STUDIA PATRISTICA

VOL. LXII

Papers presented at the Sixteenth International Conference
on Patristic Studies held
in Oxford 2011

Edited by
MARKUS VINZENT

Volume 10:
The Genres of Late Antique Literature
Foucault and the Practice of Patristics
Patristic Studies in Latin America
Historica

PEETERS
LEUVEN – PARIS – WALPOLE, MA
2013

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VOL. LXII

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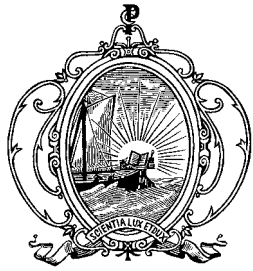

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Abbreviations

AA.SS	see ASS.
AAWG.PH	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen Philologisch-historische Klasse, Göttingen.
AB	Analecta Bollandiana, Brussels.
AC	Antike und Christentum, ed. F.J. Dölger, Münster.
ACL	Antiquité classique, Louvain.
ACO	Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum, ed. E. Schwartz, Berlin.
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers, ed. J. Quasten and J.C. Plumpe, Westminster (Md.)/London.
AHDLMA	Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge, Paris.
AJAH	American Journal of Ancient History, Cambridge, Mass.
AJP	American Journal of Philology, Baltimore.
AKK	Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht, Mainz.
AKPAW	Abhandlungen der königlichen Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin.
ALMA	Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi (Bulletin du Cange), Paris/Brussels.
ALW	Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft, Regensburg.
AnalBoll	Analecta Bollandiana, Brussels.
ANCL	Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Edinburgh.
ANF	Ante-Nicene Fathers, Buffalo/New York.
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, ed H. Temporini *et al*., Berlin.
AnSt	Anatolian Studies, London.
AnThA	Année théologique augustinienne, Paris.
APOT	Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English, ed. R.E. Charles, Oxford.
AR	Archivum Romanicum, Florence.
ARW	Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, Berlin/Leipzig.
ASS	Acta Sanctorum, ed. the Bollandists, Brussels.
AThANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments, Zürich.
Aug	Augustinianum, Rome.
AugSt	Augustinian Studies, Villanova (USA).
AW	Athanasius Werke, ed. H.-G. Opitz *et al*., Berlin.
AZ	Archäologische Zeitung, Berlin.
BA	Bibliothèque augustinienne, Paris.
BAC	Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, Madrid.
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven, Conn.
BDAG	A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, 3rd edn F.W. Danker, Chicago.
BEHE	Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Paris.
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium, Louvain.
BGL	Benedictinisches Geistesleben, St. Ottilien.
BHG	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca, Brussels.
BHL	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis, Brussels.

BHO	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis, Brussels.
BHTh	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie, Tübingen.
BJ	Bursians Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, Leipzig.
BJRULM	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester.
BKV	Bibliothek der Kirchenväter, ed. F.X. Reithmayr and V. Thalhofer, Kempten.
BKV2	Bibliothek der Kirchenväter, ed. O. Bardenhewer, Th. Schermann, and C. Weyman, Kempten/Munich.
BKV3	Bibliothek der Kirchenväter. Zweite Reihe, ed. O. Bardenhewer, J. Zellinger, and J. Martin, Munich.
BLE	Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique, Toulouse.
BoJ	Bonner Jahrbücher, Bonn.
BS	Bibliotheca sacra, London.
BSL	Bolletino di studi latini, Naples.
BWAT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament, Leipzig/Stuttgart.
Byz	Byzantion, Leuven.
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift, Leipzig.
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, Berlin.
CAr	Cahiers Archéologique, Paris.
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly, Washington.
CChr.CM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, Turnhout/Paris.
CChr.SA	Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum, Turnhout/Paris.
CChr.SG	Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca, Turnhout/Paris.
CChr.SL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, Turnhout/Paris.
CH	Church History, Chicago.
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin.
CP(h)	Classical Philology, Chicago.
CPG	Clavis Patrum Graecorum, ed. M. Geerard, vols. I-VI, Turnhout.
CPL	Clavis Patrum Latinorum (SE 3), ed. E. Dekkers and A. Gaar, Turnhout.
CQ	Classical Quarterly, London/Oxford.
CR	The Classical Review, London/Oxford.
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Louvain. Aeth = Scriptores Aethiopici Ar = Scriptores Arabici Arm = Scriptores Armeniaci Copt = Scriptores Coptici Iber = Scriptores Iberici Syr = Scriptores Syri Subs = Subsidia
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Vienna.
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, Bonn.
CTh	Collectanea Theologica, Lvov.
CUF	Collection des Universités de France publiée sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé, Paris.
CW	Catholic World, New York.
DAC	Dictionary of the Apostolic Church, ed. J. Hastings, Edinburgh.

DACL	see DAL
DAL	Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, ed. F. Cabrol, H. Leclercq, Paris.
DB	Dictionnaire de la Bible, Paris.
DBS	Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément, Paris.
DCB	Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects, and Doctrines, ed. W. Smith and H. Wace, 4 vols, London.
DHGE	Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique, ed. A. Baudrillart, Paris.
Did	Didaskalia, Lisbon.
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers, Cambridge, Mass., subsequently Washington, D.C.
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies, Cambridge, Mass., subsequently Washington, D.C.
DR	Downside Review, Stratton on the Fosse, Bath.
DS	H.J. Denzinger and A. Schönmetzer, ed., Enchiridion Symbolorum, Barcelona/Freiburg i.B./Rome.
DSp	Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, ed. M. Viller, S.J., and others, Paris.
DTC	Dictionnaire de théologie catholique, ed. A. Vacant, E. Mangenot, and E. Amann, Paris.
EA	Études augustiniennes, Paris.
ECatt	Enciclopedia Cattolica, Rome.
ECQ	Eastern Churches Quarterly, Ramsgate.
EE	Estudios eclesiasticos, Madrid.
EECh	Encyclopedia of the Early Church, ed. A. Di Berardino, Cambridge.
EKK	Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, Neukirchen.
EH	Enchiridion Fontium Historiae Ecclesiasticae Antiquae, ed. Ueding-Kirch, 6th ed., Barcelona.
EO	Échos d'Orient, Paris.
EtByz	Études Byzantines, Paris.
ETL	Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses, Louvain.
EWNT	Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum NT, ed. H.R. Balz *et al*., Stuttgart.
ExpT	The Expository Times, Edinburgh.
FC	The Fathers of the Church, New York.
FGH	Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, Berlin.
FKDG	Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte, Göttingen.
FRL	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, Göttingen.
FS	Festschrift.
FThSt	Freiburger theologische Studien, Freiburg i.B.
FTS	Frankfurter theologische Studien, Frankfurt a.M.
FZThPh	Freiburger Zeitschrift für Theologie und Philosophie, Freiburg/Switzerland.
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller, Leipzig/Berlin.
GDV	Geschichtsschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit, Stuttgart.
GLNT	Grande Lessico del Nuovo Testamento, Genoa.
GNO	Gregorii Nysseni Opera, Leiden.

GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, Mass.
GWV	Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht, Offenburg.
HbNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament. Tübingen.
HDR	Harvard Dissertations in Religion, Missoula.
HJG	Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft, successively Munich, Cologne and Munich/Freiburg i.B.
HKG	Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte, Tübingen.
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, Tübingen.
HO	Handbuch der Orientalistik, Leiden.
HSCP	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Cambridge, Mass.
HTR	Harvard Theological Review, Cambridge, Mass.
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies, Cambridge, Mass.
HZ	Historische Zeitschrift, Munich/Berlin.
ICC	The International Critical Commentary of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, Edinburgh.
ILCV	Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres, ed. E. Diehl, Berlin.
ILS	Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae, ed. H. Dessau, Berlin.
J(b)AC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Münster.
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature, Philadelphia, Pa., then various places.
JdI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Berlin.
JECS	Journal of Early Christian Studies, Baltimore.
JEH	The Journal of Ecclesiastical History, London.
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies, London.
JLH	Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie, Kassel.
JPTh	Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie, Leipzig/Freiburg i.B.
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review, Philadelphia.
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies, London.
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period, Leiden.
JSOR	Journal of the Society of Oriental Research, Chicago.
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies, Oxford.
KAV	Kommentar zu den apostolischen Vätern, Göttingen.
KeTh	Kerk en Theologie, 's Gravenhage.
KJ(b)	Kirchliches Jahrbuch für die evangelische Kirche in Deutschland, Gütersloh.
LCL	The Loeb Classical Library, London/Cambridge, Mass.
LNPF	A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, ed. P. Schaff and H. Wace, Buffalo/New York.
L(O)F	Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church, Oxford.
LSJ	H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon, new (9th) edn H.S. Jones, Oxford.
LThK	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, Freiburg i.B.
MA	Moyen-Âge, Brussels.
MAMA	Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua, London.
Mansi	J.D. Mansi, Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio, Florence, 1759-1798. Reprint and continuation: Paris/Leipzig, 1901-1927.
MBTh	Münsterische Beiträge zur Theologie, Münster.

MCom	Miscelanea Comillas, Comillas/Santander.
MGH	Monumenta germaniae historica. Hanover/Berlin.
ML	Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, Louvain.
MPG	See PG.
MSR	Mélanges de science religieuse, Lille.
MThZ	Münchener theologische Zeitschrift, Munich.
Mus	Le Muséon, Louvain.
NGWG	Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
NH(M)S	Nag Hammadi (and Manichaean) Studies, Leiden.
NovTest	Novum Testamentum, Leiden.
NPNF	See LNPF.
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version.
NRTh	Nouvelle Revue Théologique, Tournai/Louvain/Paris.
NTA	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen, Münster.
NT.S	Novum Testamentum Supplements, Leiden.
NTS	New Testament Studies, Cambridge/Washington.
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis, Freiburg, Switz.
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta, Rome.
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica, Rome.
OECS	Oxford Early Christian Studies, Oxford.
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, Louvain.
OLP	Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica, Louvain.
Or	Orientalia. Commentarii editi a Pontificio Instituto Biblico, Rome.
OrChr	Oriens Christianus, Leipzig, then Wiesbaden.
OrSyr	L'Orient Syrien, Paris.
PG	Migne, Patrologia, series graeca.
PGL	A Patristic Greek Lexicon, ed. G.L. Lampe, Oxford.
PL	Migne, Patrologia, series latina.
PLRE	The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, ed. A.H.M. Jones *et al.*, Cambridge.
PLS	Migne, Patrologia, series latina. Supplementum ed. A. Hamman.
PO	Patrologia Orientalis, Paris.
PRE	Paulys Realenzyklopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft, Stuttgart.
PS	Patrologia Syriaca, Paris.
PTA	Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen, Bonn.
PThR	Princeton Theological Review, Princeton.
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien, Berlin.
PW	Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, ed. G. Wissowa, Stuttgart.
QLP	Questions liturgiques et paroissiales, Louvain.
QuLi	Questions liturgiques, Louvain
RAC	Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana, Rome.
RACh	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum, Stuttgart.
RAM	Revue d'ascétique et de mystique, Paris.
RAug	Recherches Augustiniennes, Paris.
RBen	Revue Bénédictine, Maredsous.
RB(ibl)	Revue biblique, Paris.

RE	Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, founded by J.J. Herzog, 3e ed. A. Hauck, Leipzig.
REA(ug)	Revue des études Augustiniennes, Paris.
REB	Revue des études byzantines, Paris.
RED	Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Rome.
RÉL	Revue des études latines, Paris.
REG	Revue des études grecques, Paris.
RevSR	Revue des sciences religieuses, Strasbourg.
RevThom	Revue thomiste, Toulouse.
RFIC	Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica, Turin.
RGG	Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. Gunkel-Zscharnack, Tübingen
RHE	Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, Louvain.
RhMus	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Bonn.
RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions, Paris.
RHT	Revue d'Histoire des Textes, Paris.
RMAL	Revue du Moyen-Âge Latin, Paris.
ROC	Revue de l'Orient chrétien, Paris.
RPh	Revue de philologie, Paris.
RQ	Römische Quartalschrift, Freiburg i.B.
RQH	Revue des questions historiques, Paris.
RSLR	Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa, Florence.
RSPT, RSPh	Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques, Paris.
RSR	Recherches de science religieuse, Paris.
RTAM	Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale, Louvain.
RthL	Revue théologique de Louvain, Louvain.
RTM	Rivista di teologia morale, Bologna.
Sal	Salesianum, Roma.
SBA	Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, Basel.
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien, Stuttgart.
ScEc	Sciences ecclésiastiques, Bruges.
SCh, SC	Sources chrétiennes, Paris.
SD	Studies and Documents, ed. K. Lake and S. Lake. London/Philadelphia.
SE	Sacris Erudiri, Bruges.
SDHI	Studia et documenta historiae et iuris, Roma.
SH	Subsidia Hagiographica, Brussels.
SHA	Scriptores Historiae Augustae.
SJMS	Speculum. Journal of Mediaeval Studies, Cambridge, Mass.
SM	Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige, Munich.
SO	Symbolae Osloenses, Oslo.
SP	Studia Patristica, successively Berlin, Kalamazoo, Leuven.
SPM	Stromata Patristica et Mediaevalia, ed. C. Mohrman and J. Quasten, Utrecht.
SQ	Sammlung ausgewählter Quellenschriften zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte, Tübingen.
SQAW	Schriften und Quellen der Alten Welt, Berlin.
SSL	Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, Louvain.

StudMed	Studi Medievali, Turin.
SVigChr	Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, Leiden.
SVF	Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta, ed. J. von Arnim, Leipzig.
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, Grand Rapids, Mich.
TE	Teologia espiritual, Valencia.
ThGl	Theologie und Glaube, Paderborn.
ThJ	Theologische Jahrbücher, Leipzig.
ThLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung, Leipzig.
ThPh	Theologie und Philosophie, Freiburg i.B.
ThQ	Theologische Quartalschrift, Tübingen.
ThR	Theologische Rundschau, Tübingen.
ThWAT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament, Stuttgart.
ThWNT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, Stuttgart.
ThZ	Theologische Zeitschrift, Basel.
TLG	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae.
TP	Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association, Lancaster, Pa.
TRE	Theologische Realenzyklopädie, Berlin.
TS	Theological Studies, New York and various places; now Washington, D.C.
TThZ	Trierer theologische Zeitschrift, Trier.
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen, Leipzig/Berlin.
USQR	Union Seminary Quarterly Review, New York.
VC	Vigiliae Christianae, Amsterdam.
VetChr	Vetera Christianorum, Bari (Italy).
VT	Vetus Testamentum, Leiden.
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary, Waco.
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, Tübingen.
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vienna.
YUP	Yale University Press, New Haven.
ZAC	Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum, Berlin.
ZAM	Zeitschrift für Aszese und Mystik, Innsbruck, then Würzburg.
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, Giessen, then Berlin.
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, Leipzig.
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, Gotha, then Stuttgart.
ZKTh	Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie, Vienna.
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche, Giessen, then Berlin.
ZRG	Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte, Weimar.
ZThK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, Tübingen.

The Genres of Late Antique Literature

The Traditional View of Late Platonism as a Self-contained System

Yuri SHICHALIN, Moscow, Russia

ABSTRACT

The author considers it impossible that being neighbors Christians and Platonists did not influenced each other or that this influence could not be proved. The author sets different examples of such an influence. Among them, there is Eusebius' interpretation of the name of Plotinus' treatise Περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχικῶν ὑποστάσεων. Plotinus as well as the editor of his works Porphyry interpreted the three manifestations (ὑποστάσεις) of the first principle as One – Intellect, Soul and Cosmos. Julian the Emperor had the same interpretation of the term ὑπόστασις. At the same time, Proclus and Damascius interpreted the three manifestations as One, Intellect and Soul. Therefore, the author states that Eusebius' interpretation was dominant since it appears that even Proclus was influenced by it.

This paper is inspired by a discussion with Philippe Hoffmann, professor of the École Pratique des Hautes Études, which took place at the 21st Annual Theological Conference of the Orthodox St Tikhon's University. When I asked Prof. Hoffmann whether it is possible to find the influence of Christian thought on the texts of Neo-Platonists, he said that he does not know such Neo-Platonic texts, and – as the Neo-Platonic school was self-contained – he acknowledged only the parallel development of some common ideas between Neo-Platonists and Christians.

Indeed, nowadays professor Hoffmann's is a widespread point of view among researchers of Neo-Platonic philosophy. For example, Luc Brisson and the recently departed Alain Segonds do not mention Christianity in their edition of Iamblichus' *Vita Pythagorica*;[1] but other views on this matter do exist: for example, John Dillon regarding this text wonders whether the *Vita Pythagorica* of Iamblichus is a kind of a Gospel, and finds some obvious parallels with the Gospels.[2]

[1] Jamblique, *Vie de Pythagore*, ed. and trans. by Luc Brisson and A.Ph. Segonds (Paris, 1966).

[2] Prof. Dillon answers at this question in the affirmative although he notes 'if we would correctly acknowledge the Gospel as a genre and if we would not connect it only with Christianity', in M. von Albrecht, J. Dillon, M. George, M. Lurje, D.S. du Toit (eds, transl.), *Jamblich,* Pythagoras*: Legende-Lehre-Lebensgestaltung*, SAPERE Bd. IV (Darmstadt, 2002), 295f. Prof. Dillon shows not only the various parallels but also a common structural similarity.

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It is my firm belief that the pagan schools of the late antiquity were not closed to Christian thought. However, it is useless to deny that conservatism was a distinct feature of the good philosophical schools. That is why the lectures on Aristotle written by the heads of the Alexandrian school, Elias and David, nowhere show the Christian thoughts[3] of their authors. Quite the contrary: Elias and David successfully reproduced the texts of their pagan predecessors without any innovative intentions.

At the same time, there are famous texts of non-Christian writers in which we can find the influence of Christian literature. I mean the Life of Apollonius of Tyana by Philostratus, the Life of Plotinus by Porphyry, the Life of Pythagoras by Iamblichus and the Life of Proclus by Marinus. In these works, we encounter the 'Neo-Platonic saints', as Mark Edwards calls them,[4] instead of the traditional heroes of the classical encomium. Gillian Clark argues that these personages ought to be regarded as 'pagan rivals to Christ'.[5] Losing sight of this fact, I am sure that we might misunderstand the genre and content of the mentioned texts. Therefore, I have made it my task to remember some historical examples of the openness of the pagan philosophical schools to a Christian influence. It goes without saying that these examples are well known, but I would like to show the poverty of interpreting Neo-Platonic texts without any reference to Christianity.

Thanks to Celsus, we know that in the second century Christians not only provoked persecution but also aroused a desire to engage in polemics. We can therefore confidently affirm that Christians held the attention of the pagan writers. This was in the second century, when the existence of Christianity, as well as some of its concepts were being taken into consideration.

It is known that Numenius called Plato the 'Greek-speaking Moses', therefore it is unthinkable that Numenius knew nothing about Christianity and there is no reason to suppose that this comparison was caused only by his interest in the Holy Scriptures of Hebrews. Thanks to St Justin the Martyr and his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew we can see that at that time the interest in the Holy Scriptures of Hebrews was inspired by the new Christian interpretation. Speaking about this we should remember that Numenius, probably, was in Rome at the same time as St Justin the Martyr.

[3] L.G. Westerink collected some rare examples.

[4] M.J. Edwards (ed., trans.), *Neoplatonic Saints: The Lives of Plotinus and Proclus by their Students* (Liverpool, 2000).

[5] Gillian Clark, 'Philosophic Lives and the philosophic Life: Porphyry and Iamblichus', in: T. Hägg, Ph. Rousseau (eds), *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity* (London, 2000), 29-52, 32: 'Pythagoras was not only exotic, he was the obvious pagan rival to Christ. He was the son of a god, credited with miracles and with supernatural discernment, and a divine teacher who reinterpreted traditional wisdom for his disciples'. Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Life*, ed. and trans. by Gillian Clark (Liverpool, 1989), X: '… the pagan-Christian debate of third and fourth centuries is the necessary background to his book'.

St Justin himself, after his studies in the different pagan schools, chose Platonism. Later, however, he devoted himself to Christianity but continued his attachment to the Platonic texts. The Dialogue with Trypho testifies that St Justin was an enthusiastic reader of Plato.[6] In reference to St Justin I would like to underline that his membership in the conservative and self-contained Platonic School did not prevent him from baptizing. The figure of St Justin is a brilliant example of both a Christian apologist and polemicist, and this fact is proof of the openness of the Platonic School to Christian influence.

In order to understand the inner feelings of a pagan philosopher who realized the Christian way of life and death, I would like to mention a well-known phrase from the eleventh book of Marcus Aurelius' Meditations. Marcus Aurelius points out that the soul should be ready to dismiss the body. In spite of the fact that the Christian interpretation of readiness differs from his own,[7] it is a noteworthy observation that Marcus Aurelius considered Christianity while reflecting on death – a favorite stoic theme. What seclusion of the philosophical schools can then be assumed?

Concerning testimonies of the openness to the Platonic School, we should address ourselves to Plotinus' famous circle of the third century. The elder member of this circle was Amelius, Numenius' admirer. He wrote a commentary on the prologue of John's Gospel, therefore it is clear that he (as well as Numenius) was interested in texts, which were important to Christians. The figure of Amelius attests not only to the openness of Platonists to Christian texts but also to their acquaintance with the methods of the Judeo-Christian polemic against paganism. In addition, Amelius in his commentary identifies the Logos of John's Gospel with the logos of Heraclitus that testifies his interest in Christian texts.

Another member of Plotinus' circle, Porphyry, writes about Christians in his Life of Plotinus,[8] and according to M. Tardieu[9] 'utilise le langage technique des chrétiens eux-mêmes'. Moreover, Porphyry's 15 books *Against Christians* testify that he was very much aware of the Old and New Testaments and was a witty critic of both texts. At the same time, his edition of Plotinus' texts was

[6] M.J. Edwards, 'On the Platonic schooling of Justin Martyr', *JTS* n.s. 42 (1991), 17-34.

[7] Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations* XI 3.1.1-5: 'What a soul that is which is ready, if at any moment it must be separated from the body, and ready either to be extinguished or dispersed or continue to exist; but so that this readiness comes from a man's own judgment, not from mere obstinacy, as with the Christians, but considerately and with dignity and in a way to persuade another, without tragic show' (trans. of G. Long quoted from *The Meditations of Marcus Aurelius* (Cambridge, MA, 1909-14), on-line edition: http://classics.mit.edu/Antoninus/meditations.html).

[8] Porphyrius, *Vita Pythagorae* 16.1-2: 'Many Christians of this period – amongst them sectaries who had abandoned the old philosophy, etc.' (trans. of S. MacKenna quoted from *Plotinus: The Ethical Treatises* [London, 1917], 15).

[9] M. Tardieu, 'Les gnostiques dans la Vie de Plotin', Porphyre, *La Vie de Plotin* (1992), II 503-47, 543.

influenced by the Christian attitude to the Holy Bible. As a result, Porphyry tried to create a kind of the pagan bible for Platonists. To this end, he creates the artificial construction known as the *Enneads*. H.D. Saffrey suggests that Porphyry published the *Enneads* as a result of his polemic against Iamblichus.[10] However, H.D. Saffrey says nothing about Porphyry's polemics against Christians, which in my opinion was the main aim of this edition.

Porphyry also supposed that the image of the master, which he skillfully painted in *The Life of Plotinus*, should support his revealed philosophy. Porphyry wanted to base his philosophy on theology, *i.e.* on a revealed knowledge. M.B. Simmons suggests that Porphyry strove to base his polemics against the main Christian dogmas on the Chaldean oracles (for example Porphyry's polemics against the immortality of Christ[11]).

Iamblichus as opposed to Porphyry was a propagandist of theurgy. Therefore, it was Iamblichus who began to cite the so-called Chaldean oracles, treating them as genuine Holy Scriptures.[12] He intentionally closed the Platonic school, excluding Christian influence. He expelled Christianity from the range of spiritual and religious phenomena, which could be publicly discussed. Keeping in mind Iamblichus' enthusiastic attempts to close the Platonic school to Christians we hardly can suppose his ignorance about or indifference to Christianity.[13]

During the 4th and the 5th centuries the pagan philosophers adopted some Christian ideas. For example, the Emperor Julian usually affirmed that pagan priests should imitate Christian ones in the questions of devotion and benefactions. Christian organization inspired the political, philosophical and religious activity of Julian. Since the powerful influence of Christianity was evident to Julian, he prohibited Christians from teaching in the schools. Thus, Julian himself as well as his philosophical surroundings could hardly be suspected of scholastic seclusion, forbidding Christian influence.

Moreover, in the 5th century, we can find Christian influence on even the greatest opponents of Christianity, *i.e.* Athenian Platonists. In reference to this fact, H.D. Saffrey wrote two articles about the 'liens objectifs entre le Pseudo-Denis et Proclus'[14]. In my opinion, these articles prove that Christians were

[10] H.D. Saffrey, 'Pourquoi Porphyre a-t-il édité Plotin?', Porphyre, *La Vie de Plotin* (1992), 31-65, 55: 'Il a transformé l'œuvre de Plotin en une véritable machine de guerre contre Jamblique et ses pareils'.

[11] M.B. Simmons, 'The Function of Oracles in the Pagan-Christian Conflict during the Age of Diocletian: the Case of Arnobius and Porphyry', *SP* 31 (1997), 349-57, 355.

[12] The same attitude could be found in Proclus' works; see H.D. Saffrey, 'La théourgie dans la philosophie grecque tardive', in *id.*, *Recherches sur le Néoplatonisme après Plotin* (Paris, 1990), 42: '… *Oracles Chaldaïque*, traités comme une véritable écriture sainte'.

[13] For example, professor Dillon's paper is devoted to the Christian influence on the genre of philosophic protreptic letters.

[14] H.D. Saffrey, *Recherches sur le Néoplatonisme après Plotin* (1990), 227-34, 235-48.

very much aware of the private life of the Athenian School, and we should understand it only as a result of openness of the Athenian School.

I believe that Proclus was also well acquainted with some Christian works and with the Holy Scripture. Perhaps owing to a Christian influence he created a Platonic Theology as a kind of Neo-Platonic commentary on the *Corpus Platonicum*. This is quite possible, since Platonic Theology is unique among the other Neo-Platonic writings. In this work, Proclus considers Plato's writings as one sacred text. Such a mystical, and in the same time rational, attitude to the sacred texts is peculiar to the Christian exegetic writings, but it was completely unusual for Neo-Platonists. Therefore, we might assume at least an indirect Christian influence on Proclus' *Platonic Theology* thus a consideration of a Christian background could be very helpful for the understanding of its genre.

Besides of this general observation now I would like to give the specific example of Christian influence on the Platonists' understanding of their own texts.

Porphyry tells us that Plotinus' treatise Περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχικῶν ὑποστάσεων (*Ennead* V 1) was the tenth in chronological order. It was the first text, in which Plotinus put forth his general view of the structure of the universe. At one time, I supposed that this treatise arose from Plotinus' polemics with Numenius.[15] Numenius taught that there are three gods: the first of them was Good, Being, and Intelligence – all in one; the second and the third were the one god – animated Cosmos, *i.e.* the Soul and its creatures in the world of time.

For Plotinus this arrangement was unacceptable: in his ninth treatise he opposed the One-Good, that transcends being, to the sphere of being, and then in the tenth treatise he explained in detail that this 'beyond-being' principle, the One or Good, had three main manifestations in the sphere of being: the first Intelligence, the second Soul, and the third Divine Cosmos. When Plotinus speaks about a hierarchy of 'One-Intelligence-Soul', he is referring to 'three natures', using the term φύσις (see *Ennead* V 1.8.27: ταῖς φύσεσι ταῖς τρισίν). Thus, Intelligence, Soul and Cosmos are not three supreme gods or three chief principles, as Numenius thought, but only the three main manifestations of the higher principle. 'Manifestations' in Greek ὑποστάσεις, 'main' – ἀρχικαί thus Porphyry by naming this treatise Περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχικῶν ὑποστάσεων shows his understanding of the polemical implication of the tenth treatise, that is why the title of Plotinus' text means 'on three main manifestations [of One in Being]'.

Porphyry has the same understanding of the structure of the universe. In his famous *Sent. 30* 'the main manifestations' are called 'whole and perfect manifestations': 'None of the hypostases which rank as wholes, and are perfect, is

[15] Y. Chitchalin, 'À propos du titre du traité de Plotin Περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχικῶν ὑποστάσεων (*Ennead* V 1)', *Revue des Études Grecques* 105 (1992), 253-61.

converted to its own progeny; but all perfect hypostases are elevated to their generators as far as to the mundane body (or the body of the world). For this body, being perfect, is elevated to its soul … But the soul of this body is elevated to intellect; and intellect to the first principle of all things. All beings, therefore, proceed to this principle as much as possible…'[16]

Therefore, τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις 'three manifestations' according to Plotinus and Porphyry, are 'three manifestations of One-Good'. There is no doubt that this comprehension of the word hypostasis is quite natural and evident for Plotinus and Porphyry.

Emperor Julian in his speech *In matrem deum* (8.1-12) uses the phrase τρεῖς ἀρχικαὶ ὑποστάσεις with the same meaning – 'three main manifestations'. In this speech Julian states that οἱ Κορύβαντες, αἱ τρεῖς ἀρχικαὶ τῶν μετὰ θεοὺς κρεισσόνων γενῶν ὑποστάσεις, *i.e.* 'three main manifestations of the genera which are the highest after the gods'.[17]

I believe that Julian's phrase is, I dare say, twice ironic. Perhaps he had in mind the tenth treatise of Plotinus as well as the Christian interpretation of Plotinus' 'three manifestations' as the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. The point is that Plotinus' treatise Περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχικῶν ὑποστάσεων became very popular among Christians due to Eusebius of Caesarea who in the eleventh book of his Preparation for the Gospel cited Plato, Numenius and Plotinus and called the 20th paragraph of his book Περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχικῶν ὑποστάσεων. Eusebius also stressed (*Praeparatio evangelica* XI 3.1-5) that when Plato and Platonists speak about the first, the second and the third god, the Holy Scripture mentions the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit: 'These statements [about the three Kings in the Pseudo-Platonic Second Letter 312.e.1-4] are referred, by those who attempt to explain Plato, to the First God, and to the Second Cause, and thirdly to the Soul of the Universe, defining it also as a third God. But the sacred Scriptures regard the Holy and Blessed Trinity of Father and Son and Holy Ghost as the beginning, according to the passages already set forth'.[18]

While there was no reason to understand Plotinus' three manifestations as One, Intelligence and Soul, Eusebius suggested a very attractive interpretation based on the other – Christian – use of the term hypostasis. I dare say that Eusebius' interpretation soon became dominant since it appears that even Proclus was influenced by it.

Proclus several times uses the phrase Περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχικῶν ὑποστάσεων in his commentary on *Parmenides*. Concerning the views of his predecessors about the *hypotheses* from the second part of *Parmenides*, Proclus mentions Plutarch whom he calls ὁ ἡμέτερος προπάτωρ. According to Proclus

[16] Translation of T. Taylor quoted from *Select works of Porphyry* (London, 1823), 213.

[17] The translation of the author.

[18] Translation of E.H. Gifford quoted from *Eusebius of Caesarea: Praeparatio Evangelica (Preparation for the Gospel)* (Oxford, 1903), 525.

(*In Parmenidem* 1058.21-1059.19), Plutarch assembles the opinions of ancient and modern interpreters of *Parmenides* and acknowledges the nine hypotheses, five of which proceed from the existence of One. Three of these five hypotheses point to 'the three initial and principle (πρωτίστας καὶ ἀρχικαί) hypostases', *i.e*. God, Intelligence and Soul. Proclus also calls them 'the three principle and independent causes' (*In Parmenidem.* 1059.14: περὶ τῶν τριῶν … ἀρχικῶν αἰτιῶν τῶν χωριστῶν). C. Steel and J. Combès[19] argue that the context of Proclus' commentary on *Parmenides* refers us to Plotinus, and I think it is beyond dispute. At the same time, we should admit that Proclus interpreted Plotinus' doctrine in this fragment as well as in the three other places of Proclus' commentary (*In Parmenidem* 1118.21-32, 1135.21-40, 1212.32-1213.9) in the same way as Eusebius does in his eleventh book of the *Preparation for the Gospel*. But we have shown that Porphyry and Plotinus himself interpreted this doctrine in other way.

For Damascius τρεῖς ἀρχικὰς ὑποστάσεις also mean God, Intelligence and Soul (*In Philebum* 244.10: τὰς τρεῖς ἀρχικὰς ὑποστάσεις … θεὸν νοῦν ψυχήν). Although we have no intention of making any comparisons between content and structure of Plotinus' or Proclus' writings, it should be admitted that Damascius as well as Proclus was influenced by Eusebius' interpretation of τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις. This small example testifies that a Christian influence on pagan philosophers can be observed in philosophic terminology and some concepts. In detail these ideas will be considered in the paper of my colleague – professor Svetlana Messyats.

[19] C. Steel, 'ΥΠΑΡΞΙΣ chez Proclus', in F. Romano, D.P. Taormina (eds), *Hyparxis e hypostasis nel neoplatonismo* (Firenze, 1994), 79. Damascius, *Commentaire du Parménide de Platon*, ed. by L.G. Westerink and J. Combès (Paris, 2002), 276.

Y a-t-il lieu de parler de genre littéraire à propos des Apologies du second siècle?

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ABSTRACT

Having presented the criteria that allow a definition of the literary genre, the author shows that the preserved apologies, namely those of Aristides, Justin and Athenagoras, can, indeed, not be subsumed under one category: they are not apologies in the literal sense, they have no true offical 'request' (*libelli*, βιβλίδια) to the Emperor, but give themselves rather as, what one calls a προσφωνητικὸς λόγος, an address, πρεσβευτικὸς λόγος, a plea without respecting the requirements. In fact, the literary genre was only defined after the period in which the apologies have been created, essentially by Eusebius.

Introduction

La question des genres dans l'ancienne littérature chrétienne fait l'objet de multiples études, depuis déjà de nombreuses années. C'est ainsi que tout récemment, Anders-Christian Jacobsen, Jörg Ulrich et David Brakke ont consacré un volume de leur vaste ensemble *Jews, Christians and Pagans in Antiquity* au concept et au genre de l'apologétique (Frankfurt am Main, 2009). Bien évidemment, notre intervention ici, à Oxford, ne sera pas si ambitieuse. Notre propos est simplement de montrer que la notion de genre littéraire n'est pas véritablement opératoire pour définir les écrits apologétiques du II^e^ siècle.

Notre réflexion partira d'un postulat très simple. On ne peut ranger dans une catégorie ou un type littéraire, ce qu'on appellerait plutôt, de nos jours, un «genre» (latin *genus*, grec γένος), qu'un écrit qui réponde au minimum à l'un de ces trois critères:

1) l'auteur a de lui-même présenté son ouvrage comme relevant d'un genre bien précis, soit par son titre, soit par un emploi récurrent, dans son texte, de termes qui renvoient à une catégorie littéraire nettement déterminée; qu'il ait ou n'ait pas parfaitement respecté les règles du genre choisi est une question tout à fait annexe, voire secondaire;
2) l'ouvrage correspond par sa forme, sa structure ou son contenu à un mode littéraire bien précis, tel qu'il est défini par les théoriciens de l'époque; il s'inscrit ainsi de lui-même, si je puis dire, dans la catégorie la plus appropriée à sa nature réelle;

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3) l'ouvrage s'apparente par sa forme, sa structure ou son contenu à d'autres ouvrages relevant sans conteste possible d'un genre littéraire clairement identifié; la définition se fait alors par l'analogie.

Qu'en est-il donc pour ce que nous autres modernes nous appelons les «apologies»?

Les Apologies du second siècle ne sont pas des «apologies» au sens strict

Le modèle de Platon et de Xénophon

L'appellation «apologie», pour désigner un ouvrage ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου, est devenue traditionnelle à partir de Platon. S'agissant d'un ouvrage littéraire, elle désigne à l'origine un écrit s'inscrivant dans le cadre ou la fiction d'un procès: l'*Apologie de Socrate* rédigée par Platon est censée rapporter non pas l'ensemble du procès de Socrate, mais les trois discours que le droit athénien permettait à l'accusé: l'apologie à proprement parler, c'est-à-dire la défense présentée par l'accusé [17a-35d]; puis un discours portant sur la peine à prononcer, une fois la «culpabilité» établie [35e-38b]; et enfin une ultime allocution en guise de discours d'adieu [38c-42a]. Aucune formule, aucun récit n'introduit l'apologie au sens strict, c'est-à-dire la défense présentée par l'accusé [17a] (l'*apologeticon*, pour reprendre le terme consacré par la *Rhétorique à Alexandre*[1]), ni le discours contradictoire sur la peine [35e], pas plus que l'allocution finale [38c]. Bien plus, aucun titre ou sous-titre ne sépare ces trois discours, qui permette de les distinguer entre eux. La fiction de la copie sténographique du procès de 399 est donc préservée.

Il n'en va pas de même chez Xénophon. Son *Apologie de Socrate* prend la forme d'un récit: les deux discours de type judiciaire, l'*apologeticon* proprement dit [§11-3, puis 15-21] et le discours d'adieu [§24-6], sont encadrés ou interrompus soit par des interventions du narrateur, soit par l'évocation des échanges de Socrate avec ses juges [§14-5] ou avec son accusateur Mélétos [§20]. Il ne s'agit donc ni d'un discours homogène, ni même d'une suite de

[1] Ps.Aristote [Anaximène de Lampsaque], *Rhétorique à Alexandre*, I, 4, 1426b: «Distinguons de la même manière l'espèce de l'accusation (τὸ κατηγορικὸν εἶδος) et celle de la défense (τὸ ἀπολογητικόν) qui concerne l'activité judiciaire (τὴν δικανικὴν πραγματείαν); les éléments dont elles se composent et les règles qui en régissent l'emploi. L'accusation est, en bref, l'exposé de délits ou de fautes; la défense (τὸ δὲ ἀπολογητικόν), la réfutation (διάλυσις) d'accusations ou de soupçons de fautes ou de délits». Voir aussi: *Rhétorique à Alexandre*, I, 1, 1421b: «Il existe trois genres (γένη) de discours politiques: le démégorique, l'épidictique et le judiciaire; et sept espèces (εἴδη): l'exhortation, la dissuasion, l'éloge, le blâme, l'accusation, la défense (ἀπολογητικόν) et l'examen»; *Divisiones Aristotelae*, 11: «Le discours se répartit en cinq (catégories); ce sont: le rhétorique, le politique, le dialectique, le technique, l'idiotique. Le discours rhétorique comprend: l'épidicique, le catégorique (*i.e.* d'accusation), l'apologétique».

discours, mais plutôt d'une forme de compte rendu du procès – ce qui le fait échapper en grande partie au genre (γένος) judiciaire et à la sous-catégorie (εἶδος) de l'*apologeticon* pris au sens strict.

Les «apologies» judiciaires insérées dans les Actes de martyrs

Ce modèle proprement judiciaire existe dans la littérature chrétienne, mais en dehors de ce qu'on appelle généralement les Apologies. En effet, deux des Actes de martyrs les plus anciens, à savoir les *Actes d'Apollonios* (sous Commode) et les *Actes de Pionios* (vers 250) incluent de véritables «discours de défense» (ἀπολογίαι, ἀπολογεῖσθαι) censés avoir été prononcés par le martyr devant ses juges:

– *Mart. Apollonios* 4: «Apollonios, appelé aussi Sakkéas, dit: ' Écoute-moi attentivement, Perennis [le proconsul d'Asie]: je vais te faire un discours pour ma solennelle et légitime défense (περὶ σεμνῆς καὶ νομίμου ἀπολογίας)»; suit le texte de son «apologie»; le terme ἀπολογία est d'ailleurs répété plus loin dans le texte, aux §§5 (ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀπολογίας), 8 (δέδωκά σοι τὴν ἀπολογίαν) et 44 (διὰ τῆς ἀπολογίας μου);

– *Mart. Pionios* 4, 1-2: «On les plaça donc au centre et Polémon [le néocore de Smyrne] dit: 'Il serait bon, Pionios, d'obéir comme tous les autres et de sacrifier pour ne pas être châtié.' Or Pionios, ayant levé la main, le visage resplendissant, entreprit sa défense en disant (ἀπελογήσατο εἰπών)…» (suit le texte de sa défense).

On estime généralement[2] que l'«apologie» d'Apollonios a bien été composée par Apollonios lui-même et sans doute lue devant le tribunal, sous une forme que nous ignorons, puis publiée séparément, avant d'être intégrée par fragments dans la scène d'interrogatoire qui forme l'essentiel du *Martyre*. Quoi qu'il en ait pu être exactement, elle correspond à ce qu'on attend d'un discours de défense, puisqu'Apollonios y justifie son attitude: il faut, dit-il, suivre les commandements de Dieu et se détourner de l'impiété; en particulier, il est interdit à un chrétien de jurer par la fortune de l'empereur, qui n'est qu'un homme parmi les hommes (§§4-6); de même, il lui est impossible d'adresser un sacrifice en l'honneur des «images», mais il peut prier Dieu pour le salut de l'empereur (§§8-9); ceux qui adorent les idoles faites de main d'hommes, ou encore des êtres vivants, animaux ou hommes divinisés, voire des végétaux, en lieu et place du Dieu qui est dans les cieux, commettent des impiétés (§§14-22); les décrets de Dieu doivent l'emporter sur les décrets des hommes, qui, de toutes façons, sont soumis à la mort puis au jugement de Dieu (§§24-8); suit une présentation du Christ et de sa doctrine (§§36-42).

On retrouve chez Apollonios bien des thèmes développés dans les dites Apologies: la prière pour l'empereur en lieu et place du sacrifice à son image

[2] Voir en dernier lieu l'avis de P. Maraval, dans *Actes et passions des martyrs chrétiens des premiers siècles* (Paris, 2010), 105-6.

(§4); la dénonciation des faux dieux comme étant des idoles façonnées de main d'hommes (§§4; 14-6), voire de vils animaux (§21) ou même des végétaux (§20), ou encore des hommes divinisés, dont l'activité est le fait des démons (§22); la désignation de Dieu comme maître de l'univers, opposé à l'empereur, souverain terrestre (§9); la menace du jugement (§§25; 42); et jusqu'à l'exemple de Socrate (§41). Mais cette parenté n'est point pour surprendre: le procès d'Apollonios, et *a fortiori* les Actes de son martyre, sont bien postérieurs aux «apologies» conservées, et il est tout naturel que l'accusé s'en soit inspiré, pour ne pas parler du rédacteur des Actes.

Des deux discours prononcés par Pionios, l'un devant le néocore Polémon et la foule des gens de Smyrne, l'autre devant les visiteurs de sa prison, seul le premier est qualifié par le rédacteur d'ἀπολογία. Pionios y évoque les *lapsi*, moqués à la fois par les Grecs et par les Juifs de Smyrne (4, 1-6), avant de proclamer son propre choix de mourir plutôt que de renier son Dieu (4, 7). La polémique anti-juive y est fort présente, et l'argumentation largement fondée sur les Écritures; de fait, Pionios reproche à ses persécuteurs de pourchasser les chrétiens à l'instigation des Juifs (4, 13), malgré leur innocence (4, 16), avant de les menacer du jugement de Dieu (4, 17-24). On admettra qu'il s'agit là de thèmes «apologétiques» au sens large, mais non véritablement du discours qu'on attend d'un accusé devant son tribunal, destiné à justifier sa conduite. Il n'empêche que le rédacteur, quel qu'il fût, a tout à la fois qualifié son discours d'ἀπολογία et situé celui-ci dans le cadre d'un procès. Toutefois, sa datation tardive (Pionios fut une victime de la persécution de Dèce, vers 250) le disqualifie pour notre étude: loin de se situer aux origines du genre apologétique, le discours de Pionios manifeste au contraire l'influence de ce qui est devenu sinon un «genre», du moins une véritable tradition littéraire.

Les «apologies» de la tradition littéraire: des discours aux autorités

Les Apologistes eux-mêmes, ceux dont les œuvres nous sont parvenues dans leur intégralité, ou presque, à savoir Aristide, Justin et Athénagore (nous mettrons de côté Tatien et Théophile, dont les ouvrages conservés sont d'une autre espèce), n'intitulent pas leurs écrits «apologies» – les titres attribués *a posteriori* par la tradition ne doivent pas nous tromper là-dessus. Bien plus, aucun d'entre eux n'utilise dans son ouvrage le mot ἀπολογία pour désigner la démarche qu'il est en train d'accomplir; seul Athénagore emploie le verbe ἀπολογεῖσθαι dans ce contexte précis, sans pour autant le mettre en relation avec un quelconque processus judiciaire[3].

[3] Voici leurs différentes emplois des mots ἀπολογία et ἀπολογεῖσθαι: Aristide: néant. – Justin: *Apol.* I, 3, 5: ἀναπολόγητος, pour qualifier l'empereur; I, 28, 3: ἀναπολόγητος: pour qualifier l'homme pécheur; I, 42, 1: ἀπολογίαν παρέχειν: «fournir une excuse» (en général); II, 2, 8: ἀπολογεῖσθαι, pour désigner la requête de la prosélyte romaine; II, 12, 5: ἀπολογίαν φέρειν, pour désigner la justification que pourraient faire les chrétiens des crimes rituels qui leur sont imputés; *Dial.* 10, 4: ἀπολογεῖσθαι: renvoyant à l'argumentation que pourra opposer Justin

En fait, l'appellation d'ἀπολογία s'est imposée dans l'histoire littéraire à partir d'Eusèbe, qui qualifie les ouvrages de Quadratus, d'Aristide, de Méliton, de Miltiade et de Tertullien d'apologies – même s'il est vrai que le discours de Tertullien en faveur des chrétiens, œuvre rhétorique et aucunement judiciaire, bien que la question du droit y soit très présente, porte le nom d'*Apologeticum*, par référence à la tradition «apologétique» des auteurs susnommés: rien n'indique en effet qu'il s'agit du titre que l'Africain donna lui-même à son ouvrage. Or, tous ces ouvrages sont plutôt des discours d'adresse aux autorités, qu'il s'agisse de l'empereur lui-même ou des magistrats des provinces. Ainsi, une apologie, pour Eusèbe, c'est avant tout un discours adressé aux autorités pour la défense des chrétiens, mais en aucun cas un discours judiciaire, censé avoir été prononcé au cours d'un procès, qu'il fût fictif ou non.

Toutefois, la référence au discours judiciaire de défense n'est pas absente des Apologies. Elle est faite implicitement, mais néanmoins sans équivoque possible, chez Justin, par plusieurs allusions soit au personnage même de Socrate, le juste injustement traduit en justice, ou encore à son procès, soit à l'*Apologie de Socrate* de Platon[4]. Or, le titre Ἀπολογία Σωκράτους est bien attesté au II^e^ siècle de notre ère, et désigne clairement les ouvrages de Platon et de Xénophon comme étant des «apologies» [5].

Ainsi, les écrits de ceux que nous appelons les Apologistes, s'ils ne relèvent pas *stricto sensu* du genre (γένος) judiciaire (δικανικόν) et de la sous-espèce (εἶδος) apologétique (ἀπολογητικόν), pour reprendre les catégories de la *Rhétorique à Alexandre*, ne s'y rattachent pas moins marginalement, par le modèle que trouvent certains d'entre eux (et plus particulièrement Justin) dans l'*Apologie* rédigée par Platon en l'honneur de son maître.

Mais la dépendance littéraire ne se cantonna pas au modèle platonicien. Dès le début du second siècle, il s'est créé une «tradition» apologétique proprement chrétienne, dans les discours, probablement fictifs, adressés aux empereurs. À titre d'exemple, Jérôme laisse entendre, dans son épître *Ad Magnum*, que Justin «imita» Aristide dans sa démarche apologétique[6] – sans que l'on comprenne bien ce qu'il entendait par là: intervention similaire auprès des autorités impériales? Influence thématique de l'un à l'autre? Le fait est que

à Tryphon à propos de *Gn* 17. – Athénagore: *Leg*. 2, 6; 11, 3 et 17, 1: ἀπολογεῖσθαι, ἀπολογούμενον (*bis*) pour désigner la démarche entreprise dans le cadre de sa *Legatio*, mais sans référence à un quelconque contexte judiciaire. Nous admettons l'unité de l'*Apologie* de Justin, après Ch. Munier et tant d'autres, mais n'en distinguons pas moins en son sein deux λόγοι, selon le témoignage des *Sacra parallela* de Jean Damascène; voir notre article: «Une œuvre fantôme: La question de l'unité de l'Apologie reconsidérée», *Rivista di Storia del Cristianesimo* 5 (2008), 451-72.

[4] Voir Justin, *Apol*. I, 5, 3.4; I, 46, 3; II, 3, 6; II, 7, 3; II, 10, 5. 8; Athénagore, *Leg*. 31, 2.

[5] Plutarque, *Moralia*, 836b; Denys d'Halicarnasse, *De Demosthenis dictione*, 23, et *Ars rhethorica*, 8, 7; Diogène Laërce, II, 57; III, 34. 58; Aelius Aristide, *Ad Platonem de rethorica*, passim; *etc*.

[6] Jérôme, *Ad Magnum*, 70, 4: «Aristide … adresse au même prince un discours apologétique … Justin l'imita ensuite (*quem imitatus postea Justinus*)…».

l'*Apologie* de Justin ne semble pas, dans son contenu, devoir grand-chose à celle d'Aristide. En revanche, celle d'Athénagore doit beaucoup à l'illustre didascale palestinien, surtout au sein de ses trois premiers chapitres[7]. La dépendance est donc à la fois générique (il s'agit de discours ou de requêtes adressés aux empereurs) et thématique (par la reprise des mêmes thèmes, eux-mêmes fortement dépendant de la tradition apologétique du judaïsme hellénistique)[8].

La requête auprès de l'empereur comme modèle des dites apologies: du *libellus* au προσφωνητικὸς λόγος

Le libellus

Il y avait, dans le Haut-Empire, différents moyens de s'adresser à l'empereur pour obtenir de lui faveurs ou justice. Parmi eux, certains étaient le fait de simples particuliers ou de petits groupes, qui agissaient à titre personnel[9]: c'est le *libellus*, en grec βιβλίδιον; on pouvait utiliser pour ce faire l'intercession d'un personnage bien en cour[10]. D'autres émanaient de groupes plus importants ou de collectivités, qui utilisaient comme porte-parole l'un des leurs, ou encore un rhéteur: c'étaient les discours d'ambassade et autres discours d'adresse[11].

La procédure par libelle et rescrit est bien connue. Tout particulier pouvait s'adresser ainsi directement à l'empereur, lui soumettre sa supplique et attendre de lui une réponse, destinée à être apposée au bas de la supplique; le tout était – pouvait être – affiché en public, et la décision de l'empereur faisait autorité, voire jurisprudence: c'était la *suscriptio*. Les requérants de rang élevé recevaient leur réponse sous forme de lettre (*epistula*)[12]; le plus souvent, d'ailleurs, leur demande avait elle aussi été formulée sous forme de lettre[13]. Les bénéficiaires pouvaient faire connaître au public la décision de l'empereur en

[7] Voir l'annotation de notre édition d'Athénagore, SC 379 (Paris, 1992), *ad loc*.

[8] Ce paragraphe a été ajouté à la suite d'une remarque d'Anna Usacheva (Université Saint Tichon, Moscou).

