleased by this,...	Opposition to Victor.
5.60	V.24.11	ὧν ἡγεῖτο	leader [1] responsible for [2] he presided [3,4]	...among them too Irenaeus, writing in the name of the Christians whose leader he was in Gaul.	Irenaeus led the opposition to Victor.
5.61	V.24.14	οἱ προστάντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας	presided [1,4] in charge [2] governed [3]	the presbyters before Soter, who presided over the church...Anicetus, Pius, Telesphorus and Xystus.	Irenaeus appeals to the earlier practises by Roman bishops, i.e. didn't reject other dioceses with different customs.
5.62	V.24.14	ἀφ' ἧ	leader [1] leader [2] preside [3] now rulest [4]	over the church of which you are now leader,...	As above.
5.63	V.24.18	ἀρχουσιν ἐκκλησιῶν	rulers [1,3,4] heads of churches [2]	...not only with Victor but also with many other rulers of churches.	Irenaeus' correspondence to many bishops, not just Victor.
5.64	V.25.1	Παλαιστίνης	The Palestinians [1] The Palestinian bishops [2] The bishops of Palestine [3] Those in Palestine [4]	The Palestinians/whom we have recently mentioned...	The Palestinian bishops composed a letter regarding the Passover.
5.65	V.25.1	ἐπίσκοπος... ἐκ διαδοχῆς	bishop [1-4]	...Narcissus and Theophilus, and with them Cassius, the bishop of the church in Tyre..	As above.

No.	Ecd Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
5.66	V.25.1	τῆς ἐν Πτολεμαίδι	bishop [1] of Ptolemais [2,3] of the church of Ptolemais	...and Clarus, the bishop of the church in Ptolemais,...	As above.
5.67	V.28.3	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	...Victor, who was the thirteenth bishop in Rome after Peter,...	A treatise by an unknown writer who restates the heresy of Artemon, which Paul of Samosata tried to renew.
5.68	V.28.3	τοῦ διαδόχου	successor [1-4]	the truth had been corrupted from the time of his [Victor's] successor, Zephyrinus.	As above. The heresy tried to argue for corruption in the succession of truth at Rome.
5.69	V.28.7	προστέντος τῆς λειτουργίας διάδοχος	held his office [1] held office [2] superintended the church [3] his bishopric [4]	Such were the events in the time of Victor. When he had held his office ten years,...	Rome. Chronology. Succession. Duration of Term.
5.70	V.28.7	διάδοχος	appointed his successor [1,3,4] appointed to succeed [2]	...Zephyrinus was appointed his successor in the ninth year of the reign of Severus.	Rome. Chronology. Succession.
5.71	V.28.10	ἐπισκόπου	bishop [1-4]	...excommunicated by Victor... who was then bishop.	Excommunication of heretics by Victor.
5.72	V.28.10	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	Natalius... bishop of this heresy*	Heretical bishop - Natalius.
5.73	V.28.12	τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ	the bishop [1-4]	Natalius...fell down with tears before Zephyrinus the bishop,...	Natalius repents before Zephyrinus and is "scarcely admitted in."
6.1	VI.Table.10	ἐπισκόπων	bishops [1,3,4]	On the bishops at Jerusalem	Chapter title
6.2	VI.Table.21	ἐπίσκοποι	bishops [1,3,4]	What bishops were well known in the time of these persons	Chapter title
6.3	VI.Table.26	ἐπίσκοποι	bishops [1-4] <sup>432</sup>	How the bishops regarded him	Chapter title - reference to Origen

<sup>432</sup> Cruse and McGiffert have a different order than Oulten and Williamson. VI. 26 and VI.27 are reversed.

No.	Ecd Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
6.4	VI.Table.27	ἐπισκοπήν	the episcopate [1,3] bishop [4]	How Heraclas succeeded to the episcopate of the Alexandrians	Chapter title
6.5	VI.Table.29	ἐπίσκοποι	bishop [1-4]	On Fabian, how he was miraculously designated bishop of the Romans by God.	Chapter title
6.6	VI.Table.35	ἐπισκοπήν	the episcopate [1,3,4]	How Dionysius succeeded Heraclas in the episcopate.	Chapter title
6.7	VI.2.2	παροικίων τὴν ἐπισκοπήν	the episcopate of the communities [1] archbishop [2] episcopal administration [3] the episcopate of the parishes [4]	... and Demetrius had just then received the episcopate of the communities there in succession to Julian	Alexandria
6.8	VI.3.2	τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς	the bishopric [1,4] bishop [2] the episcopate [3]	...Heraclas, Plutarch's brother. ...was deemed worthy of the bishopric of the Alexandrians in succession to Demetrius.	Alexandria
6.9	VI.3.8	προεστῶτος	president [1] prelate [2] bishop [3] presided [4]	... Demetrius, the president of the church	the task of instruction had been entrusted to Origen by the bishop of Alexandria - to him alone.
6.10	VI.8.3	προεστῶς	presiding [1] head of the diocese [2] bishop [3] presided over that parish [4]	Demetrius... was presiding over the community	Alexandria. Demetrius learns of Origen's "act." At first is positive according to Eusebius.
6.11	VI.8.4	ἐπισκόποις	bishops [1-4]	he [Demetrius] attempted to describe the deed as monstrous to the bishops throughout the world.	Demetrius changes his opinion of Origen's "act" and uses it against him.
6.12	VI.8.4	ἐπίσκοποι	bishops [1-4]	... when the most distinguished bishops in Palestine ... deeming Origen worthy of privilege and the highest honour...	Eusebius contrasts "distinguished bishops" against Demetrius.
6.13	VI.8.7	ἐπίσκοπον	bishop [1-4]	... Alexander... bishop of the church at Jerusalem...	Jerusalem.

No.	Ext Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
6.14	VI.8.7	ἐπισκοπῆς	bishopric [1] the appointment [2] the episcopate [3,4]	... Alexander... deemed worthy of the said bishopric, distinguished as he was for his confessions of Christ; Narcissus his predecessor being still alive.	Jerusalem.
6.15	VI.10.1	προεστώσιν	those presiding [1,4] the heads [2] the bishops [3]	But as Narcissus had retired...it seemed good to those presiding over the neighbouring churches	Jerusalem.
6.16	VI.10.1	ἐπισκόπου	bishop [1-4]	... the appointment of another bishop.	Replace the retiring Narcissus at Jerusalem.
6.17	VI.10.1	προσθέντα... διαδέχεται	presidency [1] prelate [2] presiding [3] presided [4]	After a brief presidency he [Dius] was succeeded by Germanion, and he in turn by Gordius.	Succession at Jerusalem.
6.18	VI.10.1	τὴν προστασάν	the presidency [1] prelature [2] the episcopate [3,4]	...Narcissus... was once more summoned to the presidency by the brethren..	Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem returns to the episcopate after an absence.
6.19	VI.11.1	ἐπίσκοπον	bishop [1,3,4] bishopric [2]	...Alexander, being bishop of another community...	Alexander, bishop of an unknown see in Cappadocia, is appointed the see of Jerusalem to joint ministry with Narcissus.
6.20	VI.11.2	τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς	the episcopate [1,4] his original see [2] where he was first made bishop [3]	from the land of the Cappadocians, where he was first deemed worthy of the episcopate...	Alexander given the joint ministry "for the purpose of prayer and investigation of the sacred places"
6.21	VI.11.2	ἐπίσκοπον	bishop [1-3]	...welcome as their bishop him who was fore-ordained of God.	People of Jerusalem welcoming Alexander.
6.22	VI.11.2	τῶν ἐπισκόπων... διείπον ἐκκλησίας	bishops [1-4]	... with the common consent of the bishops who were administering the churches round about, they compelled him ... to stay	Practise of having neighbouring bishops give consent. Likely because of the precedent-setting nature of joint ministry.



No.	Ecl Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
6.23	VI.11.3	προεδρία	the chief place [1] the episcopal throne [2] the episcopal office [3] the joint episcopate	... Narcissus as holding the chief place	Letter from Alexander to the Antinoites.
6.24	VI.11.3	τὸν τόπον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς	the position of the bishop [1] bishop of this diocese [2] the episcopate [3],4]	Narcissus greets you, who before me was holding the position of the bishop	As above.
6.25	VI.11.4	τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν διαδέχεται	the bishopric [1] bishop [2] succeeded [3] the episcopate [4]	But when Serapion entered upon his rest, Asclepiades succeeded to the bishopric of the church at Antioch,...	Antioch.
6.26	VI.11.5	τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς	the bishopric [1,2,4] the episcopate [3]	... Asclepiades, entrusted with the bishopric of your holy church of the Antiochenes.	Antioch.
6.27	VI.13.3	τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ	the bishop [1-4]	Clement [of Alexandria] dedicated one of his writings to Alexander [Cappadocia/Jerusalem]	
6.28	VI.14.10	τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἡγουμένου	ruling the church [1] head of the Roman church [2] bishop [3,4]	...when Zephyrinus was at that time ruling the church of the Romans	Reference to (Adamantius) Origen i.e. he had spent some time in Rome, presumably teaching.
6.29	VI.14.11	ἐπισκόπου	bishop [1-4]	...Demetrius, the bishop of the people there...	Reference to Origen. After he spent time in Rome, he returned to Alexandria to do his "customary work of instruction."
6.30	VI.19.15	παροικίας τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ	the bishop [1-4]	... Demetrius, the bishop of the community...	Letters delivered to Demetrius, and to the governor of Egypt from the ruler of Arabia to send Origen for an interview with him.
6.31	VI.19.16	οἱ ἐπίσκοποι	the bishops [1-4]	the bishops there [Caesarea] requested him to discourse and expound the divine Scriptures publicly in the church.	Reference to Origen. The bishops of Caesarea request Origen to teach them from the Scriptures - publicly!

No.	Ecd Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
6.32	VI.19.16	ἐπίσκοποι	bishop [1,3,4] bishops [2]	...Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem,...	Reference to Origen. These bishops write to Demetrius in Origen's defence.
6.33	VI.19.16	ὁ Καισαρείας	bishop [1,3] bishops [2] of Caesarea [4]	...and Theoctistus, the bishop of Caesarea,...	As above
6.34	VI.19.17	ἐπισκόπων	bishops [1-4]	that laymen should preach in the presence of bishops...	Reference to Origen re. his unique ability and understanding make him set a precedent in his ability to teach even bishops while not one himself.
6.35	VI.19.18	τῶν ἁγίων ἐπισκόπων	the holy bishops [1-4]	...persons suited... are invited to preach to the people by the holy bishops...	Reference to the practise of allowing persons to teach with episcopal approval.
6.36	VI.19.18	τῶν μακαρίων ἀδελφῶν	blessed brother bishops [1,2] blessed brethren [3,4]	Neon...Celsus,... Atticus, our blessed brother bishops.	As above
6.37	VI.19.18	ἐπισκόπων	bishops [1-4]	... the bishops in a foreign land	Reference to Origen. He was honoured, not only by his fellow-countrymen, but also by the bishops in a foreign land.
6.38	VI.20.1	διέπωντος ἐκκλησίαν	ruling the church [1] presided [2,4] bishop [3]	... the library at Aelia [Jerusalem], equipped by Alexander, then ruling the church there;...	Reference to learned churchmen.
6.39	VI.20.2	ἐπίσκοποι	bishop [1-4]	Beryllus... bishop of the Arabians at Bostra.	Beryllus' writings.
6.40	VI.20.2	προεστῶς ἐκκλησίας	presided [1,4] a prelate [2] bishop [3]	Hippolytus, who also presided over another church somewhere.	Hippolytus' writings. Note as well the comment that he presided over "another church somewhere."
6.41	VI.21.1	ἐπίσκοποι	bishop [1-4]	...Zephyrinus, the bishop of the Romans	Chronology. Duration of episcopal term.

No.	Ecl Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
6.42	VI.21.2	τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐγχειρίζεται	the episcopate [1-4]	After him, Callistus was entrusted with the episcopate.	Chronology. Duration of episcopal term. Succession.
6.43	VI.21.2	τὴν λειτουργίαν	the ministry [1] his office [2] the church [3] succeeded [4]	...he [Callistus] survived five years and then left the ministry to Urban.	Chronology. Duration of episcopal term. Succession.
6.44	VI.21.2	ἐκκλησίας... διαδέχεται	succeeded [1,2,4] succeeds [3]	At this time also Philetus succeeded Asclepiades in the church of the Antiochenes.	Chronology. Succession.
6.45	VI.23.2	ἐπισκεύσαντα... ἐκκλησίας... διαδέχεται	bishop [1-4]	Such was the state of affairs when Pontianus succeeded Urban, who had been bishop of the church of the Romans for eight years,...	Chronology. Succession. Duration of Term.
6.46	VI.23.3	ἐκκλησιαστικῶν	bishop of the church [1] episcopate [2] succeeded [3,4]	... and Zebennus came after Philetus as [bishop] of the [church] of the Antiochenes.	Chronology. Reference to Origen re. his ordination to the presbyterate at Caesarea.
6.47	VI.23.4	ἐπισκόπων	bishops [1-4]	Origen...received the laying-on of hands for the presbyterate at Caesarea from the bishops there.	Origen's ordination.
6.48	VI.23.4	προεστώσιν	presided [1,4] the prelates [2] bishops [3]	The agitation that was set on foot concerning him [Origen] on this account, and the decisions made by those who presided over the churches on the matters agitated...	The decisions that caused agitation were made by bishops. Eusebius emphasizes an <i>Apology</i> written on his (Origen's) behalf.
6.49	VI.25.14	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	... Clement, who was bishop of the Romans,...	Authorship of Hebrews. Eusebius himself believes it to be Pauline thought by a different writer. He relates that Clement and Luke are possible authors.
6.50	VI.26.1	ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος... τῇ λειτουργίᾳ	bishop [1-4]	And not long afterward Demetrius, the bishop of Alexandria died, having continued in the ministry for forty-three entire years.	Alexandria. Chronology. Succession. Duration of term.
6.51	VI.26.1	διαδέχεται	succeeded [1-4]	He was succeeded by Heraclas.	Alexandria. Chronology. Succession.

