Ordination and Episcopacy in the Severan-Jacobite Church

AD 518-*c.* 588

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Abstract

On 29 September 518, the patriarch Severus of Antioch, faced with a change in imperial religious policy following the elevation of the emperor Justin I, fled into exile in Egypt. Between 518 and 522, the remaining anti-Chalcedonian bishops in *Oriens* either defected or followed their patriarch into exile. From this watershed descended a new, exilic church and with it an episcopate, outside of the jurisdictional structures of the imperial church.

Although the persistence of an anti-Chalcedonian communion during this period has been the subject of previous study, modern scholars have tended uncritically to accept the testimony of the extant narrative tradition, without paying adequate attention to its rhetorical methods and objectives. This study aims to redress this problem. By incorporating a detailed examination of the documentary and canon legal evidence, it offers a reinterpretation of both the consecratory practices and apologetic program of the Severan-Jacobite church.

In doing so, this study makes two principal conclusions. First, the process of adaptation undergone by the Severan-Jacobite episcopate, in the period after 518-522, was marked by its progressive alienation from the jurisdictional framework, which circumscribed and defined the consecratory role of the episcopate within the imperial church. In response to this, the church developed

an increasingly sophisticated series of compensatory mechanisms; these, though largely successful, nevertheless remained in tension with the territorial expectations underlying existing canon law, and thus were open to contestation. Second, concurrent with these procedural developments, the Severan-Jacobite church produced a discursive response – typified by the works of John of Ephesus –, which sought apologetically to rationalize its own consecratory practices, while delegitimizing and invalidating those adopted by rival anti-Chalcedonian sects.

Long Absract

Shortly after the beginning of his reign on 10 July 518, Justin I embarked upon a religious policy that would fundamentally alter the sectarian landscape of the empire. In contrast to the largely pro-miaphysite policies of his immediate predecessor, Anastasius, the new emperor moved to impose a pro-Chalcedonian confession upon the churches in the patriarchates of Antioch and Constantinople. On 29 September 518, the patriarch Severus of Antioch fled into exile in Egypt – which was to remain a bastion of open anti-Chalcedonianism until the fall of the patriarch Theodosius of Alexandria, in late 536. Between 518 and 522, the remaining anti-Chalcedonian bishops in *Oriens* either defected or followed their patriarch into exile.

From this political watershed descended an increasingly autonomous anti-Chalcedonian movement, the branching divisions of which were, over the course of the sixth century, to give rise to a network of competing sects. Although alike in general circumstance, these sects pursued a range of consecratory strategies in response to the shared problems of persecution as well as their particular exigencies. This thesis examines both the development of a Severan-Jacobite strategy as well as the polemic reaction of Severan-Jacobite sources to the consecratory strategies of other anti-Chalcedonian churches.

In doing so, this study is divided thematically into two parts. The first treats the institutional antecedents to the Jacobite reformation by re-examining the evidence for the extra-territorial ordination of sub-episcopal clergy by members of the Severan-Jacobite episcopate, between 518 and *c.* 553:

Chapter I.1: Extra-Territorial Ordainers provides a detailed discussion of the narrative and documentary evidence for the emergence, evolution, and justification of a system of extra-territorial ordination by Severan bishops, seeking to understand the mechanisms by which the church adapted to the removal and rustication of the episcopate, prior to the Jacobite reformation. In so doing, it reevaluates the evidentiary value of the account given by John of Ephesus, in the *Lives*, which has served as the principal source for most modern reconstructions of the activities of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate, during this period. Centered around a chain of heroic bishop ordainers – including John of Tella, John of Hephaestopolis, Thomas of Damascus, Ja-

cob Baradaeus, and Theodore of Arabia –, the narrative of the *Lives* depicts the ordination of clergy as having taken place away from the larger episcopate, whom the hagiographer depicts as having avoided ordaining new clergy and as having actively discourged others from doing so, cowed by the threat of imperial persecution. Making extensive use of the available documentary sources, the chapter argues that, John of Ephesus' explicit insistence to the contrary, the remote and extra-territorial ordination of sub-episcopal clergy began almost immediately, with some local variation, following the expulsion of the anti-Chalcedonian bishops, and constituted a collective and coordinated effort on the part of the episcopate as a whole, to ensure the continued provisioning of sacraments to churches throughout *Oriens*, as well ultimately as in the dioceses of Anatolia and *Aegyptus*.

The second part, comprising five interrelated chapters, examines the consecratory strategies adopted by a variety of anti-Chalcedonian sects and the representation of these strategies among Severan-Jacobite sources:

Chapter II.1: Pseudo-Bishops establishes a baseline for the discussion of Severan-Jacobite attitudes toward the sacramental validity in episcopal ordination by examining the treatment of the numerous pseudo-episcopal sects, which flourished within the anti-Chalcedonian movement, both before and after 518. Produced by the usurpation of episcopal functions by non-bishops, who without having themselves been ordained to the episcopate, but who nonetheless presumed to ordain others, these sects were judged to be sacramentally impotent by Severan-Jacobite authors, providing a comparatively straightforward model

of consecratory invalidity. In turn, the relative simplicity of the pseudo-episcopal sects, which did not typically form lasting edifices, as well as their innate invalidity provided an ideal medium through which to approach certain features in the larger Severan-Jacobite discourse surrounding consecratory validity. Here, the chapter identifies two features of the Severan-Jacobite sources, which have broad salience for the remainder of the thesis. First, above all other procedural considerations, Severan-Jacobite sources predicate their assessment of the validity of an episcopal ordination on whether it was performed by a minimum of three sacramentally ordained bishops. Based on a requirement in canon 4 of Nicaea, the rule provides the only immutable rubric by which the sacramental validity of episcopal ordinations are judged in contemporary sources. Second, the chapter demonstrates that, when interrogating canon legal sources, it is possible to use the treatment of clerical converts as a proxy measure for the perceived validity or invalidity of an episcopate – with converts from sects with valid episcopates being received into the orthodox clergy, following a period of penitance and without a repetition of the sacraments, while those from sects deemed to possess an invalid episcopate were required to submit to re-ordination, before being allowed to minister in the Severan-Jacobite church.

Chapter II.2: The Julianist Episcopate examines the evidence for the complex development of the Julianist episcopate, as well as its ultimate invalidation in the Severan polemic. The product of a schism within the early exilic community, the Julianist movement began with a valid episcopate, which according to Severan sources became extinct, in *c.*

549, before being resurrected through the dead hand of its last living bishop, Procopius of Ephesus. This severance of the line of episcopal succession, in turn, exposed the whole of the Julianist church to accusations of pseudo-episcopacy and sacramental invalidity.

Chapter II.3: The Tritheist Episcopate analyzes the evidence surrounding the emergence of an autonomous tritheist episcopate, after 569, and its treatment in Theodosian sources. As with other events during the period, the details of the genesis of the tritheist episcopate is recorded only by John of Ephesus, in the *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, who presented it as having sprung from the illicit and indiscriminate ordinations conducted by the bishop Theonas, in conjunction with Conon of Tarsus and Eugenius of Seleucia in Isauria. As such, the succession of the tritheist episcopate was treated by Severan-Jacobite sources as heretical and illegal, but not sacramentally invalid, providing a counterexample, in Severan-Jacobite legal thought, to those of the minor pseudo-episcopal sects and the later Julianist episcopate.

Chapter II.4: Legitimizing the Jacobite Episcopate lays out, to the limited extent possible, the means by which episcopal ordinations were conducted and legitimized within the Severan-Jacobite episcopate, after *c.* 553, examining two distinct evidentiary corpora – *viz.*, the epistolary documents pertaining to the ordination of Paul of Beth Ukkame, in 564, and the near contemporary hagiographic works of John of Ephesus, written in *c.* 566. The former, provides the only detailed case study of the consecratory and electoral practices of the early Jacobite episcopate, while the latter contains a schematized account of the reformation project undertaken by Jacob Baradaeus, as well as

a highly stylized account of the ordination of the bishop John of Chios. Together, these sources permit the reconstruction of both the mode and manner in which members of the earlier Jacobite episcopate sought to forge a legal and rhetorical vindication of extra-territorial ordination of bishops.

Chapter II.5: Contesting Legitimacy explores the evidence for the controversy surrounding the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis, in 575, which resulted in a schism within the Severan-Jacobite episcopate and led to the fall of the patriarch Paul of Beth Ukkame. Adopting a bifurcated approach, the chapter examines and compares the competing interpretations of procedural and electoral legitimacy proffered in the Paulite and anti-Paulite sources. In so doing, it endeavors to adduce the tensions inherent in the early Jacobite system of episcopal ordinations, which, despite the programatic and practical efforts of those like John of Ephesus and Jacob Baradaeus to substantiate and justify it, continued to exist outside of and at variance with the territorial framework envisioned by earlier custom and canon law. At the same time, the chapter also seeks to provide a contextual antidote to the triumphalist program of the of the *Lives*, by demonstrating the practical fragility and contingency of the system of Jacobite ordination as it had evolved by the mid-570s.

The conclusions of this examination are essentially twofold. First, regarding the procedural mechanics of ordination within the Severan-Jacobite church, the thesis argues that the removal of the anti-Chalcedonian bishops from sees in *Oriens* triggered a process of rapid and repeated adaptation. Initially, this adaptation was characterized

by the emergence of a system of jurisdictional licensing by which bishops sanctioned other members of the episcopate to ordain clergy for communions within their bishoprics. Firmly attested in the form of letters patent, though perhaps also exchanged in other media, these licenses provided a legal framework, based on existing canon law, within which to rationalize the ordination of sub-episcopal clergy outside of the normal jurisdictional structure of the imperial church. Typified in the hagiographic record by the activities of John of Tella, this system of bilateral, territorial franchising appears to have furnished the Severan church with functional *modus operandi*, until at least 538, when the progressive extinction of the episcopate limited the number of bishops and, correspondingly, the extent and activity of the franchise.

The collapse of the Severan episcopate seems to have prompted a further de-territorialization of the practice of ordination within the anti-Chalcedonian church, evidence of which begins to appear in the extant sources as early as 536/537. Concurrent with and almost certainly symptomatic of the latter stages of this incremental collapse, between 536/537 and *c.* 553, were the consecratory missions of John of Hephaestopolis and Jacob Baradaeus. Although centrally licensed and, to some degree at least, directed by the remaining anti-Chalcedonian hierarchs in Constantinople, they functioned as near universal ordainers, creating clergy throughout Anatolia, *Oriens*, and *Aegyptus*, seemingly without receiving specific territorial patents, enfranchising them to ordain for a particular see. The significance of this latter development was subsequently reflected in the reformation of the Jacobite episcopate. Begun in *c.* 553, the creation of the new epis-

copate appears to have largely eschewed the civic and provincial structures of the imperial church, relying instead upon the disparate networks of bishops and anti-Chalcedonian monasteries to furnish it with an electorate able to ratify and support its ordination of new bishops. However, despite its evident success in restoring an anti-Chalcedonian episcopate in *Oriens*, this strategy remained in conflict with the procedural and jurisdictional norms of earlier canon law, exposing it to contestation in those instances when an ordination failed to achieve consensus, such as happened following the failed ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis.

Second, with respect to the legitimation of the consecratory habits of the Severan-Jacobite episcopate, the study concludes that, rather than proffering a simple record of the consecratory practices of either the church or its anti-Chalcedonian rivals, John of Ephesus – both in the *Lives* and the *Historiae* – instead produced a highly programmatic defense of Severan-Jacobite practices. In depicting the consecration of sub-episcopal clergy in the period before *c.* 553, the hagiographer was assiduous in asserting, however vaguely, that John of Tella, John of Hephaestopolis, and Jacob Baradaeus ordained in accordance with canon law. Moreover, by focusing on a series of individual ordainers, John of Ephesus was able to accentuate the virtue and propriety of their actions, while avoiding more complex and contestable questions of jurisdiction. This strategy is mirrored in his treatment of episcopal ordinations. In describing the Jacobite reformation, the hagiographer, again, focuses his narrative attention upon the person and practices of Jacob Baradaeus, allowing his ordinations to stand *pars pro toto* for the

whole reformation project and implying a uniformity of validity and propriety within it. Conversely, in accounts of both the Julianist and tritheist episcopate, John of Ephesus – as well as those later chronographic sources dependent upon him – developed a similar discursive program, linking the invalidity and illegitimacy of the heretical episcopate to a foundational deviation. In both cases, the particular rhetorical effect is achieved through a narrowing of the narrative frame, allowing the author to present the sect as systemically valid or systemically invalid, while implicitly disallowing contradictory interpretations.

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Abbreviations:

ACO. ..... *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*
Can.Anc. ..... *Canones Ancyrani*
Can.Ant. ..... *Canones Antiochenae*
Can.Apost. ..... *Canones Apostolorum*
Can.Chal. ..... *Canones Chalcedoni*
Can.Const. ..... *Canones Constantinopolitani*
Can.Eph. ..... *Canones Ephesini*
Can.Laod. ..... *Canones Laodicensis*
Can.Neoc. ..... *Canones Neocaesariensis*
Can.Nic. ..... *Canones Nicaeni*
Can.Sard. ..... *Canones Sardicensis*
Can.Trull. ..... *Canones Trullani*
CL. ..... *A Collection of Letters of Severus of Antioch*
DM. ..... *Documenta ad origines monophysitarum illustrandas*
LES. ..... *Lives of the Eastern Saints*
PLRE. ..... *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*
SL. ..... *The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus of Antioch*

Transcription, Orthography, and Titles:

The reader will please note that transcription of Greek and Syriac words has been avoided, except in the case of ecclesiastical titulature, where the Syriac provides the technical name for certain offices – *e.g.*, *ṣāʿūrē*, *benai qeyāmā*, and *benat qālē*. In general, the use of Latinate spellings, both for names and official titles, has been preferred throughout. A significant exception, here, is the use

of the term archimandrite, rather than abbot, as the generic title for the head of a monastery or convent.

The titles of primary sources are, in general, given according to their edition or common English translation, except in the case of Severan-Jacobite canon law collections, where, for the sake of brevity, shortened versions of titles have been adopted; thus, for example, the short title "Canons for the Time of Persecution" is used in place of the longer title "The Ecclesiastical Canons Which Were Given by the Holy Fathers during the Time of Persecution." To ensure clearity in such cases, citations of canon law have, where possible, been made to incorporate a parenthetical reference to the corpus in which they are edited – *e.g.*, "Canons for the Time of Persecution" (= *Synodicon*, XX, 159-163), 1 and *Can.Nic.* (= *Discipline*, I.I.I, 21-41), 1.

Introduction

Presented by its author as a cautionary tale for those pursuing ascetic virtue, the "Lives of Two Monks" in John of Ephesus' *Lives of the Eastern Saints* describes how the demonic temptation of its titular protagonists – inmates of the monastery of the Edessenes, near Amida, led to error caused by their hubristic faith in their own spiritual powers.[1] According to the story, Jacob, the more prominent of the two, achieved a degree of notoriety among the other seven hundred inmates of the convent for the rigor of his asceticism, attracting many emulators and disciples within the monastery. At the same time, demoniacs began to congregate at the gates of the monastery, calling out and demanding that Jacob release them. Although he initially demurred, concerned that the demons were taunting him, the monk was nevertheless pressed by "the great elders" of the convent to restore calm and disperse the crowds of the possessed, who had become a nuisance to the monastery.[2] Finally yeilding to these calls, Jacob exited the monastery and making the sign of the cross over them healed the possessed. However, far from restoring the peace, this exorcism served only to draw more demoniacs to him, increasing the annoyance to the monastery and obliging Jacob to withdraw from the convent, taking with him an anonymous disciple. Accompanied and – according to the hagiographer – led on by the demons, the two relocated their exor-

1. John of Ephesus, *LES*, XV, 220-221.

2. John of Ephesus, *LES*, XV, 221-223.

cisms to a monastery which had been given to them for their purpose in the village of Beth Musika.[3]

There, Jacob continued his work, expelling multitudes of demons, until "the evil one, who by means of his cunning devious methods of seducing men, contrived how to mock these blessed men." Possessing a young woman of "worldly appearance," one night, the demons wreathed her in a brilliant light and set her upon the episcopal throne in the martyrs' chapel of the monastery. Taking on the form of angels, the demons then awoke the monks, bidding them to gather incense and hasten to the chapel, where they claimed the Theotokos and a host of angels awaited them.[4] Entering the chapel, the monks fell in awe, prostrating themselves before the throne. Then, the demons bid them rise and speaking through the false Mary commanded them to approach the throne, flattering them and offering to ordain them to the presbyterate:

> And she said to them, "Come, approach me, and do fear me not. I am Mary the mother of Christ, and my son has sent me to you, because he perceived your righteousness and love for him, and that you are perfect in your way of life, and he has commanded me to lay hands upon you, and that you should receive the priesthood from me on account of your virtue, but come approach and receive it." They, however, like those who thought that they more than all men were in truth worthy of a heavenly gift, and they approached and bent down their heads, and she arose and laid her hand upon the heads of both men, and said to them, "You have both received the presbyterate from me; you have been made presbyters, minister your priesthood."[5]

This accomplished, the demons exposed their deception, jeering the monks for having supposed themselves great. Realizing their folly and despairing utterly, Jacob and his companion resolved to submit themselves to penitence and lamenting sought out the bishop John of Tella, then in Marde. Marvel-

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3. John of Ephesus, *LES*, XV, 223-224.

4. John of Ephesus, *LES*, XV, 224.

5. John of Ephesus, *LES*, XV, 225-226.

ling at the machination of the demons, the bishop received the monks in penance – allowing them to enter communion and restoring them to their former station after a period of three years, during which time they showed themselves to be duly earnest penitents.[6]

Notable within John of Ephesus' hagiographic oeuvre for its fantastic supernatural content, the story of the monks is also indirectly illustrative of a concern which preoccupied anti-Chalcedonian canonists and polemicists throughout the period between 518 and 638, as they struggled to articulate and maintain a communion outside of the framework of the imperial church, namely the lawful and efficacious performance of the sacraments.[7] Although the principal theme of the story is undoubtedly the necessity of humility to the asectic – explicitly, in confronting the traps and machinations of the devil –, nevertheless its climactic scene centers around the false ordination conferred upon the monks by the demonically possessed woman, causing them to be received by John of Tella through the same penitential framework which governed the reception of those illegally or heretically ordained.[8] In essence, the monks are depicted as having been treated as having unlawfully assumed the mantle of a clerical order to which they had not been properly ordained, ex-

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6. John of Ephesus, *LES*, XV, 226-228; the statement that John of Tella was at Marde, when he was approached by the monks, dates the setting of the episode to the period between 522 and 525, Menze, V. (2008), *Justinian and the Making of the Syrian Orthodox Church*, (Oxford), 153; idem (2006), "The *Regula ad Diaconos*: John of Tella, his Eucharistic Ecclesiology and the Establishment of an Ecclesiastical Hierarchy in Exile," *Oriens Christianus* 90, 47-48; Menze, V. and Akalin, K. (2009), *John of Tella's* Profession of Faith: *the Legacy of a Sixth-Century Syrian Orthodox Bishop*, (Piscataway, NJ), 8; and chapter, I.1.c-d, 42-61.

7. Ashbrook Harvey, S. (1990), *Asceticism and Society in Crisis: John of Ephesus and the* Lives of the Eastern Saints, (Berkeley), 48-49 and 118-120, has read the episode – with its central image of the counterfeit Virgin – for evidence of the complex portrait of women within the *Lives*.

8. *N.b.*, the reception of those ordained by the demonically possessed is not a problem addressed in the extant corpus of Severan-Jacobite canon law. However, the period of penitential suspension corresponds roughly to that reportedly assigned by John of Tella to converts, who had been ordained by Chalcedonian bishops, Thomas of Germanicia, "Letter to John" (= Appendix, I.3), fol. 15a.

posing them to canon legal censure and requiring them to submit to penance in the same manner as those who, under more banal circumstances, had received ordination outside of the orthodox church.

Throughout the period under examination, Christian clergy can be broadly divided into principal categories based upon their liturgical functions, degree of sanctification, and perceived authority within the church – the "minor" and "major" clergy.[9] The former comprised a collection of offices, including subdeacons, readers, exorcists, *inter alia*, the precise number and respective functions of which appear to have varied, but which may be broadly characterized as providing ancillary support to the material operations of the church as well as filling an assortment of non-sacramental roles in the liturgy.[10] Although attested to throughout the corpus of contemporary sources, the orders of the "minor" clergy do not appear to have been the object of cardinal regulatory or consecratory concern for the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate, after 518-522; as a result, they are of only a secondary significance to the analysis of the present thesis.[11] Of considerably greater importance here is the latter

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9. Neither the terms nor the formalized concept which they represent is, strictly speaking, indigenous to the fourth, fifth, and sixth sources, so that there is some degree of anachronism in their usage here. However, elements of a dichotomy between the two groups are evident enough among contemporary sources to give the terms a certain descriptive utility.

10. Regarding the historical development and speciation of the minor clergy more broadly, see, Faivre, A. (1977), *Naissance d'hiérarchie: les premières étapes du cursus clérical*, (Paris); Grudemet, J. (1959), *L'Église dans l'empire romain (IVe-Ve siècles)*, tome III of *Histoire du Droit et des Institutions de l'Église en Occident*, ed. G. Le Bras, (Paris), 104-106; Selb, W. (1989), *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht: Die Geschichte des Kirchenrechts der Westsyrer (von den Anfängen bis zur Mongolenzeit)*, vol. II, (Vienna), 246-247 and 249-251; and Schwartz, D. L. (2013), *Paideia and Cult: Christian Initiation in Theodore of Mopsuestia*, (Boston), 81-83.

11. The minor clerical offices most frequently attested to among the correspondence of Severus of Antioch are those of the subdeacons, readers, psalmists, and deaconesses are Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.7, 32, 34, 49, 61, and 63, IV.8, V.11 and 15, VI.2, VII.1-2, and VIII.1 and 5; *cf.*, "The Canons of Anonymous Origin" (= *Synodicon*, XXXVII, 198-199), 4, 6, 7, and 9; and "Quid potestatis habeant singuli constituti in s. ordinis gradibus" (= *Studia Syriaca*, III.III.II, [...]), 5-7 and 11-14. A notable exception to this general absence of the minor clergy from significant discussion in the canons of Severan-Jacobite church was the office of the deaconess, which appears in some canons to have received increased perogatives to allow it to act, alongside the diaconate, as a proxy for the distribution of the eucharist –

group, the "major" clergy, which comprised three principal orders of the sacramental clergy: the diaconate, presbyterate, and episcopate.

Upon these orders rested the sacramental life of the church, so that upon their maintenance rested the institutional fate of the movement, since a collapse of the clergy − even locally − meant a withdrawal of the lay-facing sacraments of the baptism and eucharist, as well as the attenuation of ministerial oversight, weakening the connection between the institutional church and the laity. However, although collectively responsible for the administration of the lay sacraments, the orders of the major clergy possessed distinct roles, forming an ascending tripartite hierarchy. In a normal sense, deacons exercised a ministerial duty over laity, superintending the resources of the church, as well as maintaining and preparing the altar for the performance of the liturgy and assisting the presbyters and bishops in the administration of the service. Under certain exigent circumstances, deacons might also perform rites of baptism.[12] By contrast, presbyters − priests − were charged with the sacramental power to consecrate the eucharist and officiate normal baptisms. As such, the diaconate and presbyterate constituted the principal connection between the laity and the church, both as a sacramental edifice and as an institution.[13]

At the apex of this sacramental hierarchy was the episcopate, whose role was defined by the capacity to reproduce the sacramental infrastructure

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"Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient" (= *Synodicon*, XXI, 163-176), 9 and 11.

12. "Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient" (= *Synodicon*, XXI, 163-176), 1 and 3.

13. Schwartz, *Paideia*, 73-81; Gaudemet, *L'Église*, 101-104; Menze, "*Regula*," 61-63; Claeys-Bouuaert, F. (1949), "Diacre," in R. Naz ed., *Dictionnaire de droit canonique: contenant tous les termes du droit canonique, avec un sommaire de l'histoire et des institutions et de l'état actuel de la discipline*, tome 4, (Paris), 1198-1206; de Vries, W. (1940), *Sakramententhelogie bei den syrischen Monophysiten*, (Rome), 110-114 and 177-178; Selb, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht*, 247-249; and Alpi, F. (2009), *La route royale: Sévère d'Antioche et les églises d'orient (512-518)*, vol. I, (Beirut), 97-103.

of the church.[14] During the course of the sixth century, Severan-Jacobite canonists segregated the consecration of altars and ultimately of the myron to the unique competence of the episcopate.[15] The most significant of the sacramental functions of the episcopate, however, was the consecration of clergy and other bishops – through whom the ministry and sacraments of the church were preserved and perpetuated. Only a bishop, legally elected and sacramentally ordained, was able to the create new clergy to perpetuate the ministry. Those claiming ordination by any other route were, by inescapable definition, not clerics, and were thus devoid of any sacramental power or capacity; a fact well illustrated by the story of the demonically ordained monks in John of Ephesus. In like fashion, only groups of bishops – at least three in number – were able to perform the valid ordination of another bishop and thus replicate the episcopate.

For the anti-Chalcedonian church in exile, this speciation of clerical functions posed certain difficulties. In the first place, the removal of the episcopate, in 518-522, and the subsequent suppression and dispersal of the sub-episcopal clergy created an immediate and systemic attenuation in the relationship between the church and local anti-Chalcedonian communities throughout much of *Oriens*.[16] Scattered and intermittently persecuted, the members of the episcopates were, to various degrees at least, also impeded in

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14. Alpi, *La route royale*, 89-97; de Vries, *Sakramententheologie*, 240-242; and Selb, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht*, 237-246.

15. "Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient" (= *Synodicon*, XXI, 163-176), 8; "Canons to Paula and Paula" (= *Synodicon*, XXII, pg. 176-178), 4; Theodosius of Alexandria, "Canonical Letter" (= *MT*, II.2.iv, 255-259), 1; Sergius bar Kharyā, "Letter" (= Appendix, II), fol. 36; and Appendix, II, 330-331.

16. Regarding the sequence, causes, and immediate consequences of these events, see, Vasiliev, A. A. (1950), *Justin the First: an Introduction to the Epoch of Justinian the Great*, (Cambridge, Mass.), 132-212; Frend, *Rise*, 221-254; and Menze, *Justinian*, 18-105.

their ability to coordinate and openly stage their consecratory activities – a fact which was to become increasingly problematic as various anti-Chalcedonian sects sought to reform their episcopates. Less immediately, suppression and rustication of the episcopate, which continued without significant alteration until the collapse of Roman rule in the region, created a persistent dissonance between the extra-territorial realities of the church and the territorial expectations, which permeated earlier canon law and circumscribed the licit sacramental franchise of individual bishops. In gross terms, by the beginning of the sixth century, existing ecclesiastical law stipulated that bishops might – in the absence of special dispensation – ordain clergy and consecrate altars only for churches located within their own bishoprics, *i.e.*, only in areas subject to the civic administration of the particular city over which they were bishop.[17] In like fashion, the canons required that suffragan bishops be ordained by a synod of the other bishops in their respective provinces and that their ordination be ratified and officiated by the metropolitan of that province.[18] In turn, although not explicitly prescribed among the extant statutes of the fourth and fifth centuries, it was an apparent convention for the patriarch of Antioch to exercise a supra-metropolitanate prerogative

17. chapter, I.1.a, 20-37; an analogous principle restricted the sacramental activities of the sub-episcopal clergy to the altar for which they were ordained, *Can.Nic.* (= *Discipline*, I.I.I, 21-41), 15; *Can.Ant.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 127-155), 3; *Can.Chal.* (I.I.IV, 66-93), 5 and 6; and *Can.Apost.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 1-53), 15.

18. *Can.Nic.* (= *Discipline*, I.I.I, 21-41), 4 and 6; *Can.Ant.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 100-126), 19; *Can.Sard.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 156-189), 6; *Can.Laod.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 127-155), 12; *Can.Chal.* (= *Discipline*, I.I.IV, 66-93), 25; "The Seventy Three Canons" (*Canons Ascribed to Maruta of Maipherqat*, II.II, 56-115), 2; Severus of Antioch, *SL*, II.3; John Scholasticus, *Synagoga L titulorum*, VII; Justinian, *Novellae*, 6.2, 123.3, and 137.4; Bright, W. (1882), *Notes on the Canons of the First Four General Councils*, (Oxford), 22 and 186-188; L'Huillier, P. (1996), *The Church of the Ancient Councils: the Disciplinary Work of the First Four Ecumenical Councils*, (Crestwood, NY), 36-41, 45-53, and 262-264; Norton, *Episcopal Elections*, 20-29; Gryson, R. (1979), "Élections épiscopales en orient au IVe siècle," *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiatique* 74, 301-345; and idem (2011), "Procedure and Hierarchy: Models of Episcopal Election in Late Antique Conciliar and Papal Rule Making," in J. Leemans, P. Van Nuffelen, S. W. J. Keough, and C. Nicolaye eds., *Episcopal Elections in Late Antiquity*, (Berlin), 541-553.

over the ordination of metropolitan bishops within his diocese.[19] To consecrate outside of these jurisdictional structures, whether in another city, province, or diocese, was an act of illegal usurpation, which threatened the legitimacy and standing of both the ordainer and the ordained.

This territorial framework did not constitute an insuperable obstacle to the continuation of a sacramental or consecratory ministry within the exilic episcopate – which by virtue of its suppression as well as the fluctuating composition and structure of its membership remained, to a greater or lesser degree, de-territorialized throughout the period. It did, however, engender a series of inescapable tensions between the exigencies of ordination within the anti-Chalcedonian movement and the theoretical norms erected around the practice, particularly of bishops, by earlier canon law. The principal object of this thesis, then, will be the examination of strategies adopted by the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate, after 518-522, both to pragmatically facilitate and rhetorically justify its continued ordination of episcopal and sub-episcopal clergy, outside of the territorial framework of the imperial church.

By far the most influential body of evidence, at least in terms of its impact on modern scholarship, comes from John of Ephesus' *Lives of the Eastern Saints*. Written in the mid- to late 560s, the hagiographic collection provides the only continuous narrative witness to the consecratory activities of the Severan and early Jacobite episcopates, in the period between 518 and *c.* 566. Through the lives of John of Tella, John of Hephaestopolis, Jacob Baradaeus, and Theodore of Arabia, the hagiographer gives a more or less detailed account of the efforts of a series of heroic bishop ordainers to ensure first the

19. *Can.Sard.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 156-189), 6; Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.31; Justinian, *Novellae*, 6.2, 123.3, and 137.4; and Alpi, *La Route royale*, 70.

persistence of the sacramental clergy in the provinces and later, after *c.* 553, to reform the episcopate, whose ranks had been dwindled to near extinction over the decades of persecution and suppression.

Following this evidence, much modern scholarship has regarded the institutional development and survival of the anti-Chalcedonian clergy during this period as having been accomplished primarily, at times almost solely, through the formidable labors of John of Tella and Jacob Baradaeus.[20] Although by no means incredible, such a conclusion nevertheless places a degree of emphasis upon the exploits of individual bishops that is inconsonant with the evidence from other sources – which point to greater complexity both in the number of ordainers active at any given time, after 518-522, and in the sophistication of the conceptual structures as well as the ferocity of the debates that surrounded their work than is evident in John of Ephesus. Moreover, a general consensus regarding the essential veracity, if not always the specific factual accuracy, of the testimony proffered by the *Lives* has led scholars to ignore the clear rhetorical project of the hagiographer, who presents thematically linked and highly stylized accounts of the lives and consecratory activities of John of Tella, John of Hephaestopolis, Thomas of Damascus, and Jacob Baradaeus. In turn, an acceptance of the evidentiary value of the *Lives* as the source for the consecratory practices of the Severan-Jacobite church

20. Such an understanding of the evidence has been recently and forcefully propounded by Menze, *Justinian,* 175-186; and idem, "*Regula*," 74-76 – and is reflected either explicitly or implicitly in the work of Wigram, *Separation*, 97-98, 110-111, and 134-137; van Roey, A. (1953), "Les débuts de l'église jacobite," in A. Grillmeier and H. Bacht eds., *Das Konzil von Chalkedon. Geschichte und Gegenwart*, II, (Würzburg), 352-353 and 356-359; Honigmann, *Évêques*, 165-177; Vööbus, A. (1988), *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient: a Contribution to the History of Culture in the Near East*, volume III, (Louvain), 209-225; and Hainthaler, T. (2013), "The Hierarchical Split of the Patriarchate of Antioch," in A. Grillmeier, *Christ in the Christian Tradition, II.3: The Churches of Jerusalem and Antioch from 451 to 600*, with contributions from A. Grillmeier, T. Hainthaler, T. D. Mansour, and L. Abramowski, translated by M. Ehrhardt, (Oxford), 186-192.

has also led to a tacit acceptance of their portrait of the process as having been uncontested and conducted in accordance with the procedural norms prescribed by existing ecclesiastical law. This latter concern to demonstrate the sacramental validity and canonical legitimacy of Severan-Jacobite ordinations is mirrored in much of the extant historiographic and chronographic traditions by an inverse concern to demonstrate the invalidity and illegality of the ordinations performed by rival anti-Chalcedonian episcopates.[21]

Here, a partial corrective and control is offered by the extensive, and still extensively underexamined, corpus of contemporary episcopal correspondence, which documents the consecratory practices and attitudes of key actors within the anti-Chalcedonian movement.[22] However, despite the number and importance of the epistolary sources as a check upon the narrative sources, the evidence transmitted by the letters remains limited in nature. Casting bro-

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21. *N.b.*, the lack of an autonomous source tradition for either the Julianist or tritheist episcopates renders impossible an assessment of their consecratory strategies, independent of the Severan-Jacobite apologetic program which surrounds them.

22. Elements and documents within this sprawling corpus have been variously and, for the purposes of the present study, significantly analyzed by Honigmann, *Évêques*; de Halleux, A. (1963), *Philoxène de Mabbog: sa vie, ses écrits, sa theologie*, (Louvain); Allen, P. (2006), "The Syrian Church through Bishops's Eyes: the Letters of Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Severus of Antioch," *Studia Patristica* 42, 3-22; Alpi, F. N. (2007), "Les scholastiques dans la correspondance de Sévère d'Antioche (512-518)," *Topoi* 15.1, 397-411; idem (2009), "La correspondance du patriarche Sévère d'Antioche (512-518): un témoignage sur les institutions et la discipline ecclésiastiques en Orient," in R. Delmaire, J. Desmulliez, and P.-L. Gatier eds., *Correspondances: Documents pour l'histoire de l'Antiquité tardive. Actes du colloque international (Université Charles-de-Gaulle - Lille 3, 20-22 novembre 2003)*, (Lyon), 338-348; idem (2009), *La route royale: Sévère d'Antioche et les églises d'Orient (512-518)*, in two volumes (Beirut); Brock, S. P. (1975), "Some New Letters of the Patriarch Severus," *Studia Patristica* 12, 17-24; idem (1978), "Severos' Letter to John the Soldier," in G. Wiessner ed., *Erkenntnisse und Meinungen II*, (Wiesbaden), 53-75; idem (2002), "An Excerpt from a Letter to the People of Homs, Wrongly Attributed to Ephrem," *Oriens Christianus* 86, 1-12; Chaîne, M. (1913), "Une lettre de Sévère d'Antioche à la diaconesse Anastasie," *Oriens Christianus* II, 3, 32-58; Nau, F. (1901), "La patrice Césaria correspondante de Sévère d'Antioche (VIe siècle)," *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 6, 470-473; Torrance, I. R. (1988), *Christology after Chalcedon: Severus of Antioch and Sergius the Monophysite*, (Norwich); van Roey, A. and Allen, P. (1994), *Monophysite Texts of the Sixth Century*, (Leuven); Allen, P. and Neil, Bronwen (2013), *Crisis Management in Late Antiquity (410-590 CE): A Survey of the Evidence from Episcopal Letters*, (Leiden); Ebied, R. Y., van Roey, A., and Wickham, L. R. (1981), *Peter of Callinicum: anti-Tritheist Dossier*, (Leuven); and Ebied, R. Y. (2010), "Peter of Callinicus and Damian of Alexandria: the Tritheist Controversy of the Sixth Century," *Parole de l'Orient* 36, 181-191.

ken, often fragmentary, shards of light on otherwise often dimly or unilluminated episodes, the letters – even in aggregate – frequently furnish only finite contextual information, so that evidence and conclusions regarding the development of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate and its consecratory practices drawn from epistolary sources must still be set against the testimony of the narrative sources.

Neither are the letters distributed uniformly throughout the period or among the members of the episcopate. Instead, an overwhelming preponderance of the extant epistolary sources are the product of a relatively small cadre of leading anti-Chalcedonian bishops, including most prominently Severus of Antioch and Theodosius of Alexandria, but also Jacob Baradaeus, Theodore of Arabia, Peter of Callinicum, Paul of Beth Ukkame, and Damian of Alexandria. In addition to a narrowing of the authorial perspectives represented in the letters, this feature of the sources results in the creation of pronounced concentrations of evidence for the periods 508 to 538 and *c.* 560 to 586. By far the most copious body of documentary sources is constituted by the preserved correspondence of Severus of Antioch, written between *c.* 489 and 538 and transmitted in Syriac, both separately and as part of a thematic collection translated by the presbyter Athanasius of Nisibis, in 669.[23] A second substantial anthology of documents from the period between 535 and 580, but centering around the patriarchate of Paul of Beth Ukkame, 564-581, have been preserved in the *Documenta ad origines monophysitarum illustrandas*. A smaller corpus of letters and other documents, dating from 581-586, was also compiled by the patriarch Peter of Callinicum, in an *Anti-Tritheist Dossier* addressed

23. Brooks, E. W. (1903), *The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, in the Syriac Version of Athanasius of Nisibis*, volume II.I, (London), ix-xi.

to Damian of Alexandria. While the latter two collections collate documents written by a range of authors – with the *Documenta*, in particular, incorporating texts authored by a wide spectrum of episcopal and monastic actors –, both were the products of purposeful and programmatic curation by their compilers, intended in one instance to provide an apologetic defense of Paul and in the other to demonstrate the orthodoxy of Peter. The result in both cases has a consequent narrowing of the documentary focus, an excluding of evidence extraneous to the rhetorical aims of the compiler(s).

In addition to the documents transmitted among these larger corpora, a scattered handful of pertinent letters by other members of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate – *viz.*, from Thomas of Germanicia, Constantine of Laodicea, Antonius of Aleppo, Anthimus of Constantinople, and John of Hephaestopolis – are also variously preserved. Significantly, a number of these letters date from the period between 538 and *c.* 553, shedding a finite measure of light upon developments during that otherwise largely undocumented period.[24] Even so, the crucial period between *c.* 553 and 564, during which time the consecratory framework of the Jacobite episcopate emerged and was rapidly elaborated through the ordination of an ever growing cadre of bishops, remains wholly without witness in the extant documentary record, so that the letters registering the ordination of Paul of Beth Ukkame testify to the works of an electoral process that was already well established and, at least tacitly, understood by those participating in it. Although these considerations serve cumulatively to preclude the production of a continuous documentary history of the practice of ordination in the Severan-Jacobite episcopate, they

24. Anthimus of Constantinople, "Epistula ad Iacobum Baradaeum" (= *Studia Syriaca*, III.IV); and appendices, I, III, and IV, below.

do nothing to diminish the evidentiary value of the epistolary evidence, as such, which attests to the range of concerns and practices absent from the narrative accounts. Finally, it is necessary to approach the discursive aims of both the documentary and narrative evidence through the interpretive lens offered by the corpus of pre-existing and contemporary canon law – which, without providing a determinative script, nevertheless furnished a conceptual framework through which contemporary commentators understood, rationalized, and contested the consecratory strategies of the various anti-Chalcedonian sects, after 518.[25]

Terminology

Finally, it is necessary to include a brief explication of the terminology used in this study. A considerable consensus has emerged in recent scholarship regarding the use of the term "miaphysite"/"miaphysitism" in lieu of the term "monophysite"/"monophysitism," with its more markedly polemic connotations, when describing Severan Christology and the sect which coalesced around it.[26] Without seeking to contest the systemic validity or specific utility of this terminology, the following thesis has instead employed an alternative, sectarian terminology better suited to the topic.

As it has been propounded and developed by Winkler the term "miaphysitism" is understood to refer to the Cyrillian Christology espoused by

25. *N.b.*, Van Nuffelen, P. (2011), "The Rhetoric of Rules and the Rule of Consensus," in J. Leemans, P. Van Nuffelen, S. W. J. Keough, and C. Nicolaye eds., *Episcopal Elections in Late Antiquity*, (Berlin), 243-258.

26. Michelson, D. A. (2014), *The Practical Christology of Philoxenos of Mabbug*, (Oxford), pg. 5 n. 12; Wood, P. (2011), *'We Have no King but Christ: Christian Political Though in Great Syria on the eve of the Arab Conquest (c. 400-585)*, (Oxford), 18; and Saint-Laurent, J.-N. M. (2015), *Missionary Stories*, 3-4; *cf.*, Millar, F. (2013), "The Evolution of the Syrian Orthodox Church in the Pre-Islamic Period from Greek to Syriac?," *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 21.1, 50-58.

Severus of Antioch, Philoxenus of Mabbug, Jacob of Sarug, Timothy Aelurus, Theodosius of Alexandria, and Peter the Iberian, which, while admitting to the existence of only one, unified nature in Christ, nonetheless insisted upon the persistence of both his divinity and humanity within that union. This, Winkler has argued, distinguished "miaphysitism" from true "monophysite" Christologies – such as those promoted by Arius, Apollinarius, and Eutyches of Constantinople.[27] As such, the terminology provides a useful device by which to differentiate the theological position of the Severan episcopate from those with which it was frequently and polemically linked in Chalcedonian heresiology. This is particularly true for the period of the late fifth and early sixth centuries, around which Winkler's analysis as well as the preponderance of studies into the anti-Chalcedonian movement and its Christology center.

However, as the object of this study is neither the analysis nor even the detailed rehearsal or documentation of the Christological position of the anti-Chalcedonian movement or its leaders, the utility of the "miaphysite" terminology is limited. Instead, the focus of the thesis on the institutional development and portrayal of consecratory strategies among the various anti-Chalcedonian sects has necessitated the adoption of a terminology better suited to describe the factional structures within the larger movement.[28] Accordingly, the term "anti-Chalcedonian" has been preferred as offering a better generic designation for the larger movement, and is employed throughout in order to describe adherents of the numerous and often theologically divergent

27. Winkler, D. W. (1997), "Miaphysitism: a New Term for Use in the History of Dogma and in Ecumenical Theology," *The Harp* X.3, 33-40; and idem, (1999), " Monophysites," in G. W. Bowersock, P. Brown, and O. Grabar eds., *Late Antiquity: a Guide to the Postclassical World*, (Cambridge, Mass.), 586-588.

28. *Cf.*, Menze, *Justinian*, 2-3.

sects, which emerged after 518-522 through their rejection of imperial Chalcedon.

Under the general rubric of the larger anti-Chalcedonian movement, individual churches are designated according to more or less common sectarian appellations. Although this approach accommodates a greater degree of specificity, it also means that some terms are employed contextually in reference to different phenomena. Accordingly, the term "Severan-Jacobite" is used to denote the diachronistic church which coalesced in exile around the person and theology of Severus of Antioch and which was reformed by Jacob Baradaeus, after *c.* 553. The term "Severan" is used both to denominate that faction which opposed Julianism and subscribed to the doctrines posited by the patriarch, and synchronically to distinguish the ecclesiastical institution, its episcopate, and norms, which existed prior to the Jacobite reforms. In like fashion, the term "Jacobite" is employed to indicate both the opposition to Paul of Beth Ukkame, after 575, as well as the reformed ecclesiastical ediface, which was brought into existence through the labors of Jacob Baradaeus. Similarly, the term "Theodosian" is used to identify both the anti-Chalcedonian church in Egypt, which followed the patriarch Theodosius of Alexandria into exile in 535, as well as the branch of the Severan-Jacobite church which organized itself in opposition to tritheism.[29]

29. *N.b.*, the terminology employed to described other anti-Chalcedonian sects is explained below, as it becomes relevant.

I.1., Extra-Territorial Ordainers

"The limit of true ordination is not that of see, but the holding of an orthodox faith in God."[1] Witnessed solely in a collection of epistolary extracts, in a manuscript dated to 874 AD, the fragmentary quotation, published by E. W. Brooks, is easily susceptible to over interpretation. Nevertheless, it offers a fitting epigraph for what was perhaps the greatest and most significant constitutional adaptation embraced by the exilic church prior to the reformation of the Jacobite episcopate – *viz.*, a system of extra-territorial ordination.[2] Following the enforcement of the *libellus*, between 518 and 522, the movement faced a series of pragmatic and legal challenges to its ability to maintain a sacramental presence in the provinces and bishoprics, abandoned by the anti-Chalcedonian bishops.[3] Recent scholarship has emphasized the significance of the role played by the sacraments in defining and maintaining confessional identity in the debate over Chalcedon. V. Menze, in particular, has linked the formation of a truly autonomous anti-Chalcedonian church to the anxiety of the movement's bishops – and John of Tella in particular – to ensure the persistence of a sacerdotal priesthood in those regions from which the episcopate had been expelled. This, according to Menze, led the church to ordain tens of thousands of new clergy, in the roughly two decades after 518, flooding the diocese with "eucharistic communities" and laying the foundations for the

1. Severus of Antioch, *CL*, LVII, 166: "ܗܘ ܕܬܘܒ ܠܐ ܒܬܪ ܕܡܘܕܥܐ ܕܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܟܗܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܟܚ ܒܐܠܗܐ ܫܪܝܪܐ ܒܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܬܡܫ ܒܗ."

2. BM Add. MS 17,193, fol. 32a; and Wright, *Catalogue*, 989 and 993.

3. Menze, *Justinian*, 158-175.

emergence of a new anti-Chalcedonian hierarchy.[4] Although in some respects problematic, this reconstruction nevertheless points to what was doubtless among the more pressing and continuous problems facing the inchoate anti-Chalcedonian church, prior to the re-establishment of a territorialized episcopate in 553.

Once they had been installed, pro-Chalcedonian bishops sought to impose the new confessional unity upon the communities, lay and clerical, which they had inherited from their anti-Chalcedonian predecessors. Although the process and mechanisms by which doctrinal unity was enforced within the diocese are imperfectly documented, it may be reasonably supposed that the newly appointed bishops required their clergy to receive the *libellus* and conform to pro-Chalcedonian confessional and liturgical norms, expelling those who refused.[5] The immediate result for the anti-Chalcedonian church was thus the loss of confessional and sacramental infrastructure, forcing the laity to either postpone their participation in the sacraments or to turn to the imperial church.[6] These problems were further compounded between 525 and 531 by the expulsion of anti-Chalcedonian ascetics from prominent monasteries in the provinces of Syria I and II, Euphratensis, Osrhoene, and Mesopotamia, which followed the earlier suppression in 521/522 of dissident monastic communities around the metropolitan cities of Edessa and Amida, and may well have accompanied a larger persecution of anti-Chalcedonian monastics throughout the diocese. Although the monks were permitted to re-

4. Michelson, *Practical Christology*, 144-177; Booth, P. (2014), *Crisis of Empire: Doctrine and Dissent at the End of Late Antiquity*, (Berkeley), 37-42; Menze and Kutlu, *John of Tella's*, 44-49; Menze, "Priests," 129-146; idem, "*Regula ad Diaconos*," 69-89; and idem, *Justinian*, 175-193.

5. Menze, *Justinian*, 22-105; and idem, "Priests," 141-143; Vasiliev, *Justin*, 221-241; and Ashbrook Harvey, *Asceticism*, 59-68.

6. *N.b.*, Elias, *Vitae Iohannis episcopi Tellae*, 57-58; and Severus of Antioch, *SL*, III.2-4.

turn to their monasteries in 531, they were again forced into exile by a new wave of persecutions under the activist patriarch Ephrem of Amida, in 536/537.[7] The impact of these latter persecutions was twofold. In a discrete sense, the expulsions – which targeted the leadership and internal ritual life of the monasteries – appear to have had a disruptive effect upon the sacramental structures of the individual communities. For the anti-Chalcedonian church as a whole, the removal of the monasteries meant the simultaneous loss of an important source of local confessional leadership and the sacraments, thus in many places intensifying the shortage of anti-Chalcedonian clergy.[8]

To a certain extent the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate was able to ease the pressure on the local church by liberalizing the mechanisms for the distribution and administration of the sacraments by the sub-episcopal clergy. In practice, this entailed the adoption of a series of measures, which while maintaining the distinction between the presbyterate and the lower orders in the consecration of the sacraments, permitted deacons and deaconesses to serve as surrogates for the distribution of the consecrated eucharist and to administer the baptism *in extremis*.[9] At the same time, Severus of Antioch – in a series of letters written throughout his exile – repeatedly emphasized the equality of sacramental officiants, regardless of rank, prestige, or piety, provided that

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7. John of Ephesus, *LES*, II, 20-21, III, 41-43, V, 95-104, VIII, 125-128, IX, 136-137, XIII, 187-189, XIV, 213-214, XXIII, 304, XXIV, 313, XXV, 325, XXVII, 344-345, XXIX, 360-361, XXXIII, 396-397, XXXV, 405-421, XLII, 545-455, XLVII, 474-482, LI, 505-506, and LVIII, 567-573; Elias, *Vitae Iohannis episcopi Tellae*, 57; *Histoire de Jean bar Aphtonia*, 6-8; pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, *Chronicle*, VIII.5, 80-82; pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, *Chronicle*, III, 21-25, 27-30, and 32-44; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, IX.14; Ashbrook Harvey, *Asceticism*, 66-67; Menze, *Justinian*, 111-125; and Vööbus, A. (1988), *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient: a Contribution to the History of Culture in the Near East*, III, (Louvain), 197-217.

8. Menze, *Justinian*, 125-144.

9. *N.b.*, Severus of Antioch, *SL*, IX.1-3; John of Tella, "Quastiones et Responsiones" (= *Synodicon*, XL, 211-221), 26; and "Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient" (= *Synodicon*, XXI, 163-176), 1-4, 9, and 20.

they shared in the profession of the orthodox faith.[10] Such measures, however, were stop-gaps, allowing the church to maximize the potential of its existing clergy and also to project a sacramental presence in areas where it did not possess an active presbyterate. Alone, however, they did not offer a durable solution to the problem of providing the sacraments in the absence of a reliable episcopal presence in many of the provinces of the diocese. What was ultimately required to ensure the perpetuation of the church was rather the continuous – or at least the semi-continuous – ordination of new clergy for local churches within the diocese.

In order to realize this goal, however, the exilic church was compelled to set aside the jurisdictional structures which governed the consecratory activities of bishops within the imperial church. This de-territorialization of a core function of the episcopate, although of incontestable expedience for the anti-Chalcedonian church, nevertheless required justification, prompting the hierarchy of the church quickly to elaborate a legal framework through which to license and legitimize the evolving practice of extra-territorial ordination. Initially based on a series of loosely bilateral proxy arrangements between individual bishops and backed by a rhetorical appeal to the overriding claims of orthodoxy in times of persecutions, this system once conjured into existence progressively evolved to reflect the changing and increasingly less territorialized nature of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate, in the period between 518 and 553. These changes, although only obliquely evidenced by the narratives of the extant hagiographic corpus, are nonetheless well reflected in the available documentary sources from the period, which point both to the incremental abandonment of the early system of territorial proxy licensing and its pro-

10. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, III.1-4.

gressive supersession by one based on the hierarchical authorization of the bishop with near universal mandates to ordain for the church at large.

I.1.a. For Every Rule an Exception

Extrinsically, the most obvious challenge to have been raised by members of the imperial church to the legitimacy of anti-Chalcedonian ordinations after 518-522 was that, having been lawfully deposed, the members of the exiled episcopate were thus precluded from performing the functions of their former ministries – including the performance of ordination. Although the processes by which individual bishops, particularly those occupying minor sees, were deposed are difficult to document with particular precision, it is clear from the available sources that the imperial church in most cases moved efficiently to install pro-Chalcedonian replacements for those bishops who refused the *libellus*.[11] It may reasonably be assumed, based on the limited evidence from a handful of relatively prominent sees, that these newly installed bishops sought as a matter of priority to ensure the formal deposition and condemnation of their predecessors. Whatever ambiguity may have persisted regarding the legal status of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate in the years immediately following its suppression was, however, dispelled in 536, through the formal condemnation of Anthimus of Constantinople, Severus of Antioch, Peter of Apamea, as well as the radical anti-Chalcedonian archimandrite Z'ura at synods held in Constantinople, between 2 May and 4 June, and in

11. Elias, *Vita Iohannis episcopi Tellae*, 57; here, the lack of evidence for the systematic deposition of anti-Chalcedonian bishops throughout the diocese is hardly surprising. Such deposition would presumably have taken place at provincial synods, from which virtually no records survive from the period in general.

Jerusalem, on 19 September.[12] On 6 August of the same year, the rulings of the Constantinoplitan synod were then effectively ratified through an imperial edict issued to the patriarch Menas, which again unambiguously anathematized Anthimus of Constantinople, Severus of Antioch, and Peter of Apamea, and Z'ura, and condemned the bishops as having been illicitly ordained and justly deposed.[13] Moreover, in addition to the four individuals specifically named, the edict also condemns those who assent to Severus' heresy, ejecting them from cities throughout the empire and forbidding them from promulgating their doctrine, assembling and receiving others in communion, and administering the sacraments.[14] Even prior to this, however, the deposition of its bishops is almost certain to have meant that the Severan episcopate was regarded by members of the imperial church as possessing an unlawful – and thus illegitimate – ordination, which remained nevertheless sacramentally valid, at least during the initial period of its suppression.[15]

Intrinsically, perhaps the most significant canonical hurdle for the exilic episcopate was the well established ban on extra-territorial ordinations. Predicated on the principle that a bishop exercised a unique authority as the sovereign head of the sacramental church within a particular city and its de-

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12. *ACO*, III; *Chronique melkite du VIIe s.*, §§ 15-17; Philoxenus of Mabbug, *Lettre aux moines de Senoun*, 80-84; de Halleux, *Philoxène*, 93-94; Hefele, J. and Leclercq, H. (1908), *Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux*, II.2, (Paris), 1046-1050; Millar, F. (2008), "Rome, Constantinople and Near Eastern Church under Justinian: Two Synods of C.E. 536, *Journal of Roman Studies* 98, 62-82; and Menze, *Justinian*, 22-30.

13. Justinian, *Novellae* (= *Corpus juris civilis*, III), 42.

14. Justinian, *Novellae* (= *Corpus juris civilis*, III), 42.3.1-2.

15. *Cf.*, chapter, II.3.a-b, 171-189; it is difficult here to fully account for the possibility of a pervasive, if infrequently expressed, sacramental rigorism within the imperial church, which would have led pro-Chalcedonian bishops to void the ordination performed by anti-Chalcedonians purely on the grounds of their heresy. Although there is no direct evidence for such a position, it would explain both the rhetorical pose adopted by some anti-Chalcedonian authors as well as the attested instances of re-ordination.

pendent territory, the idea that every bishop possessed the exclusive right to consecrate the clergy in the bishopric for which he had been ordained – a construction of the episcopate which built upon the well established concept in ecclesiastical law which inveighed against absolute ordination and tied the lawful exercise of sacerdotal and episcopal functions to a specific *locus*.[16] Beginning in the fourth century, this principle of the territorially circumscribed episcopate was codified in the synodal canons of the church. Thus canon 13, issued by the mid-fourth century synod of Antioch, prohibited bishops from entering other provinces to ordain clergy, unless at the invitation of the bishops and metropolitan of that province, nullifying any acts performed contrary to this rule and deposing those who thus illicitly invaded the territory of others.[17] This prohibition is closely echoed in canon 22 of the same synod, which also forbade bishops from ordaining clergy outside of their own bishoprics without the consent of the bishop in whose territory the ordinations were performed and voided any ordination thus unlawfully performed.[18] Towards the end of the fourth century, it is again repeated in a largely identical form in canon 35 of the *Apostolic Canons.*[19] In a broader sense, canons 3, 11, and 12 issued by the synod at Sardica – convened in the fall of 343 – also served to strengthen this prohibition by enjoining against the invasion and usurpation by bishops of neighboring bishoprics.[20] Although less specific, canon 17 of

16. *Can.Anc.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 54-73), 18; *Can.Nic.* (= *Discipline*, I.I.I, 21-41), 8 and 15; *Can.Ant.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 100-126), 16 and 21; *Can.Chal.* (= *Discipline*, I.I.IV, 66-93), 5-6, 10, 13, and 20; Bright, *Notes*, 24-33, 47-51, 145-148, 160-161, 167, and 181-182; and L'Huillier, *Church*, 56-62, 70-74, 222-225, 236-237, 240-241, and 257-258.

17. *Can.Ant.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 100-126), 13.

18. *Can.Ant.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 100-126), 22.

19. *Can.Apost.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 1-53), 35.

20. *Can.Sard.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 156-189), 3, 11, and 12; and Hess, *Early Development*, 95-100.

Chalcedon, which inveighed against the attempts made by some bishops to detach the rural parishes of their neighbors to their own jurisdiction, while providing a framework for arbitrating such disputes, provides further confirmation of the principle.[21] In the sixth century, the prohibition against extra-territorial ordination is again incorporated into *titulus* III of the *Synagoga L Titulorum* of John Scholasticus.[22] At the same time, the prohibition is also echoed in the pre-exilic writings of Severus of Antioch.

During the period of his incumbency in Antioch, the patriarch Severus had himself vehemently asserted this principle in response to an attempt by an anonymous pro-Chalcedonian bishop(s) to ordain clergy for churches in the villages of Minidas and Uaris, which were subject to the bishop of Laodicea.[23] In a letter addressed to the metropolitan Nicias, Severus thus unsparingly condemned the extra-territorial ordinations as representing an unconscionable and egregious breach of ecclesiastical law – resulting in "profane" and "inauthentic" ordinations, which according to the patriarch lacked sacramental efficacy and were in every sense null and void:

> An evil and unlawful act, which conflicts with the laws of the catholic and apostolic church, has come to our hearing, in so much as some of those from the village Minidus and Uaris have ventured to sail to the west, and to receive a profane ordination from those who accept the opinions of Nestorius and hew our one Lord and God Jesus Christ into a duality of natures after the ineffable union – an ordination which is inauthentic not in one way only but in many, and is regarded as if never having taken place, since even if those who set the audacious hand upon them had been orthodox, they ought not to have performed an ordination in another diocese or rather outside of their own boundaries, in violation of the proper order, and this even when by the grace of God we are not accused of any heresy. For the holy canons proclaim this manifestly in both thoughts and words.[24]

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21. *Can.Chal.* (= *Discipline*, I.I.IV, 66-93), 17; Bright, *Notes*, 192; and L'Huillier, *Church*, 251-254.

22. John Scholasticus, *Synagoga L Titulorum*, III.

23. Honigmann, *Évêques*, 35-36; although Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.6 and V.2, gives no direct information regarding the identity of the ordaining bishop, the patriarch does observe that the illicitly ordained clerics had "ventured to sail west" in order to obtain ordination.

24. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.6, 42-43.

This the patriarch made pointedly clear in a subsequent letter to Nicias, written in apparent response to a request from the presbyter Gennadius of the village of Minidus to clarify the formula by which the unlawfully ordained clergy might be received into the church. In particular, Gennadius had been approached by a group of deacons, who had with the others sought ordination to the presbyterate from outside of the diocese and now sought to be reconciled with the church. In reply, Severus ruled that they could be received in penitence and restored to their proper ministry in the diaconate, following the production of a written repudiation of their heresy and the ordination which they had illicitly received. Throughout his ruling, however, Severus was assiduous in his denunciation of the ordinations performed by the anonymous Chalcedonian bishop(s), which he presented as having conferred no valid or divinely recognized sacramental office upon their recipients:

> We were amazed when we came upon the letter of your holiness, by which we learned that the chaste presbyter Gennadius of the village called Minidus was in the least doubtful about whether it is right that they should return to the former rank of their ministry, who accepted and received an unsanctioned ordination, and have purged themselves of this filth through the confessional petitions which they have presented to you, and have stripped off the strange and foreign clothing in which they are believed to have been clothed by heretics through the written and lawful *libellus*. It is right, therefore, for them to demonstrate this in deed by returning to their former rank and by fulfilling their priestly ministries, if we do not sin when we say this and call it the former, as though there was a second; since it has no validity and is unknown to God, it is more fitting to say that they ought to minister in their true and only rank, which they receive legally, since there is truly no other. For one who has been lawfully ordained a deacon shall not be able to suppose himself to be a presbyter, either through [false] opinion or some rejected and illicit hand.[25]

What is significant about this formula, for the purposes of the present argument, is the degree to which it underscored the sacramental nullity of the ordinations – which were treated as effectively comparable to those performed by pseudo-bishops.[26] This was despite their having been consecrated by a

25. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, V.2, 317.

26. *Cf.*, Severus of Antioch, *CL*, XXXIV; and idem, *SL*, II.3; for an extended discussion of pseudo-episcopacy in contemporary anti-Chalcedonian canon law, see, chapter II.1, 112-128.

sacramentally ordained bishops(s); as such, it constitutes a strong assertion of the territorial prerogatives of the episcopate, constructing a limited equation between adherence to the structures of jurisdictional and sacramental authenticity.

Despite, however, the stridency of his position in the case of the pro-Chalcedonian clergy in the affair in Minidas and Uaris, Severus was also capable of adopting a more liberal interpretation of the statutes regulating extra-territorial ordinations when it suited his own and the anti-Chalcedonian cause. This conceptual flexibility was ultimately to be instrumental for the development and perseverance of the anti-Chalcedonian movement, after 518-522. However, by creating the expectation of territorial sovereignty among the individual members of the exilic episcopate, the canons also created the need to justify the obviation of that sovereignty, regardless of the expedience. Bishops needed to be convinced to cede a measure of the territorial authority, which before their exile they had fought vehemently to defend, at times from the machinations of other anti-Chalcedonians.[27] The laity and clergy too had to be convinced of the permissibility of recognizing and soliciting ordinations outside of the territorial structures within which they had previously been compelled and accustomed to operate. In Severus' case, at least, the articulation of a justification pre-dated his patriarchate.

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27. An instructive example may here be drawn from the dispute between the Isaurian bishops Hilarian of Diocaesarea and Paul of Obla over the control of a monastery, which abutted both of their territories – referenced already in chapter II.3.b, 175-189. Although confessionally allied, the bishops nevertheless pursued a vigorous, and at times vicious, campaign against one another in order to claim administrative and sacramental control over the monastery; ultimately, the conflict drew in not only the bishop's metropolitan, but also the patriarch, and resulted in the illicit absconding of Paul of Olba to Constantinople and his resulting deposition. While the conflict within the Isaurian church was exceptional during the reign of Severus of Antioch for its vehemence and scale, it is unlikely to have been unique. Instead, it is likely that a number of similar, though perhaps more limited, disputes played out among the other provinces of the patriarchate, without rising to the attention of the patriarch.

Already in correspondence dating from the period immediately before his ordination, Severus defended the legality of ordinations – including his own – which had been performed outside of the jurisdictional structures of the territorial episcopate. Severus had been ordained to the presbyterate by the then exiled bishop Epiphanius of Magdalon in Pamphylia, while still an ascetic in Palestina I.[28] A fervent anti-Chalcedonian, Epiphanius had fallen victim to the shifting, often turbulent, theological and successional politics of the Leonid dynasty, when he quit his see after refusing to subscribe to the *Antiencyclicon*, issued by the emperor Zeno in 476. Following his deposition, Epiphanius withdrew first to Alexandria and then to Palestine, then a bastion of radical anti-Chalcedonianism.[29] It was in Palestine – outside of the territorial confines of both his bishopric and province – that Epiphanius is known to have ordained not only Severus, but also a number of other monks in the circle attached to the monastery of Peter the Iberian.[30]

Epiphanius, however, was also a problematic figure, and the ambiguity of his standing as an ordainer while in Palestine was not lost on Severus' enemies, who seized upon it as a means of discrediting him, during his rise to

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28. An important, though ill-attested, figure in the history of the anti-Chalcedonian movement, even the precise spelling of Epiphanius' name is a matter of some debate – Honigmann, *Évêques*, 133; and Greatrex, ed., *Chronicle*, 189 n. 85. Equally, ill-attested is the precise date of Severus' ordination to the priesthood, which appears to have taken place around 500 – Horn, *Asceticism*, 105-106; and Brock and Fitzgerald, *Two*, 3.

29. John Rufus, *Plérophories*, XLIV, 95; pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, *Chronicle*, V.5, 219-220; Evagrius Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History*, III.7-9; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, IX.5, 252; Perrone, L. (1980), *La chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche. Dal concilio di Efeso (431) al secondo concilio di Costantinopoli (553)*, (Brescia), 138-139; and Honigmann, *Évêques*, 132-133.

30. In addition to the future patriarch, the sources record that during this time Epiphanius also ordained the monk John and Theodore, who had served as spiritual fathers to Severus and jointly assumed the abbacy of the monastery of Peter the Iberian following the death of its founder, as well as Severus' disciple Peter – Zachariah of Mytilene, *Life of Severus*, § 140, 100. Later, Epiphanius was also claimed to have performed the ordination *in articulo mortis* of the pseudo-bishop Isaiah – Timothy Presbyter of Constantinople, *De recepetione haereticorum*, 45; and Severus of Antioch, *SL*, II.3.

prominence.[31] Writing in *c.* 510-511, to the bishop Constantine of Seleucia in Isauria, Severus – then resident in Constantinople – relayed the contents of an exchange between himself and John, the bishop of Claudiopolis, regarding the formula of satisfaction, or *typus*, which Severus – acting with the backing of the emperor Anastasius – had produced for reception by the patriarch Flavian of Antioch. Part of the protracted struggle between the stridently anti-Chalcedonian Philoxenus of Mabbug and the moderate Flavian, the formula was clearly intended to force the patriarch into anathematizing Chalcedon.[32] According to the letter, John of Claudiopolis had sought to induce Severus to moderate the language of the *typus* through the addition of the statement "we receive the synod of Chalcedon, not for the regulation of the faith, but for the expulsion of Nestorius and Eutyches;" this conclusion, which would have avoided an outright condemnation of the council, was rejected by Severus as an evacuation of the formula.[33] Unable to win over the radical and intransigent anti-Chalcedonian, however, John is said to have lashed out at Severus, questioning whether Epiphanius had in performing his ordination acted "rightly and according to the canon."[34] Severus, in turn, claims to have re-

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31. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.1 and VII.4.

32. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.1, 4; Brooks, *Select Letters*, 3, dates the letter broadly to the period of Severus' residence in Constantinople, *i.e.*, 508-511. The nature of the debate, however, as well as the central role of a *typos* – presumably that written by Severus in 510/511 – places its composition most plausibly in the period between the synod of Antioch in 509 and the synod of Sidon in *c.* 511: pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, *Chronicle*, VII.10, 50-51; Evagrius Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History*, III.31, 127-129; Hainthaler, T. (2013), "The Christological Position of the Patriarchs Occupying the Throne of Antioch," in A. Grillmeier, *Christ in the Christian Tradition, II.3: The Churches of Jerusalem and Antioch from 451 to 600*, with contributions from A. Grillmeier, T. Hainthaler, T. D. Mansour, and L. Abramowski, translated by M. Ehrhardt, (Oxford), 292-295; Grillmeier, A. (1987), *Christ in Christian Tradition, 2.1: Reception and Contradiction, the Development of the Discussion about Chalcedon from 451 to the Beginning of the Reign of Justinian*, English translation by P. Allen and J. Cawte, (London), 269-279; Haarer, *Anastasius*, pg. 145-147; Charanis, *Church and State*, 60-72; and Michelson, *Practical Christology*, 13-14.

33. Honigmann, *Évêques*, 89-90.

34. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.1, 7.

sponded to this challenge to the legitimacy of his ordination by launching into an extended and encomiastic defense of Epiphanius – whom he described as an ascetic and an episcopal confessor – and of the ordinations which he had performed while an exile in Palestine. In asserting the validity of the latter, Severus based his argument upon two principle contentions.

The first of these was in effect a legal argument. Referring generally to the prohibition banning bishops from ordaining outside of their individual jurisdictions, he asserted that the absolute injunction applied only in those cases in which the encroaching bishop invaded another's territory without consent or invitation – a provision which Severus argued exculpated Epiphanius, since he had acted in concert with Peter the Iberian, who had been ordained bishop of Maiuma, in Palestina I, by Theodosius, the zealously anti-Chalcedonian usurper patriarch of Jerusalem, 451-453:

> For the canon which forbids a bishop to ordain in provinces or dioceses, which do not rightfully belong to him, is applicable in those instances when he pounces upon foreign districts in an irregular manner and unbidden by anyone, and not when he is persuaded by the bishop of the province or city and the orthodox clergy to ordain, particularly in a time of persecution.[35]

The second contention, which was to have far-reaching significance for the later exilic church, was that in times of persecution the maintenance of orthodoxy represented a primary good, which superseded adherence to the strictures of the canons, granting an extra-judicial legitimacy which vindicated the acts of those who acted on its behalf. This position Severus justified by reference to the history of the fourth century church and the Arian controversy. In particular, he pointed to the examples of Eusebius of Samosata, who ordained

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35. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.1, 8-9; following the restoration of imperial control in Palestine, Peter was permitted to retain his title as bishop of Maiuma, although he quit his see following the restoration of Juvenal of Jerusalem in 453, fleeing to Egypt, where he participated in ordination of Timothy Aelurus – John Rufus, *Life of Peter the Iberian*, §§ 76-91; idem, *On the Death of Theodosius*, §§ 1-13; pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, *Chronicle*, III.4-7; Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.1 and II.3; Honigmann, E. (1950), "Juvenal of Jerusalem," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 5, 247-257; and Horn, *Asceticism*, 91-111.

extensively outside of the territorial jurisdiction of his bishopric and province, and Basil of Caesarea – who although he was incontestably a father of the church, had nonetheless been ordained by bishops from outside of Cappadocia:

> We on the other hand also find examples such as these, when we study the ecclesiastical histories. For Eusebius the bishop of Samosata, a city among those in Mesopotamia, in the time of the Arians, when the servants of orthodoxy were persecuted and suffered evils without number, he was going about among cities, deserts, and villages and traveling to regions beyond the boundaries, while wearing a military habit and covering his head with a hood, and laying on his pontifical hand and perfecting priests for those places which were in need – he who also won a crown of martyrdom, when his head was shattered by the heterodox with a tile, and he piously migrated to Jesus who longed for him, and was made worthy of the heavenly abodes. These things are clearly set down in the ecclesiastical history of Theodoret. The great light of the Cappadocians, or rather of the whole world, the bishop Basil, the pillar of the church, the "sure foundation" – since the words of the apostle fit him more than any man, as an ornament to a bride –, when he was deemed worthy of ordination, [and] was elevated to the throne of the episcopate by bishops who were outside of the boundaries. Gregory the Theologian says this in the funeral oration on Basil, when he wrote thus: "He was raised up to the exalted throne of the episcopate, not without labor nor without the jealousy and strife of the prelates of the province, and the worst men of the city who arrayed themselves with them. It is right, however, that the Holy Spirit should conquer, and thus indeed it gained a bounteous victory. For from outside of the boundaries it moved them to anoint, men distinguished and zealous on behalf of orthodoxy." If Basil, however, teacher of the orthodoxy, regulation, and law of all ecclesiastical discipline, was anointed and deemed worthy of ordination – and, indeed, this was the anointing of a high-priest – by those outside of the boundaries, because the men of the province were jealous of him on account of the Arian heresy or through other human causes, which were very small, how can we say that the ordinations are rejected which were performed among us by one outside of the boundaries, while the transgression of Chalcedon and the Nestorian heresy was prevailing and holding sway – and we have the great and admirable examples of holy men and of those such as these, whose zeal resembles our own?[36]

The same argument – with a nearly identical set of patristic references – is elsewhere repeated by Severus in his correspondence from the period in order to vindicate the extra-territorial election and ordination of the anti-Chalcedonian metropolitan Solon of Seleucia in Isauria.[37] In conjunction with the principle of territorial licensing, this apologetic defense subsequently pro-

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36. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.1, 9-10; Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History*, V.4; Rousseau, P. (1998), *Basil of Caesarea*, (Berkeley), 145-151; and Norton, *Episcopal Elections*, 215-223; *cf.*, Elias, *Vita Iohannis episcopi Tellae*, 74-75, in which the hagiographer depicts John of Tella as employing a roughly comparable logic at his trial in 537 in order to justify his practice of extra-territorial ordination.

37. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.2; for discussion of this argument and its application by Severus to episcopal ordinations conducted outside of the normal structures of the provincial church, see chapter, II.4, 202-244.

vided Severus, and to some extent at least the rest of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate also with a set of rhetorical tools through which to rationalize and legitimize the emergence of a system of extra-territorial ordination after 518-522.

Among the earliest evidence for the continuation and development of these rhetorical and legal justifications, during the period after 518, is the correspondence between Severus of Antioch – then in hiding in the region around Alexandria – and the Palestinian archimandrites John and John.[38] In a letter touching on a number of issues pertaining to the conduct of ordination in the province, in which Severus had previously consecrated clergy, the patriarch responded to concerns voiced by the two archimandrites over what they perceived to be an infringement of his territorial rights. In particular, they worried that Isidore of Chalcis, who had been exiled to Petra in *c.* 519, had usurped the prerogatives of Severus by ordaining those whom the patriarch had previously raised to the diaconate, as well as moving to elevate a number of deaconesses for communities in Palestine. In the first instance, Severus argued that Isidore's actions did not constitute an infringement upon his own rights, since the existing prohibition against extra-territorial ordination covered only those churches and monasteries which were within the diocese subject to him. As the Palestinian communities lay outside of Severus' proper jurisdiction, Isidore's ordinations could not therefore be regarded as having violated the dictate or encroached upon the core rights of the patriarch:

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38. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.49; frequent correspondents of the patriarch, the archimandrites John and John were the recipients of a number of preserved letters from Severus – idem, *SL*, I.52, II.2, and V.11 and 12; and idem *CL*, XXII, XXVI, XXVII, and CXVI.

> Your statement, however, that the God-loving bishop Isidore ought not to have laid a hand upon those deacons who were ordained by me, is lukewarm and cold. For these [provisions] concern those deacons who are enrolled among the churches and on account of those monasteries which are around that diocese. But to extend this to those who are in a province that is beyond the boundaries and are united with us with respect to the orthodox faith is not fitting. In the same manner also that religious women, who are living in their houses, should be ordained deaconesses, is exceedingly customary and defused throughout the whole world, so to speak.[39]

Somewhat paradoxically, Severus then further justified both his own ordinations in Palestine – and thus those conducted by Isidore – by reference to the fact that prior to the elevation of Jerusalem as a separate patriarchate in 451, the region had been theoretically subject to the patriarch of Antioch.[40] Based upon this pseudo-territorial claim, the patriarch then posited a sacramental equivalence between himself and Isidore – an equivalence predicated upon the mutual orthodoxy of the two bishops, which transcended rank or see and consequently allowed for an equality of episcopal functions:

> That in earlier times Palestine was subject to the apostolic jurisdiction of the Antiochenes is not in doubt, but I and the God-loving bishop Isidore are united as one person, and I myself say that his love of God performed the ordination on my behalf, and let all debate and conflict cease. For the quality of the person who performed the ordination diminishes [the consecration] in no way whatsoever, such that the ordination which has been performed should be considered to be uncanonical.[41]

In so doing, Severus effectively recognized Isidore as a proxy for his episcopal functions in Palestine – an arrangement which is also reflected in another, roughly contemporary, letter written to the archimandrites John and John, in which the patriarch authorizes the monks to approach the bishop for the sake of receiving other episcopal services.[42] Although much overlooked by modern scholars, the correspondence thus appears to provide an early witness to the

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39. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.49, 153-154.

40. Price and Gaddis, *Acts*, vol. 1, 13-15 and vol. 2, 244-245; Bright, *Notes*, 17-24; L'Huillier, *Church*, 45-56; and Honigmann, "Juvenal," 211-247.

41. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.49, 154.

42. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, V.11; Brooks, *The Sixth Book*, 325, dates *SL*, V.11 to 520-534, though this date can be narrowed somewhat since the letter treats Isidore of Chalcis as having been present in Palestina.

emergence of a system of licensed extra-territorial ordination within the exilic church.

The date of the ordinations originally conducted by Severus can not be determined with exactitude on the basis of the available evidence. However, as they preceded those conducted by Isidore, whose presence in Palestine can be dated to the period between 519 and 527, and were performed at a point when Severus was still able to act openly, it seems probable that the original ordinations took place before 518.[43] The letter, thus, documents not

43. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.49 and 52, and V.11; Brooks, *The Sixth Book*, II.I, 132 and 148, dates *SL*, I.49 to 519-520 and *SL*, I.52 more broadly to 520-525, though without adducing any evidence to substantiate these claims. It is nevertheless possible to fix a rough range of dates for the composition of the correspondence based upon Isidore of Chalcis' known presence in Palestine. Honigmann, *Évêques*, pg. 28, plausibly dates Isidore's expulsion to 519, providing a secure *terminus post quem* for the letters, while the *terminus ante quem* is fixed by the relocation of Isidore and the bishop Mara of Amida from Petra to the region around Alexandria. Here, however, the sources offer two possible dates for the relocation of the bishops. The earlier date occurs in the *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, where John of Ephesus, *LES*, XIII, 187-190, states that permission for the relocation was obtained by Stephen, the deacon and *syncellus* of Mara of Amida, through the intercession of the then future empress Theodora, while her husband was still only a patrician and *magister militum*. This would place the episode in the period between *c.* 523 and 1 April 527, based on the titles born by the future imperial couple – Brooks, "John of Ephesus (I)," 189 n. 2; Honigmann, *Évêques*, 101; Vasiliev, *Justin*, 96-101; and *PLRE*, II, 646-647 and III.b, 1241. Alternatively, pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, *Chronicon*, III, 31-32, here seemingly dependent upon the inextant second part of John of Ephesus' *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, places the same event seven years after the exile of Mara and immediately after the accession of Justinian to the imperial throne – *i.e.*, in 527. Menze, *Justinian*, 213-215, has noted that the notice in pseudo-Dionysius has been overlooked by modern scholars, who have relied instead upon the account in the *Lives*, which Menze regards an unreliable "elaboration of the original, shorter note" in the *Historiae ecclesiasticae*. This assumption has led Menze to the conclusion that Mara's translation from Petra to Alexandria can not have taken place prior to 530/531, at a time when the pressure on the anti-Chalcedonian church was relaxed as part of an imperial effort to seek rapprochement. Although largely plausible, this reconstruction is nevertheless problematic. First, there is absolutely no reason to suppose that the translation of the two episcopal exiles from one banishment site to another was in anyway connected with the later restoration of anti-Chalcedonian monasteries in 530/531 or the *collatio* of 532, except that it conforms to Menze's larger argument about the role of the empress Theodora. Second, it is unclear that the version preserved by the *Chronicon* is in fact the original. Despite the concision and apparent exactitude of the date given by the *Chronicon*, the account of the *Lives* contains more and more specific prosopographic information, which seems less likely to have been the result of later narrative corruption; certainly, it is difficult to imagine why John of Ephesus, writing with full knowledge of Justinian's later succession, would have sought to project the episode back to the period before his coronation or why in doing so the hagiographer would have been so scrupulous in restoring the titles of the future imperial couple – an act verging on the pedantic. It is instead much easier to imagine that the corruption would have occurred in the opposite direction, perhaps through the careless redaction by pseudo-Dionysius or some intermediate source text. The more likely date for the relocation of Isidore and Mara and thus the most plausible *terminus ante quem* for the correspondence as a whole, would therefore seem to be 527. Beyond this, however, much of the correspondence appears to have been composed at a relatively early point within the chronological range described by these dates.

only what were likely among the earliest extra-territorial ordinations performed by the exiled episcopate, in this case by Isidore of Chalcis, but also clearly alludes to earlier ordinations performed by Severus of Antioch for the anti-Chalcedonian community in Palestine. Here, the date is particularly significant because it suggests that a system of extra-territorial ordination – practiced by Severus – had already developed in the period between 512 and 518, in response to the Chalcedonian domination of the see of Jerusalem; a system which in many respects does not seem to have diverged significantly from the system which emerged after 518 to furnish clergy for anti-Chalcedonian communities in *Oriens*. Indeed, at least in Palestine, the system of extra-territorial ordination after 518 would thus appear to have built upon an existing practice, with Severus simply designating Isidore, as a proxy, to fulfill his established mission in the region.

Such a direct continuity in practice of extra-territorial ordination stands in contrast to the later hagiographic account of John of Ephesus – upon whose narrative testimony modern scholars have relied, almost exclusively, in order to reconstruct and model the emergence of a system of extra-territorial ordination in the patriarchate of Antioch. In the *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, John of Ephesus – although never explicit on the point – seems to suggest that the system of extra-territorial ordinations which arose in response to the suppression of the anti-Chalcedonian movement, in 518-522, was the result of a spontaneous adaptation, a revolutionary act wholly discontinuous

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In *SL*, I.49, for example, Severus in granting his retroactive consent to the practice of extra-territorial ordination in province allowed that the archimandrites might justify whatever actions they might already have taken by claiming that, since he was in hiding, they had acted to meet a pressing sacramental need – such a suggestion is most plausibly consistent with the disposition of the anti-Chalcedonian church in the early 520s, when the suppression of the episcopate was relatively recent and the lines of communication between exiled bishops and the communities in *Oriens* were still inchoate.

with the practices of the past.[44] The evidence of the letters, however, suggests that, far from being the result of a single revolutionary or spontaneous act, the adoption by the church of a system of extra-territorial ordination as a means of provisioning the sacramental needs of local communities in *Oriens* was the product of the progressive application and normalization of the set of practices which were already being employed by Severus – and perhaps others – to provision the anti-Chalcedonian ascetics in Palestine. As will be argued in greater detail below, this conclusion radically differs from the reconstruction proposed by modern scholars, who have remained excessively and uncritically dependent upon the narrative account of John of Ephesus.

The earliest evidence for the practice of extra-territorial ordination in the patriarchal diocese of Antioch proper again comes from the correspondence of Severus of Antioch. In a letter, written between 522 and 525, the patriarch responded to a request from the archimandrite of the monastery of Mar Bassus, Julian, for a mandate regarding the provisioning of clergy for the monastery.[45] According to a concurrent letter, Julian had earlier sent two monks from the convent to Alexandria in order to petition the patriarch, apparently seeking to obtain from him permission to solicit ordinations from one of the bishops still resident in *Oriens*.[46] Citing the exculpating exigencies of persecution, Severus ruled that the monastery might engage any orthodox bishop to provide them with the required ordinations:

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44. John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXIV, 312-315.

45. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.59; Brooks, *The Sixth Book*, II.I, 178; and Menze, *Justinian*, 127-128 and 178.

46. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, V.15.