[9] Voir J.-P. Coriat, *Le prince législateur. La technique législative des Sévères et les méthodes de création du droit impérial à la fin du principat* (Rome, 1997), 316: «En principe, la requête par *libellus* est adressée par un simple particulier; mais celui-ci n'agit pas toujours pour son propre compte»; «(dans le cas de) plaintes émanant de communautés paysannes (…) la réponse impériale est remise au porte-parole des plaignants».

[10] J.-P. Coriat, *Le prince législateur* (1997), 322.

[11] On se reportera à un ouvrage désormais classique: F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World (31 BC – AD 337)* (Londres, 1977); et, pour tout ce qui concerne les rescrits impériaux, on consultera plus particulièrement J.-P. Coriat, *Le prince législateur* (1997), 314-29; T. Hauken, *Petition and Response: An Epigraphic Study of Petitions to Roman Emperors, 181-249* (Bergen, 1998).

[12] J.-P. Coriat, *Le prince législateur* (1997), 317.

[13] J.-P. Coriat, *Le prince législateur* (1997), 320.

faisant graver sur la pierre[14] et le texte du *libellus*, et la *suscriptio* impériale. Il semble que les gouverneurs de province jouissaient eux aussi de ce privilège régalien[15].

Les trois étapes de ce type de procédure (la requête, la réponse de l'empereur, l'affichage en public) sont dûment mentionnées dans la dite *Apologie* de Justin:

- la requête adressée à l'empereur: βιβλίδιον = *libellus*; Justin emploie ce terme à la fin de son *Apologie*: *Apol.* II, 14, 1; peuvent aussi être employés pour la désigner les termes de *preces*, de *supplicatio* ou de *petitio*, correspondant approximativement au grec ἱκεσία, δέησις , ἔντευξις et ἀξίωσις – ces deux dernier mots étant précisément employés par Justin pour désigner son écrit (*Apol.* I, 1, 1; I, 56, 3);
- la réponse de l'empereur à la fin du libelle: ὑπογραφή = *suscriptio*; Justin emploie un verbe de la même famille pour désigner la réponse attendue: *Apol.* II, 14, 1: «Et maintenant, nous vous demandons d'indiquer votre décision [au bas de ce libelle] (ὑπογράψαντας τὸ ὑμῖν δοκοῦν)…»;
- l'affichage public du libelle: προτιθέναι = *proponere*; Justin y fait aussi allusion: *Apol.* II, 14, 1, suite: «… et de le faire afficher (προθεῖναι τουτὶ τὸ βιβλίδιον)»[16].

Il semblerait que l'ensemble des requêtes, quelle qu'en fût l'origine, passait entre les mains de l'empereur, qui effectuait un tri avant que le dossier ne fût instruit par la chancellerie – en l'occurrence le bureau dit *a libellis* dont la fonction était précisément d'examiner les libelles (venus de tous les coins de l'Empire) et d'y répondre sous l'autorité de l'empereur, puisque la *suscriptio* (qui se conclut par une formule du type *rescripsi, recognovi*, *signavi*[17]) est la marque d'une décision personnelle du prince.

Quel cheminement suivaient les libelles? Nous ne le savons pas exactement. En fait, deux thèses s'affrontent:

– celle de Wilcken, déjà ancienne, qui soutient que les *libelli* étaient envoyés à l'empereur par les gouverneurs de province; il y aurait eu, selon lui, un

[14] J.-P. Coriat, *Le prince législateur* (1997), 320.

[15] Justin mentionne deux procédures par libelle distinctes de sa propre démarche: le libelle adressé par un continent alexandrin au préfet d'Égypte pour qu'il l'autorise à se faire castrer: *Apol.* I, 29, 2-4 (βιβλίδιον, ὑπογράψαι) – cette autorisation relevant de la seule décision du gouverneur; celui adressé à l'empereur par la matrone romaine repentie pour qu'il lui accorde un délai avant de passer en jugement pour délit de christianisme: *Apol.* II, 2, 8 (βιβλίδιον, συνεχωρήσας).

[16] Voir A. Wartelle, *Saint Justin. Apologies* (Paris, 1987), 313; D. Minns et P. Parvis, *Justin, philosopher and martyr* (Oxford, 2009), 25.

[17] Voir F. Millar, *The Emperor* (1977), 247 (= CIL III, 411 et III, 14191); CIL III, 12336 (cité ci-dessous).

système régulier d'envoi des requêtes par l'intermédiaire des gouverneurs (ce qui exclut un contact direct, sauf exceptions)[18];
– celle de Williams, qui argumente en faveur d'un acheminement privé[19].

Cette dernière thèse semble aujourd'hui devoir l'emporter. Reste à savoir comment s'effectuait cette remise. Une remise en mains propres n'est pas exclue, par exemple au cours des séances publiques officielles (les *salutationes*) ou des «bains de foule» et autres contacts plus informels[20]. Mais le dépôt auprès de la chancellerie paraît plus probable, soit que ce dépôt se fît à Rome, soit que l'on profitât d'un déplacement de l'empereur en province pour lui remettre ou lui faire remettre sa requête par l'intermédiaire d'un tiers.

Qu'en fut-il des «apologies» conservées? Eusèbe nous dit que Quadratus et Aristide «remirent» (ἀναδίδωσιν, *dedere*[21]) leur ouvrage à Hadrien. Mais l'ouvrage qui nous est parvenu sous le nom d'Aristide ne correspond en rien à un *libellus* – plutôt à un discours προσφωνητικός adressé au prince. Aristide, en tout cas, était Athénien, et a fort bien pu remettre ou faire remettre son discours – très rhétorique, quoique sans talent – à l'empereur durant son séjour en Attique. On peut supposer que Justin, résidant à Rome, a pu délivrer ou tenter de délivrer lui-même sa supplique à Antonin. Mais a-t-il procédé ainsi? Quand Justin, rédigeant une dizaine d'années plus tard son *Dialogue avec Tryphon*, évoque sa requête, il ne fait pas état d'un contact direct avec l'empereur, mais utilise une expression bien plus générale, celle de ἐγγράφως προσομιλεῖν, «s'adresser par écrit à (César)», qui s'accorde tout aussi bien avec l'hypothèse d'une remise d'un libelle en main propre qu'avec celle du dépôt d'une supplique auprès de la chancellerie impériale pour examen et réponse officielle, dans le cadre d'une procédure par *libellus* et *suscriptio*.

Reste que la forme de l'*Apologie* de Justin n'est pas celle d'un *libellus*. La documentation papyrologique ou épigraphique nous a conservé quelques exemples de *libelli*, hélas lacunaires, qui sont fort éloignées à la fois par la forme et le contenu de l'*Apologie* de Justin. Notre comparaison s'appuiera sur la belle étude que Tor Hauken a consacrée aux *libelli* de la tradition épigraphique[22].

[18] Voir J.-P. Coriat, *Le prince législateur* (1997), 323-4 (renvoyant à U. Wilcken, 'Zu den Kaiserreskripten', *Hermes* 55 [1920], 1-42 [surtout 24-7]).

[19] Voir J.-P. Coriat, *Le prince législateur* (1997), 324-7 (renvoyant à W. Williams, 'The libellus procedure and the Severan papyri', *JRS* 54 [1974], 86-103, surtout 93-8).

[20] Voir F. Millar, *The Emperor* (1977), 240-3. Sur les audiences publiques et les bains de foule auxquels se livrait Marc Aurèle, voir *Histoire Auguste*, *Marc. Aur.* 15, 1 (audiences durant les jeux du cirque); 26, 3 («en Égypte, il se comporta à la fois en simple citoyen et en philosophe dans tous les établissements d'études, les temples et autres lieux»). Pour Antonin, nous sommes moins bien renseignés.

[21] Eusèbe, *HE*. IV, 3, 1; Eusèbe-Jérôme, *Chron.* ad ann. 125.

[22] Tor Hauken, *Petition and response. An epigraphic study of petitions to Roman emperors 181-249* (Bergen, 1998).

La structure de ces *libelli* paraît quasiment constante dans l'ensemble de ce corpus:

– une *inscriptio*, de caractère non rhétorique;
– un *exordium*, qui est en fait une forme de *captatio benevolentiae*; c'est la seule partie qui peut être de caractère rhétorique;
– la *narratio* (exposé des faits);
– les *preces*, qui formule l'objet de la demande.

Tous ces éléments sont évidemment présents chez Justin, mais dispersés, et mêlés à beaucoup d'autres. Pour chaque partie du *libellus*, nous donnons à la suite (sous forme abrégée) le texte de Justin et celui de l'inscription qui nous a été la mieux conservée, celle adressée par les habitants du village de Scaptopara à l'empereur Gordien III, vers 238[23]:

• l'*inscriptio*:

– *Apologie* de Justin, I, 1: «À l'empereur Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius Augustus César … en faveur (ὑπέρ) des hommes de toute race injustement haïs et maltraités, (moi) Justin fils de Priscos fils de Baccheios, de la cité de Flavia Néapolis de Syrie Palestine, l'un d'eux, je fais cette adresse (προσφώνησιν) et cette supplique (ἔντευξιν)…»;
– *libellus* à Gordian, l. 8-11: «À l'empereur César M. Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Augustus, une requête (δέησις) de la part (παρὰ) des habitants du village de Scaptopara…»

• l'*exordium* en forme de *captatio benevolentiae*:

– *Apologie* de Justin, I, 2, 1-3: «Ceux qui sont véritablement philosophes […] Vous donc, partout, vous vous entendez appeler pieux et philosophes…»;
– *libellus* à Gordian, l. 11-21: «Que dans vos temps très heureux et éternels les villages soient habités et prospères, au lieu d'être désolés, vous en avez maintes fois décidé par rescrit (ἀντεγράψας). Une telle attitude a contribué au salut des habitants et au profit de votre très sacré fisc. Nous aussi, nous déposons une supplique légale (ἔνομον ἱκεσίαν προσκομίζομεν) à votre divinité, en la suppliant (εὐχόμενοι) de jeter un regard favorable à notre prière (ἐπινεῦσαι ἡμῖν δεομένοις), etc.»

• la *narratio*:

– *Apologie* de Justin, II, 2, 1-20: récit sur la conversion de la femme débauchée et sur le martyre de Ptolémée et de ses compagnons;
– *libellus* à Gordian, l. 21-73: «Nous habitons et avons des biens dans le village mentionné ci-dessus, etc.»

[23] CIL III, 12336 = IGR I, 674 = Sylloge 888 = G. Mihailov, IGBulg IV, 2236. Cette inscription a été signalée à mon attention par l'ouvrage de F. Millar, *The Emperor* (1977), 24; mais D. Minns et P. Parvis, *Justin* (2009), 24 la mentionnent aussi.

• les *preces:*

– *Apologie* de Justin, I, 68, 3: «Et alors que nous pourrions, en vertu d'une lettre du très grand et très illustre César Hadrien, votre père, vous demander (ἀπαιτεῖν) d'ordonner que les procès soient conduits selon les termes de notre requête (καθὰ ἠξιώσαμεν), nous n'avons pas voulu formuler celle-ci en nous fondant sur le fait qu'Hadrien en a décidé ainsi mais, parce que nous savons qu'est juste ce que nous demandons (δίκαια ἀξιοῦν), nous vous avons adressé ce discours et cet exposé (προσφώνησιν καὶ ἐξήγησιν)»;
– *Apologie* de Justin, II, 14, 1: «Et maintenant, nous vous demandons (ἀξιοῦμεν) d'indiquer votre décision [au bas de ce libelle] (ὑπογράψαντας τὸ ὑμῖν δοκοῦν) et de le faire publier (προθεῖναι), afin que notre doctrine soit connue des autres et qu'ils puissent se libérer des préjugés et de l'ignorance du bien…»;
– *libellus* à Gordian, l. 73-107: «Aussi, puisque nous ne pouvons plus supporter ces fardeaux et que, comme les autres, nous courons véritablement le risque nous aussi d'abandonner nos propriétés ancestrales, nous vous demandons (δεόμεθα), invincible Auguste, d'ordonner, par votre rescrit (ἀντιγραφῆς) sacré, que chacun suive son propre chemin, qu'ils ne quittent pas les autres villages pour venir chez nous et nous contraindre à leur fournir des provisions à notre charge, etc.»

On constate que, chez Justin, si l'*inscriptio* et l'*exordium* se suivent immédiatement, comme dans le *libellus* des habitants de Scaptopara, en revanche, la *narratio* se trouve rejetée dans la seconde partie de l'*Apologie* (II, 2), juste après un *exordium* qui est quasiment une prise à partie, et non un éloge (II, 1, 1-3); quant aux *preces*, on les trouve placées à la fin de chacune des deux parties de l'*Apologie*: en I, 68, 3 et en II, 14, ce qui est leur place normale, n'eût été leur redoublement.

Autre similitude: dans l'un et l'autre cas, les pétitionnaires usent d'un intermédiaire susceptible de déposer leur requête, sinon en main propre, du moins en temps et lieu utile:

• *Apologie* de Justin, adresse: «… en faveur des hommes de toute race injustement haïs et maltraités, (moi) Justin, l'un d'eux…»: Justin dit parler au nom de ses coreligionnaires «de toute race»;
• réponse (rescrit) de Gordien: *Imp. Caesar M. Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Aug. vikanis per Pyrrum mil. conpossessor(em)*, «l'empereur Gordien aux villageois par l'intermédiaire de leur compatriote le soldat Pyrrhus»: Gordien semble répondre au porte-parole que s'étaient donné les habitants de Scaptopara.

La démarche «ambassadoriale» de Justin n'a donc rien que de très commun, et convient aussi bien à un discours dit d'ambassade (πρεσβευτικὸς λόγος), comme nous le verrons tout à l'heure, qu'à la procédure par libelle et rescrit.

Bien entendu, la tradition textuelle de l'*Apologie* de Justin ne nous fournit pas la réponse de l'empereur. S'il y a véritablement eu dépôt d'un libelle, ou bien il n'a pas obtenu de réponse, ou bien la réponse n'était pas favorable aux chrétiens et n'a pas été préservée, car on imagine mal que l'Église de Rome n'ait pas conservé un document public qui eût été à son avantage. En fait, la réponse impériale est pour ainsi dire anticipée dans la citation du rescrit

d'Hadrien[24], dont la présence est à même d'étonner au sein d'un véritable *libellus* : Justin semble ainsi tracer la conduite de l'empereur, et fournir lui-même la réponse attendue! Autant dire qu'il n'en espère pas d'autre…

Il est vrai que nous avons conservé au sein du codex *Parisinus gr*. 450 un Rescrit dit d'Antonin, donné à la suite de l'*Apologie*; mais s'il est bien daté de la vingt-et-unième année du règne d'Antonin (c. 158)[25] et pourrait éventuellement convenir sur un strict plan chronologique, il est en revanche adressé au *koinon* d'Asie et ne répond donc aucunement à la requête de Justin, qui concernait en premier lieu la communauté de Rome, victime de persécutions déclenchées par les autorités locales. Eusèbe nous en a conservé une autre recension, attribuée par lui à Marc Aurèle et datée quant à elle de sa quinzième puissance tribunicienne (c. 160/161?)[26]. Comme le rescrit est très favorable aux chrétiens, les Modernes pensent généralement qu'il s'agit d'un faux.

Mais autrement plus importantes que ces similitudes formelles entre le *libellus* de Scaptopara et l'*Apologie* de Justin, sont les différences que l'on constate dans le traitement de l'information. Le texte du libelle des habitants de Scaptopara, que nous avons pris comme référence, est relativement court: la pierre sur laquelle il a été gravé contient trois colonnes assez étroites, d'un peu plus d'une cinquantaine de lignes chacune, ce qui fait l'équivalent de trois pages de texte grec – nous sommes bien loin des quatre-vingt trois paragraphes de l'*Apologie*! La réponse de l'empereur était destinée à être affichée publiquement à la suite de la requête à laquelle elle répondait, et même à être éventuellement gravée sur la pierre dans sa province de destination, si elle était d'intérêt général, et l'on imagine mal que l'ouvrage de Justin tel qu'il est actuellement conservé ait eu telle fin, quoi qu'en dise l'Apologiste lui-même, qui l'imagine placardé avec la réponse de l'empereur; il est trop long, trop abstrait, trop éloigné des circonstances qui ont entraîné sa rédaction[27].

La longueur et la structure de l'ouvrage peuvent en effet constituer des critères déterminants. L'ouvrage de Tor Hauken, *Petition and response*, présente deux séries de *libelli*: les unes adressés aux empereurs (A 1 à A 7), les autres à des magistrats (B 1, 3, 8 et 9). Voici leurs longueurs respectives:

[24] À savoir la lettre (ἐπιστολή) à Minucius Fundanus: *Apol*. I, 68, 6-10.

[25] D'après la correction de Mommsen: «en sa vingt-et-unième puissance tribunicienne, consul pour la quatrième fois, Père de la Patrie», au lieu de «consul, en sa 84e puissance tribunicienne, Père de la patrie pour la 21e fois». Voir A. Wartelle, *Saint Justin* (1987), 314. Antonin reçut la puissance tribunicienne pour la première fois en février 138.

[26] Eusèbe, *HE*. IV, 13. Marc Aurèle a été associé à l'Empire par Antonin dès 146/147 par la puissance tribunicienne et l'imperium proconsulaire; son troisième consulat date de 161. Antonin mourut en mars 161, et Marc Aurèle porta le titre d'Augustus seulement après sa mort. Il portera le titre d'*Armeniacus* à partir de 164 – ce qui dénonce bien le caractère très approximatif de la titulature figurant sur ce rescrit.

[27] La *narratio* qui expose les faits (la condamnation par Urbicus de Ptolémée et de ses compagnons) se situe quasiment à la fin de l'ouvrage considéré comme un tout: *Apol*. II, 2.

- A 1 (*Saltus Burunitanus*): trois fois une trentaine de lignes (gravées sur la pierre);
- A 2 (Gasr Mezuar): trois fragments gravés, dont le plus important fait une petite vingtaine de lignes;
- A 3 (A'a bey Köyü): le principal fragment, sur marbre, fait une cinquantaine de lignes;
- A 4 (Kemaliye): deux fois 25 lignes (marbre);
- A 5 (Scaptopara): 168 lignes au total, y compris la *suscriptio*: le texte est complet (bien que la pierre soit endommagée) et comprend:

– l'authentification de la copie du rescrit impérial et l'enregistrement de la remise du rescrit à Aurelius Purrus [Pyrrhus] (en latin): (l. 1 à 7);
– le *libellus* lui-même (en grec): l'*inscriptio* (8-11); l'*exordium* (11-21); la *narratio* (21-77); les *preces* (73-107);
– la retranscription du discours prononcé par le prétorien Pyrrhus, représentant le village de Scaptopara, devant le gouverneur de Thrace; le texte, assez bref, c'est-à-dire visiblement abrégé, doit dépendre d'un acte officiel; lui aussi comporte exorde et narration (108-22 et 122-65);
– la souscription de Gordien à Pyrrhus, en latin (165-8), avec la formule *rescripsi*, *recognovi*, *signa*[…]

- A 6 (Aragua): une trentaine de lignes, gravées sur la pierre; selon Hauken, l'inscription comprend la majeure partie de la *petitio* et la *suscriptio*;
- A 7 (Kavacik): une quarantaine de lignes;
- B 1 (Dagis): trois faces d'un bloc de pierre gravées d'une vingtaine de lignes, avec une dédicace (I, 1-6), la *petitio* elle-même (I, 6 à IIIa14), la *suscriptio* du gouverneur; la dédicace du monument;
- B 3 (Kilter): seize lignes conservées;
- B 8 (Kassar): une petite trentaine de lignes conservés, avec un texte (celui de la *narratio*) très mutilé;
- B 9 (Güllüköy): une douzaine de lignes, comprenant des fragments de la *narratio* et des *preces*.

Aucun de ces textes – tels qu'ils sont conservés ou tels qu'on peut en restituer la longueur d'après ce qui reste – ne peut se comparer avec l'*Apologie* de Justin par sa dimension.

Qu'en est-il de la tonalité? Seule la partie qualifiée par Hauken d'*exordium* peut éventuellement s'apparenter aux développements «apologétiques» de Justin. Mais pas plus ceux des documents épigraphiques que ceux des témoins papyrologiques (adressés à des magistrats)[28] n'affichent semblables ambitions, ni par leur longueur (une dizaine de lignes tout au plus), ni par leur contenu: on n'a affaire qu'à de plates marques de déférence, et non à des démonstrations,

[28] T. Hauken, *Petition* (1998), 265 et 293-5 («samples of *exordia* of petitions in papyri of Roman times»).

positives (*argumentatio*) ou négatives (*refutatio*), de quelque nature qu'elles soient.

On le constate, le *libellum* est un document purement administratif, qui ne prête pas aux longues démonstrations. C'est sur ce point que l'*Apologie* de Justin, même si on tient compte du fait qu'elle comprend deux parties, la seconde étant la seule à revendiquer pour elle le titre de *libellus*, diffère considérablement des *libelli* conservés, et ne peut en aucun cas être considérée, dans son état actuel, comme une pièce administrative. D'ailleurs, les développements théologiques ou polémiques de Justin n'offraient que peu d'intérêt dans le contexte purement juridique de la procédure par libelle et rescrit. Le libelle des habitants de Scaptopara (Thrace) est plus sobre: ils exposent leurs doléances, montrent que c'est l'intérêt du prince (et du fisc) qu'ils ne soient pas forcés de quitter leur village, font appel à sa bienveillance – toutes choses qu'on attend en pareilles circonstances.

On en vient alors à formuler deux hypothèses: ou bien l'*Apologie* de Justin n'avait du *libellus* que le cadre[29], et n'était autre qu'un ouvrage de propagande, interne ou externe (un λόγος προτρεπτικός[30] ou un λόγος παραινετικός[31] à la mode philosophique, mais adapté au contexte des persécutions), ou encore une lettre ouverte destinée aussi bien aux autorités qu'à l'ensemble du monde païen; ou bien le *libellus* déposé auprès de la chancellerie impériale était d'une tout autre facture que l'œuvre conservée, et n'en constitue qu'une infime partie, actuellement bien dissimulée sous une argumentation somme toute très philosophique. Inutile de préciser que je ne me risquerai pas à reconstituer l'éventuel *libellus* d'origine[32]!

[29] C'est le «covering speech» de D. Minns et P. Parvis, *Justin* (2009), 26-8 (ici 27): «His innovation … had been to appropriate a routine administrative procedure and use it as a way of making his case – indeed, as a way of presenting the Gospel – to those who otherwise had no inclination to listen».

[30] Le genre est attesté dès le temps d'Aristote: Diogène Laërce, VII, 22; voir en particulier S. Van der Meeren, «Le protreptique en philosophie: essai de définition d'un genre», *REG* 115 (2002), 591-621. En rhétorique, la προτροπή est un des modes, avec l'ἀποτροπή, du genre délibératif: Aristote, *Rhétorique*, I, 3, 1358a-b; il existe par ailleurs des arguments dits protreptiques: προτρεπτικὰ ἐπιχειρήματα (Sopatros, *Rhetores Graeci*, VIII 100 Walz). On voit que le λόγος προτρεπτικός des philosophes n'est pas un «genre» (γένος) ou une «espèce» (εἶδος) reconnue par les manuels de rhétorique, et ne relève pas de l'éloquence épidictique.

[31] C'est le titre de l'ouvrage du Pseudo-Justin habituellement désigné comme l'*Exhortation aux Grecs*.

[32] Nous ne suivons donc pas la démarche de D. Minns et P. Parvis, *Justin* (2009), 27-8, qui tentent de reconstituer une apologie originelle en partant du principe qu'en son état actuel elle apparaît comme tout à fait composite (c'est la «cutting-room theory»). À titre d'exemple, il détache *Apol*. II, 14, 1 – 15, 5 (péroraison de l'*Apologie*, à la fin de sa seconde partie, définissant l'ouvrage comme un *libellus* et incluant la demande d'une réponse sous la forme d'une *suscriptio*) pour situer le passage à la fin de la première partie de l'*Apologie*, juste après la citation du Rescrit d'Hadrien (*Apol*. I, 68, 6-10). Ainsi se trouverait restituée l'*Apologie* (le *libellus*) dans son état originel et intégral (la dite première *Apologie*), la dite seconde *Apologie* n'étant qu'un ensemble de fragments discontinus recueillis par les disciples de Justin après sa mort et reliés arbitrairement entre eux en guise d'hommage à leur maître.

Ainsi en suis-je arrivé à distinguer:

- le cadre général, qui est celui d'un *libellus*, revendiqué comme tel par Justin;
- les circonstances de la publication ou du dépôt de l'écrit, qui m'ont conduit à distinguer un éventuel *libellus* originel de l'œuvre actuellement conservée, destinée à être publiée et lue dans des déclamations privées, comme toute œuvre littéraire;
- le genre littéraire, qui n'est pas celui d'un discours apologétique *stricto sensu*, fondée sur la réalité ou la fiction d'un procès, mais plutôt celui d'un ouvrage (λόγος – le terme est vague) d'inspiration à la fois apologétique et protreptique, rattaché de façon très lâche à un type d'éloquence dit épidictique; en cela, il se rapprocherait plutôt des discours des rhéteurs-philosophes de la seconde sophistique, sans en avoir un caractère déclamatoire aussi marqué. Notons que l'écrit est rédigé à la première personne, que les destinataires supposés, à savoir les empereurs, y sont désignés à la seconde personne, comme autant de marques d'un discours ou d'une lettre, et non d'un traité. Le genre consacré qui en serait le plus proche est sans doute le discours d'adresse, le προσφωνητικὸς λόγος, ou encore le discours d'ambassade, le πρεσβευτικὸς λόγος, tels que les définit Ménandre le Rhéteur (IIIe s. de notre ère); mais nous reviendrons plus loin sur ce point.
- la référence littéraire, qui, au moins chez Justin, est sans conteste celle de l'«apologie» mise dans la bouche de Socrate par son disciple Platon, comme en témoignent maintes références[33];
- et enfin la finalité, qui est ce qui unit le plus étroitement les différentes «apologies» adressées aux empereurs: celles d'Aristide, de Justin et d'Athénagore, que nous avons conservées; celle de Méliton, dont nous n'avons qu'un fragment; et très vraisemblablement celles de Quadratus et de Miltiade, que nous avons perdues. En revanche, il est abusif de ranger les ouvrages de Tatien et de Théophile dans la catégorie des «apologies» au sens strict; Eusèbe ne le fait pas, et nous lui donnons entièrement raison sur ce point, puisqu'ils ne plaident pour rien, et n'entrent dans la catégorie «apologétique» que par le sens que nous donnons actuellement à ce mot.

Le προσφωνητικὸς λόγος

Justin devait bien avoir conscience que son ouvrage ne répondait guère aux lois non écrites régissant le *libellus* à l'empereur, car il utilise un autre terme pour désigner son ouvrage, celui de προσφώνησις[34], qui désigne une «adresse», pour utiliser un anglicisme servant à désigner un discours aux autorités (*an adress*); le terme technique approprié est celui de *προσφωνητικὸς λόγος*, le discours d'adresse.

[33] Je renvoie à l'étude, déjà ancienne, de J.-C. Fredouille, 'De l'Apologie de Socrate aux Apologies de Justin', dans *Hommage René Braun*, II (Nice, 1991), 1-22.

[34] Par deux fois: *Apol*. I, 1 et I, 68, 2.

Voici la définition que donne Ménandre le Rhéteur du προσφωνητικὸς λόγος :

«Le discours d'adresse (προσφωνητικὸς λόγος) est un compliment (εὔφημος) prononcé par quelqu'un à l'adresse des autorités, un éloge (ἐγκώμιον) certes, dans la mise en forme (ἐργασίᾳ), mais point achevé; car il ne possède pas tout de l'éloge, mais il y a προσφωνητικὸς λόγος précisément lorsque le discours tire son ampleur des propres actions qu'il met en œuvre (ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν πραττομένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πράξεων)[35]».

et celle qu'en donne le pseudo-Denys d'Halicarnasse:

«Méthode des discours d'adresse (προσφωνηματικῶν) […] Généralement, un tel type de discours doit être conçu de manière à constituer une sorte de recommandation de notre cité auprès de ceux qui vont la diriger. Mais ce point n'est pas le seul à traiter dans le discours, et il ne faut pas s'y négliger soi-même. Aussi, le début qui me paraît absolument s'imposer consiste-t-il à parler de soi et de ses intentions, de la raison pour laquelle on a été élu de préférence à tous les autres pour prononcer ce discours, et à dire combien le sujet du discours a d'importance pour soi. Ce point doit comporter quelques flatteries à l'adresse du gouverneur […] L'introduction du discours ainsi faite, il faut passer ensuite à l'éloge de l'Empereur; cela doit se faire brièvement, et après avoir signalé que tout le temps imparti ne saurait y suffire et qu'une autre circonstance s'y prêterait mieux que la présente. Tu termineras l'éloge en disant que l'une des qualités de l'Empereur est d'avoir choisi un homme de cette valeur, un homme à son image, pour l'envoyer dans ton pays. De ce moment, tu dois commencer l'éloge du gouverneur. Il faut utiliser là aussi les lieux de l'éloge, à savoir ceux tirés de la race, de la nature, de la conduite […]. Vient ensuite l'éloge de la cité, si tu le désires. […] À tous ces éléments doivent être combinées l'exhortation et l'invitation à des sentiments de bienveillance envers la cité […] À la fin, il faut user de la prière, prière pour l'Empereur et pour le gouverneur lui-même. Puis nous parlerons à nouveau de nous-même: à supposer que nous soyons débutant, en disant que cette circonstance nous permettra d'obtenir honneur et réputation. Si notre réputation est déjà établie et que nous avons déjà parlé, nous parlerons de nous-même sans nous rendre insupportable puis mettrons fin au discours en disant que "nous aussi sommes plein d'espoir, l'espoir que notre réputation non seulement se maintiendra de ce fait mais sera bien meilleure désormais". L'expression la plus adaptée à ce genre de discours est mêlée: tantôt périodique (?), tantôt sublime (relevée?), plus simple dans la narration des légendes. La clarté d'expression, tout au long du discours, doit être le premier souci de l'orateur[36]».

Certes, on peut admettre que plusieurs de ces ingrédients (tels l'éloge du prince, la requête, la fonction ambassadoriale) se retrouvent dans les apologies de Justin ou d'Athénagore, mais mêlés à bien d'autres arguments, et exploités de façon non systématique, et surtout sans structurer l'ensemble. Plus particulièrement, les Apologies n'entrent aucunement dans le cadre de l'éloge, même

[35] Ménandre le Rhéteur, II, 10 (414-415), 164-5 Russell-Wilson.

[36] *Ars rhetorica* 5, 1-7 (abrégé). Je reprends ici la traduction inédite de Pierre Chiron (Université de Paris-Créteil), un de nos meilleurs spécialistes des traités de rhétorique d'époque impériale, qui m'a très courtoisement signalé ce texte.

si, par politique, ce dernier est assez présent, surtout chez Athénagore[37]. Aussi doit-on se diriger vers un autre modèle rhétorique.

Le πρεσβευτικὸς λόγος

L'Apologie d'Athénagore nous offre une autre piste. Son ouvrage se définit lui-même – un des critères que nous avons choisis pour déterminer le «genre» d'un écrit – comme une πρεσβεία (en latin *legatio*). L'usage de ce titre appelle plusieurs remarques:

- la πρεσβεία n'est pas une catégorie littéraire, puisque le mot par lui-même désigne une ambassade, c'est-à-dire la démarche elle-même, et non le discours qu'elle produit; il a pu être employé par référence à l'œuvre homonyme de Philon d'Alexandrie, la *Legatio ad Caium*;
- de fait, la *Πρεσβεία* d'Athénagore n'est pas un récit d'ambassade[38], comme celui de Philon, mais un discours d'ambassade, un πρεσβευτικὸς λόγος, le «discours d'ambassade» étant l'une des formes du discours épidictique;
- cette dénomination (πρεσβευτικὸς λόγος) n'apparaît pas telle quelle chez Athénagore lui-même, pas plus que n'apparaissent dans le cours de son écrit les mots πρεσβεία et πρεσβεύειν, mais elle se tire du titre que l'Apologiste a très vraisemblablement choisi de placer en tête de son ouvrage:

  Ἀθηναγόρου Ἀθηναίου φιλοσόφου χριστιανοῦ πρεσβεία περὶ χριστιανῶν,

et surtout, elle est attestée trois siècles plus tard chez l'historien Philippe de Sidé, preuve manifeste que c'était bien là le genre littéraire auquel on s'accordait à rattacher l'ouvrage de l'Apologiste:

«Philippe de Sidè dit dans son livre 24: Athénagore dirigea le premier le *didaskaleion* d'Alexandrie, et il fleurit au temps d'Hadrien et d'Antonin [en fait, Marc Aurèle et Commode], auxquels il adressa un (discours) d'ambassade (πρεσβευτικόν) pour défendre les chrétiens[39]».

[37] Athénagore, *Leg*. 1, 2 (exorde); 37, 1 (péroraison). Justin, pour sa part, dit refuser la flatterie (*Apol*. I, 2, 2-3), et va même jusqu'à menacer d'un châtiment éternel son illustre destinataire, d'une manière à peine voilée, pour le cas où il n'infléchirait pas sa politique: *Apol*. I, 68, 2; il n'en demeure pas moins qu'il se livre là où il le faut aux compliments d'usage: *Apol*. I, 1 (adresse: ἐραστὴς παιδείας) et II, 15, 5 (péroraison: εὐσέβεια καὶ φιλοσοφία).

[38] Le récit d'ambassade a été lui aussi codifié; voir par ex. *Rhétorique à Alexandre*, 30, 2, 1438a: «Quand nous rapportons une ambassade (πρεσβείαν), il faut exposer d'un bout à l'autre fidèlement l'intégralité des propos tenus…».

[39] Fragment conservé en tradition indirecte dans le codex Baroccianus 142. Voir notre article «Le témoignage du codex Baroccianus 142 sur Athénagore et les origines de l'école d'Alexandrie», *Archipel Egéen* (1992), 23-63 (repris dans le recueil *D'Athènes à Alexandrie. Études sur Athénagore* [Québec, Louvain, Paris, 1997], 1-70).

Voici par comparaison la définition du *presbeutikos logos* que l'on trouve chez Ménandre le Rhéteur:

«Sur le (discours) d'ambassade (περὶ πρεσβευτικοῦ). S'il faut faire une ambassade (πρεσβεῦσαι) en faveur d'une cité (ὑπὲρ πόλεως) dans la difficulté, on dira certes ce qu'on dit dans un discours στεφανωτικός [c'est-à-dire un discours adressé au prince, en théorie au moment de la remise d'une couronne honorifique, d'où ce nom], mais on amplifiera partout (le thème de) la philanthropie du prince, en disant qu'il est plein de pitié et de miséricorde envers ceux qui le supplient et que Dieu l'a envoyé sur terre parce qu'il était miséricordieux et bienfaisant envers les hommes…».

On voit, d'après ce qu'en dit Ménandre, que le πρεσβευτικὸς λόγος – qu'il range dans la catégorie des discours épidictiques[40], c'est-à-dire d'apparat – est essentiellement un discours d'éloge (ἔπαινος), qui mêle aux flatteries envers le Prince l'énoncé des doléances ou des requêtes d'un groupe civique qui s'est choisi comme porte parole un rhéteur formé à l'éloquence publique. Ainsi, le rhéteur Dion Chrysostome mentionne les ambassades auxquelles il s'est livré au nom de telle ou telle cité[41]. Le cadre n'est aucunement judiciaire, et le discours n'appelle pas de décision de type juridique, tel un édit, une loi ou un rescrit, mais plutôt une décision politique en faveur d'une communauté.

Pareil discours s'accommode mal d'un débat théorique sur les mérites respectifs de tel ou tel système religieux. Ainsi, la *Legatio* d'Athénagore, si elle s'apparente à un discours d'ambassade comme étant l'expression d'une communauté en difficulté par le truchement d'un éminent porte parole, si même elle en porte le titre, ne relève pas en fait de ce genre *stricto sensu*, mais dissimule sous l'apparence d'un discours (locuteur à la première personne, destinataires à la seconde personne, diverses interpellations ou apostrophes) un véritable traité à caractère apologétique et polémique, ou encore une espèce de lettre ouverte à la forme très libre.

* * *

Ainsi, les différentes tentatives pour réduire les «apologies» aux empereurs à un genre bien défini et unique ont échoué. Aucune d'elle n'est véritablement ni un βιβλίδιον, ni même un πρεσβευτικὸς λόγος ou un προσφωνητικὸς λόγος – cette dernière catégorie, plus floue, étant sans doute la plus acceptable, mais ne rendant pas compte du caractère proprement apologétique de ces

[40] L'ouvrage de Ménandre s'intitule *Division des épidictiques* (Διαίρεσις τῶν ἐπιδεικτικῶν), et passe en revue les différentes espèces de discours épidictiques.

[41] Dans le cadre de son activité politique, Dion – comme nombre de rhéteurs – mit son éloquence au service de sa cité dans des ambassades, plus ou moins officielles, auprès des autorités impériales. Si nous n'avons gardé aucun spécimen de cette part de sa production rhétorique, lui-même y fait allusion à plusieurs reprises dans ses discours bithyniens (cf. *Or.* 40 ou 45, 3). Philostrate, *VS* 5209, témoigne de même de l'activité ambassadoriale du rhéteur Scopélien: «Il mena de nombreuses ambassades auprès des empereurs (βασίλειοι πρεσβεῖαι)».

ouvrages. Aussi en venons-nous à donner raison à Eusèbe, quand il a pour ainsi dire inventé le «genre» de l'apologie en associant sous ce nom des écrits aux formes diverses, mais unis par une seule volonté, celle de défendre la foi et les communautés chrétiennes à la face de l'empereur et de l'ensemble du monde païen: en l'occurrence, ce fut la fonction qui créa l'objet. Il n'en demeure pas moins (s'il faut conclure ici par une formule) que respectivement en 125, en 155 puis en 177 de notre ère, ni Aristide, ni Justin, ni Athénagore n'avaient sans doute conscience qu'ils rédigeaient des «apologies»!

Protreptic Epistolography, Hellenic and Christian

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ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to investigate the genre of the protreptic epistle, whether philosophical or otherwise, to see if there is any basis for taking it as a genre which spans the divide between the Hellenic and Christian traditions. Starting from a discussion of the letters of the Neoplatonic philosopher Iamblichus, I turn to examine a selection of formal epistles from Basil of Caesarea, the Emperor Julian, the rhetorician Libanius, and lastly Gregory of Nazianzus, to see if one can discern in them evidence of a common tradition and a shared paideia.

My purpose on this occasion is to enquire into the nature of the protreptic epistle, first of all as to whether there can really be said to be such a genre, distinct both from all other sorts of letters and from treatises in epistolary form; and then as to whether, if such a genre exist, it can be claimed to be common to the Hellenic and Christian traditions.

The starting point for this enquiry, as far as I am concerned, has been the editing of a series of fragments of the letters of Iamblichus preserved by Johannes Stobaeus in his *Anthologion*.[1] These letters are somewhat problematical, as they have come down to us in incomplete form, shorn of their beginnings and endings, and we cannot know what sort of personal remarks Iamblichus may have included by way of introduction or conclusion, but it seems plain enough from what we have that the purpose of these letters was not primarily personal, as being composed, not in response to a particular enquiry or in pursuit of a particular need, but rather to honour or edify a given recipient by communicating to them a moral essay in epistolary form. This is not to say that there may not be a particular occasion for such a letter – as for instance, the letter to Iamblichus' pupil Dexippus *On Dialectic* may have been in recognition of the publication of his still-extant short commentary on Aristotle's *Categories,* or the letter to Sopater *On Bringing up Children* a celebration of the birth of one or other of his two sons, Sopater the Younger and Himerius, or the letter to Dyscolius *On Ruling* may be a salutation on the occasion of his appointment as Governor of Syria in 420 or so – but the fact remains that these are not 'real' letters, but

[1] Published as *Iamblichus of Chalcis: The Letters*, edited by John M. Dillon and Wolfgang Polleichtner (Atlanta, 2009).

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rather mini-essays in epistolary form. The question that I wish to raise here is whether such a class of 'letter' can be discerned in the works of Christian Fathers as well as of other approximate contemporaries of Iamblichus of the Hellenic persuasion, such as Libanius or the Emperor Julian.

First of all, though, let us attempt briefly to enquire into the origins of this type of letter. Protreptic epistolography as a philosophic genre goes back, so far as we can see, no further than Epicurus, who communicated a significant part of his philosophy in this form. It does not seem to constitute any part of the Platonist tradition.[2] For Iamblichus, however, we must recognise that the practice of writing philosophic letters went back to the oldest generations of Pythagoreans, and even to Pythagoras himself. We do indeed have testimonies, and even fragments, of letters[3] from Pythagoras (to Anaximenes, and to King Hiero of Syracuse), as well as from his wife Theano (to eight different correspondents, seven of them female), his daughter Myia (to her friend Phyllis), and his son Telauges (rather anachronistically, to Philolaus).[4] Apart from Pythagoras and his immediate family, we have evidence of letters from Lysis to Hipparchus, from Archytas to Plato (and a reply to this, in the form of Plato's *Epistle* XII), and from the lady Melissa to her friend Cleareta. The fact that all these documents appear to us palpably and woefully bogus is not much to the point; Iamblichus will have accepted them, along with all the other Pythagorean pseudepigrapha, as genuine – as, of course, he would those of Plato. The composition of protreptic epistles, therefore, was for him an activity endowed with the best possible pedigree.[5]

It is undeniable, however, that there is very little evidence of such epistolography by later Platonists before him. Among the heads of the New Academy, Carneades is attested as having composed letters – and nothing else![6] – but he

[2] Those letters of Plato that may possibly be genuine, notably *Epistles* VII and VIII, are really primarily *apologiae* for his actions (despite the 'philosophical digression' in VII), and so do not strictly count as philosophical epistles. The more 'philosophical' members of the collection, such as *Epp.* II and VI, are of much later provenance – though this was, of course, not obvious to ancient readers. In any case, all of the Platonic epistles are presented as 'real' letters, rather than epistolary philosophical essays.

[3] Most conveniently collected in H. Thesleff, *The Pythagorean Texts of the Hellenistic Period* (Abo, 1965).

[4] As regards anachronisms, we may note that Theano, in her letter to her friend Rhodope (Thesleff, p. 200), excuses herself for not sending a copy of 'the book of Plato, which is entitled *Ideas,* or *Parmenides*'! It is not easy to penetrate the mental state of the author of such a document.

[5] There is evidence of letters also by Aristotle, Theophrastus, and later Peripatetics such as Strato, but these would be of less importance for Iamblichus. We also have, preserved in one manuscript (Cod. Vat. gr. 64), a collection of letters of 'Socrates and the Socratics', including such stalwarts of the Old Academy as Speusippus and Xenocrates – certainly spurious (except perhaps for the *Letter of Speusippus to Philip* – but that is not properly a philosophical epistle), though not without entertainment value – which Iamblichus would presumably have accepted as genuine, if he were acquainted with them.

[6] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* IV 65.

would hardly figure in Iamblichus' pantheon of suitable models. In the vast and varied oeuvre of Plutarch, no epistles are preserved,[7] and from the Neopythagoreans of the second century AD, Nicomachus of Gerasa and Numenius of Apamea, whom Iamblichus certainly did hold in high honour, there is no sign of a letter surviving (though they may have written them). Only in the case of the Pythagorean 'holy man' Apollonius of Tyana (late 1st c. AD) do we find a collection of letters – like everything else about that remarkable figure, probably spurious, but good enough for Iamblichus, who would have held him in high regard.[8]

Philosophical epistolography, indeed, in the period of the early Empire, is very much the preserve of Stoics, such as Seneca, but he is not someone of whom Iamblichus would have had any knowledge. In the generation or so after Iamblichus, certainly, we have an outpouring of letter-writing, philosophical and other, from the pens of such figures as the Emperor Julian, the distinguished Antiochene rhetorician Libanius, and the Christian bishop Basil of Caesarea, whom we will turn to in a moment, but prior to Iamblichus, in the late third century AD, there is precious little evidence of philosophical epistolography surviving, and this makes the letters of Iamblichus all the more significant. It is of interest in this connection that two members of Iamblichus' immediate circle are also known as letter-writers: his mysterious admirer[9] in Licinius' court whose letters to him became included in the letters of Julian; and the son of his chief pupil Sopater, also called Sopater, of whom a letter (to his brother Himerius) is also preserved by Stobaeus.

What is it, then, which makes a letter count as a *protreptic* letter – and not, as in the cases of the above-mentioned works of Plutarch and Porphyry, a treatise in epistolary form?[10] The philosophic letter, as a genre, is really a short

[7] Unless his *Consolations* (*paramythêtikoi logoi*), to his wife, and to a certain Asclepiades (lost; no. 111 in the Lamprias catalogue) should count as letters. There is also record of a 'letter' to Favorinus, *On Friendship,* of which a number of fragments are preserved in Stobaeus (frr. 159-71 Sandbach). Three of his essays are addressed to recipients, *Precepts of Marriage* being addressed to Pollianus and Eurydice, *On Tranquillity* to Paccius, and the *Consolation to His Wife* to Timoxena, but they are all better regarded as treatises with epistolary introductions,

[8] It should be noted that Iamblichus' immediate predecessor, and teacher, Porphyry, besides the *Letter to Anebo,* also composed a 'letter' to his wife Marcella, exhorting her to bear up in face of his prolonged absence on government business, and including much matter of a moral and protreptic nature, but I would classify this, by reason of its length, rather as a moral essay in epistolary form. Nonetheless, it is admittedly not far off what we are looking for.

[9] Presumably a former student, and possibly none other than Julius Julianus, Licinius' Praetorian Prefect, and maternal grandfather of the Emperor Julian (which would help to explain why his letters are included in the Julianic corpus). See J. Vanderspoel, 'Correspondence and Correspondents of Julius Julianus', *Byzantion* 69 (1999), 396-478.

[10] Even the letters of Seneca to Lucilius do not quite qualify, perhaps, as they come across rather as real letters, combining personal details with philosophic exhortation. It must be admitted, though, that, since what we have of Iamblichus' letters are merely extracts preserved by Stobaeus, there may in fact have been personal details included in the full versions, at the beginning or end.

philosophical (usually moral) essay, given a lively and personalized slant by being addressed to a particular recipient, usually a friend or student of the author, but sometimes a patron or other public figure. The subject matter of the epistle should doubtless be tailored to some extent to the position or role in life of the recipient (*e.g.* letters on ruling we might expect to be addressed to senior imperial administrators, or at least local grandees; and letters on dialectic to other practising philosophers), but this need not necessarily be so, if the letter concerns a very general moral topic, such as justice, piety, or self-control.[11]

A salient feature of these letters, and one that renders them of great interest for this period, is that they are pitched firmly at the level of popular philosophy. From a perusal of these fragments, one would derive no hint of the complexities of Iamblichus' metaphysical system, nor yet, in the sphere of ethics, of his theory of multiple levels of virtue. Hints of the one can be glimpsed, perhaps, by one who knows, behind his utterances on Providence in the *Letter to Macedonius,* and of the other as lurking behind the *Letter to Sopater, On Virtue;* but in neither case are we presented with any characteristic technicalities. This is philosophy for the general (educated) public, and it reminds us forcefully of the public role in society which all philosophers of this period played, despite their strongly otherworldly tone.

Now let us turn to the great letter-writers of the next generation after Iamblichus. All I think that I can do, in the time permitted on this occasion, is to adduce a few instances of what I would wish to classify as an *Epistle* of this sort (to adopt Deissmann's terminology) from each of the authors whom I have selected, and see whether any common pattern emerges. Let us start, however, with Iamblichus, taking a passage from his Letter to Dexippus *On Dialectic* referred to above:

> It was some god, in truth, who revealed dialectic and sent it down to men; as some say, Hermes, the god of rational discourse, who bears in his hands its symbol, of two snakes looking towards each other; but as the acknowledged masters of philosophy maintain, it is the eldest of the Muses, Calliope, who has provided the unshakeable and irrefutable firmness of reasoning, which shines forth 'with honey-sweet modesty'. And as the facts themselves demonstrate, the God in Delphi himself, in Heraclitus' words, 'not speaking out, nor yet concealing, but signifying' his prophecies, rouses up those who

[11] There has in fact been a certain amount of discussion of this rather 'fuzzy' genre down the years. Back in 1923, A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten: Das neue Testament und die neuentdeckten Texte der hellenistisch-römischen Welt* (Tübingen), writing from a patristic perspective, makes a useful distinction between a *Brief* (*sc.* an ordinary letter) and an *Epistel* (a theological or philosophical epistle), which I find most helpful for our present purpose. Further contributions were made by J. Sykutris, 'Epistolographie', in *RE* Suppl. 5 (1931), 185-220 and H. Koskinnieni, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Chr.* (Helsinki, 1956). For a more recent discussion see P. Rosenmeyer, *Ancient Epistolary Fictions: The Letter in Greek Literature* (Cambridge, 2001).

hearken to his utterances to dialectical enquiry, on the basis of which they discerned ambiguity and homonymy, and the ferreting out of every double meaning kindled in them the light of knowledge. This indeed was something well discerned by Themistocles, who, in duly unravelling the riddle of the 'wooden wall', indisputably established himself as the cause of salvation for the Greeks. And akin to these also are the feats of dialectic of the God in Branchidae, revealing clearly the procedure of induction, when he says, 'No swift-flying arrow, nor lyre, nor ship, nor anything else would ever attain a useful end without use based on knowledge'. (my trans.)

This, I must say, sounds to me very like the beginning of a letter, but one cannot be sure that some more personal salutation did not precede it, possibly a message of congratulation on the appearance of the *Categories* commentary, or something such.

This example, at any rate, will have to do for Iamblichus. If we turn now to the next generation, we find suddenly a proliferation of letter-collections, from both the Christian[12] and Hellenic traditions, and we can observe these traditions overlapping in interesting ways. We are no longer, however, dealing with strictly *philosophical* letters, since the writers concerned – apart from the Emperor Julian, to some extent – are not philosophers, but rather members of the social and intellectual elite of Late Antiquity, who share, above all, a common *paideia,* or educational tradition, which is of such a nature as to transcend the Hellenic-Christian divide.

[12] As regards Christian literature, we can also identify such a class of protreptic letters in epistolary form. Certainly this kind of letter goes back to the Apostolic Epistles, so that we can see their influence on the works of the authors of the second century. For example, Ignatius' *Letter to Polycarp of Smyrna* and Irenaeus' *Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching* contain exhortations to Christians and instructions concerning early Church organization. The protreptic letters of the third century reflect the influence of exegetic works. Among these letters there are both theological and moral themes, and others connected with Church organization and management. In the letter of St Gregory Thaumaturgus *To Philagrius* we find a discourse on theological dogmas based on the interpretation of Scripture. In the letter *Ad Tatianum de anima per capita disputatio*, St Gregory says that he is going to present a doctrine of soul without support from the testimony of Scripture. St Cyprianus, in his letter *De duplici martyrio ad Fortunatum*, says that he is going to prepare an exhortation based on scriptural testimonies in order to inspire Christians.