No.	Eccl Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
6.52	VI.27.1	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	At this time Firmilian, Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, paid a remarkable tribute to Origen [2]	Reference to Origen re. Firmilian's endorsement of Origen's teaching ministry, that the bishop himself could benefit from..
6.53	VI.27.1	προεδρῶς	presided [1] head of [2] bishop [3,4]	Alexander, who presided over the church of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus [who presided] at Caesarea, continued their attendance on him... as their only teacher	Reference to Origen re. his exclusive role as teacher to Alexander and Theoctistus.
6.54	VI.29.1	ἐπισκοπεύσαντα	bishop [1,2,4] held the episcopate [3]	Pontianus, when he had been bishop of the church of Rome for six years,	Chronology. Rome.
6.55	VI.29.1	διαδέχεται... τῇ λειτουργίᾳ	bishop [1,2,4] the episcopate [3]	...[Pontianus] was succeeded by Anteros; who exercised his ministry for a month, and was succeeded by Fabian.	Chronology. Rome. Miracle of Fabian's
6.56	VI.29.4	τὸν θρόνον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς	the episcopal throne [1,3] the bishop's throne [2] the episcopal seat [4]	they took him [Fabian] and placed him on the episcopal throne.	Rome. Miraculous appointment of Fabian, the bishop candidate from the country.
6.57	VI.29.4	ἐπισκόπου	succeeded [1-4]	...Zebennus, bishop of Antioch, departed this life...	Chronology. Antioch.
6.58	VI.29.4	ἀρχὴν διαδέχεται	succeeded to the rule [1] succeeded to his position [2] succeeded in the government [3] succeeded [4]	...and Babylas succeeded to the rule	Chronology. Succession. Antioch.
6.59	VI.29.4	τὴν λειτουργίαν	the ministry [1] the office [2,3] the episcopal office [4]	..and in Alexandria, Heraclas, having received the ministry after Demetrius, was succeeded in the Catechetical School there by Dionysius, who had also been one of Origen's pupils.	Chronology. Succession. Alexandria. Reference to Origen re. his continued influence in shaping leaders.

No.	Ecd Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
6.60	VI.30.1	ἐπιστήμους μάλιστα ἐγνωμεν... ἐπισκόπων διαβόητος	renowned bishop [1] illustrious bishop [2] celebrated among the bishops [3] distinguished among the bishops [4]	...especially distinguished Theodore,... as that renowned bishop in our day, Gregory and his brother Athenodore.	Platform for Origen i.e. "Origen instilled in them a passion for philosophy and urged them to exchange their former love for the study of the divine truth." An especially strong argument if Origen can convert such prominent thinkers.
6.61	VI.30.1	ἐπισκοπῆς ...ἐκκλησιῶν	the episcopate [1,3] bishops of the churches [2] the bishopric [4]	they [Theodore, Gregory and his brother Athenodore] were deemed worthy of the episcopate in the churches of Pontus	After five years, Origen shapes them [Theodore, Gregory and his brother Athenodore] into men worthy of the episcopate.
6.62	VI.31.2	τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν... ἐκκλησίαις	the bishopric [1,2,4] the episcopate [3]	he [Africanus] says that he himself made a journey to Alexandria because of the great fame of Heraclas... who was entrusted with the bishopric of the church there.	Alexandria. Fame of Heraclas.
6.63	VI.33.1	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	Beryllus... bishop of Bostra in Arabia, perverting the church's standards.	Bostra, Arabia. Heretical Christology of Beryllus.
6.64	VI.33.2	ἐπισκόπων	bishops [1-4]	... a large number of bishops had held questionings [sic] and discussions with the man...	Synod of bishops. Reference to Origen. He corrects what was "unorthodox" about Beryllus' teaching.
6.65	VI.34.1	προεστώτος	presiding [1] the prelate [2] bishop [3] presided [4]	...him who was then presiding..	Philip [the emperor] was a Christian, but the bishop [believed to be Babylas, bishop of Antioch] would not permit him to enter the paschal vigil until he confessed.
6.66	VI.35.1	τῆς προεστίας ...ἐκκλησιῶν	presiding [1,2] the episcopate [3] held office [4]	It was the third year of his reign when Heraclas departed this life, after presiding sixteen years over the churches at Alexandria;	Chronology. Alexandria. Duration of term.

No.	Ecd Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
6.67	VI.35.1	τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν	the episcopal office [1] took office as bishop [2] supervision of the church [3] the episcopate [4]	...Dionysius took up the episcopal office.	Chronology. Alexandria.
6.68	VI.36.4	ἐπισκόπῳ	bishop [1-4]	And he wrote also to Fabian the bishop of Rome...	Reference to Origen's correspondence with bishops.
6.69	VI.36.4	ἀρχουσιν ἐκκλησιῶν	rulers of the churches [1,4] heads of the churches [2] bishops [3]	... and to very many rulers of the churches, with reference to his orthodoxy.	Reference to Origen's correspondence with bishops re. support of his orthodoxy.
6.70	VI.39.1	τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν διαδέχεται	the episcopate [1,4] bishop [2,3]	Fabian was perfected by martyrdom at Rome and was succeeded in the episcopate by Cornelius.	Rome. Martyrdom of Fabian. Succession. Chronology.
6.71	VI.39.2	ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	In Palestine, Alexander, the bishop of the church of Jerusalem,....	Jerusalem. Chronology.
6.72	VI.39.3	διάδοχος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς	the episcopate [1] the bishopric [2,4] bishop [3]	...Mazabanes was proclaimed as his {Alexander's} successor in the episcopate at Jerusalem.	Jerusalem. Succession. Chronology.
6.73	VI.39.4	προΐσταται ἐκκλησίᾳ	president of the church [1] head of the church [2] the church was governed [3] episcopate [4]	And when at Antioch Babylas, in like manner to Alexander, after confession departed this life in prison, Fabius was made president of the church there.	Antioch. Succession. Chronology.
6.74	VI.41.1	ἐπίσκοπον	bishop [1-4]	But the same person in a letter to Fabius, bishop of the Antiochenes, gives the following account of the contest...	Letter to Fabius re. those who suffered martyrdom at Alexandria under Decius.
6.75	VI.42.3	πρότερος ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	Chacremmon was bishop of the city called Nilopolis, and of extreme age.	Persecution.
6.76	VI.43.2	ἐπισκόπων	bishops [1-4]	... a very large synod was assemble at Rome, of sixty bishops and still a greater number of presbyters and deacons...	Synod at Rome re. the question about those who had proved weak in the time of persecution.

No.	Ecd Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
6.77	VI.43.2	ποιμένων	pastors [1-4]	... while in the rest of the provinces the pastors in their several regions individually considered the question...	The pastors consider the question about those who had proved weak in the time of persecution.
6.78	VI.43.3	ἐπισκόπου (τῆς ἐκκλησίας)	bishop [1-4]	... a letter of Cornelius, bishop of the Romans to Fabius, bishop of the church of the Antiochenes, telling the facts of the Roman Synod.	Correspondence between bishops re. Roman synod.
6.79	VI.43.5	τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς	the office of a bishop [1] bishop [2] the episcopate [3,4]	... this marvellous fellow [Novatus] has been seeking the office of a bishop, and has succeeded in concealing in his heart this his violent desire...	Novatus re. his seeking the office of a bishop. His reputation as treacherous, craftiness, etc.
6.80	VI.43.6	ἐπισκόπων	bishops [1-4]	... devices that he had long dissembled in his heart, they made known in the presence both of a number of bishops...	The public recognition of Novatus' treachery in the presence of bishops and other church leaders.
6.81	VI.43.7	ἐπισκοπῆς	office of a bishop [1] bishop [2] the episcopate [3] the bishopric [4]	...was in the habit of pledging himself by some terrible oaths in no wise to seek the office of a bishop...	Novatus' underhanded manner in seeking the office of a bishop.
6.82	VI.43.7	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	... of a sudden appears as a bishop	As above.
6.83	VI.43.8	ἐπισκοπήν	the episcopate [1,3,4] the bishopric [2]	...when he was attempting to wrest and filch away the episcopate that was not given him from above...	As above.
6.84	VI.43.8	ἐπισκόπους	bishops [1-4]	... and entice by some made-up device three bishops...	As above.
6.85	VI.43.9	ἐπισκόποις	bishops [1-4]	... conjointly with other bishops.	As above.
6.86	VI.43.9	ἐπισκοπήν	a bishop's office [1] bishop [2] the episcopate [3,4]	... when they were drunk... he forcibly compelled them to give him a bishop's office by a counterfeit and vain laying on of hands...	As above.

No.	Ecc Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
6.87	VI.43.10	ἐπισκόπων... διαδόχους	bishops {1,3,4} the other two {2}	One of the (bishops) not long afterwards returned to the Church, bewailing and confessing his faith...as for the remaining bishops, to these we appointed successors...	Repentance and return of a bishop. The action of the church is appointing successors to the other two bishops.
6.88	VI.43.11	ἐπίσκοπον	bishop {1-4}	This vindicator... did not know that there should be one bishop in a catholic church?	Ignorance of Novatus re. one bishop in a church. Perhaps a rhetorical question.
6.89	VI.43.13	τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς	the episcopate {1-4}	... what kind of conduct he placed his confidence so as to aspire to the episcopate.	Novatus' aspirations to be a bishop are deemed to be Satanic so as to require exorcism.
6.90	VI.43.15	ἐπισκόπου	bishop {1-4}	... sealing by the bishop.	Novatus still required the sealing of the bishop for obtaining the Holy Spirit.
6.91	VI.43.17	τοῦ ἐπισκόπου	bishop {1-4}	... was deemed worthy of the presbyterate through the favour of the bishop..	Restoration of Novatus.
6.92	VI.43.21	ἐπισκόπων	bishops {1-4}	... at the close of the letter he [Cornelius] has made a catalogue of the bishops present at Rome who condemned ... Novatus.	Letter from Cornelius to document the bishops present at the hearing of Novatus.
6.93	VI.43.21	προηγείτο παροικίας	the community over which each one presided{1} their respective sees {2} the churches governed by each {3} the parish over which each of them presided {4}	...indicating both their names and the community over which each one presided...	As above.
6.94	VI.43.22	ἐπισκόπου	bishop {1-4}	This is what Cornelius wrote for the information of Fabius, bishop of Antioch.	Correspondence between bishops.
6.95	VI.46.2	ἐπίσκοποι	bishop {1-4}	And to Colon (he was bishop of the community of the Hermopolitans)...	Correspondence between bishops, From Dionysius to Colon.



No.	Ecd. Hist. reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
6.96	VI.46.2	ὧν προϊστάτο ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	... and to the brethren at Laodicea over whom Thelymidres presided as bishop;...	Correspondence between bishops. Note: Origen also receives a letter from Dionysius.
6.97	VI.46.3	ὧν ἐπεσκόπευεν (κατὰ Ῥώμην)	bishop [1-4]	... and he wrote to Armenia,... whose bishop was Meruzanes. In addition... to Cornelius of Rome.	Correspondence between bishops.
6.98	VI.46.3	ἐπισκόπου	bishop [1-4]	... he had been invited by Helenus, bishop of Tarsus... and the rest of the bishops with him, namely, Firmilian in Cappadocia and Theoctistus in Palestine to attend the synod at Antioch.	Synod re. the schism of Novatus.
6.99	VI.46.4	διάδοχον... ἐπισκοπῆς	the episcopate [1,3,4] bishop [2]	... Fabius had fallen asleep, and that Demetrian was appointed his successor in the episcopate of Antioch.	Antioch. Succession.
6.100	VI.46.4	ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις	bishop [1-4]	And he [Dionysius] writes also with reference to the bishop of Jerusalem [Alexander]	Correspondence between bishops.
7.1	VII. Table.2	ἐπίσκοποι	bishops [1-4]	The bishops of Rome in their day.	Chapter title
7.2	VII. Table.3	ἐπισκόποις	bishops [1,3,4]	How Cyprian, along with the bishops on his side, was the first to hold the opinion that those who were turning from heretical error ought to be cleansed by baptism.	Chapter title
7.3	VII. Table.14	ἐπίσκοποι	bishops [1,3,4]	The bishops who flourished at that time.	Chapter title
7.4	VII. Table.18	τοῦ θρόνου	throne [1] throne of bishop [2] the episcopal seat [3] episcopal chair [4] <sup>433</sup>	The throne of James.	Chapter title

<sup>433</sup> Chapter variation between Oulton cf. Williamson, McGiffert and Cruse.