> Know therefore that in times of persecution anyone whosoever from the God-loving bishops, who in everything is of the same confession and the same communion as us may rightly fill the need of anyone among the orthodox who is in need.[47]

Although comparatively brief, the justification in the letter nevertheless echoes the secondary argument put forward in Severus' earlier defense of his own ordination – *viz.*, that the maintenance of the orthodox communion in the face of persecution constituted an apodictic warrant. The patriarch, then, designated the bishops Sergius of Cyrrhus and Marion of Soura, both of whom had been longstanding allies of Severus, as two potential ordainers to whom the monastery might have recourse.[48] In a separate letter, the patriarch then instructed Sergius and Marion either to provide the needed ordinations themselves or to designate and sanction others willing to do so – a mandate which suggests that he intended to extend an order to permit the bishops or their appointed proxies to ordain for the larger anti-Chalcedonian monastic community in the diocese.[49]

Although neither letter makes reference to the basis upon which Severus claimed the right to thus adjudicate the sacramental affairs of the monastery, there is some reason to suppose that the authority which he implicitly claimed was at least in part territorial. A. de Halleux has argued that the monastery of Mar Bassus was – prior to its expulsion in the persecution of 525-531 – located at Bitabo in the territory of Chalcis, in Syria I, placing it under the immediate episcopal jurisdiction of the bishop Isidore and within the metropolitan province of Antioch.[50] It is conceivable therefore that, in li-

47. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.59, 198.

48. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.59 and V.15.

49. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, V.15.

50. de Halleux, *Philoxène*, 54; Greatrex ed., *Chronicle*, 304 n. 107; and Menze, *Justinian*, 127.

censing the monks of Mar Bassus to seek ordinations outside of the territorial structures of the episcopate, Severus believed himself to be acting within his rights as the metropolitan of Syria I and thus in accordance with the guidance provided in ecclesiastical law.[51] As has already been noted, canon 13 of Antioch required that, in order to lawfully ordain in another province, a bishop needed to receive the authorization of the bishops and metropolitan of that province. Clearly, Severus was in communication with Isidore of Chalcis, who was then serving as his sacramental proxy in Palestine, and may well have received reciprocal *fiat* allowing him to make sacramental arrangements on behalf of the bishop – an understanding which he may also have had with his other suffragans, at least some of whom had fled to exile in Alexandria and would therefore have been close at hand.[52] Even assuming this, however, it does not immediately explain on what grounds Severus justified the licensing of Sergius and Marion to ordain candidates of anti-Chalcedonian archimandrites – unless that group is understood to have applied exclusively to those monasteries which were in or from Syria I. An alternative reading has been proposed by Menze, who has suggested that the patriarch had sought to issue a general license for the bishops to provide ordinations to anti-

51. In the letter, Severus is not explicit concerning his reasons for designating bishops Sergius and Marion in particular. Both bishops were long established allies of Severus, who had participated in his first acts as patriarch – Kugener, M.-A. (1902), "Allocution proncée par Sévère après son élévation sur le trône patriareal d'Antioche," *Oriens Christianus* 2, 270-282 – and who may therefore have appeared to him as reliable proxies in the diocese. Both are otherwise known to have been resident in roughly the same area around Marde as the bishops John of Tella and Thomas of Dara, both of whom were later active in provisioning the monastic communities, including Mar Bassus, which were displaced by the persecution of 525-531 – Elias, *Vita Iohannis episcopi Tellae*, 60-61; and pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, *Chronicle*, VIII.5.

52. The bishops Antoninus of Beroia and Constantine of Laodicea are known with certainty to have been in Alexandria during this period and to have corresponded with the patriarch pursuant to a synod held among the members of the exiled episcopate in Constantinople – Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.53; Constantine of Laodicea and Antonius of Aleppo, "Letter" (= Appendix III); and Honigmann, *Évêques*, 26 and 36-37.

Chalcedonian ascetics throughout the diocese.[53] Assuming this to have been true, then the licensing authority claimed by Severus in order to sanction ordinations within the whole of the diocese must have been predicated on his supra-metropolitanate authority as patriarch, unless again it is assumed that he was acting with the prior or prospective agreement of the other members of the exilic episcopate, who were then resident outside of *Oriens*.[54] In either case, Severus does not appear to have regarded the authorization of a broader system of extra-territorial ordinations as a particular constitutional novelty, requiring specific explanation.

Indeed, what changed after 518-522 was not necessarily the legal or conceptual framework within which anti-Chalcedonian bishops were theoretically prepared to ordain. Already, the letter to the metropolitan Constantine of Seleucia had evidenced the essential rationale for extra-territorial ordination in *c.* 510-511. Instead, it was the pragmatic circumstances surrounding the practice. The systematic suppression of the episcopate transformed an expedient, which had previously been employed *in extremis* to provide a sacramental clergy for communities on the geographic periphery of the anti-Chalcedonian movement, into perhaps the primary method by which the church was able to sustain its sacerdotal presence throughout the diocese.

I.1.b., Letters of Proxy

53. Menze, *Justinian*, 177.

54. The possibility that Severus, in extending to Sergius and Marion a general license to ordain monastic clergy, was acting in pursuit of either a single collective agreement or multiple bilateral resolutions between himself and the exiled bishops in Egypt and Palestine is rendered plausible at least to some extent by the contemporary evidence, already cited, for the correspondence and coordination between the patriarch and these groups.

While the assertion of the overriding claims of orthodoxy might serve as a rhetorical palliative to justify the de-territorialization of sub-episcopal ordinations for those within the anti-Chalcedonian movement, it is an argument altogether unlikely to have persuaded those outside of the movement. Neither did it necessarily serve to indemnify the practitioners of extra-territorial ordinations against potential objections from the more rigorous or dissenting elements within the party – a problem which would only have grown with the proliferation of anti-Chalcedonian factions and the corresponding intensification of sectarian sentiment and polemic. One solution was for each member of the Severan episcopate to continue to provide ordinations for the communities in their respective see, remotely replicating the jurisdictional structure of the imperial church. Although direct evidence of such ordinations is lacking, the practice may be reasonably inferred. The dispersal of the episcopate, however, made a system reliant wholly or even primarily upon bishops to meet all of the sacramental needs of their former sees logistically impracticable.

While some candidates were prepared to travel to Alexandria – and later Constantinople – in order to obtain ordination from the episcopal refugees there, not all were. Bearing the expense of the journey would likely have been preclusive for many, a problem which was almost certainly exacerbated by the movement's loss of ecclesiastical and monastic property and associated revenue. Even in those instances where ordinands or the communities whom they represented were able to support the cost, such extremely remote ordination remained inefficient – a problem alluded to by Severus in his correspondence with both Julian of Mar Bassus and the Palestinian archi-

mandrites John and John.[55] It also exposed the process to the greater risk of invalidation and fraud, since the bishops operating at a distance from the communities for which they were ordaining, possessed only a limited capacity to interrogate the self-representation of candidates and their promoters, not all of whom appear to have exercised a complete understanding or particular concern for the canons regulating appointment of clergy.[56] This, then, presented the Severan episcopate with the need to maintain a source of legitimate ordinations in *Oriens* and thus closer to the communities for which they were performed.

The solution to this problem, at least in a limited sense, was already reflected in the pre-exilic correspondence of Severus of Antioch. In the letter to Constantine of Laodicea, quoted above, the then future patriarch referred to the clause in the existing canon law which relaxed the absolute ban on extra-territorial ordination in cases where the ordaining bishop acted at the behest of those in whose province and territory the consecrations were performed. It is precisely to this idea that Severus again appealed – albeit based on a somewhat tenuous claim – in order to justify his deputization of Isidore

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55. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.49 and 59, and V.15.

56. *N.b.*, "Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient" (= *Synodicon*, XXI, 163-176), 33: "Regarding the people from the followers of Julian who went to Alexandria, and received the laying on of hands from the orthodox bishops, while they did not reveal that they were heretics. But if they return to the faith of truth, they shall indeed be reproved, as one who has stolen the gift of God by theft. However, it shall suffice for them [to apply] those canons, which pertain to those who return from the heretics. However, if when they are interrogated they shall assert that from that time [*i.e.*, the time of their ordination] they held an opinion which was in agreement with the orthodox, and repudiated the heresies of the Julianists, and that was on account of this that they received the laying on of hands from an orthodox bishop, then it is proper even to set aside the canon for them." Dateable with certainty to the early 530s, the canon evidences both the persistence of the practice of remote ordination by the bishops in Alexandria as well perhaps as one of the more extreme forms of fraud to which the system remained susceptible almost a decade after its emergence; *cf.*, "Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient" (= *Synodicon*, XXI, 163-176), 22 and 42. Less dramatic, though likely more common, forms of malpractice appear to have resulted in promotion of candidates, who were either unqualified or canonically disbarred from ordination – Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.49, 50, and 52; John of Tella, "Canones ad Presbyteros" (= *Synodicon*, XVIII, 145-156), 8 and 13; idem, "Regula ad Diaconos."

of Chalcis to conduct ordinations in Palestine. In both cases, Severus' argument played upon the principle, present in canons 13 and 22 of Antioch, that a bishop or group of bishops could grant another the authority to perform ordinations within his see, licensing him as a sacramental proxy or surrogate. Effectively a series of bilateral agreements, these licenses appear for pragmatic reasons to have taken the form of letters sent between members of the episcopate – such as the letter to the bishops Sergius and Marion – or to those local communities seeking ordinations – as with the letters to the Palestinian archimandrites and Julian of Mar Bassus –, authorizing them to seek and obtain ordinations from another member of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate. While this system was progressively superseded by more abstract and hierarchical forms of licensing, which relied less upon the jurisdictional authority of individual bishops, for the early exilic church letters of proxy appear to have served as a useful tool through which to justify and legitimate the necessary expedient of extra-territorial ordination.

The early implementation of this system of proxy licensing is well documented by Elias, in his *Vita Iohannis episcopi Tellae*, in which the hagiographer depicts the eponymous bishop as having received letters of proxy from other members of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate authorizing him to perform ordinations for their sees:

> And when many people saw the strength of spirit and zeal of the man, they hastened to him from every corner, from villages and from cities. to the desert where his rendezvous was, and he ordained priests for the churches and monasteries, with every examination and exactitude and oversight since he had received letters and license from the blessed patriarch Severus, and from the metropolitans and bishops who were fleeing to distant provinces, and these holy men granted him permission through [their] letters to ordain priests in their cities and territories, and he saved many from the communion of the heretics.[57]

57. Elias, *Vita Iohannis episcopi Tellae*, 58-59; *cf.*, John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXIV, 313-315 – further discussion, below.

The structure of the narrative gives the impression that the letters were received before the bishop began to ordain clergy for other sees. Nevertheless, in some cases at least, the issuance of formal consent appears to have been retrospective – conferring legitimacy upon the actions already taken by local communities and bishops. Given the practical impediments of long distance communication and the scattered nature of the episcopate, which had to responsd to the demands of local communities, it is likely that the licensing process, at least initially, was *ad hoc* and reactive, retroactively justifying those acts which had already been taken.[58] Such appears to have been the case with the initial ordinations conducted by Isidore of Chalcis in Palestine to which Severus granted his retroactive consent in his letter to the archimandrites John and John.[59] The impetus for the ordinations conducted by Isidore is not recorded and may well have come from the bishop himself. More often, however, it seems likely that the impulse to ordain came from demands made by the laity and ascetic communities; that this was the case is suggested by the Mar Bassus correspondence of Severus of Antioch, as well as the testimony of the hagiographers Elias and John of Ephesus, who agree in depicting the extra-territorial mission of John of Tella as having been prompted by the petitions of the faithful.[60]

The license granted by such letters and agreements essentially facilitated the formal legitimation of extra-territorial ordination within the exilic

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58. In letters written throughout the first years of his exile, Severus of Antioch made repeated, sometimes rhetorical, reference to the problems and delays besetting his network of correspondence – *e.g.*, *SL*, I.49 and 52, and V.15. Although some of these issues were doubtless particular to the patriarch, who for some of the period appears initially to have resided in comparative concealment and seclusion, those concerned with the logistics of long distance communication were undoubtedly universal, especially for those bishops who found refuge in Egypt.

59. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.49.

60. *Cf.*, John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXIV, 313-315 and XXV, 327-328.

church by fitting the practice into a recognized statutory framework. The discursive limitations of this framework, however, tend to suggest that it was intended primarily to mollify internal concerns to ensure that proper control was maintained in the implementation of the practice, rather than to provide the exilic episcopate with a defense against external scrutiny. Having been lawfully deposed and replaced by pro-Chalcedonian bishops, the members of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate would not have been recognized by the hierarchy of the imperial church as subsequently exercising any lawful authority over their former sees. It may be reasonably assumed, therefore, that the proxy granted by one anti-Chalcedonian bishop to another would not necessarily have been regarded as a valid legal instrument by the members of the imperial episcopate, particularly those who found their own jurisdictional claims thus usurped. Internally, however, these letters appear to have provided an important source of legitimacy, allowing bishops – like Isidore – to justify their extra-territorial ordinations to those – like the archimandrites John and John – who might question their legality or validity, as well as indemnifying the ordainers against potential disputes with those bishops for whose titular territories they ordained.

I.1.c., Bishop Ordainers

Perhaps the most visible result of the system of territorial licensing, as it evolved after *c.* 522, was to empower members of the episcopate to operate outside of the jurisdictional framework of the imperial church, allowing them to function as universal or near universal consecrators for the church in exile. Here, perhaps more than in any other facet of Severan-Jacobite history, the modern observer has been satisfied to rely upon the all embracing witness of a

single source – John of Ephesus' *Lives of the Eastern Saints*. Although supplemented by a limited corpus of literary and documentary sources, the hagiographic work of John of Ephesus provides the only continuous or particularly detailed account of the rise and development of extra-territorial ordination within the church for the whole of the period prior to the reformation of the episcopate by Jacob Baradaeus, and has therefore exercised a persistent influence over modern scholarship.[61] The *Lives*, however, are not a reliable source. Written in the late 560s, almost four decades after many of the events which it purports to describe, the collection structures its account of the consecratory activities of the episcopate around a sequence of heroic bishop ordainers – *viz.*, John of Tella, John of Hephaestopolis, Thomas of Damascus, and Jacob Baradaeus –, whose individual activities, John of Ephesus presents as almost solely responsible for the maintenance of the sacramental priesthood within the anti-Chalcedonian church.[62]

Among the silences of the hagiographic tradition, perhaps the most profound is that which envelops the role played by remote ordainers – *i.e.*, bishops who continued to perform ordinations of clergy both for their own bishoprics and for others, but who did not adopt the peripatetic habits of bishops like John of Hephaestopolis and Jacob Baradaeus, relying instead upon candidates to present themselves for ordination. Although the incidence of remote ordination is difficult to document with significant accuracy, there is

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61. *N.b.*, the paucity of evidence for the emergence and evolution of extra-territorial ordination during this period cannot be attributed to a lack of evidence more broadly, as the period is otherwise well served by a comparatively extensive body of anti-Chalcedonian chronographic sources. However, the extant chronographic sources – even those dependent upon the *Historiae ecclesiasticae* of John of Ephesus – are all but completely silent regarding the practice of ordination during this initial epoch in the church's history. The reason for this silence is not immediately apparent and may perhaps warrant further exploration in another context.

62. With respect to the dating of the *Lives*, see chapter II.4.a., 226 n. 55.

ample evidence to suggest that it was practiced throughout the period at every site at which the exilic episcopate maintained an extended presence, *viz.*, Alexandria, Palestine, Constantinople, and the region of Roman Mesopotamia around the Marde. By at least 522, candidates from anti-Chalcedonian communities in *Oriens* had begun traveling to Egypt in order to receive ordination from the exiled bishops, who were gathered in and around Alexandria.[63] Specific evidence for the continuation of the practice in Egypt as late as *c.* 535 is offered by the canon 33 of the so-called "Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient," which establishes a formula for the reception of converts who had been ordained under false confessional pretenses by the Severan bishops in Alexandria.[64] Even for those bishops who remained in the diocese, in the period between 518 and 538, remote ordination must have accounted for a significant proportion of the consecration which they performed. Thus, both Elias and John of Ephesus appear to describe John of Tella as having exercised a largely static mission in eastern Mesopotamia, where he received and remotely consecrated those candidates who approached him for ordination.[65] The pragmatic distinction between the remote ordination conducted by the bishops in Alexandria and those in the area around Marde would appear to have been one more of proximity than of procedure. While bishops operating in closer proximity to the anti-Chalcedonian communities in *Oriens* are likely to have been more active for purely logistical reasons than those located at a greater remove, there is no reason to suppose that the underlying mechanisms differed substantially for either group.

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63. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, V.15.

64. "Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient" (= *Synodicon*, XXI, 163-176), 33.

65. Elias, *Vita Iohannis episcopi Tellae*, 58-65; and John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXIV, 316-319.

Even less well documented than the efforts of remote ordainers are those contributions which were made by bishops belonging to the episcopates of other anti-Chalcedonian churches with which the Syrian church maintained communion, after 518. For the members of the Severan church this would primarily have meant the Egyptian episcopate aligned, successively, with the patriarchs Timothy IV and Theodosius, although the Anatolian episcopate, including Anthimus of Constantinople may also have performed ordination for the church in *Oriens*, following his deposition in March 536.[66] Again, as with the practice of extra-territorial ordination, the earliest evidence for the reliance of the Severan church upon the pastoral support of the Egyptian episcopate comes from the correspondence between the patriarch and the Palestinian archimandrites John and John. Responding to an inquiry from the ascetic leader regarding the reception of a cleric named Silvanus, who the letter suggests had been ordained by a pro-Chalcedonian bishop, Severus admonished the archimandrites to adhere to the formula established by Timothy of Alexandria, but allowed that the prescribed period of penance might be relaxed in order to allow the convert more quickly to resume his ministry. Such a remission, however, required the release of a bishop. Severus' initial impulse was to direct the monks to his established proxy, Isidore of Chalcis, but insisted that his involvement should not expose Isidore, then in imperial custody, to further affliction or retribution. If this latter condition could not be met, then the patriarch advised that Silvanus might also obtain release from Epimachus, the bishop of Rhinocorura – located in the Egyptian province of Augustamnica, on the Mediterranean shore of the Sinai Peninsula, near the

66. Menze, *Justinian*, 196-208.

provincial borders of Palestina I and III.[67] A more general version of this provision occurs in another letter addressed to the archimandrites John and John, in which Severus states that clergy wishing to detach themselves from the communion of the Chalcedonian bishops to whom they were jurisdictionally subject and enter into communion with the anti-Chalcedonian church might do so either through "the God-loving archbishop of the Alexandrines or the banished bishops."[68] Neither letter refers specifically to ordinations, though both erect a clear functional equivalence between the bishops from the two dioceses, at least in respect to the anti-Chalcedonians in Palestine, so that it is conceivable that the same provision was made to extend to the consecration of clergy. In this respect, however, Palestine may also have been an exception, given both its proximity to Egypt and its acknowledged liminal status relative to the patriarchate of Antioch. Whether similar recourse to the sacramental offices of the Egyptian episcopate was also granted to communities within the diocese proper is unclear, in the period prior to 537.

As a result of the precipitous collapse of the Severan episcopate, after 537, the church in *Oriens* appears to have become increasingly reliant upon the more recently exiled Egyptian episcopate, which then was largely confined to the region around Constantinople – both for leadership and the provision of ordinations. Between 537 and 542, the bishop John of Hephaestopolis pursued an active consecratory campaign, both in the imperial capital and among the provinces of Anatolia and the Levant, becoming – according to his biographer at least – the principal source of ordinations within the diocese. Although John of Ephesus appears to have exaggerated both the exclusivity

67. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, V.11.

68. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.52, 165.

and perhaps the primacy of his mission, John of Hephaestopolis' activities among the churches of *Asiana* and *Oriens* are securely attested by a number of sources. Significantly, none of the extant sources evidences any particular overt anxiety over the fact that the bishop was not a member of the Severan episcopate and thus possessed no automatic jurisdiction to ordain for the church in the diocese. Although John of Ephesus places a certain emphasis on John of Hephaestopolis' Palestinian origins and early affiliation with the monastery of Peter the Iberian, no attempt is made otherwise to link the bishop with the dioceses in which he ordained, suggesting that by the late 560s, when the *Lives* were written, the sacramental intervention of bishops from outside of *Oriens* had become sufficiently normalized as to require no substantive justification.[69] At the same time, following the death of Severus of Antioch, the patriarchs Theodosius of Alexandria and Anthimus of Constantinople – working in conjunction with Constantine of Laodicea – began to play an increasingly central role in the orchestration of ordinations for churches in *Oriens* and elsewhere; towards the end of the period, Theodosius also emerged as the leader of the theological opposition to tritheism within the movement.[70] Thus, by the time of the Jacobite reformation, the two episcopates formed a structurally intertwined and systematically interdependent entity, with Theodosius as its ecumenical head.

There are also significant geographic silences in the dominant hagiographic accounts of the period. With respect to John of Ephesus, in particular, scholars before have noted that the hagiographer focuses his narrative atten-

69. John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXV, 325.

70. The centrality of Theodosius of Alexandria to the administrative and intellectual life of the Severan-Jacobite church – which is discussed in chapter, II.3, 165-201, in the context of the controversy over tritheism – is underscored by prominent representation in the works of John of Ephesus – *e.g.*, *LES*, XLVIII, 482-488.

tions primarily, even programmatically, upon the region of Roman Mesopotamia and its immediate geographic environs – with significant attention also paid to Constantinople and parts of Asia Minor.[71] Elias, by comparison, is exclusively focused on the trans-border region of northern Mesopotamia, which serves as the setting for his biography of John of Tella. Neither author, however, sheds significant light upon developments in the provinces of Syria I and II, Euphratensis, Phoenicia I and II Libanensis, Arabia, Cilicia I and II, Isauria, Cyprus, and Palestina I, II, and III are almost completely omitted from the hagiographic record of the period – as are those developments which took place before 537 in the dioceses of *Pontus* and *Asiana*.[72] All of these regions, save for the three Palestinian provinces, are known to have had bishops, who fled their sees in 518-522, and most are known also to have harbored persistent anti-Chalcedonian communities after 542.[73] That the episcopates of all of these provinces simply stopped ordaining after entering exile is both implausible and in some cases directly contradicted by the available evidence.[74]

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71. Wood, *'We Have No King but Christ,'* 163-164 and 178-183.

72. The only significant hagiographic notice pertaining to the ordination of clergy of the churches outside of Mesopotamia, during the period 522 to 538, occurs in the "Life of John of Tella," in which John of Ephesus refers to the consecration by the eponymous bishop for churches in the provinces of Armenia, Arzanene, Cappadocia, and Phoenicia I – John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXIV, 317; and Brooks, "John of Ephesus (II)," 519.

73. pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, *Chronicle*, III, 17-18; pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, *Chronicle*, VIII.5; *Chronicon anonymum ad A.D. 846 pertinens*, 226-228; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, IX.13; and Honigmann, *Évêques*, 25-137.

74. *E.g.*, the province of Euphratensis, although largely absent from the accounts of John of Ephesus and Elias, nonetheless produced a number of bishops who went on actively to ordain while in exile – Sergius of Cyrrhus, Marion of Soura, and Philoxenus of Doliche are all known to have resided in the region of eastern Mesopotomia around Marde, where Sergius and Marion are attested as having participated in episcopal ordinations conducted by John of Tella, while Thomas of Germanicia appears to have remained in the region, perhaps in the province itself, throughout his exile.

None of this, however, is intended to suggest that certain prolific individuals, such again as John of Tella and John of Hephaestopolis, were not responsible for an exceptional proportion, even perhaps the majority, of the ordinations performed by the exilic episcopate. Although the total numbers of ordinations ascribed by John of Ephesus to John of Tella and Jacob Baradaeus – 170,000 and 100,000 respectively – seem on their face to be hyperbolic, they are nonetheless clearly indicative of the scale on which both were perceived to have acted.[75] Instead, it is necessary to regard the activities of the few exceptionally well documented ordainers as having formed part of a larger, often only poorly evidenced, response of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate to the problem of supplying ordinations to the disparate communities of the exilic church, after 518-522.

Despite the patent inadequacies of the hagiographic model, however, any study of the progressive development and evolution of the Severan practice and conceptualization of extra-territorial ordination, during the period between 518-522 and the reconstitution of the territorial episcopate in *c.* 553, must by necessity remain firmly tethered to the testimony of the hagiographic sources. Because, while the extant documentary and chronographic sources do cast significant light on the circumstances surrounding the consecratory missions of John of Tella, John of Hephaestopolis, and Jacob Baradaeus, that

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75. John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXIV, 320 and XLIX, 494; while most modern scholars have tended to dismiss the tallies quoted by John of Ephesus as wildly unrealistic – *e.g.*, Frend, *Rise*, 261; Ghanem, "The Biography," 15-16; and Ashbrook Harvey, *Asceticism*, 103. More recently, Menze, "*Regula ad Diaconos*," 74-76, arguing with respect to the "Life of John of Tella," has suggested that the number might have arisen from an erroneous calculation made either by John of Ephesus or his source, on the basis of the one of the mass ordinations conducted by John of Tella. Such an explanation is possible, though unnecessary, given the almost systemic imprecision of the dates and numbers given in the *Lives of the Eastern Saints*. Neither is it necessarily reasonable to assume that the primary objective of the hagiography was to provide an accurate record of the number of ordinations conducted by the subject, whose lives his work seeks to glorify.

light is for the most insufficient to permit anything more than rough contextualization of their efforts. What follows, then, is not an attempt to mount a complete reconstruction of the system of the extra-territorial ordination, as it emerged and evolved between 518 and 553. Rather, it is an effort to deconstruct the dominant hagiographic narrative surrounding the sanctioning and practice of extra-territorial ordination during the period – to critique and contextualize the heroic model of the bishop ordainer advanced most enduringly by John of Ephesus. In particular, it is argued that the *Lives* systemically overemphasize the individual significance of their subjects by suppressing or distorting the parts played by other members of the exilic episcopate both in licensing the missions of prolific ordainers like John of Tella and Jacob Baradaeus and in conducting their own separate consecratory missions.

I.1.d., John of Tella

The first – and by far the best documented and studied – of these bishop-ordainers was John of Tella, whose biography and activities have been recorded in two extant sixth-century lives; the earlier written in *c.* 542 by John of Tella's companion and disciple Elias and the latter in *c.* 566-568 by the hagiographer and historian John of Ephesus.[76] Significantly, the two lives, although in some respects broadly congruent, nonetheless present markedly different accounts of the program of extra-territorial ordination conducted by John of Tella, between his exile in 522 and his arrest by imperial agents in February 537. Although neither text is devoid of literary artifice and distortion, the "Life of John of Tella" of John of Ephesus betrays a far heavier degree of

76. chapter, II.4.b., 226-242.

narrative patterning and is much harder to reconcile with the other sources of evidence for the period than the account offered by Elias, in the *Vita Iohannis episcopi Tellae*, which better situates the efforts of John of Tella within the activities of the larger episcopate. Both lives, however, display a consistent concern to evidence the legitimacy of the extra-territorial mission of their shared subject, after 522.

In his "Life of John of Tella," John of Ephesus presents the bishop's decision to begin ordaining as a response to an acute shortage of clergy and the mounting outcries of the faithful. According to the hagiographer, the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate virtually abstained from conducting ordinations, during the first roughly ten years of its suppression, through fear of provoking a retributive persecution. Although allowing for the performance of some covert consecrations, the life describes these years as a period of privation and mounting sacerdotal scarcity within the larger community, during which the pleas of the faithful for the ordination of new clergy to meet the sacramental needs of the church went repeatedly unanswered:

> When, then, the period of the persecution had lasted around ten years, the rest of the faithful in every place were straightened over [the lack of] ordinations, and they began to hasten to the believing bishops. These blessed men, however, as those who were apprehensive lest they should kindle the furnace of persecution more against themselves, they declined to do this openly, although they had performed various things in secret, and a murmuring among the persecuted of the faithful from every place began to be aroused against the blessed men, since they were greatly oppressed, while they were speaking and sending to them at all times, that they should impart the hand of ordination to the church of the faithful, because it was greatly afflicted.[77]

The idea of a cessation in the performance of ordination does not, however, correlate well with the evidence for the continuous, albeit *ad hoc*, practice of ordination documented by the correspondence of Severus of Antioch – unless one assumes that this is what is meant in the text by the reference to the bish-

77. John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXIV, 313-314.

ops having "performed various things in secret" prior to the beginning of John of Tella's mission.[78] If, indeed, this is understood to be the case, then it must be regarded as a programatic understatement by the hagiographer, whose narrative works systematically to place its protagonist at the center of developments within the exilic church – depicting John of Tella as heroically undaunted by the threat of persecution and thus as the sole advocate of the faithful.

Modern scholars, who until recently made only limited use of the available documentary evidence for the period, have largely accepted the well translated testimony of John of Ephesus regarding the ten year hiatus which preceded the commissioning of John of Tella without significant reservation.[79] Even V. Menze, whose recent work provides a critical re-exploration of the life and missionary activities of John of Tella, has continued to credit the notion of a cessation in the consecratory activity of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate, even while arguing for a drastic reduction in the duration of that interval. Accepting that the bishops "hesitated" to ordain large numbers of new clergy, after they were driven into exile, he nonetheless dates the beginning of mass ordinations in the exilic church as early as 522/523, less than a year perhaps from the time when John of Tella is thought to have left his see.[80] Although the idea that John of Tella began ordaining almost immediately after withdrawing from his see is entirely consonant with the evidence

78. Menze, *Justinian*, 175-178.

79. *e.g.*, Frend, *Rise*, 260-261; and Ashbrook Harvey, *Asceticism*, 100-101.

80. Menze, *Justinian*, 176-178; and idem, "*Regula ad Diaconos*," 50 n. 29 and 71-72; predicated on the assumption first that the composition of John of Tella, "Canones ad Presbyteros" (= *Synodicon*, XVIII, 145-156), 1, may be dated to the period before the death of Philoxenus of Mabbug, in 523, and second that the composition of that collection, which focuses on the regulation of the rural and village clergy, may be used to date the beginning of John of Tella's activities as an ordainer within the exilic church, the logic of this argument is not entirely compelling.

from Severus' letters, Menze's reconstruction continues to reflect an unnecessarily credulous reading of John of Ephesus, whose narrative it maintains almost intact. Indeed, the idea of a sacramental crisis occasioned by the refusal or inability of other – generally anonymous – members of the episcopate to perform ordinations is a recurrent leitmotif common to a number of the episcopal lives in the hagiographer's *oeuvre*. Thus, the theme occurs prominently in the "Life of John of Hephaestopolis," whose consecratory mission John of Ephesus describes as having been precipitated by the demurral of the other anti-Chalcedonian bishops in Constantinople to perform ordinations on behalf of the faithful. In both the individual "Life of Jacob" and dual "Lives of Jacob and Theodore," in which the hagiographer alters the theme slightly by asserting that the sacramental crisis prefiguring the bishops' appointment was the result of a complete lack of ordainers. As will be discussed below, neither of these statements appear to be completely accurate. Instead, as in the "Life of John of Tella," they further the larger trope of the lone bishop ordainer, which permeates all four lives and serves to legitimize the extra-jurisdictional missions of each of the bishops whom John of Ephesus describes.

A similar distorting mechanism appears also to be at work in the *vita*'s depiction of the authorization of John of Tella to perform extra-territorial ordinations. John of Ephesus describes this as having taken place through the collective decision of a synod – convoked in order to seek a solution to the mounting demands of the exilic communion for ordination of new clergy. The hagiographer does not indicate the location or composition of this putative synod, beyond a vague reference to it having been an assembly of "all of the bishops."[81] Whether this is intended to indicate a larger gathering or sim-

81. John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXIV, 314.

ply as an allusion to the roughly twelve neighboring bishops with whom John of Tella is supposed to have entered exile is verbally unclear.[82] With respect to the proceedings, John of Ephesus asserts that the members of the synod are said to have been initially paralyzed by their fear of imperial reprisals should they consent to ordain new clergy, until John of Tella, moved to shame through the plight of the church, presented the assembled bishops with a set of alternatives:

> But now either agree to extend the hand [of ordination] to the faithful with the παρρησία of our God, and everyone of us, on his side, shall strive valiantly, but if not and you are afraid, give me a decree and license from the patriarchs and yourselves [ܘܗܒܠܢܬܚܡܗ ܘܢܫܠܚ], and distance yourselves, and I will be persecuted and will be prepared even to die a thousand times, were it possible, on behalf of the believing people.[83]

Seizing upon his proposition to shoulder the exclusive burden and risk of ordaining for the exilic church, the bishops hastened to ratify his mission and to extend their license to him – asserting in a collective voice that:

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82. John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXIV, 312-313: "When, therefore, the tumultuous time came to this blessed man [*i.e.*, John of Tella], and sought to trouble [him] like many [others] and to turn him from the truth, he was even more respondent and bright. Then when he thrust away from himself the heretical communion, he was exiled from his see along with the rest of the other holy bishops, roughly twelve from his environ." John of Tella is otherwise known to have spent the early portion of his exile in the region of Marde, in the company of number of other bishops from the provinces of Euphratensis, Mesopotamia, and Osrhoene – citations and discussion, below. However, only the bishops Sergius of Cyrrhus, Marion of Soura, Nunnus of Circusius, Thomas of Dara, and Philoxenus of Dulichium are all known with certainty to have been resident in roughly the same area as John of Tella, in the period between 522 and 532 – Innocentius of Maronia, *Epistula de collatione cum Seuerianis* (= *ACO*, IV.2, 169-184), 169-170; *Pastorale antijulianiste*, 83; Severus of Antioch, *SL*, V.14 and 15; Brock, S. (1981), "The Conversations with the Syrian Orthodox under Justinian (532)," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* XLVII, 113 and 117-118; Honigmann, *Évêques*, 53-54, 68-73, and 104; and Menze, *Justinian*, 153-155. Thomas of Germanicia and Peter of Theodosioupolis/ Reshaina also appear to have been resident in the diocese at the time, though their precise location(s) is unknown – Appendices, I.3, 319-321 and III, 333-336; and Honigmann, *Évêques*, 73-74 and 104-105. This brings the total number of anti-Chalcedonian bishops in the diocese to eight, excluding John of Tella, which corresponds precisely with the figure given by Elias, *Vita Iohannis episcopi Tellae*, 59, for the number of John of Tella's companions at the time of the *collatio* of 532. It is, of course, possible that John of Ephesus was aware of the presence of bishops in region, whose presence is not otherwise recorded in the extant sources. However, given the frequent imprecision of the numbers and dates quoted in the *Lives*, the relatively late composition of the work, and the equivocation of the language, it seems more plausible to read the number simply as an approximation.

83. John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXIV, 314-315; regarding the use and significance of the concept of "παρρησία" – meaning a freedom of speech or action – in contemporary hagiographic discourse, see, Wood, *'No King'*, 193-198.

> It is expedient that one of us alone should be known in this business and not all of us. And accept also the authority and license from ourselves, and we will direct this to our pious father, the patriarch, and he will make a decree for us, so that it will be lawful to give the hand [of ordination] to all of the exiles who come to you from every corner.[84]

Throughout, the account of the episode is characterized by a heavily stylized vagueness. John of Tella's episcopal interlocutors are depicted as an unenumerated chorus of anonymous naysayers. Nameless ancillaries, the bishops served two evident narrative functions. Through their manifest cravenness and hesitancy, they demonstrated the heroism and zeal of the protagonist, while at the same time conferring upon him the legitimacy of their unanimous consent. Flurried and self-evidently literary, however, the account is difficult to reconcile with the other evidence from the period.

First, the *vita* depicts John of Tella's decision to ordain as a single, spontaneous act, motivated solely by his innate zeal and unprompted desire to benefit the orthodox. This is radically at odds with the previously discussed evidence for territorial licensing, which points to the system of extra-territorial ordination in the exilic church as having emerged piecemeal as a result of the interactions between individual bishops and communities. Furthermore, the hagiographer's insistence that the resolution permitting John of Tella to perform ordinations for the anti-Chalcedonian communities in *Oriens* was made without the prior knowledge or involvement of Severus of Antioch and then relayed to him, stands in direct contradiction to the evidence of the Mar Bassus correspondence, in which the initiative – at least in that instance – appears to have come from the patriarch.

A more superficial problem is posed by the account's depiction of the authorization of John of Tella's mission as having preceded from the decision

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84. John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXIV, 315-316.

of a synod composed of "his fellow bishops" – a group about whom John of Ephesus says next to nothing. The idea of a large gathering of anti-Chalcedonian bishops during this period, however, is almost unimaginable. The scattering of the episcopate, many – perhaps most – of whom had fled or been transported to sites outside of the patriarchate, would seem to have precluded anything approaching a general gathering of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate. Seeking to reconcile this apparent incongruity and rehabilitate the witness of the "Life of John of Tella," Menze has suggested that the synod described by John of Ephesus was instead a local synod attended by those bishops, who in *c.* 522 remained within the territory of the patriarchate. In support of this argument, he has not unreasonably pointed to the evidence of collective action among the exiled bishops in *Oriens* – citing specifically the anti-Julianist letter circulated by the bishops Sergius of Cyrrhus, Marion of Soura, Nunnus of Circusius, Thomas of Dara, and John of Tella.[85] The letter thus amply demonstrates that collective action among this limited group of bishops, whether in person or purely via correspondence, was not only possible, but practiced, so that it is entirely conceivable that an assembly was convened for the purposes of formulating a joint strategy to the conduct of extra-territorial ordinations and to exchange formal authorizations. The essential plausibility of such a local synod, however, does not render plausible the description of the episode as whole, which in both the implied sequence of events and the idea of a voiced opposition to ordinations by other bishops are both largely irreconcilable with the evidence offered by other sources.

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85. *Pastorale antijulianiste*, 83; Draguet, R. (1927), "Une pastorale antijulianiste des environs de l'année 530," *Le Muséon* XL.1, 77-82; and Menze, *Justinian*, 175-178; although the extant text of the collection does not preserve a set of signatures, it is likely that the "Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient" (= *Synodicon*, XXI, 163-176), which is ascribed only to "holy fathers," was also likely composed by the same or a similar group of bishops.

An alternative version of the events is offered in the earlier *Vita Iohannis episcopi Tellae*. In the life, Elias does assert that John of Tella had acted in defiance of the "decrees of kings and the threats of nobles," through his resolution to ordain for the communities of the exilic church, a statement which Menze reads as corroborating the account offered by John of Ephesus.[86] Significantly, however, Elias makes no reference to episcopal opposition to the undertaking nor to an authorizing synod. Instead, in the passage quoted above, the hagiographer refers simply to John of Tella having received letters from the exiled bishops and the patriarch authorizing him to perform ordinations for the communities in the sees.[87] While neither the extant chronology of

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86. Elias, *Vita Iohannis episcopi Tellae*, 58; and Menze, *Justinian*, 176 n. 141; the claim – made by both John of Ephesus and Elias – that the imperial state took measures to enjoin members of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate from performing ordinations after their expulsion in 518-522, despite its clear rhetorical value, is essentially plausible. For both hagiographers the insistence that John of Tella was acting in defiance of imperial orders fits neatly into narrative portraits of the bishop as a confessor for anti-Chalcedonian orthodoxy – a fact which to some extent is reflected in the blandness of the language used to describe the injunctions; John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXIV, 314, states only that the bishops "were apprehensive lest they should kindle the furnace of persecution the more against themselves," while Elias appears to suggest that John of Tella was resisting a plurality of kings, "ܡܠܟܐ." No direct evidence of an imperial edict directly addresses ordinations performed by the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate survives from the reign of Justin I, though this should not be understood as precluding the possibility of such decrees having been issued. As has been noted above, the members of the exile episcopate were already subject to the existing ban prohibiting lawfully deposed bishops from performing the sacramental functions of their former office. That members of the pro-Chalcedonian episcopate should have moved – using the local resources of the imperial state and perhaps even with the support of the emperor – to enforce this injunction, and thereby to bolster their own control over the sees to which they had recently been ordained, would have been thoroughly unsurprising. During the period of his patriarchate in Antioch, Severus too, though faced with a rather different set of threats to his confessional program in *Oriens*, had vigorously asserted the sacramental sovereignty and administrative authority of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate – *e.g.*, Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.6 and V.2. After the accession of Justinian, in 527, imperial efforts to restrain or prohibit the ordination of clergy by anti-Chalcedonian bishops become easier to document. According to Elias, *Vitae Iohannis episcopi Tellae*, 59-60, the emperor had admonished the anti-Chalcedonian participants in the *collatio* of 532 to abstain from the ordaining of new clergy upon their return to the provinces; this is echoed in the summary of the *collatio* edited by F. Nau – "Le colloque monophysite de 531" (= *Documents pour servir a l'histoire de l'église nestorienne*, II.IV), 83-84; and Brock, "Conversations," 115. Similarly, in 536, Justinian, *Novellae* (= *Corpus juris civilis*, III), 42.3.1-2, specifically enjoined against the administration of the sacraments by followers of Severus of Antioch, Peter of Apamia, and Anthimus of Constantinople, while Menze, *Justinian*, pg. 223-226, has persuasively argued that the emperor pursued a conscious policy of sacramental containment by segregating bishops from members of the laity and sub-episcopal clergy, following the transportation of the Egyptian episcopate to Constantinople.

87. Elias, *Vita Iohannis episcopi Tellae*, 58-59; the relevant passage is quoted above.

his licensing nor the precise impetus for it are recorded in the *Vita*, Elias makes no reference to a cessation or hiatus in the performance of ordinations by members of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate in the period after their expulsion. Instead, Elias appears to situate the exchange of authorizations in the period during or shortly after the enforcement of the *libellus*, and prior to the mass petitioning of the episcopate by the anti-Chalcedonian faithful, so that – in the narrative, at least – John of Tella was able to immediately begin ordaining as the need arose.

Doubtless both versions contain distortions and omissions, which the limitations of the available external evidence rendered largely imperceptible. Nevertheless, Elias' narrative, though it clearly compresses somewhat the events around the beginning of John of Tella's mission, appears nonetheless to be the more reliable of the two accounts. Written closer in time to the events of the life and by an author who appears to have been more closely acquainted with its subject, the *Vita* offers a more conservative vision of John of Tella, which is significantly easier to reconcile with the evidence offered by other sources. Most conspicuously, the exchange of proxy letters recorded by Elias as having prefaced the beginning of John of Tella's mission correlates well with the Mar Bassus correspondence of Severus of Antioch. Beyond this, however, Elias significantly also avoids John of Ephesus' trope of the lone ordainer, situating the actions of John of Tella more firmly in those of the larger episcopate.

Indeed, unlike John of Ephesus, in the *Vita*, Elias depicts John of Tella as having operated within a community of other episcopal exiles with whom he actively collaborated to ordain for the anti-Chalcedonian church in *Oriens*, as well as the inchoate church in the Sasanian Empire. In particular, the au-

thor appears to identify the exiled bishop of Dara, Thomas bar ʿAbdiya, as the principal partner of John of Tella – a fact which is seemingly confirmed by pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, who describes Thomas of Dara along with John of Tella as having provided episcopal stewardship to the communities of monks displaced by the persecution of 525-531.[88] Although the hagiographer is less forthcoming concerning the activites of the bishops Sergius of Cyrrhus, Marion of Soura, and Nunnus of Circusius, all three are reported to have collaborated with John of Tella and Thomas of Dara in the ordination of bishops for the nascent anti-Chalcedonians in Sasanian Mesopotamia.[89] Sergius of Cyrrhus and Marion of Soura, of course, were the bishops originally approached by Severus of Antioch as potential ordainers for the monastery of Mar Bassus, and there is no substantive reason to suppose that either they or Nunnus of Circusius subsequently refrained from ordaining sub-episcopal clergy, whether for their own sees, or for others, or for both.[90]

In addition to those bishops specifically named by Elias, it is possible to identify at least two others who are likely to have been active in *Oriens* during the period. Philoxenus of Doliche – the nephew and namesake of Philoxenus of Mabbug – is known from the letters of Severus of Antioch to have been resident on the mountain of Marde along with John of Tella and Thomas of Dara, where he appears to have remained until his defection at the *collatio* of 532.[91] While the latter fact accounts for Philoxenus' absence

88. Elias, *Vita Iohannis episcopi Tellae*, 60; pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, *Chronicle*, VII.6, 38-39 and VIII.5, 82; and Honigmann, *Évêques*, 104; *cf.*, Menze, *Justinian*, 176.

89. Elias, *Vita Iohannis episcopi Tellae*, 60-61.

90. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, V.15.

91. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, V.14 and 15; Innocentius of Maronia, *Epistula de collatione cum Seuerianis* (= *ACO*, IV.2, 169-184), 184; Honigmann, *Évêques*, 72-73; and Brock, "Conversations," 117-118.

from later anti-Chalcedonian sources, which seem to have sought actively to suppress the memory of the episcopal apostate, it does preclude his prior activity as an ordainer within the exilic church; certainly, Severus appears to have regarded him as a potential ordainer at the time of the Mar Bassus correspondence.[92] Although less well attested, Peter of Theodosiopolis/Reshaina is also known to have participated in the *collatio* of 532, suggesting that he too was resident and thus perhaps active in the diocese prior to that date.[93] Thomas of Germanicia – whose case will be discussed in further detail below – also was resident in the patriarchal diocese throughout the period between 519 and 542. Furthermore, the bishop Thomas appears to have been an active ordainer for the church in *Oriens*, during the period between 537 and 542, so that it would not be unreasonable to assume that he too had ordained prior to 537.[94] This list, of course, excludes an unknown number of remote ordainers – previously mentioned – who appear to have been active in Palestine until *c.* 527 and in Egypt until late 536, so that whatever the relative scale of John of Tella's mission it is clear that – contrary to the assertion of John of Ephesus – he did not act alone, but instead pursued his consecratory

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92. It should be remembered that in the period before 532, Philoxenus had been a loyal and prominent member of the anti-Chalcedonian party in the patriarchate, a correspondent of Severus of Antioch during his episcopate and a signatory to the address issued by the patriarch, immediately following his ordination – Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.28 and V.14-15; and Kugener, "Allocution," 270-276 and 280. So that his ultimate defection, after nearly a decade in exile, cannot be taken to suggest that he abstained from performing ordinations prior to 532.

93. Innocentius of Maronia, *Epistula de collatione cum Seuerianis* (= *ACO*, IV.2, 169-184), 169; *Chronicon anonymum ad A.D. 846 pertinens*, 227; Honigmann, *Évêques*, 104-105; and Menze, *Justinian*, 153.

94. The number of homonym bishops – *viz.*, Thomas of Dara, Thomas of Germanicia, Thomas of Hemerion, Thomas of Damascus, and Thomas of Iabrouda – and the onomastic imprecision of contemporary document sources, which frequently omit the bishoprics from lists and addresses, have resulted in some confusion among modern scholars, who have occasionally identified Thomas of Germanicia as one of the anti-Chalcedonian refugees in Alexandria, Honigmann, *Évêques*, 74. This, however, is contradicted by the evidence of Thomas of Germanicia's correspondence – Thomas of Germanicia, "Letter to John" (= Appendix, I.3, fol. 15b; and Constantine of Laodicea and Antonius of Aleppo, "Letter" (= Appendix, III); Menze, *Justinian*, 153.

mission with the consent of and in concert with other bishops, who were themselves engaged – to varying degrees – in the perpetuation of the church's sacerdotal presence in *Oriens*.

I.1.e., John of Hephaestopolis

Following the arrest of John of Tella, in the winter of 537, the nature and practice of extra-territorial ordination in the Severan church began subtly and progressively to change, as the result of a gradual shift in the structure and geographic alignment of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate. Reflecting a generally credulous reading of the sources, E. Honigmann has characterized the period between 537 and 553 as one principally defined by peripatetic ministries, during which "*quelques hommes intrépides osèrent défier tous les dangers, bien qu'ils fussent forcés d'agir dans le secret*" under the protection and patronage of the empress Theodora.[95] Predicated somewhat uncritically on the testimony of John of Ephesus, whose hagiographic *oeuvre* provides the primary and in places the only narrative witness to this phase in the development of the consecratory practices of the anti-Chalcedonian movement, this picture of a chain of isolated ordainers joining the efforts of John of Tella to those of Jacob Baradaeus has proven itself remarkably durable in the historical imagina-

95. Honigmann, *Évêques*, 165; whereas Honigmann treats the entire period between 537 and 553 as constituting a unified epoch in the developmental history of the Severan church, the present study – for reasons which will be more fully articulated below – has partitioned it into two distinct phases, with the division marked by the ordination of Jacob Baradaeus and Theodore of Arabia in 542. *N.b.*, more recently, Menze, *Justinian*, 208-228, has questioned the portrait of the empress Theodora as a pious anti-Chalcedonian, who actively subverted the religious policies of her husband, particularly with respect to the mission of John of Hephaestopolis.

tions of modern scholars.[96] It is, however, a picture that is almost irreconcilably at odds with the large body of available evidence.

The evidence, although sparse and marked by frequent silences, instead points to there having been a multiplicity of remote and peripatetic ordainers active in the years between 537 and 542, whose missions – even if they were not precisely coordinated – were nevertheless broadly complementary. And, indeed, at least three bishop-ordainers are known to have been active during this period, *viz.*, Cyrus, John of Hephaestopolis, and Thomas of Damascus, while a number of others may also have continued to ordain, though perhaps on a smaller scale. In this sense, the period witnessed a degree of continuity in the practice of ordination within the anti-Chalcedonian communion. What did change, then, were the number of ordainers and the geographic distribution of the episcopate. The short period between 536 and 538 witnessed two important developments, the impacts of which were to alter the ways in which extra-territorial ordination was practiced during this period as well as the mechanisms by which it was legitimated.

The first of these changes was precipitated – in large part – by the fall of Theodosius of Alexandria in late 536, which resulted in the transportation of much of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate then resident in Egypt into imperial custody in Constantinople and Thrace.[97] Towards the end of 537, the

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96. Ashbrook Harvey, *Asceticism*, 100-107; Frend, *Rise*, 284-288; and Wigram, *Separation*, pg. 110-111; and Hainthaler, T. (2013), "The Hierarchical Split of the Patriarchate of Antioch," in A. Grillmeier, *Christ in the Christian Tradition, II.3: The Churches of Jerusalem and Antioch from 451 to 600*, with contributions from A. Grillmeier, T. Hainthaler, T. D. Mansour, and L. Abramowski, translated by M. Ehrhardt, (Oxford), 187-189.

97. John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXXVI, 428; and Brooks, "Dates," 495-497; this followed the cacheing of Theodosius of Alexandria and his allied episcopate as well as the fall of Anthimus of Constantinople and the issuance of Justinian, *Novellae* (= *Corpus juris civilis*, III), 42. Although Menze is almost certainly correct in asserting that these were not wholly incongruous with Justinian's previous policies, they nevertheless contributed to an institutional and political shift within the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate – Frend, *Rise*, pg. 255-295; Wigram, *Rise*, pg.

arrest of John of Tella removed that prolific ordainer from the province of *Oriens*, marking – symbolically at least – the collapse of the episcopal circle which had surrounded him. The straightforward result of these developments was a shift in the geographic center of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate away from the provinces of *Oriens* and *Aegyptus* and towards the area around Constantinople, where it was to remain by and large until the period after 542. Logistically, the transfer of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate to the imperial capital had two principal implications for the practice of ordination within the church. First, by removing much of the episcopate from the dioceses and confining its members to the area around Constantinople, the imperial state compelled the church to depend more heavily on remote ordination, rather than upon the activity of more proximate ordainers. The consequence of this may be seen in a notice – quoted and discussed below – from the "Life of John of Tella," in which John of Ephesus refers to candidates traveling from *Oriens* to Constantinople and Alexandria, often unsuccessfully, in order to obtain ordination from the episcopal refugees in both cities. Second, confined to Constantinople and its environs, the members of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate were subject to greater scrutiny and control by imperial agents. While the implications of this can be easily overstated, it is nevertheless clear that the state sought ways of containing the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate and inhibiting its efforts to project a sacramental presence in the dioceses from which it had been removed.

The second precipitating factor was the progressive collapse of the Severan episcopate, the ranks of which had, after nearly two decades in exile, become increasingly thin. The last Severan bishops are known to have sur-

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117-119; Menze, *Justinian*, 247-276; and Millar, "Rome," 68-70.

vived into the mid-550s, well after the consecration of Jacob Baradaeus and Theodore of Arabia.[98] By 538, however, it seems clear that the loss of bishops – through death and defection – was beginning to tell upon the exiled episcopate. Early in February of that year, both Severus of Antioch and John of Tella died within two days of one another, having been predeceased by the bishops Sergius of Cyrrhus, Nunnus of Circusius, and Marion of Soura as well perhaps as Thomas of Dara.[99] Philoxenus of Mabbug had died earlier in 523.[100] Mara of Amida died in either 527 or 529, and it seems likely that Isidore of Chalcis too died at some point prior to 536.[101] While this cursory survey does not account for the majority of the bishops who accepted exile in 518-522 – about many of whom the chronographic sources record only the generic note that the individual died in exile –, it does point to what must have been a larger trend.[102] Some degree of speculation remains nonetheless possible. Ecclesiastical norms required that candidates for the episcopate had

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98. Although a comprehensive survey of the mortality of the Severan episcopate exceeds the scope of the present investigation, it will perhaps be enough to the point to cases of Constantine of Laodicea, who died in 553, and Thomas of Damascus, who died in 557, – both of whom appear to have played prominent roles in the conduct of the practice of extra-territorial ordination during this period.

99. Elias, *Vita Iohannis episcopi Tellae*, 60-61 and 92-95; John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXIV, 320-321 and XLVIII, 485-486; pseudo-John of Beth Aphtonia, *Life of Severus*, 174-179; and Honigmann, *Évêques*, 51, 54, 69-71, and 153-154; in his translation, Ghanem, "Biography," 71, has interpreted the reference to the period "after these holy men, whose names are written above, had died" in Elias, *Vita Iohannis episcopi Tellae*, 61, as applying only to the bishops Sergius, Marion, and Nunnus, who are the most immediate referents. However, both the sense and grammatical structure of the text would also permit the reference also to apply to Thomas of Dara, and there is no evidence to suggest that Thomas was still alive in 537.

100. Honigmann, *Évêques*, 67; and de Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbog*, 100-101.

101. John of Ephesus, *LES*, XIII, 194; pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, *Chronicle*, III, 17 and 32; and Honigmann, *Évêques*, 28 and 101 – the precise date of Isidore of Chalcis' death is not recorded, though the fact that he is known to have died in Alexandria suggests that he was already deceased before the fall of Theodosius of Alexandria and the transportation of much of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate to Constantinople. Already, in letters sent before 527, while both bishops were still in Palestine, Severus made reference to Isidore as having been seized by infirmity, *SL*, I.53.

102. pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, *Chronicle*, III, 17-18; *Chronicon anonymum ad A.D. 846 pertinens*, 226-228; and Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, IX.13.

reached an age of established maturity; among earlier ecclesiastical orders, this age was generally set at fifty, though an imperial edict issued on 26 March 565 allowed the election of candidates over thirty years of age.[103] Even taking the lower of these thresholds as an approximate minimum age, those bishops who like John of Tella had been ordained in the period immediately before the enforcement of the *libellus* would have been between forty-six and fifty years old in 538.[104] The majority of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate, however, had been appointed prior to 518 and would thus in many, perhaps most, cases have been considerably older, so that it becomes easy to imagine that by 538 much of the Severan episcopate had already died or become inactive through age and the privations of persecution.[105] Simultaneously, the cases of Paul of Edessa and Philoxenus of Doliche, both of whom returned to the imperial church after having initially accepted exile, point to defection as another cause for the collapse of the Severan episcopate.[106]

One apparent consequence of these structural changes was to alter subtly the mechanisms by which extra-territorial ordinations were orchestrated and authorized. As argued already, the system of licensing which evolved in the immediate wake of the movement's suppression to enable anti-Chalcedonian bishops to justify their practice of extra-territorial ordination had relied in large part upon a series of bilateral agreements. These agree-

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103.*e.g.*, *Constitutiones apostolorum*, II.1.1; *Didascalia apostolorum*, IV, 52-53; *Didascalia*, II.1; "Testamentum Domini" (= *Synodicon*, I, 1-26), 12; and Justinian, *Novellae* (= *Corpus juris civilis*, III), 137.2.

104.Regarding the election and ordination of John of Tella, Elias, *Vita Iohannis episcopi Tellae*, 50-55; and Menze, "Jacob of Sarug," 426-427.

105.Honigmann, *Évêques*, 142-153.

106.The frequency of such defections among the Severan episcopate is difficult to gauge with surety, since anti-Chalcedonian authors appear to have been understandably keen to avoid discussing the episode which belied the dominant narrative of ecclesiastical unity and orthodox resistance in the face of imperial persecution – Brock, "Conversations," 117-118.

ments – letters of proxy – provided a canon legal framework for the ordinations performed in bishoprics which had previously been occupied by another member of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate or – as in the case of Syria II – had been subject to the authority of an anti-Chalcedonian metropolitan, who was then in a position formally to sanction others to ordain on their behalf.[107] In areas such as the three Palestinian provinces, where the movement had no episcopal or metropolitan presence prior to 518, the exilic episcopate appears to have relied on the more general appeals to the needs of the orthodox and the overarching jurisdiction of Severus as patriarch in order to vindicate the legitimacy of their ordinations. With the demise of the Severan episcopate and the progressive intertwining of its concerns with those of the Egyptian church, the reliance of any new extra-territorial ordainers upon these extra-judicial sources of legitimacy seems certain to have increased.

First, because the decline of the Severan episcopate meant that the territory which could be covered by bilateral proxy agreements was effectively reduced – since in effect fewer anti-Chalcedonian bishops meant that there were fewer bishoprics which could be covered by the established system of jurisdictional licensing. It is possible that this problem was to some extent offset through some unattested process of secondary licensing through which surviving members of the Severan episcopate who had previously been authorized to perform ordinations for the territories of former colleagues might then provide an umbrella license for other bishops to ordain both for the authorizing bishop's territory as well as those of his now deceased colleagues whose licenses he held. If, however, such a practice ever existed it is wholly unattested. More firmly attested is the role played by the patriarchs Theodo-

107. Honigmann, *Évêques*, 54-65.

sius of Alexandria and Anthimus of Constantinople, as well as by the metropolitan Constantine of Laodicea – who had assumed a quasi-patriarchal role within the Severan church after 538 –, in providing authorization and direction for the activities of bishops who performed ordinations for the church in *Oriens*. No documentation comparable to Severus' early correspondence with the archimandrite John and John survives from this period, upon which basis it is possible to produce a specific picture of the rationale or precise apparatus by which this licensing took place. However, the evidence for the close administrative involvement of these three hierarchs in the consecratory missions of John of Hephaestopolis and Jacob Baradaeus nonetheless suggests that they had come to play a role in commissioning and authorizing those missions.

Second, the shift towards less territorialized forms of legitimacy was also likely prompted by the increased reliance of the movement upon the administrative and sacramental offices of bishops who had been elected to sees outside of the patriarchate and thus possessed no direct claim to jurisdictional authority in *Oriens*. Licensed by the residue of the Severan episcopate, including the venerable Constantine of Laodicea, as well as the surviving patriarchs Theodosius of Alexandria and Anthimus of Constantinople, such ordainers in many cases could have claimed only a limited jurisdictional mandate. The implications of these developments were already embodied in the mission of John of Hephaestopolis – the first and by far the best attested of the bishops in John of Ephesus' chain of ordainers connecting the consecratory mission of John of Tella with that of Jacob Baradaeus.

In his biography, John of Ephesus is assiduous in presenting John of Hephaestopolis as the continuator of the ministry of John of Tella. The parallel between the two bishops is underscored through a series of explicit inter

references. Thus, in a coda to the "Life of John of Tella," John of Ephesus anticipates and joins the "Life of John of Hephaestopolis" by referring to the Egyptian bishop as the divinely sent continuator of the mission of John of Tella – literally a second John:

> For God, who saw the distress, did not turn away according to his mercies from the slight refreshment of his church, although in distant provinces, [which] he imparted by means of another John, who in truth is also the John, of whom also we have determined to compose a separate history, in order that we should not bring the account to a great length.[108]

The comparison is also echoed in the coda to the "Life of John of Hephaestopolis," in which the bishop is again likened unto a second John of Tella:

> For these things pertaining to the memory of these holy and zealous and valiant men in contests on behalf of religion, the first was John and the second was again this John, we have delivered [them] to the record of history.[109]

This linking of the two homonymous bishops is finally reflected in a statement made in the following "Life of Thomas of Damascus" – in which the eponymous subject of that work is held up as a third bishop in the model of John of Tella and John of Hephaestopolis.[110] The result is the creation of a strong and explicit twinning of the two lives.

Beyond the superficial parallelism constructed by these statements, however, the pairing of the two *vitae* extends to a more pervasive modeling of the structure and details of the biographies of John of Tella and John of Hephaestopolis. Both bishops, ascetics and zealous champions of anti-Chalcedonian orthodoxy, are cast as having been reluctantly thrust into their role as saviors of the movement. Both are depicted as having resisted and overcome the timidity of the larger episcopate – which had been intimidated into inaction by the threat of imperial persecution – in order to extend a sacramental hand

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108. John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXIV, 323.

109. John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXV, 338.

110. John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXVI, 338-339; see, passage quoted below.

of ordination, following what in each case is described as a collapse of the consecratory structures of the anti-Chalcedonian church. Both bishops are then described as having assumed the sole burden of supplying clergy to the church. Some of these parallels doubtless arose mimetically through the description of two individuals with broadly similar characteristics and biographies; both bishops were almost certainly practicing ascetics prior to their ordinations and both can safely be said to have been active, even prolific, consecrators while in exile. A number of the features shared by the lives cannot, however, be ascribed to mimesis alone, but clearly reflect a shared and thoroughly artificial literary patterning, a *typos* of the lone bishop-ordainer. To this *typos* belong those elements of the portrait which emphasized the saints' heroic singularity as an ordainer – *viz.*, the reluctance or refusal of other bishops to ordain as well as the insistence that each bishop acted throughout his ministry as the sole source of ordinations within the church. Although the *prima facie* exclusion of these elements would be justified based solely upon the evident literary patterning, in the case of John of Hephaestopolis, there is sufficient contextual evidence to demonstrate that he neither acted alone or in defiance of other members of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate.

A native of Palestine, John is described in the life as having begun his ecclesiastical career as an inmate in the monastery of Peter the Iberian. After the expulsion of his convent, John – with the rest of the brotherhood – resettled in the region of Alexandria, where he became known to the patriarch Theodosius, who ordained him to the see of Hephaestopolis.[111] Towards the

111.John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXV, 325; *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, 191-204; Brooks, "Dates," 497; Davis, "Early Coptic Papacy," 101-105; Hardy, E. R. (1968), "The Egyptian Policy of Justinian," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 22, 32-34; and Maspero, *Histoire*, pg. 109-131; here, it is necessary to distinguish the anti-Chalcedonian episcopal faction in Egypt which accepted Theodosius as the legitimate patriarch of Alexandria and followed him into exile in 536, from those bishops – known conventionally as Gaianites – who recognized the claim of

end of 536, the members of the Egyptian episcopate were expelled from their sees, following the fall of Theodosius, and were transported to the region of Constantinople and confined in the fortress of Dercus in Thrace, along with roughly three hundred anti-Chalcedonian clergy and ascetics.[112] With the extinction of the episcopate in the provinces, the bishops in Thrace become the sole potential source of anti-Chalcedonian ordination within the empire. However, despite the mounting entreaties of the waves of petitioners who came to Constantinople seeking ordinations, the bishops closely guarded and moved by the fear of imperial retribution demurred:

> While they were thus there [*i.e.*, the anti-Chalcedonian bishop in Thrace], in every place the believers who were everywhere were also afflicted. They were coming to the royal city from every quarter, first because of the persecutions which were in every region, and second for the sake of ordination, since in the whole of the Roman Empire until the border of the Persians, there was not a single man among the faithful to extend the hand [of ordination]. and many therefore were coming to the holy men in Thrace, complaining and exhibiting their grief. Not even there, however, were they heard, as in truth it was impossible to perform an ordination there and live, when the enemy heard [of it].[113]

Alone among his compatriots, John of Hephaestopolis responded to the entreaties of the faithful and moved covertly to defy both the imperial injunction against anti-Chalcedonian ordinations as well as the timidity of his fellow exiles. Pleading ill-health, he obtained release to seek treatment in Constantinople, where – provisioned by the empress Theodora – he began an *ad hoc* mission to meet the sacramental needs of those who presented themselves.[114] His

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the Julianist Gaianus – Kofsky, "Julianism," 252-255. Additionally, that at least some of the members of the Severan episcopate may have remained in Egypt after 536 is suggested by the case of Severus of Antioch, who is known to have died there in 538.

112.John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXV, 325-327; here, as elsewhere in the *Lives*, John of Ephesus evidences a marked degree of chronological imprecision, asserting that prior to his exile John of Hephaestopolis had occupied his see for a "period of such and such a number of years." Brooks, "John of Ephesus (II)," *PO*. XVIII.4, 527 n. 5, has correctly noted that since John of Hephaestopolis was appointed by Theodosius of Alexandria – who succeeded the patriarch Timothy in February 535, taking possession of the see in July or August of that year – and followed him into exile in November or December of 536, the total period of his episcopacy in Egypt cannot have exceeded one and one-half years.

113.John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXV, 327.

114.John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXV, 327-329.

activities, however, brought John of Hephaestopolis into conflict with other members of the episcopal enclave in Thrace. Impelled by trepidation, this faction acted first to dissuade and then to denounce the saint – through a series of confrontations culminating in an unsuccessful attempt to expel him from the city.[115] In the wake of these confrontations, John of Hephaestopolis resolved to carry his consecratory mission to the Severan communities in the provinces.[116] This resolution was to lead to three successive forays into Asia Minor, the Levant, and Egypt. In the first of these voyages, the bishop traversed the diocese of *Asiana*, ordaining among the monastic communities of Lydia and Asia, before ultimately crossing into *Oriens* as far as the province of Cilicia, where news of his arrival provoked an attempt to apprehend him by local Chalcedonian officials in Tarsus. Evading capture, he then returned to Constantinople undetected, after an absence of two months.[117] There, despite the lobbying efforts of the patriarch of Antioch, John of Hephaestopolis managed again to avoid imperial censure, before setting out on a second expedition on the pretext of visiting hot springs for his health. Traveling in large part by sea, "he went out and passed among all of the islands along the shores of the sea and in its midst, as far as Cyprus, and he visited the believers, and as far as Caesarea."[118] John of Hephaestopolis' third voyage – the last recorded

115.John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXV, 329-332.

116.John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXV, 332-333.

117.John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXV, 333-334.

118.John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXV, 335; here, the route implied by this statement is open to some interpretation. Brooks, "John of Ephesus (II)," *PO* 18.4, 537 n. 2, has interpreted the phrase "sea coast [ܫܛܐ ܕܝܡܐ]" as referring to Phoenicia Maritima. This reading, however, although not impossible, does seem an unnecessary imposition on the Syriac text, which appears instead to be referring to two categories of island – *i.e.*, those near the coast of the mainland and those further out to sea: "ܫܛܐ ܕܝܡܐ ܘܫܛܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܝܣܛܪ." Read this way, the phrase would seem more natural to refer to the province of Insulae, which included the islands of Rhodes and Chios, where John of Hephaestopolis is known to have ordained, during his third consecratory tour of the provinces – John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXV, 335-337.

in the *vita* – is stated to have taken place "roughly six years" after his first sojourn through Asia Minor. Eliding initial stages of this perambulation, the narrative takes up from the encounter between the bishop ordainer and John of Ephesus – then traveling from Alexandria to Constantinople – on the island of Rhodes, from which they proceeded together through *Asiana* to Tralles, at which point they parted, and John of Hephaestopolis journeyed on to Chios, Alexandria, and Palestine, before ultimately returning to Constantinople. In the capital, he again resumed his original mission, consecrating those, who presented themselves for ordination.[119]

The nature of the available evidence precludes the reconstruction of an exact chronology of the activities of John of Hephaestopolis in Constantinople, *Asiana*, and *Oriens*, though it remains possible to set a firm *terminus post quem* for his mission. Since he did not start ordaining remotely until after his deposition and transportation to Thrace, the beginning of his remote ordinations may with confidence be dated to no earlier than late 536 or more likely to 537 – which agrees with the assertion that he started after the arrest of John of Tella. Precisely how much time elapsed between John of Hephaestopolis' decision to begin ordaining in Constantinople and his first tour of the provinces cannot be directly evidenced. Honigmann, however, has constructed a tenuous, circumstantial argument in favor of dating the first voyage

119.John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXV, 335-337; the route taken by John of Hephaestopolis between Rhodes and Tralles, although not recorded in the life, may perhaps be reconstructed from John of Ephesus' account of the outbreak of the plague and his arrival in the region – pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, *Chronicle*, III, 87; van Ginkel, *John of Ephesus*, 30, 60, and 88-89. The circuitousness of this route – which even if it were to be re-ordered and rationalized to create a more linear progression, would still have crossed three dioceses, traversing much of southern, central, and western Anatolia – is difficult to reconcile with the goal articulated in the voice of the passage's narrator of traveling from Alexandria to Constantinople. It becomes, however, more comprehensible if viewed as a missionary circuit intended to bring those traversing it into contact with as much of the anti-Chalcedonian hinterland in Anatolia as possible.

to 537-538, based upon a supposed relation to the synod convened by the patriarch Ephrem to mark the re-dedication of the round church in Antioch.[120] In like fashion, John of Ephesus provides no concrete evidence upon which to base a dating of the second voyage, though he does state that the third took place "roughly six years [ܫܬ ܫܢ̈ܝ̈ܢ ܟܕ̈ܡܝ̈ܬ]" after the first. Assuming that this number is both correct and exact, this would give an early date of 542 or 543 for the journey, and a possible later date of 544.[121] Already in his edition of the *Lives*, however, Brooks questioned the accuracy of the calculation, suggesting that it represented an instance of the hagiographer's persistent chronological imprecision. Brooks, instead, posited a date of 541 for the episode – based upon the assumption that John of Hephaestopolis' mission must have come to an end prior to the ordination of Jacob Baradaeus and Theodore of Arabia in 542.[122] Although in many ways plausible, this argument is nonetheless problematic – ignoring as it does both the narrative structure and *topoi* of the *Lives* as well as the larger body of available evidence.[123] Already, van Ginkel has observed the weakness of Brooks' argument and advanced 542 as the most likely date for the encounter between John of Ephesus and John of Hephaestopolis and thus for the third voyage of the latter among the provinces. Van Ginkel bases his assertion on both the presumed accuracy of the six year figure quoted in the life as well as the date given by John of Ephesus – in the now inex-

120. Honigmann, *Évêques*, 166; the argument, however, is not conclusive, relying as it does upon a series of largely unsupported assumptions, so that the date, though not implausible, should nonetheless be treated as essentially more than speculative.

121. John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXV, 335-336.

122. Brooks, "John of Ephesus (I)," *PO* 17.1, v; and idem, "John of Ephesus (II)," *PO* 18.4, 336 n. 1; this dating scheme is followed by Honigmann, *Évêques*, 167, though without specific reference to Brooks.

123. *N.b.*, the claim that Jacob Baradaeus and Theodore of Arabia were likewise ordained at a period in which no other bishops were actively ordaining in the church is examined in further detail below.

tant second part of the *Historiae ecclesiasticae* – for the beginning of his own imperially sanctioned mission to convert pagans in Asia.[124] A date of 542 is also consistent with John of Ephesus' attested presence in the region. According to the author's own fragmentary account of the outbreak of the plague in the early fall of 541 – redacted versions transmitted in the chronicles of pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre and Michael the Syrian – John of Ephesus was in Alexandria at the time of the outbreak of the plague in the region of that city. Leaving Alexandria, the historian then proceeded to Constantinople along a circuitous route through Palestine, Mesopotamia, Cilicia, Mysia, Syria, Iconium, Bithynia, Asia, Galatia, and Cappadocia, pursued by the rapidly spreading pestilence. Based upon what else is known about the chronology of the plague, this route would have placed John of Ephesus at about the right point in his itinerary to rendezvous with John of Hephaestopolis in perhaps the summer of 542.[125] The life therefore may be seen to document John of Hephaestopolis' activities as an extra-territorial ordainer only during the period between roughly 537 and 542.

It is, however, not clear that this represented the whole period in which the bishop was active as an extra-territorial ordainer within the church. The life does not end with the death of the bishop, but concludes with a vague and encomiastic assertion of his ascetic virtues and heroic labors for the

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124.pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, *Chronicle*, III, 77; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, IX.24, 227-228; Van Ginkel, *John of Ephesus*, 30; although Menze, *Justinian*, 259 and 561, similarly dates the third voyage of John of Hephaestopolis by reference to the chronicle, he has nevertheless adopted a more conservative position, dating the encounter between the two to 541/542. *N.b.*, alternative dates for the beginning of the hagiographer's mission occur in John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.II.44; and idem, *LES*, XLVII, 478-479 – which date it to 535/536 and 536/537 respectively.

125.pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, *Chronicle*, III, 79-87; and Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, IX.28; van Ginkel, *John of Ephesus*, 88-89; and Stathakopoulos, D. C. (2004), *Famine and Pestilence in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Empire: a Systematic Survey of Subsistence Crises and Epidemics*, (Aldershot), 113-115.

sustenance of the orthodox church, ostensibly in order to justify the inclusion of the *vita* as part of the *Lives*.[126] There is no explicit indication that John of Hephaestopolis ceased ordaining at any point following his return to Constantinople – only that upon arriving in the city, the bishop was confronted by a crowd of ordination seekers who had been awaiting his return.[127] Neither does John of Ephesus specifically state that the third voyage recorded in the life was in fact John of Hephaestopolis' last foray outside of Constantinople. It remains thus entirely conceivable that the bishop continued ordaining both in the capital and on subsequent tours of the provinces well after 542, although he disappears precipitously from the historical record after that point. Certainly, there is – as van Ginkel has already suggested – no reason to suppose that John of Hephaestopolis would have stopped ordaining after the ordination of Jacob Baradaeus and Theodore of Arabia.[128] It would have remained in the interest of the Severan church to have had as many active ordainers as was practically possible, so that it is difficult to imagine that the church would have sought to discourage John of Hephaestopolis from ordaining, particularly at a time when the episcopate was expanding for the first time since 522.

With respect to the question of territorial authorization, John of Ephesus is virtually silent, though a straightforward reading of the life would tend to suggest that during the initial phases of his ministry the bishop of Hephaestopolis acted unilaterally and without soliciting the consent or formal li-

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126.John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXV, 337-338; *cf.*, ibid, XXIV, 323-324; Ashbrook Harvey, *Asceticism*, 103-104, has already written regarding the author's evident apprehension over the inclusion of the life, which she regarded as an attempt at apologia, stemming from his awareness that in recounting the activities of the bishop he was "straying from his professed intentions and covering territory more appropriate for his *Ecclesiastical History*."

127.John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXV, 337.

128.van Ginkel, *John of Ephesus*, 30 n. 33.

censing of the assembled episcopate in Constantinople. In fact, the hagiographer depicts his decision to begin ordaining as having resulted in a series of dramatic, even pointedly hostile, confrontations between John of Hephaestopolis and an anonymous bloc of anti-Chalcedonian bishops and clergy.[129] Echoing the beginning of his "Life of John of Tella" – John of Ephesus emphasizes the opposition of other members of the movement to an initiative which they feared would provoke the prosecutorial ire of the imperial state. However, whereas in the prior life, the initial reservations of the Syrian bishops are depicted as having melted away once it was made clear that John of Tella alone would bear the onus and hazard of defying the empire, resistance among other anti-Chalcedonian bishops to the mission of John of Hephaestopolis is described as having been both more persistent and malevolent. Thus, John of Ephesus claims that the saint's early efforts to ordain clergy in Constantinople were met with jealous hostility – which the hagiographer likens to the enmity of Cain towards Abel – from other members of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate, who accused him of having laid them open to persecution and denounced him in letters to Theodosius of Alexandria. Although conscious of John of Hephaestopolis' action, the patriarch is presented as having nonetheless dismissed the allegations, and thus as having extended his tac-

129.John of Ephesus describes the anti-Chalcedonian opposition to John of Hephaestopolis in two separate occasions within the life. In the first instance, John of Ephesus *LES*, XXV, 329, refers vaguely to hostility to John of Hephaestopolis as having grown "in many who were inside and not foreigners" to the movement. In the second episode, the hagiographer, ibid, 330, provides a slightly more specific notice, when he states that, "he also made hostile towards him those who were believers, members of his company, some among them were even bishops." Here, the near total anonymity of this recalcitrant faction neatly parallels vagueness with which the bishops, who had supposedly resisted earlier calls to ordain clergy for the exilic community, are described in the "Life of John of Tella" – *LES*, XXIV, 313-316. In each cases, the hagiographer is able to stress the unique heroism of his protagonists, while avoiding the potentially fraught political consequences of implicating individual bishops, by simply casting the supposed opposition as an undifferentiated bloc – creating a faceless and readily demonized other.

it consent to the bishop's undertaking.[130] Thus unable to deter or restrain the bishop by intramural means, the members of the anonymous opposition next contrived to deceive him into quitting the city, thereby removing from them the liability of any association with his actions. Approaching the empress, the schemers petitioned her that John of Hephaestopolis be permitted to leave the city. Then, brandishing the order of consent, which had been obtained from Theodora, the conspirators confronted the bishop, claiming it was a writ banishing him from the city on pain of death. Unconvinced of the ruse and unafraid of death, John of Hephaestopolis, however, refused to accept exile and went instead to the palace, where he confronted the emperor and empress – accusing them of having directed a persecution against the orthodox church – and thereby exposing the plot against him. Subsequently, in a final demonstration of the bishop's transcendent saintliness, the life describes John of Hephaestopolis' intercession with the empress to save his persecutors from a justly earned death sentence.[131] The product of the portrait systematically painted by John of Ephesus is thus a picture of John of Hephaestopolis as a lone actor, actively defying the expressed will of much of the rest of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate in Constantinople. It is a picture, however, which is starkly at odds with the evidence provided by the limited corpus of documentary sources.

It is perfectly conceivable, of course, that some of the anti-Chalcedonian bishops in Constantinople would have been less than sanguine about the prospects for the success of John of Hephaestopolis' mission. Summarizing the evidence offered by the *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, Menze has suggested that the

130. John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXV, 329-330.

131. John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXV, 330-332.

situation described by John of Ephesus, in which anti-Chalcedonian ascetics were housed in the palace of Hormisdas and the bishops incarcerated in Thrace, reflected a deliberate imperial policy of sacramental segregation, designed to prevent anti-Chalcedonian laity and monastics from accessing members of the episcopate and thus from accessing sacramental ordination.[132] Thus confined and scrutinized, the bishops could well have feared that any effort to conduct ordination was bound to be detected and once detected might expose both themselves and the movement to further persecution. Whether or not the bishops did in fact harbor such apprehensions or, indeed, had reason to is unknowable – certainly John of Ephesus would have had his reader so believe.[133] What is relatively clear, however, is that contrary to the account offered by the *Lives* neither the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate as a whole nor its leaders took systematic steps to prevent John of Hephaestopolis from pursuing his consecratory mission. On the contrary, what evidence does exist in the extant documentary sources suggests that rather than seeking to hinder John of Hephaestopolis or to distance themselves from his activities, the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate and its leaders both supported and to some extent even directed his extra-territorial ordinations.

Notwithstanding the testimony of the life itself, there is no evidence to suggest that the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate in Constantinople took any

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132.John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXV, 326-335 and XLVII, 474-482; and Menze, *Justinian*, 223-225.

133.As has already been noted, a non-specific fear of exciting persecution is stated in both the "Life of John of Tella" and "John of Hephaestopolis" as the reason for which the majority of the exiled episcopate are supposed to have refused to ordain – John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXIV, 313-316 and XXV, 329-330. Although the claim is not *per se* implausible, it is difficult to find evidence for a correlation between escalations in the church's consecratory practice and the outbreak of persecutions, either local or systematic, which would have justified such apprehensions. However, a more careful survey of the evidence than is here possible is required to demonstrate the point conclusively.

positive steps to suppress or prevent its members from performing ordinations, during the period between 537 and 542. Some attempt was later made by Theodosius of Alexandria, in a letter written between 556 and 566, to regulate the structure and practice of anti-Chalcedonian worship in the city of Constantinople – including the issuance of a prohibition on the establishment of a new congregation, ܟܢܫܝܐ ܚܕܬܐ, in the city.[134] However, the canons which he issued were seemingly intended to prevent schisms and lessen the risk of confrontation with the imperial church which might have resulted from the unlicensed proliferation of anti-Chalcedonian worship sites within the capital, as such they do not appear to have been specifically intended to restrict the activities of the church outside of Constantinople.[135] Neither do the rather modest prohibitions erected by Theodosius posit any restrictions on the actions of anti-Chalcedonian bishops in the city, but are instead aimed exclusively at controlling the circulation and activities of the sub-episcopal clergy.[136] Even assuming, then, that the canons of Theodosius did reflect the continuation of earlier legislative efforts to restrain the celebration of the anti-Chalcedonian sacraments in the imperial capital, they can hardly be read as evidence of a concerted effort by the anti-Chalcedonian hierarchy to prohibit

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134.van Roey and Allen, *Monophysite Texts*, 140-143.

135.Theodosius of Alexandria, "Canonical Letter" (= *MT*, II.2.iv, 255-259), 1-5; and van Roey and Allen, *Monophysite Texts*, 143.

136.It is perhaps significant, here, that the wording of the prohibition against the creation of new sacramental communities within the city does not contain an injunction against the consecration of new altars, an act which could only be performed by a bishop – Theodosius of Alexandria, "Canonical Letter" (= *MT*, II.2.iv, 255-259), 1: "Henceforth, no one shall presumptuously establish another congregation. Neither shall anyone among those which were previously established receive among them another minister, except temporary in the manner of the reception of a traveller, until that brother has been individually examined and those of the congregation have receive permission on with respect to this." According to John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXV, 329, John of Hephaestopolis, while still in Constantinople, had anointed "many altars," which were then sent out for use in the dioceses, as well as establishing an altar within the city. Had Theodosius previously issued a more severe ban on the consecration of new altars – in response to John of Hephaestopolis' activities – then it is likely, though not inevitable, that this would have been reflected in the later canon.

the ordination of new clergy – particularly clergy intended to service communities in the provinces.

The clearest evidence that John of Hephaestopolis was, in fact, acting throughout the period of his peripatetic mission with the full knowledge and apparent support of the anti-Chalcedonian hierarchy is offered by a series of canonical letters addressed to various monastic leaders located throughout the bishop's sphere of activity. Perhaps the earliest of these – the "Canons to Paul and Paul" and the "Letter to Aba Marcus the Isaurian" – are addressed to archimandrites in Isauria and Cilicia.[137] Arguing that both letters were composed in the episcopal circle around Constantine of Laodicea, sometime after 535, Honigmann has suggested somewhat speculatively that they were delivered by John during his first voyage, when he is supposed to have advanced through both provinces before returning to Constantinople.[138] Less ambiguous evidence, however, is offered by a third letter, which was evidently written during the course of his second voyage and sent by John, who was then on Cyprus, to a group of five named archimandrites and the rest of those resident in *Oriens*. In the letter, John assumes an active role in transmitting a set of canons, which had been issued by Constantine of Laodicea and the other anti-Chalcedonian bishops gathered in Constantinople in response to a request from the archimandrites for guidance regarding the reception of Chalcedonian clergy.[139] Most significant, however, is the claim made in the

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137."Canons to Paul and Paul" (= *Synodicon*, XXII, 176-178); and Constantine of Laodicea, "Letter to Aba Marcus the Isaurian" (= *Synodicon*, XXIII, 178-179).

138.Honigmann, *Évêques*, 166.