The letters of the fourth century are much closer to the identified general characteristic of a philosophic protreptic letter. For example the 38th Letter of St Basil *About a distinction of essence and hypostasis* (although it is addressed to St Gregory of Nyssa) is very similar to a philosophic treatise. It has no common features with the Apostolic Epistles and its content is not limited by exegetical topics. St Basil tries to explain to his brother obscure theological questions in a simple manner: he uses clear examples and logical conclusions. Thus in the fourth century we undoubtedly find a development of the protreptic letter in Christian literature. This process was stimulated by the legalization of Christianity and by an official recognition of its role in the social and cultural life of Empire, and thus a mutual influence of Christian and pagan genres became not only possible but very natural. The evidence of this process will be testified to by an analysis of the letters of St Basil, Libanius and Julian (I am much indebted to Dr. Anna Usacheva for these background details).

All those that I have selected, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, Libanius, and Julian, are fully attuned to the conventions of the formal epistle. There are a number of occasions for such letters, of which the conventions are well-recognized and pervasive. If we separate off letters which are either asking for favours for oneself, or commending a mutual friend or protégé in need of a favour or an introduction, we find such conventional topics as (1) reproach for failure to write, or for an inadequate letter; (2) congratulations on an official appointment or publication or other success; (3) consolation for bereavement or other loss or disappointment; and (4) lament for absence or parting. Into each of these may be woven a variety of literary *topoi* or references, both verbatim or allusive, as well as a variety of elaborate conceits. Let us look at a few representative examples.

First, let us consider a letter of Basil to a pair of (probably monkish) acquaintances, Macarius and John, of a protreptic and consolatory nature, on the theme that a life of piety (*eusebeia*) should be impervious to the accidents that the world can throw up (*Letter* 18):[13]

> The labours of the farm do not seem strange to the farmer; the storm at sea is not unexpected by the sailor; sweat causes no wonder to the hired labourer; and so to those who have chosen to live the life of piety the afflictions of this world are not unforeseen. Nay, to each of the aforesaid is joined a labour that is appropriate and well known to those who share it – a labour which is not chosen for its own sake, but for the enjoyment of expected blessings. For hopes, which hold and weld together man's entire life, give consolation for the hardships which fall to the lot of each of these.
>
> Now of those who labour for the fruits of the earth or for earthly things, some are completely deluded of their hopes, in that they have this enjoyment of expecting things merely in their imagination; while others, for whom the result has by chance been as they wished, are in need of a second hope, since the first has speedily gone past them and withered away. Only for those who toil for piety's sake has no delusion blasted their hopes, no result spoiled the rewards, for the kingdom of heaven, firm and enduring, receives them.
>
> Therefore, so long as the word of truth is on our side, let no false slander disturb you, no threat of the powerful terrify you; let not the ridicule and insult of your acquaintances offend you, nor yet the condemnation of those who pretend to care for you and who offer you deceit's most potent lure – the pretence of giving advice. Against them all let right reason give battle, summoning to be its ally and the helper the teacher of piety, our Lord Jesus Christ, for whom to suffer is a delight and 'to die is gain'[14]. (trans. Deferrari)

This well-turned, though rather perfunctory, little homily would probably have been classed by Stobaeus, had he been inclined to include it in his *Anthology*, under the heading 'Praise of Piety', or something such. Basil can be a good

[13] I use here the Loeb edition of the letters, *St. Basil: The Letters*, in 4 vols. by Roy J. Deferrari (Cambridge, MA, 1926).

[14] Ending here with a quotation from St Paul, *Phil.* 1:21.

deal more flamboyant and playful than this, but we can on this occasion only notice, in that regard, the first letter of the collection, to the philosopher Eustathius, who had succeeded Aedesius as the head of the school originally founded in Apamea by Iamblichus, and who is in 357, the time of the letter, normally established in Caesarea, but plainly has a tendency (like many distinguished academics of the present day) to be elsewhere on business when one particularly wants him. Basil writes him a most elaborate, and good-humoured, lament (*Letter* 1):

At a time when I was at last disheartened by the spite of when men call Fortune (*tykhé*), which has always put some obstacle in the way of my seeing you, you revived my spirit and consoled me wonderfully by your letter. For I was just turning over in my mind the popular saying, and wondering if it were not perhaps true, that the power which directs our affairs both great and small is a certain Necessity or Fate (*anangké … kai heimarmené*), while we human beings have in ourselves authority over nothing; or if not this, that it is a kind of chance (*tykhê*) at all events that drives on the lives of men.[15] You will be very indulgent with me for harbouring these thoughts when you learn the reasons why I was drawn to them.

Owing to the repute of your philosophy, I left Athens, scorning everything there.[16] And I hastened past the city on the Hellespont (*sc*. Constantinople) as no Odysseus ever avoided Sirens' songs. And though I marvelled at Asia's wonders, I hurried on towards the mother-city of her glories (*sc*. Caesarea). Yet when I reached the fatherland, and searching there for you, my great help, found you not, from that time on and ever since I have encountered many varied experiences which have put unexpected obstacles in my way. For either I had to be sick and consequently to miss seeing you, or I found myself unable to join you as you set out for the Orient; and when at last by innumerable toils I arrived in Syria, I could not be with my philosopher, who had set out for Egypt.

So, once more, I was obliged 'to go to Egypt, a long and weary way',[17] and not even there could I have my desire. Nay, so lovesick was I that I was compelled either to take the road to Persia and go with you as you advanced to the uttermost limits of the land of the barbarians – for indeed you went even thither, so obstinate was the daemon that kept us apart – or else take up my abode here at Alexandria. And this last is what I actually did. For if I had not grown weary of following you as some beast follows the tempting branch held out before it, I really think that you would have been driven on and on even beyond Indian Nysa, or, if there is an uttermost spot of our world, that you would have wandered even there.

[15] Basil here plays in a teasing way with the concepts of fate and chance, the power of which Eustathius, as a Platonist philosopher, would recognize, but subordinate to divine providence.

[16] Basil had spent the last five years studying in Athens, and was far from disdaining what it had to offer, but in so far as he did turn away from the life there, it was not to study with Eustathius, but rather to pursue the religious life,

[17] This quotation of *Odyssey* 4.483 (which actually refers to the travels of Menelaus rather than Odysseus himself) carries on the ironic motif of an Odyssey which Basil has undergone in pursuit of his hero.

But why need I tell the whole long story? Coming last of all to the end of it, though you are now staying in your fatherland, it has not been granted to me to be with you, since I have been kept away by long periods of sickness; and if these do not soon become more moderate, we shall not be able to be with Your Eloquence this winter, either. Is not all this the hand of Fate, as you yourself would say, and the work of Necessity? Have not these things almost surpassed even the poet's tales about Tantalus? But, as I said, I have been put at ease by the receipt of your letter, and I no longer hold the same opinion. I now say that I ought to give thanks to God when He grants benefits, and not to be vexed with him when He dispenses them grudgingly. So therefore, if He should grant that we be with you, we count it at once the best and the most pleasing gift; but if He should postpone this blessing, we shall calmly bear our loss. For surely He administers our affairs better than we should if the choice were ours. (trans Deferrari, slightly modified)

This needed quotation at length to bring out the elaborate irony of the whole. On the surface, it might be taken as merely a message of thanks for the receipt of a letter, of which we have many in the corpora of all the figures whom we are discussing, but in fact we may discern here, I would suggest, many a touch of irony. The play with Fate and Necessity – a well-worn topic in Platonist circles[18] – is finally capped by an assertion of acceptance of the will of God – the *Christian* God, not the Platonic Demiurge. We need not assume that Basil had after all any strong desire to study with Eustathius. I am even inclined to doubt that the mad chase after him all over the Eastern Empire ever took place (though the letter actually purports to be written from Alexandria); certainly it too is suffused with irony, through being portrayed, as I say, as a sort of Odyssey in pursuit of this ever-receding Holy Grail of the Philosopher. All in all, the letter seems to me to present Basil most effectively as a master of formal epistolography.

Since we have been here concerned with the philosopher Eustathius, we may perhaps turn next to the letters of Julian, and specifically to a letter from him, when Emperor, in 362 (five years after the letter from Basil) to the same Eustathius, this time graciously granting him leave to return home to Caesarea from attending on Julian in Antioch (*Letter* 44 Wright/ 39 Hertlein). Julian, as it happens, begins his letter with a tag from the *Odyssey* (15.74)[19]:

'Treat kindly the guest in your house, but speed him on his way when he would be gone'.
Thus did the wise Homer decree. But the friendship that exists between us two is stronger than that between guest and host, because it is inspired by the best education (*paideia*) attainable and by our pious devotion (*eusebeia*) to the gods. So that no one

[18] There are, for instance, three letters (or fragments of letters) preserved in the Iamblichean corpus on this topic, a major one to Macedonius, and two others, one to a certain Poemenius, another to Iamblichus' chief pupil Sopater.

[19] Actually spoken by Menelaus to young Telemachus, who has just requested permission to return home to Ithaca.

could have fairly indicted me for transgressing the law of Homer if I had insisted that you should remain with us. But I see that your feeble frame needs more care, and I have therefore given you permission to go to your own country (*sc*. Cappadocia), and have provided for your comfort on the journey. That is to say, you are allowed to use a state carriage, and may Asclepius and all the gods escort you on your way, and grant that we may see you again. (trans. Wright)

In this short note, Julian manages to touch on the chief elements that bound the intellectual elite of late antiquity together – *paideia* (reinforced by the quotation from Homer), and *eusebeia* – which, of course, for Julian means loyalty to the old gods (as emphasised by the reference to 'Asclepius and all the gods'), though for Basil or the Gregories this would signify submission to the One True God of Christianity. In this case, alas, the gods did not grant that he should see Eustathius again, since less than a year later Julian was dead, without having returned from Syria.

From this same period, however, we can adduce a nice exchange of letters between Julian and the great sophist Libanius, who had had the great satisfaction earlier in the year in welcoming Julian as Emperor to Antioch, and was in regular attendance on him thereafter. The present exchange concerns an oration which Libanius had composed in honour of their mutual friend Aristophanes of Corinth,[20] another supporter of the Old Religion who had suffered much persecution from agents of Constantius in recent years. Julian writes (*Letter* 53 Wright/74 Hertlein):

You have requited Aristophanes for his piety towards the gods and his devotion to yourself by changing and transforming what was formerly a reproach against him so that it redounds to his honour, and not for today only but for the future also, since the malicious charges of Paul[21] and the verdict of So-and-so have no force compared with the words written by you. For their calumnies were detested even while they flourished, and perished along with their perpetrators, whereas your speeches are not only prized by genuine Hellenes today but will still be prized in future times, unless I am mistaken in my verdict.

For the rest, you shall judge whether you have convinced, or rather converted me, on behalf of Aristophanes. I now agree not to believe that he is too weak to resist pleasure or money. What point would I not yield to the most philosophic and truth-loving of orators? Naturally you will proceed to ask me why, in that case, I do not alter his unhappy lot for the better and blot out the disgrace that attaches to him on account of his ill fortune, 'Two walking together', as the proverb says,[22] namely, you and I, must

[20] Libanius, *Oration* 14.

[21] Paul 'the Chain', notorious hatchet-man of Constantius. Julian had him burned alive shortly after ascending the throne in December 361. The name of the deliverer of the verdict has been left anonymous for some reason (*tou deinos*), possibly because the reference is actually to Constantius himself.

[22] Originally a quotation from *Iliad* 10,224, but employed notably by Socrates at Plato, *Symp*. 174d.

take counsel. And you have the right, not only to advise that we ought to assist a man who has honoured the gods so straightforwardly, but also as to how it ought to be done. Indeed you did hint at this in an obscure way. But it is perhaps better not to write about such matters, but to talk it over together. Farewell, brother, most dear and most beloved![23]

I read yesterday almost all your speech before breakfast, and after breakfast, before resting, I gave myself up to reading the remainder. Happy man to be able to speak so well, or rather to have such ideas! O what a discourse! What wit! What wisdom! What analysis! What logic! What method! What openings! What diction! What symmetry! What structure![24] (trans. Wright)

To this most appreciative missive Libanius replied as follows[25] (I reproduce only the first half of the letter):

I have indeed requited Aristophanes,[26] but you have requited me for my strong and sincere affection for you, which is not unnoticed by either gods or men. So now I almost take wing, uplifted by your letter, which has given me hope and glorified my oration. And now everything else seems but paltry to me – the wealth of Midas, the beauty of Nireus, the speed of Crison, the strength of Polydamas, the sword of Peleus.[27] I feel that even if I sipped nectar, my joy would be no greater than now, when an emperor, whom Plato sought long ago and found at last,[28] has commended my resolution and admired my oration, and, while honouring me with the promise to make a grant, honours me more greatly by his wish to investigate with me what grant he should make. So after all it is not the watcher of the rising of the Goat in heaven who achieves everything, when I achieve supreme success without pressing for it, and if I am in need of any good thing, the Emperor is ready for the favour, behaving like the goddess in the sky.[29] (trans. Norman)

Libanius goes on somewhat further, but this will do to convey the flavour. I prefer to view this, hyperbolic though it is, not as a display of abject flattery (deeply appreciative though Libanius was both of Julian's status as Emperor and of his achievements in the cause of Hellenism), but rather as a piece of sophisticated and good-humoured raillery, as between old friends. Julian was, after all, to some extent a pupil of Libanius, and the admiration was more or

[23] What follows is rather in the nature of a postscript, focusing on the actual oration.

[24] Julian here manages to list more or less all the recognised virtues of a good oration, but also incorporates a subtle reference to a letter of his distinguished predecessor Marcus Aurelius to his confidant Fronto, in very much the same terms.

[25] *Ep*. 758 Foerster/95 Norman.

[26] Echoing the beginning of Julian's letter.

[27] Crison of Himera was an Olympic sprinter of the mid-fifth century, mentioned already for his prowess in *Prot*. 335e, while Polydamas was a somewhat later pancratiast, similarly honoured in *Rep*. I 338c. The others are well enough known.

[28] That is to say, Julian is a Platonic philosopher-king, see *Rep*. V 473c-e.

[29] A reference to the belief that any observer of the constellation of the Goat, on its first rising, would achieve his wish.

less mutual. What we are seeing here, in fact, are movements in an elaborate rhetorical quadrille, of which Aristophanes will be the ultimate beneficiary.

I regret that there is really not time on the present occasion to go much further than this in our enquiry, though I am conscious of barely scratching the surface of various vast corpora of letters, which would doubtless provide us with many better examples of this rather elusive genre.[30] In fact, Basil was well acquainted also with Julian and Libanius – as were the Gregories, with Libanius, at least. The surviving letters purporting to have passed between Basil and Julian or Libanius are, admittedly, under grave suspicion of being spurious, but one might reflect that there was little point in forging such letters had it not seemed a credible proposition that they should all have corresponded. Certainly, the literary or philosophical letter goes on to become a flourishing genre in the later ages of Byzantium. On the other hand, in the letters of such figures as 'Dionysius the Areopagite', Severus of Antioch, or Maximus the Confessor, one meets a type of letter much closer to the traditional pastoral epistle, which demonstrates the capacity of these two genres to overlap. Basil and the Gregories, it must be said, can be found composing also epistles of this latter category, on points of doctrine or ecclesiastical discipline, and that is only to be expected. I will end, however, not with any of these, but rather with a fine letter of Gregory of Nazianzus, to his niece's husband, Nicobulus, on this very subject of letter-writing, ostensibly in response to a request from Nicobulus for instruction on this topic, as it serves to emphasise the degree of conscious planning devoted to this genre by well-educated figures on both sides of the religious divide (*Ep.* LI):

> Of those who write letters, since this is what you ask, some write at too great a length, and others err on the side of deficiency; and both miss the mean, like archers shooting at a mark and sending some shafts short of it and others beyond it; for the missing is the same though on opposite sides. Now the measure of letters is their usefulness: and we must neither write at very great length when there is little to say, nor very briefly when there is a great deal. What? Are we to measure our wisdom by the Persian *skhoinos*,[31] or by the cubits of a child, and to write so imperfectly as not to write at all but to copy the midday shadows, or lines which meet right in front of you, whose lengths are foreshortened and which show themselves in glimpses rather than plainly, being recognized only by certain of their extremities? We must in both respects avoid the want of moderation and hit off the moderate.
>
> This is my opinion as to brevity; as to perspicuity it is clear that one should avoid the oratorical form as much as possible and lean rather to the chatty: and, to speak con-

[30] Another good example, from a slightly later period, would be that ambiguous figure, the philosopher-bishop Synesius of Cyrene, of whom quite a corpus of letters survives, containing a number of good specimens of our genre, *e.g. Ep.* 193, *To Pylaemenes: On the Benefits of Philosophy*; *Ep.* 112, *To Troilus: On Praise and Love* (a mere fragment); *Ep.* 146, *To Herculian: On Friendship and Philosophy*.

[31] A land measurement of variously-reported length, from 40 to 60 stades.

cisely, that is the best and most beautiful letter which can convince either an unlearned or an educated reader; the one, as being within the reach of the many; the other, as above the many; and it should be intelligible in itself. It is equally disagreeable to think out a riddle and to have to interpret a letter.

The third point about a letter is grace: and this we shall safeguard if we do not write in any way that is dry and unpleasing or unadorned and badly arranged and untrimmed, as they call it; as for instance a style destitute of maxims and proverbs and pithy sayings, or even jokes and enigmas, by which language is sweetened. Yet we must not seem to abuse these things by an excessive employment of them. Their entire omission shows rusticity, but the abuse of them shows insatiability. We may use them about as much as purple is used in woven stuffs. Figures of speech we shall admit, but few and modest. Antitheses and balanced clauses and nicely divided sentences we shall leave to the sophists, or if we do sometimes admit them, we shall do so rather in play than in earnest.

My final remark shall be one which I heard a clever man make about the eagle, that when the birds were electing a king, and came with various adornment, the most beautiful point about him was that he did not think himself beautiful. This point is to be especially attended to in letter-writing, to be without adventitious ornament and as natural as possible.

So much about letters I send you by a letter; but perhaps you had better not apply it to myself, who am busied about more important matters. The rest you will work out for yourself, as you are quick at learning, and those who are clever in these matters will teach you. (trans. Schaff)

As I remarked earlier, I fear that this essay merely scratches the surface of what could prove to be rather a lengthy investigation, but I hope that I have managed to indicate that the elements of formal, protreptic epistolography are to be found, in the third century and later, on both sides of the ideological divide, among both Hellenes and Christians who have attained the requisite level of late antique *paideia*.

Does the First have a Hypostasis? Some Remarks to the History of the Term *hypostasis* in Platonic and Christian Tradition of the 4th – 5th Centuries AD

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ABSTRACT

When discussing the Neoplatonic system of incorporeal reality scholars traditionally designate its three main levels – the One, the Intellect and the Soul – as three primary hypostases. Yet Neoplatonists themselves would hardly agree with it. They avoid to call the First Principle of being a 'hypostasis'. Plotinus for example explicitly says that the One transcends all hypostases, while being a supreme cause of all, and his pupil Porphyry doesn't include the highest God in a number of 'universal and perfect hypostases'. Platonists for the most part thought a 'hypostasis' to be a result of 'hypostatization', that is of manifestation and reflection of some higher reality in a lower level of being. It always means something which is caused by something else. So the term can hardly be attributed to the first One, but only to the results of its external activity, that is to Intellect, Soul and Cosmos. Yet already in antiquity there appeared a tradition to interpret three Neoplatonic immaterial realities in terms of three hypostases. The origins of this tradition can be traced back to the 4th century AD, when Christian theologians began to use the term 'hypostasis' in order to emphasise a separate existence of three Persons of the Godhead in contrast to numerous efforts to present the Son and the Holy Ghost as inseparable parts of the Father. Eusebius of Caesarea, as well as some other adherents of the three-hypostases theory saw close parallels between their own concept of the Holy Trinity and metaphysical systems of contemporary Platonism. As a result they began to interpret them in their own terms, bringing the One, the Intellect and the Soul in correlation with three divine Persons and applying the term 'hypostasis' not only to the offspring of the One, but to the First Principle as well. One can suggest that pagan philosophers of the 5th century could be influenced by this Christian tradition of interpretation, because there are some places in Proclus' writings where he ascribes 'hypostasis' to the primal One and uses the formula τρεῖς ἀρχικαὶ ὑποστάσεις as referring to the One, the Intellect and the Soul.

1. Prehistory: *Hypostasis* in platonic tradition of the 1st – 3rd centuries AD

The term 'hypostasis' enters in the Platonic tradition rather late. Middle Platonists used this term very rare, and only to the middle of the 3rd century AD in the systems of Plotinus and Porphyry it gradually acquires philosophical meaning. At the turn of the old and new era 'hypostasis' was strongly associated

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with sensible things, that were of a little interest for Platonists, because unlike Stoics and Peripatetics they didn't believe sensible things to be substances (οὐσίαι) in the truest sense of the word. For example, the anonymous author of the *Commentary on Plato's 'Theaetetus'* (1st century AD) denied the possibility of identifying individual material things with the first category of Aristotle. According to him, any sensible thing was a set of qualities, emerging in the sense-organs in the process of perception; it couldn't be something definite (τι) and had no hypostasis, but existed only in relation to the subject of perception.[1] As follows, all that seemed to have a substantial being in the sensible world fell in fact under the category of relation, so it was natural to assume that substances belonged to the realm of the intelligible. And indeed in the writings of Middle Platonists of the 1st century BC – 2nd AD 'hypostases', that is, substances, began to be associated with incorporeal and intelligible being. Alcinous in his *Handbook of Platonism* says that 'the soul is an incorporeal essence, unchangeable in its hypostasis and intelligible, and invisible and uniform',[2] and that intellect is even superior to the soul and prior to both of them exists (ὑφέστηκεν – got a hypostasis) the primal God.[3] Atticus also speaks about hypostasis of the soul. Objecting Peripatetics, who considered soul to be only a function of the body, he writes that 'they destroy therefore all its hypostasis'.[4] Philo believes that God alone has a hypostasis, because he is firmly established in being, while everything after Him 'is nothing in it's being and only seems to exist'.[5] None of mortal things has a real subsistence or hypostasis; its state is always precarious and fragile, as if 'it is fluttering over the emptiness'.[6]

Such transition of the term 'hypostasis' to the realm of immaterial, together with the denial of substantiality of sensible things was rooted in a specific concept of being, common to all Platonists. 'To be something' meant for them 'to participate in an idea', 'to have a form'. Consequently, everything that appeared to be somehow definite or having form was seen as hypostasis and substance, regardless of whether it was quantity, quality, relation, state or their substratum. Later Platonists like Plotinus, Porphyry and Simplicius could attribute hypostasis to different mental states (such as wisdom, happiness, love),[7] activities (sensation,

[1] *Anonymi Commentarius in Platonis Teaetetum*, ed. by H. Diels and W. Schubart (Berlin, 1905), 68, 1-12. See also H. Dörrie, 'Hypostasis. Wort- und Bedeutungsgeschichte', in *Platonica Minora* (München, 1976), 12-69.

[2] Alcinous, *Didaskalikos*, ed. by P. Louis (Paris, 1945), 25, 1,6. Translation by J. Dillon in: Alcinous, *The Handbook of Platonism* (Oxford, 2002), 32.

[3] Alcinous, *Didaskalikos* 10, 2,3.

[4] Atticus, *Fragmenta*, ed. by J. Baurdy (Paris, 1931), 9, 10, 3.

[5] Philo, *Quod deterius potiori insidiari soleat,* ed. by L. Cohn (Berlin, 1896), 160, 7: ὁ θεὸς μόνος ἐν τῷ εἶναι ὑφέστηκεν … ὡς τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ὄντων κατὰ τὸ εἶναι, δόξῃ δὲ μόνον ὑφεστάναι νομιζομένων.

[6] Philo, *Quod deus sit immutabilis*, ed. by P. Wendland (Berlin, 1897), 172, 1-173, 1.

[7] Plotinus, *Enneades*, ed. by P. Henry and H.-R. Schwyzer (Leiden, 1951-1973), I 4, 9,19: ἡ τῆς σοφίας ὑπόστασις; III 5, 2-4.

reasoning),[8] magnitudes and ratios (double, triple),[9] space and time.[10] Even matter, usually understood as non-existent (μὴ ὄν) because of its formlessness, wasn't regarded as entirely deprived of hypostasis and regularly described by platonic philosophers as 'by-hypostasis' (παρυπόστασις) and 'tendency towards hypostasis' (ὑποστάσεως ἔφεσις).[11] Total deprivation of hypostasis meant either something logically impossible (παράλογον), some mistake of reason and art (as a square circle or a flat ball), or something unnatural, such as goat-stag or hippocentaur.[12] Proclus, for example, in his *Commentary on 'Parmenides'* reports that Origen the Platonist believed the One of the 1st Hypothesis to be something completely ἀνυπόστατον and not-existent, because it was deprived of all possible characteristics both positive and negative. In other words, according to Origen, the assumption discussed in the 1st hypothesis was wrong and was to be rejected as impossible.

Thus from the viewpoint of Platonists, everything that exists because of its participation in an idea has a hypostasis. But the ideal being can reveal itself in things more or less clearly, so it makes sense to speak about different degrees of being: soul for example exists more truly than the body, intellect – more truly than the soul and the highest God is superior to both of them. As follows there appears a hierarchy of entities or hypostases, understood as different degrees of manifestation and self-revelation of an idea. Platonists therefore preserved the primary meaning of the term 'hypostasis', initially developed by Stoics and Peripatetics. They also thought it to be a 'realization of previously latent being turning into appearance'.[13] But the understanding of what is happening in this process became quite different. Whereas for Stoics and Peripatetics the process of hypostatization was a passage from potential to actual being, giving rise to a substance (οὐσία), which previously didn't exist, for Platonists it was a reflection of an actually existent substance on a lower level of reality. According to their point of view, hypostasis was always a reflection, an image of some higher reality, coming into appearance in a less actual mode of being. It was always 'something which has been caused by something else', as

[8] Plotinus, *Enneades* III 4, 1.

[9] Plotinus, *Enneades* VI 1, 7, 28.

[10] *Simplicii In Aristotelis Physicorum commentaria*, ed. by H. Diels (Berlin, 1882-1895), IX, 766: 'Aristotle doesn't eliminate the proper hypostasis of time' (οὐδὲ ἀναιρεῖ τὴν οἰκείαν τοῦ χρόνου ὑπόστασιν Ἀριστότελης).

[11] Plotinus, *Enneades* III 6, 7, 13.

[12] Proclus, *In Platonis Parmenidem*, ed. by V. Cousin (Paris, 1864), 885, 13-5: … καὶ ὧν οὐκ εἰσίν, οἷον τῶν παρὰ φύσιν, τῶν παρὰ τέχνην, τῶν παρὰ λόγον, τῶν ἀνουσίων, αὐτῶν τῶν ἀνυποστάτων, τραγελάφων λέγω καὶ ἱππoκενταύρων. '… from non-existent ones, as for instance mistakes of nature, or art or reason, things without existence, things even without substances, such as goat-stags or hippocentaurs'. Trans. by G. Morrow and J. Dillon, in G.R. Morrow and J.M. Dillon, *Proclus' Commentary on Plato's Parmenides* (Princeton, 1987), 246.

[13] R.P.C. Hanson, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God* (Edinburgh, 1988), 182.

S. Gersh says.[14] And what about the idea? Does it in its turn have a hypostasis? The answer on this question depends on whether idea is reckoned among beings or taken in its very nature as the idea of ideas, that is as a latent and completely ineffable being, which transcends all things and can be therefore identified with Good or the supreme One. In the first case an idea can be treated as a hypostasis, in the second – as a latent cause of all hypostases, transcending all its effects. Indeed in the history of Platonism we encounter two types of metaphysical systems. Those belonging to Middle Platonism put on the top of the hierarchy of hypostases the realm of a true being, considered whether as a divine Intellect with its thoughts or as an intelligible paradigm, containing plurality of ideas. Others, belonging for the most part to Neoplatonism, believe the highest God to exceed being. As follows in the systems of the first type the First Principle is necessarily endowed with a hypostasis (see the aforementioned quotations from the writings of Alcinous and Philo), whereas in the second ones it is usually considered as transcending hypostasis.

2. System of hypostases by Plotinus

Plotinus is usually acknowledged as a creator of the Neoplatonic doctrine of hypostases. According to him there is a hierarchically organized system of realities, each of which is a cause of the lower and an effect of the higher one. Plotinus himself refers to these realities as to 'entities' or 'natures', but sometimes he also uses the term 'hypostases'. Top of this system occupies the One – the First Principle, which is beyond being and prior to all that exists. It follows Intellect, sphere of a true Being, understood as unity of intellectual contemplation and intelligible object. After it comes Soul, the lowest boundary of the intellectual realm. While unrolling Intellect's unitary thought into a reasoning and verbal expression (λόγος) Soul creates a sensible world, which in its turn constitutes the least level of reality.

Why does Plotinus call these levels hypostases? Because every lower level represents a 'hypostatized energy' (ὑφισταμένη ἐνέργεια) of a higher one. As Plotinus writes in his treatise *On three primary hypostases*: 'one must understand that the activity on the level of Intellect does not flow out of it, but the external activity became hypostatized', that is 'comes into existence as something distinct', as Armstrong translates.[15] According to Plotinus, each perfect and complete thing has two energies: one belonging to its very essence, and

[14] S. Gersh, *ΚΙΝΗΣΙΣ ΑΚΙΝΗΤΟΣ. A study of the spiritual motion in the philosophy of Proclus* (Leiden, 1973), 31.

[15] Plotinus, *Enneades* V 1, 3, 12: δεῖ δὲ λαβεῖν ἐκεῖ οὐκ ἐκρέουσαν, ἀλλὰ μένουσαν μὲν τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ὑφισταμένην. Armstrong's translation see in: Plotinus, *Ennead V* with an English transl. by A.H. Armstrong (London, 1984), 21.

the other that goes out from it.[16] The first energy can be named internal; it is a certain kind of activity, by which thing realizes itself, thus gaining its essence. For example, Intellect realizes itself in contemplation of ideas, fire becomes fire because of burning, the sun – because of shining. Energy of the second kind is the external activity of thing, when it acts in accordance with its essence outside itself. Acting so it generates in the surrounding area something like itself, as if reproducing itself in something other: fire heats up, the sun illuminates all around it, Intellect utters a word that expresses its thought. The same situation can be observed among the metaphysical principles. The One, expanding its uniting activity outside itself produces Intellect as an image of its own. As Plotinus says: 'The activity generated from its [the One's] perfection and coexistent activity acquires hypostasis (ὑπόστασιν λαβοῦσα) … and arrives at being and substance'.[17] The Intellect, unfolding its intelligible content in the verbal expression, generates Soul: 'Just as a word in its utterance is an image of the word in soul, so the Soul itself is the expressed thought of Intellect and its whole activity and the life which it sends out to establish another hypostasis'.[18] Finally, the Soul reproducing itself in matter, creates a unitary, harmoniously moving cosmos. 'The hypostases of some realities come into existence while the realities themselves remain unmoved, but soul has been already said to be in motion when it generates sense-perception, which has a hypostasis (Plotinus here means the sensible part of the Soul. – *S.M.*), and the power of grows which extends also to plants'.[19] Therefore when some perfect immaterial being extends its activity outside itself, its external activity begins to exist independently of it and become a new substance (οὐσία) and hypostasis. Such a hypostatization can be explained by the equation of energy and substance in Plotinus' philosophy. In the sphere of incorporeal realities every activity constitutes a substance and every substance realizes itself in some kind of activity. The external energy of the One constitutes the internal energy of Intellect, as if Intellect's thought was equal to the One coming out of itself and becoming different from itself. Exactly the same takes place in the case of other hypostases. All of them are different kinds of the First Principle's external activity, which comes into existence as a number of self-sufficient distinct substances.

Does the One also have a hypostasis? In traditional expositions of Plotinus' system this question is usually answered affirmatively. Already in antiquity there

[16] Plotinus, *Enneades* V 4, 2, 27-9: Ενέργεια ἡ μέν ἐστι τῆς οὐσίας, ἡ δὲ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας ἑκάστου. 'In each and every thing there is an activity that belongs to substance and goes out from substance'. Translation of A.H. Armstrong in: Plotinus (London, 1984), 147.

[17] Plotinus, *Enneades* V 4, 2, 32-8. Slightly changed translation of A.H. Armstrong: Plotinus (London, 1984), 147.

[18] Plotinus, *Enneades* V 1, 3, 7-10. Slightly changed translation of A.H. Armstrong: Plotinus (London, 1984), 19f.

[19] Plotinus, *Enneades* III 4, 1, 1-3. Slightly changed translation of A.H. Armstrong: Plotinus, *Ennead III* (London, 1967), 143.

was a custom to bring three Neoplatonic immaterial realities in correlation with the three hypostases of the Holy Trinity: the One with the God-Father, the Intellect with the Son, and the Soul with the Holy Ghost. Such a custom was widely spread among the theologians of the 4th century, such as Eusebius of Caesarea, Cyril of Alexandria, Augustine and others.[20] In the writings of Plotinus however the term 'hypostasis' with regard to the One occurs very rarely – four times in the whole corpus. For example, in the treatise *On Numbers* our philosopher seems to attribute hypostasis to the One while arguing that the One cannot be deprived of hypostasis.[21] But the careful reading of the text shows that by using this term Plotinus wants only to emphasize the real existence of the One, demonstrating that the First Principle like any other unit or number is neither an affection of a soul nor a pure mental abstraction, but some self-existent thing. In another work while discussing a free will of the One, he notes that if we try to attribute hypostasis to the Good, we'll necessarily make it responsible for its own being, because to have a hypostasis means to be brought in existence by something else as a result of hypostatizing. If the supreme Good than would have a hypostasis, it could get it only from itself. So it would be simultaneously the cause and the effect of its own. But the First Principle doesn't permit such a division because of its simplicity and unity. Consequently it can be named hypostasis only in a figurative sense. The One is therefore 'like a hypostasis' (οἷον ὑπόστασις).[22] Strictly speaking it transcends hypostasis (πρὸ ὑποστάσεως), while being a supreme cause of all.[23] Thus according to Plotinus only manifestations of the One at the lower levels of being can be named hypostases, because by their very existence they point to some transcendent reality. In Plotinus' system these hypostases are Intellect, Soul and Cosmos.

3. Term 'hypostasis' in 4th century AD. Porphyry and Christian theologians

Like his teacher Plotinus, Porphyry for the most part uses the term 'hypostasis' in order to mean some self-existent thing, in so far as it is a manifestation of some higher principle. In his treatise *Pathways to the Intelligible* he describes the procession of incorporeal lives by saying, that principles that are prior to incorporeal lives 'confer hypostasis' on what is inferior to them.[24] Because all things proceed from the One, Porphyry divides hypostases into two kinds: 'universal and perfect'

[20] Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica*, ed. by K. Mras (Berlin, 1954, 1956), XI, 17; 20. Augustinus, *ciu.*, ed. E. Dombart, A. Kalb, CChr.SL XLVII/XLVIII (Turnhout, 1955), X, 23.

[21] Plotinus, *Enneades* VI 6, 12, 1-3: Ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τὸ ἓν καὶ τὴν μονάδα μὴ ὑπόστασιν λέγοι ἔχειν…

[22] Plotinus, *Enneades* VI 8, 7, 47.

[23] Plotinus, *Enneades* VI 8, 10, 37.

[24] *Porphyrii Sententiae ad intelligibilia ducentes*, ed. by E. Lamberz (Leipzig, 1975), 24,3: … εἰς τὴν τῶν ὑπ'αὐτὰ ὑπόστασιν.

on one hand and 'particular and imperfect' on the other. Among the first he rates such realities as universal Intellect, Soul and visible Cosmos. Among the second – individual ideas, intellects, souls and bodies. Like earlier Platonists, Porphyry in his writings identifies hypostasis and substance (οὐσία). For example in his *Introduction to Aristotle's 'Categories'* he says that 'rational and mortal are compounded for the hypostasis of man'.[25] The phrase means that these two characteristics constitute essence and nature of man, so 'hypostasis' here is used as a synonym of essence. In *Pathways to the Intelligible* while speaking about the sphere of the Intelligible Porphyry calls it both essence and hypostasis: 'When you have fastened on an inexhaustible substance, infinite in itself in power, and set out to conceive of a hypostasis, which is unwearied, unabated … *etc.*'[26] However by distinguishing two classes of hypostases Porphyry paves the way to the subsequent distinction between hypostasis and essence (οὐσία), which can be traced in works of later Platonists as well as Christian theologians. In so far as many individual hypostases are parts of universal and perfect reality, they share one and the same nature or essence (in Aristotle's terms, they belong to one and the same species). For example, individual souls are souls because of being parts of the universal one. Thus universal and perfect hypostases, which are themselves independent and self-existent beings, act as common predicates of individual hypostases and in so far can be interpreted as species or οὐσίαι in the sense of Aristotle's 'second substances'. Consequently partial and imperfect substances can be considered as Aristotle's first substances or hypostases in the strict sense of the word, whereas universal and perfect realities will play a role of their common natures and essences (Aristotle's second substances). Perhaps by this latent distinction between οὐσία and hypostasis one can explain an interesting fragment from Porphyry's lost *Philosophical History*, preserved by Cyril of Alexandria: 'Up to the three hypostases proceeds the essence of the Godhead' (ἄχρι τριῶν ὑποστάσεων … τὴν τοῦ θείου προελθεῖν οὐσίαν),[27] in which many historians of theology saw anticipation of the further Trinitarian terminology of church-fathers.[28]

But do these words really belong to Porphyry? Or are we dealing here with a rather inadequate interpretation of his views? Heavy doubts about the authenticity of this sentence arouse by the fact, that under three hypostases of the Godhead Porphyry means One, Intellect and Soul. The text reads as follows:

While giving an account of the teaching of Plato, Porphyry says that the essence of the Godhead proceeds up (προελθεῖν) to three hypostases, so that the Good is the highest

[25] *Porphyrii Isagoge sive quinque voces*, ed. by A. Busse, CAG (Berlin, 1887), 19,1.

[26] Porphyry, *Sententiae* 40, 1-3. Translated by J. Dillon, in Porphyre, *Sentences*, ed. L. Brisson (Paris, 2005), II, 825.

[27] Porphyry, *Historia philosophiae*, ed. A. Nauck (Leipzig, 1886), fr. 16.

[28] See for example: A. Spassky, *A history of doctrinal movements in time of oecumenical councils* (Sergiev Posad, 1906), 489.

God, the Demiurge comes after him as the second God, and the World Soul – as the third one. For the Godhead proceeds up to the Soul.[29]

But as we have shown before, Porphyry like his teacher Plotinus thought hypostasis to be a product and a reflection of some higher principle coming into appearance in a lower level of reality. That he didn't consider the One to be a hypostasis is quite clear from Sentence 30 of his *Pathways to the Intelligible*. This sentence says that none of the 'universal and perfect hypostases' turns its attention towards its offspring, but on the contrary directs itself towards its generator:

> Of those realities (ὑποστάσεων) which are universal and perfect none has its attention turned towards its own offspring, but all direct themselves upwards towards their generators, even down to the body of the Cosmos; for it, in its perfection directs itself towards its Soul, which is intellectual and for this reason performs a circular motion, while its Soul directs itself towards the Intellect, and the Intellect towards the First.[30]

From this text it is quite clear, that the First Principle doesn't direct itself to anything else. So Porphyry couldn't count it among the 'universal and perfect hypostases'.[31]

Some difficulties however begin with the title of Plotinus' treatise: *On Three Primary Hypostases* (Περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχικῶν ὑποστάσεων). It is generally known, that this title was given by Porphyry. What did Porphyry mean by these 'three hypostases'? Did he want to indicate three incorporeal realities of Plotinus' world, One, Intellect and Soul, or have in mind three main effects of the First Principle – Intellect, Soul and Cosmos? Some scholars pointed out, that the predicate ἀρχικός, used by Porphyry in order to define these 'hypostases', seems to mean something belonging to the ἀρχαί, causal principles, so that under 'three hypostases' one must understand the One, the Intellect and the Soul, because the sensible Cosmos cannot be a cause of anything. This opinion was expressed in particular by Heinrich Dörrie in his excellent article about the history of the word 'hypostasis'.[32] But as Yu. Shichalin has shown, the title of Plotinus' treatise can be understood quite differently. The word ἀρχικός can be translated not as 'belonging to causal principles', but simply as 'primary', 'basic', 'main', that is as referring to the main products of the One, and not to the One itself.[33]

[29] Cyril of Alexandria, *Contra Julianum*, ed. by P. Burguière and P. Évieux, SC (Paris, 1985), I, 47, 5-9.

[30] Translated by J. Dillon, in Porphyre, *Sentences*, ed. by L. Brisson (2005), II, 807.

[31] Analogous conclusion draws Yu. Shichalin in his commentary to Plotinus' treatise V 1. See Plotinus, *Treatises 1–11*, transl. and commentary Yu. Shichalin (Moscow, 2007), 415.

[32] Dörrie translates ἀρχικός as 'ἀρχή-artigen'. See H. Dörrie, 'Hypostasis. Wort- und Bedeutungsgeschichte' (1976), 51.

[33] Y. Chitchaline, 'A propos du titre du traité de Plotin Περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχικῶν ὑποστάσεων (Enn. V 1)', *REG* 105 (1992), 253-61.

If our conclusion about Porphyry's use of the term 'hypostasis' is right, than the sentence cited by Cyril of Alexandria appears not to be a direct quotation from Porphyry's book, but rather its interpretation, apparently provoked by the aforementioned analogy between three hypostases of the divine Trinity and three immaterial divine realities of Neoplatonism. A careful reading of Cyril's text allows us to make some interesting observations, which appear to confirm this conclusion. First of all, Cyril explicitly uses the distinction between hypostasis and οὐσία, which is quite usual for a Christian of the later 4th – early 5th century but scarcely be detected in such apparent form in the writings of Porphyry. Second, Porphyry didn't consider Intellect to be the Demiurge of the Cosmos. According to Proclus, he ascribed demiurgic functions to unparticipated Soul whereas Intellect played by him a role of intelligible paradigm of the sensible Cosmos.[34] And last but not least: it is hard to imagine that Porphyry could think the highest Good to be a result of procession of some higher οὐσία, because the First Principle cannot proceed from anything else. All these observations confirm our initial conjecture that the sentence attributed by Cyril of Alexandria to Porphyry was not a direct quotation from the philosopher, but rather a misinterpretation of his thought.

What caused such an interpretation? Why were theologians of the 4th and 5th centuries so inclined to interpret the Neoplatonic system of three incorporeal realities in terms of three hypostases? In my opinion, it was caused by the fact that Christian thinkers attached to the term 'hypostasis' a completely different meaning than Neoplatonists. Introduction of the term 'hypostasis' into Christian theology in the 3rd – 4th century was conditioned by the concern to express a separate existence of three Persons of the Godhead in contrast to numerous efforts to present the Son and the Holy Ghost as inseparable parts of the Father. We know about such efforts in particular from the writings of Origen. In his *Commentary on John* he speaks about some Christian scholars who regarded the title 'Word' as the most important title of the Son and accordingly 'didn't allow Him any independent hypostasis', thinking that the Son was an inseparable act of the Father ('the utterance of the Father deposited in syllables').[35] Others called Him the wisdom of God and hence apprehended His hypostasis in 'mere visions of the God-Father like the phantasms of human thoughts'.[36] The third kind of theologians believed the Son does not differ from the Father not only in number, but also in point of substance and subject. The Father and

[34] Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, ed. by E. Diehl (Leipzig, 1903), I, 306,32-307,4: τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν τὴν ὑπερκόσμιον ἀποκαλεῖ δημιουργόν. 322,1-3: ὁ δέ γε φιλόσοφος Πορφύριος τὴν μὲν ψυχήν … δημιουργὸν ὑπέθετο τὴν ἀμέθεκτον, τὸ δὲ παράδειγμα τὸν νοῦν.

[35] Origenes, *Commentarii in euangelium Joannis*, ed. C. Blanc, SC 120 (Paris, 1966), I, 24, 151-2: προφορὰν πατρικὴν οἱονεὶ ἐν συλλαβαῖς κειμένην εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ὑπόστασιν αὐτῷ … οὐ διδόασιν.

[36] Origenes, *In Joannis* I, 34, 243,4-244,8.

the Son were said to be different 'in some mental representations (κατά τινας ἐπινοίας) but not in their hypostases'.[37] Origen disproves all these opinions and insists that the Son and the Holy Ghost exist independently from the Father. Elsewhere in his *Commentary* he writes that 'we are persuaded that there are three hypostases, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit'.[38] Another theologian of the 3rd century, Dionysius of Rome, speaks about the reasons of the introduction of the word 'hypostasis' in Christian theology in the most unambiguous manner. In his dispute with Dionysius of Alexandria he expresses an opinion that the doctrine of three hypostases was developed in response to Sabellianism. Whereas Sabellius insisted on an identity of Farther and Son, the adherents of the three-hypostases theory 'preached three Gods, as dividing the sacred Monad into three hypostases foreign to each other and utterly separate'.[39] The Bishop of Rome condemns the use of the word 'hypostasis' in respect of God-Father, Son and Holy Ghost, because it seems to him to admit a separate existence of three gods and cut up to pieces the divine Monarchy. Nonetheless the theory of three hypostases continued to be popular on the Christian East throughout the 4th century. Among its adherents were Eusebius of Nicomedia, Eusebius of Caesarea, George of Laodicea as well as many other theologians traditionally labeled as Semi-Arians or Homoiousians. A whole number of examples of the usage of the term in this milieu is cited by J. Zachhuber in his article 'Basil and the Three Hypostasis Tradition', initially presented at the XIII Patristic Conference. Thus he points to the Second Creed of Antioch (341), where it is said that the names of Father, Son and Holy Ghost

> are not given without meaning or effect, but denote accurately the peculiar hypostasis, rank and glory of each that is named, so that they are three in hypostasis (τῇ μὲν ὑποστάσει τρία), and one in agreement.[40]

Among the ancestors of this Creed was Asterius the Sophist, who also sharply distinguished Father and Son as two distinct hypostases being one in agreement.[41] George of Laodicea, a homoiousian author of the 4th century, uses the term in a similar way. In one of his epistles he explains why the so called 'Easterners' prefer to name Persons of the divine Trinity 'hypostases'. He says that they do so 'in order to indicate the truly existent individuality of the

[37] Origenes, *In Joannis* X, 37, 246, 7-14.

[38] Origenes, *In Joannis* II, 10, 75, 1f.: ἡμεῖς μέντοι γε τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις πειθόμενοι τυγχάνειν, τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.

[39] Athanasius, *De decretis Nicaenae synodi*, ed. by H.G. Opitz (Berlin, 1940), 26, 2, 3-7.

[40] The Second Creed of Antioch was cited in: Athanasius, *De synodis*, ed. by H.G. Opitz (Berlin, 1940), 23,6. See also J. Zachhuber, 'Basil and the Three Hypostasis Tradition. Reconsidering the origins of Cappadocian theology', *ZAC* 5 (2001), 65-85, 67.

[41] Asterius von Kappadokien, *Die Theologischen Fragmente*, ed. by M. Vinzent (Leiden, 1993), fr. 9, 60, 11. See also R.P.C. Hanson, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God* (Edinburgh, 1988), 289.

Persons'.[42] Again some participants of the council at Alexandria in 362, where the Trinitarian terminology was hardly debated, declared that they speak of three hypostases

because we believe in the Holy Trinity, not a Trinity in name only, but one that truly is and subsists (ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς οὖσαν καὶ ὑφεστῶσαν). We know that the Father truly is and subsists, and that the Son truly is and subsists within the divine substance and that the Holy Ghost subsists and is.[43]

In all these texts the word 'hypostasis' indicates a real existence or subsistence of a particular thing as opposed to its merely apparent being whether in word or in mind. It seems that theologians borrowed this meaning not from some philosophical source, but rather from a common use of the term, according to which being καθ' ὑπόστασιν (real and actual one) was opposed to being καθ' ἔμφασιν (in appearance) or καθ' ἐπίνοιαν (in mind). This usage, initially developed by Stoics, became usual in the imperial age and can be detected by many authors of the 1st – 2nd centuries, such as Artemidorus, doxographer Aetius, author of the Pseudo-Aristotle's treatise *De mundo*, philosopher Posidonius and others. Posidonius for example says that some atmospheric phenomena exist only in appearance (καθ' ἔμφασιν), such as a rainbow, which is nothing else but a reflection of the Son in a moist air, whereas others – such as lightning and comets – subsist καθ'ὑπόστασιν.[44] Emerging from this general use of 'hypostasis' the Christian use of the word does not reveal any trace of a Platonic concept of hypostasis, nothing that resembles 'a realization of a previously latent being' or a reflection of some higher principle. Nevertheless, the application of the term to three Persons of the Godhead has given rise to a concept of the Holy Trinity, which strongly resembled the structure of Neoplatonic incorporeal reality. This concept, considered by most scholars as a forerunner of the Cappadocian Trinitarian thought, was thoroughly examined by J. Zachhuber in the aforementioned article. The scholar points out that the use of a three-hypostases formula by those theologians of the 3rd and 4th centuries who 'find it essential in their Trinitarian thought to emphasize the separate existence or subsistence of the three Persons of the Godhead' regularly coincided with a subordinationism of a particular kind.[45] Traces of such a subordinationism can be found, for example, in the writings of Eusebius of Caesarea, in so far as he derives the divinity of the Son from that of the Father as His evaporation and 'eikon' or applies the title 'God' to the Son without definite

[42] J. Zachhuber, 'Basil and the Three Hypostasis Tradition' (2001), 67: διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ὑποστάσεις οἱ ἀνατολικοὶ λέγουσιν, ἵνα τὰς ἰδιότητας τῶν προσώπων ὑφεστώσας καὶ ὑπαρχούσας γνωρίσωσιν.

[43] *Ibid.* = PG 26, 801B.

[44] Posidonius, *Fragmenta*, ed. by W. Theiler (Berlin, 1982), fr. 331.

[45] J. Zachhuber, 'Basil and the Three Hypostasis Tradition' (2001), 66-8.

article or compare Persons of the Holy Trinity with the First, Second and Third God of Plato's 2nd Epistle.[46]

How can one explain this limited but decisive subordinationism? In so far as the adherents of the three-hypostases theory declared the separate existence of the three Persons of Trinity, emphasizing at the same time the real divinity of Son and Holy Ghost, they found themselves open to accusations of polytheism. Was not the belief, asks Zachhuber, that besides God the Father there are two other equally divine hypostases of the Godhead tantamount to confessing three gods and thus a violation of monotheism? One fragment from Eusebius shows, how far these people were aware of a problem. In one of his treatises Eusebius asks his opponent the following question: 'Are you afraid, man, that by accepting two hypostases you introduce two principles and so fall away from the single authority of the Godhead?'[47] There were some ways to avoid this danger. On the one hand it was possible to deny true divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit; on the other – to declare that there is only one God, who sometimes appears to be a plurality. Both ways however seemed to the three-hypostases theologians to be heretical. That's why they sought to escape the accusation of polytheism by adopting some kind of theory that explained the Son's divinity as a lower one than that of the Father, as its evaporation, image or something like this. Analogous theories however could be found in the metaphysical systems of some contemporary Platonists like Numenius, Plotinus and Porphyry. Three-hypostases theologians found them very attractive because of the close parallels to their own concept of the Holy Trinity and began to interpret them in their own terms, applying the term 'hypostasis' not only to the offspring of the First Principle, but to all divine realities, including the highest God as well.[48] As a result they misinterpreted the Neoplatonic system of hypostases as we have seen from the above citations of Eusebius of Caesarea and Cyril of Alexandria.