Nr.	Ecd / Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
7.5	VII. Table.27	ἐπισκόπων	bishops [1,3,4] <sup>434</sup>	On the illustrious bishops who were well known at that time.	Chapter title
7.6	Prologue	ὁ μέγας ἐπίσκοπος	the great bishop [1-4]	... Dionysius, the great bishop of the Alexandrians, will again assist us in our task by his own words...	Literary source. Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria.
7.7	VII.2.1	τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν	the episcopate [1,2,4] the episcopal office [3]	But in the city of the Romans, when Cornelius brought his episcopate to an end after about three years,...	Rome. Chronology. Succession. Duration of term.
7.8	VII.2.1	διᾶδοχος...λειτουργία	successor [1,3] succeed [2] succeeded [4]	... Lucius was appointed his [Cornelius'] successor; but he exercised his ministry for less than eight entire months,...	Rome. Chronology. Succession. Duration of term.
7.9	VII.2.1	τὸν κλῆρον	office [1-4]	...and dying, transmitted his office to Stephen.	Rome. Chronology. Succession. Duration of term.
7.10	VII.3.1	παροικίας ποιμήν	pastor [1-4]	Cyprian, pastor of the community at Carthage	Cyprian vs Stephen re. Baptism of returning heretics.
7.11	VII.5.1	προεστώτες	presidents [1] prelates [2] bishops [3,4]	...all the churches in the East... have been united, and all their presidents everywhere are of like mind.... For I name only the more eminent bishops.	Letter from Dionysius. He identifies Demetrian at Antioch, Theoctistus at Caesarea, Mazabanes at Aelia, Marinus at Tyre, Heliodorus at Laodicea, Helenus at Tarsus and all the churches of Cilicia, Firmilian and all Cappadocia.
7.12	VII.5.1	περιφανεστέρους τῶν ἐπισκόπων	eminent bishops [1] distinguished bishops [2,3] illustrious bishops [2]	For I name only the more eminent bishops.	Dionysius writing a letter when the bishops were at peace, having rejected "the innovation of Novatus."

<sup>434</sup> Chapter variation Oulton cf. Cruse and McGiffert.

No.	Ecc/ Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
7.13	VII.5.3	τὴν λειτουργίαν	ministry [1,2] the episcopal office [3] office [4]	But when Stephen had fulfilled his ministry for two years...	Rome. Chronology. Succession. Duration of term.
7.14	VII.5.3	διαδέχεται	succeeded [1-4]	... he was succeeded by Xystus.	Rome. Succession.
7.15	VII.5.3	ἐπισκόπων	bishops [1-4]	To him Dionysius penned a second letter On Baptism, showing the opinion and decision both of Stephen and the other bishops.	Dionysius' letter On Baptism.
7.16	VII.5.5	τῶν ἐπισκόπων	bishops [1-4]	For the decrees on this question have actually been passed in the largest synods of bishops...	The issue of rebaptism was decided at an episcopal synod.
7.17	VII.7.4	τοῦ μακαρίου πάπα	blessed pope [1,2] father [3] blessed father [4]	This rule and pattern I received from our blessed pope, Heraclas.	Dionysius' letter. Identifies Heraclas, the bishop of Alexandria, as pope/father.
7.18	VII.7.5	ἐπισκόπους... ἐκκλησίαις	bishops [1,3,4] episcopal predecessors [2]	in the days of the bishops that were before us, in the most populous churches and the synods of the brethren in Iconium and Synnada...	Letter from Dionysius re. Baptism.
7.19	VII.7.6	τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν	the episcopate [1,4] bishop [2,3]	Dionysius of Rome,...received also the episcopate there.	Correspondence between bishops. Dionysius of Alexandria to Dionysius of Rome.
7.20	VII.9.1	ἐπίσκοπον	bishop [1-4]	And his fifth letter was written to Xystus, bishop of the Romans.	Correspondence between bishops. Dionysius to Xystus of Rome.
7.21	VII.9.6	ἡγεῖτο παροικίας	he ruled [1] his diocese [2] his church [3] his parish [4]	... the community over which he ruled to Xystus and the church at Rome.	Letters from Dionysius to Xystus at Rome and another to Dionysius at Rome.
7.22	VII.11.1	ἐπισκόπων	bishops [1,3] bishop [2] rulers [4]	... he wrote at length against Germanus, one of the bishops of his day who tried to defame him.	Dionysius writing during time of persecution.
7.23	VII.11.26	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	It should be observed, however, that Eusebius, whom he calls a deacon, shortly afterwards was appointed bishop of Laodicea in Syria.	Account given by Dionysius. Promotion from deacon directly to bishop.

No.	Ecd Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
7.24	VII.11.26	τὴν λειτουργίαν... διαδέχεται	ministry [1] head of the church [2] bishop [3,4]	... and Maximus, of whom he speaks as a presbyter then, succeeded Dionysius himself in his ministry to the brethren in Alexandria.	Account given by Dionysius. Promotion of presbyter to bishop.
7.25	VII.13.1	ἐπισκόποις	bishops [1-4]	The Emperor Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus Pius Felix Augustus to Dionysius and Pinnas and Demetrius and the other bishops.	Rescript by Gallienus. Restores the churches and cemeteries to the Christians. Implied the cessation of persecution.
7.26	VII.13.1	ἐπισκόποις	bishops [1-4]	... extant another of the same emperor's ordinances... to other bishops, giving them permission to recover the sites of the cemeteries...	As above.
7.27	VII.14.1	ἐκκλησίας καθηγείτο	ruling [1] headed [2] the episcopate held [3] presiding [4]	At that time, Xystus was still ruling the church of the Romans.	Rome. Chronology.
7.28	VII.14.1	ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας	at Antioch [1]	... Demetrian, who came after Fabius, the church at Antioch	Antioch. Chronology. Succession.
7.29	VII.14.1	κατὰ Πόντον ἐκκλησιῶν	ruling... at Pontus [1] [headed] the Pontic churches [2] the churches in Pontus [3] presiding over [4]	... and moreover Gregory and his brother Athenodore were ruling the churches of Pontus, pupils of Origen.	Pontus. Chronology. Reference to Origen re. that bishops were his pupils.
7.30	VII.14.1	διαδέχεται τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν	succeeded to the episcopate [1] succeeded him as bishop [2] the episcopal office [3] the episcopate [4]	As to Caesarea in Palestine, on the death of Theoctistus, Domnus succeeded to the episcopate...	Caesarea, Palestine. Chronology. Succession.
7.31	VII.14.1	διάδοχος καθίσταται	appointed to succeed [1] successor [2] succeeded [3,4]	... but after he [Domnus] had continued in office a short time Theotechnus, our contemporary, was appointed to succeed him. He was also of the school of Origen.	Caesarea, Palestine. Chronology. Succession. Approximate duration of term. Reference to Origen re. Theotechnus, being of Origen's school.

No.	Eccl Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
7.32	VII.14.1	τὸν θρόνον... διεδέξατο	the throne [1] his throne [2] episcopal seat [3] his seat [4]	But at Jerusalem, when Mazabanes had entered into his rest, Hymenaeus succeeded to the throne,...	Jerusalem. Chronology. Succession.
7.33	VII.15.4	ἐπίσκοπος	the bishop [1-4]	When he [Marinus] came outside the court Theotecnus, the bishop there [Caesarea, Palestine]... led him to the church.	Theotecnus helps Marinus (high ranking officer in Roman army) prepare for martyrdom.
7.34	VII.19.1	θρόνον	the throne [1,2] the dignity [3] the chair [4]	Now the throne of James,...	Jerusalem. The throne of James (literal).
7.35	VII.19.1	τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν... διαδοχὴν	the episcopate [1,3,4] the episcopacy [2]	...James, who was the first to receive from the Saviour and the apostles the episcopate of the church at Jerusalem, who also, as the divine books show, was called a brother of Christ, has been preserved...	Jerusalem. Apostolic succession.
7.36	VII.21.2	ἐπισκόπῳ	bishop [1-4]	And to Hierax,... a bishop of those in Egypt he writes another festal letter...	Letter of Dionysius to Hierax.
7.37	VII.24.1	ἐπίσκοποι	bishop [1,3,4] bishops [2]	... the teaching of Nepos, a bishop of those in Egypt...	Dionysius writes a challenge to the teaching of Nepos, although establishing his love and respect for him.
7.38	VII.26.1	ἐκκλησίαν ἐπίσκοπον	bishop [1-4]	... letters of Dionysius... against Sabellius to Ammon bishop of the church at Bernice...	Letter of Dionysius Ammon, Telesphorus, Euphranor and Euporus.
7.39	VII.26.1	κατὰ Ῥώμην	at Rome [1,2] Dionysius at Rome [3] Dionysius in Rome [4]	... four other treatises which he addressed to his namesake at Rome.	Letter of Dionysius to Dionysius at Rome.
7.40	VII.26.2	παροικιῶν ἐπισκόπῳ	bishop [1-4]	... writing also to Basilides, bishop of the communities in the Pentapolis.	Letter of Dionysius to Basilides.

No.	Ecd Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
7.41	VII.27.1	προσάνα	presided [1,4] head of the Roman church [2] bishop [3]	When Xystus had presided over the church of the Romans for eleven years...	Rome. Chronology. Duration of Term.
7.42	VII.27.1	διαδέχεται	succeeded [1-4]	...he was succeeded by Dionysius...	Rome. Chronology. Succession.
7.43	VII.27.1	τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν	the episcopate [1,3,4] the bishopric [2]	At this time also, when Demetrian had departed this life at Antioch, Paul of Samosata received the episcopate.	Antioch. Chronology. Succession.
7.44	VII.27.2	κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν	of Alexandra [1-4]	Dionysius of Alexandria was invited to attend the synod...	Synod at Antioch vs. Paul of Samosata.
7.45	VII.27.2	τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ποιμένες	the pastors [1,2,4] the heads of churches [3]	But the rest of the pastors of the churches, from various quarters, all hastened to Antioch, and assembled as against a spoiler of the flock of Christ.	Synod invitation. Dionysius too old and weak to attend.
7.46	VII.28.1	μάλιστα... ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	Among those who were most distinguished were Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia,... Dionysius of Alexandria was invited to attend the synod...	Caesarea, Cappadocia. Distinguished bishops at synod.
7.47	VII.28.1	παροικίων ποιμένες	pastors [1-4]	... the brothers Gregory and Athenodore, pastors of the communities in Pontus..	Pontus. Distinguished bishops (pastors).
7.48	VII.28.1	ἐν Ταρσῷ παροικίας	bishop [1-3] of the parish [4]	... Hellenus, bishop of the community at Tarsus.	Tarsus. Distinguished bishops.
7.49	VII.28.1	ἐν Ἰκονίῳ	of Iconium [1,3,4] bishop [2]	and Niconias, of the community of Iconium	Iconium. Distinguished bishops.
7.50	VII.28.1	ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις	of Jerusalem [1] of the Jerusalem church [2] of the church at Jerusalem [3,4]	nor must we omit Hymenaeus, of the church at Jerusalem, and Theotecnus, of this neighbouring church in Caesarea.	Jerusalem and Caesarea. Distinguished bishops.

No.	Eccl Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
7.51	VII.28.1	ἡγεῖτο	ruling [1] shepherding [2] governed [3] presided [4]	and moreover there was Maximus also, who was ruling with distinction the brethren at Bostra.	Bostra. Distinguished bishops.
7.52	VII.28.3	προστάς τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς	presided in the episcopate [1] head of the Alexandrian church [2] presided over the church [3] held the episcopate [4]	Dionysius... having presided in the episcopate at Alexandria for seventeen years.	Alexandria. Chronology. Duration of Term.
7.53	VII.28.3	διαδέχεται	succeeded [1,3,4] successor [2]	He was succeeded by Maximus.	Alexandria. Chronology. Succession.
7.54	VII.29.1	ἐπισκόπων	bishops [1-4]	In Aurelianus' day a final synod of an exceedingly large number of bishops was assembled...	Synod of bishops at Antioch that lead to the excommunication of Paul of Samosata.
7.55	VII.30.1	ποιμένες	pastors [1-4]	The pastors, then, who had assembled together...	Synod of pastors (bishops).
7.56	VII.30.1	ἐπισκόπου	bishop [1-4]	...indited a letter personally to Dionysius, bishop of Rome, and Maximus, of Alexandria, and sent it throughout the provinces.	Letter to Dionysius of Rome and Maximus of Alexandria.
7.57	VII.30.2	ἐπισκόποις	bishops [1-4]	To Dionysius and Maximus and to all our fellow-ministers throughout the world, bishops, presbyters and deacons....	The letter sent from the synod of pastors.
7.58	VII.30.2	ἐπίσκοποι	bishops [1-4]	... and all the others... bishops and presbyters and deacons and the churches of God...	The letter sent from the synod of pastors mentions several bishops by name.
7.59	VII.30.3	ἐπισκόπων	bishops [1-4]	And we wrote inviting many even of the bishops at a distance to come and heal this deadly doctrine, both Dionysius at Alexandria and Firmilian of Cappadocia, those blessed men.	Further details on correspondence sent to bishops. In the case of Antioch, the letter was sent to the whole community, and not the bishop, for the leader of the heresy was not deemed worthy of being addressed.