139.John of Hephaestopolis, "Letter" (= Appendix IV), fol. 242a-243a; and Honigmann, *Évêques*, 166d; the version of the letter preserved in Paris MS Syriaque 62 also records the subscription of seven evidently separate archimandrites Sotericus, Isaac, Eusebius, Mara, John, Cyricus, and Georges – ibid, fol. 243a – all of whom were reportedly resident in Gubrin, meaning presumably the village of Beth Gubrin in Palestina I, which was later the site of a Jacobite synod, in 807/808 AD, Brock et al. eds., *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary*, 347.

rubric accompanying the text that John had been ordered to Cyprus to attend to the matter by the patriarchs Theodosius of Alexandria and Anthimus of Constantinople, and the metropolitan Constantine of Laodicea:

> The letter which was sent by John, the Egyptian bishop, from the island of Cyprus to the God loving archimandrites who are in *Oriens*, after these excellent monks had petitioned papa Theodosius of Alexandria, the patriarch Mar Anthimus, and the metropolitan Mar Constantine about those clerics who were turning from the synod of Chalcedon, and he, the bishop John the Egyptian, was sent by them to Cyprus on account of this matter.[140]

The veracity of this version of events is generally confirmed by John's own acknowledgement, in the text of the letter, that he was acting as he had been ordered to "by those pious fathers who are in Constantinople."[141] Although neither notice pertains specifically to the actions of the bishop as an ordainer, the letter nonetheless provides clear and indisputable evidence for active coordination between John and the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate and hierarchy in Constantinople. Evidence which, if the argument advanced by Honigmann regarding the letters to the archimandrites in Cilicia and Isauria is also accepted, would at the very least seem to point to the sustained and permissive involvement of that hierarchy in the missionary activity of the bishop of Hephaestopolis, from as early as 537. Even if it is rejected, the third letter to the archimandrites in *Oriens* still contradicts John of Ephesus' narrative *vis-à-vis* the second and third voyages.

According to John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXV, 335-337, John of Hephaestopolis is supposed to have visited the province during both his second and third voyages, on either of which occasions he could have circulated canons. If this reconstruction is correct, then it would suggest that beyond conveying a single letter to an individual set of recipients John of Hephaestopolis had been charged with the larger responsibility of communicating the directive of the episcopate in Constantinople to the anti-Chalcedonian communities in Anatolia, *Oriens*, and *Aegyptus*. More broadly, see chapter, II.1.a., 127 n. 40, for a discussion of the position of the canons relative to the evolving debate over the reception of heretical Chalcedonian clergy.

140. John of Hephaestopolis, "Letter" (= Appendix IV), fol. 242a.

141. John of Hephaestopolis, "Letter" (= Appendix IV), fol. 243a.

A more plausible reading of the evidence, however, would be to suggest that the exilic hierarchy was involved in sanctioning – and to some extent at least in coordinating – the consecratory activities of John of Hephaestopolis from the beginning of his time in Thrace. Such a conclusion is perhaps even supported by the "Life of John of Hephaestopolis" itself. In the life, John of Ephesus depicts Theodosius of Alexandria as having granted his tacit consent to the bishop's early activities in Constantinople, when he refused to chastise or restrain John of Hephaestopolis after he had begun ordaining in Constantinople, despite protests from among the ranks of the exiled episcopate.[142] Reading the hagiographer's account of the episode as essentially accurate, Menze has argued that rather than giving his consent, the patriarch's response to the "moral dilemma" of choosing between meeting the sacramental needs of the faithful and avoiding further persecution, instead suggested that he had adopted a pose "worthy of Pontius Pilate" and washed his hands of any involvement in the potentially disastrous affair.[143] Such a reading, however, is bizarrely credulous in its acceptance of reported speech. It is also at fundamental odds with the evidence for the close involvement of Theodosius and the other members of the anti-Chalcedonian hierarchy in sanctioning and directing John of Hephaestopolis' later peripatetic missions outside of Constantinople. While it would be too much to suggest that Theodosius had immediately extended to John of Hephaestopolis his fulsome and unqualified endorsement in 537, the documentary evidence does tend to substantiate the supposition that in reality John of Ephesus – following the pattern already observed – is more likely to have downplayed the level of the patriarch's support

142.John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXV, 330.

143.Menze, *Justinian*, 225; *cf.*, Ashbrook Harvey, *Asceticism*, 104.

in order to accommodate his narrative of the bishop as a heroic confessor and ordainer, valiantly resisting both heretical persecution and orthodox complacency. Even in pursuit of this rhetorical end, however, John of Ephesus, writing in the late 560s, could hardly have depicted his protagonist as having been in open conflict with the patriarch, who had by then led the church for roughly three decades and whose writings were synonymous with the anti-tritheist orthodoxy to which John Ephesus was himself allied.[144] To do so would almost certainly have redounded negatively on the portrait of John of Hephaestopolis. In response to the constraint which this placed upon his literary vision of the saint as a lone ordainer, John of Ephesus appears to have elected to cast Theodosius as a withdrawn, though ultimately approving figure, rather than one actively opposed to the consecratory undertakings of John of Hephaestopolis. A similar set of concerns may also have influenced the depiction of Severus of Antioch in the "Life of John of Tella," which portrays the patriarch as a distant legitimizing figure, who was not part of the timorous block of bishops who initially opposed ordaining new clergy, but who nonetheless took no proactive action to remedy the problem of providing ordinations.

Equally specious, is the impression created by the hagiographer that John of Hephaestopolis operated as the sole active ordainer in the whole of the anti-Chalcedonian church between 537 and 542. At several points throughout the life, John of Ephesus both intimates and specifically asserts that John of Hephaestopolis was the only bishop pursuing an active consecratory mission both in Constantinople and the provinces of Asia Minor and

144.See, chapter I.3, 165-201, for references and further discussion pertaining to Theodosius and confessional politics of the tritheist controversy, and chapter II.4.b., 226-242, for an exposition of John of Ephesus' other efforts to project ecclesiastical unity in the *Lives*.

Oriens.[145] A *prima facie* argument, however, can be made regarding the unreliability of this claim at least in respect to the episcopal community in the imperial capital. While it is conceivable that John of Hephaestopolis was in fact the first anti-Chalcedonian bishop to begin ordaining clergy, after the transportation of the episcopate to Constantinople, there is no reason to suppose that he was the only ordainer active during the period.

I.1.f., Thomas, Thomas, and Cyrus

Although only poorly attested, evidence survives for at least three other ordainers who were active at the same time as John of Hephaestopolis and perhaps in some cases even simultaneously with John of Tella. Scattered in various places, these bishops collectively represented the composite and evolving nature of sacramental and jurisdictional authority in the exilic church during the twilight of the Severan episcopate. Thomas of Damascus and Thomas of Germanicia – resident in Constantinople and eastern Roman Mesopotamia – were both members of the episcopate, which had fled the imposition of the *libellus* in 518-522, while the enigmatic bishop Cyrus was a member of the nascent anti-Chalcedonian episcopate in the Sasanian Empire. As such, their relationship to jurisdictional licensing as well as their perceived legitimacy as ordainers appears to have varied, providing some indication of the evolution and limits of the established mechanisms for sanctioning extra-

145.John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXV, 327; that John of Hephaestopolis remained the sole active ordainer in Constantinople as late as *c.* 542 is evidently confirmed by an explicit, though unfortunately lacunate notice, which following the conclusion of his third voyage – John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXV, 337: "... while all of the time that he was outside [of Constantinople], those who were coming to the city were distressed and were looking for him as a good hope and the granter of their requests, he also returned and came, and found many who were in destress and awaiting him – since although there were many others [*i.e.*, bishops] in the city, there was altogether no one to extend his hand on account of his fear."

territorial ordinations. Like John of Hephaestopolis, these bishops served as a bridge between the mission of the early exilic church and the period of episcopal renewal ushered in by the ordination of Jacob Baradaeus and Theodore of Arabia, in 542.

Perhaps the most enigmatic of the three is the figure of the eastern bishop Cyrus. According to pseudo-Zachariah, whose account provides the most detailed description of his activities, Cyrus – who is identified in the later account of Gregory bar Hebraeus as the bishop of Singara in northern Sasanian Mesopotamia – assumed the role of bishop ordainer for the anti-Chalcedonian church in *Oriens* during the period between the first and eighth indictional years, that is most reasonably between 537/538 and 544/545. This interval corresponds almost exactly to the period between the arrest and death of John of Tella and the consecration of Jacob Baradaeus. During this epoch, the dwindling ranks of the Severan episcopate were gathered in Constantinople, leaving the church within the diocese dependent for the provision of its clergy, upon remote ordinations and those conducted by peripatetic consecrators, such as John of Hephaestopolis. It was, then, in response to the need created by the lack of proximate ordainers that Cyrus is supposed by pseudo-Zachariah to have begun remotely consecrating priests for churches within the Roman empire, thus providing anti-Chalcedonian communities in the neighboring provinces with a more immediate and persistent source of ordinations than the bishops in Constantinople.[146]

Despite the witness of pseudo-Zachariah and bar Hebraeus, however, some modern scholars have expressed skepticism regarding the evidence for

146.pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, *Chronicle*, X.12; Gregory bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, I.45, 217; and Honigmann, *Évêques*, 172.

Cyrus' mission in Singara. Most radically perhaps, P. Peeters, in the introduction to his edition of the Arabic *vita* of 'Abd al-Masih, went so far as to argue against the very reality of Cyrus, suggesting that the notice in bar Hebraeus had resulted from "*une déformation légendaire*" of the biography of John of Tella.[147] Writing without apparent knowledge of the *Chronicle* of pseudo-Zachariah, Peeters incorrectly assumed that the *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum* of bar Hebraeus provided the sole witness to the life and works of Cyrus, leading him to suppose that the bishop was the creation or confusion of the later medieval tradition. In justification of this position, Peeters constructs a circumstantial argument around both the silence of the contemporary hagiographic tradition and what he regarded as the thorough and effective program of suppression directed against the anti-Chalcedonian church during the patriarchate of Ephrem of Amida. Central to his contention is the description offered by Elias, in the *Vita Johannis episcopi Tellae*, of the efforts undertaken by the imperial state to apprehend John of Tella, which according to the hagiographer culminated in a winter time expedition by a joint force of Roman and Persian soldiers to the "mountain called Singar."[148] Such an aggressive policy, Peeters has contended, would have been rendered "*trop naïf, si derrière l'évêque de Tella, on avait dû laisser en territoire perse, un évêque de Singar pour continuer exactement le même ouvrage*," and thus argues against the historical reality of Cyrus' mission. Simultaneously, he has also noted that Elias – whom Peeters treats as offering a

147.Peeters, P. (1926), "La Passion arabe de S. 'Abd al-Masîh," *Analecta Bollandiana* 44, 285; Fiey, J. (1974), "Les Diocèses du «maphrianat» syrien 629: II. Les Diocèses du catholicat existant en 629," *Parole de l'orient* V.2, 332-334, although adopting a more measured position than Peeters, remains tentative about the evidence surrounding Cyrus, noting that it is not until the early sixth century that incontestable evidence emerges for a bishop of Singara.

148.Elias, *Vita Johannis episcopi Tellae*, 66-70.

comprehensive eye-witness account of the episode – makes no reference to the presence of another anti-Chalcedonian bishop in the vicinity of Singara.[149]

However, Peeters' argument reflects a selective and ultimately distorted reading of the available source material. The problems attendant upon his circumscribed approach to the sources are manifested most particularly in the degree to which his argument is contingent upon a demonstration that Cyrus could not have been bishop of Singara – a claim which is only present in the account of bar Hebraeus and thus could have been the product of a later tradition or interpolation. Even discounting the possibility that Cyrus occupied another see, the argument put forward by Peeters for the absence of a local anti-Chalcedonian bishop of Singara rests on a profound over interpretation of the evidence offered in the *Vita*. Specifically, Peeters assumed that in laying out his account of the arrest and deportation of John of Tella from Singara, Elias would have been concerned to create an accurate and complete record of the episode and its immediate historical context. While it has been argued above that the *Vita* provides a comparatively reliable witness to the life of John of Tella, there is no reason here to regard Elias' silence as evidence by which to preclude the existence of Cyrus or even his presence in the region of Singara, in 537. Elsewhere in the text, the hagiographer is frequently vague regarding the names and events tertiary to the main thrust of his story. Thus, for example, in the two linked vignettes which relate the ordination by John of Tella of bishops for the church in Sasanian territory, the author omits any reference to the identity of the new bishops or their sees, so too when describing John of Tella's participation in the *collatio* of 532, Elias fails to actually

149. Peeters, "La Passion," 284-285.

name the other members of the anti-Chalcedonian delegation.[150] In each case, Elias appears to have chosen to exclude prosopographic information, which was extraneous to or which might distract from his principal subject – *viz.*, the life and heroic works of John of Tella.[151] It is easily conceivable that Cyrus was the victim of just such an omission.

Contrary to Peeters' insistence, however, the contemporary hagiographic tradition, although it offers no direct confirmation of the person of Cyrus, nevertheless provides strong circumstantial evidence for the essential plausibility of the bishop's historic existence and practice of extra-territorial ordination as described by pseudo-Zachariah. As has been noted already, Elias records the ordination by John of Tella and other members of the Severan episcopate, on two separate occasions between 522 and 537, of an unspecified number of bishops for the then nascent anti-Chalcedonian movement in Sasanian Mesopotamia.[152] While the names and bishoprics of these eastern bishops are not recorded in the *Vita*, this new episcopate – which had emerged through the activities of John of Tella – nevertheless provides a wholly plausible context for the ordination of Cyrus. Subsequently, although the "Life of John of Hephaestopolis" is silent regarding the episcopate in the Sasanian Empire, it does not preclude the possibility that some subset of the bishops outside of Roman territory, continued to supply clergy for communities within the diocese, after the arrest of John of Tella. Referring to the peri-

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150.Elias, *Vita Iohannis episcopi Tellae*, 59-62.

151.Evidence of a more purposeful omission may be found in the *Vita*. For instance, in his account of John's ordination as bishop of Tella – Elias, *Vita Iohannis episcopi Tellae*, 50-54 –, Elias appears to have intentionally skirted the potential embarrassing question of the involvement or non-involvement of the metropolitan Paul of Edessa, Menze," Jacob of Sarug," pg. 426-427. A similar set of concerns appears also to have led Elias to avoid mention of the episcopal defector Philoxenus of Doliche, despite his prior association with John of Tella – discussion, *in supra,* 59-60.

152.Elias, *Vita Johannis episcopi Tellae*, 60-62.

od immediately preceding the mission of John of Hephaestopolis, the text states only that, "in the whole of the Roman Empire until the border of the Persians, there was not a single man among the faithful to extend the hand [of ordination]," implying the presence of an active episcopate beyond that border.[153] Explicit confirmation of this, however, occurs in the "Life of John of Tella," in which the hagiographer refers to three centers of anti-Chalcedonian ordinations during the period between 522 and 537: Marde, Alexandria, and the Sasanian Empire.[154] John of Ephesus, then, refers to a prophecy made by the saint regarding the period after him, when the faithful would search in vain for consecrators. In proof of this prophecy, the hagiographer again refers to a new constellation of three remote ordination sites – Alexandria, Constantinople, and Sasanian Mesopotamia:

> Afterwards his prophecy was in truth also fulfilled, and [ordainers] were sought and were not found, so that for many years in order to become a priest a man would go up to Alexandria and from there to Constantinople, and returned perhaps after a year of days without profiting anything from his labor, as I saw happen many times, and at the time when I was in the royal city, and again in Alexandria the same, this distress was upon the faithful, and again the borders of Persian territory were closed by war, and I was all the time remembering the prophecy of the holy man.[155]

John of Ephesus does not provide a precise set of dates for the circumstances, which he describes as the realization of the prophecy. His brief account nonetheless provides a number of useful chronological reference points. The hagiographer refers to his own presence in Constantinople and Alexandria. Although his movement during much of the period cannot be tracked with absolute accuracy, he is thought to have visited the capital in 535 or 536 and perhaps in 540, returning again in 542. He travelled to Egypt twice during the period, once briefly in 534 and then for a longer period in 540. The

153.John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXV, 327.

154.John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXIV, 317.

155.John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXIV, 319-320.

resumption of hostilities following the dissolution of the Eternal Peace in 540 provides the only plausible context for the closure of the Sasanian boarder.[156] Assuming that the conditions described in the notice were a persistent rather than a discrete phenomenon, this gives the period of dislocation and deprivation a plausible range between 537 and 542, during which time, an active, if inaccessible, episcopate was known to have remained in Sasanian Mesopotamia. The so-called "Spurious Life of Jacob," written in *c.* 741 and based heavily – though not always accurately or exclusively – on the two lives of Jacob written by John of Ephesus, projects the occupation of the original three sites – *i.e.*, Marde, Alexandria, and Sasanian Mesopotamia – forward into the period immediately preceding the ordination of Jacob Baradaeus, in 542.[157] The veracity of this latter notice, which clearly recycles and repurposes material from the "Life of John of Tella," is open to question, and of course neither text specifically names the bishop(s) which its author believed to be present in Sasanian territory.[158] Nevertheless, taken collectively there is thus sufficient evidence to maintain that the figure of Cyrus – even if the name itself is an invention of the sources – fits plausibly into what is known about the emergence of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate in the Sasanian Empire, prior to the ordination of Jacob Baradaeus.

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156. Greatrex, G. and Lieu, S. N. C. (2002), *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars: Part II, AD 363-630*, (London), 102-112.

157. Pseudo-John of Ephesus, "Spurious Life of Jacob," 584; Kleyn, *Jacobus Baradaeus*, 105-109; Bundy, D. (1978), "Jacob Baradaeus," 71-72; Kugener, M.-A. (1902), "Comment le corps de Jacques Baradée fut enlevé du couvent de Casion par les moines de Phesiltha, récit de Mar Cyriaque," *Bibliothèque hagiographique orientale* 3.I, 17-26; Brooks, "John of Ephesus (I)," xiii-xv; Palmer, *Monk and Mason*, 153 n. 33and Saint-Laurent, J.-N. M. (2009), "Apostolic Memories: Religious Differentiation and the Construction of Orthodoxy in Syriac Missionary Literature," Ph.D., Dissertation, (Brown University), 175-182; *n.b.*, that for the benefit of clarity the work is referred to as the "Spurious Life of Jacob," in accordance to the title given to it in the edition.

158. *Cf.*, John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXIV, 317; and pseudo-John of Ephesus, "Spurious Life of Jacob," 584.

Although omitted from the hagiographic record of the period, Thomas of Germanicia is attested as in the chronographic sources as having gone into exile in perhaps 519 and having died in Samosata, in Euphratensis, in 542.[159] Contrary to the assertion of E. Honigmann, who erroneously posits his presence in Alexandria in *c.* 535, he appears to have been resident in the diocese throughout the intervening period.[160] Thomas of Germanicia participated along with other anti-Chalcedonian bishops then present in the diocese in the *collatio* of 532.[161] In 535/536, as part of a dispute with John of Tella over the reception of clerical converts from the imperial church, he corresponded with the Severan hierarchy in Egypt, who addressed him as a representative of the "God loving brothers and sons of our ministry, who are dwelling in *Oriens*."[162] Between 537/538 and 542, a series of three letters written to the archimandrites of monasteries bear witness to Thomas of Germanicia's pastoral activities among ascetic communities in the diocese.[163] Although nowhere is the bishop specifically linked with the consecration of clergy, his location and activities within the patriarchate are consistent with those of other known ordainers, and corresponds at least roughly with the reference in the "Spurious Life."[164] In the absence of any meaningful evidence to the con-

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159.pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, *Chronicle*, III, 18; *Chronicon anonymum ad A.D. 846 pertinens*, 227; and Honigmann, *Évêques*, 73-74.

160.Honigmann, *Évêques*, 74.

161.Brock, "Conversations," 117.

162.Thomas of Germanicia, "Letter to John" (= Appendix, I.3), fol. 15a-b; and Constantine of Laodicea and Antonius of Aleppo, "Thomas of Germanicia" (= Appendix, III); see further discussion and notes, Appendices I.3, 319-321 and III, 333-336.

163.Thomas of Germanicia, "Letter to Elias" (= Appendix, I.1); idem, "Letter to Alexandria" (= Appendix, I.2); and idem, "Letter to John" (= Appendix, I.3); regarding the dating of these letters, see notes in Appendix I.1-3, 308-310 and 317-321.

164.*N.b.*, while there is no evidence to indicate whether or not Thomas of Germanicia was resident on the "mountain of Marde" at or near the time of his death, in 542, his preserved correspondence with Elias, the presbyter and archimandrite of the Brother of the Tur Marde, would at least suggest that he was active in the region in roughly the same period. If the

trary, therefore, it seems entirely reasonable to assume that Thomas of Germanicia was active as an active ordainer of clergy throughout the period between 537 and 542, and before.

Analogous, at least with respect to the extent of the available documentation, is the case of the bishop Thomas of Damascus. Numbered among those bishops who accepted exile between 518 and 522, he is subsequently known to have died in Constantinople sometime after 557, making him one of the last surviving members of the Severan episcopate.[165] Not withstanding the dates and locations of his exile, the bulk of the evidence for Thomas of Damascus comes from the remains of a life of him written by John of Ephesus. The text of the life is unfortunately defective, preserving only the first lines of the prologue. Still these are sufficient to give some rough indication of the nature of the inextant life. Specifically, the preface seeks explicitly to cast Thomas of Damascus as the third in the line of bishops which included John of Tella and John of Hephaestopolis – that is, by implication, as a bishop-ordainer within the exilic church:

> Because then we have inscribed an account, albeit suggestively and dimly, concerning the divine dispensation through these two brave athletes and true shepherds, John and John, it is right that we introduce in to the rank with them this third saint

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bishop had pursued a peripatetic mission, such as John of Tella, then it is entirely possible that he could have been present in the area shortly before his death. The possibility that the "Spurious Life" was wrong – either in part or in whole – about the presence of an ordainer on the mountain in 542 cannot be entirely excluded. Neither, of course, can the possibility that the text was referring to another bishop, whose presence and consecratory activities in the diocese are not otherwise attested. However, neither of these two alternatives necessarily alters the reconstruction here proposed of Thomas of Germanicia, though the latter would suggest that there were a larger group of active ordainers during the period than has hitherto been supposed.

165.Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, *Chronicle*, 17 and 110; pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, *Chronicle*, VIII.5; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, IX.29, 309; and Honigmann, *Évêques et évêchés*, pg. 97-98; *Chronicon ad annum domini 846 pertinens*, pg. 226-227; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, IX.13, 266; and Gregory bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, I.43, 197, all describe Thomas as an ascetic of some rigor, with Michael the Syrian and bar Hebraeus both asserting that he had abstained from bread and wine for twenty-eight years.

> also, Thomas the bishop, the whole acuteness of whose zeal and the action of whose administration of the church of God was the same as theirs.[166]

The extant text provides no clues regarding the date for his mission. However, the broader narrative structure of the hagiographic tryptic formed by the lives of the three bishops ordainers in the *Lives of the Eastern Saints* suggests that if John of Ephesus had indeed sought to depict Thomas of Damascus as a lone champion of the church and sole practicing ordainer in the guise of John of Tella and John of Hephaestopolis, he would then have placed the beginning of his mission in the period after that of John of Hephaestopolis and before the ordination of Jacob Baradaeus, whom the hagiographer also treats as a lone consecrator of clergy within the church.[167] Taken literally, this chronology would have allowed only a very little time for Thomas of Damascus to have actively pursued his mission, since – as previously stated – the third and final sojourn of John of Hephaestopolis is thought to have taken place in 541 and Jacob Baradaeus was ordained in 542. While such a compressed chronology would almost certainly represent a literary distortion, it would be a distortion entirely consistent with the hagiographic trope of the lone bishop-ordainer which John of Ephesus had developed to effect in the twinned lives of John of Tella and John of Hephaestopolis.

It would perhaps be safe to assume, given what is otherwise known about Thomas of Damascus' biography, that during the period of his exile between *c.* 522 and 536, when he was almost certainly in Egypt, he, along with the other members of the Severan episcopate, had engaged in remote ordination for his own see as well perhaps as for others. After the fall of Theodosius,

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166. John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXVI, 338-339.

167. See the discussion of the *vitae* of Jacob Baradaeus, *infra*, 97-105.

in late 536, it is probable – though by no means certain – that Thomas of Damascus accompanied the other members of the Severan and Egyptian episcopates into exile around Constantinople, where he is then known to have died. Assuming that to be true, then, it is plausible that he would have resumed his former practice of remote ordination from the capital, sometime between 537 and 542, perhaps supplemented by occasional sojourns outside of Constantinople *à la* John of Hephaestopolis. An alternative possibility, however, is suggested by the reference in the "Spurious Life" to the presence of a Syrian bishop in Alexandria in 542. If the notice is correct, then it is possible to suppose that Thomas of Damascus had – like Severus of Antioch and perhaps others besides him – remained behind following the transportation of the Egyptian episcopate and continued to pursue his mission from within the environs of Alexandria or to have ventured out from there in order to conduct ordinations within the diocese of *Oriens*.[168] Superseded by the Jacobite reformation, he could then have retired to the episcopal center in Constantinople prior to his death in *c.* 557. In either case, it is almost certain that Thomas of Damascus began performing ordinations, including extra-territorial ordinations, at some point in his exile prior to 541/542.

Although none of the extant sources provide any indication of the nature of the authority claimed by any of the three bishops in their conduct of extra-territorial ordinations, it remains possible in the cases of Thomas of Germanicia and Thomas of Damascus to make some basic suppositions

168. Neither John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXV, 326-327 and XXXVI, 428, nor the other accounts of the fall of Theodosius of Alexandria and the relocation of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate in *Aegyptus* provide a specific list of the episcopal deportees, but rather refer to the transportation in only general terms – pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, *Chronicle*, X.1; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, IX.13-14; and *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, I.13, 198-202. It is entirely conceivable, therefore, that a number of those Severan bishops who were in a position to elude the imperial authorities simply elected to remain concealed in Egypt.

through analogy to other, better attested cases regarding the license maintained by each. As members of the Severan episcopate, both Thomas of Damascus and Thomas of Germanicia would of course have been able to assert a direct authority to ordain for communities subject to their former sees. Equally, Thomas of Damascus may be reasonably supposed to have maintained an *ex officio* claim as the titular metropolitan of Phoenice Libanensis to make arrangements and ordain for the province suffragan to his authority, as Severus seems to have done in Syria I and Palestine. Simultaneously, both would presumably also have participated along with the other members of the exilic episcopate in the exchange of bilateral licenses allowing them to conduct extra-territorial ordinations, as suggested by the evidence surrounding John of Tella. Depending upon the scope and sphere of his activities, after 536, Thomas of Damascus may also have received further authorizations from the Egyptian episcopate and the anti-Chalcedonian hierarchy then resident in Constantinople as John of Hephestopolis had before him.

Less clear is the basis upon which Cyrus could have claimed the license to ordain clergy for communities within *Oriens*, though the possibility that he had received some sort of mandate from the exilic episcopate within the diocese cannot be excluded. Whatever the case, there is some indication that at least some among the hierarchy of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate were concerned over the perceived legitimacy of Cyrus' ordinations. Indeed, pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor states that the ordinations conducted by the bishop were the object of such derision that it threatened to undermine the standing of the larger anti-Chalcedonian episcopate and clergy, which the chronicler claimed provided the impetus for the ordination of Jacob Baradaeus and

Theodore of Arabia to serve as purpose made ordainers from the anti-Chalcedonian church in *Oriens*:

> And so that the heads of the bodies of the believers should not be held in blame, or that those who become a priest in the empire of the Persians should be made the object of scorn by any of the opponents and evil befall them, they were rightly moved and diligent too, they thought properly and they blessed and appointed bishops for Arabia – Theodore who was a monk, an assiduous man who was founded in the imperial city, and the energetic and ascetic Jacob, who was very valiant and was promptly found in every place working and comforting.[169]

Although pseudo-Zachariah is not specific regarding the reasons for the bishop's concerns, there are a number of more or less obvious possibilities, only some of which pertain to the issue of territorial licensing as such. First, it is conceivable that concern – particularly among anti-Chalcedonians – may have arisen from the fear of association with the Church of the East and the opprobrium of heresy which that might carry for clergy ordained in Sasanian territory.[170] Second, the fact that the ordinations were conducted outside of the empire by a bishop, who had never been a member of the imperial church, might have raised questions regarding the veracity of their ordination. As has been noted already, the dislocation and confusion occasioned by the suppression of the anti-Chalcedonian church was seized upon by some members of the laity as an opportunity to claim falsely the mantle of the priesthood without being able to name the ordainer who consecrated them or properly recount the procedural details of the ordination ritual, while those ordained by Cyrus would presumably have been able to answer such basic

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169.pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, *Chronicle*, X.12, 193.

170.*E.g.*, John of Ephesus, *LES*, X; and John of Tella, "Quaestiones et Responsiones" (= *Synodicon*, XL, 211-221), 42, 43, 46, and 47, in which the anti-Chalcedonian canonist may be seen to draw clear distinctions between the sacraments and consecrated paraphernalia of Chalcedonians and the Sasanian church, with the latter being treated consistently as more sacramentally suspect than the former. Regarding the confessional intricacies and shifting Christological alignments within the contemporary Church of the East, see, Brock, S. (1985), "The Christology of the Church of the East in the Synods of the Fifth to Early Seventh Centuries," in G. Dragas ed., *Aksum-Thyateira: a Festschrift for Archbishop Methodios*, (London), 125-142; and Wood, P. (2013), *The Chronicle of Seert: Christian Historical Imagination in Late Antique Iraq*, (Oxford), 106-112.

challenges.[171] Nevertheless, the remoteness and thus perhaps the comparative obscurity of his ordination may have led to such questions. Third and finally, it is possible that Cyrus may not have been seen by members of the anti-Chalcedonian movement as possessing sufficient authorization to ordain for communities within the empire – an issue which might also have proceeded from his relative obscurity. If Cyrus was one of the bishops ordained by John of Tella, or if his ordination had been conducted by others under circumstances similar to those described by Elias in the *Vita* – *i.e.*, by a subset of the exiled episcopate without the apparent consent or oversight of the whole –, then it is possible that he had not received the license of the remainder of the episcopate and did not possess the confidence of the larger community. This latter possibility, though it cannot be completely excluded, cannot have been the sole reason for the apprehension surrounding the ordinations conducted by Cyrus, since were it so the episcopate might have taken the relatively straightforward measure to rectify the problem by extending to him a mandate similar to that granted to John of Hephaestopolis. Whatever the precise reason, the notice is suggestive of the limitations of the system of authorization for extra-territorial ordination, which continued to rely on the recognition of the bishops and the faithful for its legitimacy – a recognition which Cyrus evidently failed to achieve.

I.1.g., Bishops without Borders

The beginning of a final, transitional phase in the development of the extra-territorial mission of the pre-Jacobite episcopate was marked by the or-

171."Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient" (= *Synodicon*, XXI, 163-176), 22.

dination of Theodore of Arabia and Jacob Baradaeus, in 542. Although frequently eclipsed in the view of history by his role in the later reconstitution of a territorialized episcopate, the initial impetus for the ordination of Jacob – as well as Theodore – was the need for more conventional ordainers to ensure the continued consecration of sub-episcopal clergy, roughly two decades after the suppression of the Severan episcopate. In this respect, the objective of their early mission can thus be understood as an extension of the missions already undertaken by John of Tella and John of Hephaestopolis, as well perhaps as that of Thomas of Damascus, *et alii*.[172] Such, at least, was the evident perception of John of Ephesus, who presents his early ministry as a continuation of those which had preceded it and depicted Jacob Baradaeus himself as a bishop ordainer very much in the model of John of Tella and John of Hephaestopolis.

The precise date at which Jacob began ordaining bishops is not recorded among the extant sources. Nevertheless, E. Honigmann has convincingly suggested that Jacob did not begin his restoration of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate until after the death of Constantine of Laodicea, in 553.[173] Assuming that this chronology is at least roughly correct, then it is pos-

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172. Unlike the bishops whose lives are recorded by John of Ephesus, Cyrus – as suggested above – appears to have pursued his mission as an ordainer remotely, without leaving the territory of the Sasanian Empire, making him somewhat less suitable as a direct comparison to Jacob Baradaeus.

173. Honigmann, *Évêques*, 169-171, predicates this position on the assumption that while Constantine of Laodoicea still lived – and continued to fill the role of a *de facto* leader within the church – there remained no immediate need to re-establish the episcopal hierarchy. However, the death of Constantine – dated by Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, IX.30, 312, to AD 553 – created the apparent need and political context for a reformation of the episcopate. This, he argued, is supported by the sequencing of the list of the bishops ordained by Jacob Baradaeus in John of Ephesus, *LES*, L, 502-504, which by placing Demetrius of Laodicea at the head of the catalogue seems to indicate that he was the first to be consecrated. No evidence exists by which to directly date the ordination of Conon of Tarsus and Eugenius of Seleucia – whose appointments were supposed in John of Ephesus, *LES*, L, 501-502, to have preceded and facilitated the consecration of the remainder of the early Jacobite episcopate –, though the logical extension of Honigmann's argument would lead to the supposition that their consecration closely anticipated that of Demetrius of Laodicea. Regarding the narrative

sible to identify the first decade of his episcopate, 542 to *c.* 553, as the period in which Jacob Baradaeus pursued the primary mission for which he had been ordained – the consecration of sacramental clergy for the church in *Oriens*. The essential contours of this reconstruction, if not the exact dating, are confirmed by John of Ephesus and pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, both of whom assert that the ordinations of Jacob and Theodore were made for the purpose of establishing a source of priestly ordinations.[174]

The nature of this early consecratory ministry is most fully characterized by John of Ephesus in the individual "Life of Jacob," which unlike the hagiographer's dual "Lives of Jacob and Theodore" devotes significantly more attention to the bishop's ordination of sub-episcopal clergy than to the creation of the Jacobite episcopate.[175] Throughout the individual life, the hagiographer draws a number of parallels to the biographies of earlier bishop ordainers.[176] Like both John of Tella and John of Hephaestopolis, Jacob is

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structure and concerns underlying the account of the foundation of the Jacobite episcopate in *LES*, L, see, chapter II.4.b., 226-242.

174.John of Ephesus, *LES*, XLIX, 490-495 and L, 500-501; pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, *Chronicle*, X.12, quotation above, specifically links the decision by the anti-Chalcedonian hierarchy to ordain Theodore and Jacob to the perceived vulnerability of the ordinations conducted by the eastern Cyrus to challenges to their legitimacy and the resulting need to provide a secure source of ordinations within the Roman Empire.

175.John of Ephesus, *LES*, XLIX and L; although the compositional sequence of the two lives cannot be established with absolute certainty, the concentration of the individual life – *i.e.*, *LES*, XLIX – on the consecration of sub-episcopal clergy rather on the ordination of bishops, which it treats only passingly, might be taken not unreasonably to suggest that it was written prior to the dual life – *i.e.*, *LES*, L –, which is devoted almost exclusively to the creation of the Jacobite episcopate. However, both lives must have been written after 564, since both make reference to the ordination of the patriarch Paul of Beth Ukkame, making it unlikely that the two lives were written more than a few years apart – regarding the dating of the collection as a whole, see, chapter II.4.b., 226 n. 55. The difference in the emphasis between the two lives may – as previously argued – have reflected a change in rhetorical priorities of the hagiographer brought about by the rapid deterioration in the internal cohesion of the Jacobite episcopate, following the ordination of Paul, which caused John of Ephesus to focus on the legitimacy of Jacob's episcopal ordinations.

176.*Cf.*, John of Ephesus, *LES*, L, 499, which links the beginning of Jacob's mission with the "martyrdom of the blessed contestant for the religion John, the bishop of the city of Tella," virtually eliding the intermediate ministries of bishops like John of Hephaestopolis and prefiguring an implicit connection between two great bishop ordainers. Later Jacobite tradition maintained and enhanced the link between John of Tella and Jacob Baradaeus,

portrayed as an earnest ascetic reluctantly thrust into his role as the episcopal savior of the anti-Chalcedonian church.[177] Like John of Hephaestopolis, Jacob is depicted as a peripatetic ordainer, who prosecuted a traveling mission ordaining clergy and continually evading apprehension by imperial authorities.[178] In describing the scale of the bishop's ministry, John of Ephesus appears to make a further comparison with that of John of Tella through a simile likening the myriad clergy consecrated by Jacob Baradaeus to the stream of a river – an which also occurs in the hagiographer's "Life of John of Tella:"

> ... while the blessed man was strengthened in his Lord, and was confident like a lion, and was thoroughly accomplishing his ministry, while the priesthood like great rivers was proceeding through the world, through the whole empire of the Romans, so that if a man should presume to say that one hundred thousand had been ordained by him, I do not think that he would depart from the truth.[179]

Even the numbers of ordinations ascribed to each, 100,000 to Jacob and 170,000 to John of Tella, mark the bishops as compeers, twin saviors of the anti-Chalcedonian church.[180] These parallels, however, are not so prescriptive that the Jacob of the *Lives* emerges only as a composite of traits already ascribed to his missionary predecessors, but instead serves to situate him within a model of episcopal activity – presenting Jacob Baradaeus as the culmination of the type, the greatest of the bishop ordainers.

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demonstrating the enduring power of the connection conjured by John of Ephesus. Thus, for example, the author of the "Spurious Life" in recounting the early vocation of Jacob to defend the interests of the anti-Chalcedonian in Constantinople describes a vision portentous of his future mission, in which the future bishop is supposed to have received the "staff of the pastorate" by Severus of Antioch and John of Tella – pseudo-John of Ephesus, "Spurious Life of Jacob Baradaeus," 582.

177. John of Ephesus, *LES*, XLIX, 488-490.

178. John of Ephesus, *LES*, XLIX, 491-493; *cf.*, ibid, XXV, 333-337.

179. John of Ephesus, *LES*, XLIX, 494-495; *cf.*, ibid, L, 500-501 and 504.

180. *N.b.*, John of Ephesus does not give a figure for the number of clergy ordained by John of Hephaestopolis, suggesting perhaps that in this respect the hagiographer sought to draw a closer parallel between Jacob Barabaeus and John of Tella.

According to John of Ephesus, the concurrent ordination of Jacob and Theodore, in 542, had been precipitated by the empress Theodora and the Arab phylarch, al-Harith, in order to stem the erosion of the anti-Chalcedonian priesthood and the dwindling of the faithful. In effect, both are depicted as having been consecrated in order that they should become ordainers:

> When, however, he [*i.e.*, Jacob Baradaeus] had been at these labors for a period of roughly fifteen years in his cell in the royal city, then through the forethought and care of the believing empress he was summoned to the episcopate with much compulsion, along with another blessed man from the province of Arabia, whose name was Theodore, because the party of the believers had diminished and moreover [because] the order of the priesthood was wanting throughout the whole πολιτεία of the faithful party.[181]

Almost immediately following their ordination, Theodore disappears from the frame of the *vita*, and the hagiographer concentrates his narrative attentions on the activities of Jacob, whom he describes as having circulated throughout the provinces of Asia Minor and *Oriens*, descending as far as Alexandria:

> And thus in the uplands and the lower countries, while he was running a vigorous course of heroism without ceasing from the border of the Persians until the royal city of Constantinople, as well as to Alexandria and to all of the provinces, and fulfilled the work of the ministry for all of the orthodox believers, not only through the arrangement of the clergy and the giving of the priesthood, but also [by giving] comfort, exhortation, edification, and instruction to the whole party of the believers who were in every place – so that rumor of him was therefore heard in every quarter, in every province and city, so that all of the synodite bishops were on every side embittered, and threatened to seize him and to tear him to pieces.[182]

181.John of Ephesus, *LES*, XLIX, 490; the role of the phylarch, although omitted by John of Ephesus from his account of the ordination in the individual life, but included and given some degree of prominence in the dual life, is perhaps the result of a change in political circumstance which made it expedient to recall the movement's prior relationship with the Ghassanid patron – *LES*, L, 499-500; Fisher, G. (2011), *Between Empires: Arabs, Romans, and Sasanians in Late Antiquity*, (Oxford), 56-60. Significantly in 569, al-Harith son and successor, the phylarch al-Mundhir, played a role in brokering the dialogues, which led to the formal rupture and condemnation of the tritheist episcopate – chapter, II.3, 165-201.

182.John of Ephesus, *LES*, XLIX, 491; *cf.*, ibid, L, 500-501, which provides more precise details regarding Jacob's range: "... the blessed Jacob, when he had fortified himself with religion, and clothed himself in the zeal of heroism, and stretched out his course through all of the provinces, not just Syria, and the whole of Armenia, and Cappadocia, [and] all of those – unto the least – were especially glorious and strong in orthodoxy, no less than Syria, and together with these and those in the provinces of Cilicia and the whole of Isauria and Pamphylia and Lycaonia and Lycia and Phrygia and Caria and Asia, and on the islands of the sea Cyprus and Rhodes, and Chios and Mitylene, and unto to the royal city, Constantinople, in which in addition to the provinces he also made manifest the course of heroism, and filled the ranks of the priesthood and enlarged the orthodox, who not only marshaled priests and filled every district, but again through the keen zeal of religion did not even neglect to provide high-priests, *i.e.*, bishops." Parallels may here also be found between the description of the geographic scope of Jacob Baradaeus' mission and those attributed by

Beyond the simple consecration of priests, Jacob is thus depicted by John of Ephesus as having – like John of Tella before him – wed his sacramental mission to the strengthening and edification of the communion, thereby fulfilling another role ascribed to the earlier ordainers.[183] The apparent continuity in the underlying objectives and methods of the consecratory project undertaken by Jacob and Theodore was also to have been reflected in the constitutional framework within which they acted.

In the decades after the suppression of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate, the licensing framework which underpinned the system of commissioning must have progressively crumbled into a mere legal fiction, with the death, defection, and increasing fragmentation of that episcopate. There remains insufficient evidence upon which to base anything more than a speculative reconstruction of the rhetorical and legal mechanisms by which John of Hephaestopolis and his contemporaries sought to base their extra-territorial ordination of clergy. Given the circumstances, however, it is conceivable – as has been suggested above – that later ordainers had come to rely increasingly upon hierarchical modes of sanctioning in order to legitimize their missions. John of Hephaestopolis, at least, is known to have worked in concert with Constantine of Laodicea – who, as the *de facto* head of the Severan episcopate after the death of Severus of Antioch, in 538, may well have authorized the mission of the Egyptian bishop – as well as the patriarchs Theodosius of Alexandria and Anthimus of Constantinople.[184] It is unclear from the available evidence whether Cyrus either received or sought formal confirmation

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John of Ephesus to John of Tella and to some extent also to John of Hephaestopolis – *LES*, XXIV, 317 and XXV, 333-337.

183.John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXIV, 316-317; *cf.*, Elias, *Vita Iohannis episcopi Tellae*, 62-65.

184.citations and discussion, above.

for his extra-territorial ordinations from the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate in the Roman Empire. Had he done so, however, the most likely point of contact with the surviving Severan hierarchy, after 537, would again presumably have been through the bishops gathered in Constantinople. In this respect, the commissioning of Jacob does not seem to have deviated much from that of John of Hephaestopolis.

Although neither of the two lives written by John of Ephesus record the names of Jacob Baradaeus' ordainers or give any direct indication regarding the authorization of his consecratory mission, both depict his ordination and that of Theodore as having been orchestrated by the empress and phylarch, suggesting that it was able to proceed without the interference of the imperial authorities. However, while John of Ephesus also states that the empress and phylarch were responsible for selecting the two bishops, it seems unlikely that the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate would have ceded complete control over selection and election of candidates.[185] Given the apparent overtness of the act, it is entirely plausible that the three hierarchs, Constantine of Laodicea, Theodosius of Alexandria, and Anthimus of Constantinople, as well as the other bishops then resident in the capital, therefore participated in both the selection and licensing of the two candidates.[186] Such a possibility is even broadly suggested by the "Spurious Life of Jacob," which claims that Jacob and Theodore were chosen by "the holy patriarch Theodosius and the fa-

185.John of Ephesus, *LES*, XLIX, 488-490; and L, 499-500; and Bundy,"Jacob Baradaeus," 78-79.

186.Notes and references to the debate in contemporary scholarship over the role played by the empress Theodora as a patron of the anti-Chalcedonian church may be found in the discussion above. In a more general sense, the idea that the ordination of Jacob and Theodore proceeded from the collective action of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate is supported by the above quoted chapter of pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, *Chronicle*, X.12; and Bundy, "Jacob Baradaeus," 61-62.

thers who were with him."[187] Later, once Jacob had undertaken to ordain bishops, Theodosius played a well documented role in directing and licensing his campaign, including granting him specific authorization to consecrate bishops and clergy for churches in Egypt – which the patriarch himself is supposed to have refrained from doing, following his exile in 536.[188] There is no evidence – either in the *Lives* or elsewhere – to link Constantine of Laodicea positively to Jacob's mission, though this silence can hardly be regarded as telling, and it is likely that the venerable metropolitan continued to exercise a measure of authority over the church in *Oriens*, prior to his death in 553. In a similar fashion, Anthimus of Constantinople, although wholly absent from the hagiographic tradition, does appear to have exercised a degree of authority over the mission. However, in a letter written between 542 and 553, the patriarch provided a clear indication of his involvement in Jacob's ministry, by rebuking the bishop for his indiscriminate ordination of large groups of candidates without proper examination and with insufficient regard for their individual qualifications and canonical fitness.[189] It seems almost certain, therefore, that Anthimus, like Theodosius and Constantine, also exerted some influence over the appointment and licensing of the two bishops, at least one of whom was active in consecrating clergy for the churches in *Asiana* and *Pontus*, which were subject to his titular authority.

187.Pseudo-John of Ephesus, "Spurious Life of Jacob," 584; and Bundy, "Jacob Baradaeus," 79; *n.b.*, although fundamentally plausible, the testimony of the "Spurious Life" must here, as elsewhere, be treated with a degree of caution, particularly as the involvement of the patriarch in Jacob and Theodore's elections is not attested in John of Ephesus.

188.*DM*, 8-15 and 17-22; John of Ephesus, *LES*, L, 501 and 503; and Bundy, "Jacob Baradaeus," 79-81.

189.Anthimus of Constantinople, "Epistula ad Iacobum Baradaeum" (= *Studia Syriaca*, III.IV), 33-35; Honigmann, *Évêques*, 169 n. 1; Bundy, "Jacob Baradaeus," 74; and Rahmani, *Studia Syriaca*, 69-70.

Neither did Jacob and Theodore operate in an absolute vacuum, but as ordainers they appear to have to acted as part of a sacramentally active, though numerically reduced, episcopate. The size of that episcopate in 542 and the number of bishops within it, who were actively engaged in consecrating for the church in *Oriens*, is difficult to determine. Both John of Ephesus and Anthimus of Constantinople refer to a paucity of ordainers prior to their elevation.[190] However, neither offers a precise picture of exactly how many or where these bishops were located. As noted above, evidence exists for the persistence of anti-Chalcedonian bishops in Alexandria, Mesopotamia, and the Sasanian Empire. Thomas of Damascus is known to have survived until *c.* 557. Both Cyrus and John of Hephaestopolis appear to have lived and perhaps also to have remained active after 542, while Thomas of Germanicia although perhaps alive at the time of Jacob and Theodore's consecration appears to have died shortly afterwards.[191] In addition to these relatively well attested bishops, the largely anonymous episcopal community in Constantinople, as well as the three hierarchs, are likely also to have continued to provide remote ordinations. At the same time, a group of equally anonymous bishops – sufficient in number to assist Jacob in the consecration of the bishops Conon of Tarsus and Eugenius of Seleucia – also remained in Alexandria and were presumably equally engaged in the performance of remote ordinations.[192]

Conclusions

190.John of Ephesus, *LES*, L, 499; and Anthimus of Constantinople, "Epistula ad Iacobum Baradaeum" (= *Studia Syriaca*, III.IV), 34.

191.discussion and citations, *in supra*, 84-94.

192.John of Ephesus, *LES*, L, 501.

Beginning in 518-522, the bishops of the nascent anti-Chalcedonian church moved to establish a means by which to ensure the ordination of clergy for the communities which they had left through their flight into exile. In so doing, the bishops – lead by Severus of Antioch – normalized a pre-existing practice of territorial licensing, which allowed them to eschew the well established canon legal prohibition against extra-territorial ordinations. Although initially predicated upon a system of bilateral proxy arrangements, which permitted bishops to authorize others to ordain on their behalf for churches subject to their jurisdiction, the practice appears subsequently to have changed. The progressive extinction of the Severan episcopate, in the period prior to 538, made the continuation of the original system of bilateral territorial licensing increasingly less practicable, while the significant assimilation of the Syrian, Anatolian, Egyptian episcopates under the leadership of Theodosius of Alexandria, Anthimus of Constantinople, and Constantine of Laodicea served to decouple the administrative structures of the church from the diocesan boundaries of the patriarch. The consequence of these changes in the fabric of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate was that between 538 and *c.* 553 ordainers like John of Hephaestopolis and Jacob Baradaeus exercised broad mandates to ordain clergy throughout the dioceses of *Pontus, Asiana, Oriens,* and *Aegyptus,* mandates which rested not on a system of bilateral agreements, but upon the authorization and direction of the three hierarchs. However, despite the geographic scope of their respective missions and the explicit insistence of their shared biographer, neither bishop appears to have operated in a vacuum, but instead both appear to have acted alongside other ordainers – remnants of the Severan and Theodosian episcopates, as well as mem-

bers of the growing anti-Chalcedonian episcopate in Sasanian Mesopotamia. In this respect at least, the missions of John of Hephaestopolis and Jacob Baradaeus appear to have followed patterns, both in their practice and their narrative commemoration, comparable to the early extra-territorial mission of John of Tella. After *c.* 553, the emergence and resulting internal struggles of the new episcopate ordained by Jacob Baradaeus began progressively to eclipse the issues surrounding the extra-territorial ordination of sub-episcopal clergy as the central pre-occupation of the surviving sources. Within John of Ephesus' own work, this transition occurs towards the end of the 560s and may be marked, symbolically at least, by a transfer of focus between the individual "Life of Jacob" and the dual "Lives of Jacob and Theodore" – in the radical shift in emphasis between the portrait of Jacob as a bishop ordainer in the model of John of Tella and that of Jacob as the founder of a new episcopal line.

The reliance of the church upon extra-territorial ordainers, however, does not appear to have come to an end with the re-establishment of the episcopate. Particularly in remote areas and those with small or confessionally fragmented anti-Chalcedonian populations, local churches continued to rely upon remote and extra-territorial ordainers for their sacramental provisioning. Thus, in the third part of the *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, John of Ephesus describes the ordination of clergy for anti-Chalcedonian communities in the province of Pamphylia, in the diocese of *Asiana*, which as late as the late 560s or early 570s still did not possess a territorialized Severan-Jacobite episcopate. Instead, the church in the province remained dependent upon extra-territorial ordainers. Drawn from among the ranks of the Jacobite episcopate, com-

missioned ordainers were sent to the province on a rotating basis in order to conduct consecrations and to provide temporary local leadership:

> The province of Pamphylia was orthodox from the beginning, while there are in it great and numerous villages with churches and many convents of men and women, while in the time of the schism of those called Acephali, who are without a head, many of them separated themselves and went out to the province, but through the zeal and diligence of the orthodox who were there, all of them were converted and came to orthodoxy, and thus all of them as one received the zeal of the true faith. And oftentimes orthodox bishops were commissioned and going up to and visiting them, and making corrections to ecclesiastical affairs, *id est* the consecration of the altars, new churches, and monasteries which were there, and they were ordaining many priests and performing the rest of those things which were profitable. In this manner the fraudulent Eugenius, who fell into heresy, was sent to this province two times to our knowledge, and again other bishops [were sent on other occasions].[193]

Elsewhere, such arrangements, though poorly documented, were probably not entirely unknown in the church's larger sphere of influence, even as the episcopate continued to expand in the period after 553. The episcopal reformation championed by Jacob Baradaeus was – despite its overall success – geographically uneven, with the recorded ordinations taking place for bishoprics in the provinces of Syria I, Cilicia I, Isauria, Osrhoene, Euphratensis, Cyprus, and Mesopotamia.[194] During this period prior to the death of Jacob, in 578, no bishops are recorded as having been ordained for sees in Syria II, Cilicia II, Phoenicia, or Phoenicia Libanensis, although there remained considerable Severan-Jacobite monastic presence in at least the two Phoeniciae.[195] The same is true for the three Palestinian provinces, which continued to possess

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193.John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.V.6, 257; as suggested by John of Ephesus, by the second half of the sixth century, Pamphylia already had a long history of conspicuous opposition to Chalcedon, dating to the tumultuous reign of the emperor Zeno, John Rufus, *Plerophoriae*, IX, XLVI, LXXX, LXXXII, and LXXXV; Severus of Antioch, *SL*, IV.3; and Honigmann, *Évêques*, 131-136.

194.John of Ephesus, *LES*, L, 502-504; the distinct product of later interpolation, the episcopal catalogue preserved by pseudo-John of Ephesus, "Spurious Life of Jacob," 586-589, is also silent regarding the ordination of bishops for Syria II and the two Phoeniciae.

195.*DM,* 40-41; and Millar, F. (2009), "Christian Monasticism in Roman Arabia at the Birth of Mahomet," *Semitica et Classica* 2, 97-115; the nature of contemporary developments in the province of Arabia are not immediately clear from the extant sources, though it does not seem that Theodore actively pursued the ordination of an episcopate suffragan to his metropolitanate authority – leaving him perhaps to exercise a largely extra-territorial mission within the broadly defined boundaries of his province.

some anti-Chalcedonian presence, but largely disappear from the record of anti-Chalcedonian sources after the visits of John of Hephaestopolis to the region during his second and third voyages. While the episcopates of Phoenicia Libanensis and Cilicia II appear to have been solidly anti-Chalcedonian in 518, both Phoenicia and Syria II were centers of active resistance to Severus of Antioch, so that their exclusion from the early Jacobite project hardly seems accidental.[196] Whatever the reason, without an established territorial episcopate in their provinces, local communities would presumably have been obliged to turn to bishops in the neighboring provinces for ordinations.[197]

Alternatively, the progressive fragmentation of the Jacobite episcopate through schism and the emergence of new confessional factions, particularly after 569, intermittently created circumstances in which areas perviously served by a Severan-Jacobite bishop found themselves outside of the episcopal ministry of the church. Although the provinces of Cilicia and Isauria possessed a territorial episcopate beginning in *c.* 553, the bishops of both provinces appear in 569 to have followed the metropolitans – Conon of Tarsus and Eugenius of Seleucia – *en bloc* in embracing tritheism and breaking from the communion of the Theodosian episcopate. The defection of these bishops would have caused a local de-territorialization of the Theodosian episcopate, which does not appear to have been immediately repaired

196. Honigmann, *Évêques*, 38-45, 54-65, 78-84, and 97-100; for a more detailed discussion of the resistance of the pro-Chalcedonian episcopate of Syria II, see, chapter II.3.b., 175-189. *N.b.*, there is some ambiguity in the case of Cilicia II, since contemporary Severan-Jacobite sources tend to refer simply to Cilicia, when discussing ecclesiastical organization. This might perhaps indicate that the Jacobite episcopate, rather than replicating the provincial structure of the imperial church, had instead consolidated the administration of Cilicia I and II, placing them both under the metropolitan jurisdiction of the bishop of Tarsus, though further research is needed to test this hypothesis.

197. *N.b.*, further work is required in order to establish a more conclusive understanding of the prosopography of the early Jacobite episcopate, particularly in the period after the death of Jacob Baradaeus. Until such work is complete, suppositions drawn from silences in the sources – including this one – must be treated as highly tentative.

through ordination of new bishops for the affected provinces.[198] Although sources for the period are largely silent regarding the missionary activities of the Theodosian episcopate in the region, it seems reasonable to assume that at least some of the anti-Chalcedonian communities in both provinces rejected the tritheist confession of their titular bishops. A similar, though less well documented, situation would presumably have been created after 575 by the schism between Paulites and Jacobites, which John of Ephesus describes as having rent the fabric of the church, as bishops, clergy, and monastic communities arrayed themselves on either side of the divide.[199] That every Jacobite monastery was located within the territorial jurisdiction of a Jacobite bishop and every Paulite community was subject to a member of the Paulite episcopate seems profoundly unlikely. Both schisms, therefore, created situations – perhaps temporary in nature – which would have obliged the Theodosian and Jacobite episcopates to resort to modes of extra-territorial ordination in order to supply clergy to communities which remained loyal to them. Indeed, it was not until the end of the eighth century that the Severan-Jacobite church began again to issue canons specifically prohibiting extra-territorial ordination.[200] Unfortunately, however, the sources – even in cases such as Pamphylia where the practice is positively attested – provide no evidence of the

198.John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.V.1, 2, 4, and 6; and chapter II.3.a. and c., 171-175 and 189-200.

199.John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.19-20.

200."Canons of the Patriarch George" (= *Synodicon*, LIV, 1-6), 1; "Canons of the Patriarch Cyriacus" (= *Synodicon*, LV, 6-17), 2; "Canons of the Patriarch Dionysius" (= *Synodicon*, LVII, 25-34), 1; "Canons of the Patriarch John" (= *Synodicon*, LVIII, 34-45), 26; and "Canons of the Patriarch Dionysius" (= *Synodicon*, LXI, 57-64), 2; here, the frequency with which the prohibition is reiterated at patriarch synods held in AD 785, 794, 817, 846, and again in 896 might reasonably be taken as an indication that acceptance and observation of the principal were less than automatic and universal – suggesting perhaps that hierarchy of the post-exilic church faced some amount of difficulty in reasserting those elements of the territorial episcopate, which their exilic predecessors had worked so assiduously to efface.

means by which the Severan-Jacobite bishops sought to legitimize their continued use of extra-territorial ordination following the territorial reformation of the episcopate.

II.1., Pseudo-Bishops

Arising and evolving in tandem with the efforts of Severan-Jacobite bishops to justify their extra-territorial consecration of sub-episcopal clergy were parallel efforts to condemn the sacramental legitimacy and legality of the ordinations carried out by revival anti-Chalcedonian sects – contributing to a pervasive, apologetic discourse that shaped not only the church's heresiographic program, but also, in the period after *c.* 553, the construction and representation of its own reformed episcopate. Despite the pervasiveness of these discoursive concerns, however, the period produces comparatively few dedicated contemplations of the sacramental validity of the ordinations performed by heretical and schismatic bishops, as such. Nevertheless, a more or less ubiquitous proxy measure is available in the treatment of clerical converts by Severan-Jacobite canonists. As a rule, clergy who converted from sects that were perceived to possess a valid ordination were received into the communion of the church through penance alone and without the need to repeat the rite of ordination which had been conferred upon them by the ministers of their former heresy. By contrast, converts from sects deemed incapable of valid ordination might be received into the orthodox clergy only once they had been consecrated by a Severan-Jacobite bishop. Although the same principle ought also to have applied to the re-baptism of heretical converts, Severus of Antioch, throughout his career, argued persistently and vehemently against the re-baptism of lay converts, even from sects which were deemed to have an invalid ordination, shaping a set of anti-rigorist norms within the movement's dominant canon legal tradition – making the baptism or non-baptism of converts in the

absence of other indicators a less transparent measure of the perceived validity of a sect's ordination.

This mechanism reflected a general principle in contemporary canon law that regarded ordination and baptism as fundamentally non-repeatable rites, which imparted a permanent and immutable change in the status of their recipients, and treated their repetition as constituting a grave sin.[1] In a letter written prior to his patriarchate, in *c.* 508-511, Severus addressed the senate of Constantinople.[2] Responding to apparent allegations that anti-Chalcedonians engaged in the re-ordination of clergy, Severus was unequivocal in his condemnation of the practice, going so far as to anathematize those who would advocate the re-consecration of duly ordained priests:

> Then again, we also cast from ourselves the other slander and affirm that none of those who have been admitted to clergy in the churches has been re-ordained among us. Therefore, we place under anathema the one who re-ordains them, or say that it is right that they should be ordained anew.[3]

The particular concern of the letter was to demonstrate that clerics, who removed themselves temporarily from the active ministry to pursue an ascetic vocation, were not re-consecrated either as part of that vocation or upon their return. Nevertheless, the anxiety which the accusation elicited, evident in the ardor of Severus' repudiation, is sufficient to evidence the perceived irregularity of re-ordination. In the letter, the magnitude of this irregularity is further underscored by its pairing with the indictment, also refuted by Severus, that anti-Chalcedonians permitted those who had never been ordained to officiate

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1. Here, the concern of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate to avoid re-baptism, even in cases where the baptismal status of an individual was uncertain at the time of their reception, is amply illustrated in "Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient" (= *Synodicon*, XXI, 163-176), 1-4.

2. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, II.1; and Brooks, *Sixth Book*, II.1, 199.

3. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, II.1, 225-226.

among the clergy – an allegation of gross impropriety.[4] For a church to impose a repetition of the sacraments upon converts from another sect was, therefore, a categorical denial of the sacramental capacity of that sect; it was, in effect, to treat the convert as though they had never been baptized or ordained in the first place.

By the beginning of the sixth century, the accretion of ecclesiastical law had imposed a number of procedural restrictions on the conduct of episcopal elections and ordinations – the practical observation of which was often incomplete.[5] Concerned primarily with the process of election and confirmation, these statutes were not explicitly sacramental in either language or emphasis. However, the requirement that episcopal ordinations be performed by no fewer than three bishops, put forward in canon 4 of Nicaea, had come to be interpreted as establishing an essential threshold for sacramental consecration, with ordinations conducted by fewer than three bishops being regarded as invalid and thus void of all sacramental force.[6] This understanding of the canon and its consequences are reflected in the writings of Severus of Antioch, providing the basis for the denunciation of pseudo-episcopacy.[7] It also undergirds the polemic of the church against the Julianist episcopate as well as its juridic response to Julianist converts, in the period following the

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4. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, II.1; *cf.*, Constantine of Laodicea, "Letter to Marcus" (= *Synodicon*, XXIII, 178-179), 1, discussion below.

5. Norton, P. (2007), *Episcopal Elections, 250-600: Hierarchy and Popular Will in Late Antiquity*, (Oxford), 18-51; and Van Nuffelen, P. (2011), "The Rhetoric of Rules and the Rule of Consensus," in J. Leemans, P. Van Nuffelen, S. W. J. Keough, and C. Nicolaye eds., *Episcopal Elections in Late Antiquity*, (Berlin), 243-258

6. *Can.Nic.* (= *Discipline*, I.I.I, 21-41), 4; *n.b.*, that the need for ordinations be conducted by a minimum of three bishops, as it occurs in the text of the canon, is posited as an electoral and not principally as a sacramental requirement – Bright, *Notes*, 9-12; and L'Huillier, *Church*, 36-41.

7. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, II.3.

death of Procopius of Ephesus.[8] For the Jacobite episcopate – and its apologists – the concept of a sacramental quorum necessary for the valid consecration of a bishop created a simple, pragmatic imperative that all ordinations be conducted by at least three bishops. At the same time, the *sine qua non*, which it established, provided the Severan-Jacobite ecclesiology with a single overriding rubric by which to measure the sacramental effect of ordination. One ordained by three bishops was, sacramentally at least, a bishop, while those who claimed ordination from fewer than three bishops were nothing more than pseudo-bishops, devoid of sacramental power and incapable of performing a valid consecration. Conversely, however, if properly consecrated, an ordination remained sacramentally valid regardless of other circumstances or considerations. On an institutional level, an episcopate that relied upon or descended from a procedurally invalid ordination was in turn systemically invalid. As a result, the rule that bishops be ordained by a minimum of three episcopal officiants provided the Severan-Jacobite church with its most important metric of consecratory validity.

II.1.a, Pseudo-Episcopal Sects

The most extreme category of procedural deviance described in the canons of the Severan-Jacobite church was that of pseudo-episcopacy. Although applied to a variety of groups, including the Julianist movement after *c.* 549, during the early exilic period, between 518 and 542, the pseudo-episcopal designation was attached principally to a series of minor schismatic factions within the anti-Chalcedonian movement. Spawned among the more

8. chapter, II.2.b, 132-141.

radical elements of the movement, these pseudo-episcopical sects were uniformly associated with rigorist calls for the re-ordination and re-baptism of Chalcedonian converts, a position which had coalesced in the late fifth century, but which was consistently opposed by the patriarch Severus both during and after his tenure in Antioch. Characteristically, documented cases of pseudo-episcopacy arose – or are reported in Severan-Jacobite sources as having arisen – when an individual, either a member of the laity or lower clergy, aggregated to themselves the title and functions of the episcopate, ordaining clergy and in some instances at least promoting other bishops. With a few exceptions, however, the sects created by these *soi-disant* bishops were generally ephemeral and seemingly local, disappearing rapidly from the historical record following the death or capitulation of their progenitors.[9] Nevertheless, these periodically recurrent, movements, which flourished in the administrative and sacramental vacuum created by the dislocation of the anti-Chalcedonian clergy and bishops, appear to have been a perennial concern for the Severan-Jacobite episcopate after 518. In confronting the problem of pseudo-episcopacy, in the period prior to 542, Severan canonists and polemicists defined one extreme of a conceptual spectrum, which at antipode embraced sacramentally valid heresies such as the imperial Chalcedonian church.

Archetypal both of the phenomenon of pseudo-episcopacy and the response of Severan canon law to it was the case of the schismatic and pseudo-

9. *N.b.*, here, the notable exception to the general rule regarding the impermanence of the pseudo-episcopal sects was that founded by the pseudo-bishop Zebad, in the period prior to *c.* 512-514. Although direct evidence for the Zebadites is limited, the sect continued to be the object of ecclesiastical legislation well into the 530s and 540s – "Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient" (= *Synodicon*, XXI, 163-176), 25; Thomas of Germanicia, "Letter to John" (= Appendix, I.3), fol. 15b; and "Letter Concerning Certain Transgressions" (= *Synodicon*, XXIV, 180-182), 7.

bishop, Zebad – an apparent anti-Chalcedonian rigorist who advocated the re-baptism of Chalcedonian converts. Little else is known about his biography, though he seems to have practiced his illicit ministry in the period of acute confessional competition at the beginning of the sixth century. This is seemingly confirmed by canon 25 of the "Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient," an exilic collection dated convincingly by A. Vööbus to *c.* 532-534, which states with some precision that the pseudo-bishop had flourished twenty years earlier, in *c.* 512-514.[10] Assuming this date to be at least roughly correct, Zebad's usurpation of episcopal status would seem to have coincided with, and perhaps been facilitated by, the confessional turmoil that both preceded and accompanied the elevation of Severus of Antioch.[11]

The legal reaction to the problem created by the Zebadites, however, appears to have taken shape only after the suppression of the episcopate, following what had become a standard template in Severan legal thought.[12] Writing in 538-542, in a letter addressed to the archimandrite of the monastery of Mar Eusebius, in village of Bartho' near Apamea, the bishop Thomas of Germanicia recounted the contents of an earlier correspondence which he had conducted with Severus, on behalf of the anti-Chalcedonian bishops in *Oriens*, both before and after his summons to Constantinople, in 535.[13] Although principally concerned with the reception of Chalcedonian

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10. "Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient" (= *Synodicon*, XXI, 163-176), 25; and Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessamlungen*, I.a, 174-175.

11. Honigmann, *Évêques*, 106-107; Alpi, *Route royale*, 283; Wigram, *Separation*, 23-57; Frend, *Rise*, 184-220; Haarer, F. K. (2006), *Anastasius I: Politics and Empire in the Late Roman World*, (Cambridge), 116-146; and Michelson, *Practical Christology,* 1-16.

12. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessamlungen*, I.a,173-174.

13. Thomas of Germanicia, "Letter to John" (= Appendix, I.3), fol. 15a-b, states that he had initially written to Severus regarding the reception of Chalcedonian converts, while the patriarch was in Alexandria, between 518 and 535, and again once he had been called to the imperial capital, in 535. However, the letter does not state at precisely what point the bishop communicated the information regarding Zebad – pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, *Chronicle*,

converts, Thomas also claims to have informed the patriarch about Zebad – his pretensions to episcopal status and his spurious ordination of clergy. Thomas, then, quotes at length from Severus' reply. Professing his prior ignorance of the pseudo-bishop, the patriarch nonetheless condemned the ordinations performed by Zebad as an unlawful delusion. Accordingly, he ruled that Zebadite clergy should be received in the manner of "those who have been wrongfully ordained," requiring that once they demonstrated a suitable penance they should be ordained by an orthodox bishop, as though they had not been previously consecrated, and absorbed into the Severan clergy.[14] In a correlated letter, written between 520 and 535, the bishops Constantine of Laodicea and Antonius of Beroia/Aleppo – then in Egypt – affirmed the validity of Thomas' determination regarding the re-ordination of Zebadite converts.[15]

Although the vagueness of the evidence precludes any definite reconstruction of the precise sequence of the correspondence, and thus of the exact causality, the overall pattern suggests that the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate within the diocese had either a decision from the patriarch or confirmation of their own regarding the status of ordinations performed by Zebad – and thus a sanctioned *modus operandi* for the reception of Zebadite clergy. Throughout this process, a consistent formula emerges, which utterly rejects the efficacy of the consecration performed by the pseudo-bishop and required those whom

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IX.15, 16, and 19; Evagrius Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV.10; Greatrex, G. ed. (2011), *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor: Church and War in Late Antiquity*, trans. R. R. Phenix and C. B. Horn, with contributions by S. P. Brock and W. Witakowski, (Liverpool), 354 n. 224; and Appendixes, I.3, 321, and III, 333-336.

14. Thomas of Germanicia, "Letter to John" (= Appendix, I.3), fol. 15b.

15. Constantine of Laodicea and Antonius of Aleppo, "Letter" (= Appendix, III), fol. 145a-b; and Appendix, III, 333-336.

he had ordained to be ordained anew by a member of the Severan episcopate before being allowed to minister within the orthodox clergy. In *c.* 532-534, this formula was codified in canon 25 of the "Chapters" – which was composed by the bishops then in *Oriens*:

> However, it has not been forgotten by us that the holy patriarch Severus commanded with regard to those who shall be ordained anew, and this rightly, for he learned about him [*i.e.*, Zebad] other causes, besides heresy, on account of which he reckoned him to be unworthy of the name of bishop. Because of this, it seems to us that those who have been ordained by Zebad, as we have said, shall be ordained anew. Concerning those, however, who were baptized by those priests who were ordained by him, because the patriarch did not command anything, it does not seem [right] to us to introduce a novelty and by this to make a tumult.[16]

Without expounding upon the exact reasons, the canon denounces the validity of the episcopate claimed by Zebad, stating simply that he was undeserving of the title bishop. Then, following the principle that ordination to the priesthood required the consecration of a bishop, the statute required that those who professed to having been ordained by him should be re-ordained upon their conversion. According to the later canonists, however, Severus had *not* demanded that those who had been baptized by a Zebadite priest submit to re-baptism as a prerequest for their reception as converts.

For the subsequent tradition of Severan canon law these rulings on the status of Zebadite ordination were paradigmatic in two respects. First, the formula set by Severus and codified in the "Chapters" for the reception by re-ordination of Zebadite clergy provided a template for the reception of pseudo-episcopal clergy.[17] Second, it also evidently eschewed re-baptism as a requirement for the reception of converts from a pseudo-episcopal sect. Discussed in greater detail below, a pronounced disinclination towards the re-baptism of converts was characteristic of mainstream anti-Chalcedonian canon law dur-

16. "Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient" (= *Synodicon*, XXI, 163-176), 25.

17. "Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient" (= *Synodicon*, XXI, 163-176), 25.

ing the early exilic period, at least as it was constructed and defined by works of Severus, though not necessarily by popular sentiment within the movement as a whole, which often manifested decidedly rigorist tendencies.[18] Until at least *c.* 549, when direct evidence of that rigorism first appears in the extant corpus of Severan-Jacobite canons, these two articles provided a consistently observed legal template for the church's treatment of pseudo-episcopal sects.

While the case of Zebad suffices to demonstrate that pesudo-episcopacy was not a phenomenon particular to the exilic period, the systematic expulsion of the anti-Chalcedonian bishops in 518-522 resulted nonetheless in a renewed proliferation of pseudo-bishops. Throughout the diocese the withdrawal of a confessionally allied episcopate appears to have created both local demand for the episcopal sacraments as well as an administrative vacuum within many anti-Chalcedonian communities – as the exiles were able to exercise only a remote governance over their former bishoprics.[19] These problems were subsequently compounded by the suppression and expulsion of anti-Chalcedonian monasteries, during the patriarchates of Paul the Jew, 519-521, Euphrasius, 521-526, and Ephrem, 526-545 – which exacerbated not only the need for local clergy, but served to erode the links between individual communities and the jurisdictional structures of the territorial episcopate.[20] At the same time, the peregrination of anti-Chalcedonian clergy and monastics created a culmination of anonymous and semi-anonymous ecclesi-

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18. "Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient" (= *Synodicon*, XXI, 163-176), 25.

19. Menze, *Justinian*, 148-158.

20. John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXIV-XXVI, XILX, and L; pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, *Chronicle*, VIII.5 and X.1; pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, *Chronicle*, 17-19, 21-24, 27-30, and 38-44; Elias, *Vita Iohannis episcopi Tellae*, 57-87; *Chronicon ad annum domini 846 pertinens*, 221-228; and Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, IX.13-14; Vööbus, A. (1988), *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient: a Contribution to the History of Culture in the Near East*, vol. III, (Louvan), 206-214; Ashbrook Harvey, *Asceticism*, 57-75; Menze, *Justinian*, 106-144; and chapter, I.1.a., 20-37.

astics, whose rank and status were known to the communities through which they passed only through self-report. The absence of direct episcopal oversight, the diasporic relocation of clergy and bishops, and the pretext of exigence thus combined, afforded opportunity to those who would claim a rank to which they had not been properly ordained, and prompted others to adopt irregular measures, to pervert and usurp the rites of the ordination.[21]

In a letter written in *c.* 519-521 and addressed to the Palestinian presbyter and archimandrite Elisha, Severus denounced the activities of the pseudo-bishop Gregory.[22] Attested elsewhere in the early exilic correspondence of the patriarch, Gregory is supposed to have falsely presented himself as the bishop of Diocaesarea, in Pontus, from which he claimed to have been forced due to his anti-Chalcedonian convictions. Thus masquerading in the guise of an episcopal refugee, Gregory usurped "the great name and business of the episcopate," even presuming to ordain clergy in Severus' own bishopric.[23] Following the precedent set by his earlier ruling on the Zebadite clergy, Severus ruled that those who professed to having been consecrated by Gregory should be received into the laity – being granted entrance only through re-ordination:

> But there are some others, who are said to have been ordained by laying on of hands by Gregory or the others, who also are not bishops, over them, they shall be counted as laymen, and they shall not dream of the title of the deaconate or presbyterate. At

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21. *N.b.*, "Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient" (= *Synodicon*, XXI, 163-176), 22, treats the problem created by those who fraudulently presented themselves as priests, without being able to identify their ordainers or give proper account of the consecratory rite.

22. Severus of Antioch, *CL*, XXXIV; Brooks, E. W. (1920), "A Collection of Letters of Severus of Antioch, from Numerous Syriac Manuscript (II)," *PO* XIV, 269 n. 3, dates the letter to *c.* 519-521 – consistent with the patirarch's reference to his recently completed treatise against John the Grammarian. Lebon, *Monophysisme*, 147-153, dates the composition of the latter work to the period around 519.

23. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, II.3, 232-233; Honigmann, *Évêques*, 21 and 117, suggests that, "*si réellment Diocésarée avait été la même que Nazianze*," and that the use of the alternative sobriquet might have been intended to ridicule the claims of the pseudo-bishop to be a latter day Greogry of Nazianzus.

> length, however, after some time, if some of them shall be witnessed to lead a virtuous life, let the hand be placed upon them, as though they had been brought to the priestly step.[24]

This condemnation and formula is echoed by the patriarch in a contemporary letter to the anti-Chalcedonian community in Emesa.[25] In a letter to Elisha, Severus juxtaposes the invalidity of the fradulent ordinations performed by Gregory with those conducted by Theodotus of Joppe. Following the restoration of Timothy Aelurus in 475, Theodotus became the focus of a rigorist party in Palestine, which demanded the re-ordination of Chalcedonian converts and found itself alienated from the anti-Chalcedonian hierarchy by the conciliatory policies of the Alexandrian patriarch.[26] Although a Eutychian and a schismatic, Theodotus had nevertheless been "legally [ܕܡܗܝܡܢܐ]" ordained bishop during the short-lived patriarchate of Theodosius of Jerusalem and thus – despite his heresy – retained the ability to perform valid ordinations.[27] As a result, Severus determined that those consecrated by Theodotus should be received in penitence as sacramentally ordained clergy, in the same manner as Chalcedonian converts.[28] By contrast, Gregory and those pseudo-bishops to whom he is elsewhere compared were judged incapable of valid ordination, so that those who claimed to have been consecrated by him were,

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24. Severus of Antioch, *CL*, XXXIV, 105-106; and idem, *SL*, II.3.

25. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, II.3, 256.

26. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.6, V.6 and 14, and IX.1; pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, *Chronicle*, V.4, 217-218; Evagrius Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History*, III.6, pg. 106; Lebon, *Monophysisme*, 28; Horn, C. B. (2006), *Asceticism and Christological Controversy in Fifth-Century Palestine: the Career of Peter the Iberian*, (Oxford), 74-111; Perrone, *La Chésa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche*, 123-125; Watts, E. J. (2010), *Riot in Alexandria: Tradition and Group Dynamics in Late Antique Pagan and Christian Communities*, (Berkeley), 224-229; Wickham, L. R. and Ebied, R. Y. (1970), "A Collection of Unpublished Syriac Letters of Timothy of Aelurus," *Journal of Theological Studies* N.S. XXI.2, 327-328; and Blaudeau, P. (2006), *Alexandrie et Constantinople, 451-491: de l'histoire à la géo-ecclésiologie*, (Rome), 183.

27. Severus of Antioch, *CL*, XXXIV, 105.

28. Severus of Antioch, *CL*, XXXIV.

according to Severus, to be regarded not as having been improperly ordained, but simply as not having been ordained.[29]

The enormity of the transgression committeed by Gregory in falsely assuming the title and functions of the episcopate is underscored by Severus in the same letter to the anti-Chalcedonian faithful of Emesa. Linking Gregory with Isaiah – another pseudo-bishop, with a similarly specious claim to episcopal ordination, who was then active in the area of Emesa –, Severus condemned both, placing any who received their episcopacy or accredited the validity of their ordinations under a sentence of anathema:

> Therefore, learning these things as you have through this humble letter of mine, if anyone should dare to call Gregory of Isaiah a bishop, or should reckon as genuine the profane ordinations, which were performed by them, and does not reject even the report of him as being in everything abominable or unlawful, such a one shall be anathema and shall be found an alien to the glory and communion of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, both in the world that is and the world that is to come.[30]

The patriarch justified the severity of his anathema as commensurate with their perversion of the ecclesiastical order, through which they alienated themselves from the church and from congress and communion with the Severan faithful:

> For those who thus ordained unlawfully and impiously, and have brought the great sacrament, which is the fear of God, down in disgrace, not even sacred scripture commands us to speak the greeting to them, nor to receive them in the house or to make them guests, nor even to come in contact with them at all.[31]

Predicated upon the injunction in 2 John 10:10-11, that Christians should turn away the harbingers of false doctrine, lest they become participants in their transgression, Severus' admonition against intercourse with the followers of Gregory and Isaiah is not without parallel in the extant corpus of early exil-

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29. Severus of Antioch, *CL*, XXXIV; and idem, *SL*, II.3 and IX.1.

30. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, II.3, 256; regarding the pseudo-bishop Isaiah, see chapter, II.2.c, 149-150.

31. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, II.3, 257.

ic canon law.[32] However, despite their admonitory force, contemporary prohibitions against communication and fraternization with dyophysite heretics eschewed such grave penalties, even for those who received heretical sacraments, suggesting that the patriarch regarded the pseudo-episcopacy of Gregory and Isaiah as an especially noxious threat to the body of the church.[33]

The letter provides no explication of the comparative severity of the interdiction against association with the pseudo-episcopal sects, though it might reasonably be supposed that, unlike the members of the imperial church, anti-Chalcedonian pseudo-bishops threatened both the internal coherence of the movement by presenting an alternative source of sacramental leadership as well as the legitimacy of its sacraments. While the number of pseudo-bishops may in reality have been comparatively limited – the sources record the names of only three of the sects from the early sixth century –, the danger which they posed to the perceived status of the church's sacraments may have been significant nonetheless. Here, the extant corpus of Severan-Jacobite polemics is perhaps instructive. Often seizing upon individual transgressions, authors attacked the canonical legitimacy and sacramental validity of other sects by constructing reductive narrative portraits of systemic misconduct and invalidity.[34] Since being seen or characterized as associating with pseudo-episcopacy had the potential to undermine both internal and external confidence in the sacraments of a church, leading to defection and persecu-

32. 2 John 10:7-11; and Brooks, *Sixth Book*, 229 n. 1.

33. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, IV.1-10 and XI.1-2; John of Tella, "Canones ad Presbyteros" (= *Synodicon*, XVIII, 140-156), 2; idem, "Quaestiones et Responsiones" (= *Synodicon*, XL, 211-221), 23-28, and 42-47; "Canon for the Time of Persecution" (= *Synodicon*, XX, 159-163), 2-7; and "Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient" (= *Synodicon*, XXI, 163-176), 13, 20, 21, 32, 34, 35, 40, and 41.

34. *N.b.*, chapters, II.2.b-c, 132-157 and II.3.a, 171-175.

tion, its risks may have exceeded its reality, particularly for a sect like the Severan-Jacobite church, which lacked the material and political framework to publicly stage its ordinations. In turn, this may have prompted those like Severus to adopt more stringent measures against pseudo-episcopacy, both in order to prevent its spread as well as to provide an internal demonstration of the episcopate's scrupulous commitment to the integrity of the priestly sacraments.