4. The term 'hypostasis' by Proclus

Proclus uses the verb ὑφίστημι practically as a synonym of παράγω – to produce, to bring into existence. In the *Elements of Theology* he says for example that 'every producer (τὸ παράγον) remains as it is, and its consequent proceeds from it without change in its steadfastness. Full and complete then it brings to

[46] About the subordinationism of Eusebius of Caesarea see J.M. Robertson, *Christ as Mediator* (Oxford, 2007).

[47] Eusebius of Caesarea, *De ecclesiastica theologia*, ed. by E. Klostermann and G.C. Hansen (Berlin, 1972), II, 7, 1-4: ἀλλὰ φοβῇ, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, μὴ δύο ὑποστάσεις ὁμολογήσας δύο ἀρχὰς εἰσαγάγοις καὶ τῆς μοναρχικῆς θεότητος ἐκπέσοις.

[48] See for example Eusebius of Caesarea, *Praeparatio euangelica* XI, 16, 3-4; 17, 1-11; 20, 3-5 *etc*.

existence (ὑφίστησι) the secondary principles without movement and without loss'.[49] In this sentence the verb ὑφίστησι is to expose what τὸ παράγον (producer) does. The producer 'produces' (παράγει), that is 'hypostatizes' secondary principles, so that the verb ὑφιστάναι means simply 'to produce a certain effect'. Thus Proclus, as well as his predecessors, understands hypostasis as a result of hypostatization, that is of manifestation of a superior causal principle in a lower order of reality. 'To have a hypostasis' means for him to be dependent in its being on something higher. So it can be said that while moving within the Neoplatonic system of realities upwards, one find every next level to be a cause of a previous one, so that one has a system of causal principles. On the contrary, while moving downwards, one receives a system of hypostases, because every next level is a manifestation of a previous one. The top of this system is occupied by the primal One, therefore everything proceeding from it and partaking to some extent in unity can be labeled as hypostasis. But the primal One is beyond Being, so there could be some products of it that participate in unity without partaking in Being or essence. Such entities would subsist (or have a hypostasis) without having a substance. And indeed in Proclus' philosophy there are entities of such a kind – henads and matter. Proclus calls henads 'autonomous hypostases' (αὐτοτελεῖς ὑποστάσεις),[50] and of matter he says that it receives its hypostasis directly from the One, without participating in Being: 'Matter, taking it's hypostasis from the One, is in itself devoid of form'.[51] Proclus therefore distinguishes between 'hypostatic being' and Being as such, τὸ ὄν, which is equal to the sphere of intelligible forms and which he also calls 'substantial being' (οὐσιῶδες εἶναι). Everything that possesses hypostatic being has a unity, that allows it to act as an individual thing, but it doesn't have any intelligible form, essence or nature, which would make it something definite and bestow upon it some intelligible characteristic, by which it could be distinguished from anything else. In other words, being a hypostasis is tantamount to subsisting as something individual of which nobody can say, *what* it is. So we can see that Proclus definitively abandons the earlier platonic identification of hypostasis and substance and subscribes, so to say, the ontological priority to the hypostatic being as compared with the substantial one.

And what about the One itself? Does it have a hypostasis within Proclus' metaphysics? On first sight it seemed it doesn't, because as we have stated already, hypostasis is always something that has been caused by something else. But the One is the supreme Principle, so it must be beyond everything and therefore beyond hypostasis. The same conclusion about the impossibility of

[49] Proclus, *The Elements of Theology*, ed. by E.R. Dodds (Oxford, 1963), 27, slightly changed translation of E.R. Dodds.

[50] *Ibid*. 64.

[51] *Ibid*. 72,8: ἡ μὲν ὕλη, ἐκ τοῦ ἑνὸς ὑποστᾶσα.

application of the term 'hypostasis' to the One in Proclus' philosophy makes S. Gersh. He says: 'The notion of causal dependence in effect precludes the application [of the term hypostasis] to anything above the level of Being. In the first place the One transcends hypostasis, being itself a First Principle in the spiritual world'.[52] This conclusion however is not quite accurate because, as we have shown already, Proclus applies the term 'hypostasis' to such entities as henads, which are above Being.[53] Moreover there are a number of places, where he ascribes hypostasis to the primal One itself and argues against those philosophers who held the opposite point of view. We have already mentioned his controversy with Origen the Platonist, who considered the One of the 1st hypothesis of *Parmenides* to be deprived of hypostasis (ἀνυπόστατον). Objecting him Proclus says in his *Theology of Plato*:

> And most of all I wonder at Origen, who received the same education as Plotinus. He also finishes [the sequence of causal principles] with the Intellect and the first Being, denying that there is One beyond Being and Intellect. … But we don't agree that the One is completely deprived of existence and hypostasis (ὅτι παντελῶς ἀνύπαρκτον τὸ ἓν καὶ ἀνυπόστατον) and that the highest cause is Intellect which is the same as the primal Being and the primal One.[54]

And in the *Commentary on* '*Parmenides*' he continues to argue:

> It is therefore absolutely necessary that this One of which everything is denied exists … If then it is something which has hypostasis (ὑφεστώς τί ἐστι), it is in turn plain that it is not something that has Being (οὐσιῶδες).[55]

About the hypostasis of the first One Proclus speaks also in a number of other places, but the most explicit example is that from his *Theology of Plato*, where the philosopher says that in the *Sophist* Plato 'argues dialectically about Being and the first One, hypostasis of which is separated from all beings (τῆς τοῦ ἑνὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ὄντων χωριστῆς ὑποστάσεως)'[56]

How can one explain such an inconsistency in attaching hypostasis to the One? This question is still open. But in the light of what has been recently said by Yu. Shichalin about the influence of Christian terminology on Athenian Platonists and in particular on Proclus,[57] one can suppose that the term

[52] S. Gersh, *ΚΙΝΗΣΙΣ ΑΚΙΝΗΤΟΣ* (1973), 32.

[53] See for example his *Elements of Theology* 153, where he speaks about 'hypostases of the super-essential principles' – ὑποστάσεις τῶν ὑπερουσίων.

[54] Proclus, *Theologia Platonica*, ed. by D. Saffrey and L.G. Westerink (Paris, 1974), II, 31, 8-19.

[55] Proclus, *In Platonis Parmenidem commentaria*, ed. by V. Cousin (Paris, 1864), 1065, 31-1066, 7, translated by J. Dillon, in G.R. Morrow and J.M. Dillon, *Proclus' Commentary on Plato's Parmenides* (Princeton, 1987), 420.

[56] Proclus, *Theologia Platonica* I, 18, 13-21.

[57] Yu. Shichalin, 'The Traditional View of Late Platonism as a Self-contained System', *SP* 62 (2013), 3-9 (this volume).

'hypostasis' in Proclus possesses two different meanings simultaneously. One of them was peculiar to Neoplatonic tradition (that is of manifestation and proceeding from a higher principle) and the other was current in a Christian milieu and implied a real existence of something individual. I think that the passages quoted above sufficiently attest the presence of this 'Christian' sense of the word in Proclus' texts. And I think it is possible that by adopting the Christian use of the word, which was already widespread and usual in 5th century, Proclus like his Christian contemporaries began to call hypostases not only products and consequences of the One, but also the One itself. That a Christian milieu was the most probable source of this unplatonic meaning of 'hypostasis' in Proclus' texts seems to be confirmed by the fact, that Proclus was fairly informed about the Christian interpretation of Plotinus' threefold immaterial reality in terms of three hypostases. It is clear from the fact, that he several times uses the formula τρεῖς ἀρχικαὶ ὑποστάσεις as referring to the One, the Intellect and the Soul.[58]

To prove or refute our conjecture about the possible influence of Christian terminology on pagan philosophers in late Antiquity one must undertake a further careful study. Yet one important conclusion can be already made from the history of the term 'hypostasis' as far as it was traced in our paper. Either under the influence of Christian theology or by some other reason, but starting from the 3rd century AD the term 'hypostasis' began to be used by different thinkers more and more frequently in order to designate Being. While being at first a simple synonym of substance (οὐσία) hypostasis then became more and more separate from it, and it is remarkable that this process of separation takes place almost simultaneously by pagan philosophers (Porphyry) and Christian theologians (Cappadocian fathers with their formula 'one substance – three hypostases'). Later by Proclus hypostasis acquires even more general ontological meaning as compared to 'substance' (οὐσία) and 'substantial being' (τὸ ὄν, τὸ οὐσιῶδες εἶναι). As we have seen, it designates a whole number of objects that have neither intelligible form nor essence and accordingly cannot belong to the realm of Being, but at the same time exist in some way. This shift in ontological terminology points in my view to a more important shift, occurring in the very understanding of Being. Whereas the initial Platonic concept of Being implied a presence of an intelligible form and participation in an idea, later Platonists endow it with a rather different meaning. 'To be something' means for them to be caused by something else, to be a manifestation and realization of some higher principle, that is to be a hypostasis. Hypostatic being can be attributed even to the First Principle in so far as it is thought to be its own cause (*causa sui*). I think that this new understanding of Being, shared in

[58] Proclus, *In Parm.,* 1085,22-1059,8; 1118,21-32, 1135,21-40, 1212,32-1213,9. Discussion of these fragments see in the paper of Yu. Shichalin, 'The Traditional View of Late Platonism as a Self-contained System' (2013), 3-9.

late Antiquity both by the Platonic philosophers and their Christian contemporaries, brings them together more intimately than any common terminology, borrowed from each other.

The Term πανήγυρις in the Holy Bible and Christian Literature of the Fourth Century and the Development of Christian Panegyric Genre

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ABSTRACT

In Christian literature of the 1st-4th centuries, the term *panegyris* had a negative connotation of a crowded gathering of pagans for the sake of deity worship and sacrifice. At the same time, this term had a positive connotation of Christian festive meeting for religious celebrations. The Old Testament contains both these meanings. The author of the *Epistle to Hebrews* (*Hebr*. 12:23) expanded on the positive connotation in a high metaphorical sense. Thus, the term *panegyris* had gotten a new meaning of the solemn assembly of the triumphant heavenly Church. Therefore, Christian writers began to interpret the genre of panegyric, keeping in mind its classic prototype (Isocrates' encomia) as well as the new meaning of the term *panegyris*. The analysis of the ceremonial orations (*epideiktikoi logoi)* of St Gregory of Nazianzus (*Orationes* XVI, XXI, XXIV, XXV, VII, VIII, XVIII, XLIII, XXXVIII, XLI, XXXIX, XL, XLIV, XLV) testify this fact. These orations contain a number of common features (*panegyric topoi*) which are peculiar to Christian panegyrics of St Gregory of Nazianzus, St Gregory of Nyssa, St John Chrysostom and other authors of the 4th century. Among the *panegyric topoi* there are: 1) an attention to a current celebration (*panegyris*), which is one of the main topics and reasons of oration; 2) a praise to God as the most important goal of oration; 3) declamation at a crowded meeting; 4) a request of cleansing of the listeners' souls before listening of oration (actually before *diegesis*); 5) a statement of a participation of God and angels in a ceremonial oration.

It is universally acknowledged that Christian authors, inspired by missionary zeal, willingly used and sometimes changed traditional genres of pagan literature. Besides, observing the rhetorical handbooks of late antiquity we find that not all genres are represented in the canon because a formation of some genres had just started at that period. Therefore, when researching a certain genre we should pay adequate attention to its previous tradition.

Tradition of a Christian panegyric

The genre of panegyric became very popular in late antiquity. Created by Isocrates, panegyric had a dual nature: deliberative due to its political

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aims[1] and demonstrative due to its intentions.[2] Former rhetorical tradition regarded panegyric as an encomiastic genre, which was so popular that almost every textbook[3] of rhetorical *progymnasmata* included a description of this genre. Encomiums of Isocrates were acknowledged[4] as its prototypes.[5] In the 4th century, the panegyric genre praising a Christian Emperor or a saint became popular.[6] Christian authors modified panegyric not only because of their antagonism toward pagan tradition but also because of their need for a new background appropriate to their doctrine. For example, the well-known aim of Isocrates, *i.e*. to extol a ruler's virtues and deeds and to ensure the immortality of his encomium[7] was not appropriate for Christian authors. Eusebius of Caesarea explained this idea in the Prolog of his *De laudibus Constantini*. He made a distinction between pagans and Christians[8] saying

[1] Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 3.2-4: ἱκανὸν νομίσας ἆθλον ἔσεσθαί μοι τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ λόγου γενησομένην ἥκω συμβουλεύσων περί τε τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους – 'believing that the glory arising from this oration would be enough for me I'm going to advise of the war against barbarous' (trans. G. Norlin in *Isocrates*, vol. 1 [London, 1928], 121-3).

[2] Isocr., *Paneg*. 4.2-6: ἅμα δὲ προκρίνας τούτους καλλίστους εἶναι τῶν λόγων, οἵτινες περὶ μεγίστων τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες καὶ τούς τε λέγοντας μάλιστ' ἐπιδεικνύουσι καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας πλεῖστ' ὠφελοῦσιν – 'at the same time I recognize the most beautiful of all those kind of speeches that are concerned about the most important themes, do their best to demonstrate the orators and are particularly useful to the audience' (trans. G. Norlin [1928], 123).

[3] For example, *Progymnasmata* of Aelius Theon, Aphthonius the Sophist, Nicolaus the Sophist, Sopatros and *Progymnasmata* attributed to Hermogenes include the chapter dedicated to encomium.

[4] Anonymi In Aphtonium Rhet., *Prolegomena in progymnasmata*, PG 14, 74.12-3: Ἡ τοίνυν ῥητορικὴ διαιρεῖται εἰς εἴδη τρία, εἰς τὸ συμβουλευτικόν, εἰς τὸ δικανικὸν καὶ εἰς τὸ πανηγυρικόν – 'There could be distinguished three genres of rhetoric: deliberative, juridical and panegyrical' (trans. of the author); Nicolaus Rhet., *Progymnasmata*, PG 56, 17-20: εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πανηγυρικοῦ Ἰσοκράτους καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ <Περὶ τοῦ> στεφάνου Δημοσθένους, ὁμολογουμένως ὄντων τοῦ μὲν τοῦ δικανικοῦ, τοῦ δὲ τοῦ συμβουλευτικοῦ <εἴδους>, αἱ ὗλαι ἐκ τοῦ πανηγυρικοῦ παρελήφθησαν – 'if though being agreed that Isocrates' *Panegyricus* belong to deliberative genre and Demosphenes' *On the crown* to the juridical, their material is acknowledged as panegyrical' (trans. G.A. Kennedy in *Writings from the Greco-Roman World*, vol. 10, D.A. Russel (ed.), *Progymnasmata: Greek textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* [Atlanta, 2003], 178).

[5] *Aelius Theon*., PG 68, 24: ἔχομεν δὲ καὶ Ἰσοκράτους μὲν τὰ ἐγκώμια – 'we have encomiums of Isocrates' (trans. by the author).

[6] John Chrysostom composed seven encomia of many bishops and martyrs, Gregory of Nyssa composed encomia of various saints and martyrs too.

[7] Isocr., *Evagoras* 4.6-8: ὁ δὲ λόγος εἰ καλῶς διέλθοι τὰς ἐκείνου πράξεις, ἀείμνηστον ἂν τὴν ἀρετὴν τὴν Εὐαγόρου παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ποιήσειεν – 'But the spoken words which should adequately recount the deeds of Evagoras would make his virtues never to be forgotten among all mankind' (trans. G. Norlin in *Isocrates*, vol. 3 [London, 1945], 7); Isocr., *Evagoras* 3.6: ὅπως ἀθάνατον τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν μνήμην καταλείψουσιν – 'to leave behind the immortal memory of themselves' (trans. G. Norlin [1945], 5).

[8] Eusebius, *De laudibus Constantini*, PG Prologos 2.6-7: οἱ μέν … ἀσπαζόμενοι θνητὰς ἀκοὰς θνητοῖς διηγήμασι θελγόντων, ἡδονῇ τὸ κριτήριον ἀποδόντες· οἱ δ' αὐτῆς μύσται τῆς καθόλου σοφίας, θείων ἐπιστήμης ἅτε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπήβολοι – 'some while enchanting charm their mortal ear by the mortal tales, donating their estimation to pleasure, some

that there is a proper kind of oration for Christian speakers who 'entered inside a holy temple and a secret and sacred depth, who closed the gates from a public ear[9] for an unspeakable mystery should be revealed only to its mystics'.[10] Eusebius argued that the aim of such orations is mystical: 'The prophetic answers pronounced not by the oracles but by an inspiration of a divine light should become our teachers of rites … according to them while celebrating the sacraments we'll proceed to the sacred mysteries. This is the festival of the great king'.[11] This passage shows that Eusebius tried to reach a high metaphysical and mystical level in his work: the occasion of his speech was a divine feast (πανήγυρις), which had the Eucharist at its center, and the main addressee of the speech was God.

The same features are peculiar to the other panegyrics of Eusebius as well as to the works of St Gregory of Nazianzus, St Epiphanius of Salamis, and St Cyril of Alexandria, who wrote speeches on Christian feasts (πανηγύρεις) and addressed them to God. In order to appreciate this fact we should turn to the history of the term πανήγυρις.

History of the term πανήγυρις

Christian literature contains examples of different meanings of the term πανήγυρις. A negative usage denotes a pagan assembly or a feast while a

mystics of the main wisdom achieved both God and human knowledge' (trans. McGiffert in *NPNF2-01. Eusebius Pamphilius: Church History, Life of Constantine, Oration in Praise of Constantine*, Ph. Schaff [ed.] [New York, 1890], 581-2).

[9] The very similar appeal to an initiated audience is contained in Eusebius' quotation of Porphyry. This fact attests that there was a common cultural background of the Christian and Hellenic worldview. Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica*, PG 3, 7.1.1: Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί, θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι, σοφίας θεολόγου νοήματα δεικνύς, οἷς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς δυνάμεις διὰ εἰκόνων συμφύλων αἰσθήσει ἐμήνυσαν ἄνδρες, τὰ ἀφανῆ φανεροῖς ἀποτυπώσαντες πλάσμασιν, τοῖς καθάπερ ἐκ βίβλων τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἀναλέγειν τὰ περὶ θεῶν μεμαθηκόσι γράμματα. – [Porphyry] 'I speak to those who lawfully may hear: Depart all ye profane, and close the doors. The thoughts of a wise theology, wherein men indicated God and God's powers by images akin to sense, and sketched invisible things in visible forms, I will show to those who have learned to read from the statues as from books the things there written concerning the gods' (trans. E.H. Gifford in *Eusebius of Caesarea: Praeparatio Evangelica [Preparation for the Gospel]*, vol. 3 [Oxford, 1903], 97d).

[10] Eusebius, *De laudibus Constantini*, Prologos PG 4, 1-3: οἱ δ' ἀνακτόρων ἁγίων εἴσω ἀδύτων τε καὶ ἀβάτων μυχῶν ἐντὸς διαβεβηκότες, θύρας βεβήλοις ἀκοαῖς ἀποκλείσαντες, τὰς ἀπορρήτους βασιλέως μυήσεις τοῖς τούτων μύσταις διηγείσθων μόνοις… (trans. McGiffert quoted from *NPNF2-01* [1890], 581-2).

[11] Eusebius, *De laudibus Constantini*, Prologos 5.1-10 – Chapter 1.1.1: λογίων δὲ χρησμοί, οὐκ ἐκ μαντείας … φωτὸς δ' ἐπιπνοίαις ἐνθέου προσπεφωνημένοι, τῶν τελετῶν ἡμῖν γενέσθωσαν διδάσκαλοι … οἷς δὴ τὰς θεοπρεπεῖς τελετὰς ἱεροφαντούμενοι ὧδέ πη θείων ὀργίων ἐφαψόμεθα. Πανήγυρις μὲν αὕτη βασιλέως μεγάλου (trans. McGiffert quoted from *NPNF2-01* [1890], 581-2).

positive one is associated with a solemn Christian congregation dedicated to a religious feast. The Old Testament contains both these meanings.

Old Testament

In the Old Testament, we read the prophet Amos' words: 'I hate, I despise your feast days, and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies'[12]. Concerning Israel's withdrawal from the church of the only true God, prophet *Hosea* says: 'I will also cause all her mirth to cease, her feast days, her new moons, and her sabbaths, and all her solemn feasts'[13]. Elsewhere *Hosea* asks: 'What do you do in the solemn day and daily celebration of the Lord?'[14]. In the first case, the LXX translators of *Hosea* use πανήγυρις to signify unholy festivities, then they use it in the positive meaning, which can be also found in the texts of *Isaiah* and *Hezekiah*: 'Rejoice with Jerusalem and be glad about it, all those who love it!';[15] 'And in festivals and solemn days of the offering'.[16]

New Testament

In the New Testament the term πανήγυρις is used once in the *Epistle to Hebrews* traditionally attributed to apostle Paul. The author of the Epistle says that as opposed to the Old Testament's community, which was afraid of the holy mountain of Zion, the community of the New Testament can approach Zion and even God. He calls on this community to come up to the general assembly and to the Church of the firstborn, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits: Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἐπουράνιῳ καὶ μυριάσιν ἀγγέλλων πανηγύρει καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρωτοτόκων ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανοῖς' (*Heb.* 12:23).

Apologists. Negative connotation

Thus, the author of *Hebrews* creates a new metaphysical interpretation of πανήγυρις, which evidently could not be neglected by the subsequent Christian authors. However, apologists mainly used πανήγυρις when referring to pagan festivals. Athenagoras the Athenian in his Plea for the Christians said:

[12] *Amos* 5:21: μεμίσηκα ἀπῶσμαι ἑορτὰς ὑμῶν καὶ οὐ μὴ ὀσφρανθῶ ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν ὑμῶν (Translation quoted from *The Holy Bible*, King James Version [New York, 1999]).

[13] *Hosea* 2:11: καὶ ἀποστρέψω πάσας τὰς εὐφροσύνας αὐτῆς, ἑορτὰς αὐτῆς καὶ τὰς νουμηνίας αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ σάββατα αὐτῆς καὶ πάσας τὰς πανηγύρεις αὐτῆς (Translation quoted from *The Holy Bible* [1999]).

[14] *Hosea* 9:5: τί ποιήσετε ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πανηγύρεως καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἑορτῆς τοῦ κυρίου (Translation quoted from *The Holy Bible* ([1999]).

[15] *Isaiah* 66:10: εὐφράνθητι, Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ πανηγυρίσατε ἐν αὐτῇ, πάντες οἱ ἀγαπῶντες αὐτήν (Translation quoted from *The Holy Bible* [1999]).

[16] *Ezekhiel* 46:11: καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν ἔσται τὸ μανάα… (Translation quoted from *The Holy Bible* [1999]).

For in the temples at their solemn festivals they beat their breasts as for the dead, and sacrifice to the same beings as gods; and no wonder, when they look upon the brutes as gods, and shave themselves when they die, and bury them in temples, and make public lamentation.[17]

In Tatian's Address to the Greeks we read: 'Who must not treat with contempt your solemn festivals, which, being held in honor of wicked demons, cover men with infamy?'[18] Clement of Alexandria and Origen also used πανήγυρις in reference to the Isthmian, Nemean, Pythian and Olympic games.[19]

Clement and Origen. Positive connotation

However, Clement and Origen used πανήγυρις and πανηγυρίζω to mean a triumphant and joyful glorification of God. In Clement's *Protrepticus* we read: 'For this is the first-born Church, composed of many good children; these are "the firstborn enrolled in heaven", who hold high festival with so many "myriads of angels"'.[20] In the *Paedagogus* Clement wonders: 'For what other employment is seemly for a wise and perfect man, than to sport and be glad in the endurance of what is good – and, in the administration of what is good, holding festival with God?'[21]

In Origen's writings, we find five quotations[22] of the *Epistle to Hebrews* and regular usage of the derivations of πανηγυρ-. Origen often uses these derivations and remembers the *Epistle to Hebrews* when speaking about Christ's

[17] Athenagoras, *Legatio sive supplicatio pro Christianis*, PG 14, 2.4: τύπτονται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τὰ στήθη κατὰ τὰς πανηγύρεις ὡς ἐπὶ τετελευτηκόσιν καὶ θύουσιν ὡς θεοῖς (trans. B.P. Pratten quoted from *ANF*, vol. 2, A. Roberts and J. Donaldson [eds] [Edinburgh, 1867], 390).

[18] Tatianus, *Oratio ad Graecos*, PG 22, 1.2: Οἷα γάρ ἐστιν ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ διδάγματα; τίς οὐκ ἂν χλευάσειε τὰς δημοτελεῖς ὑμῶν πανηγύρεις, αἳ προφάσει πονηρῶν ἐπιτελούμεναι δαιμόνων εἰς ἀδοξίαν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους περιτρέπουσιν (trans. B.P. Pratten quoted from *ANF*, vol. 3, A. Roberts and J. Donaldson [eds] [Edinburgh, 1867], 28).

[19] Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protrepticus*, PG 2, 34.1.5: Ἴθι δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐν βραχεῖ περιοδεύσωμεν καὶ τὰς ἐπιτυμβίους ταυτασὶ πανηγύρεις καταλύσωμεν, Ἴσθμιά τε καὶ Νέμεα καὶ Πύθια καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις Ὀλύμπια (trans. W. Wilson quoted from *ANF*, vol. 4, *The writings of Clement of Alexandria*. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson [eds] [Edinburgh, 1867], 41).

[20] Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protrepticus*, PG 9, 82.7.4: Αὕτη γὰρ ἡ πρωτότοκος ἐκκλησία ἡ ἐκ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν συγκειμένη παιδίων· ταῦτ' ἔστι τὰ 'πρωτότοκα τὰ ἐναπογεγραμμένα ἐν οὐρανοῖς' καὶ τοσαύταις 'μυριάσιν ἀγγέλων' συμπανηγυρίζοντα (trans. W. Wilson quoted from *ANF*, vol. 4 [Edinburgh, 1867], 81).

[21] Clemens Alexandrinus, *Paedagogus*, PG 1, 5.22.2.1: Τί γὰρ ἄλλο εὐπρεπὲς ἔργον σοφῷ καὶ τελείῳ ἢ παίζειν καὶ συνευφραίνεσθαι τῇ τῶν καλῶν ὑπομονῇ καὶ τῇ διοικήσει τῶν καλῶν, συμπανηγυρίζοντα τῷ θεῷ (trans. W. Wilson quoted from *ANF*, vol. 4 [Edinburgh, 1867], 213).

[22] Origenes, *Commentarii in evangelium Joannis*, PG 10, 18.111.2; X 14.84.6; *De principiis* IV 3.8.12; *Contra Celsum* VIII 5.30; VII 29.13.

Church. Three times Origen uses this term, when speaking about the triumphant meeting on Easter.[23] In the *Commentary on Deuteronomy* Origen explains the difference between a holiday (ἑορτή) and a triumph (πανήγυρις) referring to the authority of Scripture. He states that not every joyful day should be called a triumph, but only those on which many people gather. For example, Saturday is a holiday, while the day of Azymes and Tabernacles are the celebrations observed only by males[24]. Origen refers to the *Epistle to Hebrews* when he uses the participials of the verb πανηγυρίζω: 'If "there happens a gladness among the heavenly forces because of the improvement of a sinner" that is very essential that when a soul after the exercises entered into the heavenly sanctuary, there is heard a sound of happiness of a triumphant assembly due to a salvation of a saved one'[25].

Fourth century: Spreading of the new connotation

In the 4th century, many Christian authors, such as Eusebius, Athanasius, Basil the Great, and Gregory of Nyssa, often[26] used the quotation from the *Epistle to Hebrews*, in their writings, making use of different derivations of πανηγυρ-.

[23] Origenes, *Commentarii in evangelium Joannis* X 14.84.2: Καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων γε τῶν ἑορτῶν ὁ μὲν εἷς τῶν δώδεκα προφητῶν φησὶ 'Τί ποιήσετε ἐν ἡμέραις πανηγύρεως καὶ ἐν ἡμέραις ἑορτῆς τοῦ κυρίου;' Ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἑβραίους· ''Αλλὰ προσεληλύθατε Σιὼν ὄρει καὶ πόλει θεοῦ ζῶντος, Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐπουρανίῳ καὶ μυριάσιν ἀγγέλων, πανηγύρει καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρωτοτόκων ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανοῖς'. Origenes, *Comm. in ev. Joann.* X 18.111.1: Ἀναβῆναι <δὲ> τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον πάσχα ἐπιτελεσθησόμενον ἐν μυριάσιν ἀγγέλων πανηγύρει ἐπιτελειοτάτῃ καὶ μακαριωτάτῃ ἐξόδῳ. *Fragmenta in evangelium*, PG 32, 5: Τριῶν ἑορτῶν δημοτελῶν παραδοθεισῶν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου ἱεροφάντου Μωϋσέως μία ἦν ἡ καλουμένη Πάσχα, ὑπερ κειμένη τὰς ἑτέρας δύο ἅτε σωτηρίαν ἐμφαίνουσα τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καὶ μετάβασιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἁγίαν γῆν. ταύτῃ γοῦν τῇ πανηγύρει τὸ πᾶν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἐκ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων.

[24] Origenes, *Selecta in Deuteronomium*, PG 12, 812,30-8: οἷον σάββατα καὶ νεομηνίαι, ἑορταί εἰσιν· ἄζυμα δὲ καὶ αἱ ἡμέραι τῶν ἑβδομάδων καὶ σκηνοπηγίαι οὐ μόνον αἱ ἑορταί, ἀλλὰ καὶ πανηγύρεις, ὅτε προστέτακται πᾶν ἀρσενικὸν φαίνεσθαι ἐνώπιον Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ σου εἰς τὸν τόπον ὃν ἂν ἐκλέξηται. From this example we see that in the Christian tradition as well as in the pagan one a crowded assembly is a significant feature of a triumph in comparison with a less grand holiday, therefore we may guess that the connection between panegyrics as festival and panegyric as literary form looks quite natural within the Christian community (as it does within the pagan one).

[25] Origenes, *Selecta in Psalmos*, PG 12, 1417,14-7: Εἰ δὲ 'χαρὰ γίνεται ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἐπὶ ἑνὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντι', πῶς οὐκ εἰκότως, ψυχῆς μετὰ γυμνασίαν εἰς τὰ ἅγια τὰ ἐπουράνια εἰσαγομένης, φωνὴν εὔφημον γίνεσθαι πλήθους πανηγυριζόντων ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ σωζομένου σωτηρίᾳ (translation by the author). This fragment testifies that the earthly dimension of the festival is closely connected with the heavenly festival, which in its turn gives an example of proper celebration that is the hymn and panegyric of the heavenly forces.

[26] Eusebius, *De ecclesiastica theologia*, PG 2, 20.8.14; Athanasius, *In illud: Profecti in pagum invenietis pullum alligatum*, PG 3, 18.4; Basilius, *Homiliae super Psalmos* PG 29, 253.6; Gregorius Nyssenus, *Oratio consolatoria*, PG 9, 465.18; Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Carmina moralia*, PG 711.12; *Apologetica* 513.17.

In their writings, the term πανήγυρις acquired a new significance, namely, Christ's Church (in most cases with reference to the *Epistle to Hebrews*). For example, Eusebius in his *Commentary on Isaiah* calls on his listeners 'to be glad and to be fulfilled with happiness in the new Jerusalem, which we should recognize made not from the soulless stones but from the saint souls thus those who celebrate the holiday should rejoice and exult together as Apostle Paul offered'[27]. The work of St Ephrem the Syrian *De locis beatis* contains one more expressive usage of the term πανήγυρις. When speaking about the Heavenly Church he even gives the idea of its hierarchy: 'There are the thousands of angels, the assemblies of the first-born, the thrones of Apostles, the chair of the Prophets, the powers of the patriarchs, the crowns of the martyrs, the praise of the righteous men'[28]. St Gregory of Nyssa in his Encomium to St Basil[29] also uses term πανήγυρις when speaking about the hierarchy in the Heavenly Church. Notably, he bases his arguments on the authority of Apostle Paul who had received knowledge of the hierarchy through a revelation.

To conclude the short review we should point out that the new significance of the term πανήγυρις influenced on the literary genre. Therefore, in the panegyrics dedicated to some church holidays or to saints and virtuous men we may find some *topoi* inspired by the reference to the *Epistle to Hebrews* and by this new interpretation of πανήγυρις as a Heavenly Church.

Panegyric topoi in the works of St Gregory

The epideictic works of St Gregory of Nazianzus contain clear examples of such an influence. Paul Gallay – the editor of St Gregory's works – indicated eight epideictic orations among his writings[30] (between them there are four encomia: *In Machabaeorum laudem* (*Or*. XVI); *In laudem Athanasii* (*Or*. XXI);

[27] Eusebius, *Commentarius in Isaiam,* PG 2, 57.84-7: <πάντας> τοὺς τούτων ἀκροατὰς <χαίρειν> καὶ εὐφροσύνης πληροῦσθαι μετὰ τῆς καινῆς ἐκείνης Ἰερουσαλήμ, ἣν οὐκέτι ἐξ ἀψύχων λίθων προσήκει νοεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ ψυχῶν ἁγίων συστησομένην, ᾗ <συνευφραίνεσθαι> καὶ <συμπανηγυρίζειν> προσήκει ἑορτὴν ἄγοντας οἷος ἦν Παῦλος λέγων (translation by the author).

[28] Ephraem Syrus, *De locis beatis*, PG 300, 11-3: Ἐκεῖ μυριάδες Ἀγγέλων, πρωτοτόκων πανηγύρεις, Ἀποστόλων θρόνοι, Προφητῶν προεδρίαι, σκῆπτρα πατριαρχῶν, μαρτύρων στέφανοι, δικαίων ἔπαινοι (trans. by the author).

[29] Gregorius Nyssenus, *In Basilium fratrem*, PG 1, 1-6: Καλὴν ἐπέθηκεν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν τάξιν ταῖς ἐτησίοις ταύταις ἡμῶν ἑορταῖς, ἃς διά τινος τεταγμένης ἀκολουθίας κατὰ τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας ἤδη τε ἠγάγομεν καὶ πάλιν ἄγομεν. ἡ δὲ τάξις ἡμῖν ἐστι τῶν πνευματικῶν πανηγύρεων ἣν καὶ ὁ μέγας Παῦλος ἐδίδαξεν, ἄνωθεν τῶν τοιούτων τὴν γνῶσιν ἔχων – 'In a wonder manner God has established an order and sequence by the feasts we commemorate each year. For example, today we have already celebrated a feast and will mark this same observance at a later time. Our order of spiritual feasts which the great Paul has taught consists in having a knowledge of heavenly reality' (trans. of Eulogy for St Basil the Great by Richard McCambly, see http://www.sage.edu/faculty/salomd/nyssa/basil.html).

[30] P. Gallay, *La vie de Saint Grégoire de Nazianze* (Lyon, 1943).

In laudem Cypriani (*Or*. XXIV); *In laudem Heronis philosophi* (*Or*. XXV); and four funeral orations: *Funebris oratio in laudem Caesarii fratris* (*Or*. VII); In *laudem sororis Gorgoniae* (*Or*. VIII); *Funebris oratio in patrem* (*Or*. XVIII), *Funebris oratio in laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae* (*Or*. XLIII).

We should enlarge this list with six orations dedicated to the great Christian holidays: *In theophania* (*Or*. XXXVIII), *In Pentecosten* (*Or*. XLI), *In sancta lumina* (*Or*. XXXIX), *In sanctum Baptisma* (*Or*. XL), *In novam Dominicam* (*Or*. XLIV), *In sanctum Pascha* (*Or*. XLV). While reading the epideictic orations we face some obvious *topoi* of the panegyric genre, which were inspired by the *Epistle to Hebrews* and by the new significance of πανήγυρις.

Among these *topoi* there is the ceremonial character of the mentioned speeches: the words of the author remind a prophetical revelation; the festive and inspired mood of the author transmits to readers. St Gregory emphasizes the idea of a great festival (πανήγυρις) which is the main theme and reason of his speech. He stresses the fact that an oration is the best way to participate in a mystery, because 'thanksgivings in words are most suitable unto that Word'[31]. The other epideictic orations contain the same idea: 'But we, the Object of whose adoration is the Word, if we must in some way have luxury, let us seek it in word, and in the Divine Law, and in histories; especially such as are the origin of this Feast';[32] 'you will ascend even higher when the Word will govern the word';[33] 'we celebrate [the festival] being acceptable by the Holy Spirit and he is pleased with our speech'.[34] In the other mentioned orations of St Gregory, there are long descriptions[35] of a festive or an important event, which arouses an orator to speech. St Gregory uses many derivations[36] of πανηγυρ-. He does not use the adjective πανηγυρικός to define his works but he regularly uses[37]

[31] Greg., *Or*. IV (PG 535, 42-4): τῷ Λόγῳ ἡ διὰ λόγου χάρις οἰκειοτάτη (trans. C.W. King quoted from *Julian the Emperor* [London, 1888].

[32] Greg., *Or*. XXXVIII (PG 317,50-4): Ἡμεῖς δέ, οἷς Λόγος τὸ προσκυνούμενον, κἂν τι δέῃ τρυφᾶν, ἐν λόγῳ τρυφήσωμεν, καὶ θείῳ νόμῳ, καὶ διηγήμασι ἐξ ὧν ἡ παροῦσα πανήγυρις (translation of the *Oration on the Theophany* by C.G. Browne quoted from *NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 7 [New York, 1893]).

[33] Greg., *Or*. XXXIX (PG 337,36-7): Καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τεθήσεσθε, ἐπειδὰν εὐοδώσῃ τὸν λόγον ὁ Λόγος (translation of the *Oration on the Holy Lights* by C.G. Browne quoted from *NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 7 [New York, 1893]).

[34] Greg., *Or*. XLI (PG 428,14-5): Ἑορτάζομεν ἡμεῖς, ἀλλ' ὡς δοκεῖ τῷ Πνεύματι. Δοκεῖ δέ, ἢ λέγοντας (translation of the *Oration on Pentecost* by C.G. Browne quoted form *NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 7 [New York, 1893]).

[35] Greg., *Or*. IV 4; VIII 1; XVIII 3; XXV 1; XXXVIII 6; XXXIX 2; XL 1; XLI 1; XXXIII 1.

[36] A presence of τῆς πανηγυρικῆς ἰδέας in the writings of St Gregory was mentioned by his commentator Basilius Minimus in his *Commentarium in Nazianzeni orariones*, PG 10.8: Ὁ εἰς τοὺς Μακκαβαίους λόγος οὗτος πρόδηλον ὡς τῆς πανηγυρικῆς ἰδέας ὑπάρχων ἐγκώμιόν ἐστιν; 13.28: ὁ εἰς τὸν μέγαν Ἀθανάσιον λόγος πρόδηλον ὡς τῆς πανηγυρικῆς ἰδέας ὑπάρχων ἐγκώμιόν ἐστιν.

[37] See Greg., *Or*. IV (PG 708,39): Πρῶτον μέν, ἀδελφοί, πανηγυρίσωμεν; *Or*. XXI (PG 1092,40): συμπανηγυρίσατέ μοι περὶ τὸν λόγον κάμνοντι; *Or*. XLI (PG 429,4): ὡς τὸ παν-

the verb πανηγυρίζω – to make an epideictic ceremonial orations – and its participles.

Another characteristic panegyric *topos* peculiar to the mentioned works is a glorification of God as the aim of the speech. In the preamble of all the twelve epideictic orations, St Gregory points out that, the main aim of his work is a glorification of God and virtues.[38]

The next panegyric *topos* is an appeal to a populous audience. For example, in *Oration* IV St Gregory calls an audience from every corner of a universe (§1). The same peculiar *topos* he uses in the other epideictic orations.[39]

In addition, the panegyric orations of St Gregory make a ceremonial and even a mystical impression due to his demand for the purification of the listeners' souls before the beginning of a general part of a speech (after a preamble). In *Orations* IV, he says that he can continue only because 'we have purified with the word the plenitude of our chorus'.[40] A similar statement exists in *Orations* XXXVIII, XL[41] and XXXIX: 'And now, having purified the theatre by what has been said, let us discourse a little about the Festival, and join in celebrating this Feast with festal and pious souls'.[42]

One more panegyric *topos* is the idea of the participation of God and the angels in the oration. Therefore, in the beginning of *Oration* IV St Gregory

ηγυρίζειν πνευματικῶς τὸν φιλέορτον; *Or*. XLIV (PG 609,11): ἃ σήμερον πανηγυρίζομεν; *Or*. XL (PG 373,29): Πανηγυρισθήτω τὸ δῶρον, ἀλλὰ μὴ θρηνηθήτω; *Or*. XXIV (PG 1173,29): Πᾶσι μὲν δὴ μάρτυσι πανηγυριστέον; *Or*. XVIII (PG 1020,17): ἑορτάσοντας, ἢ θρηνήσοντας; πανηγυρίσοντας, ἢ τιμήσοντας τὸν οὐκέτι ἐνταῦθα τὰ ἐπιτάφια.

[38] Greg., *Or*. XV (PG 912,25-7): πᾶσι δὲ τιμᾶσθαι ἀξίων; *Or*. VII (1.5.5): μνήμη τε γὰρ δικαίων μετ' ἐγκωμίων; *Or*. VIII (PG 789,48): ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀληθῆ, διὰ τοῦτο ἐπαινετῶς; *Or*. XVIII (PG 988,27): ἐπαινέσας τῆς ἀρετῆς; *Or*. XXV (PG 1197,52): τὸ ἐπαινεῖσθαι τὰ καλά; *Or*. XXI (PG 1081,38): ἀρετὴν ἐπαινέσομαι; *Or*. XXIV (PG 1169,58): καὶ ταῖς δι' ἔτους τιμῶντες ἐκεῖνον τιμαῖς τε καὶ πανηγύρεσι; *Or*. XLIII: ἡ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐφημία. (All the references are given by PG).

[39] In *Orations* VII, IV and XXIV there are direct appeals to the congregation. In other mentioned speeches, a presence of the audience and sometimes of certain people is implied (*Or*. IV [PG 532,26]; *Or*. VII; *Or*. XXIV [PG 1169,23]). (All the references are given by PG).

[40] Greg., *Or*. IV (PG 541,25): Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεκαθήραμεν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ χοροῦ τὸ πλήρωμα (trans. C.W. King in *Julian the Emperor* [London, 1888]).

[41] Greg., *Or*. XXXVIII (PG 317,10-4): Ἄρξομαι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν καί μοι καθήρασθε, καὶ νοῦν, καὶ ἀκοήν, καὶ διάνοιαν … ἐπειδὴ περὶ Θεοῦ, καὶ θεῖος ὁ λόγος – 'We will begin from this point; and let me ask of you who delight in such matters to cleanse your mind and your ears and your thoughts, since our discourse is to be of God and Divine'. Greg., *Or*. XL (413,3): Πᾶν μέλος καθαρισθῶμεν, ἀδελφοί, πᾶσαν ἁγνίσωμεν αἴσθησιν· μηδὲν ἀτελὲς ἡμῖν ἔστω, μηδὲ τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως, μηδὲν ἀφώτιστον καταλείπωμεν. – 'Let us cleanse every member, Brethren, let us purify every sense; let nothing in us be imperfect or of our first birth; let us leave nothing unilluminated' (translation of the *Oration on the Theophany* by C.G. Browne quoted from *NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 7 [New York, 1893]).

[42] Greg., *Or*. XXXIX (PG 345,26-7): Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεκαθήραμεν τῷ λόγῳ τὸ θέατρον, φέρε τι περὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἤδη φιλοσοφήσωμεν (translation of the *Oration on the Holy Lights* by C.G. Browne quoted from *NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 7 [New York, 1893]).

calls angels to be his listeners: 'and in order that my proclamation may be greater, every Power of heaven, all ye Angels'.[43] The similar *topos* consists in *Orations* XXXVIII, XXXIX, XLIV and XLV.[44] For example, in *Oration* XXXVIII we read: 'With Shepherds glorify Him; with Angels join in chorus; with Archangels sing hymns. Let this Festival be common to the powers in heaven and to the powers upon earth'.[45]

Besides, the regular and significant usage of the Biblical quotations is a characteristic of the panegyric orations of St Gregory. In preamble to oration IV against Julian, St Gregory calls the Emperor by the names of the Old Testament's sinners:

> The tyrant, who have overthrown not Sihon, king of the Amorites, nor Og, king of Bashan – insignificant princes, and injuring but a small part the land of Israel – but the Dragon, the Apostate, the Great Mind, the Assyrian, the public and private enemy of all in common.[46]

In other panegyric orations, St Gregory also uses this trope calling his addresses by the names of Biblical saints.[47] In the funeral *Oration* to St Basil, he explains this trope:

> Come then, there have been many men of old days illustrious for piety, as lawgivers, generals, prophets, teachers, and men brave to the shedding of blood. Let us compare our prelate with them, and thus recognize his merit.[48]

[43] Greg., *Or*. IV (PG 532,32-3): καὶ ἵν' ᾖ μοι μεῖζον τὸ κήρυγμα, πᾶσα δύναμις τῶν οὐρανῶν, πάντες ἄγγελοι (trans. C.W. King in *Julian the Emperor* [London, 1888]).

[44] Greg., *Or*. XLIV (PG 620,22-3): Πάντα Θεὸν ὑμνεῖ καὶ δοξάζει φωναῖς ἀλαλήτοις. Greg., *Or*. XLV (PG 624,25-7): Μεθ' ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ὑμῖν ταῦτα φθέγγομαι·εἴη δὲ καὶ φωνὴν λαβεῖν τῆς ἀγγελικῆς ἀξίαν – 'I make a prophesy with them, I would like to have a voice is worthy of angel's song' (translation of the *Second Oration on Easter* by C.G. Browne quoted from *NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 7 [New York, 1893]). The general widening of a context is made by a referring to *Isaiah* (*Or*. IV [PG 545,41]) and Apostle John (*Or*. XXXIX [PG 349,35-6]).

[45] Greg., *Or*. XXXVIII (PG 332,12-5): Μετὰ ποιμένων δόξασον, μετὰ ἀγγέλων ὕμνησον, μετὰ ἀρχαγγέλων χόρευσον. Ἔστω κοινὴ πανήγυρις οὐρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων δυνάμεων (translation of the *Oration on the Theophany* by C.G. Browne quoted from *NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 7 [New York, 1893]).

[46] Greg., *Or*. IV (PG 532,35-40): ἡ τοῦ τυράννου κατάλυσις, οὐ τὸν Σηὼν καθελοῦσι τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀμορραίων, οὐδὲ τὸν Ὢγ βασιλέα τῆς Βασάν, ἀλλὰ τὸν δράκοντα, τὸν ἀποστάτην, τὸν νοῦν τὸν μέγαν, τὸν Ἀσσύριον, τὸν κοινὸν ἁπάντων ἐχθρὸν καὶ πολέμιον (trans. C.W. King in *Julian the Emperor* [London, 1888]).

[47] Greg., *Or*. XV (PG 913,29; 913,44-5; 916,30-1; 929,48; 929,52); *Or*. XVIII (PG 985,32-3); *Or*. XXI (PG 1088,51).

[48] Greg., *Or*. XLIII: Φέρε δή, πολλῶν ἐν τοῖς πάλαι καὶ νῦν γεγονότων ἀνδρῶν ἐπ' εὐσεβείᾳ γνωρίμων (translation of the *Oration on the Great St. Basil* by C.G. Browne quoted from *NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 7 [New York, 1893]).

Panegyric topoi and the festal Orations

The twelve epideictic orations of St Gregory show that the new significance of πανήγυρις influenced the interpretation of the panegyric genre. This influence realized in some *topoi* is relevant both to the traditional image of panegyric and to its Christian modification. St Gregory's panegyric *topoi* were significant for the tradition of the genre of Christian festal speeches, *i.e.* sermons written for the great Christian feasts and pronounced in the presence of a whole congregation. I dare to suppose that St Gregory was one of the founders of Christian festal speeches because we could hardly recognize the previous tradition of the genre. In fact, the previous tradition knows the festal letters of St Athanasius where he is referring to Apostle Paul's writings and explains the outstanding meaning of Easter. Nevertheless, these works were just mere letters written to the congregations of the Alexandrian diocese before the day of Easter in order to inform them about the date of Easter and to make them ready for this holy day,[49] thus we could not include them into the literary tradition of the festal orations. Besides, there are four festal orations attributed to St Gregory Thaumaturgus (PG 10, 1145-1189) but their authenticity and date are uncertain.[50] As for the mid-4th century, we could find festal speeches among the works of St Gregory's contemporaries as well as of subsequent authors. The festal orations of this period contain the same *topoi* that are peculiar to St Gregory's panegyrics: the ceremonial character of a speech, a glorification of God as the aim of the speech, an appeal to a populous audience, an appeal to the purification of the listeners' souls, the idea of the participation of God and angels in the speech and the regular and significant usage of the Biblical quotations (mostly, of Prophets). For example, St Gregory of Nyssa in his sermon *In diem luminum* appeals to the crowded flock gathered in his church and remembers the words of *Isaiah*,[51] he calls for purification,[52] in conclusion he declares:

Paradise, yea, heaven itself may be trodden by man: and the creation, in the world and above the world, that once was at variance with itself, is knit together in friendship: and we men are made to join in the angels' song, offering the worship of their praise to God. For all these things then let us sing to God that hymn of joy, which lips touched by the Spirit long ago sang loudly…[53]

[49] *NPNF-04*, 2nd series, *Athanasius: Selected works and letters*, Ph. Schaff and H. Wace (eds), (Edinburgh, 1978), 500-2.

[50] A. Harnack, *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur*, 2nd vol. (Leipzig, 1904), 101.

[51] Gregorius Nyssenus, *In diem luminum* (PG 9, 222.5): νῦν δὲ βλέπων ὑμᾶς σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς γένεσιν ἀθρόως πανηγυρίζοντας ὑπομιμνήσκομαι λογίου προφητικοῦ, ὃ πόρρωθεν Ἡσαΐας ἀνύμνησε.

[52] Gregorius Nyssenus, *In diem luminum* (PG 9, 237.25): τῇ καθαρότητι τῆς πολιτείας γνωρίσατε.