No.	Ecd Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
7.60	VII.30.8	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	...clothing himself with worldly honours and wishing himself to be called ducenarius rather than bishop...	Further description of Paul of Samosata.
7.61	VII.30.10	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	brags about himself as though he were not a bishop but a sophist and a charlatan.	As above.
7.62	VII.30.10	ἐπισκόπους	bishops [1-4]	Such also is the kind of discourse he permits the bishops of the neighbouring country and towns... to deliver in their sermons...	As above.
7.63	VII.30.13	ἐπίσκοπον	bishop [1-4]	But we know, beloved, that the bishop and the priesthood as a whole should be a pattern to the people...	Contrasting the exemplary behaviour expected of church leaders with that of Paul of Samosata.
7.64	VII.30.17	ἐπίσκοπον	bishop [1-4]	We were compelled therefore... to excommunicate him, and appoint another bishop in his stead...	The excommunication of Paul of Samosata.
7.65	VII.30.17	προστάντος	presided [1-4]	...the blessed Demetrian, who formerly presided with distinction over the same community...	Antioch. Replacing the excommunicated bishop.
7.66	VII.30.17	ἐπισκόπῳ	bishop [1-4]	Domnus, the son of the blessed Demetrian,... he is adorned with all the noble qualities suitable for a bishop...	Appointment of Domnus to the episcopate at Antioch.
7.67	VII.30.18	τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς	the episcopate [1,3,4] the bishopric [2]	When Paul, then, had fallen from the episcopate as well as from his orthodoxy of the faith...	Paul of Samosata. Reference to his falling from the episcopate and orthodoxy.
7.68	VII.30.18	τῆς ἐκκλησίας...τὴν λειτουργίαν	the ministry [1,2] the administration [2] bishop [4]	...Domnus, as has been said, succeeded to the ministry of the church at Antioch.	Antioch. Domnus succeeds Paul.
7.69	VII.30.19	ἐπίσκοποι	bishops [1-4]	Aurelian,...ordering the assignment of the building to those whom the bishops of the doctrine in Italy and Rome should communicate in writing.	Paul's refusal to surrender possession of the church building in Antioch. The emperor issues a judgement in the dispute.



No.	Excl Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
7.70	VII.30.23	ἐπίσκοπον	bishop [1-4]	...Dionysius, bishop of Rome, who had completed nine years.	Rome. Chronology. Succession. Duration of Term.
7.71	VII.30.23	τὴν λειτουργίαν διαδέχεται	succeeded in the ministry [1]	...Felix succeeded in the ministry to Dionysius...	Rome. Chronology. Succession.
7.72	VII.32.1	προσάνα	presided [1,4] head of [2] held the episcopate [3]	At that time, Felix, who had presided over the church of the Romans for five years...	Rome. Chronology. Duration of Term. Succession.
7.73	VII.32.1.	διαδέχεται	succeeded [1-4]	[Felix] was succeeded by Eutychianus. This person did not survive for even ten months;...	Rome. Chronology. Duration of Term. Succession.
7.74	VII.32.1	τὸν κλῆρον	the office [1] his office [2] his place [3] the position [4]	he [Eutychianus] left the office to Gaius our contemporary.	Rome. Chronology. Succession.
7.75	VII.32.1	προσάνατος	presided [1,3] governed [2] held it [4]	And when he [Gaius] had presided for about fifteen years,...	Rome. Chronology. Succession. Duration of Term.
7.76	VII.32.1	διάδοχος	successor [1] chosen to succeed [2] succeeded [3,4]	Marcellinus was appointed his successor.	Rome. Chronology. Succession.
7.77	VII.32.2	ἐπισκοπῆς	episcopate [1,4] the bishopric [2] governed [3]	...in succession to Domnus, Timaeus was in charge of the episcopate at Antioch,	Antioch. Chronology. Succession.
7.78	VII.32.2	διεδέξατο	succeeded [1-4]	whom our contemporary Cyril succeeded.	Antioch. Chronology. Succession.
7.79	VII.32.4	παροικίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν διεδέξατο	episcopate [1,4] the bishopric [2] the episcopal office [3]	After Cyril, Tyrannus succeeded to the episcopate of the community of the Antiochenes...	Antioch. Chronology. Succession.
7.80	VII.32.5	παροικίας ἡγήσατο	head of the community [1] head of the diocese [2] the church was governed [3] ruled the parishes [4]	After Socrates as head of the community of Laodicea came Eusebius, ...	Laodicea. Succession.
7.81	VII.32.6	διάδοχος	successor [1-4]	Anatolius was appointed his successor...	Laodicea. Succession.

No.	Ecc/ Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
7.82	VII.32.12	διαδοχὴν ποιμένων	pastors [1-4]	Such were the two pastors that the church of Laodicea was deemed worthy to have successively...	The reputation of the pastors (bishops) at Laodicea, i.e. Eusebius and Anatolius.
7.83	VII.32.21	ἐπίσκοποι	bishop [1-4]	Theotecnus, bishop of Caesarea in Palestine...	Caesarea, Palestine.
7.84	VII.32.21	ἐπισκοπήν	episcopate [1,3] bishop [2,4]	...had ordained him to the episcopate...	Succession. Theotecnus ordains Anatolius.
7.85	VII.32.21	διάδοχον παροικίᾳ	successor in his own community [1]	...had ordained him to the episcopate, seeking to procure him as his successor in his own community after his death...	As above. Note the exceptional circumstances of one bishop securing his successor before his own death.
7.86	VII.32.21	προύστησαν ἐκκλησίᾳς	presided [1,3,4] administered [2]	...and indeed for a short time both presided over the same church.	Both Theotecnus and Anatolius served in Caesarea, Palestine. Anatolius is summoned to Antioch to a synod, while passing through Laodicea, he is retained there for the episcopate.
7.87	VII.32.22	παροικίας ὑστατος	the last bishop [1-4]	And when Anatolius had departed this life, Stephen was appointed over the community there, the last bishop before the persecution.	Laodicea. Succession.
7.88	VII.32.23	παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	...one who was immediately proclaimed bishop of that community by God himself,...	Stephen, the bishop of Laodicea turns out to be a coward. The diocese survives his leadership due to God's intervention by the appointing of his successor.
7.89	VII.32.23	ἐπίσκοπον	bishop [1,2] office as bishop [3] office of bishop [4]	...even Theodotus, a man whose deeds themselves proved true his title to his own name and that of a bishop.	Laodicea, Theodotus, Stephen's successor.

No.	Ecd Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
7.90	VII.32.24	τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν	episcopal office [1] episcopal duties [2] episcopate [3,4]	But at Caesarea in Palestine Theotecnus, after exercising his episcopal office in the most zealous fashion...	Caesarea, Palestine.
7.91	VII.32.24	διαδέχεται	succeeded [1-4]	...was succeeded by Agapius, whom also we know to have laboured much, displaying a most genuine regard for the government of his people.	Caesarea, Palestine. Succession.
7.92	VII.32.26	ἐπίσκοπον	bishop [1-4]	...men possessed of especially rare qualities...Meletius, bishop of the churches in Pontus.	Pontus. Meletius' reputation.
7.93	VII.32.29	ἐπίσκοπον	bishop [1,2,4] after Hymenaeus [3]	In the church at Jerusalem, after the bishop Hymenaeus mentioned shortly before...	Jerusalem. Chronology.
7.94	VII.32.29	τὴν λειτουργίαν	the ministry [1,2] episcopal care [3] episcopate [4]	...Zabdas received the ministry.	Jerusalem. Succession.
7.95	VII.32.29	ὁστατος...ἀποστολικὸν διαδέχεται θρόνον	apostolic throne [1,2] apostolic chair [3,4]	After no great time he fell asleep, and Hermo, the last of the bishops up to the persecution in our day, succeeded to the apostolic throne that has still been preserved there to the present day.	Jerusalem. Chronology. Succession. Mention of short duration of term.
7.96	VII.32.30	ἐπισκοπεύοντα	held the episcopate [1] bishop [2,4] episcopal office [3]	And at Alexandria too, Maximus, who had held the episcopate for eighteen years after the death of Dionysius,...	Alexandria. Chronology. Duration of Term.
7.97	VII.32.30	διαδέχεται	succeeded [1-4]	Dionysius was succeeded by Theonas.	Alexandria. Chronology. Succession.
7.98	VII.32.31	διαδέχεται τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν	the episcopate [1,3,4] the diocese [2]	After Theonas had given his utmost service for nineteen years, Peter succeeded to the episcopate of the Alexandrians, and he too was especially prominent for twelve entire years.	Alexandria. Chronology. Succession. Duration of Term.
7.99	VII.32.31	ἡγησάμενος τῆς ἐκκλησίας	ruled the church [1] administered the church [2] governed the church [3,4]	he ruled the church for less than three entire months before the persecution...in the ninth year of the persecution he was beheaded.	Alexandria. Chronology. Succession. Duration of Term.

No.	Eccl Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
8.1	VIII.Table.13	τῶν προέδρων	the presidents [1] church leaders [2] prelates [3] the bishops [4]	On the presidents of the Church who displayed in their own blood the genuineness of the piety of which they were ambassadors.	Title.
8.2	VIII.1.7	ἀρχόντων τε ἀρχουσι	rulers [1,2,4] prelates [3]	...and rulers attacked rulers and laity formed factions against laity.	Disunity and conflict in the church before the persecution.
8.3	VIII.1.8	ἡμῶν ποιμένες	our pastors [1-3] shepherds [4]	...our pastors, casting aside the sanctions of the fear of God, were enflamed with mutual contentions...	As above.
8.4	VIII.2.1	τοῦς τε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ποιμένας	pastors of the churches [1,2] shepherds [3,4]	... and the pastors of the churches, some shamefully hiding themselves here and there...	The destruction of the churches.
8.5	VIII.2.5	τοῖς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προέδροις	presidents of the churches [1,2] prelates [3] rulers [4]	Such was the first document against us. But not long afterwards we were further visited with other letters, and in them the order was given that the presidents of the churches should all, in every place, be first committed to prison, and then afterwards compelled by every kind of device to sacrifice.	The first edict of persecution.
8.6	VIII.3.1	τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀρχόντες	rulers of the churches [1,2] prelates [3] rulers [4]	...then very many rulers of the churches contended with a stout heart under terrible torments.... while countless others... readily proved weak at the first assault.	The reaction of bishops to the persecution. Some remain faithful, others do not.
8.7	VIII.6.6	ἐκκλησιας ὁ τηνικαῦτα προεστῶς	presided over the church [1,4] head of [2] bishop [3]	At that time Anthimus, who then presided over the church at Nicomedia, was beheaded for his witness for Christ.	Martyrdom of bishop Anthimus.
8.8	VIII.6.8	τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προεστῶτας	the presidents of the churches [1] the heads of churches [2,3] rulers [4]	... an Imperial command went forth that the presidents of the churches everywhere should be thrown into prison and bonds.	Imprisonment of bishops.

No.	Ecc Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
8.9	VIII.6.9	ἐπισκόπων	bishops [1-4]	... and everywhere the prisons, that long ago had been prepared for murderers and grave-robbers, were then filled with bishops and presbyters and deacons, readers and exorcists...	Imprisonment of those in church leadership positions.
8.10	VIII.9.7	ἐκκλησιαε ἐπίσκοποι	bishop [1-4]	Such also was Phileas, bishop the church of the Thumites, a man who was distinguished for the services he rendered to his country in public positions, and also for his skill in philosophy.	Martyrdom. Piloromus (Roman official) and Phileas (bishop of Thumia).
8.11	VIII.13.1	ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀρχόντων	rulers of the churches [1] leading churchmen [2] prelates of the church [3] rulers of the churches [4]	Of those rulers of the churches who were martyred in well-known cities...	Church leaders who suffered martyrdom.
8.12	VIII.13.1	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	... Anthimus, bishop of the city of the Nicomedians, who was beheaded.	Martyrdom of Anthimus.
8.13	VIII.13.3	τῶν λογικῶν Χριστοῦ θρεμμάτων ποιμένες	pastors [1-4]	Of the martyrs of Phoenicia the most famous would be the pastors of the spiritual flocks of Christ...	Martyrs at Phoenicia.
8.14	VIII.13.4	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	...Tyrannion, bishop of the church at Tyre	Martyrdom of Tyrannion (bishop).
8.15	VIII.13.4	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	... Silvanus, bishops of the churches about Emesa.	Martyrdom of Silvanus (bishop).
8.16	VIII.13.4	ὁ ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	... the bishop, being committed to the depths of the sea	Martyrdom.
8.17	VIII.13.5	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	... Silvanus, bishop of the churches about Gaza, was beheaded at the copper mines at Phaeno	Martyrdom of Silvanus.
8.18	VIII.13.5	ἐπίσκοποι	bishops [1-4]	... and Egyptians there, Peleus and Nilus, bishops, together with others, endured death by fire.	Martyrdom of Egyptian bishops.
8.19	VIII.13.7	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	... Peter, bishop of Alexandria itself, a divine example of the teachers of godliness in Christ.	Martyrdom of Peter (bishop of Alexandria).