Although the proliferation of pseudo-episcopal sects appears from the available sources to have reached its apogee during the upheavals of the early sixth century, at least one instance of pseudo-episcopacy analogous to those of Zebad, Gregory, and Isaiah is documented towards the middle of the century. According to Michael the Syrian, Zakai – a layman from Edessa – spuriously claimed the title and functions of the episcopate during the reign of the emperor Justinian, 527-565. Like those earlier pseudo-bishops, Zakai was an apparent proponent of the re-baptism and re-ordination of Chalcedonian converts, who was – according to Michael the Syrian – ordained by a pair of presbyters, John and Zenob, whom he in turn elevated to the episcopate. Repudiated by the faithful, Zakai was himself deposed by the metropolitan of Dara and received by him as hypodeacon, though evidently not before he had ordained a number of presbyters.[35]

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35. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, IX.XXX, 319; based on his supposed insistence upon the necessity of re-baptizing and re-ordaining Chalcedonian converts, Honigmann, *Évêques*, 105-107, speculated that he was a contemporary of Zebad and thus dated the episode to the period before 513. A more plausible reading of the evidence, however, places the episode toward the middle of the sixth century and thus during the metropolitinate of either Thomas bar 'Abdiya or John of Dara, *PLRE*, IIIb, 1415; and Honigmann, *Évêques*, 104 and 239-241. Comparatively little is known about the scale and history of the sect. However, the evidence provided by Michael – that Zakai was himself an Edessene and was deposed by the bishop of Dara – would seem to indicate that it emerged in Mesopotamia. Without a precise chronology, it is impossible to speculate with any degree of certainity regarding the conditions which produced Zakai and his faction, though it is conceivable that the near total extinction of the Severan episcopate, by *c.* 542, created an administrative and sacramental vacuum comparable to that which had existed during the initial years of the exile – a vacuum which

However, despite the apparent similarities between the claims and activites of Zakai and those of earlier pseudo-bishops, the treatment of the sect in the limited corpus of contemporary Severan-Jacobite canon law deviated markedly from the formula established by Severus of Antioch for the reception of Zebadite converts. Specifically, the sole extant legislative source to deal with the sect – an anonymous epistolary canon dating to *c.* 549 – required the repetition of baptisms performed by Zakaite presbyters, though not those baptized by the heresiarch himself.[36] This the unnamed canonist justified on the grounds that those ordained by Zakai had not received from his pseudo-episcopal hand the gift of the Spirit and were therefore not priests and thus incapable of perfecting the sacrament:

> Those who have been baptized by Zakai shall be received as one who was baptized by a presbyter, not by a bishop, while those who have been baptized by presbyters who were called by Zakai shall be baptized anew, as one who has been baptized by those who have not received the gift of the Holy Spirit, and it is not for them to give the Holy Spirit to others, and on account of this it is right that those who were called to be baptized by them shall be baptized.[37]

Although premised on the principle – articulated already in Severus' ruling on Zebadite clergy – that those who claimed ordination from pseudo-bishops could in no sense be understood to possess either the title or sacramental capacity of the priesthood, the anonymous canon extends the line of reasoning to its logical conclusion. Since Zakaite clergy were not true priests, the baptisms which they performed were likewise counterfeit and thus devoid of sacramental force, creating the need to re-baptize converts from the sect.[38] In a consecutive canon, the canonist extended the same formula to the reception

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was only progressively and unevenly filled through the establishment and expansion of the Jacobite episcopate after *c.* 553.

36. chapter, II.2.d, 157-162.

37. "Letter Concerning Certain Transgressions" (= *Synodicon*, XXIV, 180-182), 6.

38. *Cf.*, Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.60.

of Zebadite converts, in direct contradiction of the earlier ruling by Severus.[39] Although difficult to date with precision, the apparent shift away from the comparatively lenient norms of earlier Severan canon law to a more rigorist, more radical denial of the consecrations performed by heretical sects appears to have typified a persistent, though at times suppressed, current in anti-Chalcedonian ecclesiastico-legal thought.[40]

Conclusions

The treatment of the ordinations performed by the pseudo-episcopal sects of Zebad, Isaiah, Gregory, and Zakai offer useful comparative rubrics by

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39. "Letter Concerning Certain Transgressions" (= *Synodicon*, XXIV, 180-182), 7; chapter, I.2.d, 157-162.

40. The existence of a persistent rigorism within the movement was perhaps most apparent in the obdurate debate over the sacremantal status of the Chalcedonian church. Although indirect, evidence from the period prior to 538 points to the existence of widespread rigorist sentiment within the anti-Chalcedonian movment, which appears at times to have coalecesed intellectually around the so-called "canon of Cyprian of Carthage," which invalidated the sacramental rites, particularly baptism, conferred by all heretical and schismatic sects, regardless of the species of their deviation, on the grounds that they had been performed outside of the orthodox church – Cyprian of Carthage, *Letters*, 70; Burns, J. P. (1993), "On Rebaptism: Social Organization in Third Century Church," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 1.4, 367-403; van de Beek, A. (2010), "Cyprian on Baptism," in H. Bakker, P. van Geest, and H. van Loon eds., *Cyprian of Carthage: Studies in His Life, Language and Thought*, (Louvain), 148-153; Ohme, H. (2012), "Sources of the Greek Canon Law to the Quinisext Council (691/2): Councils and Church Fathers," in W. Hartmann and K. Pennignton eds., *The History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law to 1500*, (Washington, D.C.), 112-114; and Troianos, S. (2012), "Byzantine Canon Law to 1100," in W. Hartmann and K. Pennignton eds., *The History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law to 1500*, (Washington, D.C.), 120 and 138-141. Throughout his career, Severus of Antioch prosecuted a sustained campaign, both through his own writings and those of allied Severan bishops, and succeeded in codifying an anti-rigorist position predicated upon the penitential formulae of Timothy Aelurus: Timothy Aelurus, *Letters*, II and IV; Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.53 and 60, IV.3, and V.1-15; "Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient" (= *Synodicon*, XXI, 163-176), 25 and 42; Thomas of Germanicia, "Letter to Elias" (= Appendix, I.1), fol. 89a-b; idem, "Letter to John" (= Appendix, I.3), fol. 15a-b; "Canons for the Time of Persecution" (= *Synodicon*, XX, 159-163), 1; Constantine of Laodicea and Antonius of Aleppo, "Letter" (= Appendix III), 145b; Constantine of Laodicea, "Letter to Marcus" (= *Synodicon*, XXIII, 178-179), 1; "Canons to Paulā and Paulā" (= *Synodicon*, XXII, 176-178), 1; John of Hephaestopolis, "Letter" (= Appendix, IV), I and II; and Ebied and Wickham, "Collection," 330-331. Following the death of the patriarch, however, the evidence transmitted by the latter points to a flourishing of rigorism among the anti-Chalcedonian community in Constantinople, between 542 and 566, resulting in the promulgation of the canon denying the validity of the Chalcedonian episcopate and requiring the re-baptism and re-ordination of Chalcedonian converts – Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, IX.XXXI; and van Ginkel, *John of Ephesus*, 83.

which to approach Severan-Jacobite legal and apologetic thought regarding the sacramental validity of other episcopal lines, since all represented relatively uncomplicated archetypes of a different form of perceived deviation. The ordinations performed by pseudo-episcopal sects were treated as void because their founders had usurped the prerogatives of the episcopate, by ascribing to themselves the status and functions of bishops without having been sacramentally ordained as such. Accordingly, the transgression of these sects was essentially procedural in nature – because pseudo-bishops had not been ordained to the episcopate by the required three episcopal officiants, they were incapable of conferring priesthood or episcopate upon those whom they ordained. Severus of Antioch underscored this, in his letters, through the juxtaposed examples of the bishop Theodotus of Joppe and the pseudo-bishop Gregory, both of whom propounded the same condemned, rigorist doctrine. However, whereas the ordinations performed by Theodotus, who had himself been licitly ordained, were received as valid, those carried out by Gregory were not. This, in turn, appears to have informed the development of a dominant strand in subsequent Severan-Jacobite legal thought, which largely avoided the invalidation of competing episcopates on purely doctrinal grounds – relying, instead, upon critiques of procedural validity and legality to counter the tritheist and Julianist episcopates.

II.2., The Julianist Episcopate

A more complex, and ultimately illustrative, case study – than that of the pseudo-episcopal sects of Zebad or Zakai – in the hazards and polemic value of pseudo-episcopacy for the anti-Chalcedonian movement in exile is offered by the evolving treatment by Severan authors of the ordinations conducted by the Julianist episcopate. Importantly, the Julianist movement was episcopal in origin, arising from a dispute between the eponymous Julian of Halicarnassus and Severus of Antioch, which took place shortly after both bishops had fled into exile around Alexandria, over the incorruptibility of the body of Christ prior to the resurrection.[1] As a result, the movement thus began with the sacramental capacity to ordain sub-episcopal clergy, able to perform a valid baptism; a capacity amply reflected in the reception formulae imposed by Severan canonists upon Julianist converts, which initially required neither the re-ordination nor re-baptism of proselytes from the sect.

However, the fluctuations in Severan-Jacobite rigorism notwithstanding, the Julianist episcopate ceased to be considered sacramentally viable after *c.* 549. Brought about, according to Severan-Jacobite sources, by the death of the movement's last sacramentally ordained bishop and the consecration of a

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1. Draguet, R. (1924), *Julien d'Halicarnasse et sa controverse avec Sévère d'Antioche sur l'incorruptibilité du corps du Christ: Étude d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale suivie des fragments dogmatiques de Julien*, (Louvain); Frend, *Rise*, 253-254 and 562-563; Wigram, *Separation*, 151-156; Honigmann, *Évêques*, 125-128; Possekel, U. (2013), "Julianism in Syriac Christianity," in P. Burns and H. O. Luthe eds., *Orientalia Christiana: Festschrift für Hubert Kaufhold zum 70. Geburtstag*, (Wiesbaden), 437-438; ibid, (2013), "Julianism after Julian of Halicarnassus," in B.. Bitton-Ashkelony and L. Perrone eds., *Between Personal and Institutional Religion: Self, Doctrine, and Practice in Late Antique Eastern Christianity*, (Turnhout), 263-287; Grillmeier, A. (1995), *Christ in Christian Tradition, Volume Two: from the Council of Chalcedon (451) to Gregory the Great (590-604), Part Two: the Church of Constantinople in the Sixth Century*, in collaboration with T. Hainthaler, trans. J. Cawte and P. Allen, (London), 79-111; and Hainthaler, T. (1996), "The Struggle between Chalcedonians and anti-Chalcedonians," in A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition, Volume Two: from the Council of Chalcedon (451) to Gregory the Great (590-604), Part Four: the Church of Alexandria with Nubia and Ethiopia after 451*, in collaboration with T. Hainthaler, trans. O. C. Dean, (London), 42-52.

pseudo-episcopal line using his dead hand, the perceived sacramental collapse of the Julianist episcopate in *Oriens* was well reflected in Severan canon law. Beginning shortly after the pseudo-episcopal reformation of the Julianist episcopate, Severan canonists began mandating the re-ordination of clerical converts from the movement, though without requiring the re-baptism of lay proselytes, thereby effectively replicating the reception formulae which had been imposed upon Zebadite converts in the 520s and 530s. Later commentators – following a pattern of escalating sacramental rigorism evident among some Severan-Jacobite sources more broadly – also voided the baptism conferred by the sect, at least theoretically necessitating the re-baptism of lay converts. As such, the Julianist episcopate provides a dynamic and uniquely well documented case study in the sacramental collapse of an anti-Chalcedonian episcopate and its attendant consequences for the clergy and laity.

II.2.a., A Heretic by Any Other Name

Between its separation and the collapse of its episcopate in *c.* 549, the Julianist movement was treated in mainstream Severan sources as a sacramentally viable heresy – capable of performing valid ordinations and baptisms – similar to the imperial Chalcedonian church.[2] This is abundantly evidenced by the so-called "Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient," a collection of canonical *responsa* edited by A. Vööbus and plausibly dated by him to the period between 532 and 534.[3] Canon 25 of the collection, which also treats the reception of Zebadite converts, stipulates that converts who

2. An possible exception to this general rule is offered by the anonymous and uncertainly dated "Letter Concerning Certain Transgressions" (= *Synodicon*, XXIV, 180-182), which is discussed in detail, below.

3. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen*, 1.A, 174-175.

had received ordination or baptism from members of the Julianist episcopate should be received according to the same formula as those converting from the imperial church, *i.e.*, without the repetition of the sacrament:

> Concerning those who have been baptized or received ordination to the priesthood from bishops who are followers of the doctrine of the party of Julian, it is right that they be received in the manner of those who have repeated and turned from the heresy of the synod of Chalcedon. However, the period of penitence for those who have received the laying on of hands is within the authority of the bishop to establish as seems proper to him for the edification of the church.[4]

Elsewhere, the same collection repeats the apposition of Chalcedonian and Julianist ordinations with similar implications in canon 42, a statute governing the reception of Lampetians – also known as Messalians, a purely monastic movement, which lacked an internal episcopate and was thus compelled to rely upon the bishops from other sects for ordinations, and who as converts then bore the canonical liabilities of the sect that had ordained them:

> The monks who are called Lampetians among the Romans, who dwell men and women together, if they desire to convert and live with the orthodox, it is necessary that the men shall first separate from the women, and afterwards shall anathematize Lampetius, who is the fashioner of this confusion, and his heresy. It is also necessary that the origin of their priesthood be sought, and if in truth it is discovered that the bishop who ordained them adheres to the synod of Chalcedon or the party of Julian, they shall be received once they produce a *libellus* like other heretics and repent in that manner.[5]

That identical measures, including only the production of a *libellus* demonstrating the orthodox faith and a period of penance, were prescribed for the reception of both those ordained by Chalcedonian and Julianist bishops again points to an acceptance of the sacramental validity of the latter.

Finally, canon 21 of the "Chapters" poses a specific equation between the baptisms performed by Julianist and Chalcedonian presbyters.[6] It is true that an avoidance of re-baptism – even for converts from pseudo-episcopal

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4. "Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient" (= *Synodicon*, XXI, 163-176), 25.

5. "Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient" (= *Synodicon*, XXI, 163-176), 42.

6. "Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient" (= *Synodicon*, XXI, 163-176), 21.

sects, such as the Zebadites – was a systemic feature of earlier Severan canon law. Still, however, the reception of Julianist converts without the imposition of re-baptism is nonetheless a measure consistent with the canons' acceptance of the essential sacramental validity of Julianist ordinations and thus with an acceptance of the validity of the contemporary Julianist episcopate.[7]

I.2.b., Breaking the Line

The juridic attitude of the Severan-Jacobite church towards the sacramental validity of the Julianist episcopate did not remain static, however, but appears to have shifted rapidly after *c.* 549, when according to the later Severan tradition the line of Julianist episcopal succession was irreversibly broken with death of the sect's last canonically ordained bishop, Procopius of Ephesus.[8] Although varying in the precise details which they relay, the constituent sources in this tradition all adhere to a common discursive plan when describing the sect's ordination of bishops. Beginning with the death of Procopius, the Severan sources outline the formation of a new Julianist episcopate from the ordination of the pseudo-bishop Eutropius – whom they claim to have been consecrated by a group of Julianist partisans using the hand of the dead Procopius.[9] By depicting the whole of the resulting episcopal edifice as depen-

7. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, V.6; "Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient" (= *Synodicon*, XXI, 163-176), 25; and chapter, II.1, 112-128.

8. Kofsky, "Julianism," 257-260; Possekel, "Julianism," 443-451; and Honigmann, *Évêques*, 128-129.

9. The veracity of the claim that Eutropius was consecrated using the dead head of Procopius cannot be definitely confirmed. Although repeated by all of the extant Severan-Jacobite sources – Sergius of Antioch, *Epistula ad episcopos orthodoxos regni Persarum*, 1; pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, *Chronicle*, III, 121-123; Michael the Syria, *Chronique*, IX.XXXI, 321-322; and John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III.1 –, the accusation of νεκροχειροτόνητος is not unique to the ordination of Eutropius – Severus of Antioch, *SL*, II.3; Liberatus of Carthage, *Breviarium causae Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum* (= *ACO*, II.4, 98-141), § XX, 135; *Chronicle of Se'ert*, II.X, 28; Honigmann, *Évêques*, 34-35; Kofsky, "Julianism," pg. 257-258; Possekel, "Julianism," 444; and Garitte, G. (1952), *La Narratio de rebus Armeniae*, (Louvain), 117-175. However, neither the strangeness of the accusation or its occurrence in other contexts can be

dent upon the pseudo-episcopal ordination of Eutropius, the Severan polemicists were then able to condemn the sacramental validity of the Julianist church in its entirety. Denial of the Eutropian episcopate, in turn, justified a change in the treatment of Julianist ordinations and converts by Severan canonists.[10]

Already, this essential plan and its consequential implications are clearly apparent in two sources from the mid-sixth century: the canonical *responsa* of Sergius of Antioch, *c.* 557-561, to the Severan-Jacobite bishops in Sasanian Empire and the *Chronicle* of pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre.[11] The letter may be dated with some precision to 561 from a reference to its having been written twenty-five years after exile of Theodosius of Alexandria, which took place in 536.[12] The material transmitted by pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre is comparatively more difficult to date with certainty. Although the chronicle itself was compiled in 775, its account of the episode appears to have been predicated upon the inextant second part of the *Historiae ecclesiasticae* of John of Ephesus, which seems to have been published sometime after the sixth year of the reign of Justin II, 571.[13] Given the tendency of the author

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taken *prima facie* as evidence that it was applied to the Julianist episcopate merely as a heresiographic trope.

10. *N.b.*, the term "Eutropian" as a designation for the reformed Julianist episcopate, which emerged after the death of Procopius of Ephesus, does not appear among contemporary sources, but is adopted here for the sake of clarity and convenience as an analogue to the term "Jacobite," as it is used to describe the reformed Severan episcopate after 542.

11. Sergius of Antioch, *Epistula ad episcopos orthodoxos regni Persarum*, 1, 218-220; pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, *Chronicle*, III, 120-125; Honigmann, *Évêques*, 192-195; and Allen, P. (2011), "Episcopal Succession in Antioch in the Sixth Century," in J. Leemans, P. Van Nuffelen, S. W. J. Keough, and C. Nicolaye eds., *Episcopal Election in Late Antiquity*, (Berlin), 30-31.

12. Sergius of Antioch, *Epistula ad episcopos orthodoxos regni Persarum*, 1, pg. 219-220; and van Roey, A. (1975-1976), "Une lettre du patriarche jacobite Serge I (557-561)," *Parole de l'orient* VI and VII, 216.

13. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.I.3; Witakowski, W. (1987), *The Syriac Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre: a Study in the History of Historiography*, (Uppsala), 90; and van

to compose progressively and with minimal editorial correction, traits apparent from his other extant works, it is conceivable that the relevant section was written well prior to 571.[14] However, the fragmentary nature of the text makes this impossible to determine with any reasonable surety; so too, it also obscures the extent of the redaction performed by the later compiler, as well as the larger contextual aims of the passage within the original work.

In answer to a question about the manner in which the Julianist clergy were to be received as converts, Sergius of Antioch condemned the validity of ordinations performed by the sect. In justification of his ruling, the patriarch produced a brief stemmatiform account of the foundation of the Eutropian episcopate, beginning with the ordination of its eponymous founder by the hand of the deceased Procopius of Ephesus. From this initial ordination, the patriarch traces the consecration of six bishops, whose ordinations were performed either directly by Eutropius himself or by the bishop Romanus whom he had ordained:

> Procopius was a bishop. He was for a brief time among the orthodox, and soon after he erred through the heresy of the party of Julian, and at last he was left the only [remaining] heretic bishop, and when he came to die, he ordained Eutropius, but the men who were with him say that after he was dead the members of his sect took the hand of the dead man and placed it upon Eutropius. And Eutropius ordained Romanus from the monastery of Beth Mar Moses, and Sergius who was in Hirta, and Theodore upon whom a house fell and buried him in an earthquake in Arabia. And Romanus ordained Moses in the monastery of Beth Mar Isaac, and Shim'on in the monastery of Beth Mar Cyricus, and in the place of Theodore, who had died in an earthquake in Arabia, he ordained Stephen.[15]

Within this schema, the new episcopate, engendered by and reliant upon the ordination of Eutropius, served implicitly to perpetuate and promulgate the invalidity of his original consecration, creating an episcopal edifice that was

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Ginkel, *John of Ephesus*, 46 and 54-57.

14. van Ginkel, *John of Ephesus*, 42 and 71-77.

15. Sergius of Antioch, *Epistula ad episcopos orthodoxos regni Persarum*, 1, 219.

systemically void. This implication – explicitly realized in the fragmentary text of the *Historiae ecclesiasticae* – was to provide a common feature of subsequent Severan treatments of the Julianist episcopate.

Differing in both detail and structure from the earlier letter, the account of John of Ephesus, as transmitted by pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, does not contain a catalogue of individual bishops. Instead, it constructs a largely anonymous episcopal stemma – which traces the geographic diffusion of the episcopate rather than cataloguing its individual members. By focusing narrative attention almost exclusively on the singular impropriety of Eutropius' ordination, John was again able to invalidate the Julianist episcopate as a collective entity, which was rendered void by the very act of its conception. Because Eutropius had not been sacramentally consecrated, all the ordinations which he performed – or which were performed by those whom he had ordained – were also equally and inescapably void. By tracing the geographic spread of the Eutropian episcopate, the historian then universalized his condemnation, disallowing for the possibility of alternative, legitimate avenues to ordination within the movement and implicating by extension the whole of the Julianist clergy.

According to the fragment of the *Historiae ecclesiasticae* preserved by pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, Procopius – then already an ordained bishop – was enticed to settle in Ephesus by four *scholastici* from the city. After briefly converting to Severan orthodoxy, he recanted and returned to his original heresy, remaining in Ephesus until his death. Towards the end of his life, members of the sect pressed him repeatedly to ordain another bishop to take his place. Procopius, however, is supposed to have refused to commit a gross violation of ecclesiastical law by alone performing a consecration of a bishop.

Nevertheless, following his death, the Julianists in Ephesus selected Eutropius, then a monk, and, placing the dead hand of Procopius on his head, performed the consecratory rites over him, resulting in a pseudo-episcopal ordination.[16] Eutropius, then, compounded the invalidity of his own ordination by alone consecrating a further ten bishops, who in turn shared in the nullity of both the original ordination by the dead hand of Procopius, as well as their own consecrations which were performed by a single officiant:

> Since, having been ordained by a dead man, he became a vessel of corruption; he added ruin to his previous weakness and immediately ordained ten pseudo-bishops [ܥܣܪ ܩܫܝܫܐ ܕܫܘܝܐ], who were also spuriously ordained, since the fool forgot that the deceased [*i.e.*, Procopius], while he was alive and well, decline to ordain a bishop alone, contrary to the canon. He [*i.e.*, Eutropius] too ought to have quailed, and trembled, and stood fear to have alone dared and ordained bishops, leaving aside the fact that [he had been ordained] by the hand of a dead man and was also shown to be dead to the ecclesiastical ordinances, an inefficacious and cold corpse without spiritual sense, along with all those who were ordained by him as well as those who were afterwards ordained by them.[17]

The chronicler then traces the spread of this new pseudo-episcopate from the hand of Eutropius "to the east and west, to the royal city and Alexandria, to the whole of Syria, and they even crossed to Hirta of Beth Nu'man and the Persian Empire," while others entered Sophanene, Arzanene, and Armenia; with exception of the pseudo-bishop Sergius, who served as a missionary to the Himyarites, the fragment names no other members of members of the Julianist episcopate.[18] As in the letter of Sergius of Antioch, the invalidity of the Eutropius' own consecration served to void the episcopal ordinations which he performed. However, whereas the earlier account had invalidated a discrete chain of named pseudo-bishops, John globalizes this condemnation by treating the Eutropian episcopate not as a series of individuals, but as a single,

16. pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, *Chronicle*, III, 121-123.

17. pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, *Chronicle*, III, 123.

18. pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, *Chronicle*, III, 123-124; Possekel, "Julianism," 443-444; and Kofsky, "Julianism," 257-258.

predominately anonymous, edifice – which, regardless of character or circumstance of any individual ordination remained inextricably defined by the sacramental nullity at its genesis. The same rhetorical strategy was elsewhere employed by John both to condemn the collective illegality of the tritheist episcopate after 569 and also, conversely, to legitimize the ordination of the Jacobite episcopate.[19]

The chronicle of the twelfth-century patriarch, Michael the Syrian, contains an account of the founding of the Eutropian episcopate, largely identical to that of pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre and therefore also presumably predicated upon the *Historiae ecclesiasticae* of John of Ephesus.[20] The later chronicle, however, contains addition information – in the form of two vignettes – on the diffusion of the Eutropian episcopate in Armenia, Arzanene, and Egypt.[21] Kofsky supposed this additional material to derive from another source, which the later chronicler used to supplement the account of *Historiae*.[22] Although the presence of a second source is neither impossible nor implausible, neither is it required in order to explain the discrepancy between the two chronicles. The expansion of the Julianist episcopate in all three regions is also noted, albeit passingly, in the work of pseudo-Dionysius, while the account of the ordination of a Eutropian episcopate in Egypt given by Michael adheres faithfully to the same anonymous, stemmatiform schema, which characterized the description of the formation of the Eu-

19. chapters, II.3.a, 171-175 and II.4.b, 226-242.

20. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, IX.XXXI, 321-322; regarding the later chronicler's dependence upon the *Historiae ecclesiasticae* for material covering this period, see, van Ginkel, *John of Ephesus*, 54-57.

21. *cf.*, pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, *Chronicle*, III, 123-124; and Kofsky, "Julianism," 258-259.

22. Kofsky, "Julianism," 258.

tropian episcopate in the earlier chronicle. These shared features make it possible to suppose that the extra material transmitted by Michael was also drawn from the *Historiae* or from an intermediate source based upon it, and was simply omitted by pseudo-Dionysius as part of his earlier redaction of the original.

In the first vignette, the chronicle expands the geographic scope of its condemnation of the Julianist episcopate beyond *Oriens* and the east by suggesting that the Gaianite episcopate in *Aegyptus* and Nubia was a candidate line of the episcopate that descended from the fraudulent ordination of Eutropius. According to the account, an unnamed bishop from the Julianist episcopate in *Oriens* and Anatolia entered Egypt and ordained an unenumerated number of bishops as well as a patriarch for the Gaianite community in Alexandria. Although most of the members of this new Eutropian-Gaianite line are left characteristically anonymous, the chronicle does name the bishop Ammonius, to whom it credits the articulation of a new credal statement on the uncreated body of Christ.[23] Following the same template as the Eutropian episcopate in the east, these bishops are depicted as in turn having spread throughout the diocese and the adjoining territories, outside of the empire proper, bearing with them the heresy of their sect and the invalidity of their ordination.[24] As in the shared account of the foundation of the Eutropian episcopate in the east, the structure of the Egyptian vignette serves to void the

23. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, IX.XXXI, 322; *n.b.*, the chronicler places the mission to Egypt, along with the rest of the material on the Eutropian episcopate, in a single entry under the emperor Justin II, obscuring its internal chronology. External evidence, however, points to the reformation of the Gaianite episcopate already during the reign of Justinian with the ordination by the party of a new patriarch, Elpidius, in 564/565, and following him Dorotheus, 565 to 580 – Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, A. M. 6057; Hainthaler, "Struggle," 47; Kofsky, "Julianism," 254.

24. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, IX.XXXI, 321-322; and Kofsky, "Julianism," 254.

entire sacramental edifice of the Eutropian-Gaianite episcopate by tying it to this defining conceptional defect – *viz.*, the pseudo-episcopal ordination of its anonymous founder.

The second vignette concerning the spread of Julianism in Sasanian Mesopotamia and Armenia deviates from the stemmatiform plan common to both the shared narrative of the formation of the Eutropian episcopate as well as the Egyptian vignette – making it, perhaps, more likely to derive from a source other than John of Ephesus.[25] In it, the chronicler claims that two Eutropian bishops, Joseph and Dada, were imprisoned in Sasanian held Nisibis for a period of seven years, until their release was secured through the intervention of a Roman envoy. Subsequently, Michael claims that, while Joseph withdrew into monastic seclusion, Dada embarked upon a campaign to win converts in Arzanene and Armenia, where he demanded that the bishops of those regions anathematize Severus of Antioch. Pressed by Dada, the bishops of those regions wrote to Theodosius of Alexandria, then in Constantinople, to inquire about the orthodoxy of his position. The patriarch's reply, however, was delayed, arriving only after the death of Theodosius, in 566.[26] In total, the chronicle claims that seventy-two bishops fell prey to the heresy as a result.[27]

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25. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, IX.XXXII, 322; and Kofsky, "Julianism," 262.

26. *N.b.*, based on references in the text, it is possible to date the missionary activities of Dada conservatively to the decade between 556 and 566. A *terminus post quem* of 556 being established the period of seven years after the ordination of Eutropius, while a *terminus ante quem* is fixed by death of Theodosius of Alexandria, in June 566 – Brooks, E. W. (1903), "The Dates of the Alexandrine Patriarchs Dioskoros II, Timothy IV, and Theodosius," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 12.2, 496-497. Although the chronicle does not specify the length of the delay in the correspondence between the patriarch and the eastern bishops, the fact that it took place near the end of Theodosius' life – as well as the absence of Joseph and Dada from the lists of early Eutropian bishops – suggests that the episode occurred towards the end of the period described by the two *termini*.

27. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, IX.XXXII, 322.

There could, of course, have been no real question of pseudo-episcopacy among the convert episcopates in either region. Both had been sacramentally ordained prior to their acceptance of Julianism, and both possessed a number of bishops sufficient to maintain the sacramental validity of their ordination. The implications of this fact – which patently contradicted the larger apologetic program of the narrative – are, however, absent from the text of Michael the Syrian and largely obscured in that of pseudo-Dionysius, which seems to depict the conversion of Armenia, Sophanene, and Arzanene as mechanically similar to the expansion of the Eutropian episcopate into Egypt, *Oriens*, Sasanian Mesopotamia, and Arabia. Although far from explicit, the effect produced by the latter narrative was to foster the impression that the Julianist episcopates of Armenia, Sophanene, and Arzanene were the offshoots of the same pseudo-episcopal line as the rest of the Eutropian episcopate – a seemingly programatic distortion by narrative omission. In reality, the Armenian episcopate appears to have played at least an intermittent role in the provisioning of a sacramental episcopate for Julianist communities in *Oriens*. According to the Armenian sources, at the synod of Dvin in 555, a contingent of Syrian Julianists succeeded in obtaining both the ordination of ʿAbdisho, a monk and propagandist from monastery of Sareba, as well as the anathematization of Severus of Antioch from the bishops under the catholicos Nerses. Afterwards, the Armenian episcopate appears to have provided the movement within the Roman empire with a more or less reliable source of episcopal ordinations.[28]

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28. John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III.2; Thomson, R. W. (1965), "An Armenian List of Heresies," *Journal of Theological Studies*, N.S. XVI.2, 358-361; Frend, *Rise*, 314-315; Possekel, "Julianism," 450; Kofsky, "Julianism," 260-262; Van Esbroeck, M. (1987), "Un court Traité pseudo-basilien de mouvance aaronite conservé en Armenien," *Le Muséon* 100, 389-395; and Draguet, "Pièces (III)," 68-69.

Here, the apparent discrepancies between the Armenian and Syriac sources – although requiring further analysis – serve nonetheless to elucidate the common discursive strategy of the latter. By focusing narrative attention upon the invalidity of Eutropius' ordination and then tracing the dissemination of that vitiosity through the growth of a single episcopal line, the Severan-Jacobite sources are able to condemn the whole of the Julianist episcopal edifice through that foundational nullity. At the same time, by narrowing the focus of their narrative to the succession of bishops from Eutropius, both Sergius of Antioch and John of Ephesus were able to construct a single, linear stemma, which served effectively to exclude the Armenian church from the sacramental line of the Julianist episcopate in *Oriens*. By treating the conversion of the bishops in Sasanian Mesopotamia and Armenia solely as part of the expansion of the Eutropian episcopate and then treating that expansion as a single outward process, without discussion of the subsequent activities of the convert episcopates, the Severan sources, all of which post-date the synod of Dvin, were able to marginalize the sacramental potential of these episcopates – suppressing through implication and omission that which they were unable to nullify in fact. A fundamentally similar strategy can be seen in the apologetic response to the Eutropian and Gaianite episcopates as a whole. By concentrating attention entirely upon the succession of the new episcopal line from Eutropius both the Sergius of Antioch and John of Ephesus were able to deny the possibility of an alternative source of ordinations or the licit operation of the episcopate subsequent to its reformation, and thus to deny in total its sacramental validity.

II.2.c., Illegal and Invalid

Beyond its conception and early diffusion, evidence for the subsequent history of the Eutropian episcopate – as well as evidence for the Severan response – is limited and wholly episodic. The most significant of these episodes is documented by a dossier compiled by the Severan-Jacobite patriarch John of Antioch, 630/631 to 648, as part of a larger treatise on the orthodox faith, the *Plerophoria*, which has been published by R. Draguet, on the basis of a single defective eight or ninth century manuscript, BM Add. MS 14,629 fol. 1-24.[29] Comprising a florilegium of supposedly Julianist documents accompanied by a canonical preface, the third part of the text posits two distinct claims regarding the illegitimacy of the Eutropian episcopate. In so doing, the patriarch moved beyond the stemmatiform model of previous Severan polemics by focusing in large part upon the consecratory malpractice of the Eutropian episcopate subsequent to its foundation.

The first principal allegation made in the *Plerophoria* closely mirrors earlier condemnations of the ordination of Eutropius and its implications for the validity of the episcopate, which descended from him. In a brief notice following his preface, John produced a summary of the foundation of the Eutropian episcopate virtually identical to that offered by the patriarch Sergius – recounting Eutropius' ordination of the bishops Romanus of Beth Mar Moses, Sergius of Hirta, and Theodosius, who is seemingly identical to the Theodore named in the letter of Sergius of Antioch, as well as those of Moses of Beth Mar Isaac, Shim'on of Beth Mar Cyriacus, and Stephen conducted by Romanus.[30] Again, as in that earlier text, the account provides a concise con-

29. Gregory bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, I.51, 275-279; Draguet, "Pièces (III)," 59-60; Kofsky, "Julianism," pg. 259-261; Possekel, "Julianism," pg. 444-449 and 453-454; and Wright, *Catalogue*, II, 754-756.

30. John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III.1, 74; Sergius of Antioch, *Epistula ad episcopos orthodoxos regni Persarum*, 1; and Kofsky, "Julianism," 259-260; the notice – unlike the other documents in

demnation of the Eutropian episcopate as a pseudo-episcopal line, descending from the invalid ordination of its founder. Elsewhere, in the preface to the collection, John makes explicit this conclusion by asserting that, because they derived ultimately from the consecration of a dead hand, the Eutropian episcopate and its dependent clergy were thus void – unable to consecrate any of the ecclesiastical sacraments.[31]

The second allegation within the *Plerophoria*, however, diverges from the simple stemmatiform condemnation of the Eutropian episcopate by asserting that the un-canonical consecration of pseudo-bishops by lone officiants, without reference to the procedural norms of the church, was a persistent feature of Julianist ordinations, in the period after *c.* 549. So too, the collection argues, was a systemic disregard for the procedural norms governing the selection of episcopal ordinands by appointing and consecrating bishops in secret, and thus without achieving the electoral consensus required by canon law.[32] Posited in the expository preface, both charges are substantiated through the reproduction of three documents – of Julianist origin – pertaining to the schism in *c.* 584, which was triggered by the ordinations performed by the bishop Stephen.[33]

Significantly, these documents offer some limited degree of insight into the understanding of the legal and sacramental constraints placed upon the practice of episcopal ordination current among a small group of highly influ-

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the collection – makes no claim to a Julianist provenance, but appears to have originated as a piece of Severan polemic derived either directly or indirectly from the letter of Sergius or from some inextant common source – Draguet, "Pièces (III)," 61 and 63-65.

31. John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III, 72.

32. chapter, II.4.a-b, 203-242.

33. John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III, 72-73 and III.2-4; Kofsky, "Julianism," 259-260; and Draguet, "Pièces (III)," 61-65.

ential Julianist actors, in the period after the Eutropian reformation. Although care must here be taken not to over generalize from such a limited and programmatically selected a corpus, the documents nonetheless suggest that an understanding of the criteria governing the sacramental ordination of bishops existed, at least within the Julianist circles attached to the monastery of Beth Mar Isaac of Gaboula, which was fundamentally divergent from the position of the contemporary Severan-Jacobite church. In particular, the documents appear to attest a contingent acceptance by members of the Julianist monastic and episcopal establishment of ordinations conducted by solo-ordainers in times of acute necessity as well as a seemingly unqualified acceptance of ordinations performed by two or more bishops.

Named by both Sergius and John of Antioch as the successor to bishop Theodore/Theodosius, whose ordination they ascribe to Romanus of Beth Mar Moses, Stephen is recorded in a longer historical fragment – ascribed by the *Plerophoria* to the monks of Beth Mar Isaac – as having consecrated two bishops, Barlaha and Cassianus, both without the two co-officiants required to achieve sacramental validity.[34] Although he initially professed his inability to consecrate a bishop in absence of another episcopal officiant, Stephen is supposed to have secretly ordained Barlaha, then a hermit – "although he did not possess agreement of a single bishop nor anyone's decree [ψήφισμα], he made Barlaha a bishop without there being anyone with him to witness that it was done, not even one priest or two with him to hold the gospels and place them upon his head."[35] Afterwards, with the assent and assistance of Barlaha,

34. Sergius of Antioch, *Epistula ad episcopos orthodoxos regni Persarum*, 1; and John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III.1 and 2.

35. John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III.2, 75; *n.b.*, the Greek term ψήφισμα – Syriac ܟܝܦܝܣܡܐ – possessed both a specific, technical usage in contemporary sources. In a generic sense, the word referred to a "decree" or "vote," though in a more precise sense it was used to describe

Stephen consecrated Cassianus.[36] In doing so, however, Stephen passed over the monastery's preferred candidate, Zachariah – who, unable to obtain ordination from the Julianist episcopate in Armenia, became the focus of opposition to him. The result was an open rupture between the bishop and the inmates of Beth Mar Isaac, whom the text identifies as recognized leaders of the movement, leading the archimandrite, Thomas, to issue a blanket anathema of any episcopal ordination that was performed by a lone officiant as well as any which was conducted without his consent.[37]

In addition to the version given in the narrative account, however, an un-redacted copy of the anathema is also preserved in the *Plerophoria*, in an unfortunately incomplete letter addressed by Thomas to his partisans in *Oriens*, at the time of his break with Stephen.[38] Although verbally similar to the quote given in the historical fragment, the text of the letter nonetheless serves to better elucidate claims made by the archimandrite – and thus those made by John of Antioch – regarding the deficiencies of the ordination conferred by Stephen:

> Again, my Lord, I, Thomas, archimandrite of the holy convent of Beth Mar Isaac of Gaboula, through the authority, which God conferred upon holy apostles, along with and like the fathers, I anathematize – and that anathema by the holy Trinity – every bishop who anathematizes anyone of the faithful, and every bishop who ordains a bishop in Syria without me so long as I am alive, both the one who ordains and the one who is ordained as well as the one who receives him, and together with these we again anathematize everyone who is made a bishop by one bishop alone,

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the mechanism by which a recognized electorate indicated its preference in episcopal candidates. In letters written during his patriarchate, Severus of Antioch describes a process by which the electorate of a given city nominated a slate of three candidates, a ψήφισμα, from which the metropolitan or patriarch, acting in conjunction with the provincial synod, would then select and ordain one. Here, there is no indication that the ψήφισμα envisioned by the author of the history was of the latter variety – rather the context suggests points to an electoral decree or formal sanction, as opposed to a slate of candidates.

36. John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III.2.

37. John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III.2, 75.

38. John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III.4.

> when there are many orthodox bishops, and transgress the canon of the holy apostles and fathers.[39]

In it, Thomas posits two distinct claims regarding the necessary conditions for the legitimate ordination of bishops, both of which appear in their construction to reflect an understanding of episcopal ordination separate from that expressed in contemporary Severan-Jacobite sources. The first is that bishops be consecrated by more than one officiant. Here, Thomas does not explicitly justify this prohibition against activities of lone ordainers, though he does reproduce the text of an anathema which he had earlier issued against those who anathematize the proscriptions issued by the Council of Nicaea, in a letter to the Julianist monasteries in Armenia – suggesting perhaps that the archimandrite regarded the prohibition as being predicated on canon 4 of that council, which was frequently adduced in Severan discussions of pseudo-episcopacy.[40] If so, however, Thomas does not specifically identify those appointed in contravention of this requirement as pseudo-bishops, nor does it explicitly void their sacramental acts, but appears instead to treat them merely as having been unlawfully ordained. Such an interpretation, although argued from absence, is nonetheless vindicated by the subsequent treatment of Barlaha and Cassianus by the monastic faction. In a passage of the historical account discussed below, the monastery – despite its prior condemnation of their ordination – nonetheless turned to Barlaha and Cassianus to consecrate bishops for the vacant sees of Edessa and Bostra. Although the narrative passes in silence over the apparent contradiction between these facts, the willingness of the monks to employ the bishops as ordainer nevertheless presupposes

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39. John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III.4, 81-82; *cf.*, ibid, III.2, 75; and Draguet, "Pièces (III)," 63-65.

40. John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III.4.

an acceptance of the sacramental validity of their episcopate and thus of their ordination.[41]

Indeed, none of the Julianist documents preserved by John of Antioch treat the participation of three episcopal officiants as an absolute *sine qua non* for the legitimate consecration of bishops. Instead, both the letter of the archimandrite and the narrative account of the monks of Beth Mar Isaac condemn only those ordinations which were performed by a single officiant – with no specific requirement for the presence of three officiants.[42] In total, the texts record the ordination of at least five bishops – Cassianus, George bar Abshai, Daniel Qafouhia, Zachariah, and Thomas –, which were performed by only two officiants. Notwithstanding other considerations, the documents treat all of these as valid ordinations, which had conferred upon their recipients a full, sacramental episcopate, suggesting at the very least that the ecclesiastical circles around the monastery of Beth Mar Isaac were prepared to accept those consecrated by two officiants as having been normally ordained.[43] At the same time, Thomas – in his anathema – qualifies the prohibition against lone officiant ordinations by stipulating that he anathematized those who ordained without other officiants, "when there are many orthodox bishops."[44] The archimandrite offers no immediate elaboration of this condition. The clear implication, however, would seem to be that in the absence of other officiants bishops might be sacramentally ordained by a single episcopal officiant. Although nowhere explicitly discussed among the documents in the dossier,

41. John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III.2 and 3.

42. John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III.2 and 4.

43. John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III.2 and 3; and Draguet, "Pièces (III)," 71; *cf.*, chapter, II.4.b, 226-242.

44. John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III.2 and 4, 82.

such a willingness to accept solo-ordination as a valid mechanism by which to reconstitute an episcopate *in extremis* would perhaps have been consistent with the exigencies and evolved norms of a communion which – accepting the dominate Severan narrative – had seen its own episcopate revived from the point of extinction through the unassisted efforts of Eutropius of Ephesus. Conceivably, therefore, the apparent ambivalence of the Julianist documents in the *Plerophoria* – when compared to the position of the Severan sources – towards the strict requirement for bishops to be ordained by three bishops might reasonably be attributed to the circumstances and mechanisms underlying the genesis of the Eutropian episcopate.

Nevertheless, although neither provision would have been deemed acceptable by Severan canonists, neither were they entirely without theoretical precedent in earlier ecclesiastical thought. Canon 1 of the *Canons of the Apostles* – a pseudo-apostolic collection composed in the late fourth or fifth century by the editor(s) of the *Apostolic Constitutions* – required that episcopal ordinations be conducted by "two or three bishops."[45] Equally, the *Constitutions* elsewhere allowed that when necessitated by the exigencies of persecution or an other compelling need this requirement might be relaxed in order to permit bishops to be ordained by a single officiant, providing that he acted with the mandate of other members of the episcopate.[46] Neither text is adduced in the *Plerophoria* or any of the other material connected to the Eutropian episcopate,

45. *Can.Apost.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 2-53), 1: "Επίσκοπος ὑπὸ ἐπισκόποων χειροτονείσθω δύο ἢ τριῶν;" *Constitutiones apostolorum*, VIII.4.2; John Scholasticus, *Synagoga L titulorum*, VII; Joannou, P.-P. (1962), *Discipline Générale Antique, t.I,2: Les canons des synodes particuliers*, (Rome), 1; and Hamilton, H. (2002), *The Early Development of Canon Law and the Council of Serdica*, (Oxford), 48-49.

46. *Constitutiones apostolorum*, VIII.27.1-3.

though the *Constitutions* in particular had already played a role in the shaping the debate around pseudo-episcopacy in the anti-Chalcedonian movement.

Evidence from the early exilic period points to the use of the provision permitting bishops to be ordained by a single officiant, ascribed in the *Constitutions* to the apostle Simon of Cananaean, by a pseudo-episcopal faction to justify its ordination. In a letter written to the anti-Chalcedonian faithful of Emesa, Severus of Antioch addresses the claims made by the pseudo-bishop Isaiah the Armenian, then operating in the territory of the city, who professed without a bishopric or evidence of his ordination that he had been ordained by a single dying bishop. According to the patriarch, Isaiah's partisans sought to defend the validity of his ordination by adducing what they referred to as the "canon of Simon the Cananaean" – reproduced by Severus, the text of the so-called canon is identical to *Constitutions*, VIII.27.1-3. Denying the authenticity of the canon, which the patriarch argues "has never prevailed in the holy churches or been received by the holy synods or been named in them at all," as well as the adherence of Isaiah's ordination to its dictates, since he was unable to demonstrate that it had been sanctioned by any other bishop, Severus affirms the invalidity of his episcopate.[47]

In approaching the position of the Eutropian episcopate, the earlier dispute over the acceptability of the "canon of Simon the Cananaean" as a legal justification for the single officiant ordinations is significant for two reasons. First, in a particular sense, Isaiah – then active in Pamphylia – appears to have embraced a Julianist or quasi-Julianist confession, accusing Severus of espousing a belief that the body of Christ "was corrupted and dissolved during

47. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, II.3; Brooks, *Sixth Book*, 213 n. 3; and chapter, II.1.a, 115-127.

the burial of three days."[48] Although Kofsky perhaps exceeds the limits of the scant evidence by labeling Isaiah a "Julianist activist," the accusation is nonetheless consistent with other anti-Severan polemic.[49] The precise date and manner of Isaiah's alliance with the Julianist movement is unclear, as indeed is his relation to the Julianist episcopate, whose members, prior to the death of Procopius of Ephesus, might well have shared the Severan understanding of the regulations governing episcopal ordinations.[50] It is nevertheless conceivable that Isaiah and his partisans may have played some role in shaping the thought of Julianist communities in *Oriens* and *Asiana* in the period prior to the ordination of Eutropius – providing a rhetorical precedent for the legal justification for the creation of a bishop by a single episcopal officiant. Second, in a more general sense, the episode points to the existence of a broader spectrum of ecclesiastical thought on episcopal ordination than that commonly invoked in the extant Severan-Jacobite sources. Moreover, regardless of the real influence of Isaiah and his partisans on the subsequent movement, their use of the *Constitutions* remains illustrative nonetheless of a rationale available to the later Eutropian episcopate.

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48. Severus of Antioch, *CL*, LXIX, 102.

49. Severus of Antioch, *CL*, LXIX; idem, *SL*, IX.1; and Kofsky, "Julianism," 256.

50. Brooks, *Sixth Book*, 207; and idem, "Letters (II)," 75, plausibly dates the letter to anti-Chalcedonians of Emesa to 518-519 and the letter to the aristocratic deaconess Anastasia, in which Isaiah's accusation is discussed, more broadly to the period between 522 and 526. Although neither of these dates is particularly firm, the chronology that they suggest raises the possibility that Isaiah's conversion to Julianism post-dated the dispute over the validity of the "canon of Simon the Cananaean." *N.b.*, John of Ephesus, in his account of the formation of the Eutropian episcopate, depicts Procopius of Ephesus as fully conscious of the regulations governing the ordination of bishops and as having actively resisted calls for him to perform a solo-ordination – pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, *Chronicle*, III, 122-123. Although its incorporation into the narrative is clearly pragmatic, serving to frame and underscore the enormity of the transgression committed by Eutropius' ordainers, there is no immediate reason to suppose that the account of Procopius' refusal to be ordained in contravention of the canons was purely an apologetic invention of the Severan historian.

The second principal prerequisite stipulated in the anathema is the requirement that all episcopal ordinations performed in "Syria," *i.e.*, the patriarchate of Antioch, be sanctioned by the archimandrite Thomas. Unparalleled in either the imperial or the Severan-Jacobite church, such authority exceeded even that normally claimed by the patriarchs of Antioch, whose right of direct appointment was theoretically limited to the ordination of suffragan bishops in Syria I and to the creation of metropolitans in the other provinces of the patriarchate.[51] Instead, the sovereignty posited by Thomas appears to have been universal. Here, the quasi-patriarchal nature of his declared electoral authority is mirrored by the administrative authority which was aggregated to the archimandrite. This latter authority was made manifest in two distinct ways. First, in both his own letter anathematizing Stephen and the subsequent deposition issued by the bishops Barlaha and Cassianus, Thomas appears to have been the primary organizer of the monastic communities in *Oriens*, as well as a conduit to the Julianist churches in Armenia and Egypt.[52] Second, the object of his anathema is specifically the bishops of the Julianist church – both those who conducted illegal ordinations and those who presumed to anathematize "anyone of the faithful."[53] Such a blatant assertion of super-episcopal disciplinary authority by an archimandrite stood in marked contradiction to the hierarchical principle expressed in earlier Severan canon

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51. Draguet, "Pièces (III), 66-67; Gryson, R. (1979), "Les élections épiscopales en orient au IVe siècle," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* LXXIV, 328-333; Norton, P. (2007), *Episcopal Elections 250-600: Hierarchy and Popular Will in Late Antiquity*, (Oxford), 119-129 and 171-174; Alpi, F. (2011), "Les élections épiscopales en Orient sous Sévère d'Antioche (512-518)," in J. Leemans, P. Van Nuffelen, S. W. J. Keough, and C. Nicolaye eds., *Episcopal Elections in Late Antiquity*, (Berlin), 307-314; neither was the prerogative asserted by the archimandrite analogous to the electoral role played by prominent monasteries in the early Jacobite episcopate, which appears to have paralleled the role of the civic electorate in the imperial church – chapter, II.4.a, 203-226.

52. John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III.2-4.

53. John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III.2 and 4.

law, which had prohibited clergy from excommunicating those not normally subject to their authority.[54] At the same time, although neither the letter nor the narrative account attributed to the monks are systematic in their description of either the origin or exact nature of the privilege asserted by the archimandrite, the inclusion of the phrase "so long as I am alive [ܥܕ ܕܐܢܐ ܚܝ ܥܕ]" suggests that Thomas, at least in part, may have regarded it as a personal rather than a purely *ex officio* prerogative.[55] However, the paucity of evidence for the development of Julianist ecclesiastical institutions, both before and after 584, makes it impossible to determine whether any other archimandrite of Beth Mar Isaac had claimed similar prerogatives over the appointment of bishops within the diocese.

Subsequently, despite their rupture with Stephen and the anathema of their archimandrite, the monks of Beth Mar Isaac approached Barlaha and Cassianus to ordain on their behalf, in late September 584.[56] Once summoned, however, Barlaha and Cassianus again usurped the espoused electoral privileges of the monastery and the anathema of its archimandrite, covertly ordaining George bar Abshai and Daniel Qafouhia, "in secret and without a decree [ψήφισμα]."[57] Appearing before the monks, the bishops Bar-

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54. "Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient" (= *Synodicon*, XXI, 163-176), 27 and 28; subsequently, a patriarchal synod convoked under George of Be'eltan, in May 785, further proscribed the issuance and dissemination of letters of anathema by archimandrites, stylites, and recluses – George of Antioch, "Canons" (= *Synodicon*, LIV, 1-6), 19. Earlier canon 5 of the Council of Nicaea had placed an even more stringent hierarchical framework, requiring excommunications of clergy and laity be reviewed by the provincial synod in order to ensure propriety of the act – *Can.Nic.* (= *Discipline*, I.I.I, 21-41), 5 – *cf.*, Dunn, G. D. (2013), "Innocent I's Letter to the Bishops of Apulia," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 21.1, 31-32; and Gaudemet, J. (1949), "Note sur les formes anciennces de l'excommunication," *Revue des sciences religieuses* 23.1-2, 64-77, for contemporary developments in the western church.

55. John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III.4, 82.

56. John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III.3.

57. John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III.2, 76; the account given by Barlaha and Cassianus in their subsequent deposition of George and Daniel stipulates that the ordination took place on 29 September 584, in the village of 'Atibna in the territory of Mabbug/Hierapolis, ibid, III.3,

laha and Cassianus then announced that they had performed the ordinations according to the manner in which they had themselves been ordained and were immediately condemned. In order to avoid deposition, the bishops were obliged to produce a repudiation of the consecrations, which were anathematized as the work of the devil, and the bishops George and Daniel, who were prohibited from carrying out the functions of their episcopate:

> "I, Cassianus, and Barlaha, we presumed and ordained Daniel and George bar Abshai bishops, through the instigation of Satan, and since we have considered [it] closely, we affirm that we acted unjustly and without the power of God, and with full volition, without constraint, we have determined through the mighty word of God that they shall not possess the authority to exercise the thing which they received from us for the whole of their lives. And if one of them presumes and transgresses this interdict, he shall be anathematized by the Father and by the Son and by the Holy Spirit, and if he of his own accord or another man dares to dissolve this anathema, whether he is a bishop or another man, he shall be anathematized by the Father and by the Son and by the Holy Spirit."[58]

Thus rehabilitated, Barlaha and Cassianus ordained two more bishops – evidently at the behest of the monastery –, Zachariah and Thomas.[59] Disregarding the deposition and anathemas which had been laid upon them, George and Daniel separated from the communion of Barlaha and Cassianus, forming a schismatic faction and anathematizing their consecrators. After a period of five years, however, Barlaha and Cassianus appear to have turned on the monastery, claiming that they had not invoked the Holy Spirit when ordaining Thomas and Zachariah. In principle, such an allegation amounted to a recantation of the sacramental efficacy of the ordination – in practice, though, the inability of either party to remove the other lead them to a détente and a mutual affirmation of one another's episcopate.[60]

77.

58. John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III.2, 76; the subscription of the formal deposition dates it to 2 October 584, just days after the ordination, ibid, III.3, 78-79; and Draguet, "Pièces (III)," 62-63.

59. John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III.2.

60. John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III.2.

Although the arrangement of the third part of the *Plerophoria* limits direct commentary by John of Antioch, nevertheless his explanatory proem provides an interpretive framework for the collection – a legal and conceptual lens through which to approach the irregularities recorded in the dossier:

> It is clearly shown, again, by those things which are set out below. Firstly, established the canons of the divine apostles and holy, which concerning the ordination of bishops command both how many bishop are required for the ordination of a bishop and that he is not a bishop who has been ordained violently and by fewer than three [bishops]. Afterwards, on the other hand, how and in what manner the ordination of the Julianists was performed, and through [what] confusion and disorder they accomplished the work of Satan.[61]

Here, the patriarch makes two separate claims regarding the illegitimacy of the Eutropian episcopate, after Eutropius, each of which he ties to the transgression of specific canons, quoted at the end of the preface. Evidently predicated on a conventional Severan reading of canon 4 of Nicaea, which John quotes at the end of his preface, the first follows the pattern of earlier anti-Julianist polemics by arguing that since it relied upon ordinations performed by fewer then three bishops the Eutropian episcopate was a pseudo-episcopal line.[62] Although the preface does not cite any specific instance of pseudo-episcopal consecration, there is a clear collation to ordinations performed by one or two bishops, both in the description of the foundation of the Eutropian episcopate and in the account of the monks of Beth Mar Isaac. In total, the collection yields the names of twelve bishops consecrated between *c.* 549 and 584 – not including Eutropius –, whose ordinations are either stated or implied to have been performed by fewer than three bishops.[63]

The second – less precise – allegation concerns the "confusion and disorder" with which Julianist ordinations were conducted. Here, although with-

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61. John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III, 72.

62. *Can.Nic.* (= *Discipline*, I.I.I, 21-41), 4.

63. John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III.1 and 2.

out specifying the exact nature of the supposed delinquency, John cites canon 6 of Nicaea and canon 19 of Antioch.[64] Neither canon is generally treated in contemporary sources as regulating the consecration of bishops. Instead, both pertain to the election and ordination of bishops within the territorial framework of the provincial and diocesan church, stipulating the primacy of the metropolitan and patriarch respectively in the ordination of episcopal candidates within the consensus building structure of the provincial synod.[65] The documents adduced in the extant florilegium, however, contain no reference to a territorial hierarchy of Eutropian bishops – which might itself have been the object of John's critique. Alternatively, and perhaps more plausibly, the allegation as well as the canons may have been intended to relate to the accusation made throughout the documents by the archimandrite Thomas and his partisans that the bishop Stephen and his successors Barlaha and Cassianus had repeatedly ordained in secret and without the sanction or vote of the other members of the church, including the monks of Beth Mar Isaac.[66] Without adopting the unique procedural expectations of his Julianist sources, John was then able to co-opt their plaints, appropriating them to his own apologetic purpose and incorporating them into a sacramental and canon legal framework acceptable to his presumable Severan-Jacobite audience.

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64. John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III, 73-74.

65. *Can.Nic.* (= *Discipline*, I.I.I, 21-41), 6; *Can.Ant.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 100-126), 19; Gryson, "Élections," 303-307; Bright, *Notes*, 17-22; and L'Huillier, *Church*, 45-53.

66. The degree of consecratory territorialization in the Severan-Jacobite episcopate cannot be determined with certainty for the period between 584 and 648 due to the limitations of the extant sources. However, evidence for the period 542 to 569 would suggest that the episcopate may still have been the process of re-territorialization at the time of the controversy between Barlaha and Cassianus and the monks of Beth Mar Isaac, as well perhaps as during the patriarchate of John of Antioch.

Finally, the effect of these gross, persistent, and systemic transgressions was, according to John of Antioch, the total and irredeemable abrogation of the sacramental priesthood within the Julianist church. The patriarch evidences this sweeping condemnation of the Eutropian episcopate with reference to the schism of the so-called Aaronites – a Julianist faction which, it is claimed, split from the body of the Eutropian church over the pseudo-episcopacy of its bishops and sacramental nullity of its priesthood, turning instead to the Julianist episcopate in Persarmenia for ordinations:

> That also those who are called bishops among them appear especially to affirm in what manner [ordinations are conducted], as is attested by some of those of their opinion, who also are called Aaronites [and] who when they saw that they did not possess the priesthood they separated and divided from them, and went to Persarmenia, and were ordained by the bishops there, who still testify unanimously in words and deeds with them, while they were agreed in the doctrine and erroring in the same phantasiastic heresy and received Julian of Halicarnassus like them, separating and forming a schim from them solely on account of the priesthood. And on account of this they did not mix at all with them, and did not reckon their bishops to be bishops nor their priests to be priests.[67]

Although it might be reasonably supposed that the *Plerophoria* originally contained material relevant to the sect and its dispute with the Eutropian episcopate, the extant collection ends abruptly in the middle of the letter of the archimandrite Thomas without transmitting any pertinent documents.[68] The extant reference nonetheless suffices to suggest the likely shape of the controversy, or at least its salience to the apologetic program of the *Plerophoria*. Similar to the controversy between the bishop Stephen and the monks of Beth Mar Isaac, the schism of the Aaronites furnished the Severan patriarch with internal evidence to support his denunciation of the Eutropian episcopate – in

67. John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III, 72-73; although the name is also attested in an Armenian confessional treatise, there is insufficient evidence to identify the Aaronites with any other attested group or faction, precluding any significant analysis of the chronology of the schism or precise nature of the accusations leveed by the sect against the Eutropian episcopate – van Esbroeck, "Traite," 385-395; and Kofsky, "Julianism," 260-261.

68. John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III.4.

the case of the Aaronites, evidence for the systemic invalidity of the church's priesthood.

II.2.d., Implications of Invalidity

The collapse of the Julianist episcopate was reflected in a systemic shift in Severan-Jacobite canon law, after *c.* 549. Starting shortly after the death of Procopius of Ephesus, Severan canonists began to treat Julianist priests as having been ordained by members of a pseudo-episcopal line and accordingly to require clerical converts to be re-ordained before allowing them to be admitted to the Severan-Jacobite clergy. Until at least 561, however, the extant legal sources do not seem to have extended to direct condemnation of the baptisms performed by the Julianist priesthood or to have required re-baptism. Afterwards, however, the position of the church appears to have shifted to void the baptism conferred by the Julianist clergy, requiring converts to submit to a repetition of the rite, reflecting a larger, rigorist trend in Severan-Jacobite legal thought.

The first apparent evidence for a shift in Severan attitudes towards the sacramental status of Julianist ordinations comes from an anonymous epistolary canon, seemingly written in the period around 549.[69] In it, the unnamed

69. Nau, F. (1909), "Littérature canonique syriaque inédite. Concile d'Antioche, lettre d'Italie, canons "des daints Pères," de Philoxène, de Théodose, d'Anthime, d'Athanase," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 14, 8, dated the letter to the period immediately after 538, while Honigmann, *Évêques*, 107 and 123, has placed its composition more plausibly in the period shortly after 549, based on its reference to Procopius of Ephesus. Given the text's reference to the "Julianists of Beth Ishaq," however, it is also possible that it was written somewhat later, in the generation following the death of Procopius, when the monastery emerged in the sources as a prominent center of episcopal activity within the movement and before the extinction of the clergy ordained by Procopius of Ephesus – Draguet, "Pièces (III)," 61-63. Alternatively, since the canon refers to neither the death of Procopius nor the pseudo-episcopal ordination of Eutropius, it is also possible that the collection was composed while

episcopal author ruled that those ordained by Procopius of Ephesus to the presbyterate should be received only as members of the laity – that is as though they had not been ordained:

> Concerning the Julianists of Beth Isaac – even if they have received the presbyterate from the orthodox – they shall be received again as those baptized by a presbyter. In this way again, shall they be received also if they were made a presbyter by Procopius. If, however, [the one who baptized] was made a presbyter by Zebad, those whom he has baptized shall be re-baptized, since the patriarch has commanded that the ordinations of Zebad are void. And those who have been baptized by presbyters who were named by him shall be re-baptized, in the manner of those from the party of Zakkai.[70]

Despite this, however, the canon does not appear to have been written in response to the invalidity of the Eutropian episcopate. An evident rigorist, the anonymous canonist exceeded the stipulation of earlier canons – including the rulings of the patriarch Severus to which text alludes and which have been discussed above –, by requiring the re-baptism of converts from the sects of Zebad and Zakkai, save for those baptized by Zakkai himself.[71] In a similar fashion, it also eschews an established pattern in earlier Severan canon law by failing to differentiate between those Julianist converts who had been ordained by Procopius and those who owed their priesthood to a Severan-Jacobite bishop, requiring both to be received as unordained members of the laity.[72] Finally, the canon makes no direct reference to either the ordination of

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the former was still alive.

70. "Letter Concerning Certain Transgressions" (= *Synodicon*, XXIV, 180-182), 7; *cf.*, Possekel, "Julianism," 451-452.

71. "Letter Concerning Certain Transgressions" (= *Synodicon*, XXIV, 180-182), 6 and 7; *cf.*, "Chapters Written from the Orient" (= *Synodicon*, XXI, 163-176), 25; Thomas of Germanicia, "Letter to John" (= Appendix I.3), fol.15b; Constantine of Laodicea and Antonius of Aleppo, "Letter" (= Appendix III), fol. 145a-b. Evidently unaware of the earlier legislation on the pseudo-bishop, Possekel, "Julianism," 452 n. 65, treats the Zebad simply as a "heretic," while ignoring entirely the reference to party of Zakkai and its relation to the preceding canon.

72. "Chapters Written from the Orient" (= *Synodicon*, XXI, 163-176), 33 and 42; Constantine of Laodicea, "Letter to Aba Marcus" (= *Synodicon*, XXIII, 178-179), 2; Constantine of Laodicea and Antonius of Aleppo, "Letter" (= Appendix III), fol. 145b; "Canons to Paulā and Paulā" (= *Synodicon*, XXII, 176-178), 1; and John of Hephaestopolis, "Letter" (= Appendix IV), I.

Eutropius or the sacramental collapse of the Julianist episcopate, but only to the ordination of sub-episcopal clergy by Procopius, who was otherwise treated by Severan polemic tradition as having possessed a regular episcopate. Its rejection of Julianist ordinations seems, therefore, more likely to have been a reflection of a general rigorism, than a specific reaction to the perceived invalidity of the contemporary Julianist episcopate.[73] Still, the anonymous canon serves to anticipate a programmatic change in subsequent Severan-Jacobite canon law to systematically deny of the validity of the Julianist priesthood.

The earliest, unequivocal evidence of a link between the perceived collapse of the Julianist episcopate and the sacramental validity of Julianist ordinations comes from the canonical letter of Sergius of Antioch.[74] In the same canon in which he traced the succession of the Julianist episcopate from the death of Procopius, the patriarch also ruled on the status of Julianist clerics, whom he treated as the product of pseudo-episcopal consecration, again drawing a parallel to those who had been ordained by Zebad:

> The first question: concerning those priests, who return from the error of Julian the Phantastiast, in what manner is it right for them to be received? And they say that Severus, whose memory is among the saints, commanded that those who received ordination from Zebad [should be received] as if they had been made nothing at all, since there was no one present who to testify whether or not he was a bishop. In this manner therefore they shall be received, who this day turns from them [*i.e.*, the Julianists], since they do not possess the priesthood, and see, O blessed ones, such is the succession of their priesthood, which is not true as they believe. For you know that the canon commands that a bishop should be made by three bishops, and if there are less than three, his priesthood shall not stand.[75]

However, following the earlier formula established by Severus for Zebadite clergy, Sergius then ruled that those Julianist clergy deemed worthy of entry

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73. Regrettably, here, the anonymous canonist offers no determination on the sacramental status of Chalcedonian ordinations – which might otherwise have provided a reliable proxy measure of his rigorism; *cf.*, chapter II.1.a, 127 n. 40.

74. Possekel, "Julianism," 452.

75. Sergius of Antioch, *Epistula ad episcopos orthodoxos regni Persarum*, 1; and "Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient" (= *Synodicon*, XXI, 163-176), 25.

into the clergy should be received once they had produced a *libellus* of orthodox belief and had been ordained by member of the Severan-Jacobite episcopate:

> It is evident therefore that they do not possess the priesthood, but that they are rejected by the canons, in that their origin and succession proceeded one by one. And because of this it is right that those presbyters, deacons, and subdeacons who turn from them shall be ordained anew, if they are to be seen to be worthy of the priesthood. It is right therefore that they make [declaration] in writing that they receive the faith of the three hundred and eighteen [fathers], and they do not receive another faith with it, and that they anathematize every heresy – *viz.*, Nestorius, the synod of Chalcedon, Apollinarius, Eutychetes, Julian of Halicarnassus, and all who do not receive every doctrine of the holy Cyril, who was the archbishop of Alexandria, and the holy Severus, our father the patriarch, and the pious Theodosius, the archbishop of Alexandria, who has already been twenty-five years in exile, since he was unwilling to receive the synod of Chalcedon.[76]

The clear implication, therefore, is that without re-ordination Julianist clerics were to be received only into laity. Since the letter makes no reference to the validity of Julianist baptisms, it may thus be reasonably assumed that Sergius did not regard re-baptism as a necessary precondition for converts from the sect; again, such a position would have been consistent with the treatment of Zebadite baptisms in earlier Severan canon law. If this is true, then, Sergius' treatment of the Julianist episcopate may be seen to follow that of the earlier, anonymous canonist – in practice at least, if not necessarily in reason.

In the expositional preface to the third part of his *Plerophoria*, John of Antioch outlines the ramifications of the sacramental break in the Julianist episcopal line after Procopius of Ephesus, making extensive use of pre-exilic canons to justify his condemnation of the ordinations conducted by the sect.[77] The *Plerophoria*, however, marked a change in the earlier extant Severan treatments of the sacraments administered the Julianist church. For whereas Sergius and anonymous episcopal canonist had required only the re-ordina-

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76. Sergius of Antioch, *Epistula ad episcopos orthodoxos regni Persarum*, 1.

77. Possekel, "Julianism," 453; and Draguet, "Pièces," 60-61.

tion of Julianist clergy, eschewing the re-baptism of lay converts, the patriarch John deigned the validity of the entire sacramental edifice of the Julianist episcopate – deeming it incapable of ordination, baptism, or the consecration of any other "Christian sacrament."[78] While the edited text of the *Plerophoria* does not contain an explicit formula for the reception of Julianist converts, the specific invalidation of the Julianist baptism suggests that John regarded re-baptism as a prerequisite for converts from the sect to enter into communion with the Severan-Jacobite church.

Although not principally concerned with the precise canonical status of Julianist ordination, the later chronographic account of Michael the Syrian nevertheless contains a specific condemnation of the sect's sacraments comparable to that offered by John of Antioch. Following an exposition of the break down of episcopal succession after 549, the chronicle asserts that the sect possessed neither an authentic baptism nor ordination:

> But we should inform those who have fallen into the error of the Phantastiasts and have received baptism or ordination from them, that they in no way a partaker in the order of the priesthood or baptism, on account of their nature they are justly dead in [their] heretical error.[79]

Commensurate with its discursive aims and genre, the text does not elucidate an exact formula for the reception of converts, though its insistence upon the invalidity of both the ordinations and baptisms performed by the Julianist episcopate and clergy would logically pre-suppose a need to re-baptism and re-ordained proselytes, consonant with that expressed in the *Plerophoria*. Without further evidence regarding the identity of the source underlying Michael's account of the episode it is impossible, however, to determine the chronological relationship between it and the surviving canon legal tradition, and thus

78. John of Antioch, *Plerophoria*, III, 72.

79. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, IX.XXXI, 321.

its relational development. Nevertheless, the apparent rigorism of the notice distinguishes it from the position of the patriarch Sergius and the earlier anonymous canonist, in line with the position reflected in the *Plerophoria*.[80] Here, as in John of Antioch, the voiding of the church's sacraments follows directly from the collapse of the episcopate after the death of Procopius of Ephesus and the concomitant extinction of the Julianist priesthood.

Conclusions

In many respects the Eutropian reformation closely paralleled the emergence of the Jacobite episcopate. Chronologically, the two projects began within a decade of each other, prompted in both cases by the need to avert the imminent sacramental collapse which threatened each church as a result of the progressive dying off of the bishops, who had been forced into exile in 518-522. Both were in some sense missionary undertakings, both were reliant to greater or lesser degree upon the ordination of federated episcopates – the Eutropian on the Armenian and the Jacobite on the Theodosian – , and both succeeded in establishing episcopal lines which persisted into the Islamic period. If, however, the Eutropian and Jacobite reformations mirrored one another, they did so through the prism of polemic and legal interpretation.

Although all of the evidence for both the consecratory practice and the internal canonical reasoning of the Julianist church is filtered through the

80. Here, there is insufficient evidence from which to reliably speculate regarding the provenance of the notice or it chronological relationship to any of the datable sources. Analogy to the earlier debate over the re-baptism of Chalcedonian converts would suggest that such rigorism could well have flourished at the same time as the more restrained position expressed by Sergius of Antioch – chapter, II.1.a, 127 n. 40.

lens of later Severan-Jacobite polemic, there remains sufficient material to suggest that the Eutropian episcopate adopted a more permissive consecratory strategy than the Jacobite episcopate. Whereas, Jacobite commentators following the dominant interpretation of canon 4 of Nicaea insisted that episcopal ordinations be conducted by a minimum of three episcopal officiants, the documents gathered and preserved by John of Antioch, in the *Plerophoria*, evince the apparent willingness of Julianist ecclesiastical authorities to accept the sacramental validity of ordinations performed by as few as two bishops under routine circumstances as well as even those performed by single officiants in situations of extreme necessity. Such practices, although perhaps expedient to the survival of the church, were presented as inconceivable and intolerable transgressions of ecclesiastical law by Severan-Jacobite commenters – transgressions the monstrous irregularity of which served to irrevocably sever the sacramental line of the Julianist episcopate, creating in its stead a pseudo-episcopacy incapable of valid consecration. In turn, the invalidation of the Julianist episcopate justified the invalidation of its dependent priesthood and the re-ordination of clerical converts. Consistent with what appears to have been a broader rigorist trend in contemporary Jacobite legal thought, this was accompanied, by the beginning of the seventh century, by the invalidation of Julianist baptisms and the demand for the re-baptism of lay converts.

For the history of episcopacy in the anti-Chalcedonian movement more broadly, the accounts of the Eutropian reformation composed by John of Ephesus and Sergius of Antioch echoed a seemingly common discursive model for the construction or degradation of legitimacy within an episcopal line. Built upon a stemmatiform framework, which reduced the succession of

an episcopate to a single, vertical line, this model allowed the apologist to represent the legitimacy of an entire episcopal line as having been uniformly defined by the legitimacy of its foundation – in effect, transforming the succession into a line for the transmission of that original legitimacy. Elsewhere, John would again employ essentially the same template in the third part of the *Historiae ecclesiasticae* to delegitimize the tritheist episcopate and conversely to defend the canonical and sacramental validity of Jacobite episcopate in the *Lives of the Eastern Saints*.

II.3., The Tritheist Episcopate

In the decades which followed the ordination of Jacob Baradaeus, the anti-Chalcedonian communion was again divided by the inception of a new off-shoot episcopate, this time triggered by the debate over trinitarian theology. The opening rounds of this debate are typically dated to *c.* 556/557, when John Ascoutzanges, a native of Apamea, is supposed to have produced a now inextant florilegium propounding the belief that there existed three *physeis* as well as three *hypostases* in the trinity.[1] This new confession – derisively dubbed tritheist – was later condemned by its detractors as eroding the unity of the trinity and creating a triad of divine persons and natures, which verged on outright polytheism.[2] Spreading initially among the anti-Chalcedonian monastic circles, the new confession appears to have quickly found converts among both the imperial family and Severan-Jacobite episcopate – including Athanasius, the nephew of the deceased empresses Theodora, and the bishops Conon of Tarsus and Eugenius of Seleucia in Isauria.[3] At a comparatively

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1. Elias of Nisibis, 121; Grillmeier, A. (2013), "The Tritheist Controversy in the Sixth Century and its Importance in Syriac Christology," in A. Grillmeier, *Christ in the Christian Tradition, II.3: The Churches of Jerusalem and Antioch from 451 to 600*, with contributions from A. Grillmeier, T. Hainthaler, T. D. Mansour, and L. Abramowski, translated by M. Ehrhardt, (Oxford), 268-269; and van Roey, A. (1985), "La controverse trithéite jusqu'à l'excommunication de Conon et d'Eugène (557-569)," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 16, 141-142.

2. *e.g.*, John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.V.8.

3. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.V.1 and 7; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, IX.30; Gregory bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, 223-225; Grillmeier, "Tritheist Controversy," 269-270; van Roey, "La controverse trithéite jusqu'à l'excommunication," 142-143; regarding the supposed conversion of the patriarch Sergius, who had briefly occupied the patriarchate between *c.* 557 and 560, had been an associate and perhaps even a patron of John Philoponus, who was subsequently to emerge as the primary intellectual force behind the development of tritheist theology in the late 560s – van Roey, "Lettre du patriarche jacobite Serge," 216-217; Honigmann, *Évêques*, 193-195; and Allen, P. (2011), "Episcopal Succession in Antioch in the Sixth Century," in J. Leemans, P. Van Nuffelen, and W. J. Shawn eds., *Episcopal Elections in Late Antiquity*, (Berlin), 30-31. It is uncertain that Sergius was a tritheist or, indeed, that he was even perceived as having harbored specific tritheite sympathies by his contemporaries. John of Ephesus, whose *oeuvre* provides the most significant narrative witness to the period, gives no explicit indication of his having been aware of Sergius' connection to the tritheist movement, nor are there any direct repudiations of the

early point, however, opposition to the new confession began to coalesce around the person and writings of the patriarch Theodosius of Alexandria, who had assumed a role as a *de facto* leader of the Severan churches in *Asiana*, *Oriens*, and Constantinople following the death of Constantine of Laodicea over a decade earlier, in 542. Between *c.* 557 and 564, Theodosius appears to have waged a concerted campaign against the spread and overt expression of the doctrine – an effort which included the appointment in 564 of his *syncellus*, the anti-tritheist Paul of Beth Ukkame, to fill the vacant patriarchal throne of Antioch.[4] During the same period, Theodosius also produced his so-called *Theological Discourse*, outlining his opposition to both tritheism and the diametrically opposed heresy of Sabellianism; acceptance of the *Discourse*, along with his other writings, was to become a principle touchstone and litmus test of the anti-tritheist movement in the following decades.[5] In the period after the publication of the treatise, the efforts of Theodosius to suppress the new confession appear to have resulted in a fragile anti-tritheist peace – with the debate temporarily disappearing from the account of the extant sources.[6] It was, however, to be a transitory calm, barely outlasting Theodosius' death on19 June 566.

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patriarch in the extant anti-tritheist works. Still, it remains conceivable that suspicion over Sergius' soundness and influence may have prompted Theodosius' intervention in the election of his successor. The broader political context and subsequent controversies surrounding the election of Paul of Beth Ukkame are discussed below, in chapter, II.4.a, 203-226.

4. *DM*, 3-24; and Allen, "Episcopal Succession," 32-33.

5. Through his superintendence of the church and early articulation of what came to be regarded as the definitive statement *contra* tritheism, Theodosius of Alexandria became the identifiable and thus eponymous head of the anti-tritheist, or "Theodosian," party within the Severan-Jacobite church. This convention is also observed in this chapter and elsewhere in this thesis.

6. Ebied, van Roey, and Wickham, *Peter of Callinicum*, 21-22; and van Roey, "La Controverse trithéite jusqu'à l'excommunication," 151.

By 567 at the latest, the controversy had again reached a state of open confrontation, reflected in the increasing coalescence of a visible tritheist faction, led by the bishops Conon of Tarsus and Eugenius of Seleucia in Isauria and defined by its acceptance of the theological writings of John Philoponus.[7] The reopening of the debate inaugurated a period characterized by the intensification of the sectarian divide and punctuated by a series of brittle, ultimately ill-fated attempts to broker peace, as each side strove to buttress and expand its base of support among the anti-Chalcedonian faithful. In early 567, talks held between the two parties, in the imperial palace of Hormisdas, produced a *synodocticon*, which upheld the position of Theodosius and the *Discourse* and condemned the confession of three gods and three substances or natures within the Trinity.[8] An almost unmitigated victory for the Theodosian party, this first *synodocticon* failed to achieve acceptance within the larger tritheist party, who rejected it only a day after its completion. In the following days, the parties – again conveyed in the palace of Hormisdas – produced a second *synodocticon*. This new document, although once more affirming the orthodoxy of Theodosius and *Discourse*, tempered somewhat the earlier condemnation of those who did not receive the treatise, while reserving further discussion for a

7. The earliest attested references to the bishops Conon and Eugenius as leaders of the tritheist party occur in the first and second *synodoctica* of Constantinople – issued in early 567 – in which the faction is designated alternatively "the party of the pious Mar Conon [ܚܙܒ ܣܗܕܐ ܕܡܪ ܩܘܢܘܢ]" and "the party of the pious Conon and Eugenius [ܚܙܒ ܣܗܕܐ ܕܩܘܢܘܢ ܘܐܘܓܢܝܘܣ]," *DM*, 26, 156 and 27, 157; and van Roey and Allen, *Monophysite Texts*, 285. The role of John Philoponus in shaping the theology of the tritheist movement is elsewhere treated by Lang, U. M. (2001), "Notes on John Philoponus and the Tritheist Controversy in the Sixth Century, *Oriens Christianus* 85, 22-40; and Hainthaler, T. (1996), "John Philoponus, Philosopher and Theologian in Alexandria," in A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition. Volume 2.4: The Church of Alexandria with Nubia and Ethiopia after 451*, in collaboration with T. Hainthaler, English translation by O. C. Dean, (London), 107-146.

8. *DM*, 26; van Roey, "La controverse trithéite jusqu'à l'excommunication," 154; and Grillmeier, "Tritheist Controversy," pg. 272-273; Allen, P. and Neil, B. (2013), *Crisis Management in Late Antiquity (410-590 CE): a Survey of the Evidence from Episcopal Letters*, (Leiden), pg. 138, offer *edictum* as a reasonable Latin equivalent for the somewhat obscure term *synodocticon*, which is employed in the Syriac text of the *Documenta ad origines monophysitarum illustrandas*.

subsequent synod.[9] The concord fostered by this document, however, was extremely limited. Almost immediately, sectarian demonstrations began in the diocese, as a number of prominent monastic communities, under the leadership of Jacob Baradaeus and Theodore of Arabia – as well as Paul of Beth Ukkame –, moved to position themselves openly in the anti-tritheist camp.[10] On 17 May 567, an assembly of Syrian archimandrites, gathered at the monastery of Mar Bassus, issued their own *synodocticon*, in which they condemned tritheism as well as those who did not accept the patriarchs Severus, Anthimus, Theodosius, and Paul of Beth Ukkame. This was followed, on 3 January 568, by a second gathering – also held in the monastery of Mar Bassus – which produced a second *synodocticon* in response to rumors and confessional materials being circulated by the tritheists. In it, the monks again voiced their acceptance of Paul of Beth Ukkame and condemned those who did not accept Theodosius and the *Discourse* and did not repudiate tritheist doctrine, from whose communion they withdrew.[11] Similar demonstrations are also documented to have taken place in Alexandria, Isauria, and Cilicia, in a dossier compiled by the Theodosian bishops in Constantinople, in 568, both in order to affirm their own position and encourage Theodosian partisans in *Oriens*.[12] Although the nature of the surviving evidence for this period,

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9. *DM*, 27; van Roey, "La controverse trithéite jusqu'à l'excommunication," 154-155; and Grillmeier, "Tritheist Controversy," 273; the involvement of the imperial authorities in orchestrating the dialogue between the parties, in 567, should be understood as part of a larger strategy undertaken by Justin II – in the period before 572 and, then, somewhat sporadically afterwards – in order to better facilitate its reunion with the imperial church. Here, Allen, P. (1980), "Neo-Chalcedonism and the Patriarchs of the Late Sixth Century," *Byzantion* 50.1, 5-17, provides a useful analysis and exposition of the efforts made to effect such a reunion by attempting to promote unity within the anti-Chalcedonian camp, during the reigns of the emperors Justin II, Tiberius II, and Maurice.

10. *DM*, 30, 32-34, 36, and 38.

11. *DM*, 29 and 31; van Roey, "La controverse trithéite jusqu'à l'excommunication," 155-162; and Grillmeier, "Tritheist Controversy," 273-274.

12. *DM*, 25 and 28; and van Roey and Allen, *Monophysite Texts*, 281-288.

all of which descends from Theodosian sources, precludes any accurate documentation of contemporary developments within the tritheist movement, it can nevertheless be assumed with near absolute certainty that comparable efforts were being made simultaneously by tritheist bishops, monastics, and clergy to cement networks and assert a vision of institutional cohesion and confessional unity.[13]

The durability of this situation – in which the church, though still nominally unified, was in reality increasingly divided – proved predictably limited, and in 569 the period of internal debate came to a definitive end.[14] At a convocation of bishops, held under the auspices of the anti-Chalcedonian phylarch, al-Mundhir, Conon and Eugenius were presented with an encyclical signed by the Theodosian bishops in *Oriens* and Constantinople, which included an assertion of the orthodoxy of Theodosius and the *Theological Discourse* as well as a condemnation of tritheist doctrine and the works of John Philoponus. When Conon and Eugenius refused to subscribe to the encyclical, they were excommunicated and summarily deposed, opening a formal rupture in the fabric of the Severan-Jacobite episcopate and creating a separate tritheist communion – what was, in effect, then a separate tritheist church.[15]

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13. Some limited insight into the nature of tritheist activities during the this period is granted by the second monastic *synodocticon* – *DM*, 31 – which makes reference to attacks made against Paul of Beth Ukkame as well as the promulgation of rumors that Jacob Baradaeus and Theodore of Arabia had themselves embraced tritheism. Although the content of the propaganda is related obliquely in the document, its objectives would appear relatively straightforward. By slandering Paul, the tritheists had presumably sought to discredit the anti-tritheist patriarch, while simultaneously laying claim to the legitimizing figures of Jacob and Theodore.

14. The dating of the rupture has been compellingly established by Honignmann, *Évêques*, 185.

15. *DM*, 39-41; Ebied, van Roey, and Wickham, *Peter of Callinicum*, 21-22; and van Roey and Allen, *Monophysite Texts*, 288-290.