[53] Gregorius Nyssenus, *In diem luminum* (PG 9, 241.16-27): καὶ βατὸς μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ παράδεισος καὶ οὐρανὸς αὐτός, συνηρμόσθη δὲ εἰς φιλίαν ἡ κτίσις ἡ ἐγκόσμιός τε καὶ ὑπερκόσμιος πάλαι πρὸς ἑαυτὴν στασιάζουσα καὶ ἄνθρωποι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἐγενόμεθα σύμφωνοι

St John Chrysostom in the sermon *In diem natalem* calls his listeners to celebrate and to glorify God,[54] he admits that the church is full of people (49.351.23: μετὰ πλήθους τοσούτου), he states that those who are going to take part in divine and sacred mystery should do it with pure conscience (49.360.50: τοῦτο ποιεῖτε μετὰ καθαροῦ συνειδότος), he sets as example the cherubim's and seraphim's prayer.[55] Amphilochius of Iconium in his sermon *In Natalitia Domini* says that he is going to repeat the words of prophets,[56] he calls his congregation to decorate itself with purity, to join the word of God, to dwell in holy prayers and sacred hymns of God's glory, he wants Christians to be citizens of heaven, to communicate with angels and to stand before the throne of the heavenly kingdom.[57]

Conclusion

In conclusion, I would like to state that in the 4th century the usage of the derivations of πανήγυρις in Christian writings were still associated with its traditional meaning, *i.e.* with national assembly, but the context of the usage had changed. Because of the *Epistle to Hebrews*, πανήγυρις came to mean a ceremonial meeting of the triumphant heavenly Church. This fact deals with the development of the Christian festal speeches that took place in the 4th century. As it was the time of formation of Christian divine services and of coordination of the feasts' dates, it was quite natural that the genre of festal sermon also had to be determined. St Gregory of Nazianzus and his contemporaries took the main part in the formation of the genre and the panegyric *topoi* that we found in their works testify that the origin of the genre goes back to the period of antiquity.

τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνοις εὐσεβοῦντες θεολογίαν. Διὰ δὴ ταῦτα πάντα τὸν τῆς χαρᾶς ὕμνον ἄσωμεν τῷ θεῷ, ὃν στόμα τῷ πνεύματι κάτοχον πάλαι προφητικῶς ἐξεβόησεν… (translation of the *Homily for Epiphany* by H.A. Wilson quoted from *NPNF*. 2nd series, vol. 5, Ph. Schaff [ed.] [New York, 1892]).

[54] Joannes Chrysostomus, *In diem natalem*, PG 49, 351.5-10: Χαίρωμεν τοίνυν καὶ ἀγαλλιώμεθα … ἀγάλλεσθαι χρὴ καὶ θαυμάζειν καὶ ἐκπλήττεσθαι τῆς οἰκονομίας τὸ μέγεθος πᾶσαν ὑπερβαῖνον διάνοιαν.

[55] Joannes Chrysostomus, *In diem natalem*, PG 49, 361.5: ἀγγελικῶν δυνάμεων παριστα-μένων μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου, καὶ τῶν Χερουβὶμ κατακαλυπτόντων τὰ πρόσωπα, τῶν Σεραφὶμ κραζόντων τρόμῳ, Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος Κύριος.

[56] Amphilochius, *In Natalitia Domini*, PG 1, 75: Ταῦτα τοῦ προφήτου πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰρηκότος ἐροῦμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς.

[57] Amphilochius, *In Natalitia Domini*, PG 1, 135-40: Ἑκόντες οὖν καὶ ἐξ ἀγάπης δουλεύσωμεν αὐτῷ ἕτοιμοι ὄντες πρὸς πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνης κατόρθωσιν, ἁγνείᾳ κοσμούμενοι, ἀκτημοσύνην διώκοντες, λόγοις θεοῦ προσκαρτεροῦντες, εὐχαῖς ἁγίαις καὶ ὕμνοις θεοῦ ἱεροῖς ἀνακείμενοι … μὴ λογιζόμενοι ἑαυτοῖς διατρίβειν ἐν τῇ γῇ, ἀλλ' ἐν οὐρανῷ πολιτεύεσθαι, μετ' ἀγγέλων ἀναστρέφεσθαι, τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς οὐρανίου βασιλείας παραστῆναι.

Protreptic Motifs in St Basil's Homily *On the Words 'Give Heed to Thyself'*

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ABSTRACT

The article considers some protreptic motifs of the *First Alcibiades* in St Basil's homily *On the Words 'Give Heed to Thyself'*. Dealing with a verse from *Deuteronomy* (15:9: Πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ *etc.*). St Basil evidently regards it as a biblical counterpart of the Delphic maxim γνῶθι σαυτόν, using the sacred text to impel his audience to virtue and self-knowledge. In the second part of this article we highlight some parallels between St Basil's text, Porphyry's writing Περὶ τοῦ γνῶθι σαυτόν, the *Preparation for the Gospel* XI 27 of Eusebius of Caesarea and the *Address to Origen* traditionally ascribed to Gregory Thaumaturgus. We finally point to similar interpretations of Πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ in Philo's treaty *On the Migration of Abraham* and in Clement of Alexandria's *Stromata*. In conclusion, we argue that both in choice and in elaboration of his subject St Basil follows the platonic tradition; in compliance with this tradition St Basil associates the protreptic motifs of the *First Alcibiades* with the motifs of immortality and the knowledge of God. Just like for Porphyry and (as far as we can judge) for Origen, self-knowledge is not an end in itself for him; impelling his audience to 'give heed' he urges them to ascend towards the knowledge of God, which is the true philosophy for him. The genre of the philosophical protreptic, whose traits we find in the homily, turns out to be opportune precisely because for St Basil, along with the earlier Christian writers, it is Christianity which is the only real philosophy.

St Basil's homily *On the Words 'Give Heed to Thyself'*[1] is sometimes referred to as an exegetical writing,[2] since formally it is an interpretation of a line from *Deut*. 15:9. However, one shouldn't expect to find in this homily an enquiry into the meaning of the verse in question. My purpose on this occasion is to demonstrate that the way St Basil dealt with the verse from *Deut*. had been

[1] PG 31, 197-217; Stig Rudberg, *L'homélie de Basile de Césarée sur le mot 'Observe-toi toi-même'*: *Édition critique du texte grec et étude sur la tradition manuscrite* (Stockholm, 1962). Hereinafter references to this edition of St Basil's homily are given in parentheses in the body of the paper. The English translation we use is that of Mary Monica Wagner, see: Basil, Saint Bishop of Caesarea, *Ascetical works*, Fathers of the Church 9 (Washington, 1950), 431-46.

[2] Jean Bernardi, *La prédication des Pères Cappadociens: le prédicateur et son auditoire* (Paris, 1968), 67.

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determined by protreptic literature, notably by the *First Alcibiades*. In the first part of this paper I shall highlight some motifs of this dialogue. Since we can hardly assume that St Basil developed this subject independently, the second part of our paper is dedicated to scholarly interpretations of this dialogue and their supposed influence upon St Basil's homily. Finally, we'll focus on reasons why St Basil chose *Deut*. 15:9 to impel his audience to virtue and self-knowledge.

Motifs of the *First Alcibiades* in St Basil's homily

Although the *First Alcibiades* is believed to spurious,[3] nevertheless it 'has been read as a convenient introduction to Plato ever since antiquity'.[4] Albinus (II AD) in his Εἰσαγωγή recommends that the course of the Platonic philosophy should begin with this dialogue.[5] Aelius Aristides (II AD) in Πρὸς Πλάτωνα ὑπὲρ τῶν τεττάρων compares the *First Alcibiades* with the *Alcibiades* of Aeschines and points to the protreptic function of both.[6] According to Proclus, 'the divine Iamblichus allotted it the first place among the ten dialogues in which he conceives the whole philosophy of Plato to be contained, their entire subsequent development being anticipated as it were in seminal form in this dialogue'.[7] One of the extant Iamblichus' texts, the *Protrepticus*, contains a passage paraphrasing the *First Alcibiades*, which also corroborates the assumption that certain motifs and arguments of this dialogue were regarded as exhortative in antiquity.[8]

In the homily *On the Words 'Give Heed to Thyself'* we find several motifs reminiscent of the *First Alcibiades*. First of all, both in the *First Alcibiades* and in St Basil's homily self-knowledge is closely associated with care for one's soul. In the dialogue Socrates associates the Delphic maxim with ἐπιμέλεια ἑαυτοῦ:[9] 'Listen to me and the Delphic motto, *Know thyself* (γνῶθι σαυτόν);

[3] For a survey on this question see: Jakub Jirsa, 'Authenticity of the *Alcibiades I*: Some Reflections', *Listy filologické* 132 (2009), 225-44.

[4] Holger Thesleff, *Studies in Platonic Chronology* (Helsinki, 1982), 215.

[5] Albinus, *Introductio in Platonem* 5.15-7, ed. Karl F. Hermann, *Platonis dialogi secundum Thrasylli tetralogias dispositi* (Leipzig, 1853), VI 147-51, here 149: ἄρξεται ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου πρὸς τὸ τραπῆναι καὶ ἐπιστραφῆναι καὶ γνῶναι οὗ δεῖ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι.

[6] Aelius Aristides, *Πρὸς Πλάτωνα ὑπὲρ τῶν τεττάρων*, ed. Wilhelm Dindorf, *Aristides* (Leipzig, 1829) II 156-414, here 369 (= Jebb 286): εἰς τὸ προτρέψαι.

[7] Proclus, *In Platonis Alcibiadem I* 11.12, ed. Leendert G. Westerink, *Proclus Diadochus: Commentary on the First Alcibiades of Plato* (Amsterdam, 1954). Translation: John Dillon, *Iamblichi Chalcidensis in Platonis Dialogos Commentariorum Fragmenta*, Philosophia antiqua 23 (Leiden, 1973), 72-3.

[8] Jamblique, *Protreptique*, ed. Eduard des Places, CUF 325 (Paris, 1989), 58-9 (= Pistelli 27.12-21; 28.20-29.14).

[9] Courcelle points out that the Delphic motto used to have various philosophical interpretations in antiquity, see Pierre Courcelle, *'Connais-toi toi-meme', de Socrate à saint Bernard* (Paris,

for these people [the Persians – O.A.] are our competitors … and there is nothing that will give us ascendancy over them save only pains (ἐπιμελείᾳ) and skill'.[10] For Socrates self-knowledge is a prerequisite for ἐπιμέλεια ἑαυτοῦ: 'If we have that knowledge, we are like to know what pains to take over ourselves; but if we have it not, we never can'.[11] He goes on to identify self-knowledge with the knowledge of one's soul and concludes that the Delphic maxim 'bids us become acquainted with the soul'.[12]

Dealing with a verse from *Deuteronomy* (15:9: Πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ, μή ποτε γένηται ῥῆμα κρυπτὸν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου ἀνόμημα) St Basil evidently considers it as a biblical counterpart of the Delphic maxim, although there's nothing in the text of *Deuteronomy* that might provoke such an interpretation. The verse says:

> Beware that there be not a thought in thy wicked heart, saying, The seventh year, the year of release, is at hand; and thine eye be evil against thy poor brother, and thou givest him nought; and he cry unto the Lord against thee, and it be sin unto thee.

St Basil borrows just one line from the whole verse: 'Beware that there be not a thought in thy wicked heart'. After a brief discussion of this line in the introduction to his homily, he skips to the interpretation of the first two words only, Πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ, which enables him to introduce some protreptic motifs in the homily, one of them is that of ψυχῆς ἐπιμέλεια. Thus, he says, '"Give heed to thyself", that is, to your soul (τῇ ψυχῇ)'. And further:

> Adorn it, care for it (ἐπιμελοῦ), to the end that, by careful intention, every defilement incurred as a result of sin may be removed and every shameful vice expelled, and that it may be embellished and made bright with every ornament of virtue (27.7-10).

Secondly, both the author of the *First Alcibiades* and St Basil identify the self and the soul. In the dialogue the interlocutors inquire whether we should identify the self with the soul, the body or the possessions of the body. They finally conclude that it is the soul we should care for, not our body or possessions. Man 'turns out to be nothing else than soul',[13] which is 'the self itself', Socrates says. It follows therefore that without knowing ourselves (ἡμᾶς αὐτούς) we can't know our belongings (τὰ ἡμέτερα) or our belongings' belongings (τὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων).[14] We find this threefold division in St Basil's homily also:

1974), I 12: '… Le succès du " Connait-toi toi-même " tient à l'emploi *littéraire* qui en fut fait dès une haute époque et aux interprétations philosophiques très diverses auxquelles il se prêtait'.

[10] (Ps.-)Plato, *Alcibiades I*, 124a8-b3. Hereinafter the translation is: Plato, *Charmides; Alcibiades I and II; Hipparchus; The lovers; Theages; Minos; Epinomis,* trans. by Walter R.M. Lamb, Loeb Classical Library 201 (London and New York, 1927), VIII.

[11] (Ps.-)Plato, *Alcibiades I*, 129a7-9: γνόντες μὲν αὐτὸ τάχ' ἂν γνοῖμεν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ἀγνοοῦντες δὲ οὐκ ἄν ποτε.

[12] *Ibid.* 130e8-9: Ψυχὴν ἄρα ἡμᾶς κελεύει γνωρίσαι ὁ ἐπιτάττων γνῶναι ἑαυτόν.

[13] *Ibid.* 130c3: μηδὲν ἄλλο τὸν ἄνθρωπον συμβαίνειν ἢ ψυχήν.

[14] *Ibid.* 133d5-8.

'Give heed to thyself' – that is, attend neither to the goods you possess nor to the objects that are round about you, but to yourself alone. We ourselves (ἡμεῖς αὐτοί) are one thing; our possessions (τὰ ἡμέτερα) another; the objects that surround us (τὰ περὶ ἡμᾶς), yet another. We are soul and intellect (ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ ὁ νοῦς) in that we have been made according to the image of the Creator. Our body is our own possession and the sensations which are expressed through it, but money, crafts, and other appurtenances of life in this world are extraneous to us (26.15-27.2).

To illustrate the meaning of the Delphic inscription that impels us to know our soul, Socrates recurs to a comparison with the power of sight:

If an eye (ὀφθαλμός) is to see itself, it must look at an eye, and at that region of the eye (τοῦ ὄμματος) in which the virtue of an eye is found to occur; and this, I presume, is sight … And if the soul (ψυχή) … is to know herself, she must surely look at a soul, and especially at that region of it in which occurs the virtue of a soul – wisdom…[15]

Speaking of the 'faculty of attention', which may refer either 'to absorption in visible objects' or 'to an intellectual gaze at incorporeal realities' St Basil seems to follow Socrates' thought in the *First Alcibiades*:

How could one encompass his whole person with a glance (τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ)? The eye doesn't apply its power of sight to itself … It remains, therefore, to interpret the precept as referring to a mental action (τὰς κατὰ νοῦν ἐνεργείας). 'Give heed to thyself' – that is, examine yourself from all angles. Keep the eye of your soul (τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα) sleeplessly on guard… (25.21-26.6).

Although in these texts the capacity of the soul (ψυχή) to know herself is compared to the power of sight (both authors mention ὀφθαλμός and ὄμμα), the similarities are not verbatim.[16] However, the context in which the motifs of the *First Alcibiades* occur in St Basil's homily enables us to assume that he was well aware of the scholastic interpretations of this dialogue. To these interpretations the second part of our paper is dedicated.

Motifs of immortality and the knowledge of God

It's obvious that the subject of St Basil's homily is not limited to the topic of the *First Alcibiades* and that the exhortative motifs of the latter are used in the homily in a different context, notably in that of immortality and the knowledge of God. Self-knowledge for St Basil is in the first place the way to ascend towards the knowledge of God:

[15] *Ibid*. 133b2-10.

[16] They rarely are in St Basil, who always adjusts his sources to his own literary purposes. See, *e.g*., Ernesto Valgiglio, 'Basilio Magno *Ad adulescentes* e Plutarco *De audiendis poetis*', *Rivista di Studi Classici* 23 (1975), 67-85.

Scrupulous attention to yourself will be of itself sufficient to guide you to the knowledge of God. If you give heed to yourself, you will not need to look for signs of the Creator in the structure of the universe; but in yourself, as in a miniature replica of cosmic order (οἱονεὶ μικρῷ τινι διακόσμῳ), you will contemplate the great wisdom of the Creator (35.13-5).

The expression μικρῷ τινι διακόσμῳ, as well as the combination of the motifs of self-knowledge and the knowledge of God brings to mind Porphyry's text Περὶ τοῦ γνῶθι σαυτόν, preserved by Stobaeus in his *Anthology* (along with the *First Alcibiades*) in the chapter dedicated to self-knowledge.[17] Porphyry considers the Delphic maxim as an invitation to philosophy (οὐδὲν ἄλλο κελεύειν ἢ φιλοσοφεῖν), since the man is nothing else than 'a miniature replica of the cosmic order' (μικρὸν διάκοσμον).[18] As Bennett puts it, for Porphyry to know oneself is to 'recognize man as a microcosm who fittingly prepares himself to contemplate the macrocosm, the universe'.[19] Although Porphyry doesn't mention the *First Alcibiades* directly (referring, however, to other Plato's dialogues), we find in his writing the above mentioned division ἡμᾶς αὐτούς – τὰ ἡμέτερα – τὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων which dates back to the dialogue.[20] It is also beyond any doubt that a representative of the platonic school could not possibly bypass this dialogue while dwelling upon self-knowledge. Nevertheless Porphyry's text has some novelties as compared with the *First Alcibiades*. According to Porphyry, to know oneself comprises the knowledge of one's soul and one's intellect (τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸν νοῦν[21]) – not just soul, as Socrates argues in the dialogue. Secondly, for Porphyry self-knowledge implies the cognition of the immortal human essence; he distinguishes the 'inner man' (ὁ ἐντὸς ἀθάνατος) and the 'external' one (ὁ ἐκτὸς εἰκονικός) saying that the former is immortal, the latter is mortal.[22]

It is under Porphyry's influence another 4th century Christian author, Eusebius of Caesarea, cites the *First Alcibiades* in his *Preparation for the Gospel*

[17] Stobaeus, *Anthologium*, III 21.26-8, ed. Curt Wachsmuth and Otto Hense, *Ioannis Stobaei anthologium*, 5 vols. (Berlin, 1884-1912).

[18] *Ibid*. III 21.27.10-1.

[19] Jack A.W. Bennett, *The Humane Medievalist and Other Essays in English Literature and Learning, from Chaucer to Eliot* (Roma, 1982), 37. See Stobaeus, *Anthologium* III 21.27.12-4: ἡμῖν … ἀναβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς θεωρίαν.

[20] Stobaeus, *Anthologium* III 21.28.21-5: τὸ μὲν οὖν γιγνώσκειν ἑαυτὸν τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἔοικεν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τὸ γιγνώσκειν δεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸν νοῦν, ὡς ἐν τούτῳ ἡμῶν οὐσιωμένων· τὸ δὲ πάντῃ γιγνώσκειν ἑαυτὸν συμπεριλαμβάνειν ἔοικεν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων. P. Courcelle, *'Connais-toi toi-meme'* (1974), I 88[32] mentions the influence of the *First Alcibiades* upon Porphyry's writing.

[21] *Ibid*. III 21.28.23.

[22] Stobaeus, *Anthologium* III 21.28.28-34: πάλιν πάντῃ γνῶναι ἑαυτόν, ἵνα καὶ ὁ ἐντὸς ἀθάνατος γνωσθῇ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ὁ ἐκτὸς εἰκονικὸς μὴ ἀγνοηθῇ καὶ τὰ τούτοις διαφέροντα γνώριμα γένηται. διαφέρει μὲν γὰρ τῷ ἐντὸς παντέλειος νοῦς, ἐν ᾧ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος, οὗ εἰκὼν ἕκαστος ἡμῶν· διαφέρει δὲ τῷ ἐκτὸς εἰδώλῳ τὰ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰς κτήσεις.

(XI 27.5 = 133c1-16) in the chapter dedicated to immortality.[23] 'In the doctrine of the immortality of the soul Plato differs not at all in opinion from Moses', Eusebius remarks introducing a quotation from the dialogue.[24] Interpreting a verse from *Genesis* (2:7), Eusebius says that the man is compound of 'the visible body (τὸ φαινόμενον σῶμα) and the man of the soul (τὸν κατὰ ψυχὴν νοούμενον) that is discerned only by the mind'.[25] The biblical words that God created man in His own image and likeliness (εἰκὼν θεοῦ καὶ ὁμοίωμα) refer 'to the powers that are in God (κατὰ τὰς ἐν τῷ θεῷ δυνάμεις[26]), and to the likeness of virtue (καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς ὁμοιότητα)', Eusebius continues.[27] In the *First Alcibiades*, he maintains, Plato 'speaks on this point also as one who had been taught by Moses'. The reference to the ὁμοίωμα θεοῦ with regard to the dialogue seems more natural in light of the interpolation attested by Eusebius in the *Preparation for the Gospel*. Let us remind that the quotation drawn by Eusebius from the *First Alcibiades* contains several lines absent from the manuscript tradition.[28] In these lines the image of the mirror is elaborated in detail. 'Just as there are mirrors clearer than the mirror in the eye, and purer and brighter, so God is something purer and brighter than the best that is in our soul', Socrates argues in this interpolation. So, by looking at God, we would know ourselves best.[29] The image of God-mirror enables Eusebius to associate the dialogue with the τῆς ἀρετῆς ὁμοιότης motif and to shift the emphasis of the dialogue from the ethical problems to metaphysical ones.

The motifs of self-knowledge, the likeliness of divine and human virtue along with the image of the God-mirror occur in the *Address to Origen*, written by St Gregory of Neocaesarea or, as some scholars suppose, by some other student

[23] *Eusèbe de Césarée, La Préparation Évangélique*, Livre XI, introd., trad. et commentaire par Geneviève Favrelle. Texte grec rév. par Édouard des Places, SC 292 (Paris, 1982). The influence of Porphyry is 'peut-être decisive', Geneviève Favrelle argues: this influence 'est du moins une raison de cette association par Eusèbe des thèmes de l'*Alcibiade* et de l'idée de l'immortalité de l'âme', Geneviève Favrelle, 'Le platonisme d'Eusèbe', in *Eusèbe de Césarée, La Préparation Évangélique*, 350-91, 358.

[24] References to the English translation of this text are made according to Edwin H. Gifford, *Eusebii Pamphili Evangelicae Praeparationis Libri XV* (Oxford, 1903), III, pars prior.

[25] See note 22 and 2*Cor*. 16: εἰ καὶ ὁ ἔξω ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος διαφθείρεται, ἀλλ' ὁ ἔσω ἡμῶν ἀνακαινοῦται ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ.

[26] See Porphyry apud Stobaeus, *Anthologium* III 21.28.34: ὧν δεῖ καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις γιγνώσκειν *etc*.

[27] Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* XI 27.5.

[28] According to Favrelle, Eusebius neatly incorporated a marginal gloss into the dialogue, associating it with the meaning of the whole chapter. Another source for this passage is Stobaeus, but he is more careless in incorporating the gloss which leads to a repetition. G. Favrelle, 'Le platonisme d'Eusèbe' (1982), 374: '… il semble alors que Stobée ait mal introduit une glose marginal dans le corps du dialogue – lui ou sa source – et qu'il se soit rattrapé en repentant le membre de phrase prématurément copié. Eusèbe, au contraire, a pertinemment accroché un commentaire à une idée importante…'

[29] (Ps.-)Plato, *Alcibiades I*, 133c8-16.

of Origen.[30] This text was available at Caesarea and thus could have influenced Eusebius' perception of the dialogue.[31] Describing his master's pedagogical methods, the author of the *Address* says that Origen taught his students to care for their souls (ἐπιμέλεσθαι[32]) by knowing themselves (ἑαυτοὺς γινώσκειν[33]):

> … he taught that prudence consisted in the soul's remaining self-contained, and in the desire and endeavour to know ourselves, this the noblest task of philosophy, which is ascribed to the most prophetic of spirits as the prime maxim of wisdom – 'Know thyself'. That this is the true work of wisdom and this the divine wisdom, is well said by the ancients, and that the virtue of God and of man is veritably the same (τὴν αὐτὴν ὄντως οὖσαν θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπου ἀρετήν), when the soul studies to see herself as in a mirror (ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπτρῳ), and also mirrors (κατοπτριζομένης) the divine mind in herself (if she becomes worthy of such fellowship), and traces out an unutterable path of this apotheosis.[34]

As Favrelle rightly points out, 'ce texte commente *l'Alcibiade* dans le sens du néoplatonisme; mail il exprime aussi des idées voisines de celles d'Eusèbe dans son chapitre sur l'immortalité de l'âme: la similitude de la vertu en l'homme et en Dieu, rapprochée du texte de l'*Alcibiade* sur la connaisance de soi et le symbole du miroir'.[35] A valuable observation was made by Pierre Courcelle, who noticed that the motif of self-knowledge occurs in the *Address* 'en des termes très proches de l'*Alcibiade* et plus encore de l'interpolation attestée par Eusèbe de Césarée'.[36] It should, however, also be noticed, that the participle κατοπτριζομένης is reminiscent of 2*Cor*. 3:18:[37] 'But we all, with open face beholding (κατοπτριζόμενοι) as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory'. So, already as late as in the time of Origen the exhortative motifs of the *First Alcibiades* were closely associated with St Paul's words in the 2*Cor*.; we also find in the *Address* the idea of likeliness between the divine and the human virtue (τὴν αὐτὴν ὄντως οὖσαν θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπου ἀρετήν) which is associated here with the image of the

[30] On the authorship see Pierre Nautin, *Origène: Sa vie et son œuvre* (Paris, 1977), 155-61, 183-7. On the influence of this writing on St Basil see Mario Naldini, *Basilio di Cesarea: Discorso ai giovani* (Bologna, [4]2005 [[1]1984]), 30-58.

[31] Andrew James Carriker, *The Library of Eusebius of Caesarea*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 67 (Leiden, 2003), 241: 'According to the ecclesiastical historian Socrates (IV.27), Gregory Thaumaturgus' panegyric of Origen was included in the *Defense of Origen* and thus was, not surprisingly, available at Caesarea.'

[32] Gregorius Thaumaturgus, *In Origenem oratio panegyrica* 11,39, ed. Henri Crouzel, *Saint Gregoire le Thaumaturge*, *Remerciement à Origène, suivi de la lettre d'Origène à Grégoire*, SC 148 (Paris, 1969).

[33] *Ibid*. 11,45.

[34] Gregorius Thaumaturgus, *In Origenem oratio panegyrica* 11,44-54. Translation: William Charles Metcalfe, *Address to Origen* (London and New York, 1920), 73.

[35] G. Favrelle, 'Le platonisme d'Eusèbe' (1982), 358.

[36] P. Courcelle, *'Connais-toi toi-meme'* (1974), 101.

[37] See Henri Crouzel, *Saint Gregoire le Thaumaturge, Remerciement à Origène* (1969), 154.

mirror. We cautiously assume that Porphyry himself was acquainted with Origen's interpretation; the etymology of the word σωφροσύνη, which we find in both writings, is one of the indications. Thus, according to Porphyry σωφροσύνη springs from σοφροσύνη and impels therefore to save the φρόνησις.[38] A parallel to this passage is found in the *Address to Origen*:

… we are temperate (σωφρονεῖν), he said, when we preserve the wisdom of the soul (διασωζομένους τὴν φρόνησιν) which knows herself; if it has accrued to her, for this in turn is Temperance, a certain saving knowledge (σώαν τινὰ φρόνησιν οὖσαν)…[39]

Now, returning to the subject of this article, we should notice that St. Basil also considers self-knowledge in close connection with immortality:

Examine closely what sort of being you are. Know your nature – that your body is mortal, but your soul, immortal; that your life has two denotations, so to speak: one relating to the flesh, and this life is quickly over, the other referring to the soul, life without limit. 'Give heed to thyself' – cling not to the mortal as if it were eternal; disdain not that which is eternal as if it were temporal. Despise the flesh for it passes away; be solicitous for your soul which will never die (27.11-6).

It is also noteworthy that Basil just like Porphyry identifies the self with the νοῦς, whereas in the *First Alcibiades* only soul is mentioned: 'We are soul and intellect in that we have been made according to the image of the Creator…' (26.17).

The Delphic maxim and Πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ in Philo and Clement

The fact that Porphyry knew the writings of Origen is attested by Eusebius who cites Porphyry in his *Church History*:

For they [*i.e.* Christians – O.A.] boast that the plain words of Moses are enigmas, and regard them as oracles (θεσπίσματα), full of hidden mysteries; and having bewildered the mental judgment by folly, they make their explanations. Farther on he [Porphyry – O.A.] says: As an example of this absurdity take a man whom I met when I was young, and who was then greatly celebrated and still is, on account of the writings which he has left. I refer to Origen, who is highly honored by the teachers of these doctrines.[40]

Porphyry's testimony that the Christians regarded 'the plain words of Moses' as oracles is of particular interest for us; however we failed to find any associations

[38] Stobaeus, *Anthologium* III 21.27.3-6: καὶ γὰρ σωφροσύνη σοφροσύνη τις ἦν· οὕτω δὲ πρὸς τὸ φρονοῦν καὶ τοῦ φρονεῖν αἴτιον διαλέγοιτ' ἄν, σῴζειν ἑαυτὸ παρακελευόμενος· τοῦτο δ' ἂν εἴη ὁ νοῦς.

[39] Gregorius Thaumaturgus, *In Origenem oratio panegyrica* 11,55-8.

[40] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* VI 19.5. Translated by Arthur C. McGiffert, in Eusebius, *Church History, Life of Constantine the Great, and Oration in Praise of Constantine*, A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church 1, Second Series (Oxford and New York, 1890).

of the Delphic maxim[41] with the biblical Πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ in Origen's writings. Such association can be found in Clement, Origen's predecessor as the head of the Catechetical School of Alexandria. In the second book of the *Stromata* he says: '"Know thyself" is more clearly and often expressed by Moses, when he enjoins, "Take heed to thyself"'.[42] In the fifth book he associates the motif of self-knowledge with that of immortality:

Similarly also the maxim 'Know thyself' shows many things; both that thou art mortal, and that thou wast born a human being; and also that, in comparison with the other excellences of life, thou art of no account, because thou sayest that thou art rich or renowned; or, on the other hand, that, being rich or renowned, you are not honoured on account of your advantages alone. And it says, Know for what thou wert born, and whose image thou art; and what is thy essence, and what thy creation, and what thy relation to God, and the like.[43]

In Philo of Alexandria's treaty *On the Migration of Abraham* we also find this association. Interpreting *Gen.* 12:1: 'Depart from thy land, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house to a land which I will show thee', Philo says that this verse impels the man to 'alienate' from the body, the outward senses and uttered speech correspondingly.

Be alienated from them in your mind, allowing none of them to cling to you, standing above them all; they are your subjects, use them not as your rulers; since you are a king, learn to govern and not to be governed; know yourself (γίνωσκε σεαυτόν) all your life, as Moses teaches us in many passages where he says, 'Take heed to Thyself' (πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ).[44]

It should be noted that Philo not only regards these expressions as synonymous, but uses them in the same context as St Basil, speaking of the ruling position of the soul in the human being and of the necessity to 'govern' the body.

To sum it up, we argue that both in choice and in elaboration of his subject St Basil follows the platonic tradition, notably Philo and Porphyry. The influence of Philo who regarded πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ and γίνωσκε σεαυτόν as practically

[41] On the motif of self-knowledge in Origen see P. Courcelle, *'Connais-toi toi-meme'* (1974), 97-100.

[42] Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata* II 15.71.4: σαφέστερον δὲ τὸ «γνῶθι σαυτὸν» παρεγγυῶν ὁ Μωυσῆς λέγει πολλάκις· «πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ». Translated by the rev. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, see Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata, or Miscellanies*, in Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325 (New York, 1913), II 229-568.

[43] *Ibid.* V 4.23.1.

[44] Philo Judaeus, *De migratione Abrahami* 8.3: γίνωσκε σεαυτόν, ὡς καὶ Μωυσῆς πολλαχοῦ διδάσκει λέγων 'πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ'. Translation: *The Works of Philo Judaeus*, translated by C.D. Yonge (London, 1854), II 43-93. This treaty in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* II 18.4, see: A.J. Carriker, *The Library of Eusebius* (2003), 168.

synonymous constructions was, in all likelihood, mediated by Clement of Alexandria and Origen. It was the latter who, judging from the *Address to Origen*, associated the image of the mirror in the *First Alcibiades* with the motif of the knowledge of God and the corresponding passage from the 2*Cor*. Though we cannot be sure in this regard, it seems probable that it was Origen or one of his closest students who wrote the gloss, incorporated later by Eusebius and by Stobaeus in the text of the dialogue. In interpreting the Delphic precept as an injunction to ascend towards the contemplation of the macrocosm (ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς θεωρίαν[45]), Porphyry is also likely to have had Origen's interpretation in mind; as for Eusebius, he relied both on Origen and on Porphyry.

Elaborating the protreptic topic of the *First Alcibiades* (self-knowledge and care for one's soul) St Basil in compliance with the above mentioned tradition shifts the emphasis to the metaphysical problems, such as that of immortality and the knowledge of God. Just like for Porphyry and (as far as we can judge) for Origen, self-knowledge is not an end in itself for him; impelling his audience to 'give heed' he urges them to ascend towards the knowledge of God, which is the true philosophy for him. The genre of the philosophical protreptic, whose traits we find in the homily, turns out to be opportune precisely because for St Basil, along with the earlier Christian writers, it is Christianity which is the only real philosophy.

[45] Stobaeus, *Anthologium* III 21.27.12-4.

Foucault and the Practice of Patristics

Foucault and the Practice of Patristics

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Abstract

This article represents the introduction to the workshop of the same title; in order to set the stage for the papers that follow, it identifies three implications of Foucault's work for the practice of Patristics. I suggest that, first, Foucault's work directs Patrologists to attend to the ways in which particular forms of discourse emerge at particular times and, in this, to better appreciate the lively ambiguity of early Christian texts; second, that Foucault helps us recognize the ways in which claims to knowledge and the exercise of power are intertwined in both ancient texts and their modern commentators; and third, that Foucault encourages us to leverage the critical power of historical scholarship in order to open possibilities for transforming our present situation. To follow Foucault in these three ways requires ascetic resolve, resisting comforting presumptions and attempting to appreciate the difficult complexity of ancient texts, but such spirituality promises transformative potential.

The four participants in this workshop came together in the conviction that the work of Michel Foucault sheds light on the way in which early Christian texts can and should be read, both with respect to the form of patristic scholarship and to particular questions of content. Foucault's wide-ranging monographs pursue studies of the institutions of psychiatry, medicine, the human sciences, the penal system, and sexuality. Uniting these disparate analyses is a persistent concern for the interrelation between three loci of experience: the limits of possible knowledge, the regulation of behavior, and the subject's action upon herself.[1] The discursive practices which distinguish truth, the practices by which people are governed, and the practices of relation to oneself are mutually implicated, according to Foucault, each forming and informing the others, and it the relationship between these three axes that Foucault studies as 'the history of thought'. By way of introduction to the themes of the workshop, I will comment briefly upon the relevance of each of these dimensions for our discipline.

[1] He writes: 'Ce que j'ai essayé de faire, c'est une histoire de la pensée. Et par "pensée", je voulais dire une analyse de ce qu'on pourrait appeler des foyers d'expérience, où s'articulent les uns sur les autres: premièrement, les formes d'un savoir possible; deuxièmement, les matrices normatives de comportement pour les individus; et enfin des modes d'existence virtuels pour des sujets possible' (Michel Foucault, *Le gouvernement de soi et des autres* [Paris, 2008], 4-5).

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I. Savoir

Foucault's work on the topic of knowledge directly concerns the way in which ancient texts ought to be read. In describing his method of research, Foucault is careful to distinguish his method from that of historicism, which begins with a given set of concepts – such as the state, society, madness, etc. – and proceeds to discern how they are inflected (or perhaps invalidated) by history. Instead, Foucault begins from concrete practices in order to discern how they are organized by concepts that emerge under particular conditions. Thus, in his *History of Sexuality*, Foucault neither traces the various ways in which a given constant – 'sexuality,' for instance – has been viewed at different times, nor does he attempt to demonstrate that particular construals of sexuality represent an ideological distortion. Instead, he brackets this supposed universal in order to trace the emergence in the nineteenth century of the nexus of psychological, medical, and moral concerns that cluster in the concept 'sexuality.' Such an approach provides, I suggest, a model for the interpretation of early Christian texts that pursues careful attention to disruptive particularity.[2]

After all, the authority of early Christian texts provides a temptation to over-interpretation to further one's ends. To take one example, T.F. Torrance writes that the Council of Nicaea in 325 CE 'was a turning-point of far-reaching significance … When the conception of the oneness of being between the incarnate Son and the Father was formed and given explicit expression in the clause *homoousios to Patri*, … the Church could not go back upon it, because the evangelical substance of the faith … had been secured in its mind and understanding in a permanent way'.[3] The claim that the Council simply expressed what was always the true Christian faith requires the crucial term *homoousios* to be read in light of later orthodoxy, but the particularities of history resist this reading. If, with Foucault, we attend to the circumstances in which concepts take form, a rather different picture emerges.

To rehearse a familiar history: Paul of Samosata was condemned as a heretic in the third century for claiming that the Son is *homoousios* with the Father, which seems to have been scandalous because the term suggested that God is made of a material substance.[4] Another heretic, Sabellius, used the term

[2] For a useful discussion of Foucault's relationship to historical work, see Elizabeth Clark, *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn* (Cambridge, 2004), 113-9.

[3] T.F. Torrance, *The Trinitarian Faith* (Edinburgh, 1988), 144-5.

[4] Athanasius writes: 'They who deposed the Samosatene took Coessential in a bodily sense, because Paul had attempted sophistry and said, "Unless Christ has of man become God, it follows that He is Coessential with the Father; and if so, of necessity there are three essences, one the previous essence, and the other two from it;" and therefore guarding against this they said with good reason, that Christ was not Coessential' (*Syn*. 45, *NPNF*2 4). See also G.L. Prestige: 'The original signification of homoousios, apart from all theological technicality, is simply "made of the same stuff"' (*God in Patristic Thought* [London, 1959], 197).

homoousios to deny a real distinction between the Trinitarian persons;[5] in this context, the term appears to denote total identity.[6] At the council itself the term seems to have been subject to varying interpretations; although Athanasius claims that the term means 'of one being and nature,' Eusebius of Caesarea writes to his church immediately following the council to explain that '"consubstantial with the Father" suggests that the Son of God bears no resemblance to the originated creatures'[7] – a rather different view.

Torrance writes that 'it steadily became clear that *homoousios* used in this way as a technical theological term meant "of one and the same being and nature"'[8], but this meaning was by no means given, least of all at the council itself. If we bracket the assumption that there a univocal and universal Christian teaching, we may better appreciate that the council was engaged in a creative act that involved negotiation between opposing forces. Foucault writes, 'The "economy" of discourses – their intrinsic technology, the necessities of their operation, the tactics they employ, the effects of power which underlie them and which they transmit – this, and not a system of representations, is what determines the essential features of what they have to say.'[9] Which is to say, the significance of ancient texts is shaped by the messy negotiations by which discourses develop.[10]

II. Pouvoir

Foucault argues that the negotiations by which discourse takes shape are inseparable from relations of power, and the Council of Nicaea serves as a good example. Athanasius argues some thirty years after the council itself that the *homoousion* represents a decisive anti-Arian bulwark, writing that 'On this account did the Holy Council declare expressly that He was of the essence of the Father, that … no subterfuge should be left open to the irreligious'.[11]

[5] See Basil of Caesarea: 'In his writings [Dionysius of Alexandria] exhibits a miscellaneous inconsistency, and is at one time to be found disloyal to the homoousion, because of his opponent [Sabellius] who made a bad use of it to the destruction of the hypostases' (*Ep*. 9.2, *NPNF*2 8).

[6] R.P.C. Hanson comments, 'Our investigation of the use of *homoousios* before it was inserted into N, then, should have suggested strongly that it would be unwise to give the word a strictly defined or single meaning' (*The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God* [Edinburgh, 1988], 196).

[7] Eusebius of Caesarea, 'Letter on the Council of Nicaea', *NPNF*2 4.

[8] T.F. Torrance, *Trinitarian Faith* (1988), 124.

[9] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1* (New York, 1990), 68-9.

[10] It bears mentioning that recent work on Nicaea is often attentive to these dynamics. (See in particular Lewis Ayers, *Nicaea and Its Legacy: An Approach to Fourth-Century Trinitarian Theology* [Oxford, 2006]). Whereas a longer argument would be required to show that it is somehow necessary that patrologists read Foucault, this brief sketch is instead intended to suggest that Foucault's contribution may be genuinely useful.

[11] Athanasius, *Decr*. 19, *NPNF*2 4.

Whereas (as I have briefly suggested) an attentive reading of the circumstances surrounding the council suggests that a diversity of opinions persisted both beforehand and afterwards, Athanasius wields its authority in order to stigmatize certain Christians as irreligious.[12] Several years later he goes even further: 'Can we then any more account such men Christians? or what sort of faith have they who stand neither to word nor writing, but alter and change every thing according to the times?'[13] With Athanasius, the abstruse issue concerning the meaning of the *homoousion* has become inseparable from the question of inclusion in the Christian community.[14]

The reciprocal relation that Foucault describes between power and knowledge is evident here. Foucault argues that, to take one example, sexuality emerges as an object for scientific study in the nineteenth century only insofar as particular power-relations designated it as an object for potential investigation, while conversely sexuality became the object of power insofar as sexuality had become accessible to discourse.[15] In the domain of sexuality, truth-claims concerning sexuality (in a psychiatric, moral, or medical mode) emerge alongside techniques by which this phenomenon might be managed (such as the psychiatrist's couch, the vigilance of parents, and self-scrutiny). Similarly, Athanasius's claim that 'the holy and veritable heralds of the truth agree together, and do not differ'[16] imposes a univocal meaning on the term *homoousios* that is intertwined with a political act of exclusion, and his very interpretation of the *homoousion* is what enables judgments concerning the extent of church membership. This is not to say that power constitutes the secret meaning of theological argument but rather that even ostensibly disinterested discourse cannot be disentangled from technologies of power.

This recognition by no means invalidates the discourses in question, least of all Athanasius's,[17] but it may provide our analysis of the texts in question with

[12] It is worth bearing in mind that, although Athanasius mentions the *homoousion* around 340, he himself doesn't make much of the term until much later, and nobody else does either. Hanson observes, 'It is a fact which has often been remarked upon that for nearly twenty years after Nicaea nobody mentions *homoousios*, not even Athanasius' (R.P.C. Hanson, *Search* [1988], 170).

[13] Athanasius, *Syn.* 38, *NPNF*2 4.

[14] Witness the complaint of one of Athanasius's contemporaries that he 'carried off a bishop of the Lower Country and shut him in the Meat Market, and a priest of the same region he shut in the lock-up, and a deacon in the principal prison … and … he caused seven bishops to leave the country' (Callistus, "Letter," in Harold Bell [ed.], *Jews and Christians in Egypt* [New York, 1972], 53).

[15] He writes, 'If sexuality was constituted as an area of investigation, this was only because relations of power had established it as a possible object; and conversely, if power was able to take it as a target, this was because techniques of knowledge and procedures of discourse were capable of investing it' (M. Foucault, *History of Sexuality, Vol. 1* [1990], 98).

[16] Athanasius, *Decr.* 5, *NPNF*2 4.

[17] Foucault comments perspicaciously, 'The idea that there could exist a state of communication that would allow games of truth to circulate freely, without any constrains or coercive effects, seems utopian to me. This is precisely a failure to see that power relations are not something that

some critical leverage. For instance, where Athanasius writes that 'the Bishops … at the Council of Nicaea, began to hold their ears at these statements [made by Athanasius's opponents]'[18], we ought to recognize that this assertion constitutes a claim to power. Where T.F. Torrance writes that 'on hearing these [*i.e.* Arian] statements the fathers of Nicaea began to hold their ears, and unanimously acted to exclude the Arian heresy in the most categorical way'[19], we may recognize that Torrence's surprising credulity itself supports an appeal for power insofar as it draws stark limits to Christian community and legitimates Torrance's favored form of Christian practice. Following Foucault, we ought to be critically cognizant of the way in which the texts that we read, either ancient or modern, make claims to truth that are embroiled in relations of power.

III. Subjectivation

Foucault argues that this sensitivity to the pervasiveness of power ought to extend also to ourselves, for this relation imbues discourse through and through. In Foucault's usage, 'power' denotes influence on another person's behavior, but for that reason it presumes that the subject of power is free.[20] It is thus misleading to think of power as localized in the hands of a privileged few; on the contrary, power functions in a chain, circulating among individuals who serve as its relays.[21] Indeed, Foucault argues that individuals do not stand outside power, as if they were merely subjected to some external force; on the contrary, individuals are themselves constituted by the relations of power in

is bad in itself, that we have to break free of. I do not think that a society can exist without power relations, if by that one means strategies by which individuals try to direct and control the conduct of others. The problem, then, is not to try to dissolve them in the utopia of completely transparent communication, but to acquire the rules of law, the management techniques, and also the morality, the ethos, the practice of the self, that will allow us to play these games of power with as little domination as possible' ('The Ethics of the Concern for Self as a Practice of Freedom', in Paul Rabinow [ed.], *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth* [New York, 1997], 298).

[18] Athanasius, *Ep. Aeg. Lib.* 2.13, *NPNF*2 4.

[19] T.F. Torrance, *Trinitarian Faith* (1988), 137.

[20] He writes: 'A man who is chained up and beaten is subject to force being exerted over him. Not power. But if he can be induced to speak, when his ultimate recourse could have been to hold his tongue, preferring death, then he has been caused to behave in a certain way. His freedom has been subjected to power' (Michel Foucault, '*Omnes et Singulatim*,' in James Faubion [ed.], *Power* [New York, 2000], 324).

[21] Foucault explains, 'Power is not something that is divided between those who have it and hold it exclusively, and those who do not have it and are subject to it … Power is exercised through networks, and individuals do not simply circulate in those networks; they are in a position to both submit to and exercise this power. They are never the inert or consenting targets of power; they are always its relays. In other words, power passes through individuals. It is not applied to them' ('*Society Must be Defended*' [New York, 2003], 29).

which they find themselves.[22] Apropos of the new nineteenth-century regime of sexuality, Foucault famously comments that 'the sodomite had been a temporary aberration; the homosexual was now a species.'[23] That is, whereas on some pre-modern conceptions same-sex love was aberrant, it was not until the concept of homosexuality was invented that such 'sexuality' could be taken to constitute a particular identity.[24] But just as this identity depended for its existence upon emergent psychiatric and medical practices and institutions, the species 'patrologist' is constituted by the same sort of relation.

We are each caught up in relations of power that subtly shape our research: the need to publish in order to advance an academic career, addiction to ego-reinforcement, latent prejudice in favor of positions to which we are already committed. These impulses pervade our academic life, quietly leading us to over-state the evidence, to under-estimate the ambiguity of the texts we read, or simply not to notice what might seem to other eyes to be a counter-example. We are subject to expectations from all sides, and we are committed (often unconsciously) to values that infuse the communities in which we live. We are so thoroughly caught up in relations of power that it can no longer properly be said that these relations have a distorting effect: it is not possible even in principle to imagine research so clear-sighted that it would not be subject to such influence.

On Foucault's account, however, power is not simply some unfortunate fate. Insofar as power is constituted by a network of relations, it remains possible to intervene in order to shift (though not to escape) those relations.[25] The primary means Foucault describes by which we may exercise freedom with respect to power is thinking; he writes, 'Thought … is what allows one to step back from this way of acting or reacting, to present it to oneself as an object of thought and to question it as to its meaning, its conditions, and its goals. Thought is freedom in relation to what one does, the motion by which one detaches oneself from it, establishes it as an object, and reflects on it as a problem.'[26] Thinking, which I take to characterize the project of patristics (at least some of the time), is thus of momentous importance, for it allows us to take a critical distance from particular configurations of knowledge and power in order to imagine

[22] See M. Foucault, *'Society Must be Defended'* (2003), 30.

[23] M. Foucault, *History of Sexuality, Vol. 1* (1990), 43.

[24] This claim is contentious, of course, but it is the form of Foucault's argument that is important here. See Mark Jordan, *The Invention of Sodomy in Christian Theology* (Chicago, 1997), 163 and David Halperin, *How to Do the History of Homosexuality* (Chicago, 2002), 24-47.

[25] Foucault explains, 'As you see, one does not have to work with power understood as domination, as mastery, as a fundamental given, a unique principle, explanation or irreducible law … One always has to think about it in such a way as to see how it is associated with a domain of possibility and consequently, of reversibility, of possible reversal' ('What is Critique', in *The Politics of Truth* [Los Angeles, 2007], 66).

[26] Michel Foucault, 'Polemics, Politics and Problemizations', in Paul Rabinow (ed.), *The Foucault Reader* (Harmondsworth, 1991), 388.

how things might be different. Indeed, for Foucault it is history that provides the best means by which this critical distance may be attained – 'It is a matter of making things more fragile,' he explains.[27] Showing the way in which certain ways of thinking emerge under particular conditions at particular points in time helps us to see that they are not universally given; likewise, reflecting upon the genealogy of certain configurations of power helps us to appreciate that things need not be as they currently are.

IV. Conclusion

The purpose of these reflections is to introduce the themes of this workshop by identifying three implications of Foucault's work for the practice of patristics. To summarize: I suggest, first, that Foucault's work encourages us to attend to the ways in which particular forms of discourse emerge at particular times and, in this, to better appreciate the lively ambiguity of early Christian texts; second, that Foucault may help us recognize the ways in which claims to knowledge and the exercise of power are intertwined in both ancient texts and their modern commentators; and third, that Foucault may encourage us to leverage the critical power of historical scholarship in order to open possibilities for transforming our present situation.

In this, Foucault's work suggests that patristics requires not just intellectual but also spiritual discipline. Foucault distinguishes between philosophy, which he takes to be the form of thought that determines how the subject may access truth, and spirituality, which is the set of practices by which the subject acts upon her own being to prepare for access to the truth.[28] To follow Foucault in the three ways I have described would require ascetic resolve, resisting comforting presumptions and attempting to appreciate the difficult complexity of ancient texts, but such spirituality promises transformative potential.

[27] He continues: 'Or rather of showing both why and how things were able to establish themselves as such, and showing at the same time that they were established through a precise history' (Michel Foucault, 'What our Present Is', in *The Politics of Truth* [Los Angeles, 2007], 138-9).

[28] See Michel Foucault, *The Hermeneutics of the Subject* (New York, 2005), 15.

Disciplining Eusebius: Discursive Power and Representation of the Court Theologian

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ABSTRACT

This article applies insights from Michel Foucault toward a reading both of the reception history of Eusebius of Caesarea and the intermingling of theological and political discourse in his work. I problematize the perceived need to distance Eusebius from Constantine in the interests of vindicating him as reliable historian or worthwhile theologian. I suggest that the conflation of theological and political speech in Eusebius is merely a clear case of a characteristic of theological discourse in general, which is in turn illustrative of a more primary co-identification of knowledge and power, upon which Foucault has elaborated. I analyze these interconnections in Eusebius and claim that regarding the theological and political as co-constitutive invites new appreciation for the operations in his texts, and leads to deeper awareness of the concerns of his context that shape his presentation.

The purpose of this article is to bring Foucauldian insights to bear on the reception history of Eusebius of Caesarea and his corpus, both to demonstrate the possibilities emerging from reading the fathers with such sensibilities, and to present alternative modes of approaching Eusebius.[1] Given the predominant tendency to discount his work as historian and theologian in light of his apparent political punditry, recent scholarship has sought to rebalance the picture we have of Eusebius. Attempts are made to situate Eusebius's more well-known panegyric and apologetic works in the context of his theological writings and biblical commentary. Of note is the simultaneous move in such revisions to distance Eusebius from Constantine while asserting his scholarly integrity and theological merit. It is as if a mutual exclusivity exists between Eusebius as reliable historian and theologian of substance on one hand and political theologian of the empire on the other.