No.	Ecd Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
8.20	VIII.13.7	ἐπισκοποι	bishops [1-4]	... Phileas, Hesychius, Pachymius and Theodore, bishops of the churches in Egypt.	Martyrdom. Egyptian bishops.
9.1	IX.6.1	ἐπίσκοπος	bishop [1-4]	Among them was a bishop, Silvanus, exceedingly advanced in age.	Persecution in Emesa, a city of Phoenicia where Christians were being consigned to the wild beasts.
9.2	IX.6.2	προστάς	presided [1-4]	At the same time, Peter also, who presided with the greatest distinction over the communities at Alexandria...	Alexandria. Persecution.
9.3	IX.6.2	ἐπισκόπων	bishop [1-4]	...a truly divine example of a bishop on account of his virtuous life and his earnest study of the holy Scriptures.	Martyrdom of Peter, bishop of Alexandria.
9.4	IX.6.2	ἐπισκόπων	bishops [1-4]	And along with him many other of the Egyptian bishops endured the same penalty.	Egypt. Persecution.
10.1	X.2.2	ἐπισκόποις	bishops [1-4]	...and bishops constantly received even personal letters from the Emperor, and honours and gifts of money.	Cessation of persecution. Restoration of the churches.
10.2	X.3.1	ἐπισκόπων	bishops [1-4]	...assemblages of bishops, comings together of those from far off foreign lands, kindly acts on the part of laity towards laity...	Festivals and newly built churches. Unity and celebration among the Christians.
10.3	X.3.4	ἀρχόντων	rulers [1] dignitaries [2] prelates and heads [3] bishops [4]	Moreover every one of the Church's rulers that were present, according to his ability, delivered panegyric orations, inspiring the assembly.	As above.
10.4	X.4.1	ποιμένων	pastors [1-4]	...in the presence of very many pastors...	Eusebius' panegyric was read in the presence of many bishops.
10.5	X.4.1	ἐπισκόπου	bishop [1,2,4] bishops [3]	...addressed personally to a single bishop who was in every respect most excellent...	As above.

No.	Eccl Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
10.6	X.4.1	ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΙ	bishop [1-4]	Panegyric on the building of the churches, addressed to Paulinus, bishop of the Tyrians.	As above.
10.7	X.4.2	τὸν ἁγίου	priests [1,2,4] priest [3]	O friends of God and priests who are clothed with the holy robe...	Address to audience in Eusebius' panegyric.
10.8	X.4.23	ποιμένα	pastor [1] shepherd [2-4]	...the pastor of your divine flock...	Panegyric to Paulinus.
10.9	X.5.18	ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΩΝ	bishops [1,3,4] episcopal [2]	Copy of an Imperial Letter, in which he commands the holding of a Synod of bishops at Rome on behalf of the union and concord of the churches.	Imperial letter.
10.10	X.5.18	ἐπισκόπῳ	bishop [1-4]	Constantine Augustus to Miltiades bishop of the Romans, and to Mark.	Imperial letter.
10.11	X.5.18	ἐπίσκοπον	bishop [1-4]	...it appears that Caecilian, the bishop of the city of the Carthaginians, is called to account on many charges by some of his colleagues in Africa...	Imperial Letter.
10.12	X.5.18	ἐπισκόπους	bishops [1-4]	...and the bishops at variance among themselves..	Caecilian controversy, i.e. his consecration being invalid.
10.13	X.5.19	ἐπισκόπων	bishops [1-4]	...it seemed good to me that Caecilian himself, with ten bishops, who seem to call him to account, and such ten others as he may deem necessary to his suit, should set sail for Rome...	Imperial order to assemble a synod of bishops at Rome.
10.14	X.5.21	ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΩΝ	bishops [1-4]	Copy of an Imperial Letter, in which he gives orders for the holding of a second Synod for the purpose of removing all division among the bishops.	Imperial Letter to assemble a second synod of bishops at Rome.
10.15	X.5.21	ἐπισκόπῳ	bishop [1-4]	Constantine Augustus to Chrestus bishop of the Syracusans.	As above.
10.16	X.5.21	ἐπισκόπων	bishops [1-4]	I had given orders to the effect that certain bishops should be sent from Gaul...	As above.

No.	Eccl / Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
10.17	X.5.21	ἐπισκόπου	bishop [1,2,4] <sup>435</sup>	...that so, in the presence of the bishop of Rome, their coming receive a right solution...	As above.
10.18	X.5.23	ἐπισκόπους	bishops [1-4]	Inasmuch, therefore, as we have commanded that very many bishops from various and numberless places should assemble at the city of Arles	Order to assemble at Arles due to the Roman synod being ineffective.
10.19	X.6.1	ἐπισκόπῳ	bishop [1-4]	Constantine Augustus to Caecilian bishop of Carthage.	Imperial Letter. Monetary grants to churches.
10.20	X.7.1	ΠΡΟΕΣΤΩΤΑΣ	presidents [1] heads [2] prelates [3] rulers [4]	Copy of the Imperial Letter, in which he gives orders that the presidents of the churches be released from all public offices.	Imperial Letter.
10.21	X.8.14	ἐπισκόπους	bishops [1-4]	...in the final stage of his madness he proceeded against the bishops...	Licinius' downfall. Persecuting bishops.
10.21	X.8.17	τῶν ἐπισκόπων	bishops [1-4]	...plied some of the bishops with penalties...	Licinius' downfall. Persecuting bishops.

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<sup>435</sup>Cruse's translation [3] does not include a reference to the bishop of Rome, but reads: "...by summoning others of the opposite parties from Africa... that by a careful examination of the matter in their presence, it might thus be decided."



### Appendix 6: Presbyter References in *The Ecclesiastical History*

No.	Ecc Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
3.1	III.23.8	πρεσβύτερος	presbyter [1,3,4] cleric [2]	John then returned to Ephesus and the presbyter [bishop] took to his house the young man...	Story about John appointing a young man to be bishop.
3.2	III.39.3	πρεσβυτέρων	presbyters [1,2] elder [3,4]	...from the presbyters and remember well, for of their truth I am confident.	Papias' writing re. receiving the articles of faith from presbyters (apostles).
3.3	III.39.4	πρεσβυτέροις	presbyters [1,2] elders [3,4]	...but if ever anyone came who had followed the presbyters...	As above.
3.4	III.39.4	πρεσβυτέρων	presbyters [1,2] elders [3,4]	...I inquired into the words of the presbyters	As above.
3.5	III.39.4	πρεσβύτερος	presbyter [1-4]	...and what Aristion and the presbyter John, the Lord's disciples were saying.	As above.
3.6	III.39.5	πρεσβύτερον	presbyter [1-4]	...putting Aristion before him and clearly calling him a presbyter	Account by Papias arguing for the existence of two of the name John in Asia.
3.7	III.39.14	πρεσβυτέρου	presbyter [1-4]	...he also quotes other interpretations...and traditions of John the presbyter.	Papias' writing.
3.8	III.39.15	πρεσβύτερος	presbyter [1-4]	"And the Presbyter used to say...	Papias' writing. Teaching of John the Presbyter.
5.1	V.4.1	πρεσβύτερον	presbyter [1-4]	Irenaeus also, who was at that time already a presbyter of the diocese at Lyons...	Lyons. Chronology. Irenaeus.
5.2	V.4.2	πρεσβύτερον	presbyter [1-4]	...we should first of all recommended him as being a presbyter of the church...	Recommendation of Irenaeus.
5.3	V.8.1	πρεσβυτέρων	presbyters [1-4]	At the beginning of this work we made a promise to quote from time to time the sayings of the presbyters and writers of the church of the first period...	The authoritative traditions in the writings of the early presbyters.

No.	Excl Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
5.4	V.8.8	ἀποστολικού πρεσβυτέρου	apostolic presbyter [1-3] apostolical presbyter [4]	He also quotes treatises of a certain apostolic presbyter...	Irenaeus' writings.
5.5	V.15.1	πρεσβυτερίου τῆς ἐκκλησίας	presbytery of the church [1] presbyter [2,3] presbyterate [4]	He (Florinus) had been turned out of the presbytery of the church...	Defrocking of Florinus from the presbyterate.
5.6	V.16.5	πρεσβυτέρων	presbyters [1,3,4] local presbyters [2]	...the presbyters of the place asked me to leave some note of what had been said against the opponents of the word of truth...	Apolinarius writings about his confrontation with heretical teachers in Ancyra, Galatia.
5.7	V.16.5	συνπρεσβυτέρου	fellow-presbyter [1-4]	...when Zoticus of Otrous, our fellow-presbyter, was also present.	As above.
5.8	V.20.4	πρεσβύτεροι	presbyters [1-4]	These opinions those who were presbyters before us, they who accompanied the apostles, did not hand on to you.	Irenaeus' letter of correction to Florinus.
5.9	V.20.7	ἀποστολικὸς πρεσβύτερος	apostolic presbyter [1-4]	...and I can bear witness before God that if that blessed and apostolic presbyter had heard anything of this kind he would have cried out...	As above.
5.10	V.24.14	πρεσβύτεροι	presbyters [1-4]	Among these too were the presbyters before Soter, who presided over the church of which you are now the leader.	Irenaeus writing to Victor, bishop of Rome.
5.11	V.24.15	πρεσβύτεροι	presbyters [1-4]	And no one was ever rejected for this reason, but the presbyters before you who did not observe it sent the Eucharist to those from other dioceses who did.	As above.
6.1	VI.Table.23	πρεσβεῖου	presbyterate [1,2,4] priesthood [3]	On Origen's zeal, and how he was deemed worthy of the presbyterate in the Church.	Title.
6.2	VI.8.4	πρεσβυτέριον	presbyterate [1,2] presbytery [3] presbyter [4]	...deeming Origen worthy of privilege and the highest honour, ordained him to the presbyterate...	Origen's ordination to the presbyterate.

No.	Ecd Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
6.3	VI.8.5	πρεσβυτέριον	presbyterate [1,2,4] presbytery [3]	...Demetrius spread grave scandal about the deed... and had the temerity to include in his accusations those who raised him to the presbyterate.	Demetrius' change of heart, Demetrius vs. Origen
6.4	VI.11.6	τοῦ μακαρίου πρεσβυτέρου	the blessed presbyter [1-4]	...by the hand of Clement the blessed presbyter...	Alexander's letter indicating the authorship of an epistle by Clement.
6.5	VI.13.9	πρεσβυτέρων	elders [1] the earliest authorities [2] ancient presbyters [3,4]	And in his book <i>On the Pascha</i> ...compelled to commit to writing traditions that he had heard from the elders of olden time...	Clement's (of Alexandria) writings.
6.6	VI.14.4	ὁ μακάριος πρεσβύτερος	the blessed elder [1] the blessed presbyter [2-4]	The lower down he adds: "But now, as the blessed elder used to say,	As above.
6.7	VI.14.5	πρεσβυτέρων	primitive elders [1] primitive authorities [2] oldest presbyters [3] earliest presbyters [4]	And again in the same books Clement has inserted a tradition of the primitive elders with regard to the order of the Gospels...	As above.
6.8	VI.19.13	τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ	the presbytery [1-4]	...and also Heraclas, who now has a seat in the presbytery of the Alexandrians...	Origen's writings re. Greek learning.
6.9	VI.19.16	τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου	presbyterate [1,2] priesthood [3] presbyter [4]	And although he had not yet received ordination to the presbyterate, the bishops there requested him to discourse and expound the divine Scriptures publicly in the church.	Reference to the episcopal influence of Origen.
6.10	VI.23.4	πρεσβείου	presbyterate [1] presbyter [2,4] priesthood [3]	In their day Origen journeyed to Greece... and received the laying-on of hands for the presbyterate at Caesarea from the bishops there.	Origen's ordination to the presbyterate.
6.11	VI.28.1	πρεσβυτέρῳ παροικίας	a presbyter of the community [1] presbyter of the diocese [2] a presbyter of the church [3] a presbyter of the parish [4]	...Origen composed a work...to Ambrose and Protocletus, a presbyter of the community...	Origen's work <i>On Martyrdom</i> .
6.12	VI.43.1	ἐκκλησίας πρεσβύτερος	presbyter [1-4]	...since Novatus, a presbyter of the church of the Romans...	Novatus' heretical sect.