Like the Julianists, before them, the newly autonomous tritheist communion faced a predictable set of challenges to its organization and survival as a newly distinct ecclesiastical entity. Principle among these was the organization of a separate and self-sustaining episcopate. Following its condemnation in 569, the tritheist episcopate emerged from the "mainline" of the Severan-Jacobite episcopate as a proscribed splinter movement, initially composed of only a small cadre of bishops.[16] Evidently alive to the possibility of sacramental extinction, Conon and Eugenius appear to have taken measures to increase the number of bishops in the movement through a multi-pronged campaign involving the ordination of new bishops as well as the consolidation of local control over the episcopate in areas – like Cilicia and Isauria – where tritheist influence was already sizable. These efforts were also accompanied by an extensive campaign of proselytization aimed both at detaching existing anti-Chalcedonian communities from the Theodosian church and winning new converts. Although the church thus succeeded in averting sacramental collapse, the circumstances of its rapid expansion as well as the status of its founders – all of whom had been lawfully deposed – meant the tritheist episcopate remained nevertheless exposed to attack and delegitimization from its Theodosian opponents.

However, whereas the line of the Julianist episcopate was treated as having been broken and made thus sacramentally void following the death of Procopius of Ephesus, in 548/549, there is no indication that the Theodosian

16. The exact size and composition of the tritheist episcopate, at the time of its inception, can not be reliably documented on the basis of the extant sources – all of which are, without exception, the products of Theodosian authors and editors. The only tritheist bishops specifically named in the documents pertaining to the colloquia in Constantinople are Conon and Eugenius. John of Ephesus claims that initially the tritheist episcopate contained only three bishops, though – as will be discussed below – this may simply have been a distortion designed to serve the author's larger polemic purpose.

episcopate ever sought to nullify completely the sacramental line of the tritheist episcopate. Instead, the sources point to a bifurcation in the Theodosian treatment of the tritheist movement, between the delegitimization of its episcopate as firmly illicit and the reception of tritheist bishops as members of a sacramentally ordained episcopate, in a manner which presupposed the existence of a functioning, viable system of ordination within the movement. In effect, the Theodosian position *vis-à-vis* the tritheist episcopate was that it was thus illegitimate and unlawful, but not invalid – and this distinguished it categorically from the Chalcedonian episcopate, which could be regarded as neither illegal or invalid, and the Julianist episcopate, which could be represented as both illegal and invalid. Although there is no direct indication of a rigorist reaction on the Theodosian side, the tension and ambiguity inherent in this position is amply reflected in the sources. Nevertheless, what evidence is available suggests that by the mid- to late 580s the reception of tritheist clergy followed a protocol similar to that normally imposed upon Chalcedonian converts, suggesting an essential recognition of the continuous sacramental viability of the new episcopate.

II.3.a., An Illegal Line

In the third part of the *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, written between *c.* 578 and 588 – John of Ephesus exploited the attenuations underlying its initial formation in order to craft a polemic delegitimization of the newly autonomous tritheist episcopate, which he presents as the illicit product of a systemically uncanonical process of ordination.[17] Employing a vertical scheme comparable

17. Van Ginkel, *John of Ephesus*, 144-146, provides a compact summary of the condemnation of the early tritheist movement by John of Ephesus, noting – *inter alia* – the emphasis which the historian's account laid upon the irregularity of tritheist ordinations. He also notes the essential parallels between John's denunciation of Julianist and tritheist episcopates, though without particular elaboration. Regarding the composition of the third part of the *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, see, ibid, 71-77. The relevant chapters, III.V.1-12, covering the emergence of the

to the account of the Julianist episcopate preserved in pseudo-Dionysius, which traced the emergence of the heretical episcopate to the invalid ordination of Eutropius, John of Ephesus depicts the tritheist episcopate as having descended from ordinations conducted by the itinerant bishop Theonas, whose prior deposition theoretically prevented him from exercising the sacramental functions of his former office. This allowed the historian to portray the tritheist episcopate as having arisen from an illegal hand of the deposed bishop and thus having been compromised from its inception.

After the expulsion of its leaders from the Severan-Jacobite episcopate, John of Ephesus asserts that the newly separated tritheist church faced an immediate problem due to the lack of the third bishop necessary to preform episcopal ordinations. Conon and Eugenius, supported by the financial backing of Athanasius, the grandson of the deceased empress Theodora, sought to forestal a potential ordination crisis by soliciting the defection of John of Ephesus as well, perhaps, as that of the other Jacobite bishops, then in Constantinople. Although failing in these initial overtures, the tritheist bishops nonetheless succeeded, through the use of bribes, in procuring the allegiance of Theonas, who, though lawfully ordained by Theodosius of Alexandria, had been previously deposed from his office as the result of an unspecified offense.[18] With the aide of Theonas, Conon and Eugenius then proceeded indiscriminately to ordain a myriad episcopate, which in turn rapidly spread, proselytizing and ordaining throughout the provinces of the central and western Mediterranean:

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tritheist episcopate and its negotiations with the Theodosian episcopate, are dated by van Ginkel to 581/582. This dating, however, cannot be correct, if – as is suggested below – chapter III.V.12 pertains to the reception of the bishop Elias, in 585. There is insufficient space, here, in which to conduct a full review of all of the evidence for the dating of the first twelve chapters of book III.V – though the evidence produced by van Ginkel, idem, 76 n. 44, in support of his proposed dating of these chapters is far from compelling, so that it remains firmly possible – and, indeed, likely – that the whole of book V could have been composed in the period after the final datable reference in 588.

18. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, V.1; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, X.2, 334 and X.3, 338; van Roey, "Depuis la condemnation de Conon et Eugène," 489-490; concerning the identity of the deposed bishop Theonas, Honigmann, *Évêques*, 220, has speculated that, "*c'était probablement l'un des douze évêques égyptiens consacrés par Jacques à Constantinople à la requête de Théodose*." This is not impossible, though neither is the association with the twelve anonymous bishops mentioned by John of Ephesus, *LES*, L, 503, strictly necessary; Theonas' ordination may simply not be reconcilable with any of those mentioned in the extant source tradition, much of which is directly or indirectly dependent upon the selective and purposely constructed narrative record offered by John of Ephesus.

> For although the party of Canon and Eugenius – the heads of the heresy of polytheism – performed the initiation of bishops outside of the orders and contrary to the ecclesiastical canons through a man who had been deposed from the episcopate, and as it were everyone who came across them, whether they were young or old, whether ignorant or learned, that is to say all of their followers and disciples, and anyone who was present they made a bishop, and sent [them] forth to the regions and countries, as far as Rome and Corinth and Athens and Africa, [and] they established congregations and lead simple people to err after them.[19]

More significant, however, were the inroads made by tritheist missionaries among the provinces of northern *Oriens* and southern *Pontus*, where they ordained "priests and deacons in churches, monasteries, cities, and villages" – creating a fully elaborated *ecclesia*, from the level of the parish up. These proselytizing efforts, John notes, met with particular success in the provinces of Isauria and Cilicia, both of which are shown by later documentary evidence to have endured as bastions for the movement well into the 580s.[20] At what appears to have been roughly the same time, two successive missions were also made to Pamphylia by Eugenius, though a final mission to effect the total conversion of the province was ultimately aborted following his death.[21] These ordinations, then, formed the foundation of the newly independent tritheist

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19. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.V.2, 254.

20. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.V.3 and 4; further evidence of the persistence of the sizable tritheist community in Cilicia and Isauria as late as the mid-580s is provided by Peter of Callinicum, *Anti-Tritheist Dossier*, III and VI; and Ebied, van Roey, and Wickham, *Peter of Callinicum*, 22. That these provinces should have proved particular strongholds for the tritheist movement is perhaps unsurprising given that they were the metropolitan provinces of Conon of Tarsus and Eugenius of Seleucia. It seems therefore entirely probable that, already prior to 569, both Conon and Eugenius had exercised their prerogatives as metropolitans to ensure the appointment of suffragans, who would – at the very least – presumably have been personally loyal to themselves. During the period of overt proselytization, leading up to and following their break with the Theodosian church, these suffragans would then have provided Conon and Eugenius with a ready network through which to cultivate support and disseminate the doctrine. Certainly, it is not until the conversion of the bishop Elias – discussed below –, in 585, that evidence emerges of the defection of suffragan bishops from either province, suggesting a durability of these loyalties. At the same time, it seems not unlikely that the spread and subsequent regional strength of tritheism in Isauria and Cilicia was also aided by the relative geographic detachment of the provinces from other anti-Chalcedonian centers in eastern Syria and Mesopotamia, as well as those in western Anatolia – which may have limited the number and activity of Theodosian bishops in the area.

21. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.V.6.

communion within the diocese – a communion which according to John of Ephesus was thus canonically compromised.[22]

Integral to the historian's rhetorical strategy is the universalization of illegitimacy borne by the sacramental acts of Theonas to encompass the entire tritheist episcopate – as well as clergy whom they in turn consecrated. John of Ephesus accomplishes this, in the *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, by mapping the spread of the tritheist episcopate throughout the Mediterranean from the unlawful hand of Theonas. Here, the structure of the narrative neatly mirrors the pattern already observed in polemic accounts of the Julianist episcopate, which traced its growth and expansion after 548/549 to the invalid ordination of Eutropius, to comparable effect.[23] Implicitly disallowing the possibility of an alternative consecratory line, the account represents the entire sacramental edifice of the tritheist movement as ultimately deriving from a single defective mechanism – and as therefore carrying and propagating the imprint

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22. The suggestion by Grillmeier, *Christ*, 280, that the existence of a robust mystical tradition in Syria, antithetical to the logical and largely abstract formulation of tritheist theology, prevented the emergence of a separate tritheist church in the region is both reductive and plainly facile – predicated as it is upon an absence of evidence. Although there no was direct witness to the existence of a tritheist church in Syria, after its initial proselytization recorded by John of Ephesus, this can hardly be taken as evidence of the failure of the movement to find local converts. Instead, the partially analogous case of the Julianist church – which, relative to its scale, is only sporadically attested in the Severan historiographic record for the sixth century, after its period of initial expansion – provides ample warning against over interpreting such an absence of evidence. At the same time, it should also be recalled that, despite the "mystic and gnostic inclinations" which Grillmeier assigns to contemporary Syrian Christianity, tritheism – at least in its early, archaic form, prior to 563/564 – arose from the theological speculations of John Ascoutzanges, a native of Apamea, and appears to have found the core of its initial converts among the anti-Chalcedonian clergy and monks from Syria I and II, Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, IX.30; and van Roey, "La controverse trithéite jusqu'à l'excommunication," 142-143. It, therefore, cannot be reasonably said that the region possessed an inherent immunity to the doctrine.

23. Chapter, II.2.c., 141-157*;* here, of course, the evident structural similarities between the description of the foundation of the tritheist episcopate and dominant Severan account of the Julianist episcopate after the death of Procopius of Ephesus are not coincident, since the latter – as noted above –, though it is attested only as it has been transmitted and redacted in much later sources, ultimately derives from the second part of the *Historiae ecclesiasticae* by John of Ephesus. Although it stands somewhat beyond the object of the current study, this raises questions of the degree of idiosyncrasy in John of Ephesus' discursive approach, relative to his contemporaries.

of its illegitimacy. However, whereas the underlying fault of the Julianist episcopate was the severance of the movement's sacramental line, the root defect of the tritheist episcopate – at least as described by John of Ephesus – effected only the legal standing of the movement and not its sacramental validity.

II.3.b., Illicit but not Invalid

At fundamental issue, in the rhetorical construction of the tritheist episcopate by John of Ephesus are two distinct allegations of consecratory malfeasance. First and perhaps most important was the violation of the prohibition against interdicted clergy, who had been placed under a lawful sentence of deposition – *scilicet* the bishop Theonas –, from performing the ministry of their office – *scilicet* the ordaining of priests and other bishops. Second, the historian charges that the ordinations conducted by the movement were indiscriminate and performed without the requisite suitable examination of the candidates. Although both allegations point to specific violations of existing canon law, which would in theory have exposed both officiants and ordinands to legal censure and deposition, neither – as generally interpreted by contemporary commentators – would have constituted a *per se* negation of the sacramental act of ordination, so that the account is best understood as an attack upon the statutory legitimacy of the tritheist episcopate, rather than upon its sacramental validity.

Already codified in the early fourth century, the injunction against the performance of ministerial functions by deposed clergy was variously reiterated and reproduced in later fourth and sixth century collections. Thus, canon 4 of the synod of Antioch, convened in the early fourth century, determined, *inter alia*, that a bishop who exercised any portion of his ministry, after having

been deposed by a legally constituted synod, was to be regarded as having automatically and without recourse to further defense forfeited any possibility of restoration, and that those who knowingly communicated with a deposed cleric were themselves subject to a similarly summary excommunication.[24] The prohibition was then echoed in canon 28 of the so-called *Apostolic Canons* – a pseudo-apostolic collection conventionally dated to between 375 and 380 –, which decreed the total alienation of any member of the clergy, who practiced the functions of their ministry after having been lawfully deposed.[25] In the mid-sixth century, both canon 4 of Antioch and canon 28 of the *Apostolic Canons* were incorporated into and interpreted by synthetic canon collections produced within the imperial church, thereby giving some indication of the continuing relevance of the prohibition for contemporary canonists. Canon 4 is twice cited in the *Synagoga L Titulorum* of John Scholasticus – the second and final edition of which was completed by John, during the period of his patriarchate, from 565 to 577 –, under titles which respectively pertained to the prohibitions against the participation of deposed clergy in the liturgy, *i.e.*, *titulus* XVII, and the receiving or communicating with those who

24. *Can.Ant.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 100-126), 4; the canons of Antioch have traditionally been ascribed to the synod *in encaeniis*, in 341 AD. Hess, H. (1958), *The Canons of the Council of Sardica, A.D. 343: a Landmark in the Early Development of Canon Law*, (Oxford), pg. 145-150, however, who has assembled a strong circumstantial argument in favor of an earlier dating, assigns their composition to 330 – this dating is somewhat tentatively followed by Ohme, H. (2012), "Sources of the Greek Canon Law to the Quinisext Council (691/692): Councils and Church Fathers," in W. Hartmann and K. Pennington ed., *The History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law to 1500*, (Washington, D. C.), 44-45. More recently, Mardirossian, A. (2010), *La collection canonique d'Antioche: Droit et hérésie à travers le premier recueil de législation ecclésiastique (IVe siècle)*, (Paris), has argued for a slightly earlier dating, placing the composition of the canons in late 328. For the purposes of the present discussion, the date of the issuing synod is of a tertiary significance; more important is its subsequent recognition as part of the established and authoritative corpus of ecclesiastical law.

25. *Can.Apost.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 1-53), 28; concerning the date of the Apostolic Canons, see, Bradshaw, P. F. (2002), *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*, (Oxford), 84-85; and Gaudemet, J. (1985), *Les sources du droit de l'Église en Occident du IIe au VIIe siècle*, (Paris), 21.

have been removed from office, *i.e.*, *titulus* XVIII, while canon 28 is cited only once under *titulus* XVII.[26]

However, despite the clear interdiction which these statutes place upon the performance of sacramental acts by deposed clerics, neither the canons themselves nor their late antique interpreters specifically void such acts. For the present case this meant that it was possible for the ordinations performed by Theonas to be regarded as simultaneously both illegal and sacramentally valid within the discursive frame established by John of Ephesus. Such a conclusion, though perhaps superficially contradictory, is nonetheless fully consistent with the prior tradition surrounding the application of canon 4 of Antioch, which by the late sixth century had come to be routinely invoked as an assertion of the sovereign inviolability of ecclesiastical depositions. Read in conjunction with a variously assembled collection of other fourth and fifth century canons, canon 4 was thus employed by fifth and sixth century commentators to justify and construct appellate framework for ecclesiastical rulings – generally following the jurisdictional structures of the territorial church. In this way, the central prohibition in canon 4 was repeatedly read as a strict affirmation of the power of bishops and synods to impose binding embargoes upon the bishops and clergy subject to their authority and to punish those who flaunted their rulings, either through their proscribed performance of the liturgical rites and functions of their office or through their participation in such illicitly performed rites. These earlier readings of the canon, though it codified the illegality of the sacramental acts performed by the lawfully deposed, did not, as a rule, regard it as demanding the nullifi-

26. John Scholasticus, *Synagoga L Titulorum*, XVII and XVIII; Troianos, S. (2012), "Byzantine Canon Law to 1100," in W. Hartmann and K. Pennington ed., *The History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law to 1500*, (Washington, D. C.), 118-120; and Gallagher, *Church Law*, 21.

cation of such acts.[27] Instead, the existing interpretive tradition treated the sacramental acts of deposed clergy as significant only in as much as they constituted a defiance of the ecclesiastical authority which had imposed the deposition and thus negated for their perpetrators any prospect for the future repeal of their deposition.

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27. Hess, *The Early Development*, 179-186, convincingly locates canon 4 of Antioch within a developing legal discourse surrounding the structures of judicial authority within the church. A largely procedural interpretation was also apparently given to canon 4 in the *Syntagma XIV titulorum*, composed in *c.* 580, which though independently inextant has nonetheless been preserved through its subsequent incorporation into the early seventh century *Nomocanon XIV titulorum*, IX.14; and Troianos, S. (2012), "Byzantine Canon Law to 1100," in W. Hartmann and K. Pennington eds., *The History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law to 1500*, (Washington, D.C.), 120 and 138-139. The earliest significant judicial invocation of canon 4 of the synod of Antioch, in this respect, occurs in descriptions of the second exile of John Chrysostom from Constantinople, in 404. According to the available sources, John – who had been earlier deposed at the Synod of the Oak, in 403, but almost immediately restored – was again deposed on the grounds that he had resumed the office and functions of his episcopate without having obtained a synodal restoration, Mayer, W. and Allen, P. (2000), *John Chrysostom*, (London), 9-10; Kelly, J. N. D. (1995), *Golden Mouth: the Story of John Chrysostom – Ascetic, Preacher, Bishop*, (London), 211-249; Van Nuffelen, P. (2013), "Theophilus against John Chrysostom: the Fragments of Lost *Libre* and the Reasons for John's Deposition," *Adamantius* 19, 139-154; Elm, S. (1998), "The Dog that Did Not Bark: Doctrine and Patriarchal Authority in the Conflict between Theophilus of Alexandria and John Chrysostom of Constantinople," in L. Ayres and G. Jones eds., *Christian Origins: Theology, Rhetoric and Community*, (London), 68-93; Liebeschuetz, J. H. W. G. (2011), *Ambrose and John Chrysostom: Clerics between Desert and Empire*, (Oxford) pg. 234-247. Consistently, the sources link the charges brought by the second synod, in 404, to the canons of Antioch, providing what is, in effect, a paraphrase of the prohibition contained in canon 4: Pseudo-Martyrius, *Funerary Speech for John Chrysostom*, §§ 98-103; Palladius of Helenopolis, *Dialogus de Vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi*, IX; Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VI.18; and Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VIII.20; and Ohme, "Greek Canon Law," 44-45. Van Nuffelen, "Theophilus," 154 n. 91, however, incorrectly identifies the canon alluded to in the accounts as canon 9 of the synod of Antioch – *Can.Ant.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 100-126), 9, describes the authority of the metropolitan bishop within the jurisdictional framework of the provincial episcopate. Significantly, none of the sources make mention of a concomitant voiding of the sacramental actions performed by John during the period between his return to Constantinople, in September or October of 403, and his exile, on 20 June, 404, even though he was known to have played an active role in the liturgy during this time. While it is doubtful that the overwhelmingly pro-Johannite narrative of the extant sources provides a wholly reliable witness to these events, there is also no immediate reason to suppose that their accounts would have suppressed the details of the move to nullify the sacramental acts performed by John, during the period after the Synod of the Oak – particularly as the counter argument to the deposition which they muster relies almost exclusively upon a denunciation of the canons of Antioch as the product of the Arian synod of 341. Had the anti-Johannite party in Constantinople moved, in 404, to void the rites performed by John during the roughly nine months before his final exile, the sources would presumably have decried it as yet another abusive excess perpetrated under the dubious cover of a heretical canon. Instead, it seems likely that application of canon 4 by Chrysostom's opponents extended no further than his deposition. *Cf.* Claeys Bouuaert, F. (1949), "Déposition," in R. Naz, *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, tome IV, (Paris), 1154-1160, who though not concerned with canon 4, *per se*, provides an analysis of conceptualization and pragmatic ramifications of clerical deposition in the western canon legal tradition.

The extant correspondence of Severus of Antioch, for example, contains two references to canon 4, in which the patriarch set out an interpretive framework within which to understand the implications of the statute. In both letters, Severus – following the precedent of earlier rulings – does not explicitly discuss the sacramental ramifications of the canon, but focuses exclusively upon its procedural implications *vis-à-vis* the reception and reinstatement of deposed bishops. Characteristic of his larger approach to the application of judicial norms, Severus demonstrates a willingness in the letters – one of which dealt with the actions of a Chalcedonian bishop and the other with the case of a deposed anti-Chalcedonian bishop – to adopt a differentiated strategy for the implementation of the statute and its central prohibition, depending upon the confessional allegiance of the transgressor.[28]

The earlier of the two was written prior to 518, in the context of a dispute between Severus and the pro-Chalcedonian suffragans of Syria II, who – throughout much of his reign staged a stalwart and largely successful opposition to the patriarch and his anti-Chalcedonian appointees to the metropolitan see of Apamea. In early 515, a patriarchal synod in Antioch deposed at least three, and perhaps all, of the provincial bishops of Syria II – including the bishops of Epiphania, Arethusa, and Rhaphania –, all of whom had previously severed communion with Severus. However, the refusal of imperial authorities to intervene and force the removal of the three episcopal recalcitrants resulted in a *de facto* impasse, which then persisted until Severus' own deposition in 518.[29] In the letter, which was most likely written after the syn-

28. Van Nuffelen, P. and Hilkens, A. (2013), "Recruitment and Conflict in Sixth-Century Antioch: a Micro-Study of *Select Letters* 6,1,5 of Severus of Antioch," *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 17.3, 561-573, provide a recent case study in the patriarch's use and manipulation of canon law, in the period before 518.

29. Evagrius Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History*, III.34; Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.20, 21 and

od, Severus rebuked Eutychianus, the governor of Syria II, for having attended the feast and dedication of a martyrion – *i.e.*, the performance of a sacramental act – by an anonymous deposed bishop.[30] Quoting canon 4, Severus warned the governor that his participation in "a feast which was thus making war with God" represented a breach of ecclesiastical law and exposed him, in theory at least, to canonical chastisement, unless he reconciled himself with the orthodox church and, more particularly, with Peter of Apamea.[31] The clear objective of the letter was to oblige the compliance of the governor, and its primary emphasis is therefore placed upon the second clause of the canon threatening with excommunication those who participate in the ministry of the deposed. Significantly, however, although he decries the illicitness of the consecration of the martyrion by the anonymous pro-Chalcedonian bishop, Severus does not comment upon the sacramental efficacy of the act, *per se*. The patriarch's silence in this respect may, at least in part, be explained by the designated audience and overt purpose of the letter, which was not intended to deliver a ruling on the sacramental status of the rite, but to give a demonstration of its legal status and consequent implications for Eutychianus regarding his relation to the larger church. In this respect, Severus' use of the

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24; Haarer, *Anastasius*, 160; Charanis, *Church and State*, 98 and 100-101; and Honigmann, *Évêques*, 56-65; in 518, the bishops Cosmas of Ephiphania, Severianus of Arethusa, Zoilus of Rhaphania, Cyrus of Mariamme, and Eusebius of Larissa sent a synodical letter to the patriarch John of Constantinople denouncing Severus of Antioch and Peter of Apamea, *ACO*, III.33, 90-92, testifying the enduring nature of the province's resistance to the anti-Chalcedonian patriarch.

30. Although Brooks, *The Sixth Book*, 70, dates the letter to the period between 514 and 518, Severus' insistence upon the prior canonical deposition of the bishop would suggest that its composition post-dated the synod in 515, as there is no evidence for the earlier deposition of the bishops in the province. Regarding the identity of the bishop, Severus – in his letter of summons – states that all of the bishops of the province had removed themselves from the communion of Peter of Apamea, *SL*, I.20, so that it possible that in addition to the three otherwise named bishops all of the suffragans of Apamea may have been deposed and thus any of them could have been the subject of the letter.

31. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.44, 138.

coercive threat of excommunication provided by canon 4 for those who continued to communicate with one who had previously been deposed by a synod, neatly mirrors an earlier use of the canon by the Council of Chalcedon, in its dispute with the monastic opponents of its deposition of the patriarch Dioscorus of Alexandria.[32] This though does not seem to offer a complete explanation for the silence of the patriarch on the sacramental validity of the rite. Had the patriarch felt justified in voiding the sacramental validity of the dedication, it seems almost certain that he would have done so in order to bolster his rhetorical position. Rather, it would, instead, appear that Severus here recognized an implicit distinction between the illegality of the act – the attendant repercussions which the letter clearly emphasizes – and the essential sacramental viability of the rite, which he passed over in silence.

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32. The reference occurred during one of the two parallel and unnumbered sessions of the council held on 20 October, 451, *ACO*, II.1, 458-460; and Price and Gaddis, *Acts*, II, 164-165. In the *acta*, the text of both canons 4 and 5 of Antioch are quoted from a numbered collection in response to an attempt by the monastic supports of Dioscorus of Alexandria, led by the Constantinoplitan monks Carosus and Dorotheus, to circumvent the authority of the council's earlier deposition of the patriarch by appealing directly to the emperor Marcian; concerning the turbulent process and earlier controversy surrounding Dioscorus' deposition, see, Price, R. (2009), "The Council of Chalcedon (451): a Narrative," in R. Price and M. Whitby eds., *Chalcedon in Context: Church Councils 400-700*, (Liverpool), 74-79; and Price and Gaddis, *Acts*, II, 29-30 and 117-120. In their petition to the emperor, the monks not only continued to assert the episcopacy of Dioscorus, but also requested that he be permitted to participate in the synod, treating him – in effect – as a functioning bishop and thus disregarding the prior ruling of the council. Ruling on the basis of the cited canons, the council gave the recalcitrants a period of thirty days during which to recant their position and comply with its ruling, or be stripped of their rank and face prosecution by the lay authorities. Here, Price and Gaddis, *Acts*, II, 165, appear to have slightly misconstrued the council's purpose in deploying these particular canons – leading them to suppose that the issue at stake in the exchange was the assertion of episcopal control over the dissidents as monks and thus incorrectly to posit that canons 4 and 5 "did not directly apply to the present case" and were applied only as a temporary expedient because of a gap in the existing legislation. This gap, Price and Gaddis argue, was then filled by *Can.Chalc.* (= *Discipline*, I.I.IV, 69-97), 4, which placed monks and monasteries under the authority of the bishop in whose territory they were located. Such an interpretation, however, ignores the substance of the council's ruling, which was to compel the monks to recognize the binding authority of its deposition of Dioscorus. To this end, the canons are wholly applicable. By refusing to accept the deposition and continuing to embrace Dioscorus as a functioning bishop, the monks were implicitly presented as violating the final clause of canon 4 prohibiting communication with those who had been lawfully deposed. Simultaneously, canon 5 provided the obvious template for the coercive actions taken by the council against the holdouts – *Can.Ant.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 100-126), 5. As in the other examples, cited here, canon 4 of Antioch was employed by the council to establish a procedural, rather than a sacramental, principle.

The second reference in extant letters of Severus to canon 4 of Antioch occurs in an epistle written after the patriarch's exile, in 518, and concerns the procedural ramifications for the reception of a deposed bishop. Addressed to the bishops Constantine of Laodocia, Antonius of Beroia/Aleppo, and Cassian of Bostra, as the representatives of a synod of anti-Chalcedonian exiles then in Alexandria, the letter pertains to the reception by the synod of the Isaurian bishop Paul of Obla, who had previously been deposed by a provincial synod, following a dispute with the neighboring bishop Hilarian of Diocaesarea and his ally Musonius of Meloe. In the course of the dispute, Paul – without the canonically required permission of his metropolitan – left his see, evidently to canvass support in Constantinople.[33] According to Severus, the bishops in Alexandria had acted correctly in receiving Paul, even though "he had performed the actions, that is to say ministries, of the high priesthood during the period of his deposition [ܕܐܦ ܕܥܒܕ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܫܘܠܝܛܘܬܐ ܕܟܗܢܘܬܐ ܒܙܒܢܐ ܕܗܘ ܡܬܬܪܥܐ ܒܬܪ ܕܐܬܬܒܥ ܒܗ ܕܐܬܩܒܠ ܒܗ ܕܐܬܪܡ ܒܗ ܕܐܬܚܢܢ ܒܗ]," contrary to the prohibition established by the canon.[34] Although affirming the bishops' decision to restore Paul, the patriarch imposed the caveat that he should receive neither the title nor prerogatives of the bishopric of Obla, since another had already been lawfully ordained to fill the see.[35] Instead, he should receive only the title and

33. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.3, 4, 23, and 26; Honigmann, *Évêques*, 90-92; and Frend, W. C. (1981), "Isauria: Severus of Antioch's Problem-Child, 512-518," in F. Paschke ed., *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen: Festschrift Marcel Richard*, (Berlin), 212-213; the details of the initial conflict between Paul of Olba and Hilarian of Diocaesarea, as it pertained to the episcopal administration of monastic appointments, are also discussed below – chapter I.1.a, 20-37.

34. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.53, pg. 176.

35. The name of Paul's successor on the episcopal throne of Obla is elsewhere attested as Theodore, Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.52, IX.2 and 3; Honigmann, *Évêques*, 91; in the letter, the patriarch also refers admonishingly to the comparable case of an Isaurian bishop, Helpidius of Cestrus – who, though he had refrained from performing the offices of his episcopate while deposed, had not initially been received by the synod in Alexandria –, ruling that ought to be restored on the same terms as Paul of Olba, Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.53; pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, *Chronicle*, III, 18; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, IX.13, 267;

some non-specific functions of the episcopate. This last provision, however, stems from a concern to preserve the structural coherence and territorial integrity of the episcopate, rather than reflecting a pronouncement on the sacramental capacity of the newly restored Paul of Obla, as such.[36]

In order to establish a legal framework for Paul's reception, the patriarch invoked the authority of canon 4 of Antioch, which he linked with canons 6 and 12 of the same synod. Collectively, these latter canons, which pertain to the reception of deposed clergy, delineate an appellate framework governing the synodal re-adjudication and repeal of existing depositions and condemn those who attempt to gain restoration through the intervention of external authorities or through other unsanctioned means.[37] Severus summarizes the collective import of these canons, thus:

> For the force of these three canons, in the synodical writings, is this – that for one who is deposed by a small synod, it is possible for him to test the causes of his deposition before a greater synod and obtain restoration, if the great synod determines to release him. If after deposition, however, he should dare to perform any of the functions of the priesthood [ܟܗܢܘܬܐ ܠܡ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܕܐܬ ܕܐܚܕ ܠܡܫܬܡܫ ܒܗ ܐܦ ܡܢ ܕܐܬ], then even intercourse of the greater synod shall be closed to him, if those who once performed his deposition continue in the same judgement of deposition.[38]

This, the patriarch extrapolates, is because of the sovereign insolubility of lawfully rendered ecclesiastical judgements, which remained in force until rescinded by the original issuing authority – if possible with the assent of a

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and Honigmann, *Évêques*, 93.

36. *Cf.*, *Can.Sard.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 156-189), 3-5, which allow bishops, who had been deposed by synodal decision, to appeal the ruling to the adjudication of the bishop of Rome. During the period of the appeal, the canon places a stay on the appointment of a successor to the see of the deposed bishop, without the consent of the bishop of Rome – presumably in order to avoid situations comparable to those created by the restoration of Paul of Olba and Helpidius of Cestrus, in which a reinstated bishop was received without a see, Hess, *Early Development*, 179-199.

37. *Can.Ant.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 100-126), 6 and 12; canon 12 – which disbars those who seek to circumvent the hierarchy of synodical authority by appealing their deposition to the emperor from the possibility of restoration or future appeal – has particular pertinence to the case of Paul of Olba. Canon 6 requires that members of the sub-episcopal clergy and laity who had been excommunicated be received either by their bishop or through the decision of a synod.

38. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.53, 171.

greater authority. In the case of a bishop whose deposition had originally been rendered by a synod, this would theoretically have entailed the concurrence of a larger, jurisdictionally superior, synod. Here, however, Severus also produced a series of patristic precedents, which he argued justly permitted the rehabilitation of a deposed bishop without the assent of the original synod, in those cases where such measures served the greater interest of orthodoxy and ecclesiastical unity.[39] The specific importance of canon 4 – for the purposes of this interpretation – was then the barrier to appeal which it imposed upon those who unlawfully exercised their function of the ministry after having once been deposed, even if Severus' argument seeks to excuse and eschew that bar in the case of Paul of Olba. Unsurprisingly giving the focus of the ruling, then, Severus did not elect to draw attention to the status of the acts that Paul had performed, while he was deposed, or more generally to render a firm pronouncement on the theoretical validity of such sacramental acts as might be conducted by a canonically deposed bishop.

A stricter, though otherwise comparable, use of canon 4 to establish procedural rule governing the reception of deposed clergy is made by the anonymous author of a later anti-Paulite treatise, preserved and edited under the title *Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur Refutation*, which has been loosely dated by L. Lontie to the period 576-578.[40] In it, the anonymous pamphleteer

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39. Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.53; in particular, he cites the example of the bishops Helladius of Tarsus, Eutherius of Tyana, Dorotheus of Marcianopolis, and Himerius of Nicomedia, who were received by Cyril of Alexandria after they had been deposed at the Council of Ephesus I, in 431.

40. Lontie, L. (1997), "Un traité syriaque jacobite contre les partisans de Paul de Bēth Ukkāmē (564-581): (ms. British Library Add. 14.533, f. 172r°b-176v°b)," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 63:1, 45-51, dates the composition of the text to the period between Jacob's journey to Egypt, in late 575 or early 576, and his death, in July 578, on the basis of other documents mentioned in it. He also tentatively assigns its authorship to "*une personne issue de l'entourage de Jacques Baradée ou de Pierre d'Alexandrie*."

mounts a defense of the deposition of Paul of Beth Ukkame, in late 575 or 576, against a variety of charges of canonical impropriety purportedly leveled by the supporters of the deposed patriarch of Antioch – including, significantly, the claim that the deposition constituted a rejection of "penitence [ܬܒܝܬܐ]," since the anti-Paulite faction had refused to receive him into the episcopate.[41] The substance of this putative allegation evidently proceeded from the nebulous status of Paul of Beth Ukkame at the time of his deposition. In 571 and 572, Paul had twice communicated with the pro-Chalcedonian patriarch of Constantinople, John Scholasticus. Although he had each time recanted his communication and been received in penitence by an eastern synod under Jacob Baradaeus, in *c.* 574, Paul was not immediately reinstated – and was therefore, in principle, unable to exercise the functions of his patriarchate. In 575, shortly after his re-admittance and while he remained in a state of penitential restriction, Paul – who was then in seclusion in Egypt – became entangled in the controversy surrounding the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis to fill the vacant see of Alexandria. Violent opposition to his ordination from entrenched interests within the Alexandrian clergy lead to Theodore's rapid usurpation by Peter, an elderly deacon in the church, who – in turn – moved quickly to depose Paul, who was then accused – *inter alia* – of having secured the ordination of Theodore and thus of having unlawfully exercised the ministry from which he was excluded.[42] In order to counter the

41. *Accusation des partisans de Paul et leur refutation,* I.V; for further exposition and discussion of the controversy, which surrounded the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis and ultimately engulfed the patriarchate of Paul of Beth Ukkame – leading to his withdrawal and replacement by Peter of Callinicum, in 581 –, see, chapter II.5.a, 247-254. Here, however, it is important to note that within the confines of this debate the term "Jacobite" – following the standard convention – is employed to denote the party which formed around Jacob Baradaeus in opposition to Paul of Beth Ukkame – whose partisans in the ensuing schism are, by the same convention, termed "Paulites."

42. *Accusation des partisans de Paul et leur refutation,* I.1 and II.I-III, 10-12 and 24-30; John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.8-16; Wigram, *Separation*, 168-171 and 175-179; Honigmann, *Évêques*, 198-202; and Brooks, E. W. (1930), "The Patriarch Paul of Antioch and

claim that this second deposition constituted a rejection of penitence, *per se*, the treatise produces a bipartite defense of the premise that it was possible simultaneously to accept a deposed bishop in penance, without receiving them into the episcopate – either because of the nature of their transgressions or because the restoration of their ministry would serve to divide the communion of those subject to their authority:

> Concerning this we say that it is not necessary that whensoever someone is received in penitence, that is he also be received in the episcopacy. For it is possible that he should be received in penitence, but not in the episcopacy, either because of an act that he performed, on account of which he was deposed, it is not permitted for him that he should ever receive the spiritual primacy, or he will be suspended from the episcopate, not [because of] an action which he performs, [but] so that the concord of those over whom he is bishop shall not be riven.[43]

In justification of its initial premise – *viz*., that certain transgressions rendered those who committed them ineligible to hold ecclesiastical office –, the treatise produces an excerpt of canon 1 of Nicaea requiring that clergy who voluntarily castrate themselves be deprived of their ministry and the possibility of promotion.[44] The treatise linked this with the initial clause of canon 4 of Antioch – prohibiting deposed clergy from the practice of their ministry and denying the potential for restoration to those who transgressed – in order to demonstrate that a principle of limited penitential reception, without the potential for the reinstatement of clerical functions, already existed in canon law:

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the Alexandrine Schism of 575," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 12.2, 468-476; regarding this episode more broadly, see chapter II.5.a, 247-254.

43. *Accusation des partisans de Paul et leur refutation,* I.V, 18; to substantiate the second premise of this argument – that a bishop could be excluded from spiritual authority without transgression in the interest of ensuring the unity of the church – the tractate, idem, pg. 20, draws upon the final clause of *Can.Ant.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 100-126), 19. Here, the treatise also invokes the precedent of Proclus of Cyzicus – whose ordination as bishop of Cyzicus in the early fifth century was successfully opposed by the citizens of that city, Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VII.12 – reflecting what was evidently a common theme in contemporary Jacobite polemic, *n.b.*, *DM*, 42, 265-270. The *Accusation des partisans de Paul et leur refutation,* I.V, 22, then applied this to Paul of Beth Ukkame by arguing that his episcopate was not consonant with the "concord of many in the church."

44. *Accusation des partisans de Paul et leur refutation,* I.V, 20; *Can.Nic.* (= *Discipline*, I.I.I, 21-41), 1; and Bright, *Notes*, 1-4.

> And again one suspended from the episcopate on account of an act which he has performed, like those who transgressed a punishment which was decreed against them, according to the fourth canon of the synod of Antioch, which was assembled for the dedication of the church, which thus decreed, "If a bishop when he has been deposed by a synod, or a presbyter or deacon by their bishop, shall dare to perform a portion of his ministry [of] a bishop or presbyter or deacon, according to their earlier habit, from thenceforth they shall not have a hope to be received by another synod, nor shall there be a place for them to apologize." Behold, it has been shown that the holy canons, while not rejecting penitence – for it is an impiety to say this –, prohibit certain individuals who may not be received in the episcopate.[45]

On the basis of this principle, the text then argued that Paul could be lawfully received in penitence without being accepted in the episcopate, since through his assent he had participated in the illegal ordination of Theodore and had done so while deposed, exposing him to the punitive clause of canon 4.[46] The treatise does not directly challenge the sacramental validity of Theodore's consecration – which had, in any case, not been conducted by Paul, but was carried out by three other bishops. Neither was the participation of the patriarch in the ordination the sole reason adduced by the treatise for its illegality. Instead, the use of canon 4 to condemn Paul of Beth Ukkame reflects a line of legal reasoning, which though not identical to that evident in the correspondence of Severus of Antioch, nonetheless follows from a largely consonant, common understanding of the statute as an appeals canon, regulating the behavior of those under a sentence of deposition.

The common understanding, reflected in these sources, of the limited disciplinary and appellate implications of the prohibition against the performance of sacramental acts by deposed clergy, nonetheless provides a clear framework through which to interpret the legal ramifications of the historian's statement regarding Theonas' deposition, at the time when he joined Conon and Eugenius in ordaining the tritheist episcopate. Conon and Eugenius too

45. *Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation,* I.V, 20.

46. *Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation,* I.V, 22.

had been deposed in 569, consequent to their break with the Theodosian episcopate, so that their ministerial acts should likewise have been deigned legal standing on the basis of the same prohibition. Although not specifically mentioned by John of Ephesus, whose account focuses its accusation exclusively on the person of Theonas, it remains conceivable that awareness of this fact shaped a larger, though now inextant, discourse about the tritheist episcopate. The ordinations performed by these three deposed bishops, then, though not automatically invalid, were nonetheless the product of the illegal action of their consecrators and therefore *de jure* illegitimate.

A second significant, though largely sublimated, charge is made by John of Ephesus regarding the choice of candidates consecrated by Theonas, Conon, and Eugenius – *viz.*, that they were selected and ordained haphazardly, and without apparent examination or concern for their individual qualities or qualifications. In a sense, this second indictment serves as a generic excoriation of the new episcopate, designed to present the tritheist episcopate as corrupt and incompetent, collectively unworthy of their shared spiritual office. However, by inculpating the tritheists of conducting indiscriminate ordinations, John of Ephesus was mounting a specific accusation of canonical malpractice – based upon the requirement, well established in both ecclesiastical and imperial law, that candidates for the episcopate and sub-episcopal clergy undergo examination for disqualifying transgressions prior to their ordination.[47] This allegation – which also occurs in anti-Julianist polemics – in John of Ephesus' account served to compound and confirm the irregularity

47. *N.b.*, *Can.Nic.* (= *Discipline*, I.I.I, 21-41), 9; the canon's requirement that those ordained to the clergy should be "unimpeachable," ἀνεπίληπτος, was biblically predicated and widely reflected in contemporary ecclesiastical thought – I Tim. 3:2 and 5:22; Tit. 1:7; Bright, *Notes*, 33-34; and L'Huillier, *Church*, 62-63. *N.b.*, Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.20, 41, 46, 49, II.3, and VIII.4 and 8.

and illegitimacy of the ordinations performed by the tritheists, though again without providing an unavoidable cause for their sacramental nullification. Thus, as with his allegation regarding the illegality of Theonas' ordinations, this second assertion that the tritheists had ordained bishops recklessly and without due examination permitted John to create a defamatory picture of the tritheist movement and its episcopate, particularly in *Oriens* – a picture which might have been used polemically to harangue tritheists and encourage converts or apologetically to discourage the defection of members of the Theodosian clergy and laity to what could thus be represented as an illicit movement. It did not provide the basis for the systemic invalidation and dissolution of tritheist sacraments.

II.3.c., Receiving Converts

Thus, despite the rhetorical condemnation of its legality, the pragmatic treatment of the tritheist episcopate – *qua* a source of sacramental rites – by members of the Theodosian episcopate sharply diverged from that accorded to the Julianist episcopate, whose episcopal line – as has previously been established – was regarded as has having been broken after 548/549. To this end, the evidence, although limited, nevertheless suggests that tritheist ordinations were regarded as sacramentally valid acts, which conferred upon their recipients the full functions of the priesthood. That this was so is strongly indicated by a series of variously documented incidents in which Theodosians are recorded as having received or sought to receive tritheist bishops according to a formula evidently comparable to that applied to converts from the imperial, Chalcedonian church and those received from other heresies regarded as possessing valid episcopal lines. Specifically, tritheist converts appear to have

been required to produce a *libellus* anathematizing their own prior heresy as well as all other heresies and to then complete a fixed period of penitence, during which the convert abstained from the performance of their office, before resuming the functions of the ministry to which he had been ordained. The sources make no allusion to a systematic requirement for converts to receive a second ordination prior to their re-incorporation into the clergy, nor is there any indication that re-ordination was either practiced or demanded by any significant factions within the Theodosian church – though the nature of the available sources permits only a limited interrogation of this normative position.

Here, the most significant body of evidence for the reception of tritheist bishops concerns the series of negotiations between the parties, during the reign of patriarch Peter of Callinicum, 581 to 591, which resulted in the defection of the tritheist bishop Elias to the Theodosian camp. In 582, following a schism within the tritheist communion – which had resulted in its fragmentation into the Cononite and Athanasian parties –, a delegation of prominent Cononite tritheists from Cilicia, including the bishops Elias and Antonius as well as the archimandrite Theodore, the leader of a tritheite monastery in Cilicia II, approached the Jacobite patriarch Peter of Callinicum.[48] According to Peter, who has left a brief account of the episode in a letter to the Alexandrian patriarch Damian, written in 585, the leader of the group, Antonius, af-

48. The schism within the tritheist faction was triggered, in 574, by the publication by the tritheist philosopher and theologian, John Philoponus, of a treatise on the resurrection, in which the Alexandrian grammarian argued against the resurrection of the body – Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 21. This precipitated a rupture between Conon of Tarsus, who repudiated the treatise, and Athanasius, who accepted it, dividing the movement into two opposing and mutually excommunicated parties – *scilicet* the Cononites and Athanasians: John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.V.5 and 7; Nicephorus Callistus, *Ecclesiasticae Historiae*, XVIII.47; Ebied, van Roey, and Wickham, *Peter of Callinicum*, 22; van Roey, "La controverse trithéite depuis la condemnation," 492-493.

ter a short period of debate, conceded the fundamental orthodoxy of the position earlier outlined by Theodosius of Alexandria forbidding the three hypostases of the trinity to be called "consubstantial substances and natures."[49] Although this concession amounted to the effective vacation of a central tenet of the movement by one of its principle leaders, the debate produced no immediate tergiversations from within the tritheist camp. Even so, the exchange is said to have laid the foundations for the defection of the bishop Elias, roughly three years later.

Following this preamble, Peter of Callinicum then outlines the terms of his reception, stipulating that Elias had been admitted into the patriarch's communion following his production of a *libellus* containing an orthodox profession of the faith and after having the "priestly prayer" and other customary rites performed over him. At the time of the letter's composition, Elias remained in a state of canonically prescribed punishment – *i.e.*, a penitential state in which he did not exercise the functions of the priesthood. Peter, however, argued that Elias should, upon the completion of this penitential period, be permitted to resume his episcopate without the loss of its status or functions:

> Once father Elias had thus resigned from these impious men, he came to us with proper gentleness and humility, imploring that when those things which were canonically fitting for him had been performed, he should be deemed worthy of our communion and be allowed to be at peace, if possible, without sacrificing any of the functions of the high priesthood. When therefore a *libellus* was made by him, which was very accurate and contained your [*i.e.*, Damian's] teaching, and the priestly and customary prayer had been completed over him, he communicated with us in the

49. Peter of Callinicum, *Anti-Tritheist Dossier*, 6, 86; and Ebied, van Roey, and Wickham, *Peter of Callinicum*, 16-17 – for an account of the whole correspondence as well as the break between Damian and Peter in *c.* 586, which resulted in a schism between the Jacobite churches of Antioch and Alexandria, which lasted until 616, ibid, 15-19 and 34-43; Ebied, R. (1977), "Peter of Antioch and Damian of Alexandria: the End of a Friendship," in R. H. Fischer ed., *Tribute to Arthur Vööbus: Studies in Early Christian Literature and Its Environment, Primarily in the Syrian East*, (Chicago), 277-282; idem (2010), "Peter of Callinicus and Damian of Alexandria of Alexandria: the Tritheist Controversy of the Sixth Century," *Parole de l'Orient* 35, 181-191; and Wickham, L. R. (1995-1996), "Peter of Callinicus and Damian of Alexandria," *The Harp* 8-9, 221-228.

> pure mysteries. And now, from that time, he has been in canonical punishment and residing for the most part with us, and we expect, that while our lord Jesus is assisting [us] through your prayer, to impart to him a place, which is convenient and suitable, since as we suppose – so as also to say this circumspectly – that the man is able, since a gift has been given to him from above, to take care of the ecclesiastical affairs with discernment, in both word and deed.[50]

No mention is made of re-ordination. On the contrary, the patriarch insisted that Elias' capacity to perform the offices of the episcopate was confirmed by a "gift" which had been given to him from above, indicating that Peter considered that his original ordination had received the spiritual ratification required to ensure its sacramental efficacy.[51] It is precisely this spiritual gift that earlier Severan commentators had denied in the ordinations performed by pseudo-bishops as well as those conducted by the Julianist episcopate following the death of Procopius of Ephesus. Peter's reference to it, here, should therefore be read as a strong affirmation of the perceived sacramental validity of Elias' ordination – and thus of the tritheist bishops who had performed it.

Even so, the persuasive tone adopted by Peter suggests that he regarded the acceptance of Elias' episcopacy as something less than an absolute cer-

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50. Peter of Callinicum, *Anti-Tritheist Dossier*, 6, 88; the *Dossier* also contains Elias' *plerophoria*, written 21 July, 585, in which the bishop acknowledged the orthodoxy of the treatise of Theodosius of Alexandria as well as the synodical letter of Peter to Damian, and anathematized John Philoponus and those who accept him – idem, 7. A further, undated and less specific Theodosian profession by Elias is also included, idem, 8; and Ebied, van Roey, and Wickham, *Peter of Callinicum*, 24-25.

51. *E.g.*, Severus of Antioch, *SL*, III.1-4, in which the patriarch variously articulates the position that Christ served as the true author of the sacraments. In the argument advanced by Severus, which will be discussed in further detail below – see, chapter I.1.c, 42-50 –, rendered the character of the individual officiant largely inconsequential to the validity of the sacrament, so long as rite was preformed in accordance with established liturgical and canonical norms, since their role was largely mediatory. In explaining this, the patriarch repeatedly evoked an analogy of two identical seals, one made of pure gold and the other of lead or iron, which when impressed into wax nonetheless produced the same image. Severus, of course, had invoked this precept primarily in response to members of the laity, whom the patriarch accused of eschewing regular participation through the offices of their own local priests in order to receive the sacraments – specifically baptism and the eucharist – from prominent clerics and ascetics. In this case, however, Peter appears to invoke the concept in order to deflect attention from the identity of Elias' ordainers – or, indeed, their confessional alignment – by suggesting that the sacramental legitimacy of his ordination was derived not extrinsically from persons of his heretical consecrators, but from its inherent quality as a divinely bestowed gift.

tainty – indicating perhaps that in 585 the Theodosian church had yet to reach a common position regarding the validity of the tritheist ordinations.[52] Whether this was because of the nebulous status of the tritheist episcopate as an unlawful, though sacramentally valid line, cannot be positively demonstrated on the basis of the preserved correspondence, though the emphasis which the letter places upon the sacramental capacity of the convert might well be understood to indicate this. Given the struggles – already observed – within the earlier Severan episcopate over the rigorist legacy of Cyprian of Carthage, it is conceivable that, even if the normative position of the church had been to treat the tritheist episcopate as possessing a sacramental ordination, some Theodosian bishops may still have inclined towards stricter modes of receptions, prompting Peter to adopt a more argumentative stance in order to justify his reception of Elias. Whatever the case, however, the evidence offered by John of Ephesus suggests that, while perhaps not without certain complications, Peter's decision to receive Elias as a sacramentally ordained bishop was consistent with an established pattern observable in earlier attempts at reconciliation between the two parties, reflecting perhaps the dominant strain of Theodosian thought.

The conversion of Elias is also apparently recorded by John of Ephesus, whose account in *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, though less detailed, nonetheless generally confirms the terms of his reception laid out in the letter of Peter of

52. *N.b.*, the earlier interpretive tradition did not erect an explicit categorical distinction between practices which, though canonically illicit, remained nonetheless sacramentally viable and those which were both unlawful and sacramentally invalid. In consequence, then, the operative differentiation of these categories would have remained, to some degree, contingent upon both the disposition of the interpreter as well as the larger political context in which the individual act was performed. This would also have left Peter of Callinicum without a clear statutory precedent to cite in order to justify and defend his decision – and might also serve to explain his *ad hominem* approach to rationalizing the terms of Elias' reception, which emphasized the bishop's individual spiritual gift, rather than treating him as a member of a systemically valid episcopate.

Callinicum. Namely, John stipulates that the bishop was received upon the production of a written profession of the orthodox faith and an anathema of the Cononites:

> Then one of the famous bishops who had ordained Cononites in the province of Cilicia, when he knew and understood the error of their heresy, he turned from them, and prepared a *libellus* for the orthodox and anathematized the Cononites and their heresy, and was added to the side of the faithful.[53]

The historian does not explicitly stipulate whether or not the convert was permitted to retain the ministry of his episcopate. Nevertheless, the formula which he describes is again fully consistent with the procedure established for the reception of sacramentally ordained clerics, so that the inference would here seem incontestably straightforward. In his account of the episode, John makes no direct comment on the reasonableness of the terms of the reception, though its situation as the culmination of a series of linked narrative episodes in the *Historiae* – each describing prior failed attempts at reunification, in which tritheist bishops were supposedly offered comparable terms, including in one instance by the historian himself – provides ample evidence of his acceptance of the practice.

These earlier, abortive efforts to negotiate reconciliations between tritheist bishops and the Theodosian church are described by John of Ephesus in a number of separate episodes, which based upon their sequencing within the narrative appear to have taken place between *c.* 569 and 585. Although varying in the level of detail which they provide, the accounts of these episodes nevertheless present a common framework for the proposed reception of tritheist bishops – one fully consistent with what is known from the

53. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.V.12, 262; although John does not name the tritheist bishop, whom he identifies throughout the chapter only as a prominent Cilician bishop, who had been ordained by Conon of Tarsus, van Roey, "La controverse trithéite depuis la condemnation," 495-497; and Ebied, van Roey, and Wickham, *Peter of Callinicum*, 23, have plausibly equated the anonymous episcopal convert with Elias.

better documented case of Elias. Significantly, all point to a prior willingness on the part of the Theodosian establishment to receive tritheist bishops as members of a sacramentally ordained episcopate. This willingness was seemingly reflected in a recurrent pattern in the negotiations between the two anti-Chalcedonian parties, which – according to John of Ephesus, at least – were exclusively centered upon and consistently broke down around a limited set of confessional issues: the profession of three natures and substances in the trinity, the acceptance of the writings of Theodosius of Alexandrian, the rejection of John Philoponus, etc.,. In those cases where talks progressed so far as to produce clearly articulate terms for reconciliation, these formulae, as reported, revolved exclusively around confessional concessions through the required production of *libelli* anathematizing tritheist positions and authors, and espousing an orthodox, *i.e.*, Theodosian, belief. Elsewhere, even in those cases where dialog broke down more abruptly, the apparent stumbling blocks were in every case confessional or sectarian – as has previously been observed to have been the case in the talks between Peter of Callinicum and the contingent of Cononite bishops, in 582. Nowhere do the sources provide any indication that the Theodosians sought to impose sacramental concessions upon their tritheist interlocutors. It is not inconceivable that, in describing these earlier interactions between the two parties, John of Ephesus – either consciously or unconsciously – simply retrojected later norms which had evolved progressively, perhaps even having been codified as a result of the terms established for Elias' conversion. However, there is no immediate or necessary reason to suppose this.

The earliest attempt to effect a negotiated settlement, described by John, took place in Constantinople, shortly after the death of Athanasius – the

grandson of the deceased empress Theodora and eponymous leader of the anti-Cononite faction of the tritheists.[54] According to John, who attributes the event to his own initiative, Conon of Tarsus, upon hearing of the death of Athanasius, abandoned the tritheist missions in *Pontus* and returned to the capital in order to collect an inheritance left to him by the patrician's will. There, John – who was at the time resident in Constantinople – accosted Conon for his venality, admonishing him to repent and return to the orthodox church.[55] While the *Historiae* does not supply an exact formula for this preposed reconciliation, it does transmit the text of a letter, which the historian claims to have sent to the tritheist bishop. In it, John adopts a largely conciliatory tone, exhorting Conon to consider his own mortality and the inevitable judgement incumbent upon those responsible for the division of God's church. No terms of repentance are specifically alluded to nor is there any implication that reconciliation would require the abnegation of the Cononite episcopate and its ordinations, while only passing mention is made of the "corruption," which must be laid aside in order to achieve union.[56] The implication of the letter, at least in its present form, would appear to be that John was – or later desired to represent himself as having been – willing to receive Conon, and through him those of his faction, as members of a sacramentally constituted episcopate, provided only that they make certain, necessary theological concessions in order to be regarded as orthodox. Even so, Conon, though assenting in principle to the virtue of a union, quit the capital

54. See the above note for citations and details of the schism; regarding the Athanasius, see, *PLRE*, III.a, 147.

55. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.V.6-7; and Honigmann, *Évêques*, 187.

56. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.V.7, 258-259.

and decamped to Cilicia with the wealth left to him by Athanasius without accepting the proffered reconciliation.[57]

Despite this initial failure to achieve reunion through his individual negotiations with Conon, John states that the other, unnamed, members of the heresy separately approached the bishops in Constantinople seeking reconciliation. These the historian accuses of having adopted a falsely plaintive and propitiatory guise, claiming that they sought an end to their estrangement, while refusing to accept the terms placed upon their reception – specifically, that they should cease to confess that there are multiple "substances and natures in the Trinity, lest that through these things multiplicity of Gods, and divinities – like the heathens [hold] – shall enter the church."[58] If this was, indeed, the sole objection of the tritheists, then it would again appear that the Theodosian bishops were likely prepared to receive them according to fundamentally the same formula as that recorded for the reception of Elias and, thus, to treat them as converts from a sacramentally viable heresy.

Other discussions, seemingly both concurrent with and subsequent to the negotiations in Constantinople, are also recorded by the historian as having taken place in both Syria and Egypt, as the various parties of Cononites sought to achieve reconciliation on terms acceptable to their confession. Although far from transmitting the detailed particulars of these discussions, John of Ephesus' narrative account still provides a general picture of the negotiations, including a schematic description of the terms offered by the Theodosians. In particular, when describing the aborted discussions between an

57. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.V.7.

58. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.V.8, 259.

anonymous group of tritheists and Damian of Alexandria, John appears to offer explicit confirmation of the willingness of the Theodosian hierarchy to admit tritheist converts through a formula comparable to that subsequently employed by Peter of Callinicum in the reception of Elias, in 585.[59] Approaching the Alexandrian patriarch, the tritheists are said to have produced a *libellus* into which they had subtly insinuated a confession which was consistent, or at least sufficiently ambiguous so as not to be inconsistent, with their own.[60] Unsatisfied with the contents of their *libellus*, Damian demanded greater clarification, stipulating that the tritheists should abjure the confession of three natures and substances in the trinity and anathematize John Philoponus and his writings – anathematizing them when they refused to accept this later provision outright:

> When they [*i.e.*, the Cononites] saw that they were unable to mock those in the royal city, they went to those in Alexandria, and made a *libellus*, though they craftily inserted their confession into it, and drew near to Damian, who had succeeded Peter there, but when he demanded of them that they should abstain from the enumeration of many natures and substances, and again that they should anathematize John the Grammaticus [*i.e.*, John Philoponus] and his three books, which had lead them to err. They declared that they anathematized the last, which claimed that bodies were not resurrected, but they did not agree to reject or anathematize the first, about the plurality of Gods. He then anathematized and deposed them.[61]

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59. The passing reference which John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.V.9, makes to contemporary events is sufficient only to suggest that they followed a roughly comparable course to those in Constantinople and Alexandria.

60. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.V.9; it is possible that Peter of Callinicum, *Anti-Tritheist Dossier*, 6, 86, also refers to the event, since the notice made in a letter to Damian, written in 585, includes only a passing reference to an earlier visit made by the Conon and the archimandrite Theodore to the Alexandrian patriarch, Ebied, van Roey, and Wickham, *Peter of Callinicum*, 58 n. 59. If the episodes are, in fact, identical then the move by Damian to depose his tritheist interlocutors – recorded in the *Historiae ecclesiasticae* – seems unnecessarily theatric, given that Conon had himself already been deposed in 569. Whether this may be construed as definite evidence for a second mission to Damian is, however, somewhat doubtful; it is just as likely, and perhaps more so, that John of Ephesus simply misreported the episode or that Damian had sought to confirm or, moved by pique, to expand the existing sentence of deposition through the issuance of his own. Certainly, the Alexandrian patriarch does not otherwise appear to have been a stranger to a certain degree of theatricality – particularly in the pursuit of his campaign against Paul of Beth Ukkame; *e.g.*, John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.41, in which the historian describes Damian's failed attempt to ordain a replacement for Paul, in Antioch, which resulted in the patriarch's near arrest.

61. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.V.9, 260-261; the third book of John Philoponus, which is here mentioned, was the cause of the rupture between the Cononites

Again, as in all of the other cases, the account makes no reference to the sacramental status of tritheist ordinations, suggesting that the issue was not regarded by John of Ephesus as having been central to the negotiations. In itself, this does not, of course, provide incontrovertible proof that Damian – or the Theodosian church more broadly – had been prepared to recognize the sacramental validity of tritheist ordinations, prior to 585.

Given the limited progress of most of the negotiations recorded by John of Ephesus at the time of their discontinuation and the potentially incendiary nature of the issue, it is possible that the matter simply had not been broached. Neither – as has already been indicated – is it impossible that John, writing after the reception of Elias, simply projected an artificial continuity back onto earlier negotiations, retrojecting contemporary norms and thereby effacing earlier attitudes towards the sacramental validity of the Theodosian episcopate; such programatic narrative distortion may certainly be observed in John of Ephesus' hagiographic *oeuvre*.[62] Nevertheless, the accumulated narrative evidence would suggest that by *c.* 588 John regarded the sacramental status of the tritheist episcopate as having been so thoroughly settled as to be beyond contention and thus beyond the need for substantive comment or justification. That this was evidently not so at the time of Elias' conversion three years prior suggests that the coalescence of this consensus was less immediate than might be inferred from *Historiae ecclesiasticae* alone. Further than this, the available sources do not permit significant, direct insight into either the chronology or nature of the developments which preceded Elias' reception,

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and Athanasians – as noted above. Its rejection by the Cononites in Alexandria would have been entirely consistent with their confessional position, as was their refusal to condemn his earlier, trinitarian works.

62. chapter, I.1.c-g, 42-105.

nor into the immediate reaction of the larger Theodosian community to the steps taken by Peter of Callinicum. Neither do any of the sources directly speak to the status of sub-episcopal clergy of the tritheist movement, whose ordinations would likewise have descended from the illegal actions of the bishop Theonas, though it may be readily and safely inferred that at any given time their treatment conformed with that of their bishops.

Conclusions

In his account of the foundation of the tritheist episcopate, John of Ephesus decried the new episcopal line as having been constituted "contrary to the ecclesiastical canons" – through the indiscriminate ordinations performed by the deposed bishop Theonas. Although utilizing the same narrative strategy and pattern as in the earlier denunciation of the Julianist episcopate, the substance of John's condemnation of the tritheist was purely legal and, though plainly contrived to delegitimize the movement, did not touch upon the sacramental efficacy of its ordinations. The result was a portrait of the tritheist episcopate as possessing an illegal, but ultimately valid, ordination – reflected in the historian's record of the subsequent negotiations between tritheist and Theodosian bishops. What this later narrative omits, however, is the ambivalence, perhaps the result of a latent sacramental rigorism or simple sectarian animus, which appears to have surrounded the status of the tritheist episcopate in the period prior to 585, when the patriarch Peter of Callinicum felt obliged to defend his reception of the tritheist Elias as a sacramentally ordained bishop.

As a case study, Theodosian treatment of the tritheist episcopate has significance for the history of the Severan-Jacobite episcopate more broadly.

In a primary sense, it demonstrates both the power and ambiguity of canonical licitness as a means of measuring and contesting the legitimacy of episcopal ordinations, distinct from more purely sacramental concerns – themes which were being simultaneously played out in the controversies surrounding the patriarch Paul of Beth Ukkame. Secondarily, the tritheist episcopate provides a lens through which to approach the problems facing the Severan-Jacobite church in relation to the imperial church. Between 522 and 542, the entire sacramental edifice of the Severan-Jacobite church had been built upon the ordinations performed by lawfully deposed bishops, whose actions were subject to the same legal proscriptions as those of Conon, Eugenius, and Theonas, and thus vulnerable to the same forms of delegitimization.

II.4., Legitimizing the Jacobite Episcopate

Although the precise date at which Jacob Baradaeus began the process of re-constituting a Severan episcopate for *Oriens* cannot be determined with certainty, the available evidence tends to place the genesis of the Jacobite reformation in the period around 553.[1] Between roughly that date and *c.* 566, Jacob is known with certainty to have ordained twenty-nine bishops, as well as a further three prior to his death on 30 July 578. In so doing, he laid the foundations of an autonomous and self-sustaining Jacobite episcopate.[2] During this period, however, the church produced no extant canons or systematic pronouncements regulating the ordination of bishops within the patriarchal diocese of Antioch.[3] Instead, sources written between 564 and 569 forged a legitimizing discourse around the practice of ordination in the early Jacobite episcopate, which sought to justify the practice by orthodox bishops according to the pre-existing standards of ecclesiastical law – mirroring the church's

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1. chapter, I.1.g., 97-105.

2. John of Ephesus, *LES*, XLIX, 495, L, 501-504, and LI, 508-509; John of Ephesus, "Spurious Life of Jacob," 585-589; Saint-Laurent, J.-N. M. (2015), *Missionary Stories and the Formation of the Syriac Churches*, (Oakland, California), 96-109; Frend, *Rise*, 285-293; Wigram, *Separation*, pg. 133-137; and Honigmann, *Évêques*, 172-177 and 238-239; it is easily conceivable that Jacob was responsible for more ordinations than those for whom he is directly credited – particularly during the period between 569 and 578, when evidence offered by the extant sources becomes less consistent. The later pseudo-John of Ephesus, "Spurious Life of Jacob," 589, claims that he consecrated as many as eighty-nine bishops, though that figure is almost certainly an exaggeration based upon the number given in the earlier *vita*.

3. The "Canons of Mar Mattai" (= *Synodicon*, LXXXVIII, 190-197), 10, written by metropolitan Christopher of Mar Mattai and Nineveh-Mosul in November 629, Vööbus, *The Synodicon*, translation vol. II, 197 n. 4, provide a conspicuous counter example to this general trend. Here, however, the political circumstances surrounding the composition of the work of the anti-Chalcedonian church in Sasanian Mesopotamia are significant. Written in order to codify the order of primacy and jurisdictional relationship between the metropolitans of Mar Mattai and Tagrit, following the elevation of the latter see at least partially at the behest of the Sasanian shah, Ardashir III, the collection reflects an enviroment in which the anti-Chalcedonian church was not subject to the same process of process of persecution and de-territorialization as it was within the Roman Empire – "Canons of Mar Mattai" (= *Synodicon*, LXXXVIII, 190-197), 190-192.

polemic use of established statutes against the Julianist and tritheist episcopates.[4] However, while such an approach was entirely consistent with the legal rhetoric of the period, which tended to identify innovation with illegality, it did not necessarily reflect the pragmatic realities of the church in 553 – or, indeed, at any point prior to end of Roman rule in the diocese.

Dispersed by persecution and eroded by the steady attrition of time, the episcopate which accepted exile in 518-522 was by that time all but extinct and depriving the rump church of the framework of territorial institutions presupposed and prescribed by the existing corpus of fourth and fifth century canon law, which had sought to regulate the practice of ordination within the jurisdictional structures of imperial administration. Although the inability of the anti-Chalcedonian church to consistently replicate these structures does not appear to have inhibited the creation of new bishops, it altered both the procedural and discursive mechanics of ordination within the early Jacobite episcopate. Here, the sources for the initial period of Jacobite ordinations, prior to *c.* 566, provide two comparatively well documented case studies in the legitimation strategies of the Severan-Jacobite church – *viz.*, the documentary corpus surrounding the ordination of the patriarch Paul of Beth Ukkame and the hagiographic oeuvre of John of Ephesus.

II.4.a, Documenting Legitimacy: the Ordination of Paul of Antioch

By far, the most substantial and variegated corpus of such documents relevant to the practice and legitimation of ordinations within the early Jacobite episcopate is provided by the so-called *Documenta ad origines monophysitarum*

4. chapters, II.2-3, 129-201.

illustrandas, a dossier of forty-five diverse letters written during the period between 535 and *c.* 580.[5] Despite the unassuming title given to it by its editor, J.-B. Chabot, the collection has long been recognized as a purposefully assembled, partisan dossier, compiled by a supporter of the embattled patriarch Paul of Antioch, in *c.* 580/581.[6] Also known as Paul of Beth Ukkame and Paul the "Black," Paul of Antioch was ordained by Jacob Baradaeus in 564 to succeed Sergius of Tella, who had died earlier in *c.* 561.[7] An Alexandrian, consecrated at the behest of the patriarch Theodosius of Alexandria, to whom he had formerly served as *syncellus*, however, Paul failed to find favor with much of the Syrian church and faced nearly perennial challenges to his authority and position from a diverse and shifting faction of bishops and monastics. After 572, the opposition to his patriarchate coalesced in a series of abortive efforts to replace him on the throne, which culminated in 581 with the consecration of Peter of Callinicum as patriarch of Antioch – and cemented an enduring schism between the so-called Jacobite and Paulite factions of the church. Faced with this final act of usurpation, Paul withdrew from his

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5. Here, as elsewhere in this study, references to individual letters have been made according to the numbering scheme imposed by van Roey and Allen, *Monophysite Texts*, 267-271, in their summary of the corpus – which has been reprised and expanded upon by Allen, P. and Neil, B. (2013), *Crisis Management in Late Antiquity (410-590 CE): a Survey of the Evidence from Episcopal Letters*, (Leiden), 140-144, and again by Allen, P. (2013), "Religious Conflict between Antioch and Alexandria *c.* 565-630 CE," in W. Mayer and B. Neil eds., *Religious Conflict from Early Christianity to the Rise of Islam*, (Berlin), 191-195.

6. Brooks, W. (1929-1930), "The Patriarch Paul of Antioch and the Alexandrine Schism of 575," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 30, 468-469; van Roey and Allen, *Monophysite Texts*, 267-303; and Allen and Neil, *Crisis*, 139-140; Honigmann, *Évêques*, 201, ascribed the compilation of the collection as a whole to the author of *DM* 42, a hermit named Sergius of the monastery of Nicaea – to whom *DM* 43 is also attributed. Allen, "Religious Conflict," pg. 194-195, however, has reasonably questioned the sustainability of this attribution, though without reaching a definite conclusion on the subject.

7. The chronology of Sergius' patriarchate is provided by Honigmann, *Évêques*, 192-195; and Allen, P. (2011), "Episcopal Succession in Antioch in the Sixth Century," in J. Leemans, P. van Nuffelen, S. W. J. Keough, and C. Nicolaye eds., *Episcopal Elections in Late Antiquity*, 30-31; while the date of Paul's consecration was convincingly established by Brooks, "Paul of Antioch," 469-470, on the basis of *DM*, 23.

patriarchate, retiring, according to John of Ephesus, into a monastic seclusion, concealed within the city of Constantinople, until his death shortly thereafter.[8] Against this background of declining cohesion and intensifying partisanship within the increasingly fragile Severian-Jacobite communion, the compiler(s) of the *Documenta* assembled the dossier in vindication of Paul of Antioch and the legitimacy of his patriarchate.

Much of the collection is concerned with the tritheist controversy and with producing evidence of the particular orthodoxy of the patriarch Paul, in the shifting confessional landscape which it created.[9] In addition – and of principal interest to the present discussion –, however, the dossier also transmits a series of twelve documents pertaining specifically to the ordination of the patriarch and his initial reception by key institutional figures within the exilic church. This latter group of letters, written between prominent members of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate and monastic community, document the efforts and apparent success of Theodosius of Alexandria and Jacob Baradaeus, *inter alia*, to establish the procedural legitimacy of the ordination and to secure the initial acceptance of Paul's patriarchate. It also includes the synodical letter of Paul of Antioch as well as Theodosius' reply, establishing communion between the two patriarchs and laying out their mutually confessed faith.[10] In all, the letters preserved by the *Documenta* combine to form a picture of collective unanimity around the acknowledgement and acceptance of the ordination of Paul of Beth Ukkame.

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8. chapter, II.5.a, 247-254.

9. *DM*, 25-41, are concerned expressly with the tritheist controversy; van Roey and Allen, *Monophysite Texts*, 281-290; Allen and Neil, *Crisis*, 143; and chapter, II.3, 165-201.

10. *DM*, 8-17 and 23-24.

Such correspondence was not, *per se*, an innovation of the exilic church; the production and publication of letters announcing the consecration and confessional alignment of newly ordained bishops was a habit already well established by the beginning of the sixth century.[11] However, the letters contained in the *Documenta* reflect a fundamentally new set of exigencies, which had arisen as a result of the progressive atrophying of the structures of territorial jurisdiction and control within the anti-Chalcedonian movement. Contrary to the norms which theoretically governed the appointment of bishops within the imperial church, Paul had not been elected, in any normative sense, nor does he appear to have been particularly well known within the Syrian church at the time of his ordination. Instead, his nomination was managed through external *fiat* by the bishop of Alexandria and then ratified by the episcopate and ascetic establishment in *Oriens*. It is not clear that the lack of a public selection process necessarily distinguished the ordination of the patriarch from the ordinations of many – perhaps most – early Jacobite bishops, whose "elections" appear at best to have been based on comparatively narrow, monastic constituencies; even so, Paul's case does appear to have marked a relative extreme. The obscurity of his selection was also seemingly compounded by a feature common to all earlier Jacobite ordinations. Extramural and at least semi-covert, the inchoate episcopate lacked the public stage offered by the civic church in order to broadcast the legitimacy and sacramental rectitude of its consecrations.

11. A number of proximate examples may be readily adduced from the pre-exilic correspondence of Severus of Antioch – *e.g.*, Severus of Antioch, *Allocution*, 266-270; ibid, *SL*, I.2; and Kugener, M. A. (1902), "Allocution prononcée par Sévère après son élévation sur le trône patriarcal d'Antioche," *Oriens Christianus*, 2, 572.

This stood in stark contrast to the practice of episcopal ordinations within the imperial church, which had by the sixth century evolved to serve as veritable public exhibitions, showcasing both the propriety of the act as well as the consensus which existed among the various members of the electorate surrounding the consecration. Here, in addition to the ψήφισμα nominating procedure – already described above –, the imperial church also observed a number of peri-consecratory rituals, which likewise served to evidence that the ordination was conducted in accordance with ecclesiastical norms and the wishes of the local and provincial church. An early systematic description of a set of peri-consecratory rites confirming the acceptance of the candidate occurs in the pseudo-apostolic church order, known as the *Constitutiones apostolorum*. Compiled towards the end of the fourth century, the text provides a template for the public examination and acclamation of candidates as an immediate prelude to the consecration.[12] Central to the mechanism described by the *Constitutiones* was the presentation and examination of the candidate, conducted before an assembly of the people and presbyterate of the city, as well as those bishops gathered for the ordination.[13] Addressing the gathering, the primary officiant is supposed to have inquired of the crowd whether the candidate being presented to them was the one whom they wished to be their bishop. Upon receiving the collective assent of the assembly, the leading bishop was then to ask whether the candidate possessed suitable testimony regarding his rectitude and worthiness from those within the community.[14] After receiving a unanimous answer in the affirmative, he was again to query whether

12. Bradshaw, *Search*, 84-86.

13. *Constitutiones apostolorum*, VIII.4.2-3.

14. *Constitutiones apostolorum*, VIII.4.3-4.

the candidate was indeed worthy of the ministry – assuming the answer was positive, the convening bishop was then to solicit a demonstration of their consensus, before ultimately proceeding with the consecration.[15] Although not explicitly reflected in the corpus of fourth and fifth century conciliar canons, such demonstrations of support for episcopal candidates are broadly echoed in a number of sixth century hagiographic sources, which describe the staging of episcopal ordinations as spectacles, replete with processions, acclamations, and public demonstrations. And, although absent from representations of Jacobite ordinations, descriptions of peri-consecratory demonstrations do occur in Severan-Jacobite accounts of the pre-exilic ordinations of Severus of Antioch and Peter the Iberian.[16] However, despite the continued resonance of such rituals for Severan-Jacobite authors, the pragmatic circumstances of the Jacobite episcopate rendered such public displays of support impractical and in some instances at least inadvisable, given the possibility of arousing persecution.

As a result, the primary function of the correspondence – both at the time of its composition and later as it was compiled into the dossier – was to forge a virtual medium through which to witness and record the legitimacy of the ordination, an epistolary surrogate for those forms of procedural validation otherwise denied to the church by its suppression. Within the correspondence as a whole, it is then possible to distinguish between phases in the for-

15. *Constitutiones apostolorum*, VIII.4.5-6.

16. *Anonymous Life of Severus*, §§ 49-57; and John Rufus, *Life of Peter the Iberian*, §§ 78-79; on the function and form of acclamations and other public demonstrations of legitimacy more generally, see, Rouché, C. (1984), "Acclamations in the Later Roman Empire: New Evidence from Aphrodisias," *Journal of Roman Studies* 74, 181-199; Liebeschuetz, J. H. W. G. (1972), *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire*, (Oxford), 208-219; and Cameron, Al. (1976), *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium*, (Oxford), 142, 231-234, and 238-270.

mation of this legitimizing medium. In the first of these, the letters exchanged between Theodosius and the bishops in *Oriens*, both precipitating and confirming Paul's ordination, effectively marked its justification within the Jacobite episcopate. In the second and perhaps partially concurrent phase, Jacob Baradaeus appears to have solicited acknowledgement of the ordination from the archimandrites of leading anti-Chalcedonian monasteries in the diocese. Through their recognition of Paul's ordination, these monastic leaders and their communities, many of whom had already produced successful candidates for the Jacobite episcopate, became a sort of *ex post facto* electorate, ratifying the appointment and providing a retroactive witness to the validity of the rite. The third and final phase occurred with the codification of the correspondence, either by the compiler of the *Documenta* or his source, conferring a durable legitimacy to his ordination. The pragmatic effect of these efforts, borne out in two successive controversies, was to bind influential elements of the church to the recognition of Paul as the legitimate patriarch of Antioch.

Among the texts contained in the *Documenta* are two letters sent by Theodosius of Alexandria, via Paul – then an archimandrite and the *syncellus* to the patriarch – to the bishops in Oriens, requesting that were it possible to do so without provoking persecution they should consecrate Paul as the successor to the patriarch Sergius of Antioch, who had died earlier in 560/561.[17] The collection then preserves the reply from Jacob Baradaeus, Eugenius of Seleucia in Isauria, and Eunomius of Amida to Theodosius, in which the bishops confirm that they had ordained Paul in compliance with his request.[18] At the end of this letter, each of the ordaining bishops, following a common

17. *DM*, 8 and 9; Wigram, *Separation*, 137; and Honigmann, *Évêques*, 195-197.

18. *DM,* 10.

formula which directly emphasized the propriety of the sacrament, subscribed by stating that he had performed the ordination in concert with the other two bishops:

> I. Jacob, by the grace of God a bishop, performed this ordination, which is established, of the pious patriarch Paul, with the pious bishops Eugenius and Eunomius, I have signed my name with my own hand.
>
> II. Eugenius, by the grace of God a bishop, performed this ordination, which is established, of the pious patriarch Paul, with the pious bishops Jacob and Eunomius, I have signed my name with my own hand.
>
> III. Eunomius, by the grace of God a bishop, performed this ordination, which is established, of the pious patriarch Paul, with the pious bishops Jacob and Eugenius, I have signed my name with my own hand.[19]

The letter is further subscribed to by Conon of Tarsus, John of Chalcis, and John the bishop of Seleucia in Syria, who were present and witnessed the ordination, and by Sergius of Carrhae and John of Soura, who though evidently not present at the event nonetheless received Paul as having been legitimately ordained. In their signatures, each of the former affirm their acceptance of the propriety of the ordination, in all of its particulars, and the terms by which the two latter subscriptions were made make specific acknowledgement of the fact that he had been consecrated by the three named bishops – thus for example: "Sergius, by the grace of God a bishop, I have read this letter, and I accept the ordination of the pious Paul, who was lawfully made [ܕܐܬܥܒܕ ܒܗ ܐܡܝ] by Jacob, Eugenius, and Eunomius, our pious fathers, and since I assent, I have signed this with my own hand."[20] The proposition, recognized and duly confirmed by the signatories, was that the consecration had been conducted according to the canonical requirements for the rite and therefore served to confer upon Paul a licit and sacramentally valid episcopate.

19. *DM*, 10, 92-93.

20. *DM*, 10, 93-94.

In his reply to Jacob and his colleagues, also transmitted as part of the dossier, the patriarch Theodosius enthusiastically confirms the ordination, commending the consecrating bishops and heaping praise upon Paul's orthodoxy and character.[21] In the collection, this letter is then immediately followed by the synodical letter of Paul to Theodosius and its reply, in which the Alexandrian patriarch ratified the orthodoxy of Paul's confession and formally affirmed the communion between Paul and "all of the churches subject to the apostolic and evangelical throne of Alexandria."[22] These letters do not explicitly touch upon the procedural or sacramental propriety of the ordination rite, *per se*. However, they nonetheless followed the long established epistolary custom governing the sending of epistolary confessions of faith, *epistulae synodicae*, by newly installed bishops and their reception by established members of the episcopate, which presupposed the legitimacy of the bishops' ordination.[23] So that, by showing that Paul had been recognized as the orthodox patriarch of Antioch by Theodosius through his receipt of Paul's synodical letter – in effect, tying his legitimacy to that of the Alexandrian patriarch –, the documents thus provided an implicit demonstration of the validity of his ordination. This legitimation was further underscored, in the *Documenta*, through the

21. *DM*, 12.

22. *DM*, 13 and 14.

23. On the *epistula synodica* as an epistolographical genre, see, Allen, P. (2009), *Sophronius of Jerusalem and Seventh-Century Heresy: the Synodical Letter and Other Documents*, (Oxford), 47-50, who asserts that, "the general outline of these *synodika* [*i.e.*, those written by recently elected patriarchs] and the expectations of their recipients are clear: a *captatio benevolentiae*, and a reference to the ancient custom of sending the letters, a trinitarian profession of faith which is followed by a christological statement on the part of the writer, who also declares his position vis-à-vis ecumenical councils and anathematizes a number of heretics, especially those opposed to his christological stance." While this summary by Allen relies predominately upon late sixth and early seventh century Chalcedonian exemplars, the basic contours of the model which she describes may also be observed in the material preserved by the *Documenta*. Finally, see also Severus of Antioch, VI.1, which attests the reception of synodical letters by individual provincial suffragans and provides a contemporary discussion of the procedures governing their receipt.

inclusion of the earlier exchange of synodical letters between Severus of Antioch and Theodosius of Alexandria – drawing an implicit line between Paul and his famous predecessor.[24]

Following the ordination, Jacob Baradaeus also appears to have circulated among the archimandrites of seven of the leading monastic communities of the diocese in order to secure their recognition of the ordination – evidence of the heightened influence wielded by the monastic leadership within the early Jacobite church.[25] In two letters addressed respectively to the patriarchs Paul and Theodosius, the archimandrites of the puissant monasteries of Mar Bassus, Mar Bizi, the Blessed Manassis, the Blessed Eusebius, Mar Romanus, and the Great Monastery of Telʿeda all declared their acceptance of Paul as the successor to Sergius and Severus.[26] In addition to these collective letters,

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24. *DM*, 1 and 2.