This reception history of Eusebius offers an example of the interrelations of power and discourse as explored by Foucault. Among the many insights

[1] In addition to my workshop collaborators, I would like to thank David DeVore, György Geréby, and Michael Hollerich for feedback on, resistance to, and stimulating interaction around the themes contained in this paper.

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Foucault's oeuvre contributes (laid out in David Newheiser's article in this volume), allow me to signal the themes with which I will here be working. For clarity, this will involve heuristically separating for the moment concepts that work together for Foucault. I engage with two broad sets of claims made by Foucault, which we might delimit here as the knowledge/power nexus and the notion of *savoir* or discursive episteme.

From one vantage point, Foucault claims that a certain zone of indistinction exists between power and knowledge, that power – as the flows and networks of force, productivity, interest, and influence in society – constitutes itself as knowledge, and that knowledge – as serious statements and discursive claims about the world – participates in the effects and conduits of power.[2] What we can call truth moments are effects of a focus of power and knowledge, where particular discursive statements and theories converge with other tactics of force and legitimation.[3] Such sets of statements take on the character of truth, that is efficacy and social validity, as they coincide with other mechanisms that focus social power.

From another vantage point, Foucault observes that analysis of knowledge claims tends to be dominated by focus on *connaissance*, that is, statements made by purported subjectivities about objects in the world. He calls for attention instead to the wider spectrum of such statements, their interpenetration with each other and with particular practices of an era that render them meaningful.[4] This examination of *savoir* involves attention to what Foucault terms a *dispositif* (often rendered as 'apparatus'), the diverse sets of social techniques and discourses that function together upon bodies to forge subjectivities and facilitate the ebb and flow of power.[5] Consideration of the episteme, therefore, means attending to what gives certain statements the weight of truth and significance in a given historical-cultural moment, what renders them not only meaningful but effective in accomplishing the diverse ends toward which they are put.

[2] In his inaugural 1970 lecture at the Collège de France, Foucault began by claiming that 'in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality.' Lest one takes this as an opposition between power and discourse, he modulates a little later, clarifying that 'as history constantly teaches us, discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but is the thing for which and by which there is struggle, discourse is the power which is to be seized.' Michel Foucault, 'The Order of Discourse', in Robert Young (ed.), *Untying the Text: A Poststructuralist Reader* (Boston, 1981), 52-3.

[3] See *id*., *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977* (New York, 1980), 109-33.

[4] *Id*., *Archaeology of Knowledge* (London and New York, 2002), 139-43. See also Barry Allen, 'Foucault's Theory of Knowledge', in Timothy O'Leary and Christopher Falzon (eds), *Foucault and Philosophy* (Malden, MA, 2010).

[5] See the helpful discussion in Jeffrey Bussolini, 'What is a Dispositive?', *Foucault Studies* 10 (November 2010), 85-107.

Eusebius provides a useful case for exploring these notions since his writings and his reception are so poignantly characterized by concerns about this proximity of knowledge and power. The contentious reception history plays out this problematic in modern discourse, I suggest, in terms of the relations of the theological and political. Rejecting the power/knowledge relation in turn leads to animosity between theological and political discourse, since purportedly objective theology must be purged of the political if it is to be purified of supposedly distortive power. Rather, I claim that recognizing the intermingling of power and knowledge in discourse helps us to see that that theological and political articulations move together and are mutually constitutive, and that this need not be taken as inherently problematic. In troubling the typical dichotomy introduced in the scholarship, therefore, this paper explores the nature of power as productive, as constitutive of knowledge and not merely as repressive or limiting. In particular, I examine ways to conceive how Eusebius's broader corpus functions together with his politicized writings, how indeed a zone of indistinction exists between the political and theological in his work. I suggest that this blurring of boundaries is instructive for considering the nature of theological discourse in general, and what is perhaps blatantly obvious in Eusebius marks a characteristic of all theological speech.

The genitive in my title is both objective and subjective, as I will be exploring the representation *of* Eusebius, how he has been portrayed, and his own representation, the modes by which he outlines and understands the representative process. To highlight the knowledge/power relation I focus on the characterizations of Eusebius in terms of his links or lack thereof with Constantine. When power is viewed as distortive of knowledge, rather than constitutive of it, Eusebius must be excised from the sphere of the political if his theological statements are to gain validity. Rather, I seek to ask, why not consider him as a theologian whose work reflects the actual intermeshing of theology and politics, in turn reflective of this larger nexus of power and knowledge.

This leads into a consideration of Eusebius in relation to the episteme, the systems of knowledge and articulations about representation that occur in his era. This means attending to the role of representative constructions in his broader corpus in light of contextual concerns about how power is related to knowledge, that is, how power is to be represented. Modern suspicions about mythic and rhetorical exaggeration, or political punditry, for instance, might give way to a contextualized awareness that such modes of speech contribute substantively to the structure of Eusebius' thought. Relations with Constantine, whether or not 'historically accurate' (a concern I am not dismissing), are discursively construed by Eusebius in the service of conceptual ends. I argue that attention to such dynamics, which these Foucauldian intuitions help to highlight, allows in turn deeper appreciation for the complexities and richness of the Eusebian corpus.

Eusebius castigatus

In 1952 Eric Voegelin published his *The New Science of Politics* as an attempt to reclaim transcendence and metaphysically rich concepts of representation for the political sphere.[6] Originally presented as a lecture series entitled 'Truth and Representation', Voegelin reacted against what he perceived as the encroachment of empiricism and positivism upon political thought.[7] In the face of modernity's 'Gnostic' immanentism, Christian representation offers a maintenance of radical transcendence, divine otherness, while asserting the value of the human through newfound amity with God. True Christian representation for Voegelin emerges in the political sphere as unrepresentable, given God's radical transcendence.[8] Significant here is Voegelin's use of Eusebius who for him embodies the pinnacle of the faulty attempt to tie Christian transcendent principles too closely to earthly political systems. Eusebius' error apparently was drawing a direct correspondence between earthly monarchy and Hellenistically-inspired notions of divine, monotheistic rule.

For his critique of Eusebius, Voegelin relied almost completely upon an earlier 1935 study by Erik Peterson entitled *Der Monotheismus als politisches Problem*.[9] The aim of this book was to demonstrate the impossibility of political theology emerging out of orthodox conceptions of the Godhead. Central in Peterson's exposition is Eusebius who serves as what Jan Badewien calls Peterson's 'Kronzeuge', or chief witness, exemplary of the failings of a theo-political synthesis.[10] After a broad survey of Ancient Greek, Hellenistic, and Jewish sources for both monotheism and political ideas of monarchy, Peterson excoriates Eusebius. He notes Eusebian writings that make connections between *pax Romana* and biblical-prophetic peace, as well as links between the timing of incarnation and the unification and stability brought under Augustus. Peterson concludes: 'Nicht der Gelehrte, sondern der politische Publizist kommt in ihnen zu Wort' ('Not the scholar, but the political pundit speaks up').[11] Eusebius' apparently fully-realized eschatology, and his presumed role as propagandist of Christian empire, discredit him as a nuanced theologian of

[6] Eric Voegelin, *The New Science of Politics: An Introduction* (Chicago, 1952).

[7] Incidentally, his book drew strong criticism by his former teacher, the neo-Kantian, positivist legal theorist Hans Kelsen. Hans Kelsen, *A New Science of Politics: Hans Kelsen's Reply to Eric Voegelin's 'New Science of Politics'. A Contribution to the Critique of Ideology* (Frankfurt, 2004).

[8] See the lucid review and critique in Fred Dallmayr, 'Postmetaphysics and Democracy', *Political Theory* 21, no. 1 (Feb., 1993), 101-27.

[9] Erik Peterson, *Der Monotheismus als politisches Problem: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der politischen Theologie im Imperium Romanum* (Leipzig, 1935). Citations here refer to the version contained in *id.*, *Theologische Traktate* (München, 1950).

[10] Jan Badewien, 'Euseb von Cäsarea', in Alfred Schindler (ed.), *Monotheismus als politisches Problem? Erik Peterson und die Kritik der politischen Theologie* (Gütersloh, 1978), 43-8.

[11] E. Peterson, *Theologische Traktate* (1950), 91.

what for Peterson is a Trinitarian thought that resists correspondence with earthly forms of rule.[12]

Note that Peterson's intervention was itself a veiled response to his perceived political situation, in particular, the theopolitical synthesis undertaken by his former friend, the juridical theorist Carl Schmitt.[13] Thus, there is a certain irony here in that the apolitical conclusions of Peterson emerge from a politicized debate with Schmitt about the nature of Christian involvement in politics.[14] To anticipate what we will see in Eusebius, Peterson's own theological articulations evince a politics, and, regardless of the specific policies advocated, his theological discourse participates in a variety of power relations that work together to enforce his presentation. Eusebius' own relation to the political sphere figures centrally in Peterson's disavowal of the necessity of such links.

I highlight these discussions to note the persistence of a certain type of reading of Eusebius, linked to political theory and broader theoretical projects about representation. What Eusebius apparently did or did not do or say, and the type of mentality and methodology he embodies, have themselves become a type of representation, a touchstone from which various political, theological, and methodological programs can distinguish themselves. Peterson's work has had far reaching, if often implicit, theological impact. In 1971 Jürgen Moltmann referred to the text as a 'magnificent treatise' while reiterating the image of

[12] Peterson asserts that 'der *eine* Monarch auf Erden – und das ist für Euseb nur Konstantin – korrespondiert mit dem *einen* göttlichen Monarchen im Himmel' (*ibid*. 93). Yet, precisely the nature of such correspondence is what is at stake. Peterson groups together neo-Pythagorean thought, the pseudo-Aristotelian *De mundo*, and Philo's Hellenistic-Jewish synthesis as indicative of this clear one-to-one link. Even if such sources are univocal, the mode of correlation is anything but straightforward. Claiming a monocausal link between narrow monotheism and political monarchy raises numerous conceptual problems. Correctly or not, the history of Christendom bears out the possibility that 'orthodox' Trinitarian thought can certainly be brought into the service of monarchical and imperial politics. My argument in this paper is not with Peterson's construal of the illegitimacies of political theology, and thus I cannot adequately engage him here. I cite him as representative of a groundswell of scholarship that effectively delegitimates the theology of Eusebius based on its open political aims.

[13] Peterson reacted to Schmitt's apparent analogues between theological and political concepts in his 1922 work, *Politische Theologie* (Carl Schmitt, *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*, trans. George Schwab [Chicago, 2005]). Years later (1970), after Peterson's death and a friendship broken, Schmitt responded in his *Politische Theologie II*, which included a chapter on Eusebius which critiqued Peterson's portrayal (*id*., *Political Theology II: The Myth of the Closure of any Political Theology*, trans. Michael Hoelzl and Graham Ward [Cambridge, 2008]).

[14] It should be noted in passing that even theologically-motivated sectarian withdrawal (which, by the way, is not Peterson's position) is itself a politics. More recently, Hungarian scholar György Geréby offers an eloquent review of this debate and a defense of Peterson in György Geréby, 'Political Theology Versus Theological Politics: Erik Peterson and Carl Schmitt', *New German Critique* 105 (2008), 7-33. See also Paul Fletcher, *Disciplining the Divine: Toward an (Im)Political Theology* (Farnham, UK and Burlington, VT, 2009), 103-4, 114. My title intends no allusion to Fletcher's stimulating study, which does not significantly engage Foucault.

Eusebius as ideologue.[15] And Vincent Twomey's favorable 1999 interaction with Peterson's views on the Trinity appears to reproduce without qualification Peterson's stark portrayal of Eusebius as political pundit.[16]

The various images of Eusebius in the theological and political sphere can be glimpsed in biblical and historical scholarship as well. Overbeck's critique of Harnack as a 'royal theological hairdresser of his majesty's periwig' has been applied to Eusebius.[17] Jacob Burckhardt famously called Eusebius 'the most objectionable of all eulogists' and 'the first thoroughly dishonest historian of antiquity', claiming that Eusebius whitewashed the realities of Constantine and rhetorically co-opted his imperial reign for church propaganda.[18] Many have noted that much of this older German scholarship evinced ties to a socio-political situation that interposed tensions between church and state. Eusebius appears in part as a cipher for early modern concerns about the specter of 'Constantianism', worked out in diverse and often veiled ways in the scholarly community. As in Peterson's case (*i.e.*, responding to Schmitt), particular representations of Eusebius fulfilled a perceived crucial need to articulate religious discourse in oppositional identity to emerging nation-state hegemony.

Yet, even more recent and nuanced scholarship continues to deal with these concerns. Averil Cameron cautions, quite reasonably, that the imperial panegyric genre of the *Vita Constantini*, for instance, raises concerns about the objective, historical accuracy of the text.[19] Timothy Barnes has countered, seeking to establish grounds for trusting Eusebius' portrait of the emperor.[20] Barnes simultaneously distances Eusebius from Constantine, arguing that they met no more than four times and never one-on-one, while attempting to vindicate Eusebius' portrayal of the emperor as authentically Christian. To be sure, Barnes bases his assertion of the true piety of Constantine on a variety of sources, a consensus

[15] Jürgen Moltmann, 'Political Theology', *Theology Today* 28 (1971), 6-23. Indeed, the twin emphases in Moltmann's lifelong project, Trinitarian theology and eschatological hope, can be seen as a working out of primary themes in Peterson's essay.

[16] Vincent Twomey, 'The Political Implications of Faith in a Triune God: Erik Peterson Revisited', in Vincent Twomey and Lewis Ayres (eds), *The Mystery of the Holy Trinity in the Fathers of the Church: The Proceedings of the Fourth Patristic Conference, Maynooth, 1999*, Irish Theological Quarterly Monograph Series 3 (Dublin, 2007). While sensitive to the ecclesial power dynamics at work, Twomey here also reproduces an apparent glorification of Athanasius and an uncritical conveyance of his constructs of the 'Eusebians' and 'Arians'.

[17] Robert Hepp, *Politische Theologie und theologische Politik; Studien zur Säkularisierung des Protestantismus im Weltkrieg und in der Weimarer Republik*, DPhil Dissertation (University of Erlangen, 1967), 161-2. Cited in C. Schmitt, *Political Theology II* (2008), 40-1.

[18] Jacob Burckhardt, *The Age of Constantine the Great*, trans. Moses Hadas (New York, 1949), 260, 283.

[19] See the introduction to Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, trans. Averil Cameron and Stuart George Hall (Oxford, 1999). See also Averil Cameron, 'Constantinus Christianus', *JRS* 73 (1983), 184-90.

[20] Timothy D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, MA, 1981).

that I am not here contesting.[21] The dynamic that interests me is the removal of Eusebius from the close orbit of Constantine in the service of vindicating his account of the emperor. The suspicions of Eusebius as star-struck imperial confidant recede to allow a more distanced and implicitly more objective reporter.[22] However it wishes to depart from earlier crass dismissals of Eusebius as historian, this debate appears at first blush to remain within its logic. If Eusebius is to be exonerated, his apparent fawning over Constantine must be explained, and his statements upholding Christian empire can be downplayed when grasped in new historical light.

This dynamic of distancing Eusebius from Constantine in the interests of a, however qualified, vindication can be glimpsed in the literary sphere as well. In other words, while Barnes seeks to distance the two based on historical evidence, scholars like Michael Hollerich have enriched our picture of Eusebius through examination of his broader corpus, with similar concerns to qualify Eusebius' valorization of Constantine. Hollerich argues, quite rightly, that our image of Eusebius needs to be rounded out with a consideration of his biblical commentary and theological work, to consider Eusebius 'as a churchman and scholar'.[23] To this end he has facilitated an exploration of Eusebius' *Commentary on Isaiah*, which relativizes the Roman and the Constantinian empires under more thoroughgoing concerns about God's sovereignty and the status of the church.[24] Aaron Johnson's recent examination of the concept of ethnicity in Eusebius resonates with such work, arguing that Eusebius' interpretation of Augustus and Constantine in terms of God's providence operates within a biblical logic of discerning the hand of God in geopolitical events.[25] The Roman Empire was for Eusebius what the Assyrians or Babylonians were for the Hebraic prophets, *i.e.* tools used by God that may not intrinsically be worthy of glorification or emulation. If there is a primary object of prophetic fulfillment for Eusebius, Hollerich and Johnson clarify that it is the church, not the empire. The end result of this – no doubt more robust and certainly more interesting – picture of Eusebius is that the interest in Constantine and Christian empire recedes in the face of more primary concerns about the glory of God and God's purposes for the saints.

[21] *Ibid.*; *id.*, 'Constantine and Christianity: Ancient Evidence and Modern Interpretations', *ZAC* 2 (1998), 274-94. See also *id.*, 'Eusebius of Caesarea', *Expository Times* 121 (2009), 1-14.

[22] Incidentally, this does, of course, raise new questions about the honesty and trustworthiness of Eusebius in other quarters, namely precisely those of portraying himself as close to the emperor. The method here advocated avoids such concerns by accepting how Eusebius has portrayed himself, asking why, and examining how it operates more broadly in the various other articulations – biblical, theological, and historical – occurring in his texts.

[23] Michael J. Hollerich, 'Religion and Politics in the Writings of Eusebius: Reassessing the First "Court Theologian"', *Church History* 59 (1990), 309-25.

[24] *Id.*, *Eusebius of Caesarea's Commentary on Isaiah* (Oxford, 1999).

[25] Aaron P. Johnson, *Ethnicity and Argument in Eusebius' Praeparatio Evangelica* (Oxford, 2006).

Let me be clear that I am not critiquing the exemplary historical and textual work undertaken by the aforementioned scholars. Nor do I question its value and need. Rather, I am attempting to highlight, explore, and problematize this subtle (or not so subtle) tension between the theological and political in Eusebius and the concerns it raises about the status of the knowledge he provides. The aforementioned early modern, largely German dichotomy, viz., questioning Eusebian character or objectivity in terms of proximity to Constantine, continues to bear out in what contemporary scholars see themselves as answerable to. My point is less to argue that Eusebius has been *mis*represented than to point out the parameters within which modern representations of Eusebius appear constrained. To be sure, every age has its own pressing concerns which color and shape reception of previous history. To many of Eusebius' contemporary and subsequent ancient critics, his proximity to Constantine was not the issue; rather, proximity to Arius was of much greater concern! Our era continues to have trouble, for better or worse, with the continuum of the theological-political, which is, as I have been suggesting, evocative of a deeper or broader intermeshing of power and knowledge.

Yet, what productive possibilities might emerge by embracing this dilemma, opting for a both/and *in addition* to an either/or logic?[26] This would mean to follow the Foucauldian intuition about the power/knowledge nexus, and not initially to distinguish valid from non-valid statements based on a perceived theological-political spectrum. To put the issue bluntly, what if we simply accept Eusebius as *both* champion of Constantine and Christian empire, *and* as biblical scholar, theologian, and historian of merit? This is to accept that his theological and historical articulations always already partake of political locations and aims, and vice versa.[27] Keeping in mind Foucault's view of power here is important. A non-Foucauldian notion of power as repressive and distortive

[26] I emphasize 'in addition' here so as to avoid repeating an either/or framework by suggesting one must embrace one logic or the other. Rather, the two approaches can operate simultaneously, as the best traditions of apophatic theology have long demonstrated (*i.e.*, negating the negation).

[27] This possibility is laudably maintained, for instance, by the translation decisions by H.A. Drake in his rendition of Eusebius' *De laudibus Constantini*. He writes, 'I have broken with the convention, pleasing to Christian sensitivities, that allows the one word βασιλεύς, "sovereign," used by Eusebius for both God and Constantine, to be translated "King" when referring to one, "Emperor" when referring to the other. Many reasons can be given to justify this convention, while conversely little enough can be made of the parallel that exists in the Greek, given the history of Christian adoption of Imperial epithets to describe God's majesty. Yet the parallel is there, and surely it was not without meaning to Eusebius' contemporaries. I have tried to preserve it using the one word "sovereign" in both cases.' H.A. Drake, *In Praise of Constantine: A Historical Study and New Translation of Eusebius' Tricennial Orations*, University of California Publications: Classical Studies 15 (Berkeley, 1976), x. Rather than preemptively inserting a rupture between the theological and political, Drake apparently resists the weight of traditional animosity between such spheres reflected in 'Christian' translation decisions. This allows fuller appreciation of Eusebius' project.

is what has led to the suspicion of Eusebius in the first place, assuming that his proximity to political power obscures his literary representations, masking a more originary truth. Rather, recognizing power as productive and constitutive of all social relations, as articulating itself diversely in various regimes of truth, we can see the political and theological as moments within the same network of Eusebian discourse. The political works to support and shore up the theological, not distort it, just as theology displays its political aims.

If indeed Eusebius was a rather naïve and unsophisticated thinker (of which I remain unconvinced) does this not then provide a sort of trustworthy innocence?[28] Might not his bald linkages between blessed Christian empire and divine providence provide a glimpse behind the veil of more nuanced articulations which mask connection between specific political goals and theological doctrine? Might the history of resentment toward Eusebius reflect anger toward a perceived blundering fool – an idiot nephew, if you will – who disclosed family secrets, whose perhaps facile or hasty theopolitical models betray submerged, tectonic issues perennially at work in all such discourse? (As even Schmitt noted, a vaunted orthodox alternative like Athanasius certainly cannot be upheld as emblematic of non-political involvement.[29] Athanasius' own extensive political maneuverings, and his political-theological-rhetorical construction of notions like the 'Eusebians' or the 'Arians' have been documented.[30] Examining such realities as part of the course of his decisive contribution to post-Nicene orthodoxy would make an additional interesting test case of this theopolitical nexus).

Regardless of our judgment about Eusebius' acumen, attending to the power/knowledge nexus, and hence the theopolitical, means supplementing predominant concerns about the authenticity and facticity of his portrayals. At this level of analysis we are not concerned whether the 'real' events 'behind' the text correspond, but rather seek to allow the texts to speak.[31] What is the text doing in Eusebius' attempts to link himself with Constantine, or to locate political events in the context of redemption history? What various interests are

[28] Shapland, for instance, refers to Eusebius as 'muddle-headed'. C.R.B. Shapland (ed.), *The Letters of Saint Athanasius concerning the Holy Spirit* (New York, 1951), 21. The problem in my view lies more with simplistic analyses and interpretations of Eusebius.

[29] C. Schmitt, *Political Theology II* (2008), 85.

[30] Athanasius' extensive political intrigues are examined in T.D. Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire* (Cambridge, MA, 1993). For his rhetoric see David M. Gwynn, *The Eusebians: The Polemic of Athanasius of Alexandria and the Construction of the "Arian Controversy"* (Oxford, 2007). In constructing the 'Eusebians', Athanasius is of course referring to Eusebius of Nicomedia, not our Caesarean. Gwynn notes that Athanasius' position toward the latter is ambiguous (110-1).

[31] Indeed we should keep in mind that the supposed reality behind such texts to which historians seek correspondence is largely available to us in *other texts* (this includes archaeological and other material evidence).

advanced, how are the ideas deployed, and how are theology and politics here mutually constitutive? [32]

Preliminarily and in broad strokes we can observe that Eusebius simultaneously grounds his authority in proximity to and affirmation of Constantine in order to substantiate his own theology, while using his theology to legitimate and authorize Constantine, a complex and subtle circuit of representation. Lewis Ayres has claimed that the logic of patristic theology reflects an ad hoc employment of cultural and philosophical tools in the service of biblical reflection.[33] We could perhaps add here Eusebius' use of political context and rhetoric as one such exegetical tool. Yet it would be important to note that neither the tool nor the scriptural object is fixed or self-enclosed: the nature of the tool influences the shape of what is extracted, viz. theology, even as the interaction with the material presses back upon the tool, contributing in this case to new political ideas. In other words, this discursive construction of theoretical objects through complex social processes admits to their mutual transformation in each encounter.

Representation in Eusebius

This discussion of how Eusebius has been represented has already found itself enmeshed in the kinds of representations Eusebius himself makes, and highlights the importance of his own use and understanding of representation. The ways Eusebius has been portrayed often bear directly on the nature of his self-portrayal and portraits of others. Opinions vary about his depiction of himself as close to Constantine, as well as his position on Arius and the events surrounding Nicaea. Much is made as well of his very representations of both Constantine and Arius and their accuracy or lack thereof. Moreover, Eusebius' texts are rife with numerous additional representations, whether depictions of Cyrus, Alexander, Moses, and Jesus in relation to Constantine for instance, representations of the church in relation to the Jews or so-called true Hebrews,

[32] Eusebius' unintentional yet productive 'disclosure' can also be approached from the text itself, considering, *e.g.*, the unfinished nature, posthumous publication, and editorial errors of the *Vita*, see T.D. Barnes, 'Panegyric, History and Hagiography in Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*', in Rowan Williams (ed.), *The Making of Orthodoxy: Essays in Honour of Henry Chadwick* (Cambridge, 1989), 94-123. Rhetorical dressing was incomplete and the aims of the text might be considered in more raw or naked form. This does not unveil a more originary truth, however, so much as offer additional layers for considering the possible interworkings of power/knowledge in the text. Interesting in this regard is Foucault's strict prohibition on posthumous publication. See Colin Gordon, 'Governmental Rationality: An Introduction', in Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (eds), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality: With Two Lectures by and an Interview with Michel Foucault* (Chicago, 1991), 1-52, 1.

[33] Lewis Ayres, *Nicaea and Its Legacy: An Approach to Fourth-Century Trinitarian Theology* (Oxford, 2004).

or representations of Origen and the legacy of his Caesarean school.[34] Centuries later during iconoclasm Eusebius' views on imagistic representation would play a significant role, based on a letter purportedly sent by him to Constantia Augusta concerning physical images of Christ.[35]

This draws attention to the networks of meaning not only in his corpus, but also in his context, highlighting the particular *savoir* or episteme within which his discourse is constituted. It may not be unique to this era, but concerns over the nature and scope of representation loom large among the fathers. Understanding Eusebius' theology is facilitated through grasping the broader claims about the nature of representation made by contemporaries.[36] Central in this regard is how power represents itself across perceived divides or distances. These can be the temporal divides of history, as in forms of historical typology, distances of meaning between literal and spiritual senses in the text, institutional divides between empire and ecclesia, or ontological differences between God and creation.

As Jon Robertson's study explores, mediation between difference, and in particular ideas of image and representation, figure centrally in the theologies of Eusebius, Marcellus, and Athanasius, for instance.[37] Thus, in addition to the various types of representations Eusebius makes, we are clued into the importance of the nature representation itself for his thought when we consider, with Robertson, Eusebius' understanding of the Word. The role of identity and non-identity, and the insistence that the image be distinct from its prototype, serve Eusebius in constructing a model of the Logos as from and of God and yet distinct from the Father, interposed between the Father and creation.

That Constantine in turn images the Word and not the Father in immediate fashion reveals that we are on more complex ground than Peterson's older study has led us to believe, since strict monotheism does not ground Eusebius'

[34] For Eusebius on Origen and his school see Thomas C. Ferguson, *The Past is Prologue: The Revolution of Nicene Historiography* (Leiden, 2005).

[35] See, *e.g.*, Stephen Gero, 'The True Image of Christ: Eusebius' Letter to Constantia Reconsidered', *JTS* 32 (1981), 460-70; George Florovsky, 'Origen, Eusebius, and the Iconoclastic Controversy', *Church History* 19 (1950), 77-96.

[36] One example that bears theopolitical examination in this light is Athanasius' employment of the imperial image to justify honor of the Son as divine. Just as the image and emperor are one in the sense that honoring the former passes to the latter, so worship of the Son as divine can be equated to worshiping the Father. In justifying this Trinitarian formulation through rhetorical analogy, Athanasius gives important credence to the political use of imperial imagery, for his argument requires the reader's acceptance of and adherence to this form of imperial image worship. Bi-directionality here cannot be escaped, except by insertion of a new, explicit, theological-grammatical rule that states effectively that any support of present political arrangements by virtue of analogy is forbidden. But this would be to undermine the force of such analogy. These associations will bear out centuries later in iconoclastic controversy. See Athanasius, *Four Discourses Against the Arians* III 5.

[37] Jon M. Robertson, *Christ as Mediator: A Study of the Theologies of Eusebius of Caesarea, Marcellus of Ancyra, and Athanasius of Alexandria* (Oxford, 2007).

political theology. In other words, while Eusebius may fall short of the later established formulations of Trinitarian orthodoxy, his struggles to account for and include the divine Logos disrupt a monadic schema and place Constantine as somehow also under the Word's purview. One might be tempted to set forth a simple model of successive subordination, wherein Constantine images the Logos who images the Father, and in turn claim then that Constantine images the Father, thereby justifying condemnation of the imperialistic outcomes of strong monotheism.[38] But this would be to ignore Eusebius' insertion of the Logos as mediator, and thus to render its identity and difference meaningless and obsolete. The Word's location in this scheme of identity and non-identity means that whatever Constantine is doing, it is not simple correspondence. For Constantine at once appears as in the realm of creation, radically distinct from and subordinate to the Word, and yet is drawn into parallels with it, somehow reduplicating its mediating role. While the Word mediates the Father's reign and redemptive power to all of creation, Constantine mediates the Word's mediation. In a fractured and hybrid way he images both the Father, in terms of reign and authority, and the Logos, in terms of administering and dispensing redemptive economy. Foucauldian sensitivities to the discursive, epistemic context of Eusebius call attention to the complex work representation undertakes, inviting more nuanced consideration of the power claims being made.[39]

Foucauldian insights also in turn trouble representations of discursive agency in regard to Constantine, that is, the work he apparently does in Eusebius' texts and arguments. Johnson's aforementioned study claims that, for Eusebius, the Augustus-Christ parallel always functions to vindicate Christ as the agent of action and relegate Augustus to the means, keeping the focus on God's sovereign purposes.[40] Yet, in the case of Constantine this gets blurred and cannot be too swiftly maintained. For, while Constantine is formally construed in discourse as representative of and subordinate to the Word, his role within *textual power relations* is to substantiate theological claims (about God and the Word) as well. In other words, his very installation and vindication by God, as construed by

[38] This temptation is apparently indulged in P. Fletcher, *Disciplining the Divine* (2009), 99-100. See also Leonardo Boff, *Trinity and Society*, Theology and Liberation Series (Maryknoll, N.Y., 1988).

[39] No doubt much more must be said here to substantiate these intuitions. The point is to illustrate the possibilities for alternative interpretations when the antinomy between the theological and political is modulated. By no means am I suggesting that Eusebius did not intend a political theology, but that it was far more interesting and nuanced than much reception history has allowed. When reaction against this blending of theology and politics is mitigated, the work that Eusebian concepts are accomplishing might be better appreciated. Turning down the 'background noise', as it were, of alarmist response to and ensuing rejection of Eusebian theology, and hence producing a space for more 'neutral' assessment of his corpus, should certainly be consonant with even the most modernist of ideals of 'objective' analysis. I explore this relationship between Constantine, Logos and Father in detail in Devin Singh, 'Eusebius as Political Theologian: The Legend Continues', *HTR* (forthcoming).

[40] A. Johnson, *Ethnicity and Argument* (2006), 174-85.

Eusebius, provide the authoritative aura for Eusebian pronouncements, when Eusebius links himself to the imperial penumbra. It is as if to say, 'Glory be to the God who works in history and has installed Constantine, with whom I am in fellowship and one accord, such that my claims about this God are self-evidently true based on God's vindication of Constantine.' Constantine, himself authorized by God and the Word, becomes in turn their authorizer, through his self-evident political might.[41] A slippery circularity between the poles of Constantine and God, or the political and theological, helps construct a variety of statements about both. I am not claiming that this is disingenuous are somehow 'untrue'. Nor am I saying Eusebius bases the authority of his theologizing only or even primarily upon Constantine. A variety of other appeals to scripture, tradition, apostolic authority, and the authority of lists, can function in similar circuits. Yet, this theopolitical dynamic is readily discerned, inviting further consideration.

In Eusebius the interworkings of knowledge and power are particularly apparent and the source of much consternation. While both theology and politics are discourses that partake of this nexus, there has been a tendency to deny theology's operations in such networks. Claims are made about its ethereal objectivity, while political speech is allowed to partake of power in a much more naked way, as a necessary evil. Calumny cast upon Eusebius may stem from his persistent, unintentional reminder that theological speech is caught up with the political, and that this by extension reveals the power/knowledge link as operative in theology as well. Eusebius' representations, whether divine, historical, imperial, or ecclesial, are involved in complex negotiations, drawing on various authoritative discourses or practices, making use of knowledge to extend the claims of power, and relying on power to further knowledge. Representations of Eusebius are involved in the same processes, using certain modern rhetorics of power – objectivity, historical reliability, *etc*. – to employ Eusebius to serve various ends. One potential solution to the stumbling block that is Eusebius is approaching him with Foucauldian sensitivities. This need not entail a fundamental reworking of approaches or historiography, so much as a shift in tenor. The complex and profound interconnections between theology and the political, knowledge and power, that operate in his works might therefore show themselves forth. One might then offer a hospitality rather than a hostility toward the no doubt problematic legacy he has left behind.

[41] This dynamic is aptly illustrated, *e.g*., in Michael Hollerich's exploration of Eusebius' use of Constantine's victory at the Milvian Bridge. See Michael J. Hollerich, 'Myth and History in Eusebius's "De Vita Constantini": "Vit. Const. 1.12" in Its Contemporary Setting', *HTR* 82 (1989), 421-45. As Hollerich argues, Eusebius, in the face of pagan criticism and dismissal of the Exodus story as mythic, employs the purportedly more self-evident and factual events at the Bridge to authenticate and authorize the tale of Moses. It is as if to say: 'Unnamed doubters may have scouted the credibility of the Exodus story as a *mythos*, but Constantine's triumph has removed all doubt' (431). Political victory helps the exegesis of ancient biblical events. Rather than using biblical tropes to legitimate contemporary historical events, the dynamic is reversed, and the theological and political are blurred.

Practices of the Self and (Spiritually) Disciplined Resistance: What Michel Foucault Could Have Said about Gregory of Nyssa

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ABSTRACT

The 'third axis' of Michel Foucault's research – the development of an ethics of the self – appropriates various ancient accounts of subjectivity. Yet, Foucault has few remarks to offer on Gregory of Nyssa, whose depiction he dismisses as representing the Christian technology of pastoral power. However, from a certain vantage, Foucault and Gregory offer strikingly similar descriptions of the self in relation to its social context and the ascetical practices required for responsible subjectivity. This unsuspected rhyming, though it takes place across significant narrative disparities, itself suggests Foucauldian insights for reading across divides, whether historical, narrative, or otherwise. Investigating this similarity, therefore, both recommends and can itself perform this unlikely association.

When Michel Foucault turned his attention from the emergence of the modern discourse about sexuality (in his 1976 introduction to the *History of Sexuality*, *La volonté de savoir*) to practices of the self in the ancient world (in the second and third volumes, released in 1984), it seemed to his audiences that he had undergone an inexplicable change in outlook, responsible for generating conclusions discontinuous with his analysis of power in the mid- and late-1970s. Yet, as transcriptions of his courses from the Collège de France have been gradually released to the public, it is apparent that Foucault's genealogical and ethical phases[1] are deeply ramified with one another. Namely, the picture of subjectivity and power presented by Foucault's extension of his analysis from discourse to the apparatuses that perpetuate discourse – so often the object of complaints about cynicism or quietism for its totalizing character – finds its ethical frame in a retrieval of the ancient injunction to care for the self, now understood as the primary site for power's effects and, thereby, privileged as a means of resistance.

In this light, the student of patristics might naturally expect an engagement with Gregory of Nyssa, who uses the concept of the 'care of the self' in his exhortation to a life of chastity. Yet, that expectation would be disappointed: Foucault's

[1] For an explanation of these phases and the terms I have used to describe them, see Arnold Davidson, 'Archaeology, Genealogy, Ethics', in David Couzens Hoy (ed.), *Foucault: A Critical Reader* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, MA, 1986), 221.

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references to Gregory are few, brief, and dismissive. For reasons explored below, this represents a missed opportunity for Foucault, whose own description of such practices and admonitions to discursive charity might have opened a more fruitful encounter with Gregory.[2] I will argue that, given the disparity between their narrative situations – their basic convictions and methods of reflection – there exists a surprising resonance between the two thinkers' understandings of the impetus to practices of care of the self, the patterns and roles that structure such practices, and their political import. Once elaborated, this comparison between Foucault and Nyssen – highlighting the structural analogies between their accounts of subjectivity, though sensitive to their substantial differences – will suggest some Foucauldian methodological reflections on reading across such narrative disparities. It is my hope that, by implication, this argument therefore establishes the viability and outlines the features of two critical dispositions of a comparative character: first, that some of the procedures and insights of social and critical theory may be useful in developing or expositing a particular theological anthropology and account of responsible subjectivity; second, that one ought to be suspicious of comparative work across disciplinary or confessional lines that is exclusively contrastive. In this paper, both of these conclusions depend on the plausibility of the case for common cause and tactics – even amidst different motivations – between Gregory and Foucault.

Subjectivity and Society

The turn in analysis that distinguishes Foucault's work on power is the prioritization, in important respects, of power itself before subjects. For the purposes of Foucault's late work on subjectivity and spirituality, the constitution of subjects in relation to the multitude of dynamics of force figures centrally in the political dimension of practices of the self. Since this 'middle Foucault' of the 1970s is most likely to be known generally, there is no need to belabor the point: it is simple enough to see, in any case, how the extension of the dynamics of power/knowledge that Devin Singh has discussed in this collection of papers, when applied to self-knowledge, implicate one's very subjectivity in a complex ebb and flow of power relations.

That the self is constituted in and through its social relations is a view less frequently attributed to Nyssen, but arguably also true, at least on one valence of the human person. As Gregory describes the soul's ecstasy in travelling to God, he paints a picture of the self as entangled in the web of social practices and

[2] Let me state here at the outset that my claim is *not* that a Foucauldian ethics of the self demands such an encounter with Gregory, nor that Gregory's own ethic (or even a more generally Christian account of the self) need be explicated by Foucault to make sense of contemporary life. Rather, my claim is that the two viewpoints can draw out implications from each other in interesting and helpful ways that Foucault, in my estimation, neglects in his statements about Gregory's ethics and Christian technologies of the self.

habits. Much of his language suggests the intensely personal (for example, the casting down of the soul by its 'passionate disposition'[3]), but these psychological inclinations adhere to and dwell within social practices, such as choosing the 'common life'.[4] Gregory finds in the human situation desires that lead one both to invest oneself within the social hierarchy and to internalize anxieties about attachment, preservation, and death prevalent in late antiquity. 'The true "plunge", that accounted for the misery of the human condition', on Peter Brown's interpretation, 'was not that of the soul into the body; it was the plunge of the human person, body and soul together, into the present, fallen state of society.'[5] Appropriately, then, Gregory discerns a call for an exodus from the 'world':

> How do you, the living, listen to the Crucified One, the Healer of sin, when He orders us to follow Him and to carry the cross as a banner against the Adversary, if you are not crucified to the world and have not taken on the death of the flesh? How does the person 'conformed' to this age and not 'transformed in the newness' of his mind and not walking in the newness of this life, but following instead the sequence of the life of ancient man, obey Paul who commanded you to present your body as a sacrifice, living, holy, and pleasing to God?[6]

Indeed, embracing the new life just means, for Gregory, no longer being conformed to the present age, social dynamics and all.

The actual, material conditions of human society transmit themselves, in various ways, to the individual, leading both Gregory and Foucault to assert that the subjectivity we inherit unreflectively is unmistakably patterned by the world. That is to say, even though human sociality is a precondition for subjectivity at all, there is an impetus for the self to do ascetical work, specifically in light of its complicity in social problems as a result of sociality. Daily life must be intentionally examined, subjected to forms of discipline, and shaped in accordance with the defining marks of the individual.

The Care of the Self

I. *Reflexive Disciplines and Spiritual Exercises*

For Foucault, care of the self 'designates a number of actions exercised on the self by the self, actions by which one takes responsibility for oneself and by

[3] Gregory of Nyssa, 'On Virginity', in *St. Gregory: Ascetical Works*, The Fathers of the Church 58 (Washington, D.C., 1967), 2.2.11.

[4] Gregory of Nyssa, 'On Virginity' (1967), 3.1.12

[5] Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York, 1988), 301. Of course, by citing Brown, I am already drawing on an interpretation of Gregory influenced by Foucault; I do this advisedly, from the conviction that Brown's interpretation is defensible (if not exclusively so) on the basis of Gregory's texts themselves.

[6] Gregory of Nyssa, 'On Virginity' (1967), 23.9.74.

which one changes, purifies, transforms, and transfigures oneself'.[7] Foucault explains this by means of the distinction between philosophy and spirituality that David Newheiser elaborates in his introduction to this series. In the process of spiritual self-transformation, one intensifies 'the relation to oneself by which one [constituted] oneself as the subject of one's acts,' identifying one's agency more closely with oneself through habitual attention and practice.[8]

Foucault refers to Gregory's texts (and specifically *On Virginity*), anticipating the way in which the care of the self becomes 'a kind of matrix of Christian asceticism'.[9] Chapter XIII of *On Virginity* is entitled, 'That release from marriage is the beginning of caring for oneself.'[10] In this chapter, Gregory suggests that care of the self begins by a departure from this social form:

> If, then, we are going to return thence and be with Christ, we must begin at the point of deviation, just as those who have become separated from their own group on a journey, after they have retraced their own steps, talk, first of all, to those who are just leaving the spot at which they went astray. Since the point of departure from the life in paradise was the married state, reason suggests to those returning to Christ that they, first, give this up as a kind of early stage of the journey.[11]

Marriage as a social practice – which entangles one in desire, status, anxiety, and decay – was itself a deviation (or a significant symptom of it), and the remedy for the corrupt condition of human desire is a second, restorative deviation. The power of death rules the current age, of which alone marriage is a feature, and death perpetuates its rule by the cycle of reproduction and generation.[12] Practices of abstention, therefore, form a protest in the face of those powers, which ultimately seek to terrify humanity with the threat of death. Instead, Gregory argues, 'we must seek a kind of life which does not have death as its consequence. This is the life of virginity.'[13] There are moments of deep ambivalence toward marriage in Gregory's text: the question remains open whether or not one can practice 'virginity' strictly without or also within marriage.[14] Yet, the imperative to resistance remains.

[7] Michel Foucault, in Frédéric Gros (ed.), *The Hermeneutics of the Subject: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1981-1982* (New York, 2001), 11.

[8] Michel Foucault, *The Care of the Self: The History of Sexuality, volume 3* (New York, 1988), 41.

[9] M. Foucault, *The Hermeneutics of the Subject* (2001), 10.

[10] Gregory of Nyssa, 'On Virginity' (1967), 13.(Title).46.

[11] *Ibid.* 13.1.46.

[12] *Ibid.* 13.2.47.

[13] *Ibid.* 13.3.48.

[14] See, *e.g.*, Valerie A. Karras, 'A Reevaluation of Marriage, Celibacy, and Irony in Gregory of Nyssa's de virginitate', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 13 (2005), 111-21; Mark D. Hart, 'Gregory of Nyssa's Ironic Praise of the Celibate Life', *Heythrop Journal* 33 (1992), 1-19; Mark D. Hart, 'Reconciliation of Body and Soul: Gregory of Nyssa's Deeper Theology of Marriage,' *Theological Studies* 51 (1990), 450-78.

To implement this resistance, Gregory endorses a rigorous ascetical program. Those seeking readmission to paradise 'must cast aside the coverings of these ephemeral leaves of life and be once more under eyes of the Creator; they must disdain the deceptions of taste and sight; they must no longer have as their guides the poisonous serpent, but only the commandment of God'.[15] This entails practices of habitual attention toward the truly good and beautiful. Mere abstention is not the same as disciplined spirituality;[16] rather, a greater and more constant beauty is to be contemplated in place of earthly delights. Thus (*pace* Foucault's frequent protestations that Christian asceticism is simply 'self-renunciation'), the greater beauty displaces the lesser; care of the self entails focusing the will in order to direct one's attention to God without interruption.

Foucault highlights ascetical practices that run parallel to Gregory's prescriptions. Citing Plutarch and Epictetus, he notes that 'the purpose of these tests is not to practice renunciation for its own sake; it is to enable one to do without unnecessary things by establishing a supremacy over oneself that does not depend on their presence or absence'.[17] Interestingly, Gregory's ambivalent moments toward marriage have an analogue in a passage from Seneca's letters, also cited by Foucault. As Seneca wonders whether or not to participate in the Saturnalia of ancient Rome, he determines that, while it would be evidence of self-control to refrain, 'one would be acting with a still greater moral force if one did not withdraw oneself; the best thing would be "to do what the crowd does, but in a different way"'.[18] One could argue that Seneca's nonconformed participation and Gregory's wavering between affirmation and denial of forms of chastity within marriage come from a similar desire to keep spiritual practices from becoming mere self-denial, and instead to place self-denial as a moment in a process of self-possession and cleaving to the good. Likewise, and drawing on the same Stoic sources, Foucault also finds an imperative regarding attention, what he calls the 'conversion of the gaze'.[19] According to Foucault, these ancient practices involved 'calling for a teleological concentration … [and] keeping before our eyes, in the clearest way, that towards which we are striving and having, as it were, a clear consciousness of this aim, of what we must do to achieve it and the possibility of our achieving it'.[20] Foucault and Gregory underscore the role of the will, which is involved in holding that vision before the gaze: threats to those goods that shape us as subjects usually come not from adversaries advertised

[15] Gregory of Nyssa, 'On Virginity' (1967), 13.1.47.

[16] Indeed, Gregory calls excessive discipline itself a distraction from 'what is lofty and divine', inclining one 'towards toil and the wearing out of the flesh' in 'On Virginity' (22.1.66).

[17] M. Foucault, *The Care of the Self* (1988), 58.

[18] *Ibid*. 60.

[19] M. Foucault, *The Hermeneutics of the Subject* (2001), 217.

[20] *Ibid*. 222.

as such but rather from distractions, superfluities, and diversions. *Askēsis*, as Foucault concludes, is more a practice of truthfulness than of denial; it is a way of tethering oneself to the truth.

II. *The Dialogue between Master and Disciple*

Conversation, especially the conversation between a disciple (the subjectivity of whom is in question) and master (for whom it is not), proves to be an essential structure in this care of the self. A paradigm case of the exhortation to caring for oneself, in Foucault's analysis, is evident in Plato's *Alcibiades*, wherein Socrates attempts to call into question the readiness of the title character to rule the city. In Socrates' Athens, young men's superiors pursued them for various ends: pedagogical, erotic, political, *etc*. But 'they abandon them precisely at that critical age when, having left childhood behind and got away from the guidance and lessons of their schoolmasters, they need a guide to train them for this other, new thing for which they have received absolutely no training from their teaching: the practice of politics'.[21] Governance depends on governors with developed souls; such development requires certain forms of pedagogy that are not available through the usual media of education (or the unofficial relations of sexuality). Alcibiades is in a position where he must care for himself but, alas, does not know how to do so (or even that he should). After Alcibiades asks Socrates what he must know in order to govern well, Socrates must interrupt his expectations by turning his focus first inward. A certain grace is involved: the other, the master, must introduce reflexivity that was not initially present in the disciple.

As a result, Foucault's general description of the master-disciple relationship focuses on *parrhēsia*, 'frankness of speech'. For Foucault,

> What characterizes *parrhēsia* is [that it is] defined by the content itself – which, it goes without saying is given, is the truth – but that it is a specific, particular practice of true discourse defined by rules of prudence, skill, and the conditions that require one to say the truth at this moment, in this form, under these conditions, and to this individual inasmuch … as he is capable of receiving it, and receiving it best, at this moment in time. That is to say, what essentially defines the rules of *parrhēsia* is the kairos, the occasion, this being precisely the situation of individuals with regard to each other and to the moment chosen for saying this truth.[22]

Putting *parrhēsia* into practice requires a master, whose skill and sensitivity to the needs of the disciple and the context of speech enable a moment of transformation for the hearer. Once a certain relationship to the self is established, the subject becomes able to speak freely and independently. The master

[21] *Ibid*. 44.
[22] *Ibid*. 384.

simultaneously opens the disciple to the possibility of caring for himself and provides the conditions under which such care can issue forth in speech about the truth. Caring for oneself, therefore, is not an activity one could or ought to do on one's own.

Neither can one think of Gregory's ascetical practices without considering the role of the other, the master. The literary figure of his sister, Macrina, serves as an archetype for the ascetical master. It is clear enough that Macrina's relationship to her ascetical cohort is defined as master to her disciples; a reading of the *Life of St Macrina* through the eyes of Foucauldian *parrhēsia*, however, might focus instead on the role of the character of Gregory in the account. The character Gregory undergoes a certain kind of transformation over the course of the text. As a troubled younger brother at his sister's deathbed, Gregory finds much in his life's circumstances about which to complain, at which point Macrina reprimands him for his ingratitude.[23] After the reproach, Gregory finds himself 'wishing that the day might be lengthened so that [those present] could continue to enjoy the sweetness of her words.'[24] On the doorstep of death, she utters one last string of praises to God (her form of truth-telling) in the presence of the others.[25] Gregory mentions the grief that encompasses the room, including himself, until he begins to act differently: 'But when I recalled my soul from the depths, gazing intently at the holy head, and, as if I were rebuked for the disorderly conduct of the women, I said: "Look at her," shouting at the maidens in a loud voice, "and be mindful of the instructions she gave you for order and graciousness in everything."'[26] The positioning of this moment in the text so closely to the death of the central figure might suggest that it is part of the climactic scene: Gregory (the character) is now able to speak freely, to take up the mantle of Macrina's pedagogy in relation to the maidens. The imitation of Macrina has produced in Gregory the capacity to interrupt, to challenge, and to express the truth to which she herself bore witness. Tellingly, Gregory dedicates the final chapter of *On Virginity* to explaining the necessity of teaching in the development of ascetical practices. 'The novice', he writes, 'who is going to acquire the habit of virginity in accordance with convincing logic' must become the disciple of one who is 'truly alive and outstandingly beautiful in his movements'.[27] Thus, care of the self is not an attempt to escape from human sociality into 'self-centeredness'. On the contrary, human relationships can – in fact, must – be a part of the intensification of the subject's relationship to herself.

[23] Gregory of Nyssa, 'The Life of St. Macrina', in *St. Gregory: Ascetical Works*, The Fathers of the Church 58 (Washington, D.C., 1967), 178.
[24] *Ibid.*
[25] *Ibid.* 180-1.
[26] *Ibid.* 183.
[27] Gregory of Nyssa, 'On Virginity' (1967), 23.2.69.