No.	Excl Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
6.13	VI.43.2	πρεσβυτέρων	presbyters [1-4]	Whereupon a very large synod was assembled at Rome, of sixty bishops and a still greater number of presbyters, and deacons...	Synod re. the question about those who had proved weak in the time of persecution.
6.14	VI.43.6	πρεσβύτερος	one of our presbyters [1,2,4] a presbyter of our church [3]	Maximus, one of our presbyters, and Urban...	Letter from Cornelius re. the character of Novatus.
6.15	VI.43.6	πρεσβυτέρων	presbyters [1-4]	...all the knavish tricks... they made known in the presence both of a number of bishops, and also of very many presbyters and laymen...	Testimony of Maximus and Urban after leaving the influence of Novatus and their return to the Church.
6.16	VI.43.11	πρεσβυτέρους	presbyters [1-4]	This vindicator, then, of the Gospel did not know ...that there are forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven sub-deacons...	Cornelius lists the normal distribution of offices in the church that Novatus was well aware of.
6.17	VI.43.16	πρεσβύτερον	presbyter [1-4]	...he who through cowardice and love of life at the time of persecution denied that he was a presbyter.	Cornelius describes the cowardice of Novatus.
6.18	VI.43.16	πρεσβυτέρῳ	presbyter [1-4]	he was requested...to leave the cell in which he shut himself, and bring all the help to the brethren that it is right and possible for a presbyter to bring to brethren who are in danger and in need...	As above.
6.19	VI.43.16	πρεσβύτερος	presbyter [1-4]	For he said that he no longer wished to be a presbyter since he was enamoured of a different philosophy.	As above.
6.20	VI.43.17	πρεσβυτερίου	presbyterate [1,2,4] presbytery [3]	...when he [Novatus] came to believe, he was deemed worthy of the presbyterate...	Novatus' earlier affirmation as presbyter.
6.21	VI.43.17	πρεσβυτερίου κλήρον	that order [1] the presbyter's orders [2] order of the clergy [3] presbyterial office [4]	...through the favour of a bishop, who laid hands on him to confer that order...	Novatus' earlier ordination to the presbyterate.

No.	Ecd Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
6.22	VI.43.20	πρεσβυτέροις	presbyters [1-4]	And Moses... broke off communion with him [Novatus] and with the five presbyters who, along with him, had separated themselves from the Church.	Moses deserts Novatus and returns to the Church.
6.23	VI.44.3	πρεσβυτέρων	presbyters [1-4]	...do thou summon me one of the presbyters...	Dionysius of Alexandria - letter. Story of a grandfather needing absolution.
6.24	VI.44.4	πρεσβύτερον	presbyter [1-4]	The boy ran for the presbyter.	As above.
6.25	VI.44.5	πρεσβύτερος	presbyter [1-4]	The presbyter could not come, but do quickly what he bade thee, and let me depart.	The presbyter gives the boy a small portion of the Eucharist to administer to his grandfather.
7.1	VII.5.6	σὺν πρεσβυτέροις	fellow-presbyters [1-4]	And after other remarks, he says: "And to our beloved fellow-presbyters also, Dionysius and Philemon,..."	Letter from Dionysius. Second letter On Baptism re. the rebaptism of apostates.
7.2	VII.7.1	πρεσβυτέρῳ	presbyter [1-4]	And in the third of those On Baptism, which the same Dionysius wrote to Philemon the Roman presbyter, he relates...	Letter from Dionysius. Third letter On Baptism.
7.3	VII.7.2	πρεσβυτέρων	presbyters [1,3,4] a brother presbyter [2]	And indeed a certain brother, one of the presbyters, attempted to dissuade me...	As above.
7.4	VII.7.6	πρεσβεῖου	presbyterate [1] presbyter [2-4]	The fourth of his letters on baptism was written to Dionysius of Rome, who at that time had been deemed worthy of the presbyterate, but not long afterwards received also the episcopate there.	Promotion of Dionysius (of Rome) from presbyter to bishop.
7.5	VII.11.3	σὺν πρεσβυτέρῳ	fellow-presbyter [1-4]	I came before Aemilianus, not alone, but there followed by my fellow-presbyter Maximus,...	Account of Dionysius (of Alexandria) re. persecution by Valerian.

No.	Eccl Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
7.6	VII.11.24	πρεσβύτεροι	presbyters [1-4]	"But in the city there have concealed themselves, secretly visiting the brethren, of the presbyters Maximus, Dioscorus, Demetrius, Lucius.	Letter of Dionysius (of Alexandria) to Domitius and Didymus re. the persecution.
7.7	VII.11.26	πρεσβύτερον	presbyter [1-4]	...and Maximus, of whom he speaks as a presbyter then, succeeded Dionysius himself in the ministry to the brethren of Alexandria.	Account of Dionysius (of Alexandria) re. Chronology and succession.
7.8	VII.20.1	σὺν πρεσβυτέροις	fellow-presbyters [1,2,4] compresbyters [3]	In addition to these he penned also another letter to his fellow-presbyters at Alexandria...	Correspondence from Dionysius (of Alexandria) to other presbyters.
7.9	VII.22.8	πρεσβυτέροις	presbyters [1-4]	In this manner the best at any rate of our brethren departed this life, certain presbyters and deacons...	Martyrdom.
7.10	VII.24.6	πρεσβυτέρους	presbyters [1-4]	...I called together the presbyters and teachers of the brethren...to hold the examination of the question publicly.	Dionysius vs. Nepos' teaching on millenarianism i.e. "a kind of millennium on this earth devoted to bodily indulgence."
7.11	VII.28.1	πρεσβυτέροις	presbyters [1-4]	...and one would not be at a loss to reckon up countless others, together with presbyters and deacons... in the above-mentioned city...	Recognition of distinguished bishops and other church leaders in attendance at Antioch synod.
7.12	VII.29.2	πρεσβυτέρου	presbyterate [1] presbyter of that community [2] office of presbyter in that church [3] a presbyter of that parish [4]	...Malchion...had been deemed worthy of the presbyterate of that community.	Malchion refuted Paul (of Samosata) at a large synod of bishops that led to the final sentence of excommunication.
7.13	VII.30.2	πρεσβυτέροις	presbyters [1-4]	"To Dionysius and Maximus and to all our fellow-ministers throughout the world, bishops, presbyters, and deacons...	A single letter written by the "pastors who had assembled together."
7.14	VII.30.2	πρεσβύτεροι	presbyters [1-4]	...bishops, presbyters and deacons and the churches of God...send greeting.	As above.

No.	Ecc/ Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
7.15	VII.30.10	πρεσβυτέρους	presbyters [1-4]	...the bishops of the neighbouring country and towns, who fawn upon him, and the presbyters as well...	As above. The letter condemns the character of Paul of Samosata.
7.16	VII.30.12	πρεσβυτέρων	presbyters [1-4]	...his own and those of the presbyters and deacons in his company...	Description in the letter of Paul's deceptive activities re. concealing his "sins."
7.17	VII.32.2	πρεσβείου	presbyterate [1,2] rank of presbyter [3] office of presbyter [4]	During Cyril's episcopate we came to know Dorotheus, a learned man, who had been deemed worthy of the presbyterate at Antioch.	Antioch. Distinguished churchmen.
7.18	VII.32.25	πρεσβείου παροικίας	presbyterate of that community [1] presbyterate in that diocese [2] rank of presbyter [3] office of a presbyter in that parish [4]	...Pamphilus, a most eloquent man...who had been deemed worthy of the presbyterate of that community.	Caesarea, Palestine. As above.
7.19	VII.32.26	πρεσβυτέρων	presbyters [1-4]	...but as men possessed of especially rare qualities in our day we know Pierius, one of the presbyters at Alexandria...	Alexandria. As above.
7.20	VII.32.30	πρεσβυτερίου	presbyterate [1,2] order of a presbyter [3] a presbyter [4]	In his day at Alexandria Achilles, deemed worthy of the presbyterate along with Pierius, was well known...	As above.
8.1	VIII.6.9	πρεσβυτέρων	presbyters [1-4]	...were then fill with bishops and presbyters and deacons, readers and exorcists...	Nicomedia. Imprisonment of church leaders.
8.2	VIII.13.2	πρεσβύτερος παροικίας	a presbyter of that community [1] a local presbyter [2] the presbyter of this church [3] a presbyter of that parish [4]	Of the martyrs at Antioch the best in his entire life was Lucian, a presbyter of that community.	Antioch. Martyrdom.

No.	Ecl Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
8.3	VIII.13.3	πρεσβύτερος	presbyter [1,2,4] the other [3] <sup>436</sup>	...and Zenobius, presbyter of the church at Sidon...	Sidon. Martyr.
8.4	VIII.13.6	πρεσβύτερος	presbyter [1-4]	And among these we must mention the great glory of the community at Caesarea, Pamphilus, a presbyter, the most marvellous man of our day.	Caesarea, Palestine. Martyr.
8.5	VIII.13.7	πρεσβυτέρων	presbyters [1-4]	...and of the presbyters with him [Peter, bishop of Alexandria] Faustus, Dios,...perfect martyrs...	Alexandria. Martyrs.
9.1	IX.6.3	παροικίας πρεσβύτερος	a presbyter of the community [1] a presbyter of the Antioch diocese [2] presbyter of the church [3] a presbyter of the parish [4]	Lucian... well versed in sacred learning, a presbyter of the community at Antioch...	Nicomedia. Persecution and martyrdom.

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<sup>436</sup> Cruse does not translate as "presbyter." His translation reads, "The one, the bishop, was committed to the depths of the sea; but Zenbius, the other, a most excellent physician..." In identifying Zenbius as the "other," it is not certain whether he intends the other martyr, or the other bishop. It is likely the former.



### Appendix 7: Deacon References in *The Ecclesiastical History*

No.	Ecc Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
2.1	II.1.1	διάκον(α) <sup>437</sup>	the ministry [1] the diaconate [2,4] the office of deacons [3]	For the administration of the common fund tried men, seven in number, led by Stephen, were appointed to the ministry...	The serving ministry appointed by the apostles
2.2	II.1.10	διάκον(α)s	diaconate [1,2,4] the office of deacons [3]	Philip, however, one of those who with Stephen had been already ordained to the diaconate...	The scattering of the disciples during Paul's persecution.
2.3	II.17.23	διάκον(α)s	diaconate [1,2,4] of the deacons [3]	...the order of precedence of those who have been appointed to the service of the Church, both to the diaconate and to the supremacy of the episcopate...	Eusebius citing Philo's description of ministries i.e. diaconate and episcopate.
3.1	III.29.1	διακόνων	deacons [1-4]	These [the Nicolaitans] claimed Nicolas, one of the deacons in the company of Stephen who were appointed by the apostles for the service of the poor.	Description of Nicolas by Clement of Alexandria.
4.1	IV.22.3	διάκονος	deacon [1-4]	When I was in Rome I recovered the list of the succession until Anicetus, whose deacon was Eleutherus; Soter succeed Anicetus, and after him came Eleutherus.	Hegesippus' record in five treatises. Narrative of his travels to Rome.
5.1	V.1.17	διάκονον	deacon [1,2,4] holy deacon [3]	...and all the fury of the mob and of the governor and of the soldiers was raised beyond measure against Sanctus, the deacon from Vienne...	Letter from the churches of Gaul describing the martyrs in Lyons and Vienne.

<sup>437</sup> Citations (διάκον- ) that do not refer to the diaconate or ministry designation of deacon II.10.1 (διάκονος) "avenging minister," IV.7.2 (διακόνους) "ministers of destruction," IV.7.10 (διακόνους) "deceived ministers," V.21.2 (διακόνων) "one of Apollonius' servants," VI.43.11 (ὑποδιακόνους) "sub-deacons," VIII.14.17 (διακονουμένων) "those who ministered," IX.7.16 (διακονουμένων) "those serving," X.8.11 (διακονουμένων) "those who ministered."

No.	Ecc Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
6.1	VI.9.2	διακόνους	deacons [1-4]	Once at the great all-night vigil of the Pascha it is said that the oil failed the deacons...	Narrative about Narcissus and the miracle he performed by turning water into oil.
6.2	VI.19.19	διακόνων	deacons [1-4]	But since Demetrius once again recalled him by letter, and by men who were deacons of the Church urged him to come back... he returned...	The recalling of Origen to Alexandria after he had been in Arabia and Caesarea, Palestine.
6.3	VI.25.7	διάκονος	minister [1-4]	"But he was made sufficient to become a minister of the new covenant..."	Origen's commentary on the Gospel of John. Description of Paul.
6.4	VI.43.2	διακόνων	deacons [1-4]	...a very large synod...of sixty bishops and still a greater number of presbyters and deacons...	Synod at Rome re. the question about those who had proved weak in the time of persecution.
6.5	VI.43.11	διακόνους	deacons [1-4]	forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven sub-deacons, forty-two acolytes...	Ignorance of Novatus re. one bishop in a church. Perhaps a rhetorical question.
6.6	VI.43.16	διακόνων	deacons [1-4]	For when he was requested and exhorted by the deacons to leave the cell...	Novatus exhorted by the deacons to leave his cell and take up the responsibilities of the presbyterate.
6.7	VI.43.16	διακόνους	deacons' [1,2] of the deacons [3,4]	...so far was he from obeying the deacons' exhortations, that he even went away and departed in anger.	As above, Novatus ignores the exhortations.
7.1	VII.11.3	διάκονοι	deacons [1-4]	I came before Aemilianus, not alone, but there followed me my fellow-presbyter Maximus, and Faustus, Eusebius, Chaeremon, deacons...	Account of Dionysius (of Alexandria) re. persecution by Valerian.
7.2	VII.11.24	διάκονοι	deacons [1-4]	As to the deacons, they who survived those that died in the island are Faustus, Eusebius, Chaeremon...	As above Deacons preparing the burial for the martyrs.