25. *DM*, 17 and 24, provide evidence of Jacob's efforts to canvass recognition of Paul of Beth Ukkame in the monastery of Beth Apthonia. Although there is no such direct witness for the bishop's applications elsewhere, Jacob is recorded as the bearer of *DM*, 15, to the patriarch Theodosius, suggesting circumstantially that he had pursued a similar mission to other monasteries in the diocese; Allen and Neil, *Crisis*, 141.

26. *DM*, 15 and 16; here, the precise vocalization of the name "Bizi" is uncertain, complicated by the preponderance of attested spellings. Both *DM*, 15 and 16, give the reading "BYZ'," which Honigmann, *Évêques*, 179 n. 1; and following him van Roey, A. and Allen, P., *Monophysite Texts*, 277, has vocalized as Bizi – convincingly identifying it with the pre-exilic monastery of "Beth Mar BZY" attested in John Rufus, *On the Death of Theodosius*, § 4, and "BZW" in pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, VIII.5, 80. The spelling "BZY" is also in dual "Lives of James and Theodore" by John of Ephesus, *LES*, L, 502, while "Spurious Life of James," *PO.*, 19, 587, contains the spelling "BWZY" for the name of the same monastery. While not disputing the identification proposed by Honigmann, Horn, P. and Phenix, R. R. (2008), *The Lives of Peter the Iberian, Theodosius of Jerusalem, and the Monk Romanus*, (Atlanta), pg. 287; and Greatrex, G. ed. (2011), *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor: Church and War in Late Antiquity*, trans. R. R. Phenix and C. B. Horn, with contributions by S. P. Brock and W. Witakowshi, (Liverpool), pg. 303, have preferred the vocalizations "Bazai" and "Bazu" respectively. Brooks, E. W. (1926), "John of Ephesus, Lives of the Eastern Saints, III," *PO.*, 19, 156 and 241, assiduously avoids vocalizing the name of the monastery in the translation accompanying his edition of the *Lives of Eastern Saints*. Wright, W. (1870-1872), *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1838*, vol. II, (London), 703, also advanced the not implausible vocalization "Biza," on the basis of BM Add. MS 14,602. The "Great Monastery," whose archimandrite Barhabshabba subscribed to both *DM*, 15 and 16, also appears elsewhere in the collection under a fuller title as the "Great Monastery of Telʿeda [ܪܒܬܐ ܕܛܠܥܕܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ]," *DM*, 29 and 35; the monastery is subsequently attested under this longer title in a number of manuscripts in the British Library collection, Wright, *Catalogue*, 1263: BM Add. MSS 14,429, 14,591, 14,663, and 14,647.

the dossier incorporates a separate letter from the archimandrites, monks, and clergy of the monastery of Beth Aphthonia, near Chalcis/Qenneshre, in which that community also professed its recognition of Paul as having been "legally and canonically [ܒܪܝܫܐ ܒܪܝܫܐ]" appointed to the patriarchate.[27]

Neither the letters of the archimandrites nor that of the monastery of Beth Aphthonia are precise in invoking any specific mechanism or set of mechanisms by which Paul's ordination had achieved canonical legitimacy; none, for instance, lists or enumerates the officiating bishops. Instead, the letters lay a broader emphasis upon the suitability of the new patriarch and the propriety of his succession. *Exempli gratia*, the collective letter of the eastern archimandrites to Theodosius of Alexandria, although touching passingly on the propriety of his election and ordination, does not elaborate on the point, but rather posits an argument for the legitimacy of Paul as having been divinely sanctioned and selected. This the text accomplishes through the development of an ecclesiological motif of the church as the house of God derived from I Timothy 3:15, juxtaposing it with I Corinthians 12:27-28, in which the church is depicted as the body of Christ for which God had designated the various orders of apostolic ministers.[28] Extrapolating upon this biblical template, the letter equates the episcopate with the roof and rafters of the ecclesiastical house, established and appointed by God to secure and instruct the church subject to its authority. Divine agency is likewise credited by the letter's authors for ensuring the ordination of worthy candidates – *viz*., Theodo-

27. *DM*, 17, 131-132; concerning the location and sixth century history of the monastery of Beth Aphthonia, see, pseudo-Zachariah Scholasticus, VIII.4, 80; Nau, F. (1902), "Histoire de Jean bar Aphtonia," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 7, 108-112; and Watt, J. W. (1999), "A Portrait of John bar Aphtonia, Founder of the Monastery of Qenneshre," in J. W. Drijvers and J. W. Watt eds., *Portraits of Spiritual Authority: Religious Power in Early Christianity, Byzantium and the Christian Orient*, (Leiden), 155-169.

28. I Tim. 3:15; and I Cor. 12:27-28.

sius and Paul –, distinguished by their virtues to lead the church. Indeed, the attributes which the letter ascribes to Paul, as justification of his merit and fitness to rule over the church, comprise a sketch of the ideal bishop, echoing the catalogue of necessary episcopal qualities in I Timothy 3:1-7:

> Paul, wise in everything, when he wrote to Timothy said, "the church is the house of the living God;" this same [Paul] when he wrote to the Corinthians also called it the body of Christ. Bishops then occupy the order of the rafters and roof of this house, and it is right that they should take care of those who are subject to them and who possess a proven faith, and should tend and look after those who are the edifice of the house, which is to say the church of the living God. Therefore, both your holy head and patriarch, who was entrusted with the whole edifice of the house by the great God and our savior Jesus Christ; nor has he ceased to provide and design for those who are his building through forethought and grace from above, so that even now he [*i.e.*, Paul] has been ordained by God himself – he commanded and made it so that the inheritance of Sergius of sacred memory, patriarch of the great city of Antioch, passed lawfully and canonically to the holy Paul, since he is decorated by every virtue, and because, indeed, he is zealous in the liberty of the truth, zealous in both the labors and exertions in which God rejoices, so that indeed the honor was confirmed by these things, [it was] then exceedingly proper and just that he was made patriarch in the east, through your aid and decree, who had previously begun the labors through the incumbent deeds of the patriarchal office. For he is in truth gentle, efficient, dignified, righteous, mighty, wise, and full of every doctrinal discipline. For in truth, while he was the pupil of your beatitude, neither with feet nor basins as is said concerning him who ascended the apostolic throne, but when he had been cleansed before by the labors of philosophy and adorned with the robe of virtuous philosophy, he was spiritually clothed in the tunic of the high priesthood. And we believe that just as Paul was separated for the preaching of the gospel from the womb, by God who had examined [his] heart and reins, and thus a new Paul, who followed in the steps of the doctrines of the apostle, as for the edification and preservation of all the believing people, and for the glory of the one who called [him].[29]

The resulting portrait of Paul is thus largely generic, representing him as the embodiment of an ideal type, but nonetheless suffices to serve its intended acclamatory purpose, recognizing and ratifying his ordination. In a similar fashion, the archimandrites, in their letter addressed to Paul, equate his accession to the patriarchate to the assumption by Elisha of the prophetic mantel of Elijah, in 2 Kings 2:8-15, conjuring another biblical template to ratify his le-

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29. *DM*, 15, 125-126; and I Tim. 3:1-7. Although regarded by modern scholars as a pseudo-epigraphic inclusion in the Pauline corpus, but likely composed in the first or early second century, I Tim. 3:1-7 nonetheless contains the only significant biblical treatment of the episcopal office and had thus exercised a considerable influence upon earlier patristic writings, making its invocation and use here as a rubric for adjudging the ideal virtues of the episcopate and clergy wholly comprehensible by the conventions of the pre-existing tradition: Rapp, *Holy Bishops*, 32-41; and Gwynn, "Episcopal Leadership," 877-878.

gitimacy as the lawful successor to Sergius and Severus.[30] As Elisha had succeeded Elijah in his prophethood, so the letter reasons Sergius had succeeded Severus, and Paul, in turn, had succeeded him, assuming the mantle of the high-priesthood, creating a chain of orthodox episcopacy.[31] A largely identical, albeit more developed, version of this same biblical typology is also employed to affirm the legitimacy of Paul's succession in the letter of the monastery of Beth Aphthonia to Theodosius of Alexandria.[32]

Even if these letters do not provide explicit documentation of the sacramental mechanisms underpinning Paul's consecration, they serve nonetheless to manufacture a retrospective consensus around his appointment and to project a kind of quasi-electoral legitimacy. In an immediate, political sense, the letters document the efforts made by Theodosius of Alexandria and Jacob Baradaeus to secure for the new patriarch the recognition and support of the powerful monastic constituency within the anti-Chalcedonian church. To this end, it is significant to note that the small cadre of monasteries – seven in total – represented by the subscribing archimandrites constituted only a minute fraction of the total anti-Chalcedonian monastic community, at the time; for comparison, a survey of the total corpus of the *Documenta* yields the names of a total of eighty-four monasteries in provinces of Syria I and II, Euphratesia, Osrhoene, and Mesopotamia I and II and perhaps as many as one hundred and thirty-three in Arabia and Phoenicia.[33] Within the larger com-

30. *DM*, 16.

31. A comparable strategy may be observed in the construction of the corpus as a whole.

32. *DM*, 17.

33. *DM*, 25, 29, 31, 32, 35, and 41; and Menze, *Justinian*, 123; for a discussion of the location of the Syrian and Mesopotamian monasteries recorded in *DM*, 25 and 35, see, Mango, M. M. (1983), "Where was Beth Zagba," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 7, pg. 405-430. Millar, F. (2009), "Christian Monasticism in Roman Arabia at the Birth of Mahomet," *Semitica et Classica*, 2, 97-115; and Hoyland, R. (2009), "Late Roman Provincia Arabia, Monophysite

munity of Severian-Jacobite monasteries, however, these seven monasteries, though unevenly documented, appear to have represented an elite of larger, more politically influential, and permanent houses – which stood among the largest and most enduring institutions in the exilic church, and exercising a clear leadership over other anti-Chalcedonian monastic communities, in the core patriarchal provinces of northern *Oriens*. Among them, the monasteries of Beth Aphthonia – originally, the monastery of Thomas of Seleucia – Mar Bassus, Mar Bizi, the Great Monastery of Tel'eda, and Mar Romanus are all known to have been pre-exilic foundations, which had endured the persecution of anti-Chalcedonian ascetics in Syria and Mesopotamia, between 525 and 531, and had during that period played a notable role in the formation of the consecratory strategies of the early exilic church.[34]

The continuing importance of these particular monasteries, after 542, is suggested by John of Ephesus. In the "Lives of James and Theodore," the

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Monks and Arab Tribes: a Problem of Centre and Periphery," *Semitica et Classica*, 2, 117-139, in a pair of linked articles, offer a recent reconsideration of the topography and socio-cultural context of the monasteries in Phoenicia and Arabia. Further research, however, beyond that which has hereto been undertaken, is required to distinguish with certainty the exact number of the Arabian and Phoenician monasteries catalogued in *DM*, 41 – a significant number of which receive only a generic topographic designation, even in settlements with more than one monastery. To take the most extreme example, nine of the subscribing archimandrites present themselves as representing monasteries in the settlement of DRY' – identified by Hoyland, "Provincia Arabia," 125, as Darayye = Darayya, located south of Damascus, in close proximity to the city. Among them are four archimandrites of named monasteries – *viz*., Maron of the monastery of Beth Ilana, Paul of the monastery of Luze in the village, Alphaeus of the monastery of Field, and Sabbatius of the monastery of Mar Ionan. The remaining six signed only as an "archimandrite of a monastery of Darayye [ܐܒ ܕܒܝܬ ܕܪܝܐ ܕܕܪܝܐ]," without reference to a named institution, *DM*, 41, 220-222, while the archimandrite of another named monastery – Rish Ilana, idem, 222 – which may also have been located in Darayye, made no reference to the settlement in his signature, Hoyland, "Provincia Arabia," 138. Similar ambiguities also surround the monasteries in Gashmin, Kafr Shemesh, 'Almat, RW'P, Kafr Susaya, Sakkaya, Qurdaye, Busa, and Gabtil, complicated by the possibility that a single monastery might have possessed and been represented by multiple archimandrites, making any attempt at enumeration, in absence of outside evidence, ultimately speculative.

34. Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, VIII.5, 80-81; John Rufus, *On the Death of Theodosius*, § 4; Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.11 and 59, V.15, and X.6; ibid, *CL*, 40; Jacob of Sarug, *Epistulae*, 13-17; Honigmann, *Évêque*s, 179 and 188-190; and Menze, *Justinian*, 125-129; there is no direct prior attestation of the monastery of the Blessed Manassis – which is also known as the "monastery of the *comes* Manassis [ܕܝܪܐ ܕܡܢܫܐ ܩܘܡܝܣ]," *DM*, 25, 29, 31, and 35; BM Add. MS 14,579, fol. 2a; and Wright, *Catalogue*, 817-818.

hagiographer provides a catalogue of the bishops ordained by Jacob Baradaeus, in which he recorded the monastic origins of some members of the new episcopate.[35] Of the eight bishops and two patriarchs, who are recorded in the text as having been ordained by Jacob for sees within the diocese, four – DYMT of Laodicea, Sergius of Carrhae, John of Seleucia in Syria, and John of Chalcis/Qenneshre – are stated to have come from the monasteries of Mar Bassus, Beth Aphthonia, and Mar Bizi.[36] In most cases, these bishops appear to have remained in their original monasteries, following their ordination, so that these convents would seem already to have been functioning as the *de facto* seats of a substantial core of the emerging Jacobite episcopate.[37] Consequently, in addition to supplying candidates for the episco-

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35. John of Ephesus, *LES*, L, 501-503; and pseudo-John of Ephesus, *Spurious Life of James*, 586-588.

36. DYMT of Laodicea and Sergius of Carrahae from the monastery of Beth Aphthonia, John of Seleucia from the monastery of Mar Bizi, and John of Chalcis from the monastery Mar Bassus: John of Ephesus, *LES*, L, 502; pseudo-John of Ephesus, *Spurious Life of James*, 587; and Honigmann, *Évêques*, 178-179 and 188-191; the only other Syrian monasteries specifically named in the list, in the *Lives of James and Theodore*, are the monastery of Mar Hanina, from which the bishop John of Sura Romanorum was drawn, and the monastery of John of Amida, from which Kashish of Chios and John of Ephesus originated. Although not attested in the set letters written immediately after the ordination of Paul of Beth Ukkame, the monastery of Mar Hanina appears elsewhere in the dossier – *DM*, 35 and 42. The monastery of John of Amida does not appear at all in the *Documenta*. However, neither of the Kashish of Chios nor John of Ephesus were immates of the monastery at the time of their ordinations, nor were the bishops Eunomius of Amida and John of Dara – later Amida – drawn from the convent, suggesting perhaps that the monastery lost some its earlier standing and political significance by the mid-560s, following over four decades of persecution and repeated relocations – John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXXV; pseudo-John of Ephesus, "Spurious Life of Jacob," 588; and Honigmann, *Évêques*, 206-207 and 239-241.

37. Honigmann, *Évêques*, 173-174, presents a circumstantial, though firmly tenable, argument that many, perhpas most, early Jacobite bishops continued to reside in their former monsteries, following their ordination to the episcopate. Even so, it is necessary to draw a distinction between developments before and after AD 638, with respect to the role monasteries served as seats of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate. Significantly, the exilic period produces no evidence to suggest the emergence in provinces of the Roman Empire of purely monastic bishoprics – *i.e.*, a bishopric is defined as one in which a monastery serves as the titular, *de jure* seat of a bishop, rather than simply as a *de facto* residence for a bishop whose titular see remain attached to a city. Although such monastic sees began to appear in the western anti-Chalcedonian church after 638, while the church remained under Roman rule it appears to have abided by the principle – normative in eastern canon law – that bishops should be ordained only for cities: *Can.Lao.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 127-155), 57; John Scholasticus, *Synagoga L titulorum*, VII; and Palmer, A. (1990), *Monk and Mason on the Tigris Frontier: the Early History of Ṭur 'Abdin*, (Cambridge), 31 and 149-181.

pate, the monasteries would also seem to have served as significant *foci* of episcopal activity, and thus presumably as platforms for the exercise and assertion of episcopal legitimacy and legitimation.

There is nothing to indicate directly whether or not the archimandrites of these puissant monasteries also played a meaningful role in the selection of potential candidates for the episcopate; and, indeed, in the few instances where the sources do provide a reason for the selection of a given candidate(s), beyond the purely hagiographical, the choice is homogeneously ascribed either to the popular acclamation of the community at large or, more commonly, to the decision of another bishop(s).[38] It does not seem entirely impossible that the archimandrites of prominent monasteries should have exercised some influence in this matter, however. After all, archimandrites had, since the early 520s, played an important and well documented role in promoting and vetting postulants for ordination to the diaconate and presbyterate, while the monasteries which they governed appear to have furnished the exilic church with an increasing proportion of its clergy. At the very minimum, then, the archimandrites of monasteries such as Mar Bassus, Mar Bizi, and Beth Aphthonia would have been able to exercise an indirect influence over the selection of bishops by controlling the pool of potential candidates. It is almost certain, therefore, that the bishops DYMT of Laodicea, Sergius of Carrhae, John of Seleucia, and John of Chalcis owed their initial advancement to the priesthood to the preferment of the archi-

38. *N.b.*, John of Ephesus, *LES*, X, 152, XXIV, 311-312, XXV, 325-326, XLVIII, 487-488, XLIX, 490 and 495, L, 499-504, and LI, 508-509; ibid, *Historiae ecclesiaticae*, III.IV.8, 10, 14, 41, and 45; pseudo-John bar Aphtonia, *Life of Severus of Antioch*, 155-158; Elias, *Vita Iohannis episcopi Tellae*, pg. 50-54; and Norton, *Episcopal Elections*, 52-80; see also the discussion of the role of episcopal election narratives in contemporary, exilic hagiography, below.

mandrites of these monasteries, and it is easy to imagine that the same patronage helped to secure their promotion to the episcopate.

Of equal importance to their role as seats and patrons of the new episcopate, however, was the political influence which the members of this gang of seven were able to wield within the larger anti-Chalcedonian monastic community – a group which was to make its collective influence felt with increasing, often divisive, force throughout the latter decades of the sixth century. M. Mango has already drawn attention to a "committee of 10 or 14 abbots," whose names appear more or less consistently at the head of the lists of monastic signatories and addressees in four documents within the *Documenta*, which were written between 567 and 568 and which either originated from or were directed to the monasteries in Syria-Mesopotamia – including *inter alia* the monasteries of Mar Bassus, the Great Monastery of Tel'eda, Mar Bizi, Mar Eusebius, and Mar Romanus.[39] The idea of a formally constituted and authorized committee of leading archimandrites trespasses upon the limits of plausibility given the available evidence. Of the twenty-four archimandrites, whose names head the lists of signatories and addressees, ten appear on only one of the four lists and a further three appear only twice, while none of the lists observes precisely the same order of precedence. It would, therefore, seem more reasonable to regard the "committee" as a more informal body, though one still imbued with considerable influence, loosely comprised of the more prominent members of the anti-Chalcedonian monastic community in Syria, who perhaps by virtue of their established influence appear to have exercised a degree of leadership over other monasteries in the region.[40] In this

39. *DM*, 25, 29, 31, and 35; and Mango, "Beth Zagba," 407-409.

40. *N.b.*, neither the precise criteria by which the member of the "committee" were distinguished nor the exact mechanisms by which they exercised their leadership are

capacity, these leading monasteries – and most particularly Mar Bassus – played a role as centers of collective activity and perhaps also as opinion makers among the convents of northern Syria and Mesopotamia, making them an ideal medium through which to effect the loyalties and perceptions of the larger anti-Chalcedonian monastic community in the region.

The limited success of this strategy in securing some degree of support from these monasteries, at least during the period between 564 and 571, may also be appreciated on the basis of other documents preserved in the dossier – among which are included two *edicta*, written and subscribed to by substantial gatherings of archimandrites, convened on both occasions at the monastery of Mar Bassus and headed by the archimandrites of the monasteries of Mar Bassus, Mar Bizi, the Blessed Manassis, and Mar Eusebius.[41] Dated 17 May 567 and 3 January 568 respectively, these documents both contain, *inter alia*, condemnations of those who refused to acknowledge Paul as the rightfully ordained and lawfully instituted patriarch of Antioch. The *edictum* of 568 makes this pronouncement pointedly through a denunciation of the tritheists, who were accused of maligning Paul of Antioch, while the *edictum* of 567 makes acceptance of his patriarchate a general tenet of confessional orthodoxy, along with anathematization of all heresies and the reception of Severus of Antioch, Anthimus of Constantinople, and Theodore of Alexandria, as well as their

knowable given the limits of the extant sources. However, given that most are known to have been large pre-exilic foundations, in some case with direct connections to the Jacobite episcopate, it might be reasonably assumed that the age, size, and contemporary political influence of the monasteries were significant factors in marking them out as an established institutional elite within the larger anti-Chalcedonian ascetic community in the Syria.

41. *DM*, 29 and 31; in the published text of the *Documenta*, both these letters along *DM*, 26 and 27 are given the translated Greek title συνδοκτικόν, ܣܘܢܕܘܩܛܝܩܘܢ, in their respective rubrics. The use of the term *edicta* as an acceptable Latinate equivalent has, here, been adopted following Allen and Neil, *Crisis Management*, 138. In addition to the archimandrites of those monasteries listed above, *DM*, 29 also subscribed to the archimandrite of the Great Monastery of Tel'eda; in total, *DM*, 29 and 31 contain the subscriptions of forty-five and fifty-eight archimandrites, priests, and ascetics respectively.

writings and ordinances.[42] That Paul could thus rely upon the support of this cadre of archimandrites during the turbulent years leading up to the formal schism between tritheists and Theodosians is by no means inconsequential.

Neither does it appear to have been entirely ephemeral. In the *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, John of Ephesus alludes to the formation of a Paulite faction among "monasteries large and small," following the break between Paul of Beth Ukkame and Jacob Baradaeus over the botched ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis, as the fissures opened by this rupture, according to the historian, sundered the internal peace of the Severan-Jacobite communion.[43] The existence of a sizable monastic contingent loyal to the beleaguered patriarch, after 575, is also confirmed by Michael the Syrian, who notes that, during Jacob Baradaeus' lifetime, that is prior to 578, demands for Paul's deposition were opposed by "the monks in the neighborhood of Antioch."[44] Although neither source names the monasteries which remained faithful to the established patriarch, John of Ephesus does note that the anti-Paulite opposition coalesced around the monastery of Mar Hanina, which then served as the principal site of Jacobite synodal activity between 576 and 581.[45] Indeed, the patriarch Pe-

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42. *DM*, 29 and 31.

43. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.19 and 31-32; *n.b.*, the circumstances and controversy surrounding the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis and the subsequent counter-ordination of Peter for the vacant patriarchal throne of Alexandria – which had served as the trigger for the schism between the Paulite and Jacobite parties and the ultimate fall of Paul of Beth Ukkame – are discussed in further detail in chapter, II.5, 245-294. Here, however, it will suffice to note that, although the election and consecration were conducted by the bishops Longinus, John of Chalcis, and George of Eutoyo', the ordination of Theodore was in some sense sanctioned by Paul, who then received the new patriarch.

44. Michael the Syrian, *Chronicque*, X.12, 353-354; while much of Michael's material for the later sixth century is drawn from *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, it is not clear that the chronicler is here dependent upon John of Ephesus – van Ginkel, *John of Ephesus*, 80-81.

45. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.22 and 32; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, X.25 and 27; at least one other Jacobite monastery – the convent of the Arabs – can be identified with some degree of certainty on the basis of roughly contemporary anti-Paulite treatise composed by its archimandrites, Sergius, Archimandrite of the convent of the Arabs, "Against Paul of Beth Ukkame," BM Add. MS 12,155 fol. 125b-126a.

ter of Callinicum, who was ultimately chosen by the Jacobite party to replace Paul, may have been an inmate of the monastery, where according to Michael the Syrian he was ordained in 581.[46] The sudden rise of Mar Hanina to a position of visible preeminence as a center of the Jacobite party is suggestive, since the monastery, though not obscure, does not seem to have occupied a position of particular prominence within the Severan-Jacobite church prior to 576. Between 567 and *c.* 569, the role of hosting monastic conclaves appears to have been filled exclusively by the monastery of Mar Bassus, whose archimandrites Mares and Eusebius appear first among the signatories to both of the anti-tritheist *synodoctica*, as well as a number of other documents addressed to and emanating from the anti-Chalcedonian monastic communities in *Oriens* during the same period.[47] Although the archimandrite John of the monastery of Mar Hanina was among the signatories to a letter written prior to 569, acknowledging Paul of Beth Ukkame as the lawfully ordained patriarch of Antioch, his name appears as the last of the twenty-one subscribing archimandrites.[48] In substantial part, the sudden rise of the monastery as a center within the anti-Paulite movement appears to have been due to its association with the bishop John of Sura. An inmate of the convent prior to his ordination, the bishop seems to have remained resident in the monastery dur-

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46. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.45; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, X.21; Frend, *Rise*, 327-328; Allen, "Episcopal Succession," 34; and Ebied, van Roey, and Wickham, *Peter of Callinicum*, 2-5.

47. *DM*, 25, 29, 31, 32, and 35; for further discussion these documents and their chronology in the context of the tritheist controversy, see, chapter II.3, 165-201.

48. *DM*, 35; *n.b.*, although the monastery of Mar Hanina does not appear to have occupied a position of particular prominence in the period between 567 and 569, it was nonetheless an institution of some evident size and durability, which had been founded prior to 518 – pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, *Chronicle*, VIII.5. After 553, the monastery also of course produced the bishop John of Soura – John of Ephesus, *LES*, L, 502; pseudo-John of Ephesus, "Spurious Life of Jacob," 587; and Honigmann, *Évêques*, 191-192 – suggesting that its fortunes had not fallen into total obscurity before 575.

ing much, and perhaps all, of his episcopate. Although a non-witnessing signatory to the letter announcing the ordination of Paul of Beth Ukkame, in 564, by 576 John of Sura had emerged as a leading figure within the anti-Paulite movement in *Oriens*. [49] In that year, the bishop staged a confrontation with the pro-Paulite Longinus, which took place at the monastery. It is likely also that John of Sura was instrumental in orchestrating the gathering of anti-Paulite bishops and monastic leaders, who – along with Jacob Baradaeus – assembled at the monastery later in 576 with the intent of ordaining a replacement for Paul of Beth Ukkame.[50] Although it would be easily possible to over-interpret the scant evidence available, it seems nonetheless apparent that the monastery of Mar Hanina owed its new found prominence to its having sided decisively with the anti-Paulite cause.

Conversely, the monastery of Mar Bassus appears to have been temporarily eclipsed owing either to its continued support for the beleaguered Paul – to whose patriarchate its archimandrites had earlier pledged themselves so heavily – or through an unwillingness on the part of its community to commit themselves unreservedly to the Jacobite camp. This is seemingly confirmed by the evidence of an inextant letter addressed to Jacob Baradaeus by the archimandrites Palladius and Zenobius, whom Honigmann has identified as the abbots of the monasteries of Mar Bassus and Mar Bizi respective-

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49. *DM*, 10.

50. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.22 and 32; and Honigmann, *Évêques*, 191-192; the rough date of the confrontation at the monastery of Mar Hanina is suggested by a notice in a later Paulite apologia, compiled by the hermit Sergius of the monastery of Nicaea – *DM*, 42.II.1, 241-242 –, who observes as a preface to a letter written by Longinus to John of Soura that the former undertook his sojourn to Syria less than a year after the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis, which had taken place in 575. Brooks, "Paul of Antioch," 475, gives a somewhat more precise date of November 576 for the letter. This chronology also generally agrees with the account of John of Ephesus, which places the confrontation between Longinus and John of Sura prior to the first abortive attempt to ordain an anti-Paulite, which generally dated to 576 – chapter, II.5.b., 254-274.

ly.[51] The treatise, which transmits the reference to the letters, does not preserve the text of the archimandrites' epistle, but assuming the identification to be correct then the participation of Palladius in a demonstration in support of the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis suggests that the monastery of Mar Bassus remained loyal to Paul of Beth Ukkame, at least in 576.[52] As with the partisan alignment of the monastery of Mar Hanina, the apparent Paulite allegiance of the monastery of Mar Bassus must to some extent at least have been related to its association with John of Chalcis, also known as John of Mar Bassus, who had been an immate of the convent and who along with George of Eutoyo' and Longinus of Nubia had officiated at the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis, and who was an inmate of Mar Bassus at the time of his ordination.[53] Beyond this, however, the prominent backing which the monastery had given to the legitimation of both the ordination and the patriarchate of Paul of Beth Ukkame, during the course of the 560s, seems likely to have played a role in the community's decision to continue to ally itself with the patriarch, whose position they had repeatedly acted to secure. Nevertheless, the support for the beleaguered patriarch among the monks of Mar Bassus was neither universal nor imperishable, since at some point prior to *c.* 580 a priest of the monastery, John the Lame, is known to have commissioned his disciple Probus to compose a treatise condemning Paul of Beth Ukkame.[54] By

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51. *Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation*, II.III, 30; Lontie, "Un traité," 51; and Honigmann, *Évêques*, 236 n. 8.

52. The same logic applied to participation of the archimandrite Zenobius would, of course, suggest that the monastery of Mar Bizi had continued to side with Paul of Beth Ukkame, at least during the opening phases of the controversy. Like the monastery of Mar Bassus, the convent of Mar Bizi appears to have suffered a blow to its prestige – disappearing from the sources for the late 570s.

53. Honigmann, *Évêques*, 235.

54. *DM*, 42.

that point, however, it is conceivable that the continued floundering of the Paulite cause had begun to produce defections among Paul's erstwhile supporters – though whether the apparent anti-Paulite sympathies of John the Lame should be read as evidence of the detachment of an individual(s) or the corporate defection of the monastery as a whole is not immediately clear.

The ultimate unravelling of support for Paul, notwithstanding, the effort to construct consensus and recognition around his ordination must be counted as an initial success. The reliance of the system, however, upon the eliciting of retroactive consensus from an ill-defined pseudo-electorate exposed it to contingency and thus vulnerability. In the context of the Syrian church, this vulnerability may to some extent have been mitigated by the diffuse nature of that electorate. Monastic communities, though fully capable of cooperating in order to make corporate decisions and mount collective demonstrations – as is well evidenced by the two anti-tritheist *synodoctica*, issued in 567 and 568 –, were nonetheless autonomous institutions, which were not inherently positioned or inclined to take spontaneous, unified action. This latter fact is perhaps best illustrated by the sectarian division of the monastic communities in Syria after 575. By targeting leading institutions and opinion makers, among the so-called "committee," Jacob Baradaeus was thus able to build support and recognition for the ordination of Paul, piecemeal. In turn, these leaders among the community appear to have served as a bulwark, steering opinion and providing a venue for the collective demonstration of support among the larger monastic community in Syria, as evidenced both by the *synodoctica* and other jointly issued documents. Under different circumstances, with ordainers possessed of less personal authority than Jacob or a competing local electorate who possessed a greater capacity for unified resis-

tance, things could go very much wrong, compromising not only the position of the newly consecrated bishop but also of his consecrators. Such was the disastrous outcome of the ordination of the Syrian archimandrite, Theodore of Rhamnis as the bishop of Alexandria.

II.4.b, Writing Legitimacy: John of Ephesus and Jacobite Early Episcopate

Given the extraordinary vulnerability of the Jacobite episcopate to allegations regarding the legitimacy of both its elections and its consecrations, as well as the systemic fragility of its mechanisms for consensus seeking and conflict resolution, it is hardly surprising to find that a concern to document and affirm the validity of its episcopal ordinations should have also left a discernible impression upon the hagiographic corpus of the Severan-Jacobite church. Here, as elsewhere, the extensive and extensively preserved oeuvre of John of Ephesus represents an all but inescapable lens through which to view the history and intellectual culture of the anti-Chalcedonian movement in the period before his death, in *c.* AD 588. The *Lives of the Eastern Saints* – the relevant sections of which were demonstrably written between 566 and 568/569 – not only provide the only extended record of the creation of the Jacobite episcopate as a whole, but also are the primary means by which to adjudge the apologetic strategies employed in its literary defense.[55] Three lives, in particular, provide an account of the ordinations conducted by Jacob

55. With respect to the dating of the individual lives, see the discussion *infra*, 233. Regarding the *Lives* as a whole, the text variously gives three separate dates – 566, 567, and 568 – as concurrent with the composition of various lives within the collection – John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXXI, 383, XXXV, 420-421, XLVII, 478, XLVIII, 486, XLIX, 495, LVIII, 572-572; Ashbrook Harvey, *Asceticism*, 31; and van Ginkel, *John of Ephesus*, 42. Although there are no references to concurrent dates after 568, this does not wholly exclude the possibility of some of the lives in the collection having been composed after that date, particularly given John's often erratic, often errant dating of events within the *Lives*. The burden of proof must still, however, remain on those who would seek to date material in the collection to the period after 568.

Baradaeus: the "Life of Qashish," the "Life of Jacob," and the "Lives of Jacob and Theodore."

In these lives, John of Ephesus deploys a discourse of legitimacy, which appears to owe much to existing anti-Chalcedonian discussions of ordination and pseudo-episcopacy, as well as to the contemporary concern for electoral propriety. The hagiographer thus insists that the episcopal ordinations conducted by Jacob Baradaeus were in every case performed by the minimum of three bishops required to achieve sacramental efficacy and in full adherence with the canons of the church, while at the same time attempting to foster a sense of electoral consensus – both by direct assertion and through more suitable narrative insinuation. Being almost completely formulaic, however, these assertions to ritual propriety are largely devoid of specific procedural and prosopographic detail – the hagiographer consistently omitting the names of the bishops who assisted Jacob in officiating individual ordinations and making only generic references to electoral and ritual propriety. In this sense, the accounts of episcopal ordination offered in *Lives* are not strictly documentary and convey little concrete information about the ordinations, which they purport to describe. They instead serve a strictly apologetic function, employing a series of recognizable *topoi* to construct a vindicatory narrative around the constitution of the Jacobite episcopate.

A comparatively discrete manifestation of this hagiographic program occurs in the "Life of Qashish," also know as John of Chios.[56] Exceptionally, the life is the only portrayal of an individual ordination performed by Jacob Baradaeus to occur in the *Lives*. The life, therefore, contains a comparatively

56. Honigmann, *Évêques*, 217-218.

detailed description of the person and virtues of John of Chios, which it uses to justify his ordination. In it, John of Ephesus makes two fundamental claims regarding the canonical legitimacy of the eponymous bishop's ordination: first, that it happened at the behest of "many" within the island's anti-Chalcedonian community and, second, that it was conducted by three bishops:

> And thereafter, while delighting in the quietude of his residence on the island, he was earnestly performing the labour of his orders, and he employed himself working prolifically with his hands, since material was to be found in date-palm leaves from the Alexandrine ships, which passed by there. And while he was thus accomplishing these things, and working and labouring, selling the labor of his hands, and while he retained a small portion for his needs, he would spend all of his earnings and he divided it among the poor, as well as the lame, injured, blind, and sick, so that, when he completed about five years on the island, while everyone was amazed by his labor, customs, abstinence, and asceticism. Then many of the believers there asked him to become a chief and spiritual shepherd for them [ܘܡܢ ܚܕ̈ܐ ܡܗܝܡܢ̈ܐ ܗܘ̈ܘ ܒܗ ܒܗ̇ܝ ܕ̈ܝܪ̈ܐ ܕܐܦ̈ܣܩܘܦ̈ܐ ܕܐܬ̈ܘ ܠܘܬ ܗ̇ܘ̈ܢ ܒܗ̇ܝ ܕ̈ܝܪ̈ܐ ܕܐܦ̈ܣܩܘܦ̈ܐ ܕܐܬ̈ܘ ܠܘܬ ܗ̇ܘ̈ܢ]. Thus when the blessed Jacob, whose history is set down above, brought with him two other bishops [ܘܐܬ̈ܐ ܠܗ̇ܢ ܒܗ̇ܝ ܕ̈ܝܪ̈ܐ ܕܐܦ̈ܣܩܘܦ̈ܐ ܕܐܬ̈ܘ ܠܘܬ ܗ̇ܘ̈ܢ], and crossed to the island from the provinces of Asia, he seized him by force and ordained him bishop of the faithful of the island, while he wept and fled and refused.[57]

Predictably, the hagiographer does not record the names of either of the two other bishops, who along with Jacob participated in the ordination; neither does he offer any meaningful indication as to the identity of the "many believers," who are supposed to have requested his ordination. Instead, these allusions to electoral consensus and ritual propriety stand as uncomplicated declarations of the unalloyed canonical legitimacy for John of Chios' episcopacy – at the same time as the more conventional hagiographic statements, in the life, regarding his humility, monastic ascesis, and care for the island's poor and sick serve as assertions of what C. Rapp usefully terms the bishop's ascetic authority: *id est* the "charismatic" authority which stems from the individual's recognized practice of asceticism and the concomitant

57. John of Ephesus, *LES*, LI, 508-509; the reference, in the passage, to the "Life of Jacob" – probably, though not necessarily, meaning *LES*, L rather than *LES,* XLIX – dates the composition of *LES*, LI to period after 566.

virtues.[58] The resulting portrait thus couples traditional hagiographic motifs of ascetic virtue with affirmations of sacramental and canonical legitimacy, made relevant by the structural attenuation of the anti-Chalcedonian church, to construct a picture of John of Chios as an ideal and sacramentally enfranchised bishop.

Such a composite portrait is not unique to the work of John of Ephesus. Late antique episcopal *vitae* routinely contain stylized accounts of their subjects' ordination. However, while earlier hagiographic sources, from the fourth and fifth centuries, frequently make reference to the ascetic authority of their subject as well as to the existence of an overwhelming or universal consensus surrounding their election in order to legitimize their ordination, they do not, as a rule, make mention of the number of bishops who participated in the consecration.[59] The apparent indifference of earlier hagiographers in recording the number of ordaining bishops when recounting the ordinations of their episcopal subjects may be readily explained as a reflection of the institutional context in which they wrote. Ordinations within the impe-

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58. Rapp, *Holy Bishops*, 16-18 and 100-152, identifies ascetic authority as the axial component in a tripartite model of episcopal authority, which also includes spiritual and pragmatic authority – assigning ordination, with its ritual conference of the Spirit, to the category of spiritual authority. Focusing specifically on the role played by the bishop in administration of penance, her analysis also provides a framework through which to approach the significance of perceived ascetic authority in valorizing the operation of those functions conferred by ordination, ibid, pg. 92-99. Rapp, ibid, pg. 138-152, notes the complex relationship between asceticism and ordination, encapsulated in hagiographic *topos* of the rejection of ordination, which occurs in the above quoted passage from the "Life of Qashish;" for further treatment of this particular *topos*, see, Rosenberger, V. (2011), "The Saint and the Bishop: Severinus of Noricum," in J. Leemans, P. Van Nuffelen, S. W. J. Keough, and C. Nicolaye eds., *Episcopal Elections in Late Antiquity*, (Berlin), 203-216. See also, Asbrook Harvey, *Asceticism*, 100-107, who provides a detailed discussion of the association of episcopal authority and ascetic virtue in the *Lives of the Eastern Saints*.

59. *E.g.*, pseudo-Martyrius, *The Funerary Speech for John Chyrsostom*, §§ 13-16; Sulpicius Severus, *Vita sancti Martini*, 9; Paulinus of Milan, *Vita Ambrosii*, 6-9; Rufinus of Aquileia, *Ecclesiastical History*, 11.11; Lamirande, É. (1983), *Paulin de Milan et la «Vita Ambrosii»: Aspects de la religion sous le Bas-Empire*, (Montreal), 78-79; and John Rufus, *Life of Peter the Iberian*, §§ 78-80; such assertions of popular enthusiasm and general electoral consensus also occur as a common feature in Greek and Latin works of the sixth and seventh century – for example, Magnus Felix Ennodius, *Vita beatissimi Epiphanii*, 340-341; and *Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn*, § 58.

rial church generally occurred in view of the public and within the structural confines of the territorial church. These factors, which both limited the possibility for gross canonical irregularity and encouraged the perception of propriety, would also presumably have obviated some measure of the hagiographer's potential anxiety regarding the perceived sacramental validity of his subject's ordination. They did not, however, eliminate electoral disputes, which were a more or less perennial feature of ecclesiastical life throughout late antiquity. The authors of earlier episcopal lives appear, in consequence, consistently more concerned to demonstrate the acceptance of their subjects' ordinations, than to evidence their sacramental validity.

This is also true – at least to a limited extent – of the small corpus of anti-Chalcedonian *vitae*, which were written after 518, but before Jacob had begun to systematically ordain bishops for the diocese. These lives, which take the members of the Severan episcopate as their subjects, appear to represent a transitional phase in the development of the church's discursive concern for the sacramental legitimacy of its episcopal ordinations. Thus, for example, the *Life of Severus* by pseudo-John bar Aphtonia, written between 538 and 543, makes no reference to the number of bishops involved in the ordination of the patriarch, though it makes repeated and emphatic mention of the widespread support for Severus' election.[60] Elias makes a passing note of the presence of three attendant bishops – "according to the ecclesiastical canon" – just prior to his account of the ordination of John of Tella, in the *Vita Iohannis episcopi Tellae*, which can be dated with reasonable certainty to the period shortly after 542. The account of the actual ordination, however,

60. pseudo-John bar Aphtonia, *Life of Severus*, §§ 48-58; and Brock, S. and Fitzgerald, B. (2013), *Two Early Lives of Severos, Patriarch of Antioch*, (Liverpool), 24-25.

omits any direct mention of ritual or its officiants, and instead focuses on the unanimous and acclamatory endorsement of his ordination by the members of the provincial synod.[61] The ordinations of both Severus of Antioch and John of Tella – though in both cases complicated by local opposition to their elections – nevertheless took place within the institutional framework of the imperial church; both ordinations were conducted by synods of bishops, more than ensuring the requisite number of officiants.[62]

The *Vita Iohannis episcopi Tellae*, however, also contains two heavily patterned accounts of the mass ordination of bishops for the anti-Chalcedonian churches in the Sasanian Empire – the first taking place before 532 and the second between 533 and 537.[63] Although in each case Elias provides sufficient contextual details to allow the reader to easily infer that the ordinations took place in the presence of the requisite three bishops, no direct reference is made to the existence of a canonical quorum. Instead, the episodes focus entirely on the consensus formed around the election of the anonymous eastern bishops – who were approved in the first instance by an eastern synod and ratified by five western bishops, and in the second instance by the remaining eastern bishops and John of Tella.[64] Here, although the eastern bishops were ordained outside of the legitimizing territorial structures of the imperial church – in a fashion roughly resembling the ordination of the early

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61. Elias, *Vita Iohannis episcopi Tellae*, 50-54; and Andrade, N. J. (2009), "The Syriac Life of John of Tella and the Frontier *Politeia*," *Hugoye* 12:2, 201 n. 6.

62. For discussions of the political circumstances leading up to and the opposition surrounding the ordination of Severus of Antioch, see, Haarer, *Anastasius*, 145-155; and Charanis, *Church and State*, 63-77.

63. The first set of ordinations, which involved the western bishops John of Tella, Sergius of Cyrrhus, Thomas of Dara, Marion of Sura, and Nunnus of Circesium appears to have taken place prior to the *collatio* of 532, in which all are known to have participated, chapter, I.1.d, 50-61.

64. Elias, *Vita Iohannis episcopi Tellae*, 60-61.

Jacobite episcopate –, Elias' account appears hidebound, by comparison to the "Life of Qashish," in its overriding concern to demonstrate the propriety of their elections, without explicit reference to the sacramental licitness of their consecrations.

In contrast, the significance of sacramental validity as a marker of the total legitimacy of Jacobite ordinations is made abundantly apparent in the "Life of Jacob" and the "Lives of Jacob and Theodore." In these lives, John of Ephesus engineers the legitimation not of a single ordination, but of the entire Jacobite episcopate and its dependent sacramental edifice. Treating all of the ordinations performed by Jacob Baradaeus as a single program, rather than as distinct acts of individual sanctioning, these lives almost completely de-emphasize the circumstances and characters surrounding the ordination of individual bishops. This is reflected in a shift in the rhetorical focus of the lives away from the virtue of individual bishops to instead assert the collective sacramental legitimacy of the Jacobite episcopate as a whole. This is accomplished, in both lives, through the use of the same narrative strategy; *viz.*, John of Ephesus depicts the new episcopate in *Oriens* and *Aegyptus* as having been preceded by and issuing from the ordination, in Alexandria, of the bishops Eugenius of Seleucia and Conon of Tarsus – with whom Jacob is then intimated to have conducted his subsequent consecrations. By emphasizing these ordinations John is able to substantiate his claim that all of the successive ordinations were conducted by the essential three bishops. Focusing thus on the presence of three ordaining bishops as the fundamental *sine qua non* for the licit ordination of bishops within the anti-Chalcedonian church, the hagiographer is also able to subordinate more delicate concerns about electoral

propriety and factional allegiance within the increasingly schismatic episcopate.

In the "Life of Jacob" – written in 566 – John of Ephesus accordingly draws attention to the care exercised by the eponymous saint to ensure that the episcopal ordinations which he performed were only conducted with the requisite three bishops.[65] In it, John of Ephesus is careful to note that Jacob ordained bishops only in accordance with the canonical requirement for three episcopal ordainers, first securing the ordination of Eugenius and Conon with the aid of the anti-Chalcedonian bishops in Alexandria, before proceeding in his mission to replenish the Severian episcopate:

> Thus also no small number of bishops and even two patriarchs received ordination from him and others who were with him according to what is commanded in the canons [ܗܟܢܐ ܕܐܦ ܠܐ ܙܥܘܪ ܡܢ ܐܦ ܬܪܝܢ ܦܛܪܝܪܟ̈ܐ ܩܒܠܘ ܣܝܡܬܐ ܡܢܝܗ ܘܡܢ ܐܚܪܢ̈ܐ ܕܗܘ ܥܡܗ ܟܠ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܒܢܡܘܣ̈ܐ ܕܐܦ ܗܘ ܩܒܠ ܬܪܝܢ ܓܒܪ̈ܐ ܡܒܪ̈ܟܐ ܕܫܡܗܝܗܘܢ ܐܘܓܢܝܘܣ ܘܩܢܘܢ ܘܥܠ ܐܬܪ ܗܕܐ ܥܠ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܥܠ ܐܦ ܐܢܘܢ ܐܦ ܐܚܪܢ̈ܐ ܩܫܝ̈ܫܐ ܐܬܪ ܗܕܐ ܘܒܗܕܐ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܢܦܩ ܘܥܡܗܘܢ ܒܚܝܠ ܦܠܚ ܥܒܕ̈ܐ ܕܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܐܦ ܥܕ ܫܢܬ ܩܕܡܝܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܝܘܣܛܝܢܘܣ ܩܝܡ ܗܘ ܕܐܦ ܒܗ ܒܬܪ ܗܕܐ ܐܦ ܟܕ ܣܒ ܝܩܪ ܫܘܒܐ ܐܬܝܩܪ ܗܘ ܠܐ ܙܥܘܪ ܡܢ ܥܒܕ̈ܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܗܘ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܕ

Despite its ostensibly dual subject, this latter work focuses almost exclusively on the campaign of episcopal ordinations performed by Jacob Baradaeus and accordingly places a greater emphasis upon the propriety of his conduct in this regard. It accomplishes this by clearly underscoring the fact that the ordinations took place with the assent of Theodosius of Alexandria and were conducted by the mandatory three ordaining bishops; to this end, it is noted that the ordination of Eugenius and Conon provided Jacob Baradaeus with companions, with whose assistance he was then able to conduct subsequent episcopal ordinations with the required quorum of three ordainers. Above all, however, the text repeatedly stresses that all of these ordinations were performed according to the canons of the church:

> Again, however, with the ardent zeal of religion, he did not even decline to ordain high-priests, that is bishops, and to establish [them] in every province, so that since he was attentive towards the orders of the canons, which command that without three bishops no bishop shall be made [ܕܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܐܠܐ ܒܬܠܬ ܐܦܣܩܘܦ̈ܐ ܩܕ̈ܡ̈ܝܐ:], he devised and lead with him two monks, who were known for virtue, one from Cilicia and one from Isauria, and he came to the royal city; and when he received the counsel and permission of the blessed Theodosius the patriarch of Antioch, who was detained in the royal city as an exile on behalf of the true faith, the blessed Jacob directed his course to the city of Alexandria along with the previously mentioned monks, while he fulfilled the ministry of the priesthood in all of the provinces, from the royal city as far as the sea coast of Lycaonia. And thus he entered Alexandria, and once he had made contact with the pious men there, and they made these two blessed men bishops, the one whose name was Conon for the city of Tarsus in Cilicia and the other whose name was Eugenius for the city of Seleucia in Isauria, according to the command which he received from the blessed patriarch Theodosius. And so he took them and returned to Syria with admirable zeal, and thus according to the sense of the canons they ordained metropolitans, that is archbishops [ܘܗܟܢܐ ܒܪܫ ܣܠܩ ܡܛܘܠ ܚܓ̈ܝ̈ܐ ܕܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܦܘܡ ܩܕ̈ܝ̈ܫܐ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܩܕ̈ܡ̈ܝ ܐܒ̈ܗ̈ܬ̈ܐ].[68]

Significantly, given their prominence and unqualifiedly positive treatment within the text, the composition of the life must have preceded the formal deposition of the bishops Eugenius of Seleucia in Isauria and Conon of Tarsus as tritheists, following their refusal to subscribe to an encyclical letter of Theodosius of Alexandria, in 568/569 AD. Although the text alludes to a plurality of contemporary controversies surrounding Paul of Antioch – almost certainly a reference to the tritheist controversies which engulfed his early patriarchate –, this notice is too general to date precisely. Finally, that it was likely written after the "Life of Jacob" may be inferred from the shift from a portrait of Jacob as an ordainer of priests, a role which he served early in his career, to one of Jacob as the creator of a new anti-Chalcedonian episcopate, the role for which he would subsequently be most remembered.

68. John of Ephesus, *LES*, L, 501-502.

The description of the ordination of Eugenius and Conon, in Alexandria, is then followed by a catalogue of the bishops subsequently ordained by Jacob Baradaeus in the dioceses of *Oriens* and *Aegyptus*:

> One whose name was Demetrius from the monastery of Aphthonia for the city of Laodicea, and another whose name was John from the monastery of beth Mar BZY for Seleucia which is in Syria, and another, as has been said above, from those who were ordained in Alexandria whose name was Conon for Tarsus in Cilicia, and another whose name was Eugenius for Seleucia in Isauria, and the rest of the bishops again in Syria are as follows: John from the monastery of beth Mar Bassus for Qenneshrin, and another whose name was Sergius from the monastery of Aphthonia for Carrhae, and another whose name was John from the monastery of beth Mar Hanina for Sura Romanorum. And when as has been written they had established bishops for various cities in Syria, afterwards they went up to the royal city and in our presence made a patriarch for Antioch, a man whose name was Sergius from the city of Tella, who was living in the royal city, and clothing himself in the learning of religion, and, when he had completed three years, he departed from the world, and after that time they again ordained a man whose name was Paul from Alexandria. Concerning this man many controversies arose, even down to the present time when these things were written. And again in the city of Amida they ordained metropolitan a man whose name was Eunomius, who had been driven into exile along with others from the clergy of Amida, in the royal city. And for the provinces of Egypt, with the mandate of the blessed patriarch Theodosius, they ordained twelve bishops at once in the royal city, for the various cities of the Thebaid and Aegyptus, along with a large number of clerics, since the patriarch Theodosius did not agree to make priests after he had left his see. And after the blessed Jacob and those who were with him went out a second time to the provinces of Asia, and they ordained four bishops in Asia, one in Ephesus, a man whose name was John the Syrian, the converter of pagans, and for Smyrna a man whose name was Peter, and another whose name was John for the city of Pergamum, and another whose name was Peter in the city of Tralles. And after these things they passed over to the island of Chios and established in it a bishop, a man whose name was Qashish from the monastery of John of Ephesus, both of whom were from the monastery of beth Mar John of Amida. And they returned again and crossed to the regions of Caria, and established two bishops there, one whose name was Paul for the city which is called Aphrodisias, and another whose name was Julian for the city which is named Alabanda. These are all of the bishops and archbishops, who were twenty-seven in number, along with two patriarchs who were ordained by Jacob together with the rest of the other bishops, in addition to many clergy in all of the eastern and western provinces.[69]

Here, the structure of the narrative plays a significant role in its discursive function. By thus placing the consecration of the bishops Conon and Eugenius at the head of the catalogue and repeatedly emphasising their role in ensuring that subsequent ordinations were conducted with the requisite three bishops, the *vita* sets them as a seal upon the legitimacy of the Jacobite episcopate. Without describing the circumstances of each ordination or the particu-

69. John of Ephesus, *LES*, L, 502-504.

lar virtues of individual candidates, John of Ephesus uses the initial consecration of Conon and Eugenius as a sort of evidentiary shorthand in order to demonstrate that the church which descended from Jacob Baradaeus' hand had arisen strictly within the parameters imposed by canon law – that is to suggest that those bishops, who were ordained after Conon and Eugenius, were ordained by Jacob and at least two other bishops, and were themselves, therefore, lawful wellsprings of the sacramental priesthood, a *bona fide* and self-sustaining episcopate.

Here, it is possible to appreciate the significance of the narrative strategy adopted by John of Ephesus in the *Lives* by juxtaposing it against the account – perviously discussed – of the succession of the Julianist episcopate following the death of Procopius of Ephesus, which derives from the inextant second part of the *Historiae ecclesiasticae* of John of Ephesus, and that of the tritheist episcopate after 569.[70] In his account of the Julianist episcopate, the historian uses fundamentally the same discursive strategy in order to deny the systemic legitimacy of the Julianist episcopate. To briefly recapitulate, the text describes how following the death of the Julianist bishop, Procopius of Ephesus, a group of seven Ephesian presbyters conspired to secretly ordain a monk named Eutropius, using the hand of the deceased bishop. Eutropius then went on, according to the account, to ordain a Julianist pseudo-episcopate, which through the missionary efforts of its members spread rapidly out through provinces of the Roman Empire, Sasanian Mesopotamia, Armenia, and southern Arabia. Since, however, Eutropius' ordination had itself been invalid, it invalidated all subsequent ordinations which descended from it,

70. Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, *Chronicle*, III, 122-125; for complete references and a fuller discussion of the account, see chapter II.3.b-c, 175-200.

voiding the sacramental edifice of the whole Julianist episcopate. John employs the same linear structure in his exposition of the ordination of the tritheist episcopate, in the third part of the *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, in order to insinuate that the whole of the episcopal line had descended from the unlawful actions of the deposed bishop Theonas – an argument which, while not necessarily invalidating its ordinations, *per se*, serves nonetheless to delegitimize the tritheist episcopate. In both cases, John achieves his rhetorical purpose – the delegitimization of an entire episcopal edifice – by delegitimizing the individual ordainer(s) from whom it then is depicted as having derived, creating a break in the chain of lawful or sacramental transmission of the episcopate. This rhetorical strategy is, by design, reductive. Since it relies upon the artificial perception of an episcopate as a single vertical lineage, which can – from its inception and *en bloc* – be either demonstrably licit or illicit, sacramentally valid or invalid, it necessarily disallows for alternative sources of ordination as well as for any significant internal variation or complication in the practice of ordination within that lineage. Although conversely applied, the same fundamental strategy is at work in John's use of the ordinations of Conon and Eugenius – in the *Lives* – to validate all of those which followed by creating a positive *fons et origo* for the Jacobite episcopal lineage.

This shorthand, however, ought not to be read at face value. While there is nothing to suggest a conscious dissimulation – John of Ephesus almost certainly believed the bishops, whose ordinations he enumerated, to have been lawfully and sacramentally created –, the structure of the list represents an elegant discursive simplification, which presents the reader with an uncomplicated vision of the uniform canonical and sacramental legitimacy of the Jacobite episcopate. The text does this by focusing attention on the num-

ber of episcopal officiants; referring explicitly to the "command that without three bishops no bishop shall be made," John excludes mention of any other prerequisites, allowing the presence of three ordaining bishops to stand as the overriding *sine qua non* for the licit performance of episcopal ordinations. In essence, the simple presence of a minimum quorum of ordainers is made to stand for procedural legitimacy in the performance of an episcopal ordination. Then, as in the "Life of Qashish," the hagiographer emphasizes Jacob Baradaeus' scrupulous observation of this dictate.

The exclusive emphasis upon the participation of three ordaining bishops in John of Ephesus' depiction of the creation of the Jacobite episcopate – although entirely consistent with the prominence given to the principle of a minimum number of ordainers in anti-Chalcedonian discussion of pseudo-episcopacy – appears nevertheless to have served a rhetorical function beyond simply demonstrating the sacramental validity of Jacob's ordination. Crucially, it allowed John to de-emphasize the suite of canons regulating the election of bishops within the institutional structures of the territorial church. Such theoretical concerns as the formal election of episcopal candidates or the principle that bishops should be appointed by their institutional superiors – metropolitans by their patriarch, provincial bishops by their metropolitan and province synod – are simply obscured by the primacy, which the hagiographer gives to this single imperative requirement for a minimum number of officiating bishops. This slight misdirection, then, allows the text to focus on that measure of canonical legitimacy which the nascent Jacobite episcopate could most reliably hope to affect, while shifting attention away from those criteria which the anti-Chalcedonian church could less reliably control.

At the same time as the *Lives* reduces the perceived canonical requirements for the ordination of a new episcopate, *ex nihilo*, to the achievable need to obtain a simple numerical quorum of officiants, it also directs attention away from the potentially complicating circumstances of individual ordinations by depicting them as the collective outcome of a single process. No mention is therefore made of the participants in each ordination. Instead, the structure of the passage broadly implies that the all of the ordinations were all performed by Jacob, acting in conjunction with the bishops Conon and Eugenius. Although John of Ephesus' account provides the sole witness to almost all of the ordinations that it records, what evidence does exist from the ordination of Paul of Antioch suggests that – following the initial re-establishment of the episcopate – Jacob may instead have routinely conducted ordinations with the assistance of other members of the newly created episcopate.[71] There would, of course, have been nothing inherently illicit about the ordinations performed by these other bishops; indeed, the ability to call upon other officiants would, at least abstractly, have been a fundamentally positive consequence of the growth of the Jacobite episcopate. However, the decline of internal unity and rapid proliferation of factions among their new bishops – particularly after the ordination of the patriarch Paul – meant that the involvement of certain individual bishops may have come increasingly to represent a source of potential political liability, particularly as existing internecine conflicts edged ever closer towards open schisms in the late 560s. By withholding the identities of the individual officiants in each case, John of Ephesus

71. As noted above, Paul of Beth Ukkame was ordained patriarch of Antioch by Jacob Baradaeus, Eugenius of Seleucia in Isauria, and Eunomius of Amida.

was able to affect a sense of unity and implicit consensus around the ordinations.

John of Ephesus further strengthens this impression through an overtly political gesture, linking each of the Syrian bishops with a monastery in the diocese – save for Eunomius of Amida, who was a member of the exiled, anti-Chalcedonian clergy of Amida, and the two patriarchs, Sergius and Paul.[72] While there is no reason to doubt the veracity of these connections, their inclusion in the account also served a rhetorical purpose. As has already been argued with reference to the ordination of Paul of Beth Ukkame, these monasteries were also centers of power and influence, which were able to function as virtual institutional electors for the early Jacobite episcopate. By associating the individual bishops in his catalogue with the monasteries from which they had come and in which many of them appear to have continued to reside after their ordinations, John of Ephesus was thereby tying them to the networks of patronage and support, which presumably backed their candidacy and which would presumably also serve to recognize and maintain their episcopacy. The hagiographer was, thus, able to promote a picture of general unity, but also to forge the impression of discrete consensus by effectively picking the electors whose authority his account acknowledges.

That the primary object of the narrative *apologia*, in the *Lives*, was an internal Severian-Jacobite audience is certain. Written at a time when the Severian church began increasingly to be consumed by internecine conflicts, the *Lives* work scrupulously to present a picture of the Jacobite reformation as

72. As previously noted this list includes: Demetrius of Laodicea and Sergius of Carrhae who are linked with the monastery of Beth Aphthonia, John of Seleucia in Syria with the monastery of Mar Bizi, John of Chalcis with the monastery of Mar Bassus, and John of Sura Romanorum with the monastery of Mar Hanina.

giving rise to a unified and canonically unimpeachable episcopal edifice. There was no real need for John of Ephesus to legitimize Jacob Baradaeus' ordination, the common source for the sacramental episcopate in *Oriens*, and the hagiographer passes over it without commenting on either the election or rite, noting only the degree of Jacob's humility and ascetic practice.[73] Though this too serves John's ultimate rhetorical purpose, by allowing him to appropriate Jacob's personal ascetic authority to legitimize the episcopate which he created – and by implicating him with its election and ordination to bind that episcopate to a single corporate identity derived from its common creator.

The need to forge such discursive solidarity within the ranks of the Severian-Jacobite episcopate was, in the latter half of the sixth century, directly proportionate to its ultimate fragility as a church, which by that point had become increasingly schismatic. Specifically, as was noted above, between 566 and 568, when John of Ephesus appears to have written the lives of John of Chios, Jacob Baradaeus, and Theodore of Arabia, the debate over tritheism had begun to fracture the communion of the church in *Oriens*, resulting in a series of challenges to the patriarchate of Paul of Beth Ukkame; by 568, the debate had also given rise to questions regarding the legitimacy of his ordination. At the same time, the centrifugal forces of sectarianism were exacerbated by the persistent and evidently populist tendency within the church towards a position of sacramental rigorism with respect to the reception of clerical converts. This was reflected in a reactionary proclivity – frequently resisted by earlier Severian canonists – to attack the sacramental legitimacy of the ordinations carried out by schismatics and heretics, often without apparent re-

73. John of Ephesus, *LES*, XLIX, 488-490 and L, 499-500.

gard to specific circumstances. The danger of such reflexive condemnations, however, was their potential to precipitously escalate factional disputes into fully fledged sacramental controversy, which were thereby rendered more intractable through the erection of increased impediments to reconciliation; this would presumably have been particularly problematic amidst the shifting and intertwined factional landscape of the period, as the unity of the early Jacobite episcopate became increasingly frayed with the intensification of the tritheist controversy following the death of the patriarch Theodosius of Alexandria.

Conclusions

Any attempt to elicit from these examples a theory of episcopal ordination within the early Jacobite church, however, must begin by acknowledging the nature and limits of the evidence. Compiled nearly two decades after his ordination, the dossier of letters selected and preserved by the *Documenta* was collated at a time when the legitimacy of his rule was being challenged following his communication with the pro-Chalcedonian John Scholasticus and involvement in the heavily contested ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis. As an assemblage, then, the collection appears thus to have been made in order to demonstrate the validity of Paul of Beth Ukkame's patriarchate, not to document the procedural particulars of his appointment and consecration, *per se*. Although the apologetic aims of John of Ephesus in the *Lives of the Eastern Saints* were broader and thus less easily defined, the accounts of episcopal ordination given in the "Life of Jacob," the "Lives of Theodore and Jacob," and the "Life of Qashish" were also retrospective assertions of legitimacy, intended to justify the creation of the new episcopate and provide a picture of internal unity for a communion increasingly divided by tritheism.

Moreover, with the exception the appointment of John of Chios, described in the "Life of Qashish," the hagiographer's portraits are corporate rather than individual, and thus contain little information about either practical conduct or contemporary defense of particular ordinations. It is also clear that Paul's ordination was in many ways exceptional; so that, although comparatively well documented in the *Documenta*, the degree to which the procedural conduct of his election and consecration reflected a normal pattern of practice, given the paucity of evidence for the church as a whole. Given these constraints, any conclusion regarding the procedural methods of the early Jacobite episcopate must therefore remain conjectural.

What, however, may be ascertained with some certainty from the evidence offered by the *Lives* and *Documenta* are the rhetorical means by which members of the episcopate sought to legitimize its ordination, which in abstract appear to have been unaltered by the church's exile. Both, importantly, seek to assert the procedural legality of the ordinations which they record – though neither does so by erecting an explicit statutory framework, instead relying primarily upon the simple declaration. Both John of Ephesus and architects of the ordination are careful to demonstrate the sacramental validity of the consecrations through the participation of the necessary quorum of episcopal ordainers. And finally, both endeavor to construct the perception of consensus surrounding the election, explicitly in the letters affirming the ordination of the patriarch Paul as well as in the "Life of Qashish" and more implicitly in the "Lives of Theodore and Jacob."

However, despite the superficial persistence of these pre-exilic themes of procedural legality, sacramental validity, and electoral consensus in the rhetorical framework of the exilic church, the sources for the early Jacobite

episcopate also point to the impact of the exigencies of persecution on the discursive strategies of Severan-Jacobite authors. Specifically, the sources from the 560s – with the notable exception of the "Life of Qashish" – omit any significant reference to the expression or cultivation of local support for those being ordained to the episcopate. While the evidence, particularly for the ordination of Paul of Beth Ukkame, suggests that prominent monasteries became the principal foci of electoral consensus building for the new episcopate, there is nothing to indicate that the process of eliciting electoral support was tied in any way to either the province or bishopric for which the individual candidate was nominally ordained. The result was a divergence between the jurisdictional structures erected by fourth and fifth century canon law for the regulation of episcopal elections and the apparent extra-territorial realities and rhetoric of Jacobite ordinations. A dissonance that – though evidently unproblematic at the time – was nonetheless to prove fertile grounds for dispute following the failed ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis, in 575.

So that while everyone supposed that they had behaved in accordance with the canons and preformed a great deed according to the union and establishment of the church of Syria and Alexandria, because he was made bishop of the Alexandrians without their [*i.e.*, Alexandrians] knowledge – a thing which was unlawful – it became the ruin of them all, and of the whole of the church in *Oriens* and Egypt, and the [source] trails, confusion, controversies, schisms, and divisions, and the cause of many evils, as well as for each one of them personally, and again a [pretext] for the savage people of Alexandria to bring forward an immoderate and untempered malice and barbarity.[1]

A failure to properly inform and seek the assent of the people and clergy of Alexandria, thus John of Ephesus describes the fatal error, which underlaid and ultimately undermined the ordination of Theodore, the Syrian archimandrite of the monastery of Rhamnis, as bishop of the city, in the summer of 575; an error – a *mere* procedural omission – which once magnified by the pre-existing organs of partisan enmity was to rupture the Severan-Jacobite communion, precipitating the fall of the patriarch Paul of Beth Ukkame.[2] At the same time, the crisis triggered by the elevation of Theodore of Rhamnis and counter-ordination of Peter of Alexandria, which produced two concurrent and competing Theodosian claimants for the see of Alexandria, demonstrated the fragility of the church's internal mechanisms for building legitimacy around its episcopal ordinations. In general, both Paulite and anti-Paulite sources written in the decade after the ordinations make similar, largely implicit, arguments for the sacramental legitimacy of their respective candidates – which point in each case to the fact that their bishop had been conse-

1. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.10, 191.

2. The most complete modern accounts of the controversies surrounding Paul of Antioch and the botched ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis remain those authored by Wigram, *Separation*, 175-190; Brooks, E. W., (1929-1930) "The Patriarch Paul of Antioch and the Alexandrine Schism of 575," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 30, 468-476; and Maspero, J. (1923), *Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie: depuis la mort de l'empereur Anastase jusqu'a la réconciliation des églises Jacobites (518-616)*, (Paris), 232-249.

crated by three episcopal officiants.[3] However, by variously emphasizing and decoupling the more concrete forms of procedural validity from the more nebulous rubric of electoral consensus – whether real or constructed – partisans on both sides of the controversy effectively constructed two competing visions of legitimacy.

While neither side completely abdicated its claim to either procedural validity or electoral legitimacy, each posited its own interpretative framework. Broadly characterized, pro-Paulite sources, which appear to reflect and normalize the practices of the earlier Jacobite reformation in *Oriens*, deemphasize the significance of a jurisdictional electorate, instead asserting that the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis had been conducted within the legal structures created by the mandates which had been given in authorization to his consecrators. This extra-jurisdictional model, which relied upon epistolary affirmations and authorizations as proxies for direct consensus, accords well with the procedure already observed in the ordination of Paul of Beth Ukkame, presumably reflecting a larger, pre-existing model for the legitimation of ordinations within the early Jacobite episcopate. The same pro-Paulite sources, then, justify their denunciation of the election and consecration of Peter of Alexandria on the grounds that it represented the usurpation of a duly ordained bishop, who while still alive and without having been canonically con-

3. Although both sides, as will be discussed below, sought to discredit the legal standing of the bishops who had participated in the ordination of the other's candidate, neither questioned that the ordination of the other had been performed by fewer than the minimum number of officiants required to achieve sacramental validity. *N.b.*, the use of the terms Paulites and Jacobites to designate the two parties in the schism, which erupted in the aftermath of failed ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis, occurs already in the sixth century – *e.g.*, John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.31 and 35; and Timothy Presbyter of Constantinople, *De receptione haereticorum*, 41, 45, and 57-60. Although the term Jacobite is used here and elsewhere by this thesis to refer to the party which coalesced around Jacob Baradaeus and in opposition to Paul of Beth Ukkame after 576, the term anti-Paulite has been generally preferred in order to minimize confusion with the use of the term "Jacobite" in order to describe the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate, which emerged after *c.* 553.

demned, was the sole lawful occupant of the see. By contrast, the available anti-Paulite sources appeal to the idea of electoral consensus, construed as the expressed will of the majority, as the ultimate – and, in some sense, the only meaningful – rubric of legitimacy. Here, the principal argument of the anti-Paulite sources was significantly predicated on the principle of jurisdictional sovereignty. Arguing that the Theodosian population and clergy of Alexandria, along with the aligned episcopate of Egypt, exercised an immutable prerogative to elect and ordain a patriarch, anti-Paulite sources justified the rejection of Theodore, whose ordination by Longinus, bishop of the Nobatae, had usurped that prerogative. Concurrently, the support of the Alexandrian electorate for Peter used this logic to validate his ordination. Although seemingly alien to the practice of ordination within the early Jacobite episcopate, which had emerged outside of the territorial structures of the imperial church, the anti-Paulite argument was nonetheless able to derive vindication from earlier canon law, which – in addition to the extra-statutory conventions of the pre-exilic church – codified a clear jurisdiction framework for episcopal election, within which the civic electorate, in theory at least, played a significant role.[4] In a certain sense, then, the opposition between these two models of legitimacy may be understood as indicative of the tension between the still largely extra-territorial structures of the Severan-Jacobite episcopate, which had evolved to meet the exigencies of persecution, and the jurisdictional norms which the church had inherited from its pre-exilic past.

II.5.a., Portrait of a Failed Ordination

4. *Cf.*, chapter, II.4, 202-244.

Programatic and deeply partisan, the extant sources resist any attempt to completely liberate the events surrounding the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis from the layers of factional polemic and apologia, which rapidly enveloped them. Nevertheless, an outline of the incident broadly consistent, in its general contours, with the events alluded to by each side may be drawn from the *Historiae ecclesiasticae* of John of Ephesus – the relevant chapters of which were likely completed less than a decade after the episode which they describe, between 582 and 584/585.[5] Still, the historian was not a neutral observer. Although clearly he acknowledged the error of Theodore's ordination, and abhorring the subsequent schism from active association in which he sought to distance himself, John of Ephesus nonetheless displays a manifest sympathy throughout his narrative towards Paul of Antioch, whom he presents throughout as having sought scrupulously to avoid controversy and endeavored earnestly to mitigate its effects once it had broken out.[6] Against the sobriety and zeal which he thus ascribes to Paul and his colleagues, John of Ephesus juxtaposed what he regarded as the greed, savagery, and irascibility of the anti-Paulite Alexandrians and Jacobite partisans. The result is a systematic, albeit largely implicit, vindication of the ordination of Theodore of

5. Although positing a relatively tight set of dates for the production of book IV, van Ginkel, *John of Ephesus*, 71-77, has nonetheless conceded the difficulty of precisely dating individual elements within the third part of the *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, which John of Ephesus progressively composed and intermittently amended, without substantive revision, from sometime before AD 578 until at least 588. Regarding the historical events of ordination and schism, modern commentators have tended to base their reconstructions of the episode, in varying degrees, upon the evidence provided by John of Ephesus, Michael the Syrian, and *Documenta* – *e.g.*, Wigram, *Separation*, 175-181; Brooks, "Paul of Antioch," 470-476; and Honigmann, *Évêques*, 200-204. For the purposes of the present argument the representation of the episode and its fallout is of significantly greater importance than the historical reality of the events described in the individuals – as a result no attempt is made here at a factual reconstitution of the events.

6. *N.b.*, somewhat disingenuously, John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.13, 45, and 46, presents himself as having endeavored only to preserve a simple record of the events of the schism without seeking to benefit the agenda of either party.

Rhamnis and equally thorough condemnation of the Alexandrian opposition to his succession.

According to the historian, the affair was set in motion in *c.* 571, five years after the death of Theodosius of Alexandria, when the archpresbyter Theodosius and archdeacon Theodore of Alexandria took measures to secure the ordination of a successor for the patriarch.[7] Writing to the bishop Longinus, then in the northern Nubian kingdom of Nobadia, the two clerics requested that he consecrate a new patriarch for the Egyptian church. Initially detained by his flock, who feared his arrest by imperial authorities, Longinus eventually succeeded in entering the Roman Empire via the southern Thebaid, where he consulted with the elderly bishop Theodore of Philae, who had been ordained nearly fifty years earlier by the patriarch Timothy III, concerning his mission. Old and in poor of health, Theodore of Philae declined to accompany Longinus, and instead "made over a mandate [ἐντολικόν] of his proxy to Longinus to act in his place, while agreeing to anything that he did."[8] Thus licensed, Longinus proceeded to Mareotis, close to Alexandria, where he met two Syrian bishops, John of Mar Bassus and George Eurtoyo', who had been dispatched by a synod in *Oriens* in order to deliberate with the Egyptian bishops regarding the reception and rehabilitation of Paul of Beth Ukkame.[9] Seizing the opportunity offered by the presence of the bishops,

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7. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.8-9; Theodosius of Alexandria died on 22 June 566, after roughly three decades of captivity in Constantinople, Brooks, E. W. (1903), "The Dates of the Alexandrine Patriarchs Dioskoros II, Timothy IV, and Theodosius," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 12.2, 497. This, then, would place the date of the correspondence between Alexandrian clerics and Longinus at some point in 571. The frequent and profound inaccuracies in John's chronological reckoning, however, leave room for doubt here regarding the reliability of his dating of the letter.

8. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.9.

9. Haas, C. (1997), *Alexandria in Late Antiquity: Topography and Social Conflict*, (Baltimore, Maryland), 36-38, Mareotis was a closely integrated part of Alexandria's agricultural hinterland, located to south and west of the city across Lake Mareotis.

Longinus pressed them to assist him in consecrating a patriarch. The eastern bishops, however, demurred, protesting that they were not prepared to participate in the ordination without the consent of their patriarch, who was residing nearby, disguised as a soldier. After some discussion, Paul was retrieved and the party reassembled in Libya, before proceeding to the desert around the monastery of Mar Minas, in a place called Rhamnis.[10] There, they found the Syrian archimandrite Theodore, whom they selected to fill the patriarchal see.[11] Despite his protestations, Theodore was then ordained by Longinus with the assistance of the bishops John and George, while Paul withdrew since he had not been formally absolved of his prior communication with the imperial church and thus remained disbarred from exercising the offices of his episcopate. Although prevented from taking part in the consecration, Paul nonetheless granted the ordination his approval and promptly entered into communion with Theodore, with whom he then exchanged synodical letters.[12] News and details of the ordination were then communicated to the anti-Chalcedonian community in Alexandria through epistolary affidavits, written by Longinus and the other participating bishops, which accompanied Theodore's own synodical letter and an apologia excusing his absence from

10. These movements appear to have taken the company from the province of *Libya Inferior* to the area around the Wadi Natrun, Payne Smith, R. (1860), *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John, Bishop of Ephesus*, (Oxford), 261 n. g.

11. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.10, 190-191: "And there they happen upon an archimandrite – an excellent man, named Theodore, who was a Syrian by birth –, and they began saying to him, that he should yield himself to become pope for Alexandria. He, when heard this, was shaken, and declining it he fled, even employing oaths, and abusing himself, until they bound him with an anathema, if he should refuse it or protest, and thus through coercion they took him by force, though he was unwilling and weeping and lamenting."

12. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.10; *cf.*, *DM*, 44 and 45; van Roey and Allen, *Monophysite Documents*, 298-300; and Allen and Neil, *Crisis Management*, 144.

the city on the grounds that he feared the possibility of opposition and persecution.[13]

Almost immediately, however, things began to unravel for Theodore of Rhamnis and the bishops who had ordained him. Upon receiving the letters notifying them of the consecration, a faction of the Alexandrian clergy, led by Theodore the archdeacon and Theodosius the archpresbyter, denounced the ordination and its officiants – directing particular vitriol against Longinus, Theodore of Rhamnis, and Paul of Beth Ukkame – and moved rapidly to install their own candidate on the patriarchal throne. Theodosius and Theodore first sought to elevate one candidate from within the leading party of the clergy, named Andronicus; his election, however, met with popular opposition from both the clergy and laity, since he had previously suffered demonic possession, and Andronicus quickly withdrew from consideration. Thus thwarted, they turned to Peter, an elderly deacon within the church, who had accompanied the former patriarch, Theodosius of Alexandria, into exile. Here, the Alexandrians were initially limited by a paucity of potential ordainers; the only bishop then in Egypt – other than those involved in the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis – was John of Cellia. The situation, however, was altered with the arrival of two recently ordained Syrian bishops, both named Antonius, who were then pressed into performing the ordination of Peter together with John of Cellia.[14] Peter moved rapidly to secure his position, ordaining seventy new bishops for sees within the diocese and deposing Paul of Beth Ukkame – whom he then condemned, along with Jacob

13. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.11; *cf.*, Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, X.12, 353-354.

14. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.11-12; *cf.*, Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, X.12-13.

Baradaeus, in an encyclical letter sent to anti-Chalcedonian churches throughout the empire.[15] Initially seeking to avoid controversy, Theodore is then reported to have withdrawn for a time, before beginning to ordain priests.[16]

What followed, however, was precisely the rapid descent into schism, which John of Ephesus suggests Theodore of Rhamnis had sought to avoid. At the outbreak of the controversy, Jacob Baradaeus initially sided with Paul of Beth Ukkame and denounced the ordination of Peter of Alexandria, whom he decried as a new Gaianus.[17] Jacob, whom the historian describes as a pliable dupe easily misled by those around him, however, rapidly gave way to the concerted demands of the anti-Paulite faction and, recanting his initial opposition to the ordination, received Peter and acquiesced to the deposition of Paul, though he insisted that the deposition should not carry a sentence of excommunication.[18] The announcement of Jacob's acceptance of the deposition triggered an open schism between the pro- and anti-Paulite parties among the core provinces of the diocese.[19] By 576, the rupture had spread to the adjoining provinces of Cilicia, Isauria, Cappadocia, and Armenia, drawing in more and more communities and giving way to a virulent, though initially unsuccessful, movement to appointment a replacement for Paul on the throne of Antioch, despite a number of efforts made to broker peace between the two sides.[20] This culminated in 581 with the ordination of Peter of Callinicum, as

15. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.12, 14, and 16.

16. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.13.

17. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.15.

18. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.15 and 17.

19. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.18.

20. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.19-22, and 31-44.

the anti-Paulite patriarch of Antioch.[21] Before then, however, Paul ceded to the animus of his persecutors and withdrew, in *c.* 577, to the area around Constantinople, where he remained concealed until his death in 581.[22] Longinus too, after making various attempts to seek adjudication and reconciliation with the leaders of the Jacobite faction and trying in vain to rally support among the Paulite community in *Oriens*, retired to Nubia and thence to the southern Nubian kingdom of Alodia, where he conducted an extensive and successful campaign to convert the local population.[23] Thus abandoned by the last of his prominent allies, Theodore of Rhamnis lashed out ineffectively at Paul, excoriating the patriarch for exposing him to his present misfortune and then abandoning him, before he too withdrew to Alexandria, living in ascetic demure until his own death in 587.[24] On 30 July 578, Jacob Baradaeus – manipulated and ensnared by the counsel of malicious advisers – died under mysterious circumstances, while on a secret, probably sectarian, mission to Alexandria, entangled in the controversy which he too had helped unwittingly to unleash.[25] With the ruin of nearly all of the principal actors and the persistent failure of successive attempts to achieve reconciliation between the two parties, John of Ephesus thus brings to a close his narrative account of the

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21. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.45.

22. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.47, and 54-57; *cf.*, Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, 15; Brooks, "Paul of Antioch," 476; and Honigmann, *Évêques*, 203-204.

23. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.22, 48-53, and 55; *cf.*, Honigmann, *Évêques*, 228-229; Welsby, D. A. (2002), *The Medieval Kingdoms of Nubia: Pagans, Christians and Muslims on the Middle Nile*, (London), pg. 32-34; and Grillmeier, A. (1996), *Christ in the Christian Tradition, 2.4: The Church of Alexandria with Nubia and Ethiopia after 451*, in collaboration with T. Hainthaler, English translation by O. C. Dean, (London), 271-272.

24. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.48, 55-56; and Hainthaler, T. (1996), "The Development of Two Hierarchies," in A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition, 2.4: The Church of Alexandria with Nubia and Ethiopia after 451*, in collaboration with T. Hainthaler, English translation by O. C. Dean, (London), 72.

25. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.33, 34, and 58; and Honigmann, *Évêques*, 177.

episode surrounding the thoroughly botched ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis.[26]

II.5.b., Defending a Failed Ordination

Throughout, the controversy appears to have focused on two intertwined, though fundamentally distinct, issues. The first, pertaining to the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis, was the nature of the electoral sovereignty vested in the jurisdictional church. The second, more closely tied to the ordination of Peter of Alexandria, was the solubility of an ordination that had been lawfully and sacramentally concluded. In the pro-Paulite works of John of Ephesus and Sergius the hermit, the electoral functions of the Alexandrian church are treated as having been delegated to the bishop Longinus through the letters sent by the city's clergy urging and mandating him to ordain a new patriarch. In like fashion, the pro-Paulite sources point to letters of proxy and assent granted to Longinus by the other members of the Egyptian episcopate as evidence that Theodore's consecrators had acted with the necessary authorization of the provincial episcopate.[27] Collectively, the license granted by these two groups are considered to have been sufficient to allow Longinus to autonomously select and ordain candidates without trespassing upon the ju-

26. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.58-61; and Wigram, *Separation*, 180-182.

27. Here, the system of territorial licensing used to legitimate the extra-jurisdictional ordination of sub-episcopal clergy by members of the Severan episcopate, in the decades between 518 and 553, may perhaps have provided a template for the canon legal thought of the pro-Paulite sources for the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis. Like later episcopal ordination, the earlier system relied on those with jurisdictional claims to issue letters mandating others to act as their sacramental proxies with the license to consecrate clergy for their bishopric, chapter, I.1, 16-111. Although the two systems differ somewhat in their mechanics – with the former theoretically relying on the exchange of discrete licenses between bishops and later relying in part at least upon the nebulous concept of civic consent –, the underlying logic of one party delegating a jurisdictional right upon which it could not effectively act to another party capable of acting on its behalf was common to both.

risdictional rights of either. With respect to the ordination of Peter, the same source makes an implicit argument for the insolubility of Theodore's episcopate without lawful cause, which they programmatically denied existed. Accordingly, the election and consecration of Peter is presented as an illegal usurpation of the position of a living bishop and thus as gross violation of canon law.