III. *Care of the Self as Political Resistance*

Foucault is not optimistic about the possibility of success in rehabilitating discourses of the self, but makes explicit what we could hope for in such discourses:

> I think we may have to suspect that we find it impossible today to constitute an ethic of the self, even though it may be an urgent, fundamental, and politically indispensible task, if it is true after all that there is no first or final point of resistance to political power other than in the relationship one has to oneself … [W]hat I mean is this: if we take the question of power, of political power, situating it in the more general question of governmentality … if we understand by governmentality a strategic field of power relations in their mobility, transformability, and reversibility, then I do not think that reflection on this notion of governmentality can avoid passing through, theoretically and practically, the element of a subject defined by the relationship of self to self.[28]

Power works on the body to form subjects; subjects can, therefore, invest in bodily life in ways that reimagine and alter their own subjectivity. Conversion to oneself – becoming a thing known to oneself – means no less than awareness of those formative influences that constitute oneself as a particular subject, and agency in cooperation with or resistance to those influences. If power's domain is primarily those desires, habits, thoughts, and other dispositions which animate the subject's body, and not the laws or official institutions of state authority, then practices of the self can be a method for inspired resistance of power and its effects in light of one's own complicity.

Gregory likewise is haunted by power: not by a state apparatus, but by the powers that weave themselves into our daily lives: fear, attachment, sin, and, finally, death. To overcome this power through work on the body is to open oneself to liberation, with the aid of grace. Gregory prescribes care of oneself as a remedy to the usual human evasions of the good, complicit with this power.[29] His hope is that the power of death will be broken – proleptically by *askēsis* and ultimately by Christ – a hope dependent on chastening desires such that neither fuel nor victims are provided for its constant blaze.[30] 'It was by the accumulation of wealth', Brown perceives in summarizing Gregory's underlying anxieties, 'by the retaining of power, above all, by marriage and the search for direct and palpable continuity in the form of sons and daughters, with all the social arrangements which dynastic continuity implied for members of the upper classes, that human beings sought to remedy the discontinuities inflicted on them by death.'[31] Political dynamics, economic classes, and psychological dispositions all congeal around the confrontation the subject has with his own

[28] M. Foucault, *The Hermeneutics of the Subject* (2001), 252.
[29] See, *e.g.*, Gregory of Nyssa, 'On Virginity' (1967), 3.3.14.
[30] Gregory of Nyssa, 'On Virginity' (1967), 14.1.49.
[31] Peter Brown, *The Body and Society* (1988), 301.

anxiety in the face of the power of death, and response in the arena of reflexive spirituality. If one is to refuse the demands of the powers of the current age, one cannot do so without a spiritual discipline of the body.

The soul's return to God through Christ must, inevitably, return through the ways, for good and for ill, that it has been formed as a subject by its various relationships. This means rendering oneself constantly open to the gaze of oneself, the other, and, ultimately, God, in order to know and be known. To speak freely, to lay oneself bare: these things aid the subject in constituting himself actively, imagining ways of living differently in the world, and conforming the self to a new model. If this is true, then no divide can be posited between body and soul, between the 'political' and the 'religious', between mundane existence and spiritual life, for the most minute and banal moments of human life are a crossroads at which the subject will decide to exercise care for the self, or not.

Reading across Divides

I hope it is now clear that the significant amount of conceptual territory shared between these two unlikely figures is fertile for substantive reflection on subjectivity. Yet Foucault, though he spent the last years of his life intently focused on antiquity and on these concerns, has few thoughts to offer on Gregory. Among a few passing references, Foucault's most substantive treatment of Gregory came in his last series of lectures at the Collège de France. Foucault here notes that Gregory's attempt to find prelapsarian humanity within oneself is *parrhēsia* transfigured, a dialogue between human and God, characterized by 'openness of heart, immediate presence, and direct communication'.[32] Thus, the 'courage of truth' is associated with martyrdom: 'One can have this courage of truth only insofar as one embeds it, roots it in a relationship of trust in God which brings us closest to Him, in a sort of face-to-face encounter which recalls, up to a point at least, the first face-to-face encounter of man with his Creator. That is the positive core of this term *parrhēsia*.'[33] Yet this single substantial paragraph is peppered with hesitations and qualifications: twice Foucault asserts Gregory's similarity on this score with certain Cynics, as if to accredit Gregory by appeal to their authority,[34] and the following paragraph warns that the 'increasing stress on obedience in Christian life, in Christian practice and institutions' will obscure this parrhesisiastic impetus, replacing its confident address of God with 'trembling

[32] Michel Foucault, in Frédéric Gros (ed.), *The Courage of Truth (The Government of Self and Others II): Lectures at the Collège de France, 1983-1984* (Basingstroke and New York, 2011), 332-3.

[33] *Ibid.* 333.

[34] *Ibid.* 332.

obedience'.[35] In what follows, I will conclude with some reflections on why Foucault should have had more to say about Gregory.

Having documented the forms of pastoral power that he took to be endemic to Christianity, Foucault might well have claimed justification to dismiss Christian practices of the self (as rendering the self subject to the gaze of the confessor, or internalizing alien discourses about the self, or surrendering the ethical task to an established 'law', *etc*.). This would account for Foucault's many summary statements about Christianity and theology, most of which are dismissive (such as, in the case of Gregory, care of the self finally consisting in mere self-renunciation[36]). Yet, as Foucault knew all too well, the disciplinary boundaries that we tend to take as fixed and natural are often the results of the same fluctuations of power that generate subjects. If this is the case, then one of the tasks confronting the academic who takes seriously the impetus to care for the self as a means of creative and imaginative resistance is cultivating a suspicion of the 'givenness' of inherited intellectual categories and identities (just as one renders visible, and therefore revisable, the forms of sexual relationship, friendship, and political relations). On this score, Foucault would have done well to push beyond such summary statements, however valid they are for certain instances of Christian phenomena.

To read across such a narrative divide is not simply to reiterate or to appropriate the methods and conclusions one encounters; even with regard to the Greeks investigated in the second and third volumes of the *History of Sexuality*, Foucault disclaimed the notion of 'looking for an alternative' in 'the solution of another problem raised at another moment by other people'.[37] Indeed, careful forms of reserve – attentive to historical and linguistic difference, aware of disparate narrative situation – always apply. Rather, the challenge lies in doing for academic traditions what Foucault suggests alternative sexualities do for forms of relationship:

> Another thing to distrust is the tendency to relate the question of homosexuality to the problem of 'Who am I?' and 'What is the secret of my desire?' Perhaps it would be better to ask oneself, 'What relations, through homosexuality, can be established, invented, multiplied, and modulated?' The problem is not to discover in oneself the truth of one's sex, but, rather, to use one's sexuality henceforth to arrive at a multiplicity of relationships.[38]

We might be inspired to ask Foucault: what forms of *intellectual* relations can be established, invented, multiplied, and modulated? What effects would they

[35] *Ibid*. 333.

[36] Michel Foucault, 'The Ethics of the Concern for Self as a Practice of Freedom', in Paul Rabinow (ed.), *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth* (New York, 1997), 288.

[37] Michel Foucault, 'On the Genealogy of Ethics', in P. Rabinow (ed.), *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth* (1997), 256.

[38] Michel Foucault, 'Friendship as a Way of Life', in P. Rabinow (ed.), *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth* (1997), 135.

have on the communities invested in them? What would it look like to do research, checked as it must be by various types of concern for accuracy, with an eye to new possibilities and combinations? How would one have to regard oneself as an academic with regard to one's ideological opponents in order to do so? Though these questions admit of an endless range of possible answers, they elicit the possibility of unnatural associations – such as that between Foucault and Gregory – that challenge or overturn the presumed primacy of certain narrative differences (such as who or what, if anything, answers to the address of 'God') in favor of unexpected and unforeseen convergences.[39] The methodological insight of Foucault's ethical phase – underappreciated in comparison with his methodological insights into investigations of power – is the suspicion that these associations might reveal the presuppositions occluding our analytic or disciplinary judgments.

I turn to Foucault for what I take to be a good summary of this final observation:

> What is tiresome in ideological arguments is that one is necessarily swept away by the 'model of war.' That is to say that when you find yourself facing someone with ideas different from your own, you are always led to identify that person as an enemy (of your class, your society, *etc.*) … What is more serious: acting out a struggle against the 'enemy,' or investigating, together or perhaps divergently, the important problems that are posed?[40]

If the comparative claims above outline a plausible portrait of subjectivity and the practices that can, in part, shape it, and if both Gregory and Foucault could endorse such a portrait for their own divergent reasons, then we can say that perhaps Foucault ought to have taken this advice of his to mean that Gregory's description of practices of the self were worth more of his attention. Whether or not Foucault missed such an opportunity to investigate, along with Gregory, practices of the self as a means of resistance, this call for discursive peaceableness is best understood, I think, as a self-disciplinary practice for the academic unsatisfied with the way our disciplinary lines are usually drawn.

[39] Here I have in mind something inspired by, though not identical to, André Breton's well-known definition of Surrealism as a belief in 'the superior reality of certain forms of previously neglected associations, in the omnipotence of dream, in the disinterested play of thought' (*Manifesto of Surrealism* [Ann Arbor, 1972], 26). It is perhaps worth mention here that Foucault identified fascinations akin to those of the Surrealists, especially René Magritte, with whom he corresponded and about whose work, *La trahison des images*, he wrote a substantial essay.

[40] Michel Foucault, *Remarks on Marx: Conversations with Duccio Trombadori* (New York, 1991), 180-1.

Patristics after Foucault: Genealogy, History and the Question of Justice

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Abstract

This article responds to David Newheiser's contribution, 'Foucault and the Practice of Patristics', Rick Elgendy's 'Practices of the Self, Reading Across Divides: What Michel Foucault Could Have Said about Gregory of Nyssa' and Devin Singh's 'Disciplining Eusebius: Discursive Power and Representation of the Court Theologian'. It discusses two key distinctions within Foucault's work: that between genealogy and archaeology, and that between genealogy and pedigree, arguing that while patristics is always an analysis and practice of power, it has a complex relationship to the role of history as a source of authority. It discusses the way that Foucault's work highlights the complex relationship between past and present within patristics, which uses the past to change the present yet draws on the present to rewrite the past and, suggests that the question of the relationship between power, oppression and justice points towards the limitations of Foucault's thought as an approach to the study of patristics.

In responding to Newheiser, Elgendy and Singh's articles on Foucault and patristics, I will highlight some of the key themes which have emerged through these and and outline some of the broader questions they point to about the role of Foucault's thought in relation to the practice of patristics, with the goal of opening up some lines of inquiry for future work on the relationship between Foucault and patristics.

David Newheiser's introductory article, 'Foucault and the Practice of Patristics' highlighted the key Foucauldian themes which emerge consistently throughout all three contributions: the way that knowledge emerges and interacts with power, and the way that these discourses shape and are shaped by individuals. This article will discuss Foucault's concept of 'genealogy', which encapsulates some of the key shifts in thinking that Foucault's work demands – as illustrated by the preceding articles – and which highlights some of the questions which are implied but not fully articulated by those others. I want to suggest that there are two key oppositions in play: firstly, the opposition between genealogy and archaeology; and secondly the opposition between genealogy and pedigree.

First, then, genealogy and archaeology, both of which are terms used by Foucault to describe his distinctive approach to history. The two terms represent

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two distinct phases of Foucault's self-understanding. 'The archaeology of knowledge' is the term the early Foucault uses to describe his approach to historiography. But it is an image which has serious limitations, and is evocative of the very historians Foucault critiques: digging away in the dust of the past to unearth the foundations of ancient structures so that the artefacts of long-gone and alien cultures can be more accurately classified and categorised, and gaggles of schoolchildren can wander disinterestedly around ancient ruins. What is missing is the crucial role of power both in the things which are dug up and in the practice of digging itself. The notion of genealogy captures this aspect more effectively. Unlike archaeology, genealogy is always about power: it is always something that implicates us, always about the struggle over which story we will tell to understand who we are and where we came from. Genealogy always traces a line from the past to the present, and in our ancestry we find heroes to emulate, mad aunts to be locked away in attics and, as Singh's paper suggested, 'idiot nephews' to be sent outdoors to play while the grown-ups have serious conversations. Foucault himself made the shift from the language of archaeology to that of genealogy following a mid-career engagement with Nietzsche, claiming that Nietzsche's work had enabled him to consciously articulate the (previously latent) centrality of power to his approach. After this period of working on Nietzsche, Foucault never spoke about archaeology again.[1] This notion of history as genealogy is particularly appropriate for patristics which is, after all, the study of the fathers; and Newheiser, Elgendy and Singh's articles have all amply illustrated that patristics is closer to genealogy than to archaeology. Foucault says that he writes history because he is interested in 'writing the history of the present';[2] Virginia Burrus says of patristics that 'to retell the history of doctrine is to rewrite theology'.[3] This is as much the case for us as it was for Athanasius: patristics is always a study of power in the past and a practice of power in the present.

But genealogy can be placed in opposition to another concept, that of pedigree, and this opposition poses a more serious problem for the practice of patristics in general, and the articles gathered together here in particular. In an essay on Nietzsche, Foucault distinguishes between two different sorts of origins: *Ursprung* and *Herkunft*.[4] The pursuit of *Ursprung* is the 'attempt to capture the exact essence of things … a timeless and essential secret'; the pursuit of *Herkunft* is the work of genealogy, and what it finds that there is no essence, that 'historical beginnings are lowly', that 'what is found at the historical beginning

[1] Alan Sheridan, *Michel Foucault: The Will to Truth* (London, 1980), 116.

[2] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Harmondsworth, 1991), 31.

[3] In *Begotten Not Made: Conceiving Manhood in Late Antiquity* (Stanford, 2000), 4.

[4] As discussed in Raymond Geuss, 'Nietzsche, Genealogy, History', *European Journal of Philosophy* 16 (1994), 274-92, 277.

of things is not the inviolable identity of their origin [but] their disparity.'[5] Raymond Geuss describes this distinction as the difference between pedigree and genealogy. Pedigree searches for a pure origin from which all value originates, and looks for an unbroken line of inheritance; by contrast, genealogy says that there is no such thing as a pure origin: all we find at the beginning of the history of the things we value are contingency, power struggles, violence and delusions.[6] While all of the articles here have fallen clearly on the side of genealogy as opposed to archaeology, of power as opposed to objectivity or neutrality, they exhibit a more complex relationship to the opposition of genealogy and pedigree which in turn is symptomatic of one of the broader questions that Foucault's work poses for patristics. Newheiser's introduction highlighted the way that the history of the emergence of Nicene orthodoxy was more ambiguous than suggested by Athanasius' straightforward pedigree; yet he acknowledges his own sympathy for Athanasius' formulations. Singh discussed the inextricable connection of politics and theology in the work of Eusebius; yet wanted to keep open the possibility that this connection was something to be valued rather than decried.

I think this is indicative of a broader tension within both patristics and the contemporary critical thought to which Foucault and others give birth. The Slovenian philosopher Slavoj Žižek points out that while the Enlightenment set out to establish a notion of truth which was independent of the authority of its speaker, a truth which was objective, verifiable, and universal, the most powerful critiques of the ideological blindness to which this dream gave rise are precisely those which rely on the authority of founding figures: psychoanalysis, Marxism, and the more general field of critical theory to which Foucault belongs. Genealogy and pedigree paradoxically coincide in a set of approaches which is at its most fruitful when it is most dogmatically faithful to its founding texts.[7] I would suggest, then, that this tension between pedigree and genealogy, between authority and critique, is perhaps particularly characteristic of the post-Enlightenment world of thought within which both we and Foucault belong. Yet I also want to suggest more broadly that the same tension is constitutive of Christian theology itself. The Christian narrative begins with the garden of Eden, a pure origin from which we are expelled; and yet the way back to Eden is barred by an angel with a flaming sword. After Eden comes a clear line of descent: Adam and Eve, who disobeyed God; Abraham, who didn't trust God's promises and twice offered his wife to other men; Isaac, who was fooled by his wife and son; Jacob, who tricked his brother out of his inheritance; King David, who committed adultery and murder; King Solomon, who worshipped

[5] Cited in *ibid.* 279.

[6] *Ibid.* 277.

[7] Slavoj Žižek, *Enjoy Your Symptom! Jacques Lacan in Hollywood and out* (New York and London, 2008), 116-20.

false gods; St Peter, who betrayed Jesus; and so on and so on. Given such a mixed lineage, it is perhaps surprising that issues such as Eusebius' proximity to Constantine should continue to prove so vexing. And yet the wager of Christian theology, of patristics, is that faithfulness to this lineage is more productive than mere critique, that it continues in some sense to carry authority for us.

This tension between pedigree and genealogy also plays into wider questions of the relationship between past and present, between patristics and the rest of theology, and between patristics and contemporary philosophy. Again, this theme is one which resurfaces throughout Newheiser, Elgendy and Singh's discussions. Singh mentioned Lewis Ayres' argument that patristic theology makes ad hoc use of cultural and philosophical tools in the service of biblical reflection; Ayres goes on to contrast this approach with that of modern theology which, he claims, conforms a priori to those cultural and philosophical tools. I think that both the form and the content of the articles here highlight just how problematic that claim is, and suggest a more complex interaction between past and present, patristics and theology, Athens and Jerusalem. All of the articles show how the tools Foucault gives us enable fresh perspectives on the past which bring to light certain things which might otherwise go unnoticed. Newheiser's article went some way towards unpicking the narrative of a univocal tradition of orthodoxy; Elgendy demonstrated the way that Foucault might help to understand Gregory's asceticism as a challenge not only to the individual but to the discipline of patristics; and Singh used Foucault to expose the interests which have led contemporary scholars to misread the interaction between Eusebius' theological and political works. But none of these articles was so straightforward as an attempt to squeeze the past into a Foucauldian framework; and Foucault himself is a descendant of those fathers upon whom his thought has been set to work. His work not only draws on and deals with patristic thinkers such as Gregory of Nyssa but is also, more generally, an attempt to grapple with the philosophical legacy of Christian Europe.

Singh's article discussed the interaction between Eusebius' political hermeneutics and his scriptural exegesis, arguing for the existence of a hermeneutical circle in which politics shapes exegesis and exegesis shapes politics. I want to suggest, as one possible answer to the question of what should be the relationship between past and present, patristics and theology, Athens and Jerusalem, a similar hermeneutical circle: it is not just that, as Foucault says, studying the past enables us to write the history of the present, but that the study of the present enables us to write the history of the past; not just that, as Burrus says, 'to retell the history of doctrine is to rewrite theology', but that the present enables us to retell the history of the past, and to rewrite theology is to retell the history of doctrine. Slavoj Žižek discusses the notion of 'redemption through repetition', arguing, in the context of Marxist politics, that a successful revolution changes not only the future but also the past: when one revolution succeeds, preceding failed attempts are transformed from mere historical dead

ends into precursors, augurs, forebears of the successful revolution.[8] This is, in some ways, a variation of the idea that the dead live on in their descendants, that children may bring shame or honour to their ancestors. Aquinas would have meant something different if history had ended with the scholastics; as the father of *nouvelle théologie* or of Radical Orthodoxy, he becomes almost a new man; and I think we can be confident that the last word on Aquinas has yet to be spoken. This retrospective influence raises all sorts of questions for the practice of patristics: what does it mean to appeal to the authority of tradition if that tradition is something which is shaped by as well as shaping us? What does it mean to honour our ancestors, and how can they speak if they are always being spoken (for)?

Finally, Newheiser, Elgendy and Singh have all offered fairly optimistic discussions of Foucault's emphasis on the creative role of power. Newheiser highlighted the creativity involved in the process of setting the limits of Christian community and acceptable Christian practice both in the process of early Christian doctrinal debates and in contemporary readings of those debates. He argued that a fuller understanding of this process through the sort of historical practice Foucault makes possible enables us to rework the relations of power within which we are caught. Singh exposed the mutually constitutive roles of politics and theology within Eusebius' work and stressed that this mutual implication is not necessarily something to be feared. He rightly emphasised that Eusebius is far from the only theologian to be embroiled in politics. Elgendy's article was more concerned with the question of the practices which enable individuals and communities to disentangle themselves from the web of power relations, and ended by calling for a discursive peaceableness across disciplinary borders.

I want to sound a more pessimistic note than this. That power is productive does not mean it is not also oppressive. As has been hinted at but not particularly emphasised, sometimes what power creates is a zone of powerlessness, a class of people who are silenced and abused. The construction of doctrinal boundaries creates categories of heretics; the construction of ecclesiastical hierarchies represented a gradual exclusion of almost an entire gender from positions of authority within the church. Defenders of Eusebius have been keen to dissociate him from Constantine not simply because they fear that politics contaminates theology but because of real concerns about Constantine's particular politics. Elgendy is right that an antagonistic model of interaction between different groups can be destructive and pointless. Foucault, Newheiser, Elgendy and Singh are right that knowledge and power are inseparable, and that the world cannot be straightforwardly divided into those who have power and those who do not. But there is also an important strand of the inheritance of Christian thought which emphasises that sometimes the rich get rich by making others

[8] Slavoj Žižek, *The Parallax View* (Cambridge, Mass., 2009), 78.

poor; that the powerful exercise power by taking it from others, and that the knowledgeable maintain their knowledge by keeping it from the ignorant. Sometimes there is a demand for justice, for righteousness, that is simple enough to cut through the complex webs of power and knowledge. And this brings us full circle, because this demand depends for its authority on the claim to a pedigree, not to a genealogy, on the claim to speak, to demand justice, in the name of God, of universal truth, of authority. I wonder if it is here that Foucault falls short.

To summarise, some of the questions that these articles open up are as follows: what is the relationship within patristics between genealogy and pedigree, between the critique of history and of origins and the appeal to the authority of history and of origins? What is the relationship between past and present, patristics and theology, Athens and Jerusalem? And finally, how are we to balance the recognition of the complexity of the interactions between power and knowledge with the demand for justice? None of these are new questions, but Newheiser, Elgendy and Singh have offered valuable insights and fresh perspectives which promise to propel us towards further fruitful discussions.

Patristic Studies in Latin America

Los Estudios Patrísticos en Latinoamérica: pasado, presente y futuro

Patricia Andrea CINER, Argentina

ABSTRACT

Latin America has always been characterized as a continent of hope. Sometimes this hope has been taken as a weakness or insufficiency as regards other places in the world. On the contrary the true strength of Latin-America is related to its active potential understood as the capacity of realization. This definition can be totally applied to the Patristic Studies since the diversity of publications, translations and research projects referred to the patristic area have multiplied in an enormous way in the last fifteen years. This phenomenon has become particularly evident in countries such as Chile, Argentina and Brazil. To a lesser degree, it can also be seen in Colombia and Venezuela. It is worth mentioning that the other fundamental note in the Patristic Studies in Latin America is the paradigm from which these studies have been done and which can be defined as: Unity and Diversity in Patristic. In general the beginnings of these activities have been marked by outstanding specialists who have formed a community of disciples. This has been particularly the case of Chile and Argentina.

1. Introducción

América Latina ha sido siempre caracterizada como un continente de esperanza. A veces se ha confundido esta esperanza con debilidad o insuficiencia con respecto a otros lugares del mundo. Muy por el contrario la verdadera fortaleza de América Latina está relacionada con su potencia activa (δύναμις) entendida como capacidad de realización. Esta definición debe ser totalmente aplicable a los Estudios Patrísticos, ya que la diversidad de publicaciones, traducciones y proyectos de investigación referidos al ámbito patrístico se han multiplicado de una manera notable en los últimos quince años. Este fenómeno se ha hecho muy evidente en países como Chile, Argentina y Brasil. En menor medida, pueden registrarse en otros países como Colombia y Venezuela. Cabe agregar que la otra nota distintiva fundamental de los Estudios Patrísticos en Latinoamérica es el paradigma desde el cual han sido abordado estos estudios y que puede ser sintéticamente definido como: "Unidad y Diversidad en la Patrística". En general los procesos de inicio de estas actividades, han estado signadas por notables especialistas que han formado comunidad de discípulos. Éste ha sido fundamentalmente el caso de Chile y Argentina. Comenzaremos

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entonces, con la historia del proceso de formación de los Estudios Patrísticos en Chile.

2. Los Estudios Patrísticos en Chile

Un relato muy conmovedor del P. Zañartu escrito en un artículo publicado en una revista chilena de prestigio internacional como es *Teología y Vida*, será el hilo conductor de esta historia, que tiene una inmensa proyección en nuestro actual presente, hoy en Oxford. Relataba en efecto el P. Zañartu:

> Sorpresivamente llegó a la Facultad de Teología una carta soñadora de Oscar Velásquez, quien hacía su Master sobre Platón, en Cambridge, Inglaterra. Proponía organizar seminarios patrológicos abiertos del tipo de los congresos patrísticos en Oxford. Recuerdo que me sonreí escéptico. Pero el sueño, aguijoneado por el entusiasmo del profesor Velásquez, pudo más que la realidad y desató su propia dinámica. Hasta la fecha, las Facultades de Filosofía y Teología ya han organizado cinco seminarios de Estudios Patrísticos. El primero se realizó en 1977[1].

En este relato del P. Zañartu escrito en 1999, se encontraban sintetizados el pasado, el presente y probablemente el futuro de nuestros hermanos patrólogos chilenos. Comencemos con el pasado. El P. Zañartu había llegado en 1967 a la Facultad de Teología, luego de haber estudiado en París. Ya en Chile, realizó bajo la guía del profesor Ochagavía su tesis doctoral sobre Ignacio de Antioquía. Con su acostumbrado entusiasmo, el P. Zañartu introdujo nuevas metodologías en el estudio de los Padres y fue así que los alumnos comenzaron a profundizar en el estudio de un Padre a su elección. El resultado fue por supuesto excelente, ya que en un currículo relativamente inflexible y un poco escolar, este método despertó un vivo interés en varios alumnos. Este método fue continuado por otra de las personas clave en esta historia: la Hma Anneliese Meiss. Al respecto y con una dulzura que no deja de conmover para quienes conocemos a los actores de esta historia el P. Zañartu agrega:

> Antes de continuar quiero destacar la gran bendición de Dios que ha sido la docencia e investigación de la profesora Anneliese Meis, quien se ha convertido en la madre de los estudios patrológicos en nuestra facultad.

La Hma Anneliese, realizó su tesis doctoral en Chile en "La fórmula de fe 'Creo en el Espíritu Santo' en el siglo II" y su tarea como formadora fue inmensa: dirigió numerosísimas tesis sobre Patrística en autores como: Orígenes, Gregorio de Nisa, Dionisio Aeropagita. Actualmente es la directora del Doctorado en Teología de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.

[1] S. Zañartu, 'El estudio de los Padres de la Iglesia en la Facultad de Teología desde 1967 hasta el presente. Impresiones', *Teología y Vida* 40 (1999), 439-44.

Sin lugar a dudas el P. Zañartu y la Hma Anneliese Meis fueron los padres de esta importante tarea, a las que le sumó la pujante iniciativa de Oscar Velásquez, quien además de ser un notable especialista en san Agustín creó en un esfuerzo conjunto de la Facultad de Filosofía y Teología, el círculo "Platónico Patrístico", que se reunía regularmente a leer y hacer detenida exégesis de textos de Platón y de los Padres. A estos tres nombres claves que formaron una casi "trinidad patrística", es necesario agregar la de una nueva generación de patrólogos, cuyo nivel de producción tanto en docencia, en investigación como en publicación ha sido excelente: el Pbro. Dr. Samuel Fernández, quien realizó su tesis de Licenciatura y Doctorado en el Institutum Patristicum Augustinianun sobre Orígenes (Cristo médico según Orígenes) y ha realizado importantes traducciones al castellano de la obra del maestro alejandrino, así como también ha continuado con la tarea de organizar los Seminarios Internacionales de Patrística, el Pbro. Dr Rodrigo Polanco con una tesis realizada en Chile, bajo la dirección del P. Zañartu sobre *La encarnación en el Adversus Haereses de San* Ireneo, la Dra. Eva Reyes doctorada en la Fac. de Teología de la PUC con una tesis sobre Gregorio de Nisa, Pamela Chavez de la Fac. de Filosofía y Humanidades de la Universidad de Chile con una tesis sobre San Agustín, Cristian Sotomayor, Claudio Pierantoni, la Dra. Giannina Burlando etc. Cabe agregar que ya a partir de la década de los años 70, los patrólogos de Chile estuvieron representados en la AIEP, lo que les permitió estar actualizados con las últimas publicaciones y eventos académicos que se hacían en el mundo. A modo de apretada síntesis podemos resumir las fortalezas con que cuentan los Estudios Patrísticos en Chile: la mejor biblioteca en América Latina, una Maestría en Teología con una mención en patrística, que es la primera creada en Latinoamérica, la realización de siete Seminarios Internacionales de Patrística que han permitido tanto el encuentro de especialistas de América latina, como la presencia de académicos de varios lugares del mundo, numerosísimos artículos publicados sobre patrística en revistas muy prestigiosas como *Teología y Vida*, *Diadokhé*, *Seminario de Filosofía*.

3. Los Estudios Patrísticos en Argentina

En el caso de la Argentina, nuestra breve síntesis de las actividades patrísticas de investigación colectiva en este país, debe remontarse a comienzos de la década de los setenta, en el momento en que los doctores Francisco García Bazán y José Pablo Martín publican sus tesis de Licenciatura en Filosofía y Doctorado en Teología, respectivamente sobre: *Gnosis. La esencia del dualismo gnóstico* (1971, 2ª. ed. revisada y ampliada, Editorial Castañeda, San Antonio de Padua – Buenos Aires –, 1978) y *El Espíritu Santo en los orígenes del cristianismo* (Zurich, 1971), para iniciar poco después las relaciones institucionales con la AIEP.

Ambos estudiosos de la Patrística y su contexto tardo-antiguo, se habían formado en la Argentina y en Roma con eminentes maestros, Antonio Orbe S.I. (Gregoriana) y Vincenzo Loi (Pontificia Università Salesiana). Los dos especialistas asimismo son autores de una reconocida producción internacional centrada en el área del gnosticismo por parte de García Bazán y en el campo de los PP. apostólicos y apologistas del siglo II y de los escritores eclesiásticos alejandrinos, extendiéndose a Filón el Judío, en el caso de J.P. Martín.

Francisco García Bazán es uno de los pioneros en el orden mundial y de los introductores en los mundos de habla española y portuguesa de las versiones de los códices en copto de la Biblioteca de Nag Hammadi: «Sobre la resurrección (Epístola a Reginos)», trad., intr. y notas, en *Revista Bíblica* 38 (1976), 147-78, los *Textos gnósticos. Biblioteca de Nag Hammadi*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1997, 1999 y 2000) y *Biblioteca de Nag Hammadi I-II-III* (Lisboa, 2005), en coedición con Antonio Piñero y J. Montserrat Torrents, y asimismo traductor del *Papiro Beroliensis 8502*, el *Códice de Bruce,* el *Códice de Askew*, *La gnosis eterna. Antología de textos gnósticos griegos, latinos y coptos*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 2003 y 2007) y *El evangelio de Judas* (Madrid, 2006). Es igualmente traductor del griego y del latín y comentarista de autores y escritos insoslayables en el desarrollo de la patrística: Numenio de Apamea, *Oráculos Caldeos*, Plotino, neopitagóricos, herméticos y Filón de Alejandría. José P. Martín por su parte, es el editor de Teófilo de Antioquía, *A Autólico* (Madrid, 2004) y el director de la edición de Filón de Alejandría, *Obras Completas* (Madrid, 2009, 2010, 2011, en progreso).

Los dos estudiosos citados, así como también el Dr. Héctor Padrón, Profesor Emérito de Historia de la Filosofía Medieval de la Universidad Nacional de Cuyo (Mendoza), han desarrollado una labor sobresaliente en la iniciación y consolidación de la investigación y el desarrollo de los estudios patrísticos en las universidades y centros de estudio de alta capacitación de la Argentina, espacio en el que han dejado una huella profunda mediante la dirección de tesis de doctorandos, proyectos de investigación y formación de discípulos que se desempeñan como profesores e investigadores en casas de altos estudios en toda la amplia geografía del país:

Dr. Francisco García Bazán ha formado y dirigido a los siguientes especialistas: Dra. Patricia, Ciner, *Orígenes* (San Juan); Dr. José María Nieva, *Dionisio Areopagita* (Tucumán), Dr. Claudio Calabrese, *san Agustín* (La Plata), Dr. Juan Carlos Alby, *san Ireneo y los gnósticos* (Santa Fe); Lic. Graciela Ritacco, *Corpus Dionysiacum y Proclo* (La Plata); Lic. Marta Cristina Simeone, *san Agustín* (Buenos Aires), Lic. Leandro Pinkler, *los misterios y los PP*., J.B. García Bazán, *los gnósticos* (Buenos Aires). A su vez la mayoría de estos especialistas, ya están dirigiendo en sus tesis doctorales a una nueva generación de patrólogos

Dr. José Pablo Martín: Dr. Marcelo Boeri, el estoicismo y los Padres (Santiago de Chile), Dra. Marta Alesso, Padres apostólicos y Filón (Universidad Nacional de La Pampa)

Prof. Héctor Padrón ha colaborado en la formación del Dr. Rubén Peretó Rivas, quien es director del CEFIM (centro de Estudios Filosóficos Medievales) y que está realizando una excelente tarea tanto a nivel de organización de congresos en Estudios Medievales y Patrísticos, en dirección de becarios y doctorandos, etc.

También es necesario mencionar el importante trabajo académico y de investigación que se realiza en la Universidad Católica Argentina, con sede en Buenos Aires. Allí podemos mencionar a los siguientes patrólogos: Pbro. Dr. Hernán Giudice (doctorado en el Instititum Patristicum Augustinianun) y la Lic. Viviana Félix,

Los estudiosos argentinos de la Patrística colaboran estrechamente con sus colegas chilenos desde hace una década y media y asimismo han desarrollado el proyecto de investigación conjunto materializado en la publicación periódica *Diadokhé. Revista de Estudios de Filosofía Platónica y Cristiana*, iniciada su edición en 1998 y que se mantiene hasta la fecha (codirectores Oscar Velásquez y F. García Bazán).

Muy meritoria es la tarea que está llevando a cabo por Internet el Pbro. Dr. Enrique Contreras (Abad del Monasterio de Santa María De los Toldos), quien está realizando una biblioteca digital con todas las obras de los Padres traducidas al castellano. Este trabajo es indispensable para la difusión de los autores patrísticos, ya que es todavía muy exiguo lo que puede consultarse en castellano. La periodicidad de las entregas se hace en forma semanal. Se comenzó esta ciclópea tarea con las obras de Clemente Romano y actualmente están apareciendo en Internet las obras de Clemente de Alejandría.

También es necesario comentar que en Argentina es sorprendente la cantidad de congresos en temas relacionados sobre Patrística que se hacen. Fundamentalmente se organizan en las siguientes provincias argentinas:

Buenos Aires:
- Jornadas de Filosofía Medieval organizada por los Dr. Ricardo Diez y Raquel Fisher en la Academia Nacional de Ciencias de Buenos Aires.
- Jornadas de Patrística organizadas por la Sociedad Argentina de Teología.
- Simposio Internacional Helenismo y Cristianismo organizado por la Dra. Marta Alesso y el Dr. José Pablo Martín, en la Universidad General Sarmiento.

Mendoza:
- Congresos Anuales y bianuales sobre temas referidos a Estudios Medievales y Patrísticos organizados por el Dr. Rubén Pereto Rivas, en la Fac. de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad Nacional de Cuyo.

Rosario:
- Jornadas de Filosofía Patrística y Medieval, organizados por la Dra. Silvana Filippi quien es la titular de la cátedra "Historia de la Filosofía Medieval y

del Renacimiento" y Directora del Centro de Estudios Patrísticos y Medievales de la Escuela de Filosofía de la Facultad de Humanidades y Artes de la Universidad Nacional de Rosario.

Tucumán:
– Jornadas de Estudios sobre Pensamiento Patrístico y Medieval, organizadas por el Dr. Fr. Juan José Herrera en la Facultad de Humanidades de la Universidad del Norte Santo Tomás de Aquino (UNSTA).

En cuanto a carreras específicas de patrística, cabe mencionar la primera Diplomatura en Estudios Patrísticos que fue organizada gracias a la iniciativa de las autoridades de la Universidad Católica de Cuyo en San Juan (muy especialmente por la Rectora Dra. María Isabel Larrauri, el Decano de la Fac. de Filosofía Lic. Jorge Bernat, el Pbro. Lic. Ángel Hernández y el Pbro. Lic. Pedro Fernández) y que contó con la presencia de prestigiosos especialistas nacionales e internacionales. De esta Diplomatura surgió el Instituto de Estudios Patrísticos.

Sorprende además la cantidad de becarios de postgrado en el CONICET que están realizado sus tesis de postgrado en temas de Patrística, ya que según se nos ha informado superan ampliamente a todas las otras especialidades.

4. Los Estudios Patrísticos en Brasil

En cuanto a la historia de Brasil, tiene características un poco distintas a estos dos últimos países. Comenzaremos mencionando a Fray Paulo Evaristo Arns, OFM, quien a su regreso al Brasil en 1953, luego de doctorarse en París con una tesis en san Jerónimo, publicó varios artículos sobre patrística en la *Revista Eclesiástica Brasileira*. Conjuntamente con su presencia en Brasil, fue fundamental el impulso que el Concilio Vaticano II dio a los Estudios Patrísticos. A partir de la década de los 70, tuvo lugar una irrupción de trabajos sobre patrística en las Facultades de Teología en Brasil. Surgían las *Fontes da Catequese*, presentando periódicamente textos traducidos de los Padres. Al frente de esta iniciativa, estaba el ya citado Paulo Evaristo Arns, quien era ya obispo en San Pablo. Justamente en el año 1972 se produjo un hecho que llena de orgullo a los patrólogos brasileños: Fray Fernando Antonio Figueiredo Alem, OFM fue el primer Doctor del recientemente creado Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum.

En la década de los ochenta se publica una nueva colección de textos patrísticos llamada *Padres da Igreja*. El responsable era el ya citado Fray Fernando Figueiredo, quien también organizó y publicó durante los años 1983-1990 un *Curso de Teología Patrística* en tres volúmenes. Con el advenimiento de la teología de la liberación en Brasil se producen nuevos frutos para los estudios patrísticos. Se organizó la colección *Pais e Maes da Igreja*. A partir de textos

patrísticos, los volúmenes de la colección se desenvolvían dentro de una óptica más social. Otro hecho importantísimo en la década de los 80 fue la iniciativa del teólogo Leonardo Meulenberg quien, a partir de excelentes subsidios a nivel nacional para el estudio del período patrístico, creó un órgano divulgador abierto a teólogos de varias denominaciones cristianas: CEPAMI (centro Ecuménico de Estudos dos Pais e Maes da Igrega). Todo este material estaba dirigido a público no especializado, pero sí interesado en los temas patrísticos. En 1995 la Editora Paulus lanzó una colección patrística. Siempre en base a una traducción, precedida de un estudio introductorio, cuenta hasta el momento con 30 volúmenes publicados. Es indudablemente la más amplia colección de textos patrísticos publicados en Brasil.

Poco más de diez años después una nueva iniciativa marcaría un nuevo impulso para los estudios patrísticos. Durante el XV Congreso Eucarístico Nacional, realizado en Florianópolis en mayo del 2006, fue creada una revista científica exclusivamente dedicada a patrística *Cadernos Patrísticos-textos e estudos*. Teniendo como editor responsable al Profesor Pbro Dr. Edinei da Rosa Cándido del Instituto Teológico de Santa Catarina, ITESC, esta revista difiere de las propuestas anteriores, por su carácter estrictamente académico en la publicación de artículos del área de Teología y Ciencias Patrísticas. Es evidente que en Brasil, los comienzos de los estudios patrísticos fueron promisorios, sin embargo en los últimos años se produjo una discontinuidad, tanto en la cantidad de de doctores, magister en Patrística, como en las pocas horas cátedras dedicadas a la teología patrística en las facultades. Otro problema, que ya está en vías de solución, fue que Brasil no tuvo un representante en la AIEP. Pero a partir del último encuentro de patrística en Chile, organizado por el Pbro. Dr. Samuel Fernández, fue posible conocer y entablar contacto con el Pbro. Dr. Edinei da Rosa Cândido, quien seguramente realizará una excelente tarea.

5. Conclusiones

Hasta aquí una sintética puesta al día del pasado y del presente de los Estudios Patrísticos en estos tres países. En cuanto al futuro, si bien tenemos algunas debilidades propias de los países con economías inestables, que repercuten por ejemplo en la posibilidad de subsidios que permitan la compra de libros, viajes al exterior para estar en contacto con los grandes centros del mundo, pensamos que las posibilidades son promisorias, ya que hay mucho por hacer, fundamentalmente a nivel de traducciones y de formación de generaciones de jóvenes patrólogos. En realidad el clima que se vive en América Latina con respecto al estudio de los Padres, tiene mucho que ver con los comienzos mismos de esta época maravillosa de la historia: así como en los primeros siglos, la fuerza de las convicciones de los diferentes autores de la

patrística, pudieron ir más allá de las dificultades de las contingencias de la vida cotidiana (económicas, políticas y sociales), también los patrólogos latinoamericanos contamos con la convicción necesaria para hacer realidad el anhelo de dedicar nuestras vidas al estudio esta época fundacional de Occidente. No dudamos que allí está la clave para entender nuestro pasado y presente y seguramente también nuestro futuro.

Proposta para publicações patrísticas no Brasil e América Latina: os seis anos dos Cadernos Patrísticos

Edinei da Rosa Cândido, Florianópolis, Brasil

Abstract

This communication aims to present to the international patristic community a specified point of development on Patristic Studies in Brazil, that is the foundation of *Cadernos Patrísticos – Textos e Estudos*, in May 2006. It is the first Brazilian scholarly journal – unique in Latin America – dedicated to publications on patristic subjects. On 200 pages at least, this periodical offers every six months, so twice a year, an opportunity to experts and students to publish the result of their work. Till now nine numbers were offered to readers with different themes (found below) like ecclesiology, anthropology, exegesis *etc*., with collaboration of twelfth Brazilian Patristic scholars, five from other latin american countries, two Italian and one French.

Os Estudos Patrísticos no Brasil, nos seus pontos positivos e negativos, no seu desenvolvimento e na sua carência, podem ser abordados de diversos ângulos. É oportuno registrar, neste espaço dedicado a *Los estudios patrísticos en latinoamerica*, a sua situação desfavorável, se comparados com outras áreas da Teologia, como Bíblia, Moral, Liturgia, Direito Canônico etc.

Várias são as dificuldades: falta de encontros nacionais de patrólogos, inexistência de qualquer associação nacional capaz de reunir os interessados desta área, ausência de representação e participação em encontros internacionais, dificuldade de publicação de estudos e pesquisas, dentre outras.

Algumas podem ser as causas apontadas para essa realidade. Uma delas, sem dúvida, talvez a maior, é a dificuldade de formar especialistas, mestres e doutores, nas Ciências Patrísticas. De fato, o número de patrólogos é bastante reduzido. Isso gera toda uma realidade desfavorável: a docência patrística, no complexo das disciplinas teológicas e filosóficas, quase sempre não recebe o devido espaço, a suficiente carga horária. Em cadeia, acarretam-se sérias conseqüências: pouco interesse no meio acadêmico, escassez de produção etc. Eis alguns dos motivos para jamais se ter investido em publicações patrísticas, concentradas num único periódico.

Foi com o intuito de amenizar essa situação que foi criada, há seis anos, a revista *Cadernos Patrísticos – Textos e Estudos*. O seu objetivo maior é possibilitar a estudiosos da área um espaço hábil à divulgação da sua pesquisa através da publicação.

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Com o recurso à História e à Literatura Cristã Antiga, procura fazer emergir um pouco da rica experiência do período patrístico, manifestada nos seus mais variados aspectos: doutrinal, espiritual, litúrgico, filosófico etc. É o espaço privilegiado ao pesquisador para apresentar o resultado do seu trabalho científico.

O corpo da revista é articulado em diversas seções: Inicia-se sempre com uma *Lectio Patrum* (I). Consiste num texto patrístico bilingue, original latino ou grego, com tradução em vernáculo ao lado, introduzido e concluído por um comentário específico. Essa escolha não foi arbitrária e, sim, buscou atender a uma das grandes demandas da patrística nacional: a questão textual, e algumas observações são oportunas nesse sentido. Apesar dos esforços das coleções especializadas em assumir a incumbência da divulgação dos textos, permanece alguma dificuldade no tangente ao seu acesso: tradução direta dos originais gregos e latinos, traduções a partir de línguas modernas, crítica textual, comentário etc. Diante da impossibilidade de dedicar-se amplamente aos textos patrísticos, buscamos inserir em cada número da revista essa *Lectio Patrum*.

Segue-se a segunda seção dedicada aos *Clássicos da Literatura Cristã* (II). É a parte mais inovadora e caracterizadora da natureza patrística desta revista e, por isso mesmo, ocupa a maior parte do seu espaço. É onde são apresentados os artigos temáticos da publicação.

Considerando ainda a realidade brasileira e latino-americana na sua jovialidade – apenas cinco séculos de história num cristianismo de vinte séculos –, abrimos uma seção específica denominada *Padres e Madres de Nossas Igrejas* (III). Destacamos que algumas tentativas já haviam sido feitas nesse sentido: O teólogo uruguaio Daniel E. Ramada Piendibene, por exemplo, já em 1988, tinha lançado a ideia de uma Patrologia voltada para os Pais e Mães do continente, com um interessante artigo: "Patrologia Latino-Americana: um projeto" (*Encontros Teológicos* n. 6 (1988/1), p. 34-36). A proposta não alcançou a repercussão desejada e o projeto jamais chegou a concretizar-se. Tendo tomado conhecimento do fato, isso também nos motivou a abrir um espaço para veicular, em termos muito concretos, propostas dessa natureza. Assim, criamos essa seção onde se busca valorizar a experiência e o pensamento de homens e mulheres da história recente e com reconhecida iniciativa cristã, entendendo-se indicar a vitalidade de uma Tradição em constante renovação. Um ou dois artigos em cada número sempre são dedicados a essa finalidade.

Destacamos que, no volume 5, porém, foi dado um passo ainda mais ousado com a publicação de um número especial, inteiramente dedicado ao tema, com o título: *Proposta para uma Patrologia Local – Personalidades da História da Igreja de Santa Catarina*. Ali, em exatas quatrocentas páginas, tratamos da questão, apresentando, de forma biográfica, o contributo de mais de trinta personagens da história religiosa local. Para eles, deliberadamente, foi pleiteado o título de "Padres e Madres de Nossas Igrejas". O material foi lançado ao público, desafiando-o a posicionar-se acerca da legitimidade de uma pretensa "Patrologia Local".

Enfim, a nomeação da parte feminina, *Madres*, não deixa de sugerir uma atenção à questão de gênero, tão presente na reflexão atual e que, nesta revista, tem recebido atenção com a publicação de diversos artigos.

Para contrabalançar os números temáticos, compõe ainda a revista uma última seção de *Efemérides* (IV) que abre espaço a qualquer publicação da área. Isso possibilita a divulgação de trabalhos e pesquisas desvinculados da proposta da edição temática. Portanto, sempre há um espaço livre para publicações patrísticas em geral. Nessa seção podem ainda ser apresentadas recensões, apreciações de obras, notícias etc.

Todas essas seções desenvolvem-se, ordinariamente, num total mínimo de 200 páginas. Sua recorrência é semestral e suas edições, até o momento presente, têm sido sempre de números temáticos.

Com seus nove números já publicados, os *Cadernos Patrísticos – Textos e Estudos* têm, congregados em suas páginas, muitos teólogos e alguns filósofos. Embora de gênese brasileira, todos os números publicados até o momento contam com a participação de patrólogos latino-americanos de língua espanhola. Um número, o sete, também contou com a colaboração de patrólogos italianos e o nove inaugurou na revista a língua francesa. Estatisticamente, a variedade de seus artigos tem contado com a colaboração de doze patrólogos brasileiros, cinco de outros países latino-americanos, dois italianos, um espanhol e um francês. Outros teólogos não patrólogos também têm colaborado na produção e publicação de artigos.

Até o momento, esta revista não se encontra associada ou assumida por nenhuma entidade acadêmica, não recebendo, assim, qualquer tipo de subvenção. Portanto, nasceu e continua uma iniciativa privada, embora encontre-se ordinariamente registrada no Instituto Nacional do ISSN que lhe forneceu número 1980-010X.

Com este perfil, esta revista *Cadernos Patrísticos – Textos e Estudos* se constitui como único periódico brasileiro exclusivamente patrístico para publicações dos trabalhos dessa área. Em termos de América Latina, não pretende permanecer isolada, mas associar-se a iniciativas semelhantes e até melhores.

Na qualidade de editor responsável, agradeço a oportunidade que me foi dada para, juntos aos colegas latino-americanos, apresentar um pouco do resultado desse trabalho que vem sendo realizado ao longo dos últimos seis anos. E de tudo isso esta comunicação quer ser uma apresentação, uma espécie de prestação de contas, de relatório do trabalho que vem se desenvolvendo no Brasil.

Aproveitando a ocasião deste Congresso Internacional (l6th Patristic Conference) com a realização deste "workshop" especial para a apresentação dos Estudos Patrísticos em nosso continente latino-americano, manifesto a importância e necessidade de continuarmos e intensificarmos articulações conjuntas, que possam beneficiar a pesquisa patrística em nossos espaços acadêmicos e sua consequente publicação.

Um agradecimento pessoal vai dirigido a todos os colegas de países latino-americanos, especificamente argentinos e chilenos, alguns deles aqui presentes neste congresso, que, além de demonstrada simpatia e entusiasmo a esta iniciativa, têm colaborado com a publicação de artigos em nossa revista.

Para finalizar esta comunicação, enfatizo a importância de reflexão para este grupo continental latino sobre a questão, oportunidade, legitimidade e necessidade de realização do projeto de uma Patrologia Latino-Americana. É desejável que, tanto no Brasil como nos outros países latino-americanos, abram-se sempre novos espaços à produção e divulgação dos Estudos Patrísticos.

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La historia de la patrística en Chile: un largo proceso de maduración

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ABSTRACT

More than writing a history of the development of patristic studies in Chile, we try to reflect on the conditions that made its existence and further development possible. An essential aspect is its unitary character based on its institutional frame, distinct in terms of subjects and its academic promotions. The Pontifical Catholic University of Chile (PUCC) and its Faculty of Theology, later followed by the Faculty of Philosophy, represent this institutional core. Two centers of interest have emerged from it, St. Augustine and Origen, without forgetting the Cappadocians and other writers and themes. We will discuss some scholars in detail. The institutional basis of Patristics encourages collective endeavours: Patristic Research Seminars (eight to date, which have received valuable input from the entire group of Argentine scholars), the prominent appearance of articles in magazines of the PUCC, monographs and books, the creation of a Master of Divinity with a focus on patristics, and study groups such as the Platonic-patristic Circle, which brings together scholars of theology and philosophy. Three magazines have emerged in the PUCC with published work on patristic studies which has also allowed a concentrated effort and a corporate character of Patristics. The collegiate frame has given rise to a true Patristic momentum of significance in the academic context of the country.