No.	Ecc Hist reference	Greek term/phrase	English Translations	Excerpt of text	Status of office/Context/Diocese
7.3	VII.11.26	διακονον (no accent in Greek text)	deacon [1-4]	It should be observed, however, that Eusebius, whom he calls a deacon, shortly afterward was appointed bishop of Laodicea in Syria...	As above. Succession during time of persecution.
7.4	VII.22.8	διάκονοι	deacons [1-4]	In this manner the best at any rate of our brethren departed this life, certain presbyters and deacons and some of the laity...	Account of Dionysius. Martyrdom.
7.5	VII.28.1	διακόνους	deacons [1-4]	...countless others, together with presbyters and deacons, who were gathered together...	Recognition of distinguished bishops and other church leaders in attendance at Antioch synod.
7.6	VII.30.2	διακόνους	deacons [1-4]	... to all our fellow-ministers... bishops, presbyters and deacons...	"To Dionysius and Maximus and to all our fellow-ministers throughout the world, bishops, presbyters, and deacons..."
7.7	VII.30.2	διάκονοι	deacons [1-4]	...bishops, presbyters and deacons and the churches of God...send greeting.	As above.
7.8	VII.30.12	διακόνων	deacons [1-4]	...his own and those of the presbyters and deacons in his company...	Description in the letter of Paul's deceptive activities re. concealing his "sins."
8.1	VIII.6.9	διακόνων	deacons [1-4]	...were then fill with bishops and presbyters and deacons, readers and exorcists...	Nicomedia. Imprisonment of church leaders.

Appendix 8: Terms Used to Designate Bishop, Episcopate or Apostolic Succession in *Ecclesiastical History*<sup>438</sup>

Term for bishop or succession	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	Total
ἅγιος (holy; virtuous men; priest)	---	---	---	---	---	1	---	---	---	1	2
ἀφήγησις (ruling; of office)	---	---	---	---	1	---	---	---	---		1
ἄρχων (ruler)	---	---	1		1	2	---	5	---	1	10
διαδέχουμαι (episcopal succession)	---	2	5	7	6	8	14	---	---	---	42
διαδοχή (succession; of episcopate)	---	---	2	4	5	---	2	---	---	---	13
διάδοχος (succeeding; bishops as successors of apostles)	---	---	---	1	3	3	5	---	---	---	12
διέπω (manage, administer)	---	---	1	---	---	2	---	---	---	---	9
ἐπισκοπή (office of the bishop)	---	3	9	10	7	22	12	---	---	---	63
ἐπίσκοπος (bishop)	---	5	16	36	38	52	39	9	3	17	215
ἡγεῖσθαι (rule)	---	---	5	2	4	1	2	---	---	---	14
ἡγητηρία (rule)	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	---	---	---	1
θρόνος (throne; episcopal seat; a bishop's see)	---	2	3	1	---	1	4	---	---	---	11
καθίστημι (appoint, esp. clergy)	---	---	---	---	1	---	1	---	---	---	2
κλήρος (lot; office; clergy)	---	---	---	3	1	---	2	---	---	---	6
λειτουργία (service; ministry)	---	1	1	7	6	4	6	---	---	---	25
πάπας (father; of bishops; pope)	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	---	---	---	1

<sup>438</sup> \* note: Numerical references to indicate a bishop's place in apostolic succession are not included in this chart eg. πρῶτος, δεύτερος, τρίτος, τέταρτος, etc., nor are prepositional or articular designations, eg. ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, ὁ Καισαρείας.

Term for bishop or succession	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	Total
παροικίας (diocese; community)	---	1	5	6	3	3	10	---	---	---	26
ποιμήν (pastor; shepherd)	---	---	6	2	---	1	5	3	---	2	19
πρόεδρος (president)	---	1	---	---	---	1	---	2	---	---	4
προϊστορημα (leader; authority figure in church)	---	---	2	3	1	9	1	2	---	1	17
προστασία (government; leadership)	---	---	---	2	2	3	7		1	---	15
	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	444
Total distinct terms	---	6	11	12	12	12	14	5	2	5	21
Total references	---	19	51	71	73	99	97	20	4	21	455

Appendix 9: Geographic Dioceses Cited in the *Ecclesiastical History*

This chart provides the references to the full listing of cities and provinces that Eusebius identifies with churches and episcoates in the *History*. They appear in order based on the first time cited in the *Ecclesiastical History*.

City	Country/Region	EH References	Books Cited In	Total Citations
1. Jerusalem	Palestine	II.1.2;II.1.3;II.1.8;II.23.1;III.5.2;III.5.3;III.7.8; III.11.1;III.22.1;III.32.1;III.35.1;IV.5.1;IV.5.4; IV.6.4;IV.22.4;V.12.1;V.22.1;V.23.3;VI.8.4; VI.8.7;VI.11.2;VI.19.16;VI.20.1(Aelia);VI.27.1; VI.39.2;VI.39.3;VI.46.4;VII.5.1(Aelia);VII.14.1; VII.19.1;VII.28.1;VII.32.29	II - VII	32
2. Antioch	Syria	II.3.3;III.22.1;III.36.2;III.36.15;IV.20.1;IV.24.1( 2);V.19.1;V.22.1;VI.11.4;VI.11.5;VI.21.2; VI.23.4;VI.29.4;VI.39.4;VI.41.1;VI.43.22; VI.46.4;VII.5.1;VII.14.1;VII.27.1;VII.29.2 VII.30.18;VII.32.2;VII.32.4;VIII.13.2;VIII.13.4; IV.6.3	II - IX	28
3. Hierapolis	Phrygia	II.15.2;III.31.4;III.36.2;IV.26.1;V.16.1;V.19.2;	II - V	6
4. Alexandria	Egypt	II.16.1;II.24.1;III.14.1;III.21.1;III.28.3;IV.1.1; IV.4.1;IV.5.5;IV.11.6;IV.19.1;V.9.1;V.22.1; VI.2.2;VI.3.2;VI.7.3;VI.14.1;VI.19.13; VI.19.15;VI.19.19;VI.26.1;VI.29.4;VI.31.3; VI.35.1;VI.46.2;VII.Intro;VII.7.6;VII.11.26; VII.27.1;VII.28.3;VII.30.1;VII.30.3;VII.32.26; VII.32.30;VII.32.31;VIII.13.7;IX.6.2	II - IX	36
	S. Asia	II.18.9;III.23.1;IV.14.3;IV.15.1;V.1.2;V.1.3; V.19.2;V.23.1;V.24.9;	II - V	9
6. Rome	Italy	II.25.6;II.25.8;III.2.1;III.4.8;III.4.8;III.13.1; III.15.1;III.21.1;III.31.2;III.34.1;III.36.6;IV.1.1;I V.4.1;IV.5.5;IV.10.1;IV.11.1;IV.11.6;IV.11.8; IV.14.1;IV.19.1;IV.22.3;IV.23.9;IV.23.10; IV.30.3;V.intro;V.3.4;V.4.1;V.5.9;V.6.4;V.11.1; V.15.1;V.22.1;V.23.3;V.24.9;V.24.14;V.28.3; V.28.9;V.28.12;VI.14.10;VI.20.3;VI.23.3; VI.25.14;VI.29.1;VI.36.4;VI.39.1;VI.43.1; VI.43.3;VI.46.3;VII.2.1;VII.7.6;VII.9.1;VII.9.6; VII.14.1;VII.27.1;VII.30.1;VII.30.19;VII.30.23; VII.31.1;X.5.18;X.5.21	II - VII, X	60
7. Corinth	Greece	II.25.8(2);III.4.10;IV.21.1;IV.22.2;IV.23.1; V.22.1;	II - V	7
8. Ephesus	Asia	III.4.5;III.31.2;III.36.5;V.8.4;V.22.1;	III, V	5
	9. Crete	III.4.6;IV.21.1;IV.23.5;	III, IV	3
	10. Gaul	III.4.8;V.1.1;V.1.3;V.23.4;V.24.10;	III, V	5

City	Country/Region	EH References	Books Cited In	Total Citations
11. Athens	Greece	III.4.10;IV.23.2;IV.23.3;	III, IV	3
12. Smyrna	Asia	III.36.1;III.36.5;III.36.10;IV.14.3;IV.15.3; IV.15.39;IV.15.45;IV.15.46;V.24.4;	III - V	9
13. Magnesia	Asia	III.36.5	III	1
14. Tralles	Asia	III.36.5	III	1
15. Philadelphia	Asia	III.36.10;IV.15.45	III, IV	2
16. Sardis	Asia	IV.13.8;IV.26.1;V.23.5;	IV, V	3
17. Philomelium		IV.15.3	IV	1
18. Lacedaemonia		IV.23.2	IV	1
19. Gortyna	Crete	IV.23.5;IV.25.1	IV	2
20. Amastris	Bithynia	IV.23.6	IV	1
	21. Pontus	IV.23.6;V.23.3	IV, V	2
22. Cnossus	Crete	IV.23.7	IV	1
23. Lyons	Gaul	V.1.1;V.1.3;V.1.17;V.1.29;V.4.1;V.5.8	V	6
24. Vienne	Gaul	V.1.1;V.1.3	V	2
	25. Phrygia	V.1.2;V.1.3	V	2
26. Ancyra	Galatia???	V.16.3	V	2
27. Cumane (village of)	Phrygia	V.16.17	V	1
28. Apamea	Phrygia	V.16.17	V	1
29. Debelum (a colony of Thrace)	Thrace	V.19.3	V	1
30. Caesarea	Palestine	V.22.1;V.23.3;VI.8.4;VI.19.16;VI.23.4;VI.27.1; VI.28.1;VI.30.1;VI.46.3;VII.5.1;VII.14.1; VII.15.1;VII.28.1;VII.32.20;VII.32.24;VIII.13.6	V - VIII	16
31. Osrhoene		V.23.4	V	1
32. Eumenaea	Phrygia	V.24.5	V	1
33. Laodicea	Asia	V.24.5;VI.46.2;VII.3.1;VII.11.26;VII.32.5; VII.32.12;VII.32.21;VII.32.23	V - VII	8
34. Tyre	Palestine	V.25.1;VII.3.1;VIII.7.1	V, VII, VIII	3
35. Ptolemais	Libya	V.25.1	V	1
	36. Cappadocia	VI.11.2;VI.46.3;VII.3.1;VII.5.3;VII.30.3; VIII.12.1	VI - VIII	6
37. Laranda	Cilicia	VI.19.8	VI	1

City	Country/Region	EH References	Books Cited In	Total Citations
38. Iconium	Cilicia	VI.19.18;VII.7.5;VII.28.1	VI, VII	3
39. Synnada	Phrygia	VI.19.18;VII.7.5	VI, VII	2
40. Bostra	Arabia	VI.20.1;VI.33.1;VII.28.1	VI, VII	3
41. Caesarea	Cappadocia	VI.27.1;VII.14.1;VII.28.1	VI, VII	3
	42. Pontus	VI.30.1;VII.5.2;VII.14.1;VII.28.1;VII.32.26	VI, VII	5
43. Nilopolis		VI.42.3	VI	1
44. Hermopolitis		VI.46.2	VI	1
	45. Armenia	VI.46.2	VI	1
46. Tarsus		VI.46.3;VII.3.1;VII.28.1	VI, VII	3
47. Carthage		VII.3.1;X.5.18;X.6.1	VII, X	3
	48. Syria	VII.5.2	VII	1
	49. Arabia	VII.5.2;VIII.12.1;VIII.12.11	VII, VIII	3
	49. Mesopotamia	VII.5.2	VII	1
	50. Bithynia	VII.5.2	VII	1
	51. Cilicia	VII.5.3	VII	1
	52. Galatia	VII.5.3	VII	1
	53. Egypt	VII.21.2;VII.22.11;VII.24.1;VIII.13.7	VII, VIII	4
54. Bernice	Lybia	VII.26.1	VII	1
55. Pentapolis		VII.26.3	VII	1
	56. Italy	VII.30.19	VII	1
57. Thmuis		VIII.9.7	VIII	1
58. Nicomedia		VIII.13.2	VIII	1
	59. Phoenicia	VIII.13.3	VIII	1
60. Sidon		VIII.13.3	VIII	1
61. Emesa	Syria	VIII.13.3;IX.6.1	VIII, IX	2
62. Gaza	Palestine	VIII.13.5	VIII	1
63. Syracuse		X.5.21	X	1
64. Gaul		X.5.21	X	1
65. Africa		X.5.21	X	1



## Appendix 10: Throne (θρόνος) Texts in Ecclesiastical History

This chart cites the *thronos* texts, used almost exclusively for Jerusalem (the exceptions being single instance references to Corinth and Rome). A comparison of the contexts of the *thronos* texts clarifies Eusebius' usage. At times "throne" is to be understood in a literal sense (i.e. as an ornate piece of clerical furniture) but most often to designate the apostolic authority of the episcopate.