Despite repeatedly protesting his own impartiality and occasionally conceding certain political and procedural missteps committed by the ordainers of Theodore of Rhamnis, John of Ephesus remained nonetheless perceptibly pro-Paulite in his overall treatment of the episode, its consequences and antecedents. Evidently aware of what by the time of his writing had become perhaps the principal objection of the anti-Paulite polemicists to the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis – *viz.*, that it had been conducted without the consent of the proper electorate of Alexandria – the historian is careful to point to the authorizations given to Longinus first by the clergy of Alexandria and then by Theodore of Philae, who is claimed to have granted the bishop of Nubia broad latitude to act on his behalf.[28] Although less explicit in tracing of the legal ramifications of these licenses than other pro-Paulite sources, the historian nevertheless presented an account which by implication served to demonstrate the procedural legitimacy of the election of Theodore of Rhamnis.

The effect of this argument by intimation is further heightened by a narrowing of the narrative focus around the authorization of Longinus, which omits a number of complicating details. Perhaps most significantly, John of

28. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.9.

Ephesus identifies only three actors, representing the two bodies with legal standing to influence the election of a new patriarch: the archpresbyter Theodosius and archdeacon Theodore representing the clergy of Alexandria, and Theodore of Philae as a representative of the Egyptian episcopate. Absent from the immediate account of the licensing, however, is any reference to the other members of the Egyptian episcopate, Joseph of Metelis and John of Cellia, neither of whom participated in the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis as the result of an unresolved dispute between them. John of Ephesus does mention John of Cellia, who is otherwise known to have given his retroactive consent to the ordination, before tergiversating and consenting to the ordination of Peter of Alexandria. However, the historian does so only in the context of the ordination of Peter, where he is presented as having acted illegally, being at the time accused of a series of unresolved canonical transgressions.[29] In doing so, the narrative excluded the problematic issue of John of Cellia's ultimate defection and allowed the historian to present him simply as an illegal participant in an illicit ordination, while simultaneously avoiding the implications of the non-participation of either of the two Egyptian bishops in the original licensing or ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis. In a similar fashion, John of Ephesus also makes no reference to the later recantation by Theodore of Philae of the authorization which he had granted to Longinus, once it had become apparent that Theodore of Rhamnis had been rejected by the Alexandrian clergy. Although the retraction was of contestable legality, it undoubtedly constituted a rhetorical challenge to the legitimacy of the ordination – a challenge which in John of Ephesus' narrative was elided through

29. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.9 and 11; *cf.*, *DM*, 42.II.6, 270-283.

simple omission.[30] It cannot, of course, be demonstrated that either of these omissions was the product of conscious exclusion by John of Ephesus; as the historian had not participated directly in the events immediately surrounding the ordination and appears to have written the relevant chapters of his *Historiae* in Constantinople, nearly a decade later, it is thus entirely possible that these silences were the inadvertent product of the author's ignorance or a reflection of his sources rather than an act of programmatic suppression.[31] Whether the exclusion of the information regarding the dispositions of the other Egyptian bishops was part of an intentional strategy or not, however, it serves to bolster the impression that Longinus acted in accordance with the clear mandate of the suffragan episcopate of Alexandria by simply effacing any evidence which might be interpreted to the contrary. Coupled with the explicit reference to the license extended to him by the leaders of the Alexandrian clergy through their initial request, the letter of proxy given to him by Theodore of Philae thus, in the narrative, serves to provide Longinus with the appearance of a complete and unassailable authorization to ordain a bishop for Alexandria.

With respect to the procedural conduct of the ordination, it appears that John of Ephesus also sought to counter the anti-Paulite contention that Longinus had usurped the electoral privileges of the Alexandrian church by conducting the election and consecration of Theodore of Rhamnis away from

30. *DM*, 42.II.6, 276; and van Roey and Allen, *Monophysite Documents*, 295.

31. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.45; and van Ginkel, *John of Ephesus*, 34-37; a further possibility is that the exclusion resulted from an editorial overcorrection made by the historian in an effort to excise what he regarded as the partisan bias of his source(s) or as the result of an attempt to reconcile conflicting versions of the event. Here, something of bipartisan range of John's sources can be surmised from his account of the efforts made by both sides to win his support.

the city and the oversight of the Egyptian episcopate.[32] Although the historian offers no explicit counter to this allegation, he is nonetheless careful to establish an implicit justification for the autonomous actions taken by Longinus in pursuit of his mandate to ordain a new patriarch by documenting the incapacity of other potential actors to participate directly in the selection and consecration of the candidates; here, the historian points specifically to the inability of Theodore of Philae to travel due to his extreme old age.[33] John of Ephesus also alludes to the cause for why the ordination was not conducted within the city of Alexandria and thus with greater transparency, citing the apologia of Theodore of Rhamnis in which he claimed that he had stayed away through fear of the imperial authorities as well as the threat of arousing persecution and disorder within the city.[34] In much the same vein, John of Ephesus also ridicules what he claims to have been a widely held belief among the Alexandrians that Longinus with the aid of a party of confederate bishops had ordained Theodore of Rhamnis outside of the boundaries of the diocese, in Nubia.[35] In both instances, the historian appears to have attempted to demonstrate that Longinus neither abused nor exceeded the authority granted to him by the clergy of Alexandria and the other members of the Egyptian episcopate.

A comparable, though more legally nuanced and overtly partisan, counter to anti-Paulite claims of impropriety surrounding the licensing of

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32. Indirect evidence for the allegation that Longinus had usurped the electoral prerogatives, which rightly lay within the competence and capacity of the Alexandrian church to exercise, is offered by *DM*, 42.II.6.

33. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.9.

34. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.11.

35. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.14.

Longinus is mounted by the pro-Paulite hermit, Sergius of the monastery of Nicaea, in his *Defense of the Patriarch Paul*.[36] Written in November 580, the treatise is primarily concerned with the refutation of a lost anti-Paulite tract composed by the monk Probus at the solicitation of his ascetic master John the Lame, a presbyter in the monastery of Mar Bassus.[37] Although the *Defense* as well as the treatise to which it replies appear to have been preoccupied with the legality of the deposition of Paul of Beth Ukkame in 575/576, Sergius – and it may be assumed Probus also – touches upon the ordinations of Theodore of Rhamnis and Peter of Alexandria.[38] Like John of Ephesus, Sergius predicates a significant portion of his vindication of the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis on a demonstration that Longinus had performed the election and consecration with the full license and proper sanction of both the Alexandrian church and the other members of the Egyptian episcopate.

Thus, in chapter 6 of the *Defense*, Sergius gives a somewhat more complex – and probably more faithful – account of the suite of authorizations and proxies under which Longinus acted in ordaining Theodore of Rhamnis than that offered by John of Ephesus.[39] According to the text, Probus had alleged that Longinus had not been properly sanctioned by the leaders of the Alexandrian church, which he claimed was then free to exercise its prerogatives in the selection and ordination of a new bishop, or by the bishops of the diocese, namely Joseph of Metelis, Theodore of Philae, and John of Cellia.[40] This rep-

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36. *DM*, 42.I; and van Roey and Allen, *Monophysite Documents*, 291.

37. *DM*, 43; and van Roey and Allen, *Monophysite Documents*, 297.

38. *DM*, 42.II.5-6; Honigmann, *Évêques*, 201-203; van Roey and Allen, *Monophysite Documents*, 291-298; and Allen and Neil, *Crisis Management*, 143-144.

39. *DM*, 42.II.6; and van Roey and Allen, *Monophysite Documents*, 295.

40. *DM*, 42.II.6, 270.

resented two distinct and canonically relevant claims – on the one hand that the Alexandrian church was capable of acting in its own interests to effect the election of a new patriarch and on the other that Longinus had acted without a jurisdictional authorization –, both of which Sergius dismissed in turn. Mocking the proposition that the church in Alexandria was free to exert its electoral powers, at a time when the anti-Chalcedonian movement was suppressed throughout the empire, Sergius queried why when the community was thus at liberty to act had the patriarchate remained vacant for more than nine years.[41] The significance of the freedom or non-freedom of the Alexandrian church for the purposes of Sergius' argument is that it served to demonstrate the pragmatic capacity of the church to effect its own electoral decisions; if the local church was not free to act openly on its own behalf, the scope for external intervention was then necessarily increased and became more defensible, while the force of any appeals to local sovereignty was diminished. Because of the inability of the Alexandrian church to directly effect the election and consecration of a new patriarch within immediate environs of the city – that is its lack of freedom – its leaders ceded to Longinus through their mandates "great liberty" with which to conduct the ordination on their behalf – as was evidenced by their letters to the bishop.[42] In a significant sense, this line of reasoning provided a rationale through which to minimize the function of the local church, in those instances where it could not be freely or openly exercised, and as such could also easily have been applied to the earlier reconstitution of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate in *Oriens*.[43]

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41. *DM*, 42.II.6, 270-271.

42. *DM*, 42.II.6, 271-273.

43. While such a line of reasoning is nowhere explicitly articulated in relation to the election of Jacobite bishops in *Oriens*, its logic is fully consistent with both the pragmatic circumstance

With respect to the question of licensing, Sergius deigns Probus' claim that the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis had been performed without the authorization of the local church and suffragan episcopate of Alexandria. The assertion that the ordination had been conducted without the sanction of the Alexandrian church, he contends, was flatly contradicted by letters which its leaders had themselves sent to Longinus, asking him to assume the burden of ordaining a bishop on their behalf.[44] In support of this claim, Sergius adduces excerpts from the letters of the presbyter Theodosius and the deacon Theodore of Copris, in which the two leaders of the Theodosian clergy in Alexandria had requested that Longinus – and Theodore of Philae – extend a sacramental hand to ordain a successor for Theodosius of Alexandria.[45] Neither, Sergius argues, did Longinus act without the collaboration of the other diocesan suffragans of Alexandria or contrary to their expressed wishes. This Sergius demonstrates by citing the mandate issued by Theodore of Philae, in which the elderly bishop, protesting his own inability to travel, sanctioned Longinus to ordain a new bishop for Alexandria in conjunction with the "pious bishops from *Oriens*."[46] Theodore of Philae subsequently retracted his con-

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of the Severan church within the diocese and also with the electoral methods apparently used by Jacob Baradaeus in the initial reconstitution of the Syrian episcopate. Members of the Severan-Jacobite episcopate had also been ordained for cities in which the anti-Chalcedonian church was unable or severely limited in its ability to act and organize openly – or to use the language of the later debate was not free to exercise its electoral prerogatives. It is, therefore, not difficult to imagine that the extant sources for the debate between Paulites and anti-Paulites, almost all of which appear to have been written by within the Syrian and Anatolian churches, simply appropriated the terminology and juridical logic used by the earlier Jacobite program to rationalize and defend the extra-jurisdiction ordination of bishops for sees in *Oriens* and *Asia*.

44. *DM*, 42.II.6, 271-272.

45. *DM*, 42.II.6, 272-274; although given somewhat different titles in *Defense*, it seems nonetheless certain that the presbyter Theodosius and deacon Theodore of Copris are synonymous with the homonymous archpresbyter and archdeacon described in the account of John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.9, as the principal actors within the Alexandrian clergy and the initial fomenters of resistance to Theodore of Rhamnis.

46. *DM*, 42.II.6, 274-275.

sent. However, although conceding that Theodore of Philae did make such a recantation, Sergius contends that it was illegal and therefore had no retroactive impact upon the legitimacy or licitness of the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis.[47] Nor had Longinus acted in contradiction to or usurpation of the rights and opinions of either John of Cellia or Joseph of Metelis, since both had refused to the take part owing to some quarrel between them.[48] Nonetheless, John of Cellia, at least, had indicated his retrospective consent, in a letter written after the ordination, in which he had expressed his concurrence with the appointment of Theodore of Rhamnis.[49] Although Sergius does not elaborate on this notice, it would appear to constitute an implicit appeal to procedural legitimacy based on the requirement stipulated by canon 4 of Nicaea that all of the bishops of a province either participate in an ordination or communicate their consent in writing.[50] *In toto*, Sergius argues that these licenses, coupled with the practical circumstances of the Theodosian church in Alexandria, had amounted to a clear and incontestable mandate which allowed Longinus sufficient latitude to select and autonomously consecrate a bishop for the city – a mandate which had in no way been exceeded in the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis.[51]

In his account, John of Ephesus further trivializes the objections of the Alexandrian clergy that they had been excluded from the selection of Theodore by suggesting that their protests stemmed not from a sincere sense

47. *DM*, 42.II.6, 276.

48. *DM*, 42.II.6, 273.

49. *DM*, 42.II.6, 277-278.

50. *Can.Nic.* (= *Discipline*, I.I.I, 21-41), 4.

51. *DM*, 42.II.6, 278-280.

of aggrievement at having been deprived a lawful right, but through an unreasoning and implacable animosity towards Paul of Beth Ukkame and an avaricious desire to exert their own control over the church and its wealth.[52] Indeed, the historian even goes so far as to ascribe the decision to ordain Peter to the machinations of the devil, who he claims sought thus to cause "tumult and confusion and schism and controversy throughout the whole church."[53] Elsewhere, he also notes that despite the lapse of nearly a decade from the death of Theodosius of Alexandria, during which they might have selected and ordained a new patriarch without conflict or contest, the clergy of the city waited until their reactionary counter-appointment was bound to be a source of strife.[54] Building upon this theme, the historian also asserts that the same perverse enmity towards Paul served as the true motive behind that the Jacobite reception of Peter of Alexandria, in *c.* 575, in spite of Jacob's initial condemnation of him and the evident illegality of his ordination.[55] By contrast, John of Ephesus presents both Paul of Beth Ukkame and Theodore of Rhamnis as having consistently and scrupulously sought to avoid conflict – Paul through his abstention from the ordination and subsequent diplomatic efforts and Theodore first through his apologia and then through his initial willingness to withdraw in the face of opposition from Peter and the clerical

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52. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.11-14.

53. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.9 and 11, 193; *cf.* ibid, III.IV.43.

54. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.12-14; with respect to the portrait of the Alexandrians as malicious and strife loving, see also, ibid, III.IV.49, in which John of Ephesus asserts that the clergy of Alexandria, moved purely by spite and their demonic enmity towards Theodore of Rhamnis and his ordainers, sought vindictively to stir up further controversy by sending articles of deposition against Longinus to the king of the Nubians, in an effort to induce him and his people to reject the bishop.

55. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.15 and 17.

interests which he represented in Alexandria.[56] The effect is to portray Theodore of Rhamnis not only as the lawfully and sacramentally valid ordained claimant, but also to exonerate him of any significant role in the escalation of the conflict – by presenting him implicitly as the only one of the two claimants to the patriarchate possessed of the pious humility and ascetic temperance proper to ecclesiastical office.

Whereas John of Ephesus sought to minimize the issue of electoral consent by casting aspersions upon the motives of the anti-Paulite faction in Alexandria, in the *Defense* Sergius attacked the legal basis for the repudiation of Theodore of Rhamnis on the grounds that he had not been accepted by a majority of the Alexandrian church. Thus chapter 5 of the treatise responds to the assertion that Paul's deposition had been warranted under canon 6 of Nicaea and canon 21 of Antioch; the former of which codified the jurisdictional prerogatives of archiepiscopal sees of Alexandria, Rome, and Antioch as well as a system of provincial appointment which required, *inter alia*, that the election of new bishops receive the approval of the majority of the other bishops within the province, while canon 21 forbade episcopal translations.[57] Ac-

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56. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.10, 11, 13, 20, 47 and 48.

57. *Can.Nic.* (= *Discipline*, I.I.I, 21-41), 6; and *Can.Ant.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 100-126), 21; although the text of the *Defense*, *DM*, 42.II.5, 265-266, refers to canon 20 of Antioch – which pertains to the timing of the biannual synods convoked for the adjudication of disputes within provinces –, van Roey and Allen, *Monophysite Documents*, 294, have correctly identified the quoted text of the citation deployed by Sergius as having been excerpted from canon 21. As will become apparent below, sources written by partisans on both sides of this debate contain frequent allusions to statutes which are otherwise unattested or differ in their enumeration from more standard collections – *n.b.*, Lontie, "Un Traite syriaque," 10-43. Although it is possible that in some cases the citations are simply forgeries, purposefully manufactured by the authors of the various polemic treatises in support of their arguments, the comparatively high rate of occurrence of such inaccuracies might also be ascribed to the nature of the materials available to the disputants. Van Nuffelen, "Rhetoric of Rules," 246-248, has recently emphasized the necessity of "finding" the law, noting the uneven transmission and awareness of canon law within the fourth and fifth century church. The issue certainly remained current in the sixth century, and may in the present case have been exacerbated by factors specific to the authors of the treatises. Both Probus and Sergius were monks, and it is perhaps not unlikely that the author of the anonymous Jacobite treatise discussed below was too, – and as such might be expected to have had less access to reliable collections of canon law as well perhaps as a less accurate knowledge of the statutes than might an episcopal

cording to Sergius, Probus had further reinforced and framed his condemnation by reference to an otherwise inextant letter from Severus of Antioch to the metropolitan Dionysius of Tarsus, in which the patriarch is supposed to have affirmed that principal "'that it is right that in these things concerning the episcopacy to accede to the majority.'"[58] After denying the applicability of the canons adduced by Probus to the deposition of Paul, Sergius then argues that they could not be used to justify either the rejection of Theodore of Rhamnis or the ordination of Peter of Alexandria.[59] With respect to the latter, the apologist reasoned, the canons referenced by Probus could also not be used to demonstrate the specific validity of Peter's ordination, since although canon 6 required that the will of the majority prevail over the dissent of a minority it ceased to be operable where the majority sought to promote that which was itself illegal or contrary to the maintenance of orthodoxy:

> If, however, it is said that the extraordinary institution of Peter, who is a religious man, was performed according to those [canons], we ourselves are asking in every way throughout the day and night that they demonstrate to us in accordance with the law that Peter was instituted for Alexandria rightly and in accordance with the ecclesiastical canons, and according to the command of the canon of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers, and remove the scandal by its roots, and bend our necks towards their consensus. For it is known and exceedingly clear, and according to the dictum materially tangible, that these holy fathers proclaim this like a great trumpet blast that, "If two or three, on account of their contention, shall oppose the choice of all [the rest], the opinion of the majority shall prevail and be ratified." It is clear, therefore, as the shining sun, that if the election and ordination were not performed properly and according to the ecclesiastical decrees, it is also lawful for two or three to stand against the wicked concord of the majority and to hinder the progress of an obscenity, as we are proclaiming and asserting in an exalted voice, "If you truly are speaking righteousness, [then] you must vindicate rectitude, O son of man." For none who are in this manner [opposed to the majority], even if they are a few, fall under the punishment for the accusation of contention, but especially those, even if they are many, who through the heat of envy strive to perform a transgression of the law that they wickedly desired.[60]

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author.

58. *DM*, 42.II.5, 265.

59. *DM*, 42.II.5, 266-267; and van Roey and Allen, *Monophysite Documents*, 294-295.

60. *DM*, 42.II.5, 267-268.

As a concrete precedent for this point, Sergius pointed to Severus of Antioch who had, in 535, accepted the ordination of Theodosius of Alexandria, despite the broad support for the Julianist candidate Gaianus among the population of the city, and in doing so provided an example of indisputable orthodoxy – and specific relevance – for the justified resistance of a minority to the expressed will of the majority.[61] Turning the argument around, Sergius contended that the canons could not be used to repudiate Theodore of Rhamnis:

> If indeed it is thus [adduced] against the ordination of the pious Mar Theodore – the archimandrite John propounded these things – while he reckoned the majority only of those who held the same opinion in Alexandria, but he voluntarily and not by chance turned his gaze from their shameful controversy, who has prohibited us to join our hands and venerate the institution of the ancient Gaianus? For the majority of the people of in Alexandria or to speak exactly all of most notable people, but not on account of the loneliness of heroic athlete Theodosius, leaving aside Severus who was wise in divine things, and who was not among the majority, and his synodical letters make this plainly manifest, which were addressed to the one who was truly the bishop, as he judged and resembled to them the business of each one of them.[62]

By thus linking the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis with that of Theodosius of Alexandria Sergius created a connection between the patriarch and his predecessor, implicitly identifying him as the new Theodosius, the legitimate successor to the see of Alexandria. At the same time, the parallel constructed by the treatise casts Peter as a latter day Gaianus, thus negating the value both of the support for him and the opposition to Theodore among the populace and clergy of Alexandria, which was by extension then equated to support for a heretic.

According to the *Defense*, Probus had supplemented his primary legalistic argument through reference to the precedent offered by the case of Proclus of Constantinople, 443 to 446, as related by the fifth century ecclesiastical historian Socrates. Originally consecrated by the patriarch Sisinnius as bishop

61. *DM*, 42.II.5, 266-268.

62. *DM*, 42.II.5, 266-267.

of Cyzicus, Proclus was rejected by the populace of that city, who preempted his accession by electing the ascetic Dalmatius, causing Proclus to concede and withdraw, thus providing a model apposite to the repudiation of Theodore of Rhamnis – whom the anti-Paulite polemicist regarded as having been lawfully rejected by the ecclesiastical electorate of Alexandria.[63] Against the applicability of this example, however, Sergius marshals two distinct counterarguments – the first pertaining to the validity of the example as such and the second to its relevance in the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis. First, Sergius notes that within Socrates' narrative it is made apparent that the ordination of Dalmatius violated the lawful prerogatives of the bishop of Constantinople to approve the ordination of bishops subject to his jurisdictional authority.[64] Second, although thus unlawful, Dalmatius' ordination had nonetheless evidently been conducted by those who possessed the capacity to perform the consecration. This, however, was not – according to Sergius – equally true of Peter of Alexandria, whom the treatise alleges was ordained by those without the power to confer the sacrament of ordination.[65] While the text does not substantiate the details of this claim, it would appear to be predicated on a contention that the recently ordained Syrian bishops, Antonius and Antonius, had not received full admittance or license to the sacramental functions of their episcopate at the time of their participation in the ordina-

63. *DM*, 42.II.5, 265-266 and 268; Socrates Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History*, VII.28 and 35-36; and Rist, J. (2011), "Zum Beispiel Proklos von Konstantinopel. Über Chancen und Grenzen des spätantiken Bischofsamtes," in J. Leemans, P. Van Nuffelen, and S. W. J. Keough eds, *Episcopal Elections in Late Antiquity*, (Berlin), 515-529; *n.b.*, the text of the treatise specifically cites Socrates Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History*, VII.12, though quoted except corresponds to ibid, VII.28.

64. *DM*, 42.II.5, 268-269.

65. *DM*, 42.II.5, 269-270.

tion.[66] By comparison with the earlier case of Dalmatius of Cyzicus, Sergius argues, the ordination of Peter therefore constituted a more significant deviation from canon law, being doubly illegal, since it both usurped the position of a living bishop and had been conducted by bishops who lacked the lawful capacity to ordain:

> The honest Peter, however, since the envy of the Alexandrians transgressed more than the Cyzicians the law of orderly ordinations, was ordained by men who possessed absolutely no power of ordination whatsoever, in that they had not yet even obtained the *dimissoriae litterae* of their priesthood, so that [Peter's ordination] was a double transgression of the law. In the first place because [only] after forty days and still more after another had been instituted lawfully and canonically, as the times permitted, did he [*i.e.*, Peter] consent to be ordained. Secondly, as has been said, he received the laying on of hands from those who did not possess the authority from the ecclesiastical canons to venture to do anything of this sort.[67]

Implicit in the rejection of the example of Proclus is an apparent attempt by Sergius to avoid the implications of canon 18 of Ancyra, which even minimally interpreted still recognized the possibility that a normally consecrated bishop might be licitly repudiated by the city for which he had been ordained. Central to the argument of the extant anti-Paulite material, the canon would also have provided a clear statutory framework within which to interpret the refusal of Proclus by the people of Cyzicus, and thus by analogy of Theodore of Rhamnis.[68] Without directly contesting the applicability of canon 18,

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66. *DM*, 42.II.5, 269; *cf.*, John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.11.

67. *DM*, 42.II.5, 269-270; the reference to the passage of forty days, though unelaborated in the chapter 5 of the *Defense*, alludes to the period between the consecration of Theodore of Rhamnis and the counter election of Peter. The presumable implication being that the opposition to Theodore was not a spontaneous reaction to a legitimate set of grievances, but the contrived machinations of the city's anti-Paulite clergy. Somewhat indirectly, the observation compliments another argument put forward by Sergius in chapter 6 of the treatise, *DM*, 42.II.6, and discussed in further detail below – *viz.*, that the church in Alexandria was not free to exercise its electoral prerogatives effectively at the time of Theodore of Rhamnis' ordination. More directly, however, the assertion corresponds to the allegation made by John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.12, that the anti-Paulite faction in Alexandria had waited to prosecute those electoral prerogatives until after the ordination of Theodore, when it was bound to result in canonical irregularity and to sow discord.

68. *Can.Anc.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 100-126), 18; and *Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation*, II.IV; further discussion, below.

Sergius' argument simply disallows for the possibility of the lawful rejection of either Theodore or of his historical cipher, Proclus.

Central to John of Ephesus' critique of the ordination of Peter of Alexandria is the repeated assertion that his consecration constituted a usurpation of the rights of an established bishop – or to employ the historian's own terminology, Peter had taken the throne of Alexandria contrary to ecclesiastical law, as "an adulterer, who lay in adultery with his neighbor's wife."[69] Indeed, so often reiterated is the fact of Peter's usurpation that it serves as a veritable epithet for the bishop within the text.[70] Although he does not cite specific prohibitions, John nonetheless depicts it as an act of violent schism and open transgression against the most fundamental norms of ecclesiastical order – a reference to the ban against the creation of two bishops for a single bishopric, which had been enshrined in the synodal canons of the fourth century.[71] This, the historian alleges, was done without due inquest or examination into the circumstances of the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis, and thus in patent disregard for the ecclesiastical law.[72] Theodore – according to John of Ephesus – had been selected by Longinus, who had himself been sanctioned to perform his ordination by the clergy of Alexandria and authorized by the bishop Theodore of Philae. His consecration had then been performed by the three bishops required to obtain sacramental validity. The im-

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69. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.12, 196.

70. *e.g.*, John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.12, 14, and 16-18.

71. *Can.Nic.* (= *Discipline*, I.I.I, 21-41), 8; and Gaudemet, *L'Église*, 322-323; so fundamental was the concept by the early fifth century that its export and adoption was deemed a necessity for establishment of communion with the Church of the East, in 410 – "Synod of Mar Issac" (= *Synodicon Orientale*, I, 17-36), 20; Maruta of Maipherqat, "The Seventy-Three Canons" (= *Canons*, II.II, 56-115), 18; and Baum and Winkler, *Church of the East*, 14-17.

72. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.11-13.

plication was that since Theodore of Rhamnis had been sacramentally consecrated by those licensed to perform his ordination he was thus, in every meaningful sense, the bishop of Alexandria at the time of Peter's consecration. It is for this reason that pro-Paulite sources routinely denounced Peter as a "new Gaianus" – a reference to the archdeacon Gaianus, who with the support of the Julianist episcopate and populace of city had been ordained bishop of Alexandria after the consecration of the Severan Theodosius, in 535 – impugning the legitimacy of his ordination and likening him unto a notable heresiarch.[73]

Elsewhere in *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, the significance of the injunction against the creation of two bishops to concurrently occupy the same see is played out against the backdrop of the rapidly escalating schism which followed the deposition of Paul of Beth Ukkame. In 576, John of Ephesus states that agitation among the anti-Paulite archimandrites of *Oriens* spilled over into a request for Jacob Baradaeus to consecrate another patriarch in place of Paul. In response to their petition, the venerable metropolitan convoked a gathering at the monastery of Mar Hanina, at which the assembled members of the Jacobite episcopate mooted the question of ordaining a replacement. The gathering, however, fell apart, when a portion of the episcopate refused to consent to or participate in the ordination of a new patriarch, since Paul

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73. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.15, 17, and 18; and *DM*, 42.II.5; regarding the circumstances surrounding the election and ordination of the historical anti-patriarch Gaianus as well as the subsequent history of the Gaianite movement, see, Haas, *Alexandria*, 220-221; Brooks, "Alexandrine Patriarchs," 495-497; Kofsky, "Julianism," 252-255; Hainthaler, T. (1996), "The Struggle between Chalcedonians and anti-Chalcedonians," in A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition, 2.4: The Church of Alexandria with Nubia and Ethiopia after 451*, in collaboration with T. Hainthaler, English translation by O. C. Dean, (London), 45-52; and Maspero, *Histoire*, 110-127. The contemporary currency of the Gaianus and the Gaianite schism as touchstone references for the Severan-Jacobite movement, in the period immediately after 575, is indicated by the synodical letter of Theodore of Rhamnis, which contains a specific repudiation of Gaianite-Julianist Christology – *DM*, 45; and Hainthaler, "Two Hierarchies," 73-74.

had not been lawfully deposed – a reference to his having been deposed *in absentia*, on legally dubious grounds.[74] Into the mouths of these dissenting bishops, John of Ephesus then places the substance of his earlier denunciation of the ordination of Peter of Alexandria – "some of the bishops did not agree, and were saying that, '[As] the patriarch Paul is alive, and he has not been condemned by the canons, how can we now talk like children without reason, to make another patriarch while this one still lives, and make ourselves subject to canonical punishment?"[75] In subsequent references, pertaining to the later efforts of the anti-Paulite party to consecrate a rival to Paul, the historian externalizes the critique by suggesting that the controversy had exposed the church and patriarchate to the ridicule of their opponents:

> Once the letters of the powerful Damian of Alexandria were thus circulating in *Oriens*, and he delivered the region to quarrelsome men, they were provoked to create, in a manner contrary to the proper order, a nominal second patriarch of Antioch, while the first had not been canonically shown to be condemned, so that the mockers had cause for ridicule and derision, saying, "It was necessary for two patriarchs to be named for Antioch, since there are three in Alexandria, besides that of the synodites, so that indeed they should not be jealous of one another."[76]

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74. *Cf.*, John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.12 and 14; *DM*, 42.II.1-4; and *Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation*, I.3, 16-18, which all treat the legitimacy of the deposition, focusing particular attention on the fact that it had been conducted *in absentia* and without trial.

75. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.32, 213; Honigmann, *Évêques*, 227-228; and Ebied, van Roey, and Wickham, *Peter of Callinicum*, 2; a number of subsequent efforts were also made to appoint a Jacobite replacement for Paul of Beth Ukkame, before the final successful ordination of Peter of Callinicum in 581, in which the unresolved status of the patriarch Paul appears to have played an inhibiting role. During this period between 576 and 581, Jacob Baradaeus is reported by John of Ephesus, idem, III.IV.45, to have twice approached the Peter of Callinicum, who nonetheless refused to accept the appointment on the grounds that Paul had not been lawfully deposed. Ultimately, the historian claims that Peter agreed to be ordained in 581 only under extreme duress and despite his continued objections regarding the licitness of Paul's deposition – and was according to John of Ephesus, idem, III.IV.60, afterwards plagued by guilt over the knowledge that his ordination have been conducted contrary to ecclesiastical law, while Paul was still alive. More dramatic was the attempt made by Damian of Alexandria, in 579/580, to consecrate a new patriarch in the city of Antioch proper. According to John of Ephesus, Damian – intent upon prosecuting the feud which he had inherited with Paul of Beth Ukkame – went so far as to invade the patriarchate of Antioch in an abortive quest to ordain a revival patriarch. After being repeatedly refused by prospective candidates, who again cited the extra-judicial deposition of Paul as the reason for their demurral, Damian seized upon a certain Severus, whom the historian describes only as a "feeble minded man," who finally acquiesced to participate in illegal ordination – John of Ephesus, idem, III.IV.41; and Ebied, van Roey, and Wickham, *Peter of Callinicum*, 2-5.

76. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.44, 227; although the historian does not

Implicit in this reproof was a reference – again – to the Gaianite schism and thus perhaps also a characterization of the anti-Paulites as the new Gaianites, who would willfully defy ecclesiastical law in order to usurp a living bishop.[77] Again, as in his description of the initial attempts to replace Paul of Beth Ukkame, in 576, as well as his condemnation of the unlawful ordination of Peter of Alexandria, John of Ephesus thus lays a deducible emphasis on the prohibition against creating two bishops to occupy the same see concurrently as an insuperable legal barrier to the consecration of a new patriarch for Antioch, while Paul lived and had not been canonically condemned. It is a rhetorical strategy, which when applied to the ordination of Peter of Alexandria in particular, obfuscates the possibility raised by canon 18 of Ancyra that Theodore of Rhamnis could have been lawfully repudiated by the citizens and clergy of Alexandria and replaced, though he still lived and had been the recipient of a valid ordination.[78] In doing so, the historian neatly parallels the strategy in chapter 5 of Sergius' *Defense* regarding the applicability of the elec-

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precisely identify the voice of the criticism, which appears both external and internal to the anti-Chalcedonian perspective, it seems likely that it was intended to portray the position of the movement's pro-Chalcedonian detractors, albeit in a manner incompletely and inconsistently realized by the author. If so, then the passage suggests that John was concerned that the proliferation of claimants to the Severan-Jacobite patriarchate would undermine the legitimacy of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate in the eyes of the imperial church. After the campaign of persecutions and coerced re–ordinations prosecuted against Severan-Jacobite clergy and bishops in Constantinople by the Chalcedonian patriarch John Scholasticus, in 572, such apprehension would presumably have been more than simply rhetorical – John of Ephesus, ibid, III.I.4, 5, and 10-18.

77. The historian does not name the bishops of Alexandria referred to in the statement, save to the specific allusion to a fourth Chalcedonian bishop, who may be readily identified as the patriarch John. At the time, however, the evident reference would have been to Theodore of Rhanmis, Damian of Alexandria, and the Gaianite claimant, Dorotheus – John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.I.40; Davis, S. J. (2004), *The Early Coptic Papacy: the Egyptian Church and its Leadership in Late Antiquity*, (Cairo), 107; and Maspero, *Histoire*, 214-216 and 223.

78. With reference to the replacement of Paul of Beth Ukkame the question was somewhat different. By the outbreak of the controversy, the patriarch had been in office for a little more than a decade, so that there could be little question of him being repudiated in the manner envisioned by canon 18 of Ancyra.

tion of Dalmatius of Cyzicus as a precedent for that of Peter of Alexandria, which had similarly sidestepped the implications of the canon.[79]

To the primary charge of usurpation, John of Ephesus joins a number of specific allegations regarding Peter's suitability as a candidate as well as the procedural validity of his ordination. In particular, the historian repeatedly states that contrary to the theoretical *cursus honorum* Peter was a deacon at the time of his ordination.[80] Peter, despite his prior service, is also described as "a simple and ignorant man," who was appointed to serve as patriarch in name alone.[81] Regarding the ordination, John of Ephesus impugns the legal capacity of Peter's ordainers: John of Cellia, he claims, was awaiting trial for a supposed canonical transgression, while the two Antonii had themselves only recently been elevated to the episcopate and were, according to the historian, dragooned into participating in the consecration. Thus ill-qualified and in dubious legal standing, these three bishops are said to have hastily proceeded to consecrate Peter without the examination required by canon law.[82] This allegation alone, if true, would have been sufficient to render the ordination as illegal, since it would have constituted a clear violation of the established prohibition banning the ordination of clergy without prior examination.[83] In

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79. The degree to which the conspicuous parallels between the arguments put forward by the hermit Sergius and John of Ephesus, arose from a conscious, shared Paulite strategy on the part of the historian, is again difficult to demonstrate conclusively. However, they do appear to stand in marked contradiction to the author's previously observed protestations of neutrality and as such seem to provide further evidence of John's at least loose Paulite sympathies.

80. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.11.

81. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.11, 193.

82. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.11.

83. *Can.Nic.* (= *Discipline*, I.I.I, 21-41), 9; comparison may here be drawn to the delegitimization of the tritheist episcopate and clergy in John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.V.1-2, as having been indiscriminately and hastily ordained without examination or scrutiny – chapter, II.3.b., 175-189.

conjunction with the improprieties imputed to the persons of Peter, his consecrators, and promoters, provided sufficient condemnation for John of Ephesus to paint the ordination as systemically illegitimate – quite apart from the gross trespass of usurping the see of a lawfully and sacramentally ordained bishop.

II.5.c., Justifying the New Gaianus

The fullest and least heavily mediated source for Jacobite thought surrounding the ordinations is a polemic treatise edited by L. Lontie. Entitled the *Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation* in the manuscript, the anonymous tractate appears to have been written comparatively early in the course of the controversy, perhaps in the period between 576 and 578.[84] Bipartite in structure, the text contains both a defense of the regularity of the deposition of Paul of Beth Ukkame as well as a condemnation of the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis, which it presents as illegitimate and illegal.[85] In the latter section, the pamphleteer framed his arguments exclusively, almost monomaniacally, in terms of a principle of electoral consensus, which awarded near absolute sovereignty to "the will of the many [ܨܒܝܢܐ ܕܣܓܝܐ]." Conceptualized in terms both of the discrete territorial electorate and the larger ecclesia, the text represents the expressed will of the church as a source of overriding legitimacy and justification, which trumped other forms of procedural legali-

84. Lontie, L. (1997), "Un Traité syriaque," 45, dates the text primarily on the assumption that it was written prior to death of Jacob Baradaeus, on 30 July 578, to which it contains no reference. There is nothing in the text to contradict this assumption, though the conclusion is far from certain. Regarding the authorship of the anonymous treatise, Lontie speculates only that it may have been composed by "*une personne issue de l'entourage de Jacques Baradée ou de Pierre d'Alexandrie.*" Although not implausible, the conjecture is unnecessary – the tract could as easily have originated from within the anti-Paulite monastic circles connected to Mar Hanina.

85. Lontie, "Un traité," 44.

ty.[86] In so arguing, however, the treatise does not abnegate the authority of the canons, *per se*; instead, it advances a number of arguments which derive their force from the citation and interpretation of existing ecclesiastical law. Neither does the text wholly disregard the importance of a sacramentally valid consecration as a *sine qua non* for a genuine ordination.[87] Instead, the function of the appeal to the supra-judicial sovereignty of the local church is to fix the locus of ultimate authority and thereby to set an interpretive rubric by which to frame the discussion of statutory legitimacy. Although carried to a particular rhetorical extreme in the *Accusations*, the idea that the local and provincial church ought to play a significant role in the selection and approval of candidates for the episcopate was by no means a novelty, but rather reflected a well established set of norms and conventions governing conduct of episcopal elections. Throughout the text thus constructs a composite argument designed to discredit the legality of Theodore of Rhamnis' ordination, while

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86. At no point does the text exactly define its concept of the electorate, though it perhaps comes close in suggesting that in the absence of a sitting bishop the civic church should be governed by "the clergy or the rulers of the people," *Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation*, II.I, 24. While the same passage then extrapolates the principle out somewhat to account for the structures of provincial government, the clergy and "rulers of the people" appear to constitute the most fundamental manifestation of the electorate within a particular city. The precise nature and composition of the latter group, *i.e.*, "the rulers of the people," is also left vague in the text – though the formulation neatly mirrors the description of local electors as "οἱ κληρικοὶ καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι τῆς πόλεως" used in imperial legislation during the second half of the reign of the emperor Justinian – *Novellae*, 123.1 and 137.2 –, suggesting that it perhaps represented a generic conceptualization, rather than one particular to the anti-Chalcedonian or Alexandrian church. Given the pragmatic circumstances of the anti-Chalcedonian church, which had been formally suppressed in Egypt for nearly forty years prior to the controversy, it is difficult to imagine that the author of the *Accusations* anticipated a broad canvasing of lay sentiment; however, it is conceivable that despite its exile the community continued to rely upon prominent lay patrons who in turn exercised some influence over episcopal elections, though this cannot be directly evidenced from the extant sources. Whatever the case, with respect to the constitution of the local church, the text's conceptualization of the ecclesia was almost certainly clerical and ascetic, at least in a primary sense.

87. Although *Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation*, I.IV, 18 and II.III, 28-30, does not explicitly invoke the principal of a sacramental minimum in the ordination of Peter of Alexandria, the text is nevertheless careful to defend the licitness of the license and actions of the bishops Antonius and Antonius, while simultaneously questioning the authorization of John of Chalcis and George of Eurtoyo'. This, by implication, suggests that the author(s) of the collection perceived the potential for a challenge to the legitimacy of the role of the Antonii as officiants – *cf.*, John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.11; and *DM*, 42.II.5.

concurrently presenting a defense of the legitimacy of his repudiation by the people and clergy of Alexandria as well as the ordination of Peter of Alexandria.

The principal contention of the text relative to the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis was that, although ordained for the see of Alexandria, he had not been accepted by the anti-Chalcedonian community within the city:

> Every bishop who is appointed, anywhere, and is not accepted, and stands opposed to the bishop, who has been appointed there, shall fall under a sentence of deposition, according to canon 18 of Ancyra. Theodore, therefore, who was appointed bishop of Alexandria and not accepted, and stood against the bishop who was appointed there, he is under a sentence of deposition.[88]

Here, the text predicates its ruling on canon 18 of Ancyra, which provided the pamphleteer with an interdiction against bishops, who were rejected by the city for which they were ordained, invaded the see of another and incited sedition against its lawful occupant. In the treatise, the statute is construed as presupposing and codifying an apparatus by which a bishop, though normally consecrated, might nonetheless be legitimately repudiated by the church for which he had been ordained. To a limited extent, this allowed the work rhetorically to sidestep questions surrounding the legitimacy of Theodore's ordination as such, which were rendered theoretically unimportant by the simple fact of his repudiation.[89] Significantly, the canon also made provision for the deposition and complete expulsion from the clergy of those recalcitrant claimants, who refused to accept a place among the presbyterate and instead

88. *Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation*, II.IV, 30.

89. *N.b.*, as will be discussed below, the *Accusations*, although predicating a significant portion of its argument upon the repudiation of Theodore of Rhamnis, also attacked the procedural legitimacy of his ordination – though again largely in terms of the sovereign will of the jurisdictional electorate.

continued in their opposition to the recognized occupant of the see.[90] This furnished the *Accusations* with a clear legal mechanism by which not only to justify the rejection of Theodore, but also to present any resistance to Peter as an act of illegal usurpation, rightly punishable by his complete ejection from the rank and honor of the clergy. Implicit in the position described by this interpretation of canon 18 is the clear assertion of the right of the local church to serve as the ultimate arbiter of episcopal elections – indeed, to serve as the principle elector, with the sovereign authority to countermand the decisions of other actors, *viz.*, members of the episcopal hierarchy.

The nature of the authority which this vested in the local church is then laid out with remarkable clarity elsewhere in the treatise. As a preamble to its deconstruction of the Paulite claims that the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis had been transacted with the license of the clergy of Alexandria and the remaining Egyptian bishops, the treatise articulates a notion of jurisdictional sovereignty:

> Every bishop who is ordained for a city, where he is known among the people, so that its church is openly led. It is right that the bishop be ordained according to the will of those who hold authority in the city where he is [bishop], as canon twenty-nine of the apostles through Clement instructs – after its bishop has died, by necessity that city and province is ruled either by the clergy or the rulers of the people, or the two of them together, or others in conjunction with one of the aforementioned [orders], or others together with both of these [orders], or others apart from these. And it is apparent that everyone who ordains a bishop, who is not subject to another, ordains outside of his limits. However, a bishop is ordained according to the will of those ruling the city and province; either they elect the man who will become bishop or they permit a certain man to ordain one whom he chooses.[91]

In essence, the letter claims the legitimate power to ordain a bishop to have been vested first in the people and clergy of the city and second in those who

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90. *Can.Anc.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 54-73), 18; and Norton, *Episcopal Elections*, pg. 28.

91. *Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation*, II.I, 24-26; it is unclear to which collection the text is referring when it cites "the twenty-ninth canon of the Apostles through Clement" – Lontie, "Un traité," 25 n. 50. The brief excerpt of the canon which is reproduced in the treatise – "it shall not be permitted to a bishop, and the rest [ⲙⲡ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲁ ⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ]" – is likewise too generic to permit certain identification with the wording of any particular canon.

exercised authority over the province – that is the other bishops within the same province. Between these two groups, the text further recognized the strict primacy of the authority granted to the former. The exercise of that authority, however, could be achieved through others, though the text is emphatic that for a bishop to ordain outside of his own province – without license from the local church – constituted an illegal and thus an illegitimate act.

Under this rubric, the first transgression of George, John, and Longinus had been to ordain a bishop for Alexandria, a city over which none of them held lawful jurisdiction and thus for which they possessed no inherent authority. Implicit in this assertion was an understanding that, though perhaps subject to the patriarchate of Alexandria, Longinus as the bishop of Nubia was not a member of the Egyptian episcopate in a normal sense and thus did not possess the rights of a conventional suffragan in the ordination of a new patriarchate.[92] Moreover, they did so without the assent of "those who governed the church of Alexandria," since – the text sets out to systematically demonstrate – the letters which they possessed from the relevant parties in Egypt did, either individually or collectively, amount to a valid mandate to ordain, without reference to the local church. Thus it asserts that the letter which had been given to Longinus by the Egyptian bishops John of Cellia and Theodore of Philae did not constitute an adequate proxy, since neither possessed the autonomous authority to ordain a patriarch without the consent of

92. This despite the fact that Longinus had been ordained at the behest of the patriarch Theodosius of Alexandria, under whose authority the earlier Severan missions to Nobadae had been conducted – John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.5-8; Honigmann, *Évêques*, 224-226. Obłuski, A. (2014), *The Rise of Nobadia: Social Change in Northern Nubia in Late Antiquity*, English translation by I. Zych, (Warsaw), 169-178; *cf.*, John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.9-10, which seems to reflect such an assumption in the position which it ascribes to anti-Paulite opinion in Egypt.

the citizens and clergy of the city.[93] Neither, it is asserted, could the letter of the archpresbyter Theodosius be construed as establishing such a mandate, since the letter did not contain a charge to ordain a bishop, but rather a request to "extend a hand" – that is to render assistance to the church.[94] In like fashion, the treatise also denies that the letter written by the deacon Theodore provides a clear mandate for the ordination, though the text argues that if it had, it would have represented only the authorization of a single individual, which "none of the holy canons decree to be sufficient for the ordination of a bishop."[95] Stripped of the mandates, which these documents had supposedly provided, the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis was – in the terms established by the *Accusations* – gross violation of the sovereign prerogatives of the church of Alexandria, the commission of which made the officiants along with Paul, who had communicated with them, liable to canonical deposition.[96]

The *Accusations* further attacks the authority claimed by George of Eurtoyo' and John of Mar Bassus in traveling to Alexandria. Pointing to the requirement that bishops recognize and act according to the will of the head of

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93. *Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation*, II.I, 24.

94. *Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation*, II.I, 24-26, the convoluted distinction between these two concepts is explained thus: "... that there is not in it [*i.e.*, the letter] a pretext to ordain a bishops, but to extend a hand to the church [ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܥܠܬܐ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܐܝܕܐ ܠܥܕܬܐ ܒܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܩܐܡ ܥܠ ܦܪܨܘܦܗ ܒܡܢ ܕܩܐܡ ܠܡܒܛܠ ܗܪܣܝܐ ܐܢ ܡܬܪܟܒ ܒܗ ܛܠܡܐ ܐܢ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܠܗ ܕܡܫܒܥ ܠܡܣܟܢܘܬܗ ܕܓܫܡܐ ܕܡܫܬܕܠ ܠܡܢ ܕܡܫܬܕܠ ܠܗ]. It is possible to extend a hand to the church when one stands on its behalf against heresy, when one quashes tumult if it happens to arise, when one satisfies its corporal needs, when one restrains those who despoil it, etc.,. It is not possible, therefore, for them to demonstrate on the basis of this letter that they made a bishop according to the will of Theodosius."

95. *Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation*, II.I, 26.

96. *Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation*, II.I, 28, here, justifies the deposition of Paul of Beth Ukkame by referring to "the canon of Apostles which is marked 8 and the canon of the twelve Apostles which is marked sixty," which Lontie, "Un traité syriaque," 27 n. 58-59, has tentatively identified with *Can.Apost.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 1-53), 10 and 11. Although substance of the argument is not preserved in the *Defense*, it is clear from Sergius' refutation that Probus had also attacked the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis on the grounds that it had been conducted without the consent of the Alexandrian church and the Egyptian bishop – including specifically Joseph of Metellis and John of Cellia, *DM*, 42, 270.

their church and implicitly reflecting a canonical prohibition against unsanctioned clerical travel, the treatise posits that in order to justify going to Egypt the bishops would have to had acted in accordance with the instructions of an acknowledged primate, since to have done so of their own initiative would be unlawful. Here, the text cites what it enumerates as canon 24 of the Apostles – but which corresponds to canon 34 in the standard collection – as providing the legal basis for its position. The canon requires, among other things, that the bishops of a given jurisdiction undertake "nothing out of the ordinary [μηδὲν περιττόν]" without the consent of their acknowledged primate.[97] As their actions in ordaining a bishop for Alexandria well exceeded the normal territorially described duties of the Syrian bishops, it was therefore necessary for them to have received authorization from the head of the church to which they were subject. The question – as posed by the treatise – then became whether the primate whose authority they recognized and under whose orders they had acted was Jacob Baradaeus or Paul of Beth Ukkame. In the case that the bishops claimed a mandate from Paul, the *Accusations* argues that the ordination was void and the bishops subject to canonical deposition, since the patriarch possessed no legal standing as a primate to authorize the ordination:

> But if they say that it is Paul [who is their leader], is it by or against his will that they entered [Alexandria]? And if they did enter [Alexandria] according to his will, they shall fall with him who is condemned with those under deposition, since they ordained a bishop without the consent of those who hold authority over the church, as is shown above. If on the other hand they entered [Egypt] against his will, it is evident that every bishop who performs anything through ordination in a city, which is not his own, without his primate, transgresses against the canon of the Apostles which is entitled the "seventy-first."[98]

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97. *Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation*, II.III, 28-30; Lontie, "Un traité," 29 n. 61; and *Can.Apost.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 1-53), 34; the same canon appears in Syriac translation, as "Canons of the Apostles and of Synods" (= *Synodicon*, V, 58-72), 33.

98. *Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation*, II.III, 28.

Here, the argument builds upon a pervasive argument in the text regarding the status of Paul of Beth Ukkame, which held that he had not been reinstated to the functions of the patriarchate – though he had in theory been received in penance by Jacob Baradaeus, the *Accusations* vacated his rulings and acts, with the result that any actions based upon his primateship were then held to have been conducted without the force of a legal mandate.[99] Accordingly, the text reasons that even if the bishops John and George claimed that Paul had sanctioned them to ordain Theodore of Rhamnis, the act remained, in effect, unlicensed and illegal.[100]

On the other hand, the text asserts that the bishops most equally have acted without proper authorization, if they claimed to have recognized the primacy of Jacob Baradaeus, since they were unable to produce evidence that Jacob had assented to their mission in Egypt; to substantiate this allegation, the text points to a letter written by the bishops to Theodore – presumably Theodore of Philae – to which was added the signature of John – likely John of Cellia.[101] The substance of this claim, though rendered opaque by the preponderance of homonymous actors in the letter's disputed chain of transmission, nonetheless rests upon the assertion that the document demonstrated that the Syrian bishops had entered the patriarchate of Alexandria and performed the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis without the consent or even contrary to the expressed command of Jacob:

> If, however, they [*i.e.*, John of Mar Bassus and George of Eurtoyo'] say that it was Mar Jacob who is their primate, it is evident that they entered Alexandria against his will. For they are not able to show that they entered [Alexandria] with his permission, and again by this it is apparent that it was not by his will that they entered [the

99. *Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation*, I.I and II.III.

100. *Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation*, II.III, 28.

101. *Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation*, II.III, 28-30; and Lontie, "Un traité," 31 n. 64.

> city], from the letter that they wrote to Theodore alone and on which the signature of John was set, as the letter testifies. However, it is exceedingly ridiculous that anyone should say that John was the bearer of that letter that he sent and especially that the letter was sent by Theodore. It is apparent therefore that was contrary to the will of Mar Jacob, who is their primate, that George and John entered Alexandria and performed the ordination of Theodore.[102]

The implications were effectively the same as if the mandate claimed by the bishops for the ordination of Theodore had come from Paul of Beth Ukkame; *scilicet*, John of Mar Bassus and George of Eurtoyo' would be deemed to have acted without authorization, making their participation in the consecration illegal and exposing them and all those who communicated with them to deposition, including the patriarch Paul:

> It is understood, then, from the above that any bishop who ordains in a city which is not his own without the counsel of their chief transgresses against the established canon and shall fall under the judgement and also the one who agree with him; both John and George then have fallen under the sentence of deposition, and Paul who agrees with them.[103]

If they were to attempt to circumvent this by claiming that Jacob was, in fact, not their primate, then the treatise argues that they would be contradicted by the ὁμολογία of George as well as a letter written by the Paulite archimandrites Palladius and Zenobe, in both of which documents Jacob was referred to as an archbishop and metropolitan.[104] This was strictly a misrepresentation of the jurisdictional structure of the church in *Oriens* – for Jacob, despite his charismatic authority as the reformer of the episcopate, was formally the metropolitan of Edessa only and thus neither the head of the patriarchal church

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102.*Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation*, II.III, 28-30.

103.*Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation*, II.III, 30.

104.*Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation*, II.III, 30; Lontie, "Un traité," 31 n. 65 and 51; and Honigmann, *Évêques*, 236 n. 8; perhaps reacting to a similar line of argumentation, John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.10, is careful to present Paul of Beth Ukkame as the authority responsible for sanctioning the bishops John and George to perform the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis. The idea that the action had been licensed by the patriarch would presumably have been less problematic from the perspective of a moderate pro-Paulite like John of Ephesus, whose account presents the limited involvement of Paul of Beth Ukkame as both legally unproblematic and motivated by a desire to ensure the propriety and orthodoxy of the ordination.

nor the immediate jurisdictional superior of either John or George.[105] Nevertheless, the suggestion that Jacob might and even ought to be regarded as wielding the authentic primateship of the church plays upon both his immense personal authority as well as the equally great ambiguity surrounding his position after the reconstitution of the episcopate.[106] It also served indirectly to strengthen the subsequent argument made by the treatise regarding the procedural legitimacy of the ordination of Peter of Alexandria, which had relied upon the participation of two Syrian officiants, the bishops Antonius and Antonius, whose actions had also needed the authorization of their primate. Given the political circumstances, Jacob was almost certainly the only Syrian primate, whose licensing authority was likely to have been recognized by the anti-Paulite party in *Oriens* and *Aegyptus*.

105.As the titular bishop of Chalcis, John of Mar Bassus was the provincial suffragan of the bishop of Antioch, *i.e.*, Paul of Beth Ukkame, while George of Eurtoyo' had been ordained for a region in southern Armenia, placing his see too outside of the metropolitanate of Edessa – Honigmann, *Évêques*, 235-237. Assuming that the documents cited by the treatise were not simply forgeries manufactured to serve the rhetorical purposes of the polemicist, the use of the titles "metropolitan" and "archbishop" by the bishops, George and John, or by their monastic representatives in reference to Jacob would have been analogous to a recognition of his primateship – as is clearly suggested by the text. Jacob was a metropolitan – albeit not one to whom either bishop was jurisdictionally subordinate – and the term archbishop, though frequently applied to patriarchs and metropolitans, was commonly deployed with technical precision during the period, but had a clear honorific quality. The use of these titles, in both documents, would therefore have been entirely consistent with the contemporary norms of address for a bishop in Jacob's position.

106.*Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation*, I.I-IV and II.II-III; Honigmann, *Évêques*, 168; and Bundy, "Jacob Baradaeus," 78-83; Bundy has asserted that, despite possessing only limited *de jure* authority as the titular bishop of Edessa, Jacob's *de facto* position within the church rested upon his significant charismatic authority as an ascetic and an ordainer, which "gave him a great deal of personal influence as the spiritual father of the faithful." The degree to which the perception of Jacob as wielding a supra-metropolitanate authority of the sort envisioned by the *Accusations* either proceeded from or was the product of the successive crises of legitimacy that enfolded Paul of Beth Ukkame, after 571 and 575, is difficult to determine with absolute certitude on the basis of the extant sources – *e.g.*, John of Ephesus, *LES*, XLIX-LI; idem, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.14-15; *DM*, 8, 10, 12, 15, 17, 23-25, and 31-39; pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, *Chronicle*, X.12; pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, *Chronicle*, III, 110, 127, and 144-145 –, in which Jacob appears to have exercised a clear, though ill-defined, leadership within the anti-Chalcedonian community which he was then working to radically re-shape. The subsequent enshrinement of Jacob's role has recently been discussed by Saint-Laurent, *Missionary Stories*, 96-109, *vis-à-vis* the later hagiographic tradition.

Completing the work's condemnation of Theodore of Rhamnis, the *Accusations* provides cause for him to be stripped of his ecclesiastical rank and expelled from the church. As has already been noted, by invoking the provision in canon 18 of the synod of Ancyra, which suspends from communion and the honors of the episcopate those bishops, who after being rejected by the city to which they were ordained sought to occupy the see of another, inciting sedition against its rightful occupant, the treatise denounced Theodore as an unlawful intruder upon the see of Alexandria:

> Everyone who is appointed bishop anywhere and is not received, and stands against the bishop who has been appointed there, shall fall under a sentence of deposition according to canon eighteen of Ancyra. Therefore, Theodore, who was appointed bishop for Alexandria but not received, and stood against the bishop who was appointed there, is under a sentence of deposition.[107]

John of Ephesus may well have been responding to such a charge when he presents Theodore as having withdrawn into ascetic demure and abstained from exercising the functions of his episcopate, immediately following the ordination of Peter of Alexandria. In so doing, the historian may have sought to counter the imagine of Theodore as having been motivated by unseemly ambition to engage in such illicit sedition.

Carried to this conclusion, the arguments made in the *Accusations* regarding the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis thus serve to further the author's larger polemic aim of justifying the deposition and condemnation of Paul of Beth Ukkame, by linking him to the illegal ordination. Since the work maintained that Paul had himself been complicit in the ordination and had subsequently granted it his support, its illegality rebounded upon him as did the penalties for inciting sedition against the lawful occupant of the see, Peter. All of this, then, compounded the transgression which Paul had committed by

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107.*Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation*, II.IV, 30; *cf.*, *Can.Anc.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 54-73), 18; Lontie, "Un traité," 31 n. 66; and Norton, *Episcopal Elections*, 18.

participating in the election and thus exercising the ministry of his patriarchate, while in a state of penitential suspension.[108] The appeal to the principle of electoral sovereignty, however, was not confined exclusively to the delegitimization of Theodore of Rhamnis and extension of Paul of Beth Ukkame. After all, if the election of Theodore was to be rejected on the grounds that it had been conducted contrary to the will of the Alexandrian church, then it logically followed that Peter's should be equally justifiable on the grounds that it had been ratified by the majority of the local church.

The use of this strategy in order to defend the legitimacy of the ordination of Peter of Alexandria is evocatively illustrated in the fourth chapter of the first part of the *Accusations*. Here, the innominate author sets out a counter to the charge that the ordination of Peter had been conducted contrary to the rule of the canons since the bishops Antonius and Antonius did not possess ἀπολυτικαὶ – letters of discharge issued to bishops traveling outside of their see – while they were in Egypt and were thus there unlawfully.[109] The

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108.*Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation*, I.I and I.III; regarding the canon legal significance of the accusation that Paul, although still in a state of penitential suspension, had nonetheless performed the functions of his office, see chapter, II.3.b, 175-189.

109.Lontie, "Un traité," 19 n. 39, follows Honigmann, *Évêques*, 238, in reading the term ἀπολυτικαὶ – as it occurs in a largely identical charge made by the Paulite hermit Sergius, *DM*, 42.II.9, 292 – according to the interpretation offered by the twelfth century commentators Theodore Balsamon, Zonaras, and Alexius Aristenus, as referring to a document issued to traveling bishops by their consecrators. Accordingly, Honigmann, ibid, argues that the substance of the charge was that, "*les deux Antonins étaient allés en Égypte sans l'assentiment exprès de Jacques Baradée*." The precise correctness of the interpretation proposed by Honigmann – which reflects a later Byzantine tradition regarding *Can.Trull.* (= *Discipline*, I.I.VI, 98-241), 17 –, however, is here largely irrelevant, since the allegation may also be seen to reflect the well established prohibition against unauthorized travel by members of the clergy and episcopate – see, *Can.Chal.* (= *Discipline*, I.I.IV, 66-97), 5; *Can.Nic.* (= *Discipline*, I.I.I, 21-41), 15; *Can.Sard.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 156-189), 1, 2, and 7-9; *Can.Anc.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 54-73), 18; *Can.Ant.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 100-126), 11, 16, and 21; *Can.Apost.* (= *Discipline*, I.2, 1-53), 14; and John Scholasticus, *Synagoga L titulorum*, XII and XIII. In part, the function of these canons was to limit the political activities of my members of bishops and clergy by prohibiting their licensed abscondment from local jurisdictional authority – with particular restrictions placed on unsanctioned travel to Constantinople – Hess, *Early Development*, 201-209. However, the canons also seek to curtail the performance of unlicensed sacramental acts by traveling members of the clergy. In part, this reflected a larger ban against absolute ordinations – *i.e.*, ordinations which created clergy who were not attached to any specific altar or function within the church.

argument is the proportional inverse of the one made by the *Accusations* with respect to the licensing of John of Mar Bassus and George of Eurtoyo', in so much as it attacked the licitness of the participation of the two Syrian officiants in the ordination and thus the legality of the ordination *in toto*. In response, the anonymous pamphleteer does not deny the substantive veracity of the allegation, but seeks instead to invalidate its importance. Constructing a bipartite argument, he asserts first that even if the ordination of Peter had been performed in contravention of ecclesiastical law, it remained valid as it represented the will of the majority of the anti-Chalcedonian citizens of Alexandria:

> First, even if Peter was ordained uncanonically, nevertheless since the whole city together has accepted him, we rightly receive him as bishop because of the agreement of the will of the many.[110]

Adopting a more procedural tack, the treatise then states that the possession or non-possession of ἀπολυτικαὶ by the two Antonii was ultimately irrelevant in view of the fact that they had been instructed by Jacob Baradaeus with the task of satisfying the needs of the Alexandrian church, which in the estimation of the pamphleteer provided them with the latitude necessary to perform the ordination:

> Second, even if those who ordained him did not have ἀπολυτικαὶ, nevertheless they received – from the first day they ordained – license from Jacob, who had ordained them, to fill the need of the Alexandrians, if they were compelled in this, the venerable Mar Jacob has made known in the decree [ἐκσφράγισμα] of the monastery of Mar Hanina.[111]

As in the earlier cited arguments regarding the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis, the treatise incorporates a subordinated appeal to procedural legiti-

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110.*Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation*, I.IV, 18.

111.*Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation*, I.IV, 18; the decree of Jacob Baradaeus, assuming that the reference in the text is reliable, seems likely to have been issued in conjunction with the initial efforts to replace Paul of Beth Ukkame at the synod held at the monastery of Mar Hanina, in 576 – John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.32; and Lontie, "Un traité," 47.

macy within what otherwise remains an argument predicated upon the ultimate sovereignty of the territorial electorate. Here, however, the significance of the bifurcated structure of the argument is that by foregrounding the electoral legitimacy of the act, the treatise is able to downplay the importance of its more tenuous appeal to procedural justification. It also furnishes the text with a more compelling counter to potential Paulite rebuttals; that is even if it could be demonstrated that George of Eurtoyo' and John of Mar Bassus had acted with greater legal authorization, the ordination of Theodore would still have remained less valid than that of Peter because it failed to achieve consensus within the Alexandrian church.

Conclusions

Among the extant sources, the controversy surrounding the ordinations of Theodore of Rhamnis and Peter of Alexandria centered around the question of the nature and procedural exercise of the jurisdictional rights of the local church in episcopal elections. During its roughly five decades of exile prior to 575, the Severan-Jacobite episcopate had largely operated outside of the jurisdictional structures of the territorialized church. Relying upon a set of proxy arrangements, which amounted to a form of territorial licensing, in order to justify its sacramental activities, the exilic church decoupled the ordination of sub-episcopal clergy and then, during the Jacobite reformation, the ordination of bishops from the jurisdictional framework of earlier canon law.[112] Within this system, consensus for episcopal ordinations appears most frequently to have been built in two ways: first by proactively obtaining man-

112. For a discussion of the development of the territorial licensing in the period prior to 553, see chapter, I.1, 16-111.

dates from those parties with a jurisdictional claim authorizing the officiants to perform the election and consecration, and second by soliciting recognition for the ordination, once it had been completed. Both mechanisms are visible in the pro-Paulite accounts of John of Ephesus and Sergius of the monastery of Nicaea. Both sources depict Longinus as having received authorizing mandates from Theodore of Philae and the clergy of Alexandria prior to the ordination. John of Ephesus provides evidence of a letter writing campaign undertaken by Theodore of Rhamnis and his ordainers following his consecration to secure recognition for his patriarchate, while Sergius points to the initial success of these efforts, adducing a letter of assent written by John of Cellia, in which the bishop demonstrated his agreement with the ordination.[113] The effect, in the pro-Paulite sources, is to portray the ordination as having been conducted in accordance with the existing standards of the extra-territorial episcopate, and by extension, to present the subsequent opposition to Theodore of Rhamnis as both unreasonable and irregular and the ordination of Peter of Alexandria as a gross violation of canon law.

The anonymous anti-Paulite *Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation* inverts this construction by asserting that the ultimate electoral authority resided in the expressed will of the jurisdictional church. Although John of Ephesus had alluded to broad popular support as a means of legitimizing the ordination of John of Chios, in his earlier "Life of Qashish," proactive canvassing of popular, or even clerical, sentiment does not appear to have been a frequent practice of early Jacobite ordinations, which frequently appear to have taken place in relative secret, away from the site of the candidate's titular

113. John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.

bishopric.[114] Despite this, the anti-Paulite pamphleteer ascribes sovereign authority to the Theodosian clergy and populace of Alexandria, whose repudiation of Theodore of Rhamnis serves to deny the legitimacy of his ordination and to justify that of Peter of Alexandria. The significance of this divergence from the apparent conceptual norms within the Jacobite episcopate, however, is difficult to establish with certainty based on the available sources. Whether the appeal to the popular, jurisdictional sovereignty of the Alexandrian electorate was an argument of convenience, made to rationalize what might otherwise have been regarded as the illegal acts of the city's clergy in opposing a lawfully ordained bishop, or rather the manifestation of a pre-existent tension in anti-Chalcedonian canon legal thought, which had never fully reconciled the necessary practice of extra-territorial ordination with the jurisdictional framework inherited from the imperial church, is ultimately unknowable – though both in a sense may have been true. In perhaps the final irony of the drama, however, the anti-Paulite argument was to be vindicated not so much by force of *de jure* reason as through the pragmatics of corporate decision making within the exilic church. Without an effective coercive mechanism by which to enforce hierarchical decisions, the Severan-Jacobite church was reliant upon consensus and persuasion in order to effect collective action. Thus, as opposition coalesced and grew against Paul of Beth Ukkame and Theodore of Rhamnis, the two patriarchs found themselves rejected and excluded by what appears increasingly to have been a majority party within the church.

The consequences of the controversy, rhetorically at least, however, were not confined solely to the legitimacy of the two ordinations at its centre,

114.chapter, II.4.b., 226-242.

but extended to the ordinations conducted by Peter of Alexandria as well as those performed by the disgraced patriarch Paul of Beth Ukkame. According to John of Ephesus, the anti-Paulite archimandrites, in their petition which preceded the gathering at the monastery of Mar Hanina, had in addition to demanding that Jacob Baradaeus ordain a new patriarch also requested that the metropolitan issue a ruling regarding the ordinations of the patriarch Paul, whom they regarded as having been canonically deposed:

> Again there was a great gathering of many archimandrites, along with many other gatherings which happened before in various places, as well as that which took place afterwards when they been consulted and prepared against the partisans of Paul, and had appointed three men, who were distinguished and ready for a contest, and they committed to them their letter and sent them to the venerable Jacob and the rest who were with him, rousing them, and priming, and exhorting them through the letter which they had written – we would quote it, if not [the whole of it] on account of the multitude of words – demanding that they diligently stand firm and ordain for them a patriarch in the place of Paul, and asking them what they decreed with respect to the ordinations which Paul had performed, as well as both the tritheites and the rest.[115]

Although the assembly at Mar Hanina ended in indecision and there is no evidence that Jacob ever delivered a specific determination on the status of Paul's ordinations, the request by its very existence suggests that at least some within the anti-Paulite party were prepared to contest the legitimacy of his episcopate and the sacramental edifice which descended from him.[116] The historian does not stipulate the nature of the archimandrites' concern. However, analogy to the *Accusations* would lead reasonably to the assumption that the primary focus of concern was the legal – rather than the sacramental – capacity of the patriarch Paul, particularly following his deposition.[117] Assuming

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115.John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.32, 212-213; although the narrative suggests that the query pertained only to the status of the ordinations performed by Paul of Beth Ukkame, it is conceivable that similar questions were leveled at the pro-Paulite movement more broadly – particularly as at least some of the bishops who remained loyal to Paul were likely to have been ordained by him.

116.chapter, II.4.a., 203-226.

117.*Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation*, I.III; the possibility that some faction of the anti-Paulite movement might have adopted a more rigorist position, however, cannot be definitively ruled out. Analogy to the early debates surrounding the reception of Chalcedonian clergy would certainly suggest that this was a possibility – chapter, II.1.a., 127

that the concern of the archimandrites was that the ordinations performed by Paul after 572 had been conducted in violation of the canonical prohibition against the ministration of sacramental offices by one who had been lawfully deposed, then the logical consequence would have been treat his consecrations as analogous to those performed by the tritheist bishops after 569.[118]

The Paulite riposte, though nowhere directly attested, may reasonably be inferred from the account of John of Ephesus, who observed that almost immediately following his elevation, Peter of Alexandria "ordained seventy bishops without regulation, along with the rest of the clergy."[119] Although John of Ephesus stops short of pronouncing a specific statutory condemnation, the notice nonetheless points to the vulnerability of the newly ordained episcopate – which could be represented both as descending from the unlawful hand of Peter and thus as having been consecrated at haste and "without regulation."[120] Here, the line of reasoning would presumably have been relatively straightforward. Again, following the same pattern as the denunciation of the tritheist episcopate, the illegality of Peter's own consecration and patriarchate meant that the episcopal edifice which he created could be represented as equally and systemically illicit. Although there is no evidence to suggest that either party sought earnestly to normalize the legal implications of its

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n. 40.

118.chapter, II.3.b-c, 175-200.

119.John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.16, 201-202.

120.Peter of Alexandria is known to have occupied the patriarchate for a period of only two years following his ordination, John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.I.41; and Davis, *Coptic Papacy*, 107-108. Although by the time at which the relevant chapters of the *Historiae* were written, Peter had already been succeeded by Damian as patriarch of Alexandria, in 578, John's narrative – which followed a pattern elsewhere visible in accounts of the Julianist, tritheist, and Jacobite episcopates – nevertheless describes a single line of sacramental descent from Peter, implicitly disallowing for possibility of alternative avenues of ordination and thus linking the entire edifice with the illegality of its originator.

polemic through erection of statutory barriers to the conversion and incorporation of the other's clergy, their mutual denunciations nevertheless point to a significant fragility persistent in the Jacobite system of episcopal ordinations nearly two decades after the reformation of the episcopate in *Oriens* and over thirty years after Jacob Baradaeus' own ordination.

It is, of course, true that the circumstances surrounding the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis were in some respects unique. He was the first Severan patriarch to have been ordained for the city following the death of Theodosius of Alexandria and the first Jacobite patriarch to have been elected and consecrated without the personal involvement of Jacob Baradaeus, whose individual prestige and nebulous position within the church may have raised questions regarding the legitimacy of the ordination.[121] At the same time, there were a number of features *sui generis* to the institutional structures of the Egyptian church, which may have contributed to the resistance to Theodore of Rhamnis. The patriarchate of Antioch possessed a federated structure within which a robust cadre of puissant metropolitan bishops functioned as an intermediate stratum of jurisdictional administration between the patriarch and the provincial church, wielding considerable autonomous power in the management of the provinces subject to their authority – powers which were at times exercised and asserted in opposition to the initiatives of the patri-

121.The above noted attempt of the *Accusations des partisans de Paul et leur refutation*, II.III, to demonstrate that Jacob Baradaeus was the primate of the Severan-Jacobite church in *Oriens* at the time of the ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis and Peter of Alexandria points to the ambiguity of his position as a leader of the contemporary anti-Chalcedonian church – *cf.*, Bundy, "Jacob Baradaeus," 77-83; and chapter, I.1.g, 97-105. Although comparatively little is known about the procedural details of Sergius' ordination, it clear that he was consecrated by Jacob, who was also likely responsible for securing his election, John of Ephesus, *LES*, XLVIII, 487, XLIX, 495, and L, 502-503; Allen, "Episcopal Succession," pg. 30-31; and Honigmann, *Évêques*, 192-193. Paul by contrast, although appointed by Theodosius of Alexandria, was ordained by Jacob – references and discussion, chapter, II.4.a, 203-226.

arch.[122] By contrast, there were no metropolitans in the Egyptian church. Instead, the bishops of Alexandria exercised a direct metropolitanate authority over the ordination and administration of the provincial bishops suffragan to their see. This mono-polar system of patriarchal government rendered impractical the piecemeal approach to episcopal reformation and also doubtless magnified the importance of the Alexandrian election for the Egyptian church as a whole, creating the potential for greater conflict.[123] More importantly, however, the apparently widespread animus towards Paul of Beth Ukkame, both within the Egyptian church and among the Severan-Jacobite in *Oriens*, had made his association with the ordination a particular liability, since it served to incite and then rally opposition to Theodore, both in and out of Egypt. Conversely, pro-Paulite sentiment in *Oriens* and Anatolia, as well as the resulting struggle between Paulite and anti-Paulite factions in both regions, served subsequently to disseminate antipathy towards Peter and his successor Damian, in the period prior to 581. However, despite the peculiar circumstances which surrounded the ordination of Theodore and served to exacerbate the subsequent schism, the controversy appears nonetheless to point to the larger vulnerability of a system of ordination which lacked a regu-

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122. Alpi, *La route royale*, 89-92; and Norton, *Episcopal Elections*, 171-174.

123. *Can.Nic.* (= *Discipline*, I.I.I, 21-41), 6; Wipszycka, E. (2007), "The Institutional Church," in R. S. Bagnall ed., *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300-700*, (Cambridge), 331-332; idem (2015), *The Alexandrian Church: People and Institutions*, (Warsaw), 127-169 and 271-303; Norton, *Episcopal Elections*, 165-169; and Davis, *Early Coptic Papacy*, 135-136, for discussion of earlier electoral practices of the see, which had ceded extraordinary control over episcopal elections in Alexandria to the local presbyterate, as late perhaps as the third century. It would be fatuous to posit a procedural impact for what by the sixth century was an entirely archaic and wholly superseded practice. However, memory of those electoral powers once enjoyed by the city's clergy – the currency of which is suggested by Severus of Antioch, *SL*, II.3 – as well as the legacy of resistance to imposition of external candidates in the fourth and fifth centuries might conceivably have been evoked by the archpresbyter Theodosius and archdeacon Theodore rhetorically to bolster their opposition to Theodore of Rhamnis, which was predicated upon an appeal to the jurisdictional sovereignty of the local church. There is no direct evidence to substantiate this supposition, however, which must remain merely conjectural.

lar means to publicly stage or elicit electoral consensus and only a limited framework of provincial bishops, who might otherwise have served to offset problems of engineering local consensus by providing a visible and legitimizing electoral authority. In these respects, the conditions under which Theodore was ordained parallel those which had prevailed – not at the time of Paul of Beth Ukkame's ordination – but at the beginning of the Jacobite reformation in *Oriens*, when the small cadre of bishops around Jacob Baradaeus had moved to reconstitute a territorial episcopate, virtually *ex nihilo*.

Conclusions

Viewed through the hagiographic lens offered by John of Ephesus, in the *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, the history of the Severan church, between 518-522 and *c.* 553, was a history of the perseverance and heroic resistance of orthodox ascetics in the face of dislocation and persecution. With respect to the episcopate, it was principally the history of a chain of bishop ordainers, who, at the moment of critical dissipation, arose to revivify the dwindling ranks of the clergy and reinvigorate the church through their near superhuman labors. Beginning with John of Tella, the bishops John of Hephaestopolis, Thomas of Damascus, and finally Jacob Baradaeus and Theodore of Arabia, each in turn, provided the church with a sequence of champions, whose ordination and instruction furnished the sacramental needs of an anti-Chalcedonian communion, which united much of Anatolia, *Oriens*, and *Aegyptus*. Undertaken alone, often over the objections of other members of the Severan episcopate, who feared the intensification of Chalcedonian persecution should their activities be discovered, these missionary bishops are each described, following the hagiographer's own metaphor, as having flooded the provinces of the empire with torrents of new anti-Chalcedonian priests, renewing the church and sustaining the communion.

The reformation of the Jacobite episcopate, between *c.* 553 and *c.* 566, is also described by John of Ephesus as having been the work of a single bishop ordainer. Treating the ordination of bishops as a single, continous, synchronic undertaking, the hagiographer portrays Jacob, abetted only by the subordinate bishops Conon of Tarsus and Eugenius of Seleucia in Isauria, as the sole architect of the resurrection of the anti-Chalcedonian episcopate in

Oriens.[1] As before, with respect to the earlier ordination of sub-episcopal clergy, Jacob is credited with having filled the provinces of *Oriens*, *Asiana*, and *Aegyptus* with anti-Chalcedonian bishops, again revitalizing the church and ensuring the endurance of the orthodox communion.

Taken together, these episcopal portraits combine to form a nearly continuous narrative spanning the interval between the expulsion of the Severan bishops and the creation of the Jacobite episcopate. The only narrative to provide a detailed account of the consecratory activities of anti-Chalcedonian bishops, during the period between 518 and *c.* 566, the *Lives* have provided the principal evidential source for modern studies of the episcopate, which have tended largely, and somewhat understandably, to accept the essential validity of the bishop ordainer model proffered in the hagiographer – though modified and nuanced by the incorporation of the evidence from outside sources. However, despite the importance of the text as a witness to both the disposition and development of the exilic church, the representations of the consecratory and electoral practices of the Severan-Jacobite episcopate contained within the *Lives* cannot be read as a simple, factual record. Instead, John of Ephesus, in both his historiographic and hagiographic *oeuvre*, appears to have been engaged in a multi-faceted discursive program to both legitimize and aggrandize the practice of ordination within the exilic church, as well as

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1. *N.b.*, Jacob is known to have begun his campaign of episcopal consecrations during the lifetime of Theodosius of Alexandria, upon whose mandate he relied when ordaining in Egypt, and to have depended on other members of the Egyptian episcopate in order to carry out the ordination of Conon and Eugenius. However, the precise nature of that mandate is unkown, as is the exact role of the Alexandrian patriarch both in initiating the reformation of the Severan episcopate, beyond sanctioning the ordination of Conon and Eugenius, which is supposed to have taken place in Alexandria, and in shaping the subsequent course of that reformation in *Oriens* and Anatolia. Neither are the names of Jacob's initial collaborators in the ordination of Conon and Eugenius preserved in the *vitae*, again focusing further attention on him as the originator of the reformation which he carried out – John of Ephesus, *LES*, XLIX, 494-495 and L, 501-503; and pseudo-John of Ephesus, "Spurious Life of Jacob," 585-589.

its practitioners. So that, when read against the larger corpus of available evidence, the *Lives* – as well as *Historiae ecclesiasticae* – provide a complex rhetorical response to the apologetic need to justify the ordination of anti-Chalcedonian clergy outside of the regular, territorial structures of the imperial episcopate. As such, both works, despite the often unalloyed triumphalism of their rhetoric, bear witness to both the anxieties and fragility of the Severan-Jacobite communion, in the face of persecution, internal division, and the proliferation of competing anti-Chalcedonian sects.

First, the idea that the Severan church was sustained during initial decades of its exile solely, or even principally, by a chain of heroic ordainers, acting without significant support from the other members of the episcopate, is belied by the available evidence from other sources. Although proffering a less continuous and often less complete picture of events, the evidence provided by the extant corpus of contemporary epistolary and canon legal sources suggests that in reality the activities of missionary ordainers like John of Tella and John of Hephaestopolis were not undertaken in spite of the other members of the episcopate, but were supplemented, facilitated, and in some measure even directed by the other bishops. Before 536, Severan bishops in Alexandria are unknown to have consecrated clergy remotely for churches in *Oriens*, while those who remained in the diocese – including John of Tella, Thomas of Dara, Philoxenus of Doliche, Marion of Sura, Nonnus of Circesium, Sergius of Cyrrhus, and Thomas of Germanicia, as well perhaps as Peter of Theodosiopolis – continued to ordain until their own deaths or defection. Equally, the available epistolary evidence, at variance with the account offered by John of Ephesus, suggests that a system of bilateral licensing, which provided a legal framework for the practice of extra-territorial ordination

within the church, emerged rapidly after 518-522, in various forms throughout the diocese. At least partially engineered by Severus of Antioch, from his exile in Egypt, the system thus appears to have been less the spontaneous undertaking by a single, heroic actor, moved to defy the inactivity of his peers and imperial injunctions, and more the product of a sustained, coordinated, and cooperative effort by the larger episcopate to ensure the continued provisioning of clergy for those communities from which they had been expelled. Afterwards, in the period between 536 and *c.* 553, when the preponderance of the surviving episcopate, along with the core of the Severan hierarchy, were evidently gathered in Constantinople, the well documented efforts of John of Hephaestopolis and Jacob Baradaeus to ordain were augmented by bishops in the provinces and the adjacent territories of the Sasanian Empire, as well as presumably those in the capital, and directed by the leaders of the church – contrary to the explicit claims of John of Ephesus.

Second, the stemmatiform description of the Jacobite reformation in the "Life of Jacob" and the "Lives of Jacob and Theodore," rather than giving a transparent record of the creation of the new episcopate, served to provide it with a unifying narrative, linking its creation unambiguously to the legitimizing figure of Jacob Baradaeus. Whereas the central discursive object of the hagiographer's pre-Jacobite lives had been the amplification of the heroism of the bishop ordainers John of Tella and John of Hephaestopolis, as well probably as Thomas of Damascus, the primary object of the Jacobite lives was the demonstration that the new episcopate had been legally and sacramentally ordained. This John of Ephesus accomplished by depicting the whole of the Jacobite episcopal ediface, as it had emerged by *c.* 566, as having descended entirely from the ordination of Jacob.