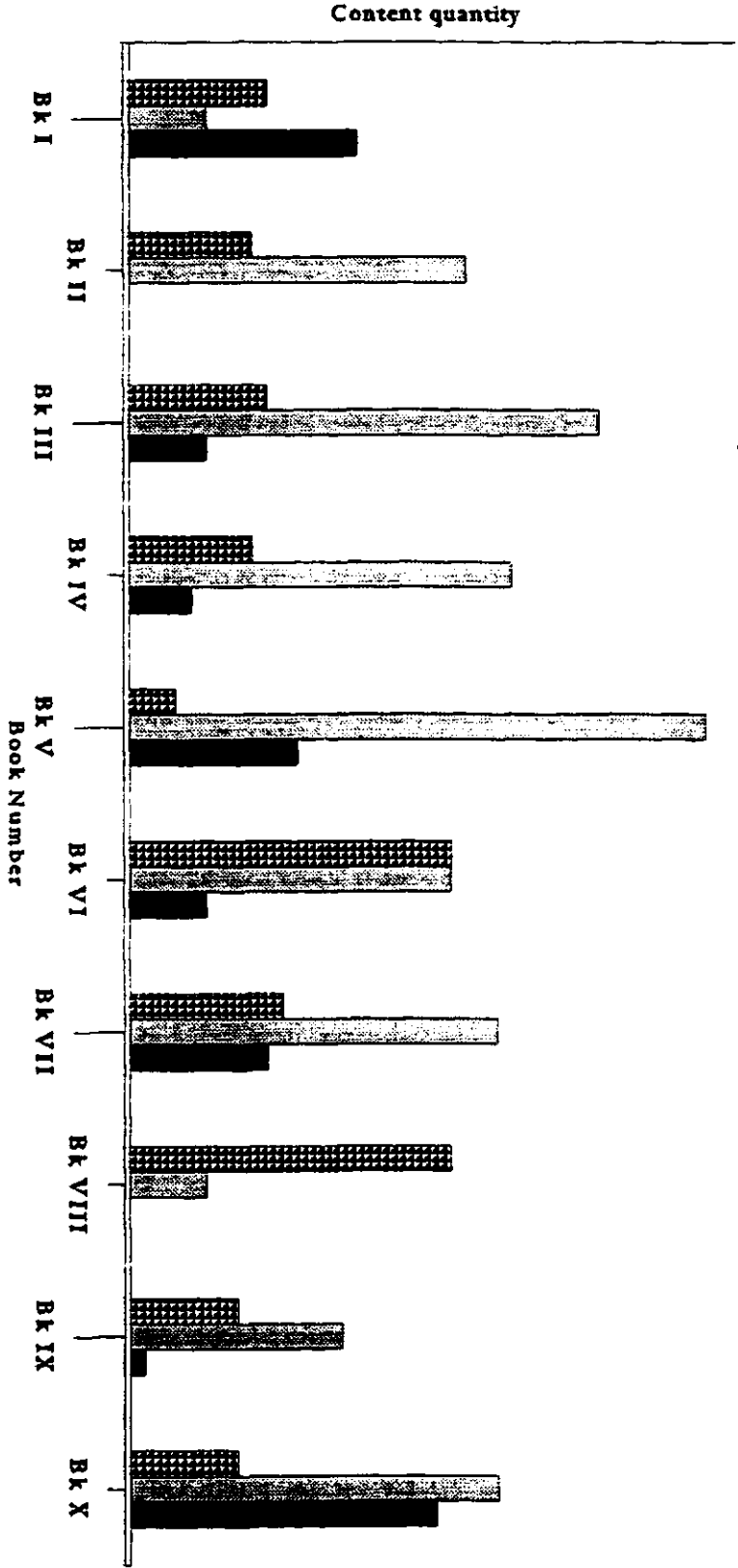
EH	Greek Text	Greek Kirsopp Lake/ J.E.L. Oulton translations in LCL	Arthur McGiffert translation in Nicene and Post- Nicene Fathers	G.A. Williamson translation in Penguin Books
II,1,2	Ἰάκωβον...πρώτον ἱστοροῦσιν τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐγχειρισθῆναι θρόνον·	James...is narrated to have been the first elected to the throne of the bishopric of the Church in Jerusalem.	James... is recorded to have been the first to be made bishop of the church of Jerusalem.	This James... was the first, as the records tell us, to be elected to the episcopal throne of the Jerusalem church.
II,23,1	ἐπὶ Ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ κυρίου τρέπονται ἀδελφον, ᾧ πρὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐγκεχρίστο θρόνος.	... James, the brother of the Lord, to whom the throne of the bishopric in Jerusalem had been allotted by the Apostles.	... James, the brother of the Lord, to whom the episcopal seat at Jerusalem had been entrusted by the apostles.	... James the Lord's brother, who had been elected by the apostles to the episcopal throne at Jerusalem.
III,5,2	ἐπὶ πάνσι τε Ἰακώβου, τοῦ τὸν αὐτόθι τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς θρόνον πρώτου μετὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀνάληψιν κεκληρωμένου	... James, who was the first after the ascension of our Saviour to be appointed to the throne of the bishopric in Jerusalem.	... and finally James, the first that had obtained the episcopal seat in Jerusalem after the ascension of our Savior...	... and finally James, the first after our Saviour's Ascension to be raised to the bishop's throne...

EH	Greek Text	Greek Kirsopp Lake/ J.E.L. Oulton translations in LCL	Arthur McGiffert translation in Nicene and Post- Nicene Fathers	G.A. Williamson translation in Penguin Books
III,11,1	Συμεῶνα τὸν τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, οὗ καὶ ἡ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου μνημονεύει γραφὴ, τοῦ τῆς αὐτόθι παροικίας θρόνου ἄξιον εἶναι δοκιμάσαι,	... Symeon the son of Clopas, whom the scripture of the Gospel also mentions, was worthy of the throne of the diocese there.	... Symeon, the son of Clopas, of whom the Gospel also makes mention, to be worthy of the episcopal throne of that parish.	... Symeon, son of the Clopas mentioned in the gospel narrative, was a fit person to occupy the throne of the Jerusalem see.
III,35,1	τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπισκοπῆς τὸν θρόνον Ἰουδαῖός τις ὄνομα Ἰούστος...	...a certain Jew named Justus... succeeded to the throne of the bishopric of Jerusalem.	... a certain Jew by the name of Justus, succeeded to the episcopal throne in Jerusalem.	... his successor on the throne of the Jerusalem bishopric was a Jew named Justus...
IV,23,1	Καὶ πρῶτόν γε περὶ Διονυσίου φατέον ὅτι τε τῆς ἐν Κορίνθῳ παροικίας τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐγκεχειριστο θρόνον...	Concerning Dionysius it must first be said that he was appointed to the throne of the episcopate of the diocese of Corinth...	And we must first speak of Dionysius, who was appointed bishop of the church in Corinth...	First it must be said of Dionysius that when he had been enthroned as the Bishop of Corinth...
VI,29,4	καὶ ἀμελλήτως ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον γε τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λαβόντας αὐτὸν ἐπιθεῖαι.	... and without more ado took him and place him [Fabian] on the episcopal throne.	... and without delay they took him and placed him upon the episcopal seat.	... and then and there they seized him and set him on the bishop's throne.
VII. Table	Περὶ τοῦ θρόνου Ἰακώβου.	On the throne of James.	The episcopal chair of James.	The throne of Bishop James
VII ,14,1	ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀναπαυσάμενου Μαζαβάνου, τὸν θρόνον Ὑμέναιος...	But at Jerusalem, when Mazabanes had entered into his rest, Hymenaeus succeeded to the throne.	But in Jerusalem, after the death of Mazabanes, Hymenaeus... succeeded to his seat.	Lastly at Jerusalem, when Mazabanes had gone to his rest, his throne was filled by Hymenaeus...

EH	Greek Text	Greek Kirsopp Lake/ J.E.L. Oulton translations in LCL	Arthur McGiffert translation in Nicene and Post- Nicene Fathers	G.A. Williamson translation in Penguin Books
VII.19.1	Τὸν γὰρ Ἰακώβου θρόνον, τοῦ πρώτου τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν πρὸς τοῦ σωτήρος καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑποδεξαμένου...	Now the throne of James, who was the first to receive from the Saviour and the apostles the episcopate of the church at Jerusalem...	The chair of James, who first received the episcopate of the church at Jerusalem from the Saviour himself and the apostles...	The throne of James - who was the first to receive from the Saviour and His apostles the episcopacy of the Jerusalem church...
VII.32.29	Ἑρμῶν ὑστατος τῶν μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς διωγμοῦ τὸν εἰς ἔτι νῦν ἐκεῖσε πεφυλαγμένον ἀποστολικὸν διαδέχεται θρόνον.	... Hermo, the last of the bishops up to the persecution in our day, succeeded to the apostolic throne that has still been preserved there to this present day.	... and Hermion, the last before the persecution in our day, succeeded to the apostolic chair, which has been preserved there until the present time.	and Hermo, last of the bishops up to the persecution of my time, ascended the apostolic throne preserved there to this day.

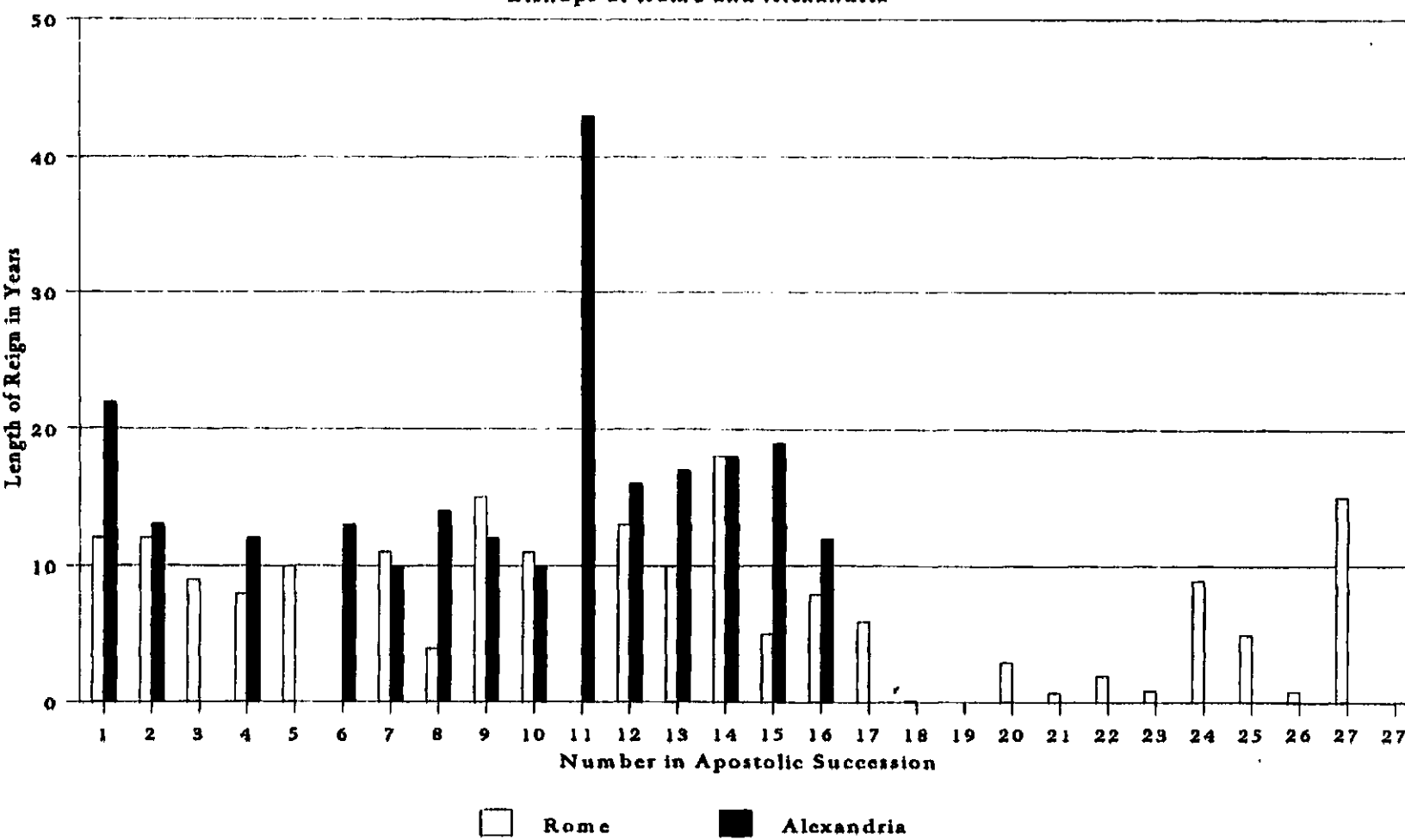
**Note:** There are at least eight other occurrences of θρόνος in the *Ecclesiastical History*. Most appear in the context of God's throne. One occasion negatively illustrates the lofty throne of Paul Samosata, a bishop who was excommunicated. (*Ecc Hist* VII. 30. 9)

Graph 1: Eusebian vs. Cited Content Comparison



AEC -	9	8	9	8	3	21	10	21	7	7
PEC -	5	22	31	26	38	21	24	5	14	24
NEC -	15	0	5	4	11	5	9	0	1	20

Graph 2: Duration of Reigns  
Bishops of Rome and Alexandria



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