Here, the list of episcopal ordinations credited to Jacob by the hagiographer almost certainly did not constitute a complete catalogue of the bishops within the church by that date, since the growth of the episcopate would logically have reduced both the need and possibility for Jacob to have officiated every new consecration. Nevertheless, by tying the foundations of the new episcopate to the personal mission of Jacob, John of Ephesus was able to accomplish two interrelated rhetorical aims. First, the emphasis on the role of Jacob as the principal architect of the reformation allowed the hagiographer to forge a picture of uniform licitness and sacramental validity around the creation of the new episcopate. In both of the lives, John asserted that, prior to beginning his larger consecratory mission, Jacob took proactive measures to ensure that his ordinations conformed to the canonical and sacramental requirement that episcopal consecrations be performed by no fewer than three bishops. Before starting his mission, the hagiographer describes Jacob as have travelled to Alexandria, with the sanction of the patriarch Theodosius, in order to effect the ordination of two confederates, Eugenius of Seleucia and Conon of Tarsus, with the aid of the bishops there. With the ordination of Conon and Eugenius as surety of the required quorum, the hagiographer then recounted the consecration of the remaining bishops as a largely unelaborated catalogue of names. By thus focusing the narrative attention on the rectitude of this initial gesture, John was effectively able to insinuate that the whole consecratory program of the Jacobite had been conducted in accordance with the legal and sacramental propriety, without the describing either the individual circumstances or procedural mechanics involved in subsequent ordinations. This, in turn, allowed the narrative to erect a sacramental standard – *viz.*, the presence of three officiating bishops – by which to judge

the legitimacy of the ordinations, thereby implicitly excluding more complex questions of procedural legality.

Second, the same narrative structure served implicity to foster an image of internal cohesion within the newly constituted episcopate – an image marred only slightly by the hagiographer's passing reference to the troubled patriarchate of Paul of Beth Ukkame. Again, by treating the creation of the new episcopate synchronically as a single, uniform act, the texts link the legitimacy of the entire edifice to the personal legitimacy of Jacob, subsuming and eschewing any question of electoral propriety or individual qualification beneath that one unassailable rubric. Here, as with the question of sacramental validity, the narrative projects a systemic vision of legitimacy for the Jacobite episcopate as a whole by emphaticially asserting the legitimacy of its foundation, in which each subsequent ordination participated by rhetorical extension. At the time of the composition of the "Life of Jacob" and "Lives of Jacob and Theodore," in *c.* 566, the assertion of such unity and uniformity seems likely to have acquired a particular significance for the hagiographer and his contemporary from the contemporary deterioration of sectarian cohesion within the Jacobite episcopate, prompted by escalating conflict over tritheism. However, the essential discursive pattern is also repeated elsewhere in the historiographic corpus of John of Ephesus, where it formed a rhetorical staple of his denigration of rival anti-Chalcedonian sects.

Thus, a largely identical successional framework may be observed in Severan-Jacobite chronographic tradition, which descended from the historian, used to delegitimize and invalidate other anti-Chalcedonian episcopates. Thus, the succession of the Julianist episcopate is depicted, in pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre and Michael the Syrian, as having derived linearly from the

ordination of Eutropius by the dead hand of Procopius of Ephesus, in *c.* 549, transmitting the foundation of invalidity of that act. In turn, this justified the treatment of Julianist clergy as converts from a pseudo-episcopal line, comparable in its sacramental invalidity to the Zebadites and Zakaites. In like fashion, the tritheist episcopate, after 569, although not sacramentally invalid, is presented in the third part of the *Historiae ecclesiasticae* as having descended from the legal ordinations performed by the deposed bishop Theonas, communicating through its succession the illegitimacy and illegality of its inception. Although the illicitness of the tritheist episcopate was not such as to require the re-ordination of clerical converts, it nevertheless provided an apologetic device through which to condemn the sect and its ordinations. In both cases, the stemmatiform structure of the narratives in extant witnesses – mirroring those of the Jacobite episcopate in the *Lives* – by reducing the depiction of episcopal succession to a single forking line and disallowing for the possibility of external, legitimate sources of ordination serve to communicate the foundational deficiencies of each sect to every member and limb of its episcopate.

Roughly the same formula appears to have informed the historian's account of a set of allegations and counter-allegations made between Paulite and anti-Paulite partisans, after 575. In recounting the schism caused by the botched ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis to the patriarchate of Alexandria, John alludes to anti-Paulite questions regarding the status of the consecrations performed by the then beleaguered patriarch, Paul of Beth Ukkame, while the historian himself appears to reflect a pro-Paulite position in referring to the hasty ordination of seventy bishops by the usurper patriarch, Peter of Alexandria. In neither case, however, does John develop the canonical log-

ic or precise implications of the attack, rather, by implication, both seem to have been predicated upon essentially the same stemmatiform polemic as was elsewhere patterned in the tritheist and Julianist episcopates. This is most clearly apparent in John's treatment of Peter. By presenting Peter as both the originator of a new anti-Paulite episcopate in Egypt and the illegal usurper of the throne then lawfully occupied by Theodore, the historian binds the legitimacy of that episcopate to that of the patriarch, whom he derisively labels a new Gaianus; John then reinforces the point by suggesting that Peter had ordained in haste and without reference to the quality or qualification of those whom he consecrated. Here, again, the undeveloped implication of these accusations would appear to have been a systematic condemnation of the new anti-Paulite episcopate as the illegal and illegitimate product of an illegal and illegitimate progenitor.

Ultimately, despite their broad evidentiary value, neither the *Lives* nor the *Historiae ecclesiasticae* give specific insight into the procedural mechanisms through which episcopal ordinations and elections were actually accomplished by the early Jacobite episcopate. Instead, the works – as well as the later chronographic tradition derived from them – bear witness to a well honed apologetic strategy, developed and deployed to particular effect by John of Ephesus, both in justification of Jacobite consecratory practices and condemnation of rival sects. That the formula, however, was not entirely idiosyncratic is suggested by, *inter alia*, the epistolary condemnation of Julianist ordinations by Sergius of Antioch, which relies upon a similar stemmatiform model to demonstrate the sacramental invalidity of the Eutropian episcopate.[2]

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2. *N.b.*, Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, IX.XXXI, which appears also to preserve evidence of a modified version of this polemic formula ascribed to the rigorist faction within the Severan-Jacobite episcopate. Although the passage itself appears to have been drawn from a series of inextant chapters of the *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, the specific structure and content of the

Although such external evidence is insufficient to determine either the success or prevalence of the discursive model outside of John's own work, it is enough to demonstrate its essential resonance for other members of the larger Severan-Jacobite movement.

Beyond this, however, there exists only a limited body of evidence for the practice and legitimation of Jacobite episcopal elections from the reign of the troubled patriarch Paul of Beth Ukkame, 564 to 581. Preserved in a late sixth century dossier, a series of letters pertaining to the ordination and confirmation of the patriarch yields the only extant, contemporary witnesses to the electoral process. Significantly, these documents exhibit a suite of concerns absent from the explicit account of the *Lives*. In particular, the letters written at the time of his consecration record efforts of the episcopate – led by Theodosius of Alexandria and Jacob Baradaeus – to secure recognition for Paul as the legitimate and rightly ordained patriarch. In the contemporary imperial church, episcopal elections were normally conducted publicly, within a territorial framework, which provided a platform from which to broadcast the procedural legality of their ordination as well as a medium through which the support of the local community and provincial episcopate for the candidate could be cultivated and demonstrated. Such a legitimizing framework was, in a conventional sense at least, unavailable to the members of the Jacobite episcopate. A decade after the beginning of the Jacobite reformation the episcopate appears to have remained de-territorialized, to a significant extent, while roughly forty years of intermittent persecution had displaced anti-Chalcedonian in many communities, altering the relation between the church's titular

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claim diverges sufficiently from anti-rigorism elsewhere esposed by John of Ephesus to suggest that it may perhaps have reflected a genuine rigorist argument – van Ginkel, *John of Ephesus*, 83; and chapter II.1.a, 127 n. 40.

bishoprics and the communities which they served. At the same time, the continued rustication and suppression of the Severan-Jacobite episcopate meant that elections and ordinations were performed away from the urban seats of their nominal sees and with some measure of surreptitiousness, depriving the proceedings of the possibility of direct witness and acclamation by the larger community.

The compiler(s) of the dossier – the so-called *Documenta ad origines monophysitarum illustrandas* – approached the problem of demonstrating the propriety of the patriarch's ordination by reproducing a series of letters, written between Theodosius of Alexandria and the bishops and monsteries in *Oriens*. Together, these letters trace the ordination of Paul of Beth Ukkame from his nomination by the patriarch Theodosius, to his consecration by Jacob Baradaeus, and the subsequent reception and acknowledgement of his patriarchate by leaders within the larger Severan-Jacobite community. None explicitly points to a single, precise canon legal mechanism, such as the presence of three officiating bishops, as justification for the licitness of the ordination, though the letter from the bishops Jacob, Eugenius of Seleucia, and Eunomius of Amida to the patriarch Theodosius, announcing the consecration, provides ample, implicit evidence for the participation of three ordaining bishops and a number of the letters make general assertions that ordination had been "lawfully" conducted. Instead, all of the letters, particularly those written by representatives of the prominent monasteries of Beth Aphthonia, Mar Bassus, Mar Bizi, the Blessed Eusebius, Mar Romanus, and the Great Monastery of Tel'eda in response to Jacob's efforts to muster support for the ordination, emphasize Paul's fitness and the propriety of his succession. In the absence of a civic or provincial electorate to promote, witness, and affirm the

election of a bishop of Antioch, these monastic leaders served as a kind of proxy electorate, whose letters served retrospectively to validate the ordination and create of a network of support for the new patriarch. However, although networked strategy, recorded in the *Documenta*, appears to have succeeded in supplying the early Jacobite episcopate with an effective *post facto* surrogate for a normal territorial electorate, binding a number of monasteries to the new patriarch and providing Paul with a base of support within the diocese, it did not fundimentally have altered the fact that the ordination was conducted with significant direct participation from either the Antiochene church or the episcopate of Syria I. As such, the ordination of Paul was conducted outside of the electoral framework presupposed and described by earlier canon, which had been written to reflect the territorial sturctures of the imperial episcopate. While it seems probable, given the apparently *ex nihilo* construction of the Jacobite episcopate, that the ordination was not unusal in either its degree of extra-territoriality or its reliance upon monasteries as a substitute electorate, it – and any other ordinations conducted in like manner – remained thus exposed to challenge on canon legal grounds.

Indeed, the fragility and ultimate contestability of these mechanisms is amply illustrated by the events surrounding the disastrously mismanged ordination of Theodore of Rhamnis as patriarch of Alexandria, in 575. Chosen and ordained by the bishop Longinus of the Nobatae, with the assistance of the Syrian bishops George of Eurtoyo' and John of Mar Bassus, Theodore's election was vehemently opposed by a faction within the city's senior clergy. Led by the archpresbyter Theodosius and archdeacon Theodore, whom John of Ephesus accused of having sought to orchestrate the election of the new patriarch to their advantage, this clerical faction condemned Theodore of

Rhamnis and moved rapidly to secure the ordination of their own candidate, Peter, through John of Cellia and two Syrian bishops, both named Antonius. At central issue, both in the episode and the subsequent controversy, were questions regarding the jursdictional authority of the local church over the election of bishops. In this respect, the legal concerns of the axial to the dispute over Theodore's ordination mirror the central problem of the *Documenta – viz.*, the means and authority by which candidates for ordination were lawfully elected outside of the structures of the territorial episcopate. However, whereas the documents surrounding the ordination of the patriarch Paul point to a largely retrospective mechanism for the confirmation of extra-territorial elections, the anti-Paulite opposition to his ordination coalesced around the claim that his election away from Alexandria, by bishops who held no jurisdictional rights over either the city or province, constituted a violation of the electoral rights of the local church, as established in earlier canon law, and was therefore illegal and illegitimate. The assertion of these territorially defined electoral prerogatives, in turn, served to justify the rejection of Theodore of Rhamnis and ordination of Peter by the clerical faction attached to Theodosius and Theodore. By contrast, the Paulite apologist, Sergius the hermit, developed a position more broadly consistent with that evidenced for the ordination of the patriarch, as well as that implicit in the *Historae ecclesiasticae*. Apparently, reflecting conventions of territorial licensing, which had initially evolved to accommodate the extra-territorial ordination of sub-episcopal clergy, in the period shortly after 518-522, Sergius argued that Longinus had acted lawfully and within the terms of the mandate to ordain a new patriarch, which had been given to him by representatives of the Alexandrian church. The hermitic apologist also challenged the claim that ultimate and unlimited

electoral sovereignty was vested in the will of the majority, on the grounds that the majority was lawfully able to promote the illegal or that which was contrary to orthodoxy – as in ordination of Peter, who was unlawfully elected to fill a see already occupied by a living bishop. In a broad sense, then, the arguments posited by both sides describe the tension between the consecratory norms of the imperial church and those developed by the exilic episcopate to meet the exigencies of a de-territorialized communion.

Neither the documents pertaining to the ordination of Paul of Beth Ukkame nor those generated by the controversy over the elevation of Theodore of Rhamnis suffice to produce a normative model for either the theory or practice of Jacobite ordination. Collectively, however, they serve to corroborate the importance of the sacramental rubric central to apologetic program of the *Lives*. Beyond this, however, the sources point to significant variability and divisions in the conception framework surrounding the practice of ordination concealed beneath the reductive veneer of discursive uniformity and cohesion in the *Lives*. Further examination – of both the anti-Chalcedonian and the contemporary Chalcedonian material – is required in order to realize a complete picture of Severan-Jacobite consecratory practice and its reception, during the period under consideration. This is particularly true with respect to the effects of the system of extra-territorial ordination and administration on the sub-episcopal clergy and its relation to the Severan and Jacobite episcopates. Nevertheless, the evidence treated here provides sufficient grounds on which to question the narrative of Severan-Jacobite triumphalism proffered by John of Ephesus.

Appendix I: Letters of Thomas of Germanicia

No. 1

An Extract from the Letter of Thomas of Germanicia to Elias, Presbyter and Archimandrite of the Brothers of the Tur Mardin

[BM Add. MSS 12,155, folios 89 a-b, and 14,532, folios 140b-141b]

The letter is attested in two manuscripts now held in the collection of the British Library – *viz*., BM Add. MSS 12,155 and 14,532. Both are estrangela manuscripts, dated by W. Wright on paleographic grounds to the eighth century, which preserve the same excerpted portion of the original letter.[1] However, despite these similarities, the manuscripts preserve verbally divergent versions of the text, with Add. MS 14,532 offering a number of apparently corrected readings. Add. MS 12,155 has, therefore, been selected to serve as the base text, with Add. MS 14,532 being used to supply and correct defects in the primary manuscript.

Comparatively little can be determined regarding the structure or contents of the letter prior to its excerption and abridgment. There is no precise indication of how much of the original text has been lost as a result of the excerption process, though the extant text does contain at least one explicit abridgment in folio 89b of Add. MS 12,155 – marked by the standard indicator phrase "ܕܐܡܪ," rendered "ܐܡܪ ܡܠܬܐ" in Add. MS 14,532. The rubrics,

1. Wright, *Catalogue*, 921 and 955

however, further state that the original letter had served to relay the import of a letter written to Thomas by Severus of Antioch. Here, the identity of Thomas' correspondent can only be established indirectly – as his name has suffered an erasure in Add. MS 12,155 and is given erroneously as Thomas in Add. MS 14,532. The latter having almost certainly resulted from the transposition of the name of the letter's author.[2] Based on his titles – ܡܪܕܝܢܝܐ and ܐܦܣܩܦܐ in Add. MS 12,155 and simply ܐܦܣܩܦܐ in Add. MS 14,532 – he may be assumed to have been a member of the clergy, and most likely a bishop. A finale identification, however, may be made based on a recurrent pattern of erasures within the manuscript. Already, M. P. Penn has noted that elsewhere in the manuscript the name Severus was erased and later rewritten in a subsequent hand; a marginal note states that the erasures were the work of a heretic – presumably a Julianist – who had previously possessed the volume, which had been amended upon its recovery by the orthodox scribe.[3]

With respect to the date of the text, the strongest indicator is offered by its reference to the bishop John – presumably John of Tella –, whom the letter describes as being among the saints, "ܕܡܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ."[4] If this identification of

2. If one were to assume the reading offered by Add. MS 14,532 was correct, however, then the most likely candidates to be identified as the "ܐܦܣܩܦܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܪܡܐ" are Thomas of Dara and Thomas of Damascus, both of whom appear to have been present within the diocese, at some point during the period, ordaining clergy for the exilic church – for references and discussion, see chapter I.1.c and e, 42-50 and 61-84.

3. Penn, M. P. (2010), "Piety and the Pumice Stone: Erasure in Syriac Manuscripts," *Studia Patristica* XLV, 200

4. Add. MS 14,532 offers the amplified reading "ܕܡܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܐܚܢ," which is consistent with a reference earlier in the letter to "our holy brother and the sharer of our [*i.e.*the anti-Chalcedonian] ministry Mar John, who is among the saints."

the bishop Mar John is correct, then the composition of the letter may be dated with confidence to the period between the death of John of Tella on 6 February 538 and that of Thomas of Germanicia in 542.[5] Beyond this, however, the text of the letter yields no definite clues from which to propose a more precise dating.

Text

ܡܫܬܚܪ ܕܚܢܢܝܐ ܕܫܡܥ ܠܗ ܒܫܡ ܡܪܝ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܕܐܬܝ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗ ܥܠ ܟܠ

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ﻧﺎﻡ ﺩﺍﺭﺩ. ﻛﺘﺎﺏ ﻧﺨﺴﺖ ﺩﺭ ﺷﻨﺎﺧﺖ ﻣﻠﻚ ﻭ ﺗﻘﺴﻴﻢ ﺁﻥ ﺑﻪ ﺩﻩ ﺑﺨﺶ.
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ﺁﻧﻬﺎ ﺍﺳﺖ. ﺩﺭ ﺍﻳﻦ ﻛﺘﺎﺏ ﻣﻄﺎﻟﺐ ﺩﺭ ﻣﻮﺭﺩ ﻣﻠﻚ ﻭ ﺍﻧﺪﺍﺯﻩ ﮔﻴﺮﻱ
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ﺑﻪ ﺷﻜﻞ ﻫﺎﻱ ﻫﻨﺪﺳﻲ ﺑﺤﺚ ﻣﻲﻛﻨﺪ. ﻛﺘﺎﺏ ﻧﻬﻢ ﺩﺭ ﺑﺎﺭﻩ ﺗﻘﺴﻴﻢ ﺯﻣﻴﻦ
ﻫﺎﻱ ﻣﺨﺘﻠﻒ ﺑﻪ ﺷﻜﻞ ﻫﺎﻱ ﻫﻨﺪﺳﻲ[11] ﺑﺤﺚ ﻣﻲﻛﻨﺪ. ﻛﺘﺎﺏ ﺩﻫﻢ ﺩﺭ ﺑﺎﺭﻩ
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ﺯﻣﻴﻦ[16] ﻫﺎﻱ ﻣﺨﺘﻠﻒ ﺑﻪ ﺷﻜﻞ ﻫﺎﻱ ﻫﻨﺪﺳﻲ ﺑﺤﺚ ﻣﻲﻛﻨﺪ. ﻛﺘﺎﺏ ﻫﻔﺪﻫﻢ

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7. Add. MS 14,532: "ﻣﺤﻤﺪ ﺑﻨﺎﻳﻲ ﻣﻠﻜﻲ"
8. Add. MS 14,532: "ﺩﺭ ﻧﺎﻡ ﺩﺍﺭﺩ"
9. Add. MS 14,532: "ﺍﻗﻠﻴﺪﺱ"
10. Add. MS 14,532: "ﻣﻬﻨﺪﺳﻲ"
11. Add. MS 14,532: "ﻭ ﺩﺭ ﺁﻥ ﺑﺤﺚ"
12. Add. MS 14,532: "ﺍﻳﻦ"
13. Add. MS 14,532: "ﺳﻴﺰﺩﻫﻢ"
14. Add. MS 14,532: "ﻳﻜﻢ"
15. Add. MS 14,532: "ﺑﺤﺚ ﻣﻲﻛﻨﺪ ﻭ ﺩﺭ ﺁﻥ"
16. Add. MS 14,532: "ﻣﻬﻨﺪﺳﺎﻥ"

ﻣﻦ ﺍﻟﻤﺎﺀ ﺍﻟﺬﻱ ﺧﻠﻖ ﺑﺸﺮًا ﻓﺠﻌﻠﻪ ﻧﺴﺒًﺎ ﻭﺻﻬﺮًا ﻭﻛﺎﻥ ﺭﺑّﻚ ﻗﺪﻳﺮًا ﴿٥٤﴾ ﻭﻳﻌﺒﺪﻭﻥ ﻣﻦ ﺩﻭﻥ ﺍﻟﻠﻪ ﻣﺎ ﻻ ﻳﻨﻔﻌﻬﻢ ﻭﻻ ﻳﻀﺮّﻫﻢ ﻭﻛﺎﻥ ﺍﻟﻜﺎﻓﺮ ﻋﻠﻰ ﺭﺑّﻪ ﻇﻬﻴﺮًا ﴿٥٥﴾ ﻭﻣﺎ ﺃﺭﺳﻠﻨﺎﻙ ﺇﻻّ ﻣﺒﺸّﺮًا ﻭﻧﺬﻳﺮًا ﴿٥٦﴾ ﻗﻞ ﻣﺎ ﺃﺳﺄﻟﻜﻢ ﻋﻠﻴﻪ ﻣﻦ ﺃﺟﺮ ﺇﻻّ ﻣﻦ ﺷﺎﺀ ﺃﻥ ﻳﺘّﺨﺬ ﺇﻟﻰ ﺭﺑّﻪ ﺳﺒﻴﻠًﺎ ﴿٥٧﴾ ﻭﺗﻮﻛّﻞ ﻋﻠﻰ ﺍﻟﺤﻲّ ﺍﻟّﺬﻱ ﻻ ﻳﻤﻮﺕ ﻭﺳﺒّﺢ ﺑﺤﻤﺪﻩ ﻭﻛﻔﻰ ﺑﻪ ﺑﺬﻧﻮﺏ ﻋﺒﺎﺩﻩ ﺧﺒﻴﺮًا ﴿٥٨﴾ ﺍﻟّﺬﻱ ﺧﻠﻖ ﺍﻟﺴّﻤﻮﺍﺕ ﻭﺍﻷﺭﺽ ﻭﻣﺎ ﺑﻴﻨﻬﻤﺎ ﻓﻲ ﺳﺘّﺔ ﺃﻳّﺎﻡ ﺛﻢّ ﺍﺳﺘﻮﻯ ﻋﻠﻰ ﺍﻟﻌﺮﺵ ﺍﻟﺮّﺣﻤﻦ ﻓﺎﺳﺄﻝ ﺑﻪ ﺧﺒﻴﺮًا ﴿٥٩﴾ ﻭﺇﺫﺍ ﻗﻴﻞ ﻟﻬﻢ ﺍﺳﺠﺪﻭﺍ ﻟﻠﺮّﺣﻤﻦ ﻗﺎﻟﻮﺍ ﻭﻣﺎ ﺍﻟﺮّﺣﻤﻦ ﺃﻧﺴﺠﺪ ﻟﻤﺎ ﺗﺄﻣﺮﻧﺎ ﻭﺯﺍﺩﻫﻢ ﻧﻔﻮﺭًا ﴿٦٠﴾ ﺗﺒﺎﺭﻙ ﺍﻟّﺬﻱ ﺟﻌﻞ ﻓﻲ ﺍﻟﺴّﻤﺎﺀ ﺑﺮﻭﺟًﺎ ﻭﺟﻌﻞ ﻓﻴﻬﺎ ﺳﺮﺍﺟًﺎ ﻭﻗﻤﺮًا ﻣﻨﻴﺮًا ﴿٦١﴾ ﻭﻫﻮ ﺍﻟّﺬﻱ ﺟﻌﻞ ﺍﻟّﻴﻞ ﻭﺍﻟﻨّﻬﺎﺭ ﺧﻠﻔﺔً ﻟﻤﻦ ﺃﺭﺍﺩ ﺃﻥ ﻳﺬّﻛّﺮ ﺃﻭ ﺃﺭﺍﺩ ﺷﻜﻮﺭًﺍ ﴿٦٢﴾ ﻭﻋﺒﺎﺩ ﺍﻟﺮّﺣﻤﻦ ﺍﻟّﺬﻳﻦ ﻳﻤﺸﻮﻥ ﻋﻠﻰ ﺍﻷﺭﺽ ﻫﻮﻧًﺎ ﻭﺇﺫﺍ ﺧﺎﻃﺒﻬﻢ ﺍﻟﺠﺎﻫﻠﻮﻥ ﻗﺎﻟﻮﺍ ﺳﻼﻣًﺎ ﴿٦٣﴾ ﻭﺍﻟّﺬﻳﻦ ﻳﺒﻴﺘﻮﻥ ﻟﺮﺑّﻬﻢ ﺳﺠّﺪًﺍ ﻭﻗﻴﺎﻣًﺎ ﴿٦٤﴾ ﻭﺍﻟّﺬﻳﻦ ﻳﻘﻮﻟﻮﻥ ﺭﺑّﻨﺎ ﺍﺻﺮﻑ ﻋﻨّﺎ ﻋﺬﺍﺏ ﺟﻬﻨّﻢ ﺇﻥّ ﻋﺬﺍﺑﻬﺎ ﻛﺎﻥ ﻏﺮﺍﻣًﺎ ﴿٦٥﴾ ﺇﻧّﻬﺎ ﺳﺎﺀﺕ ﻣﺴﺘﻘﺮًّﺍ ﻭﻣﻘﺎﻣًﺎ ﴿٦٦﴾ ﻭﺍﻟّﺬﻳﻦ ﺇﺫﺍ ﺃﻧﻔﻘﻮﺍ ﻟﻢ ﻳﺴﺮﻓﻮﺍ ﻭﻟﻢ ﻳﻘﺘﺮﻭﺍ ﻭﻛﺎﻥ ﺑﻴﻦ ﺫﻟﻚ ﻗﻮﺍﻣًﺎ ﴿٦٧﴾ ﻭﺍﻟّﺬﻳﻦ ﻻ ﻳﺪﻋﻮﻥ ﻣﻊ ﺍﻟﻠﻪ ﺇﻟﻬًﺎ ﺁﺧﺮ ﻭﻻ ﻳﻘﺘﻠﻮﻥ ﺍﻟﻨّﻔﺲ ﺍﻟّﺘﻲ ﺣﺮّﻡ ﺍﻟﻠﻪ ﺇﻻّ ﺑﺎﻟﺤﻖّ ﻭﻻ ﻳﺰﻧﻮﻥ ﻭﻣﻦ ﻳﻔﻌﻞ ﺫﻟﻚ ﻳﻠﻖ ﺃﺛﺎﻣًﺎ ﴿٦٨﴾ ﻳﻀﺎﻋﻒ ﻟﻪ ﺍﻟﻌﺬﺍﺏ ﻳﻮﻡ ﺍﻟﻘﻴﺎﻣﺔ ﻭﻳﺨﻠﺪ ﻓﻴﻪ ﻣﻬﺎﻧًﺎ ﴿٦٩﴾ ﺇﻻّ ﻣﻦ ﺗﺎﺏ ﻭﺁﻣﻦ ﻭﻋﻤﻞ ﻋﻤﻠًﺎ ﺻﺎﻟﺤًﺎ ﻓﺄﻭﻟﺌﻚ ﻳﺒﺪّﻝ ﺍﻟﻠﻪ ﺳﻴّﺌﺎﺗﻬﻢ ﺣﺴﻨﺎﺕ ﻭﻛﺎﻥ ﺍﻟﻠﻪ ﻏﻔﻮﺭًﺍ ﺭّﺣﻴﻤًﺎ ﴿٧٠﴾ ﻭﻣﻦ ﺗﺎﺏ ﻭﻋﻤﻞ ﺻﺎﻟﺤًﺎ ﻓﺈﻧّﻪ ﻳﺘﻮﺏ ﺇﻟﻰ ﺍﻟﻠﻪ ﻣﺘﺎﺑًﺎ ﴿٧١﴾ ﻭﺍﻟّﺬﻳﻦ ﻻ ﻳﺸﻬﺪﻭﻥ ﺍﻟﺰّﻭﺭ ﻭﺇﺫﺍ ﻣﺮّﻭﺍ ﺑﺎﻟﻠّﻐﻮ ﻣﺮّﻭﺍ ﻛﺮﺍﻣًﺎ ﴿٧٢﴾ ﻭﺍﻟّﺬﻳﻦ ﺇﺫﺍ ﺫﻛّﺮﻭﺍ ﺑﺂﻳﺎﺕ ﺭﺑّﻬﻢ ﻟﻢ ﻳﺨﺮّﻭﺍ ﻋﻠﻴﻬﺎ ﺻﻤًّﺎ ﻭﻋﻤﻴﺎﻧًﺎ ﴿٧٣﴾ ﻭﺍﻟّﺬﻳﻦ ﻳﻘﻮﻟﻮﻥ ﺭﺑّﻨﺎ ﻫﺐ ﻟﻨﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺃﺯﻭﺍﺟﻨﺎ ﻭﺫﺭّﻳّﺎﺗﻨﺎ ﻗﺮّﺓ ﺃﻋﻴﻦ ﻭﺍﺟﻌﻠﻨﺎ ﻟﻠﻤﺘّﻘﻴﻦ ﺇﻣﺎﻣًﺎ ﴿٧٤﴾ ﺃﻭﻟﺌﻚ ﻳﺠﺰﻭﻥ ﺍﻟﻐﺮﻓﺔ ﺑﻤﺎ ﺻﺒﺮﻭﺍ ﻭﻳﻠﻘّﻮﻥ ﻓﻴﻬﺎ ﺗﺤﻴّﺔً ﻭﺳﻼﻣًﺎ ﴿٧٥﴾ ﺧﺎﻟﺪﻳﻦ ﻓﻴﻬﺎ ﺣﺴﻨﺖ ﻣﺴﺘﻘﺮًّﺍ ﻭﻣﻘﺎﻣًﺎ ﴿٧٦﴾ ﻗﻞ ﻣﺎ ﻳﻌﺒﺄ ﺑﻜﻢ ﺭﺑّﻲ ﻟﻮﻻ ﺩﻋﺎﺅﻛﻢ ﻓﻘﺪ ﻛﺬّﺑﺘﻢ ﻓﺴﻮﻑ ﻳﻜﻮﻥ ﻟﺰﺍﻣًﺎ ﴿٧٧﴾

17. Add. MS 14,532: "ﻭﻫﻮ ﺍﻟّﺬﻱ ﺧﻠﻖ ﻣﻦ ﺍﻟﻤﺎﺀ ﺑﺸﺮًﺍ"

18. Add. MS 14,532: "ﻭﻟﻢ"

19. Add. MS 14,532: "ﻭﻛﺎﻥ ﺍﻟﻜﺎﻓﺮ"

20. Add. MS 14,532: "ﻭﻛﺎﻧﺖ"

21. Add. MS 14,532: "ﻭﻣﺎ ﺃﺭﺳﻠﻨﺎﻙ ﺇﻟّﺎ"

22. Add. MS 14,532: "ﻭﻣﺒﺸّﺮًﺍ"

23. Add. MS 14,532: "ﻭﻗﻞ ﻣﺎ ﺃﺳﺄﻟﻜﻢ ﻋﻠﻴﻪ"

24. Add. MS 14,532: "ﻭﻳﺘّﺨﺬ"

25. Add. MS 14,532: "ﻭﻫﻮ ﺍﻟﺤﻲّ"

26. Add. MS 14,532: "ﻭﻛﻔﻰ"

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27. Add. MS 14,532: "ركحيفيطح"

28. Add. MS 14,532: "ركحيفيطح ركحيفيطح"

29. Add. MS 14,532: "ركحيفيطح"

30. Add. MS 14,532: "ركحيفيطح ركحيفيطح"

31. Add. MS 14,532: "ركحيفيطح ركحيفيطح"

32. Add. MS 14,532: "ركحيفيطح"

33. Add. MS 14,532: "ركحيفيطح"

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41. Add. MS 14,532: "ركحيفيطح ركحيفيطح"

42. Add. MS 14,532: "ركحيفيطح ركحيفيطح"

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ܕܡܪܕ[45]ܐ ❖ ܕܐ ܣܚܠ ܥܠܝ ܣܚܐ ܕܐ ܫܠܝ[46]. ܠܐ ܫܠܝ[47] ܕܡܒܥܝܢ
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ܕܐ ܠܡܐ ܕܒܫܡܐ[51] ܠܡܐ ܠܡܐ ܡܠ .ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܐܚܕ[52] ܠܡܐ
.ܢܢܡ

Translation

Part of the translation of the letter from the pious Thomas, bishop of Germanicia, to the chaste Elias, presbyter and archimandrite of the brothers of the mountain which is called Marde, which makes known the purport of the letter which the holy {Severus} prepared for him.

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43. Add. MS 14,532: "ܫܘܫܐ ܕܗܘ ܐܚܕ ܡܢܐ ܡܠܐ ܒܪܝܫ ܐܢܐ ܕܟ"

44. Add. MS 14,532: "ܠܥܠ ܠܐܠ"

45. Add. MS 14,532: "ܡܪܕ ܡܠܠ ؤܚܕ"

46. Add. MS 14,532: "ܫܒ ܕܒܥ"

47. Add. MS 14,532: "ܫܒ ܥܠܝ"

48. Add. MS 12,155 contains the erasure "ܠܫܬܪ <ܠܫ> ܠܫܚ"

49. Add. MS 14,532: "ܐܚܕܐ"

50. Add. MS 14,532: "ܕܐ ܠܡܐ ܡܠ"

51. Add. MS 14,532: "ܡܠܐ ܚܕ ܠܥܠ"

52. Add. MS 14,532: "ܐܚܕܐ ܠܐܠ .ܐܢܐ"

For you stand, as we have said, truly in the grace of God and in the true faith, and you demonstrate the truth of your love for God at this time, and not only that, but also the pride of the love which you bear for your brothers, and the hand of mercy you stretch out to those who have stumbled through human weakness, but wish to return to the truth, with great diligence. And on account of this you wish to learn how they ought to be received – especially those who renounce the ordination of our brother and the sharer of our ministry the bishop Mar John, who is among the saints –, and again you desire to learn in what way it is right to receive those who have received the ordination of the dyophysites, that is the Nestorians, and afterwards return sincerely to the truth.

These are the questions which are written in your letter. Regarding, then those who have left the communion of the dyophysites, whether they are priest or deacons, the holy fathers have decreed concerning them that for one year they shall not minister priesthood, once they have first anathematized in writing that heresy from which they have turned, along with the remainder of the all other heresies. This also is well known to your holiness. With respect to those who have received the ordination of the dyophysites, that is the Nestorians, even if they should truly turn with their whole heart, those who at that time were ruling over the holy church of the faithful, those who bore the struggle for the truth, they have commanded that they should remain for a period of two years, without ministering the priesthood, they too shall anathematize in writing the heresy from which they have been extracted and all of

the [other] heresies and then through the license and blessing of an orthodox pastor they shall fulfill the priestly office, after an examination and a true conversion and the completion of the stated time. For the sincere penitence of the one who draws near, and the license and blessing of the an orthodox priest, grants to that one who returns the spiritual grace so that he is able to officiate as a priest. The spiritual grace makes it possible for them to officiate, and not the earlier ordination, as some have supposed, but the power of the blessing and license of an orthodox pastor. The traditions of the church, however, do not permit them to be ordained a second time. And in brief, so that we should not write the same things down at length and so lengthen the letter for you, we tell your excellence in short that just as we do not baptize for a second time those who return from heresies, so also the traditions of the church do not permit one to bestow a second ordination. On that account also, Timothy, the bishop of Alexandria the Great, who is among the saints – who endured lengthy exiles for the sake of Christ – did not re-ordain those who had received ordination from the dyophysites and took refuge in penitence, but only made them anathematize in writing every heresy – and first of all the heresy from which they had turned –, and once he had fixed a time for them which he considered [appropriate], he permitted them to serve in the priesthood after the fulfillment of their canonical [penitence].

Now, we are aware that [when] those of the opposing party receive those who have been ordained by the bishop Mar John, who is among the saints, they ordain them again for a second time, but this is not [done] ac-

cording to the ecclesiastical traditions nor the commandments of the holy fathers. And again – when therefore we thus perform these things, we do not fall into the imprudence of those of the opposing party. But consider to what impiety these have submitted and to how many things which do not [agree] with one another, but are contrary to one another. For these whom they ordained a second time, as though they do not possess the priesthood – as they say –, these very same [people] they have accepted as true priests, since they do not baptize those who have been baptized by them.

No. 2

From the Letter of Thomas, Bishop of Germanicia, to the Archimandrite Alexander of Beth Aphthonia

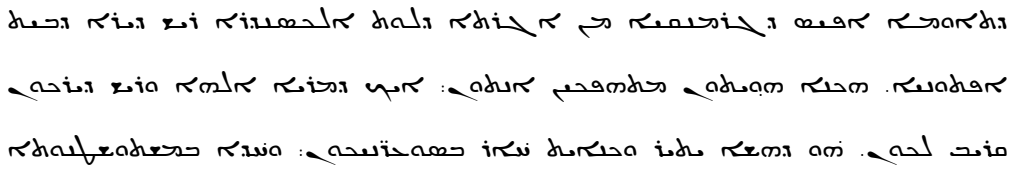
The heavily excerpted fragment is attested solely in and here edited from BM Add. MS 14,538, folio 24b, a serto manuscript dated by Wright solely on paleographic grounds to roughly the tenth century AD. In the manuscript, the quote is adduced as part of what Wright describes as a "large collection of chapters on the Body and its Members, the Soul, the Incarnation, the holy Eucharist, Baptism, etc., preceded by a section containing definitions of various scientific terms."[53]

Regarding the dating of the text, it is only possible to establish an approximate dating on purely prosopographic grounds, given both profound

53. Wright, *Catalogue*, pg. 1004

brevity and the wholly theological content of the surviving fragment. Here, a firm *terminus ante quem* is provided by Thomas' death in 542, while it is equally certain the letter must postdate the death of John bar Aphthonia, the eponymous founder of the monastery of Beth Aphthonia, on 4 November 537.[54] The anonymous author of the *vita* of John bar Aphthonia states that prior to his death John transferred the governance of the monastery to "the honorable and renowned Alexander."[55] This Alexander, then, must almost certainly be identical with the addressee of the present letter, during whose headship it was then written. The tone of the fragment – which appears to congratulate its recipient upon his advancement to the headship of his monastery – makes it reasonable to assume that it was written around the time of John bar Aphthonia's death and Alexander's succession as archimandrite – that is, in late 537 or early 538 AD.

Text



54. Nau, F. (1902), "Histoire de Jean bar Aphtonia," *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 7.1, 102; concerning the earlier history of the monastery, which was constituted by anti-Chalcedonian monks from the monastery of Thomas near Seleucia on the Orontes, who had resettled in Qenneshre on the Euphrates, following their expulsion in 525, see, Menze, *Syrian Orthodox Church*, 125-127.

55. *Historie de Jean bar Aphtonia*, § 9

ܡܫܠܡ ܕܢܦܩ ܒܥܕ ܡܢܗ ܡܫܡܫܐ ܕܐܠܦܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܐܒܓܪ ܕܐܬܪܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ.

Translation

From a letter of Thomas the bishop of Germanicia to Alexander the archimandrite of the monastery of Beth Aphthonia: "You should conduct yourself thus, as though the Lord God and your archimandrite is present with you – he who now all the more and justly watches your deeds, and rejoices in the advancement of your rule, and finds supplications which [to make] on your account, and who is able to draw near to God more freely with supplications on your behalf."

No. 3

Letter of Thomas of Germanicia to John the Presbyter and Archimandrite of Beth Mar Eusebius in the Village of Bartho' in the Chora of Apamea

[Harvard Syr. 22, folios 15a-15b, and BM Add. MS 14,532, folios 142a-143a]

A largely complete text of the letter is preserved in Harvard Syr. MS 22 – a heavily damaged and partially disarranged estrangela manuscript of 80 mostly loose folios, dated paleographically to the eighth or ninth century.[56] Another witness corresponding – with the addition of several lines – to the contents of folio 15 in the Harvard manuscript also survives in BM. Add. MS 14,532.[57]

56. Brock, S. P. (1975), "Some New Letters of the Patriarch Severus," *Studia Patristica* 12, 17-18

57. As noted above, BM. Add. MS 14,532 has also been dated on paleographical grounds to

On the basis of this second witness it is possible to restore a number of lacunae, which have resulted from damage to the margins of the primary manuscript. Although broadly similar, the manuscripts give verbally distinct readings – with BM. Add. MS 14,532 offering more frequent evidence of grammatical amelioration within the Syriac text. Harvard Syr. MS 22 has, therefore, been chosen to serve as the base text. BM. Add. MS 14,532 has, accordingly, been used to supply the defects in the Harvard manuscript.

In a footnote to his article outlining the contents of the Harvard Syr. MS 22, Brock tentatively suggests that the loose folios 73 and 65 – "which contain a great deal of circumstantial detail about events in Alexandria" – might be inserted after folio 15.[58] There is, however, no apparent thematic link between the Alexandrian material contained in folios 73 and 65 and the content of the letter, save that the latter quotes an earlier correspondence between Thomas and Severus of Antioch, while the patriarch was still in Alexandria.[59] Neither is there an obvious connection between folio 15b – which ends in the middle of a grammatical clause – and either folio 73a or 65a, nor does the text beginning folio 16a appear to follow directly from 15b. Instead, the additional material contained in the final lines of BM. Add. MS 14,532 folio 143a – which is entirely absent from Harvard Syr. MS 22 – pro-

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the period of the eighth century.

58. Brock, "Some New Letters," 20 n. 1

59. For further discussion of the fragmentary correspondence between Thomas of Germanicia and Severus of Antioch, see Appendix III, below.

vides a clear verbal resolution to the clause as well as a neat conceptual resolution to the paragraph – and perhaps the letter as a whole.

Based on internal, prosopographic evidence, it possible to date the letter with certainty only to the period between 538 and 542 AD. Here, as in the above edited letter of Thomas to the archimandrite Elias, a firm *terminus post quem* is set by the death of John of Tella – whom the text refers to as "John of righteous memory, who was bishop of Tella" –, a similarly fixed *terminus ante quem* is established by the letter writer's own death.[60] Further to this, however, the other prosopographic indicators offered by the text – which date the prior rulings and correspondences referenced by Thomas – serve here only to broadly sustain this conclusion.[61]

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60. Noting that the letter, though referring to Severus of Antioch – who died at roughly the same time as John of Tella –, does not specifically refer to the patriarch as deceased, Menze, *Making of the Syrian Orthodox Church*, 183 n. 171, suggests that the phrase "ܡܪܝ ܣܘܪܝܐ ܙܕܝܩܐ" need not be read as implying that John was already dead at the time when the letter was written. For this reason, he has dated the letter only broadly to the period after AD 536, since it makes reference to sojourn of Severus of Antioch in Constantinople, idem, 132 n. 101, while implicitly indicating a *terminus ante quem* of 538 for the letter's composition. Such reasoning is, however, unsustainable and stands opposed to a plain text reading of the epithet "ܡܪܝ ܣܘܪܝܐ ܙܕܝܩܐ," for which there are no other obvious interpretations; certainly, Menze offers no plausible alternative.

61. *N.b.*, Thomas refers in folio 15a to an episode involving the re-ordination of an anti-Chalcedonian deacon by the bishop Hypatius of Ephesus, which took place during the life of Severus of Antioch and which was the subject of a correspondence between the patriarch and the archimandrite Photius of Caria. While the precise dates of Hypatius' episcopacy are not known, he is first attested as bishop of Ephesus in 530 and last attested in 539/540; his successor, Andrew, was already in place in 541 – Honigmann, *Évêques*, 119-122. How quickly Hypatius succeeded the anti-Chalcedonian Theosebius – who appears to have died in 518 – is, however, unknown. There is, therefore, insufficient evidence to date this referenced correspondence, with greater specificity than the period 518 to 538. The letter also refers to an exchange of letters between the patriarch and Thomas, concerning a dispute between the latter and John of Tella over the proper procedure by which to receive clerical converts, which bishop dates to the period around 535 – see discussion in Appendix IV, 340-345.

Text

ܗܝܢ ܒܝܘ ܡܥܒܪ ܫܡܐ ܒܗܠ ܡܩܕܡܝܢ ܡܬܪܓܡܢ ܡܬܐ ܗܝܟ
ܗܝܐ ܫܡܝ ܐܡ ܒܗܠ. ܡܟܬܒܝ ܗܝܢ ܡܬܐ ܗܝܢ ܐܬܪܐ ܐܬܡܪ ܐܝܟ ܒܬܪ ܗܝܢ
[62]ܒܗܝ[ܒ] ܡܬܒܪ ܒܗ ܡܠܟ ܒܚܝܠ ܒܪܝܐ ܒܥܠ ܕ ܢܥܒܪ ܕ ܫܡ
ܠܒ ܡܫܬܟ ܫܩܦ ܒܗ ܥܡܕܬܒ[63]ܒܚܝܠ ܡܠܟ ܫܡ. ܐܡ ܒܗ
ܠܗ ܐܡ ܡܢ ܗܝܠ[64]ܫܢ ܒܐ ܒܟ ܠܗ ܚܝ ܐܡ. ܡܥܒ
ܡܬܠ ܒܝܢ. ܐܡ ܡܢ ܠܥܒ ܡܬܪ ܡܬܐ ܒ[65]ܒܐ ܕ ܡܠܟ
[66]ܡܥܒ ܒܐ ܒܐ ܒ ܡܒ ܡܠܟ ܒ: ܒܠܗ ܡܠ ܡܥܒ
ܠ ܕ ܒܬ ܒ ܐܡ[67] ܐ. ܗܝ ܒ ܡ ܒ ܒ
ܒ ܒܐ ܕ :ܡܠܟ[68] ܒ ܒ ܠ ܡ ܒ
ܠ[69]ܐ. ܠ ܡ ܠ ܡ ܒ ܒ ܗ ܡ
ܒ[70]: ܐ ܒ ܡ ܒ ܒ ܐ ܡ
ܒ[71] ܐ[ܒ] ܐ ܡ ܒ ܒ :ܐ ,ܐ

62. Harvard Syr. 22: "ܒܗܝ.."

63. Harvard Syr. 22: "ܒܚܝܠ"

64. BM Add. MS 14,532: "ܡܢ"

65. BM Add. MS 14,532: "ܒܐ ܕ :ܡܠܟ"

66. BM Add. MS 14,532: "ܡܥܒ"

67. Harvard Syr. 22: "..ܐܡ"

68. BM Add. MS 14,532: "ܠܗ"

69. BM Add. MS 14,532: "ܐܡ"

70. BM Add. MS 14,532: " ܒ ܡ"

71. Harvard Syr. 22: "ܐ.ܐ"

ܟ[74]ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܟ̈ ܕܝܢ ܠܡܢ ܕܥܒܕܘ ܒܝܕ ܠܗ[73] ܫܢܝܢ ܕܡ[72]ܡܠܟ
ܕܡ ܡܠ[76]ܡ[ܢ]ܟ. ܫܐܝ ܒܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܝ ,ܐܒܒܐ. ܘܐܡܒܐܟ ܕ[75]ܠܐܒܡ
ܫܝ ܒܐ. ܫܐܝ ܒܟܘ ܡܠ ܟܥܒ ܕܝ ܬܐܒ. ܡܠܟ ܟܡܠ ܡ ܟܘ ܫܟ
ܟܠܗ ܟܐܡܡܐ ܟܝܡ ܕ: ܟܐܘܡܘ ܫܡܡܬ ܕ ܡ ܕ ܬ. ܫܝ ܐ ܫ
ܫܐܝ ܒܗ ܐ ܕ ܐ[77]ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܐ ܡ ܡ ,ܫ
ܟ ܐ ܫ ܫ ܐ. ܫ ܐ ܐ ܐ

ܗܘ ܫܡܐ[83] ܕܫܥܐ ܕ ܒܪ ܐܒܐ ܗܘ. ܐܡܪ ܒܪܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܩܕܡ ܕ ,ܫܠܡ ܬܒܪ
ܫܠܝܚܐ ܠܥܡ ܫܠ: ܗܘ ܠܠܒ ܒܢܝܢܫܐ ܗܘ ܕܒܥܐ ܒܢܝܐܕܡ ܗܘ ܩܡ
ܟܬܒܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܟܬܒ ,ܡ ܫܒܥ: ܠܠܒ ܚܠܩܐ ܐܒܕ ܠܥ ܟ ܠ
ܫܠ .ooo[85] ܟܬܒܢܝ ܩܒܝ ܟ ܡܢ ܐܡ[84]: ܠܥܠ ܒܢܝܐܕ: ܟܬܒ
ܐܪܒ[86] ܫܡܥ ܒܢܝ ܫܡ ܟ ,ܫܠ .ܐܡ ܩܕ ܐ ܗܘ ܫܒܥ ܟ
ܩܕܡ ܟܬܒ ,ܡ ܐܒ ,ܡ ܟܕ .ܠܐ ܟܬܒܬ ܫܠ ܐܡ ܟܠ ܠܐ: ܚܠ ܟ
ܒܪ ܫܡ ܐ

ܟܬܒ ܡܫܐ ܟܝܢܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܡܕܐ ܟܠܐ ܟܫܚ ܐܡ ܬܡ ܟܢ ܒܗ
ܟܬܒ ܗܢ ܡܕܐ ܠܡܐ ܐܚܪܢ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܒܗ[96] ܡܫܬܝܫ[95] ܟܢܝܐ
ܗܝ ܕܐ ܗܢ ܡܢ ܒܗ[98] :ܐܚ ܒܪܟ ܗ[97] ܟܬܒ ܐ ܟܠ ܡܢ :ܟܫܚ
ܗܢ :ܐܡ[99] ܒܪܝܫ ܟܫܚ ,ܡ ܐܚ ܟ ܟܬܒ ܠ ܟܠ ܗ
ܕ ܐܝܟ[101] ܐܡ[100] ;ܡܫܝ ܒܪܟ ܐ ܟܫ ܒ ܕ
ܡ ܐܟ ܟ ܟ[102] ܟ ܗܢ ܐ ܐ ܟ ܒ
ܒ ܟ ܗܢ ܟ[103] ܐ ܟ ܐ ܐ ܟ
ܒ ;ܡܫܝ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܐ ܟ[104]
ܒ ܟ[106] ܡ ܟ[105] ܟ ܗܢ ܟ ;ܟ
ܐ ܟ ;ܟ ܟ[107] ;ܐ ܟ ;ܟ ܐ
ܟ ܐ ;ܟ[108] ;ܐ ܟ[109] ܡ

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95. BM Add. 14,532: "ܟܢܝܐ"

96. BM Add. 14,532: "ܒܪܝܫ"

97. BM Add. 14,532: "ܐܚ"

98. BM Add. 14,532: "ܟܠ ܡܢ ܒܗ ܟܫܚ"

99. BM Add. 14,532: "ܒܪܝܫ"

100. BM Add. 14,532: "ܟܫܚ"

101. BM Add. 14,532: "ܐܡ"

102. BM Add. 14,532: "ܟ"

103. The following text is omitted from the BM Add. 14,532 with the phrase "ܟܠ ܐܚ."

104. Here the text of BM Add. 14,532 resumes.

105. BM Add. 14,532: "ܟ"

106. BM Add. 14,532: "ܡ"

107. BM Add. 14,532: "ܟ ;ܐ"

108. BM Add. 14,532: "ܟ"

109. BM Add. 14,532: "ܟ ܟ"

[BM Add. MS 14,532, folio 143a] [111]ܡܫܘܚܐ ܡܕܝܢܚܐ ܕܓ [110]ܬܐܘܕܘܣ

ܒܫܘܠܡ ܚܝܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܡܪ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܩܫܝܫܐ ܘܐܪܟܝܡܢܕܪܝܛܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܪ

ܐܘܣܒܝܘ ܕܩܪܝܬܐ ܕܒܪ ܬܘ ܒܟܘܪܐ ܕܐܦܡܝܐ.

Translation

The letter of the holy Thomas, bishop of Germanicia, to the presbyter and archimandrite John of the monastery of Beth Mar Eusebius of the village of Bartho' in the Chora of the Apameans:

I have learned, O lover the truth, that certain of those who are orthodox in thinking, but possess hot zeal in excess, and like young colts whinny and resist the commands of our holy fathers, who desire that those who have received ordination from the dyophysites through coercion of any kind, but afterwards a clear penitence and diligence and drawn near to the holy church of God, they shall be received, after the completion of a period of two years. For [the holy fathers] have thus that they run the course of subservience for the canonical period. Now, then, concerning those who have received the laying on of hands of ordination by those who are heretics, but afterwards at last return to the truth, our holy and blessed patriarch has written, and he who wishes to learn will find it in the treatise which he produced against those who

110.BM Add. 14,532: "ܕܓ ܬܐ"

111.BM Add. 14,532: "ܐܡܪ ܡܪܝ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܩܫܝܫܐ ܘܐܪܟܝܡܢܕܪܝܛܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܪ ܐܘܣܒܝܘ ܕܩܪܝܬܐ ܕܒܪ ܬܘ ܒܟܘܪܐ ܕܐܦܡܝܐ ܕܓ ܕܓ ܬܐ ܡܫܘܚܐ ܡܕܝܢܚܐ ܕܒܪ ܬܘ ܒܟܘܪܐ ܕܐܦܡܝܐ."

re-anoint, which he wrote while he was still in the city of Antioch, and in the letter which he sent to Photius of Caria concerning a certain deacon, who had received ordination from Hypatius in Ephesus, but who repented and hastened to the truth by means of that man, the fore-mentioned God-loving Photius.[112] Your truth loving self should know that I too, feeble and defective, while John of righteous memory, who was bishop of Tella, began to allow those who had received ordination from a heresy, but then repented and returned to the truth and satisfied the canon, not only after a period of two years, but some men even after four years, through his blessing [he began to allow them] to minister, that is, to officiate as priests, [at that time, then] I wrote [about] this to the holy man and our patriarch, while he was in Alexandria. Then, when [folio 15b] he was summoned to go to the royal city, when I indicated that we, the bishops who are in *Oriens*, wished, that we should write a common letter to him concerning this, and [that] I should write that which had been done by him, the pious bishop, but I hindered this from happening immediately, since I thought it better that that which had happened should be written by me alone, which is what I did, while relating that which had been done by us concerning that which had been carried out by one person, I mean to say, by the blessed John, as though the danger had occurred to all of

112.It seems likely that Thomas is here referring to Severus of Antioch, *SL*, I.60 – dated broadly by Brooks, *The Sixth Book*, 179, to the period 519-538. Addressed to Photius and Andrew, whom the rubric describes as presbyters and archimandrite of the monasteries in Caria, *SL*, I.60 treats the archimandrites reception of a deacon – ordained by a Chalcedonian bishop –, in a case that is clearly analogous to that described by Thomas of Germanicia. However, the text of *SL*, I.60 published by Brooks is heavily lacunate and contains no surviving mention of Hypatius of Ephesus, so that definitive identification is not possible.

us. When he received my letter, the blessed, holy man rejected these things, and he responded in those things which he wrote to me, while he spoke thus in these words: "Although in such calm as I am [now] placed, being briefly at ease, I speak only when compelled, I will speak concerning those matters which were sent to me by the diligence of your wise self, and I will praise that with lengthy reproof and lawful chastisement you have canonically received those who were ordained by a heresy, but were then converted to the doctrine of the orthodox faith carefully and with great discernment. I rejoice also this, in the fact that a non-open letter was written by your reverend self, concerning this matter to my poor self. For it is good that in as much as is possible we should manage such matters with timid caution, and should not proclaim anything that is unsuitable and so provoke the enemy."[113] And because I had also written to him concerning those who have received ordination from Zebad, but afterwards were repenting, about how these also should be received, and he also wrote thus about them, in these words: "We do not know who Zebad is. If, however, he truly calls himself a bishop, then he holds the doctrine of the impiety of the illusion of the Manichaeans, and both lawlessly and of his own accord has given the ordination. May he and his barbaric name be concealed in a chasm of silence and the abyss, and the leader of his doctrine and his unlawful ordination, and those who on account of him have acted in the manner of fantasy, as though in the delusion of a dream,

113. This letter does not appear to be elsewhere attested.

and have received from him the order of the priesthood or diaconate, they are like those who have been wrongfully ordained: after they have demonstrated penitence with proof, in whatever way seems good to you, bring them into our order of clergy, by laying the lawful ordination upon them, as though they had not at all possessed the title of clergy. For there are doubtless many [of them], but they have deceived themselves, like those for whom there has been a corrupt laying on of hands, while this was unknown and unseen." So then let us learn from those things which have been written, since the father praised the thing which came about through us. I mean to say the fact that those who receive ordination from the heresy of dyophysites, shall be canonically received following the determined chastisement, and let us learn that those who believed that they were ordained by Zebad, after a trail of their penitence, as those who wrongfully consecrated, it is proper that they received the dignity, [that is] ordination, from an orthodox bishop [BM Add. MS 14,532, folio 142b]. I have told your Piety these certainties which it is necessary for us to perform.

Appendix II

"Letter of the bishop Sergius bar Kharyā"

[BM. Add. MS 17,193, fol. 36a]

The letter is witnessed solely by BM. Add. MS 17,193, fol. 36a – a neatly written Estrangela manuscript, which was copied by an otherwise anonymous monk named Abraham, in AD 874.[1] Beyond this, the text of the Syriac letter contains a number of syntactical infelicities which would tend to suggest that it had initially been written in Greek and then translated at a comparatively early date. The extant text preserves only a fragment of the source letter, which appears originally to have offered a series of rulings on at least two questions of sacramental protocol. From this, the extant text appears to have been excerpted with the evident purpose of providing a succinct, autonomous canon. As such, much of the data concerning the original context and composition of the letter – including the name of its addressee – has been lost. It is therefore impossible to establish precisely when or why the text was written.

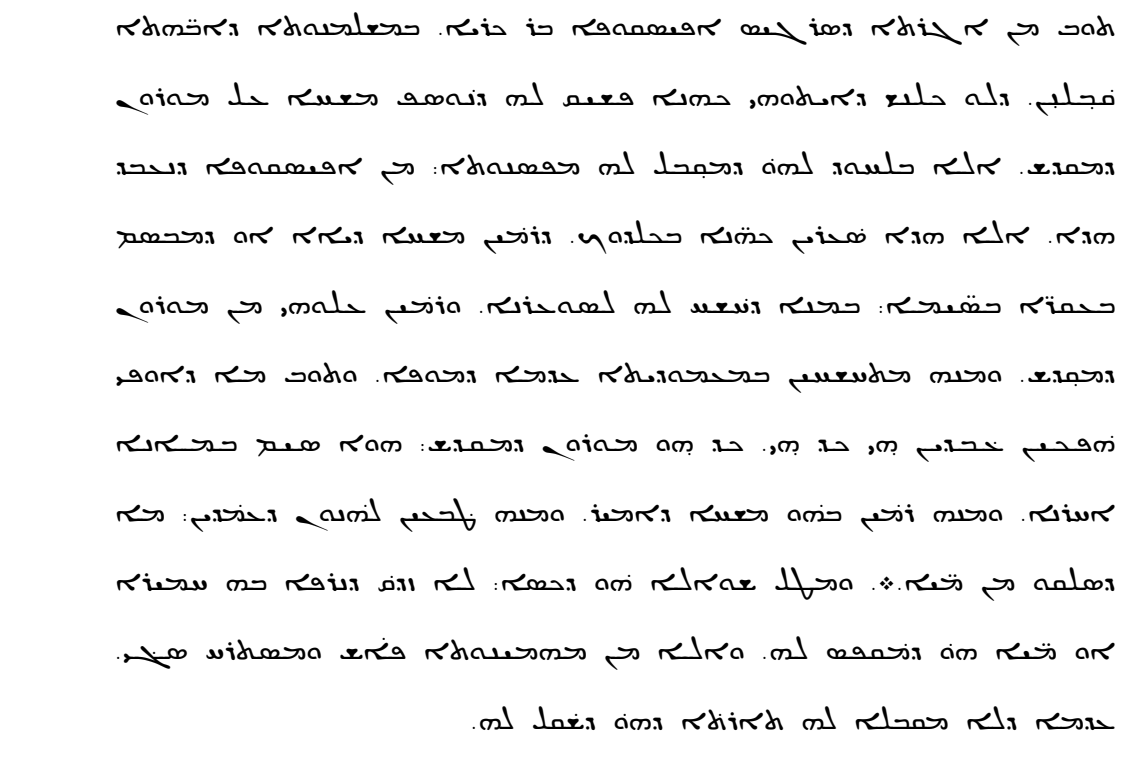
The authorship of the bishop Sergius bar Kharyā is likewise impossible to confirm with absolute certainty. Nevertheless, there is also no immediately apparent reason to doubt the attribution offered by the rubric, particularly as Sergius bar Kharyā does not seem to have been so prominent a figure as to attract a corpus of pseudepigrapha.[2] For much the same reason it does not seem particularly likely that a text authored by a more prominent homonym, such as the patriarch Sergius of Antioch, should have been after-

1. Wright, *Catalogue*, pg. 989 and 1001

2. His putative authorship of the letter in BM. Add. MS 17,193, fol. 36a has long been known and at least tentatively accepted by modern scholars on the basis of the entry in Wright's *Catalogue* – Brock and Fitzgerald, *Two Early Lives*, pg. 139 n. 180; Honigmann, *Évêques*, pg. 190; and Baumstark, *Geschichte*, pg. 185.

ward misattributed with such specificity to Sergius bar Kharyā. If the ascription to Sergius bar Kharyā is accepted, then the letter may be assigned with relative confidence to the period between *c.* 557 and 578, when Sergius is known to have served as the Jacobite bishop of Carrhae/Harran.[3] Otherwise, however, the contents of the canons do not provide sufficient evidence from which to extrapolate any further refinement to this basic prosopographic dating.

Text



3. Comparatively little is known about Sergius bar Kharyā, though what is known does support the possibility of his authorship of the letter. Prior to his consecration as the bishop of Carrhae, he is known to have been an archimandrite and to have translated from Greek into Syriac the *Life of Severus of Antioch* traditionally ascribed to John of Beth Aphthonia, pseudo-John of Beth Aphthonia, *Life of Severus of Antioch*, pg. 179; and Baumstark, *Geschichte*, pg. 184-185. On the basis of this latter fact, it has been generally assumed that Sergius bar Kharyā was a monk and archimandrite in the prominent monastery of Beth Aphthonia. Following his ordination, Honigmann, *Évêques*, pg. 190, identifies him with the partisan and *syncellus* of Jacob Baradaeus, who is variously attested in the *DM.*, 10, 25, 38-41, and John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, III.IV.33. At the very least, this would suggest that Sergius bar Kharyā possessed both the linguistic competence and perhaps also the ecclesiastical standing to have been the author of the text.

Translation

Again from the letter of the bishop Sergius bar Kharyā: We agree with the tradition of the fathers that not everyone who is a priest shall simply add oil to the myron which is consecrated, but only he who receives permission from a bishop to do this. But everywhere priests do this, pouring oil, which is fair or fragrant, onto the perfumed principles. In what respect is this a useful action? And they pour some of the consecrated myron over it, and they use it in baptism until it is exhausted. And also, when it has run out they again make the same [mixture]. Since the consecrated myron was placed in a different vessel, they pour some of it into that oil that has been mentioned, and with it they seal those who are being baptized when they come up from the water.

And with respect to the question of the cup, it is not right that the one who stores it should leave wine or water in it, otherwise through negligence it will remain and become greatly corrupted, until the mind which has taken it will not accept it.

"Letter of Constantine of Laodicea and Antonius of Aleppo to Thomas of Germanicia"

[BM. Add. MS 14,532, fol. 145a-b]

The letter is preserved in BM Add. MS 14,532, a neatly written estrangela manuscript, dated by Wright to the eighth century on paleographical grounds.[1] Either as a result of its inclusion in BM Add. MS 14,532 – or perhaps before – the text of the letter was excerpted evidently to provide a ruling on the reception of clergy who had been ordained by heretics. It is not possible to determine precisely how much of the original text has been lost as a result, though it is apparent that the address and with it perhaps some of the original prefatory material was excluded.

The letter was evidently written during the life of Severus of Antioch, after *c.* 520 and before 536, when a number of exiled bishops from *Oriens*, including the authors of the letter, were resident in Egypt.[2] Beyond this, the contents of the letter provide some limited contextual clues by which to date its composition more precisely. Specifically, the letter refers to the sanctioning by the patriarch of certain determinations which had been made by Thomas of Germanicia and the other exiled bishops in *Oriens*, who are collectively

1. Wright, *Catalog*, pg. 955

2. The presence of both Constantine of Laodicea and Antonius of Aleppo in Alexandria, toward the end of this period, is confirmed in the preface to the "Canons for the Time of Persecution" (= *Synodicon*, XX, pg. 159-163), pg. 159, which can be dated with precision to AD 535: "The pious Constantine, Antonius, Thomas, Pelagius, and Eustathius were in the city of Alexandria, during the persecution, while the patriarch Mar Severus was alive and when the patriarch Theodosius was seated on his throne, in the thirteenth year which called the "indiction" among the Greeks;" Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen*, pg. 164-167; and Honigmann, *Évêques*, pg. 25-27 and 36-37. Prior to that, although comparatively little is known about activities of the bishops Constantine and Antonius, both were apparently exiled in 519 and are assumed to have taken up residence in Alexandria shortly thereafter, Honigmann, *Évêques*, pg. 26 and 36.

termed "the God loving brothers and sons of our ministry" by the text. *Inter alia*, these rulings are said to have included resolutions pertaining to the admittance of those ordained by "heretics" – *i.e.*, Chalcedonians and perhaps Julianists – as well as those appointed by pseudo-bishop Zebad, both of whom, it is stated, had approached Thomas and his unnamed colleagues. Affirming their own acceptance of the provisions sent by Thomas, Constantine and Antonius add the further stipulation – supposedly offered by Severus – that those clerics ordained by heretics should remain for two years, after being received, without performing the offices of their ministry, while those who, though ordained by anti-Chalcedonian bishops, entered the communion of the heretics before returning to the church were to be allowed to resume their previous rank after one year.

Here, the insistence that those ordained by heretics be admitted to the function of the clergy after two years as well as the limited focus on the problem posed by the reception of Zebadite clergy are both features consistent with the concerns of an earlier correspondence between Thomas of Germanicia and Severus of Antioch. In the extant fragments of this correspondence – which are preserved in quotation in a later letter from the bishop Thomas to the archimandrite John of Beth Mar Eusebius –, Severus appears to have responded to a request to adjudicate a dispute within the exilic episcopate in *Oriens* regarding the reception of "heretical" and Zebadite clerics by ratifying the formulae established by Thomas of Germanicia.[3] Much the same issues again surface in a codified form in the so-called "Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient" – a canon collection written by the bishops in the dio-

3. Thomas of Germanicia, "Letter to John of Beth Mar Eusebius " (= Appendix I.3), folio 15b

cese and dated by Vööbus to *c.* 532-534.[4] Although it is not possible to date the correspondence between Severus and the bishop of Germanicia with exactitude, Thomas describes the exchange as having taken place before the patriarch journeyed to Constantinople in the winter of 534/535.[5] Beyond this, it would appear that the correspondence cited by Thomas of Germanicia predated the "Chapters." Indeed, the tone of the fragmentary correspondence suggest that it took place before the pseudo-episcopal ordinations of Zebad had become a *cause célèbre* within the anti-Chalcedonian community; in his quoted response, Severus claims to have been ignorant of Zebad and his usurpation of the episcopacy. Canon 25 of the "Chapters," by contrast, states that, "almost twenty years more or less have passed, after those things which were presumptuously done by Zebad," and further cites a supporting ruling by Severus, in a treatise directed against those who repeat the anointing.[6] The

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4. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen*, pg. 167-175; and Honigmann, *Évêques*, pg. 107, asserts that the collection was composed in late 532 or 533; both dates, however, should be understood as imprecise and highly conjectural – see below. "Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient" (= *Synodicon*, XXI, pg. 163-176), 13, 22, 25, 33, and 42 all regulate the reception of clerical converts and those forcibly ordained heretics.

5. Thomas of Germanicia, "Letter to John of Beth Mar Eusebius " (= Appendix I.3), folio 15b; and Frend, *Rise*, pg. 269 n. 3.

6. "Chapters Which Were Written from the Orient" (= *Synodicon*, XXI, pg. 163-176), 25, pg. 169; Thomas of Germanicia, "Letter to John of Beth Mar Eusebius " (= Appendix I.3), folio 15b; Honigmann, *Évêques*, pg. 106-107, predicated his dating of the activity of Zebad on the basis of the chronological reference in canon 25, which he linked to composition of a treatise by Severus of Antioch against those re-anoint, which is cited in the text of the canon. Following Nau, "Littérature canonique," pg. 43 n. 2, Honigmann identifies this treatise with Severus of Antioch, *SL*, V.6, positing that "*il est presque certain que ce traité de Sévère était dirigé contre les machinations de Zebad*." Misrepresenting Brooks, *The Sixth Book*, pg. 294, Honigmann, then, asserts that *SL*, V.6 can be dated with some precision to 513, allowing him to place the composition of the "Chapters" twenty years later, in 532/533. His reasoning, however, is specious. In the first place, although *SL*, V.6 is the apparent source text for canon 25, there is nothing in the text of the letter which suggests that it was originally written in response to the pseudo-episcopal ordinations of Zebad – nor is that apparent reason for its citation in the "Chapters." Instead, the letter – which is directed explicitly against the excessive rigorism of those who insisted upon the re-baptism of Chalcedon converts – was adduced by the framers of the "Chapters" in order to justify the adoption of a different formula for the reception of Zebadite clergy from that employed in the reception of those ordained by Chalcedonian and Julianist bishops. Second, Honigmann's argument relies upon a precise dating of *SL*, V.6. However, while *SL*, V.6 was – according to its rubric – written during Severus' episcopate, *i.e.*, 512-518, there is nothing to date it more precisely within that period – rather, Honigmann appears to have fixed upon 513 as a convenience in order to a plausible twenty year time frame in which to place the composition of the "Chapters." Third, ignoring the

current letter, which also displays a comparative naiveté towards the controversy surrounding Zebad, appears thus more likely to have been written in concurrence with the opinion given by Severus in his correspondence with Thomas rather than in response to the "Chapters" – though it is entirely impossible to rule out the possibility of the existence of an intervening, though otherwise unattested, communication between the two parties on what appears to have been a persistent source of concern for the Severan episcopate. If so, the letter then ought to be dated early in the period 520-535.

Text

ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܫܒܝܠܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܫܒܐ ܟܬܒ ܐ ܕ
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ܫܝܐ ܥܠ ܕ ܐܠ ܒܪܝܐ ܫܝܐ ܫܝܐ ܥܠ ܟܝܠ ܫܟܚܐ ܒܝܬ
ܐܡ ܥܠ ܕܐ ܗܘ ܒܫܒܝܐ ܕ ܒܫܒܝ ܥܠ ܫܝ ܫܝ ܐ ܫܝ
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ܐܢ ܬܒܝ ܠܚܫܒܢܘܠ ܡܟܠܐ ܐܡܠܢ ܡܫܒܢ ܡܫܚ ܫܠ ܬܒܝܫ
ܒܚܒܢ ܡܐ ܕ ܒܫܝܒ ܡܟܢ ܐܦ ;ܫܚܒܫܒ ܬܟܐ ܒܝܫ ܡܟܢ ܠܫܠ
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ܐܦ ܫܐ ܐܐ .ܢܐܡ ,ܫܐܫܢ ܫ ܬܝ ܬܐ ܫܫܒ ܫܢ .ܡܝ ܢܢ
ܫܢܫܫ ܡܫܫܬ ܡܝܬ ܡܟܢ ܡܝܫ ܐܠ ;ܟܢ ܫܝܫ ܐܠ ܡܫܐ
:ܫܫܒ ܟܢ ܒܒ ܒܒܡܢ ܡܝܫ ܐܠ ܢ ;ܫܐ
.ܒܫܝ ܐ ܢ ܢܢ ܒܒ ܡܐ ;ܡ ܫ ,ܫ ,ܐ ,ܡ ,ܫ ,ܐ ,ܡ ,ܫ ,ܐ ,ܡ

made known to us that they drew near to you and showed an acceptable repentance. And because of this we feeble ones, while we follow his [*i.e.*, Severus of Antioch] faultless and canonical determinations, with respect to the exact guidance and rule which [was given] by your holiness [folio 145b] concerning the reception of these we are always in agreement and concerning those who [return] from Zebad, as your holiness has made known to us, since it has been said that they received the laying on of hands from him. Again we accurately affirm that which has been our blessed patriarch rightly devised should be observed, though now we are adding these things in these minor writings of ours, so that if after this someone – through necessity or some other cause – receives the hand of ordination from the heretics, and afterwards when some compunction arises, and he shall come to the holy church of God and shall bare his burdens to your holiness, or to our holy brothers and sons of our ministry, he shall remain two years without ministering the priesthood, but he shall retain his former habit and order – whether a layman or monk or minor cleric he remains in his rank – and after the completion of these two years, if he is seen to have truly produced the fruits of repentance, he shall receive the honor of that office which was read over him at the time of the ordination which was [received] from the heretics and shall be brought to the true ministry of the church of God through their command or that of those our other holy brothers and sons of our ministry. For this also was commanded by our blessed and holy patriarch, after that letter which was sent to us by your righteousness. For while those who have only been drawn into the canonical communion of the heretics, the clerics of our [party], who repent and return to us, they are prescribed to remain the whole of one year without the ministry. This too seemed pleasing to our holy patriarch, so that he might introduce

certainty to the whole body of the holy church, [that] those who have received ordination to the priesthood from the heretics, shall remain according to this canon of punishment – these things are thus concerning these matters.

"Letter from John of Hephaestopolis to the God Loving Archimandrites in *Oriens*"

[Paris MS Syriaque 62, fol. 242a-243a]

The text of the letter presented here is based on Paris MS Syriaque 62, an estrangela manuscript which H. Zotenberg has dated to the ninth century on paleographic grounds.[1] Long known to modern scholars through the translation of the Paris MS 62 text, published by Nau in 1909, the letter, however, was nonetheless omitted by Vööbus from his edition of the *Synodicon in West Syrian Tradition*.[2] Vööbus, however, has identified a number of other witnesses to the text, including: Vat. syr. MS 560, Mard. Orth. MS 310, Šarf. Patr. MS 73, Šarf. Patr. MS 87, and Birm. Ming. Syr. MS 8.[3] While the incorporation of these other witnesses will be the object of a subsequent project seeking to produce a critical text of the letter for publication, the following provisional transcription and translation are thus offered for the use and convenience of the examiners of this thesis.

Honigmann has plausibly assigned the letter, on the basis of the reference in the rubric to John's sojourn in Cyprus, to the period of the bishop's second mission to ordain priests outside of Constantinople, giving the letter a

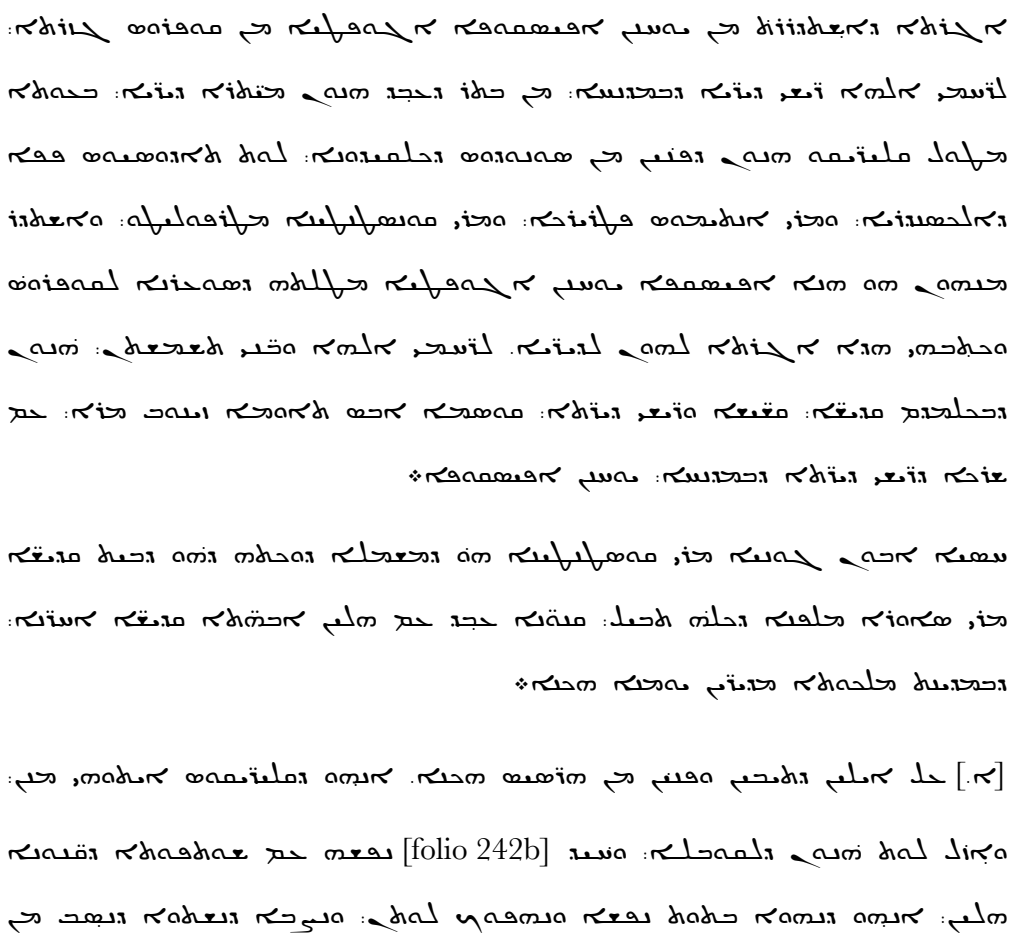
1. Zotenberg, H. (1874), *Manuscrits orientaux: Catalogues des manuscrits syriaques et sabéens (mandaïtes) de la Bibliothèque nationale*, (Paris), 29; the paleographic dating proposed by Zotenberg corresponds well to the datable contents of the collection, the most recent item of which dates to 795 AD, idem, 22-29.

2. Nau, F. (1909), "Littérature canonique syriaque inédite: Concile d'Antioche, lettre d'Italie, canons «des saints pères», de Philoxène, de Théodose, d'Anthime, d'Athanase, etc.," *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 14, 48-49, §§ 103-107

3. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen*, 175-176

terminus ante quem of *c.* 541.[4] Further, since the preamble makes a clear allusion to the death of the patriarch Severus, the letter must therefore have been written after 8 February, 538. Beyond this rough three year window, however, there is no clear evidence – either internal or external – upon which to base a more precise dating of the letter.[5]

Text



4. Honigmann, *Évêques*, 166-167; *n.b.*, John of Ephesus, *LES*, XXV, 335, which gives the only extant witness to the itinerary of John of Hephaestopolis' second mission.

5. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen*, 176-180

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ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܐܢ ܡܢܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܫܬܒܚ ܐܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܕ. ܡܫܒܚ ܐܢܐ ܡܫܝܚ
ܐܝ ܐܡܪ: ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܫܒܚ ܒܫܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܒܫܡܐ ܕܐܒܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ
ܡܢ ܕܐܒܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܝ. ܕ ܐܡ ܠܐ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܡܫܝܚ ܐܠܐ ܐܡܪ ;ܡ ܡܫܝܚ
ܐܡ ܕܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܫܝܚ ;ܡ ܡܫܝܚ ܡܫܬܒܚ ܒܫܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ
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ܡܫ ܡܫܒܚ ;ܡ ܡܫܝܚ ;ܡ ;ܡ ;ܡ

ܗܘ ܕܫܠܚ ܡܪܝ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܩܫܝܫܐ ܡܨܪܝܐ ܡܢ ܓܙܪܬܐ ܕܩܘܦܪܘܣ ܠܓܒܪ̈ܝ ܐܪ̈ܟܝܡܢ̈ܕܪ̈ܝܛ̈ܐ ܕܒ̈ܐܘܪ̈ܝܥ̈ܢ ܒ̈ܬܪ ܗ̈ܠܝܢ ܓܒ̈ܪ̈ܝ ܛ̈ܒ̈ܐ ܕܫ̈ܐܠ̈ܘ ܠܩ̈ܕ̈ܡ ܐܒ̈ܐ ܬ̈ܐܘ̈ܕ̈ܘܣ̈ܝܘܣ ܦ̈ܐ̈ܦ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܠ̈ܟ̈ܣ̈ܢ̈ܕ̈ܪ̈ܝܐ ܘ̈ܐ̈ܢ̈ܬ̈ܝ̈ܡ̈ܘܣ ܦ̈ܛ̈ܪ̈ܝ̈ܪ̈ܟ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܩ̈ܣ̈ܛ̈ܢ̈ܛ̈ܝ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܡ̈ܛ̈ܪ̈ܦ̈ܘ̈ܠ̈ܝ̈ܛ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܠ̈ܟ̈ܣ̈ܢ̈ܕ̈ܪ̈ܝܐ ܘ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ܝ ܩ̈ܣ̈ܛ̈ܢ̈ܛ̈ܝ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܕ̈

[I.] Concerning those who repent and thus return from the heretics – if he is one of the clerics [ordained] by us, and he has gone over to those enemies and joined [folio 242b] himself with the communion of these canons, if he shall be in remorse and shall return to us, and shall desire to be considered worthy to receive our sacraments, it is commanded concerning this person that he shall produce a penitential *libellus* and anathematize in it all of the heresies which exists and strives against the orthodox faith, and he shall then be admitted to the divine mysteries as a layman, while remaining for one year without the ministry of the priesthood, and after the completion of this period which has been decreed for him, he shall arise and minister in the order of the priesthood, in the rank which was pronounced over him when he received ordination.

II. Concerning the man who turns from the heresy of synod of Chalcedon, it is again commanded that he also produce a *libellus* of apology which accepts the orthodox faith, and anathematizes that heresy from which he has had fled, and then [he will be able] immediately to receive the sacraments as a layman, while also remaining without the ministry of the priesthood for a period of two years. After the completion of this period of two years, he shall stand in the same rank that was read over him.

III. And again it has also pleased to their holinesses, since many orthodox fathers have petitioned our pious fathers on account of those priests who received ordination from us, and have gone over to the enemy, and received a second ordination from them, and it pleased them as we have said, and they have ordered concerning them, that they shall come to penitence through contrition of the soul and shall return to us, that they shall also make the same *libellus* of apology [which accepts] the orthodox faith [as] was outlined above,

conforming to the spirit of the orthodox father, while anathematizing every heresy, and especially that one through which they erred, and they shall immediately receive the absolving sacraments like laymen, while remaining without the ministry of the priesthood [folio 243a] for three years, and after the completion of this period of three years, which has been decreed for them, they also shall come and stand in those ranks which read over them.

And so that you might know these things, O saints, behold, I have informed you of them through this letter, since we have received the petition of our God loving brothers, those who asked this of my insignificant self. For I have also been ordered, even I, by those pious fathers, who are in Constantinople, to write to you and inform you of these things. It is pleasing, therefore, and most seemly for us, O honorable brothers, to proceed in their footsteps and to accept these things which have been fittingly determined by the holy fathers, and to be in agreement with them, and not to lessen or to alter those things which have been delivered to us by them, and to be ever watchful according to the teaching and the commands of the divine Paul, who says, "Beware the dogs, beware the evil workers, and the circumcision,"[9] from which may the holy Trinity, who is one God, deliver us and also save your excellence through the prayers of all of the saints. Subscription. May the singular Trinity have mercy [upon us].

This letter was also sent to those archimandrites who were in Gubrin, whose names were Sotericus, Isaac, Eusebius, Mara, John, Cyricus, Georges, and the rest of those who were with them. End.

9. Phil. 3:2

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