Mi relato sobre los estudios de la patrología en Chile está indudablemente relacionado con una historia concreta que se extiende por cerca de cincuenta años hasta hoy, y es al mismo tiempo un intento de reflexionar acerca de las interacciones – cuando se dan además las circunstancias favorables – que surgen entre las instituciones y las personas. En otras palabras, se trata aquí de la evaluación histórica de una dinámica cuyas consecuencias son de algún modo puestas en evidencia por sus resultados. Usaré de los nombres en forma parca, aunque espero hacer justicia a la mayoría en notas adicionales; y en lo que respecta al análisis y evaluación específica del trabajo intelectual de los estudiosos en el campo de la especialidad que nos ocupa, se entenderá que no es el espacio aquí para hacerlo sino en forma muy general, siendo en realidad esta historia más propiamente un intento de examinar sobre todo el desarrollo corporativo de la patrística en el país. Junto con señalar de este modo la actividad propia de los diversos estudiosos, me interesa asimismo destacar ese proceso

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de maduración, por decir así, colectivo que ha tenido lugar en el transcurso de estos años, que hace de esta historia un caso interesante de interacción intelectual. En otras palabras, por muy modestos que pudieran ser los aportes al mundo de la patrística de este grupo de estudiosos, pienso que se está ante la aparición – en cierto sentido única en Iberoamérica – de una verdadera escuela de patrología de Santiago de Chile. Las razones que invoco no solo se refieren al intercambio intelectual de un grupo determinado de investigadores y sus intereses afines de temáticas y enfoques, sino además al hecho de que ha existido un núcleo gravitacional en torno a una institución, un verdadero centro geográfico podríamos decir, en el que se han dado las circunstancias y los medios que han favorecido la creación de un grupo intelectual con un carácter en cierta medida homogéneo dentro de su diversidad.

Todo comienza con un espacio institucional y una persona: la Facultad de Teología de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, desde ahora PUCC, y el jesuita profesor Sergio Zañartu Undurraga.[1] Es 1967, y hay antecedentes, por supuesto, que se remontan a los años anteriores, entre otros, con estudiosos como Juan Ochagavía, también jesuita, profesor de Zañartu y doctorado en Munich con una tesis sobre San Ireneo.[2] Existe, en consecuencia, un ambiente previo de docentes que enseñan patrística y otras especialidades teológicas similares (como el benedictino alemán Silvestre Stenger, y el famoso sacerdote belga Joseph Comblin[3]), todos en la misma Facultad. No parecen darse todavía las condiciones para un desarrollo sostenido, que esté fundamentado no solo en la sucesión de una cátedra de patrología o cursos afines. Así es justamente poco después cómo un grupo de jóvenes discípulos comienzan con Zañartu a preparar sus tesis de licenciatura en la especialidad, o bien, dejan un lugar importante para la patrología en sus estudios teológicos. Comienza así el desarrollo sistemático de la investigación, desde la aparente modestia de los primeros cursos, donde, como afirma Zañartu:

> 'Me pareció que, junto con introducir a los alumnos en los Padres a través del contacto con una pequeña selección de sus textos, lo valioso era introducirlos al trabajo patrológico, es decir, al uso de la Biblioteca, de bibliografías y otros instrumentos, al método de investigación, sobre todo a un prolongado contacto con una obra de un Padre, que

[1] De aquí en adelante se usará por lo general PUCC = Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, con sede en Santiago; UdeC = Universidad de Chile, con sede en Santiago. La PUCC (1888) es fundación del arzobispado de Santiago; La UdeC (refundada en 1842), es la universidad del Estado. *Teología y Vida* = *TyV*.

[2] Juan Ochagavía Larraín, *Visible* Patris Filius*: A Study of Irenaeus Teaching on Revelation and Tradition*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 171 (Roma, 1964). Ver, Sergio Zañartu, 'El estudio de los Padres de la Iglesia en la Facultad de Teología desde 1967 hasta el presente. Impresiones', *TyV* 40 (1999), 439-44.

[3] Joseph Comblin, *Théologie de la paix*, 2 vol. (Paris, 1960).

cada uno elegía a su gusto. Lo principal del curso pasaba a ser el trabajo personal de un Padre'.[4]

Sergio Zañartu ha potenciado su talento con una gran capacidad de trabajo y liderazgo. Habiéndose iniciado en sus estudios de patrología con Ignacio de Antioquía, autor en el que hizo su tesis doctoral,[5] sus áreas de investigación y docencia son vastas e incluyen, entre otros, los Capadocios,[6] Orígenes, y variadas áreas temáticas relacionadas con la doctrina, la cristología, la historia del dogma y la filología.[7] Trabajador incansable, mente organizada y sistemática, su papel en la configuración de un grupo de expertos conscientes de una tradición y un futuro en el campo de la patrística en el país ha sido decisivo.[8] Su personalidad y carácter se asemejan grandemente a su talla intelectual, y su metodología[9] ha dejado huellas perceptibles en varios de sus colaboradores y sucesores, en especial en quien se puede considerar la otra principal figura de este movimiento patrístico, la profesora Hna. Anneliese Meis. El Profesor

[4] S. Zañartu, 'El estudio de los Padres de la Iglesia' (1999), 439, donde afirma que se trata de un método que despertó un 'vivo interés' entre los alumnos, y que, a pesar de que el Prof. Zañartu había dejado ese curso de patrología en 1987, permanece, según él mismo afirma, 'incólume hasta el día de hoy', es decir, ahora en las manos de sus sucesores y discípulos. En otras palabras, con esta continuidad se estaban poniendo las bases de una tradición escolar y académica en la Facultad de Teología de la Universidad Católica de Chile. De acuerdo con el testimonio de Rodrigo Polanco acerca del método de enseñanza de S. Zañartu, dice: 'Es el método que podemos denominar histórico-filológico. Es una suerte de variante del método histórico-crítico, aplicado ahora a los escritos de los Padres de la Iglesia'; Rodrigo Polanco, 'Crónica: Homenaje al Padre Sergio Zañartu Undurraga, S.J.', *TyV* 42 (2001), 233-38, 234.

[5] S. Zañartu, *El concepto de Zoé en Ignacio de Antioquía* (Madrid, 1977). Su interés en temas teológicos más específicos se puede ver sus 'Aproximaciones a la cristología de Ignacio de Antioquía', *TyV* 21 (1980), 115-27; y en 'Aproximaciones a la eclesiología de Ignacio de Antioquía', *Stromata* 38 (1982), 109-24. En estas materias sus trabajos han tenido una recepción internacional: como en, S. Zañartu, 'Les concepts de vie et de mort chez Ignace d'Antioche', *VC* 33 (1979), 324-41, y en el artículo 'La Iglesia carnal y espiritual en Ignacio de Antioquía', *SP* 18.3 (1989), 263-72.

[6] S. Zañartu, 'Presentación de algunos aspectos de la Trinidad en los discursos teológicos de Gegorio de Nacianzo', *TyV* 43 (2002), 432-64; 'El Dios razonable de la gran catequesis de Gregorio de Nisa', *TyV* 45 (2004), 564-604.

[7] Entre algunos de sus diversos trabajos en estos temas y autores, se pueden destacar aquí, S. Zañartu, 'Primogénito de toda creatura (Col 1, 15) en el comentario de Orígenes al evangelio de Juan', *TyV* 52 (2011), 105-51; 'Algunos desafíos del misterio del Dios cristiano a las categorías del pensar filosófico en la antigüedad. *Logos* e *Hypostasis* (persona) hasta fines del siglo IV', *TyV* 33 (1992), 35-58; 'El declinar de la profecía en el siglo II: notas para un ensayo', *TyV* 50 (2009), 673-727. Su veta filológica está presente en 'Autenticidad de la recensión media de Ignacio de Antioquía: notas sobre discusiones recientes', *TyV* 50 (2009), 497-516. Su procedimiento sistemático se revela en todos sus trabajos, que son además por lo general extensos y rigurosos.

[8] Se ha publicado un *Festschrift*: *Sapientia Patrum*: *Homenaje al Profesor Dr. Sergio Zañartu Undurraga, S.J.*, Anales de la Facultad de Teología 51, 2 (Santiago de Chile, 2000).

[9] S. Zañartu, 'El desafío del método en mi vida: un testimonio teológico', *TyV* 49 (2008), 699-739.

Zañartu fundó también en la PUCC (2001) un Magíster con mención en Teología Patrística.

Si bien S. Zañartu continúa trabajando al presente en la facultad de teología, la prolongación de estos esfuerzos pronto se ven fortalecidos con sus colaboradores y sucesores, todos ex-alumnos suyos, que dan a esta enseñanza un sentido de continuidad, situación que favoreció la lenta creación y consolidación de una tradición escolar.[10] Aquí comienza la actividad de la Profesora Anneliese Meis, una estudiosa de notable capacidad docente e investigadora, que ha sobresalido además en concitar el interés en los estudios patrísticos en generaciones más jóvenes de teólogos de la misma Facultad. Su pensamiento es analítico y en muchos aspectos creativo. Alemana, estudió sin embargo de muy joven tanto filosofía como teología en la PUCC, donde se doctoró en teologia. Sus proyectos de investigación fueron los primeros en recibir recursos del Estado en materias de teología (el CONICYT, el consejo de ciencia y tecnología de Chile) que la estudiosa ha utilizado, además, hasta el presente para crear grupos de investigación exitosamente dirigidos por ella. Su producción intelectual, nacida de su actividad académica, ha sido vasta e imaginativa; y son numerosos los trabajos que ha publicado en conjunto con sus más jóvenes colaboradores. Como teóloga, posee una excepcional sensibilidad filosófica, lo que la ha llevado – en especial últimamente – a un campo históricamente posterior a la patrística como el pensamiento de Alberto Magno y Buenaventura.[11] Esa preocupación filosófica en todo caso es de larga data, y se pueden ver ahora en una etapa madura en, por ejemplo, sus artículos sobre Gregorio de Nisa y Máximo el Confesor.[12] Es claro, en todo caso, que sus investigaciones

[10] Esa presencia creciente de patrólogos en la Facultad de Teología de la PUC se puede ver manifiestamente en la producción académica publicada en *Teología y Vida*, revista de la Facultad de Teología de la PUCC, y en varios números de los *Anales de la Facultad de Teología*. Ver, Samuel Fernández, 'La Patrología en los 40 años de *Teología y Vida*', *TyV* 40 (2000), 310-27. Un artículo muy documentado e iluminador. Entre sus conclusiones, Fernández afirma: 'El recorrido realizado permite constatar una creciente presencia de los Padres en *TyV*'. Es vidente el sentido de continuidad, de aprecio a los maestros y de preocupación por el progreso de los estudios de patrología en la Facultad de Teología PUCC. Rodrigo Polanco, al destacar la influencia de Zañartu en la cantidad de tesis de licencia que se hacen en patrología, y señalar el número de profesores que han hecho el doctorado en algún Padre, afirma: 'Esta dedicación a la teología patrística caracteriza a la Facultad y estoy seguro que está destinada a dar hermosos y duraderos frutos en el futuro, si no lo está haciendo en el presente': R. Polanco, 'Crónica: Homenaje al Padre Sergio Zañartu Undurraga, S.J.', *TyV* 42 (2001), 233-8, 234.

[11] Anneliese Meis, 'El misterio de la alteridad en Alberto Magno *Super mysticam theologiam Dionysii*', *TyV* 47 (2006), 541-74; 'La paradoja del ἐξαίφνης, según Máximo el Confesor, *Th. Ec*. I 17-18', *Diadokhe* 2 (1999), 75-94. Este último artículo fue amablemente dedicado por la Prof. Meis a este servidor. Semejante preocupación filosófica en un contexto patrológico podemos ver en el artículo de Samuel Fernández: 'Orígenes, intérprete de Platón: Nota sobre la exégesis origeniana en su contexto clásico', *Diadokhe* 2 (1999), 153-62.

[12] A. Meis, 'El "conócete a ti mismo". Un criterio seguro de verdad según Gregorio de Nisa', *Veritas* 4 (1996), 65-82.

últimas siguen íntimamente relacionadas con la patrística, en especial con el Dionisio Pseudo-Areopagita y Gregorio Magno.[13] Esta misma preocupación filosófico-teológica es perceptible en sus estudios en Hans Urs von Balthasar que se inician un poco antes de la década de los noventa, y que demuestran la consolidación en su pensamiento teológico dotado de una singular capacidad especulativa.[14]

Nos interesan aquí naturalmente sus numerosos trabajos en patrología, entre los que podemos destacar sus estudios sobre Orígenes y Gregorio de Nisa,[15] autores que se ve influyen prontamente en varios de sus colaboradores más jóvenes. Sus trabajos abarcan igualmente asuntos relacionados con la antropología y la historia del dogma. Es interesante destacar por otra parte su preocupación por la mujer, lo femenino en la Iglesia, y, si se me permite decir, asuntos de género, aunque dejo abierta esta cuestión a los especialistas en estos temas.[16] Sus estudios sobre estos asuntos se concentran especialmente a propósito del pensamiento de Edith Stein.[17] Porque existen varias estudiosas más jóvenes en la PUCC que desearían tener un papel más importante en estos estudios así como en la formación teológica en general, un aspecto que parece no haber recibido en esta escuela la atención que se merece, con un predominio de varones un poco excesivo para nuestros tiempos.

Pero siguiendo con nuestro análisis, no es de extrañar, entonces, que la generación siguiente a la de Zañartu y Meis esté conformada por un sólido contingente de investigadores, sobre los que me extenderé a continuación. Todos han comenzado sus estudios en la facultad de teología de la PUCC, con alguna menor o mayor vinculación con la Facultad de Filosofía; algunos continuaron sus doctorados en Europa y varios de ellos siguen trabajando o investigando en la PUCC. Refiriéndome solo a los aspectos que me parecen más sobresalientes de sus actividades, Cristián Sotomayor, que ha trabajado con S. Zañartu, investiga

[13] A. Meis, 'La influencia de Gregorio Magno en Alberto Magno: *Super Dionysii Mysticam Theologiam et Epistulas'*, *TyV* 51 (2010), 345-64.

[14] Ver, por ejemplo, A. Meis, 'El ser, plenitud atravesada por la nada, según Hans Urs von Balthasar', *TyV* 49 (2008), 387-419; 'La cuestión del ser en la obra de Hans Urs von Balthasar', en *Anales de la Facultad de Teología* (Santiago de Chile, 2011), 15-148.

[15] A. Meis, 'La gracia sobreabundante: aproximaciones a la relación "hombre-Dios", según Orígenes', *Seminarios de Filosofía*, volumen especial (1993), 33-52; 'El problema del mal según Orígenes (*Peri Archon* III 1, 1-24)', *TyV* 26 (1985), 175-96; 'Gregorio y el Origenismo', *TyV* 39 (1998), 237-52. En conjunto con dos de sus colaboradores, Antonio Castellano, Juan Francisco Pinilla, ver, A. Meis, *El dinamismo del encuentro entre Dios y el hombre*: *en los comentarios al Cantar de los cantares de Orígenes, Gregorio de Nisa y Juan de la Cruz* (Santiago de Chile, 2000).

[16] Un breve estudio en una revista no especializada, cuyo contenido desconozco, pero es interesante por su título: A. Meis, 'El aporte de lo femenino en la Iglesia', *Revista de pastoral de la Iglesia en Chile* 252 (2002), 8-10.

[17] Ver A. Meis, 'La cuestión de la especificidad de la mujer en Edith Stein (1891-1942)', *TyV* 50 (2009), 747-95.

actualmente sobre Hilario e Ireneo,[18] Antonio Castellano, estudioso de Orígenes, es doctorado en la Universidad Salesiana de Roma y estuvo ligado por varios años a la Facultad de Teología de la PUCC.[19]

Samuel Fernández, doctorado en el Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum de Roma con una tesis sobre Orígenes,[20] ha realizado una importante labor en docencia e investigación en la Facultad de Teología. Si bien su autor principal es Orígenes,[21] sus estudios abarcan no solo un extenso rango de materias y autores, como Marción y Tertuliano,[22] sino también asuntos históricos, de teología especulativa, y en especial materias de cristología.[23] Su libro sobre Jesús y los orígenes del cristianismo muestra en forma ejemplar estos aspectos.[24] Los asuntos de orden histórico y filológico, y una segura metodología para tratarlos, son un importante aporte de S. Fernández.[25] Contemporáneo ha sido el trabajo académico de Rodrigo Polanco, doctorado en teología en la Universidad Gregoriana de Roma, siendo ambos profesores ordinarios de la Facultad, y por eso mismo dedicados más plenamente al trabajo académico. Su materia principal es Ireneo, autor en el que ha destacado internacionalmente gracias al sólido tratamiento del tema y una segura metodología.[26] Sobre su actividad de

[18] Cristián Sotomayor Larraín, 'Sobre la propuesta de Hilario en el *De Synodis'*, *TyV* 52 (2011), 167-80.

[19] Su tesis doctoral fue publicada en Santiago de Chile: Antonio Castellano, 'La exégesis de Orígenes y de Heracleón a los testimonios del Bautista', *Anales de la Facultad de Teología* 49, 1 (Santiago de Chile, 1998). Ver A. Castellano, 'El perfume del esposo: la dimensión sacramental en el "Comentario a Juan"', *TyV* 31 (1990), 309-30; 'Amor, sabiduría y ciencia en el *Comentario al Cantar de los cantares*, de Orígenes', *Anales de la Facultad de Teología* 51, 2 (Santiago de Chile, 2000), 161-82.

[20] Samuel Fernández, *Cristo Médico, según Orígenes: La actividad médica como metáfora de la acción divina*, Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum 64 (Roma, 1999).

[21] Ver, por ejemplo, S. Fernández, 'Itinerario hacia Dios. Elementos de escatología origeniana', *TyV* 41 (2000), 3-41.

[22] S. Fernández, 'La salvación sin mediaciones según Marción y la respuesta de Tertuliano', *Teología y Vida* 42 (2001), 50-73; 'Marción y Tertuliano ante el secreto mesiánico', *Diadokhe* 5 (2002), 105-10.

[23] S. Fernández, 'El debate teológico público y oral en la Iglesia prenicena', *TyV* 43 (2002), 216-27; 'El carácter universal único y definitivo de Jesús en los inicios de la cristología', *TyV* 49 (2008), 115-42.

[24] S. Fernández, *Jesús: Los orígenes históricos del cristianismo: desde el año 28 al 48 d. C.* (Santiago de Chile, 2007). Esta exigente obra tiene además el valor de estar abierta a un rango más extenso de lectores.

[25] Fernández ha escrito un documentado estudio sobre las publicaciones patrológicas en *Teología y Vida*, que fue muy útil para mi propio trabajo: 'La patrología en los 40 años de *Teología y Vida*', *TyV* 41 (2000), 310-27. Esta revista, fundada en 1960 por el entonces decano de la facultad de teología de la PUCC, Mons. Marcos McGrath (posteriormente arzobispo de Ciudad de Panamá), ha tenido un papel fundamental en el desarrollo de los estudios patrísticos en Chile y en Hispanoamérica.

[26] Rodrigo Polanco, *El concepto de profecía en la teología de san Ireneo* (Madrid, 1999).

investigador podemos señalar en especial algunos de sus últimos artículos, en que se puede discernir una sólida formación teológica.[27]

Se sumarán luego al equipo, y a las clases y seminarios, Claudio Pierantoni, estudioso del Augustinianum, al presente en la Universidad de Chile. Sus estudios demuestran una sólida formación humanista, un buen dominio de las lenguas clásicas y un interés por los temas filosóficos relacionados con la patrología.[28] André Hubert, junto a trabajos que lo vinculan al medioevo posterior y la filosofía, se ha interesado especialmente en el Dionisio Pseudo-Areopagita.[29] Los estudios de Eva Reyes se han destacado especialmente en Gregorio de Nisa, con especial referencia al Cantar de los Cantares.[30] Tanto Hubert como Reyes son del grupo formado en la PUCC, y pertenecen al presente a la Universidad Católica del Norte, en Antofagasta, distante más de mil trescientos kms. de Santiago, punto significativo de señalar puesto que, me parece, es la primera señal de una expansión geográfica que es muy deseable que ocurra en el ámbito de tan dilatado país, con tendencia al centralismo. De la Universidad de Los Andes, Santiago de Chile, proceden dos jóvenes estudiosos, Nicolás González y Manfred Svensson.[31]

Es interesante constatar, por otra parte, que para los años noventa del pasado siglo ya hay siete estudiosos, entre profesores y docentes de patrología haciendo investigación y enseñando en la Facultad de Teología de la PUCC, además de diversos estudiantes que realizan tesis de pregrado y postgrado, en que el trabajo de la Profesora Meis y del Profesor Zañartu se destacan por su capacidad de crear equipos de investigación, fundamento de nuevas vocaciones de

[27] R. Polanco, 'La encarnación en la teología de San Ireneo de Lyon', Anales de la Facultad de Teología 51, 2 (Santiago de Chile, 2005), 43-89; R. Polanco, 'La carne de Cristo como *salus in compendium* (AH III, 18, 1), o, la gloria de Dios en lo finito: recepción balthasariana de Ireneo', *TyV* 50 (2009), 345-73; R. Polanco, '*Gloria enim Dei uiuens homo, uita autem hominis uisio Dei*: reflexiones sobre el *homo uiuens* en el pensamiento de San Ireneo', *Anales de la Facultad de Teología* 61, 1 (Santiago de Chile, 2010), 159-91.

[28] Claudio Pierantoni, 'Dios y el espacio-tiempo: sugerencias de San Agustín y Plotino', *Diadokhe* (2000), 31-48; 'Dios y la materia: propuesta a partir del *Timeo* de Platón y las *Confesiones* de San Agustín', *TyV* 43 (2002), 330-42; 'Apolinar de Laodicea y sus adversarios: aspectos de la controversia cristológica en el siglo IV', *Anales de la Facultad de Teología* 60, 1 (Santiago de Chile, 2009).

[29] André Hubert, 'Influencia del Pseudo Dionisio en Nicolás de Cusa', *TyV* 48 (2007), 425-38; H. Hubert, 'La participación: meditación desde el aporte del Pseudo-Dionisio', *TyV* 52 (2011), 253-68.

[30] Eva Reyes, 'La figura de la esposa en el Cantar de los Cantares, en Comentarios Bíblicos I a IV de Gregorio de Nisa', *Anales de la Facultad de Teología* 51, 2 (Santiago de Chile, 2000), 101-28; E. Reyes, 'El perfume del esposo: según Gregorio de Nisa en el Comentario al Cantar de los Cantares', *TyV* 47 (2006), 207-14; E. Reyes, '"La voz del Amado". Palabras de promesa y realidad del entendimiento en el *Com Cant* de Gregorio de Nisa', *TyV* 52 (2011) 181-95.

[31] Nicolás González, 'Gregorio Magno y la psicología', *TyV* 52 (2011) 279-90; Manfred Svensson, '*Sciencia* y *sapientia* en *De Trinitate* XII: San Agustín y las formas de la racionalidad', *TyV* 51 (2010), 79-103; M. Svensson, 'Fe y razón en el campo práctico político. Un estudio desde la correspondencia de san Agustín con autoridades públicas', *TyV* 52 (2011), 229-44.

estudiosos. Los que hasta hace relativamente poco fueron colaboradores tanto de Zañartu como de Meis, han continuado asimismo la tarea de organizar tutorías y otras actividades comunes. Ahora bien, un conjunto así no nace de la improvisación, pues es fruto además de una labor de personas que comienza a interactuar; y aquí es bueno valorar la presencia de una sólida institución, al interior de la cual hay una facultad de teología que elige sus propias autoridades y profesores con autonomía y según estándares académicos, donde hay una biblioteca que lleva unos cien años creciendo, con su hemeroteca muy bien mantenida al día, una revista funcionando allí desde 1960, *Teología y Vida*, en la que han publicado varios patrólogos, sus *Anales*, fundados en 1940 (de cuyos volúmenes un número significativo son de temas patrísticos). El indispensable sustento económico ha sido, afortunadamente, constante, aunque se podría esperar más. La PUCC es la institución base, que supone además la disponibilidad de superiores religiosos y diocesanos de dar, a quienes sienten el impulso por estos estudios el tiempo y la dedicación necesarias, y las becas que les permiten estudiar en el extranjero, en especial en reconocidos centros de estudio europeos. Personas, entonces, e instituciones que cobijan y dan sentido espiritual y espacial al conjunto.

En la misma PUCC, asimismo, se fue creando otro núcleo relativamente contemporáneo, en constante relación con el anterior aunque independiente de aquel tanto en los orígenes de su formación como en los intereses de estudio del campo patrístico. Este grupo lo integran estudiosos laicos de la Facultad de Filosofía. No se dedican solamente a la patrología, ni son teólogos sino estudiosos de la filosofía: y se interesan precisamente en temas de origen filosófico en algunos de los Padres que más se han destacado precisamente por su genio especulativo. Como con los anteriores investigadores, procedo dando mayor importancia a lo que se ha publicado en nuestro medio, en los órganos que se han creado en el país y están de algún modo relacionados con la patrología. La razón de este método de trabajo está, de acuerdo con mi visión de esta breve historia de la patrología en Chile, en cómo se desenvuelven en el país mismo estos estudios, y con qué medios disponibles de investigación y publicación se ha realizado este proceso de consolidación del trabajo tanto personal como colectivo de estos estudiosos. Entre esos medios está la organización académica misma y sus órganos de edición, así como las bibliotecas, los seminarios y congresos que las facultades e institutos realizan. Así fue como por algún tiempo la facultad de filosofía de la PUCC pudo también realizar un cierto trabajo institucional. Ese apoyo consciente y programado de la autoridad ha en la práctica desaparecido, pero las raíces son firmes y se niegan a perecer a la primera sequía. Al presente Manuel Correia trabaja en Boecio, especialmente en temas relacionados con la lógica antigua,[32] Andrés Covarrubias, en San

[32] Manuel Correia, 'Libertad humana y presciencia divina en Boecio', *TyV* 43 (2002), 175-86; M. Correia, 'Los tratados silogísticos: sus fuentes, historia e influencia en la cristiandad latina',

Agustín y en el desarrollo de la retórica clásica y su continuación cristiana.[33] Ambos comenzaron su formación con quien escribe, y continuaron sus estudios de doctorado, respectivamente, en Londres y Granada. Giannina Burlando, doctorada en filosofía en la universidad del estado de Ohio, se dedica principalmente a la filosofía medieval y contemporánea; es una activa participante en los grupos de estudio patrísticos, y presenta trabajos en Séneca y san Agustín.[34] La actividad editora de Giannina Burlando ha sido sobresaliente, y en sus ediciones se han publicado varios artículos de carácter patrístico.[35] Antonio Arbea, un fino investigador, por varios años miembro de la Facultad de Filosofía de la PUCC, donde fue su profesor de latín, editó la revista *Seminarios de Filosofía* de la misma facultad, creada por este servidor cuando era decano de la Facultad de Filosofía, y ha publicado artículos en literatura patrística.[36] En este grupo de la Facultad de Filosofía de la PUCC, que cuenta con un Instituto de Estética, María Teresa Viviani ha hecho una importante contribución en el terreno del arte cristiano de la época patrística, materia que solo ella ha cultivado en nuestro medio.[37] Yo por mi parte estuve por muchos años enseñando en la PUCC tanto lenguas clásicas como filosofía antigua y medieval, hasta inicios del 2005,

TyV 48 (2007), 131-40; M. Correia, 'La similitud de los tratados silogísticos de Boecio y Apuleyo', *TyV* 52 (2011), 291-306. Ver, M. Correia, 'Boecio y Amonio. Sobre *Peri Hermeneias* 16b 14-15: el verbo indefinido en Aristóteles', *Diadokhe* 1 (1998), 111-27.

[33] Andrés Covarrubias, 'El itinerario filosófico de San Agustín a la luz de las *Confesiones*', *Seminarios de Filosofía*, volumen especial (1993), 163-78; A. Covarrubias, 'La reconciliación de San Agustín con la retórica en *de doctrina christiana'*, *Diadokhe* 1 (1998), 83-94; A. Covarrubias, 'Lenguaje, belleza y verdad en Cicerón y San Agustín: las encrucijadas de la persuasión', *TyV* 43 (2002), 187-95; A. Covarrubias, '*Orator perfectus*: la réplica de San Agustín al rétor ideal de Cicerón', *TyV* 48 (2007), 141-47. Ver, *La existencia de Dios desde la filosofía*: *según Aristóteles, San Agustín, San Anselmo y Santo Tomás de Aquino* (Santiago de Chile, 1993). A. Covarrubias fue un importante colaborador en las ediciones de *Diadokhe*: *Revista de estudios de filosofía platónica y cristiana* – creada por este servidor y cofundada con el Profesor Francisco García Bazán, de Buenos Aires – de la que además Covarrubias fue su Secretario.

[34] Giannina Burlando, 'Teleología natural antropocéntrica y el arte de vivir en Séneca', *Diadokhe* 2 (1999), 9-23; G. Burlando, 'Pensamientos eternos: Platonismo de Agustín y Frege', *TyV* 43 (2002), 107-20; G. Burlando, 'El debate sobre "Existentia" y "creatio ex nihilo" en la ontología medieval', en *Controversias Filosóficas, Científicas y Teológicas en el Pensamiento Tardo-Antiguo y Medieval* (Rosario, Argentina, 2011), 455-74.

[35] Ver, Giannina Burlando (ed.) *De las pasiones en la Filosofía Medieval* (Santiago de Chile, 2009) publicado en forma conjunta por la Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale y la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. Se publican en esta obra algunos artículos de carácter patrológico. G. Burlando editó también, junto a F. Bertelloni, el volumen 24 de la Enciclopedia Iberoamericana de Filosofía, *La Filosofía Medieval* (Madrid, 2002).

[36] Antonio Arbea, 'El *Carmen de Incarnatione* atribuido a Sedulio', *TyV* 39 (1998), 313-24; A. Arbea, 'El centón homérico de Eudoxia (s. V d. C.)', *TyV* 43 (2002), 97-106.

[37] María Teresa Viviani, 'De la casa cristiana a la Basílica de Constantino', *Seminarios de Filosofía*, volumen especial (1993), 117-33; M.T. Viviani, 'Comunidades cristianas al este del Jordán. Un análisis arquitectónico (S. I-VI D. C)', *TyV* (2002), 403-35; M.T. Viviani, 'El cuerpo como santuario en los inicios del cristianismo', *Aisthesis* 42 (2007), 20-36; M.T. Viviani, 'Iglesias coptas, testimonio silencioso de un dogma trinitario (S. IV-VII)', *TyV* 48 (2007), 229-260.

en que me retiré de la facultad de filosofía, donde mi tema patrístico fue sobre todo san Agustín;[38] al ser invitado por la facultad de letras de la misma PUCC a continuar mi trabajo allí, el rector impidió mi contrato y censuró una novela escrita por mí, que fue considerada crítica de la institución.[39] La autoridad espiritual guardó silencio, aunque la Providencia me permitió ganar por concurso la cátedra de filosofía antigua en la Universidad de Chile, mi primera casa de estudios, donde encontré la posibilidad de trabajar en equipo con dos estudiosos jóvenes (ahora en filosofía medieval) que allí se habían formado con el Profesor Humberto Giannini. Estos son Pamela Chávez, doctorada en la UdeC en un tema sobre San Agustín;[40] y Juan José Fuentes, magíster de la misma UdeC titulado con una tesis sobre el Pseudo Dionisio. Fuentes prepara actualmente un doctorado en el Pseudo-Dionisio en París.[41] La Dra. Chávez enseña al presente filosofía medieval en la UdeC, y junto con Fuentes son un importante aporte joven y esperanza al movimiento patrístico en la universidad estatal.

Yo, por mi parte, me he dedicado en el campo patrístico especialmente al estudio de san Agustín, y también me formé inicialmente con el Profesor Humberto Giannini en la UdeC, y trabajé por algunos años con él como profesor asociado con Agustín y el Pseudo-Dionisio. El 2005 se constituyó hasta el 2011 un núcleo patrístico en la cátedra de filosofía medieval de la UdeC, esta vez bajo mi dirección. En la misma UdeC el Profesor Jaime Moreno, del Centro de Estudios Judaicos, trabaja en el gnosticismo, San Ireneo, y en estudios bíblicos.[42] En general, por consiguiente, los miembros de este grupo básicamente filosófico, y en algunos casos también filológico, que incluye estudiosos de las Universidades de Chile y Católica de Chile, en Santiago, trabajan en filosofía

[38] Oscar Velásquez, 'From *dubitatio* to *securitas*: Augustine's *Confessions* in the context of uncertainty', *SP* 38 (2001), 338-41; 'El drama de la consciencia agustiniana frente al hallazgo de Dios', en F. Bertelloni y G. Burlando (eds.), *La Filosofía Medieval* (Madrid, 2002), 21-37; O. Velásquez, '¿Qué confiesan las *Confesiones*?', *Seminarios de Filosofía* 17-18 (2004-05), 191-200; O. Velásquez, 'La iluminación agustiniana como explicación de los contenidos de la mente: Agustín en Casicíaco', *TyV* 48 (2007), 215-27; O. Velásquez, *Recorridos vitales: espacios inteligibles en las Confesiones de San Agustín* (Mendoza, 2008); 'La Ciudad de Dios en la perspectiva de la razón: la *cuarta politeia* de la antigüedad', *TyV* 52 (2011), 211-28.

[39] El rector, Dr. P. Rosso, no varió en su actitud, y el Gran Canciller y el Vice Gran Canciller de la época (estamos en el 2004) nada hicieron para impedirlo.

[40] Pamela Chávez, *San Agustín*: *Apuntes para un diálogo con la ética actual* (Santiago de Chile, 2010); P. Chávez, '*De Urbis excidio* de San Agustín: razón y revelación en la comprensión de un acontecimiento histórico', *TyV* 52 (2011), 245-52.

[41] Juan José Fuentes, 'Irracionalidad e hiperesencialidad en el Pseudo-Dionisio: más allá de la razón y de la revelación', *TyV* 52 (2011), 269-78.

[42] Me puedo referir a dos interesantes recensiones. La primera: Jaime Moreno, A. Piñero, J. Montserrat, F. García Bazán, F. Bermejo, A. Quevedo, *Textos gnósticos, Biblioteca de Nag Hammadi* I: *Tratados filosóficos y cosmológicos'*, *Diadokhe* 1 (1998), 159-68; J. Moreno, 'Fernando Bermejo Rubio: *La escisión imposible* (Lectura del Gnosticismo Valentiniano). Colección *Plenitudo Temporis* 5. Publicaciones Universidad Pontificia Salamanca, 1998', *Diadokhe* 3 (2000), 149-61.

antigua y medieval, así como filología clásica, por lo que su interés por la patrística surge como una parte integrante del pensamiento cristiano tardo antiguo, y como un elemento fundamental de la historia de la filosofía y de la cultura greco-latinas.[43]

La influencia y actividad de profesores extranjeros es otro factor central. Son varios los estudiosos chilenos que se han perfeccionado en el extranjero, ya sea mediante doctorados o en largas estadías de investigación en centros importantes de Europa y otros lugares del orbe. Estos maestros han dejado una huella indeleble que ha seguido haciéndose sentir en nuestro país. No es solamente por sus ideas y sus escritos sobre los temas de patrología, cosa que también se podría obtener a distancia mediante el estudio cuidadoso de sus obras, o alguna visita ocasional; es más bien, y de una manera especial, por el trato asiduo y personal con ellos como maestros en sus seminarios y tutorías, o en sus direcciones de tesis en los lugares que ellos trabajan, junto a otros estudiantes. Del mismo modo, es importante valorar el hecho de que estos largos períodos de trabajo intelectual en el extranjero por parte de estudiosos chilenos han sido la ocasión propicia para integrarse a escuelas que por lo general ya poseen una larga tradición, y que han alcanzado un prestigio bien ganado y cierto carácter distintivo; y que, por eso mismo, estos centros de estudio, especialmente europeos, organizan diversas actividades, muchas de carácter internacional, tales como conferencias, seminarios o congresos, que son ocasión para reconocer el valor universal de los estudios patrísticos. Algo parecido hemos tratado de hacer entre nosotros, en la medida de nuestras posibilidades. Es bueno insistir en el valor decisivo de esta contribución extranjera, en especial europea, que ha marcado profundamente el progreso de los estudios patrísticos en Chile. Merece especial mención aquí el aporte del Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum de Roma, y del Profesor Manlio Simonetti, entre otros. Personalmente, quiero destacar la importancia que tuvo en mi formación el Profesor André Mandouze, de la Universidad de París IV. Un agustiniano total, Mandouze supo transmitir a sus alumnos su fina sensibilidad, su sentido de la historia y su entusiasmo y admiración por San Agustín; su docencia, además, iba acompañada de la enseñanza de una metodología muy estricta.[44] Junto a él, descubrí en Sorbona IV un espacio de saber patrológico, de gran dinamismo, ejercido por diversos profesores en el entorno de la *Bibliothèque d'histoire des religions*.

[43] La revista *Seminarios de Filosofía*, editada hasta hace poco por la Facultad de Filosofía de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, publicó un volumen especial en 1993, editado por Antonio Arbea, con dieciséis artículos de temas patrísticos, la mayoría escritos por estudiosos de la filosofía, la historia y la filología.

[44] Ante la imposibilidad de venir personalmente a Chile, el Prof. Mandouze tuvo la gentileza de enviar un trabajo especial al V Seminario de Estudios Patrísticos en Santiago de Chile (1997), que traducido por mí fue publicado como: André Mandouze, '*Augustinus magister* y *Augustinus minister*', *TyV* 39 (1998), 295-306.

Esta contribución externa se ha hecho presente asimismo mediante la visita de profesores que, en estadías de cierta duración, han contribuido igualmente al progreso de los estudios patrísticos en el país. Es preciso destacar en estos casos nuevamente la existencia de centros organizados en Santiago al interior de las instituciones mencionadas, que han proporcionado los recursos y una audiencia preparada para la realización de estos cursos. No son ciclos de conferencias. La facultad de teología, y, a su vez, la facultad de filosofía por algún tiempo, se han destacado en la PUCC en la realización de estas actividades de investigación académica. Y entre muchos, se pueden recordar las visitas (para estadías intensivas de al menos un mes) a Henry Crouzel, Gerard O'Daly (*God*, como le decíamos a ese brillante y joven profesor de acuerdo con las iniciales de su nombre, cuando estudié con él San Agustín y Plotino en la Universidad de Lancaster, Inglaterra), Ysabel de Andia, J. Rius-Camps, José Montserrat i Torrents, mi admirado maestro, que dirigió mi doctorado en la Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona. Esta es, pues, a grandes rasgos, ya que omito numerosos nombres, la contribución extranjera, de incalculable y decisiva importancia en nuestro desarrollo, que me hace pensar que, en nuestras tierras de Iberoamérica, sin el concurso europeo habría sido imposible contar la historia de esta esforzada y lejana comunidad, así como la modesta aunque entusiasta contribución al desarrollo de los estudios patrísticos hecha desde esta tierra. Ya en 1999 se contaban 19 tesis de licenciatura (un grado que en la Facultad de teología exige un mínimo de 4 años de estudio), y en la primera década del siglo XXI son numerosos los artículos y varios los libros publicados que demuestran una consolidación de la enseñanza, y, sobre todo, de la investigación en el campo de la patrística.

No puedo dejar este punto sin mencionar el aporte de los estudiosos argentinos, tanto individual como colectivamente. Su extraordinaria contribución no es solo en la investigación y la producción escrita, sino en la inmensa calidez de su colaboración personal, su asistencia activa a los simposios organizados en Chile, sus invitaciones, su amistad, y la atractiva oportunidad de participar en los congresos realizados en Argentina. Patricia Ciner, en San Juan, y Rubén Peretó, en Mendoza, han sabido liderar a un grupo de estudiosos que crece y puede mostrar desde hace tiempo una valiosa producción académica, y que da muestras de una gran vitalidad.[45] De un modo semejante, Silvana Philippi, de Rosario, ha contribuido a nuestro progreso con sus ediciones, así como Graciela Ritacco,[46] y Laura

[45] Varios trabajos de Patricia Ciner han sido publicados en nuestro país, entre los que: Patricia Ciner, 'La presencia súbita de lo divino en el pensamiento de Plotino y Orígenes', *Diadokhe* 1 (1998), 31-53; 'Aproximación al éxtasis en Plotino y Orígenes', *TyV* 43 (2002), 167-74; 'Unidad y Polisemia de la noción de ἀρχή en el *Comentario al Evangelio de Juan* de Orígenes', *TyV* 52 (2011), 93-104.

[46] Graciela Ritacco de Gayoso, 'De Proclo a Dionisio Areopagita: Prometheo y Epimetheo', *Diadokhe* 1 (1998), 55-81; 'Los himnos theárquicos', *TyV* 43 (2002), 350-76.

Corso con su presencia en nuestros congresos.[47] Temo que muchos quedarán si nombrar. Hemos recibido en nuestro país a menudo el magnífico aporte y colaboración de estudiosos transandinos como Francisco García Bazán y Héctor Jorge Padrón.[48] Luego de una anterior visita de M. Mercedes Bergadá, Silvia Magnavacca fue de las primeras estudiosas que, años atrás, inauguraron esta fecunda contribución argentina al desarrollo de los estudios patrísticos en Chile.[49]

Esta historia ha querido mostrar que la interacción de personas, instituciones, convencimiento, sociabilidad, apoyo mutuo, amistad, algún dinero, y buena vecindad, más un cierto sentido de organización y perseverancia, han podido superar la escasez de medios y la indiferencia. La actividad recíproca, a su vez, ha sido fundamental para potenciar esta pequeña comunidad chilena, donde estudiosos de la teología han aprendido a compartir con los estudiosos de la filosofía y otras especialidades, y en que el campo no ha estado reservado únicamente a teólogos, clérigos y religiosos, sino a filósofos, filólogos y laicos. La producción escolar ha sido constante desde 1977, año del primer seminario de estudios patrísticos, un congreso internacional que en 2010 celebró su VIII Seminario.[50] Estos seminarios, que se realizan cada cuatro años, han significado un

[47] Laura Corso de Estrada, 'Teología y virtud desde la perspectiva agustiniana del L. XIX del *De Civitate Dei'*, *Diadokhe* 1 (1998), 95-109.

[48] Francisco García Bazán, 'Dios Padre como Uno y ser en los escritos gnósticos de Nag Hammadi. En torno a la metafísica de *Exodo*, 3, 14', *TyV* 39 (1998), 325-44; 'En los comienzos de la filosofía cristiana: La actitud de los escritores eclesiásticos y de los gnósticos ante la filosofía', *TyV* 43 (2002), 251-68; 'Justino de Roma, el primer filósofo católico', *TyV* 52 (2011), 11-34; Héctor Jorge Padrón, 'San Atanasio y los Salmos', *Diadokhe* 2 (1999), 25-36; 'Una estética del ícono en el pensamiento de San Agustín', *TyV* 43 (2002), 319-29.

[49] Silvia Magnavacca, 'La asimilación *Ordo-Pondus* en San Agustín', *Seminarios de Filosofía*, volumen especial (1993), 155-62; 'El pasaje de XI, 29, 39 en la estructura de las *Confesiones'*, *TyV* 43 (2002), 269-84.

En una publicación todavía vacilante, que con S. Zañartu llamamos *Estudios Patrísticos* (que no tuvo continuación) se publicó el primer artículo que marca la contribución activa argentina a nuestro país en el campo de la patrología: María Mercedes Bergadá, 'El hombre como "*imago Dei*" en los Padres griegos', *Estudios Patrísticos* (Santiago de Chile, 1982), 13-21. En esos *Estudios Patrísticos* publicaron también sus trabajos, Sergio Zañartu, Anneliese Meis, Pedro Garcés, Julio Jiménez y Oscar Velásquez. El jesuita uruguayo Eduardo Rodríguez hizo sus estudios de Licenciatura en la PUCC, y se publicó al tiempo de su prematura muerte *La dynamis de Dios en San Justino*, Anales de la Facultad de Teología 31 (Santiago de Chile, 1980); el salesiano argentino Alberto Capbosq, también en su época de estudiante de la PUCC, publicó *El bien siempre mayor y sobreabundante (In Cant. 174. 16)*, Anales de la Facultad de Teología 43 (Santiago de Chile, 1992).

[50] Samuel Fernández, en 'La Patrología en los 40 años de Teología y Vida', hace la siguiente importante afirmación: 'El año 1977 se puede considerar una fecha clave en este *iter*, es el año en que se publica el primer artículo centrado en un autor patrístico y en que se celebra el primer Seminario de Estudios Patrísticos en nuestra Universidad. Desde ese año, la producción patrológica ha ido *in crescendo* hasta alcanzar un peso muy considerable en el contexto general de la revista. La labor de Sergio Zañartu y de la Hermana Anneliese Meis ha sido clave en este florecimiento del estudio de los Padres de la Iglesia en la Facultad de Teología, tal como lo refleja *TyV*". S. Fernández, 'La Patrología en los 40 años de Teología y Vida', *TyV* 41 (2000), 325. Un

verdadero impulso a los estudios patrísticos chilenos, que tienen además la oportunidad de recibir docentes extranjeros, en especial de la Argentina y Europa. Muchos de los mejores artículos y monografías sobre el campo patrístico publicados en este país han sido producidos con ocasión de estos congresos.[51] Fueron ideados por este servidor y cofundados con Sergio Zañartu – sin el cual hubiera sido imposible llevarlos a efecto –, y se distinguió desde un principio por su carácter interdisciplinario teológico y filosófico. La consciencia de una comunidad de intereses ha sido esencial en este desarrollo histórico, y la conveniencia de idear órganos de participación ha hecho posible la creación de grupos de estudio, como el círculo platónico-patrístico (CPP), que en 1999 presenté como una idea que fue acogida por S. Zañartu y A. Meis, con quienes se fundó este grupo de trabajo que funciona hasta hoy.[52]

Al concluir este trabajo, junto al hecho de narrar una historia del desarrollo de los estudios patrísticos en Chile, se ha intentado reflexionar sobre las condiciones que hicieron posible su existencia y evolución posterior. Una aspecto determinante es su carácter unitario desde el punto de vista de su base institucional, su naturaleza más bien diferenciada en cuanto a los sujetos de estudio, y la presencia de académicos provenientes de diversas escuelas que han tenido, a su vez, discípulos y continuadores. La Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile (PUCC) y su Facultad de Teología (con su excelente biblioteca), seguida luego por la Facultad de Filosofía, representan ese núcleo institucional. La Universidad de Chile (UdeC) acoge asimismo un grupo de estudiosos más directamente relacionados con la filosofía. Todos ellos han estado asimismo de un modo u otro vinculados con la PUCC y la actividad patrística. Considerando el movimiento en su conjunto, los autores más estudiados han sido San Agustín y Boecio en el campo latino, Orígenes, los Capadocios y el Dionisio Pseudo-Areopagita en el griego. La *institucionalización* de los estudios ha favorecido iniciativas que incentivan el carácter colectivo: la realización de los Seminarios de Estudios Patrísticos (ocho hasta la fecha, y que han recibido sobre todo el

testimonio de este trabajo mancomunado es la obra colectiva *Sapientia Patrum Homenaje al Profesor Dr. Sergio Zañartu Undurraga, S.J.*, publicación de los *Anales de la Facultad de Teología* 51 (2000), Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Santiago, en que se presentaron trabajos sobre biblia, Padres prenicenos, Padres posnicenos, teología y filosofía.

[51] El volumen especial de *Seminarios de Filosofía*, publicado por la Facultad de Filosofía de la PUCC en 1993, esta íntegramente dedicado a estudios escogidos que fueron producidos en estos seminarios; del mismo modo, merecen especial mención los siguientes volúmenes de *Teología y Vida*, igualmente dedicados a trabajos presentados en estos seminarios y aprobados por la revista: *TyV* 39 (1998), *TyV* 48 (2007), *TyV* 52 (2011).

[52] El CPP se ha transformado, desde 1999, en nuestro punto de reunión más importante aparte de los Seminarios: este Círculo Platónico-Patrístico es un espacio interdisciplinario, en que uno de nuestros miembros se encarga, por un período de uno o dos trimestres, de leer un texto griego o latino, traducirlo y ponerlo a prueba, con el concurso de los demás, a examen y discusión. En 2007-2008, fueron los textos sobre el Bien y la Caverna de *República*, luego textos de Filón, Ignacio de Antioquía, y de la *Metafísica* de Aristóteles en 2010. Hay un programa para el 2012.

valioso aporte de estudiosos argentinos), la aparición masiva de artículos sobre temas patrísticos en revistas de la misma PUCC, monografías y libros; a su vez, una Maestría en Teología con mención en patrística (fundada en 2001 por Zañartu), y grupos de encuentro académico como el Círculo Platónico-Patrístico, que reúne estudiosos de la teología y la filosofía, han contribuido enormemente a configurar un sentido de colaboración. Tres revistas surgidas en la Universidad Católica de Chile han publicado numerosos trabajos en los estudios patrísticos (algunos números dedicados en forma exclusiva a este campo), lo que ha permitido también concentrar los esfuerzos de edición y confirmar su carácter corporativo. Esta característica, entonces, de orden colegiado, puede decirse que ha dado lugar a un verdadero movimiento de significación en el contexto académico del país, y, es de esperar, de Iberoamérica.

HISTORICA

Athens, Jerusalem and Mecca: The Patristic Crucible of the Abrahamic Religions

Guy G. Stroumsa, Oxford, UK, and Jerusalem, Israel

Each one of us, assembled here, has experienced, as a young woman or a young man, the odd, the powerful, for some, even, the exotic appeal of those early Christian writers whom we call the Fathers of the Church.[1] We come from many different cultural, intellectual, linguistic and religious backgrounds, but we all faithfully keep answering the call of the Fathers, pursuing our multiform conversation with them throughout our lives. There is something quite unique in our congregation: as if these slightly rusty voices of old, wise men from the four corners of the Roman Empire, and beyond, all of a sudden, and under the magic protection of medieval spires, were jumping directly into our new, global age.

From Justin Martyr in the second century to John of Damascus in the eighth, the six centuries, roughly, of Patristic literature represent one of the richest, of the most valuable literary corpora of Late Antiquity, a corpus which offers a dramatic pilgrimage through the infinitely varied spiritual landscapes of Early Christianity, from its first steps as a Jewish heresy and a persecuted *religio illicita*, through Constantinian triumphalism, to its becoming, in the Near East, a religion of tolerated *dhimmis* in the Islamic realm. Both in Byzantium and in the Latin West, Patristic literature became the foundation upon which all subsequent intellectual and spiritual buildings would be erected, during a whole millenium. One may regard Patristic literature as the first and most impressive of all cathedrals: a cathedral of living words.

Since I speak from the pulpit, I should like to start with an *exemplum* of sorts (an *exemplum* in three *personae*) and mention three remarkable men whom I was privileged to meet in person, three brilliant scholars, who offered singular contributions to our understanding of the Church Fathers. Henry Chadwick, about whom we shall hear more this week, from a most eminent colleague who knew him far better than me, once told me how, during the sleepless, endless, dreadful nights of the *Blitzkrieg*, he set to translate Origen's *Contra Celsum*.

[1] It is only after having announced the title of this text that I realized that it had been used, already, by my friend Rémi Brague, in his 'Athènes, Jérusalem, La Mecque. L'interprétation "musulmane" de la philosophie grecque chez Leo Strauss', *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale* 94 (1989), 309-36. When I raised the issue with him, he answered that he had no copyright on either one of these three cities.

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In those same dark times, in occupied Lyon, the Jesuit Father Henri de Lubac was establishing the grounds of the series *Sources Chrétiennes*, while he was at work on *Histoire et esprit: l'intelligence de l'Écriture selon Origène* – at great personal cost: the Catholic hierarchy of the times did not appreciate dabbling in heretic writers, even if they were intellectual giants and heroes of Christian faith. For the future Cardinal, as for the future Sir Henry, Origen represented, together with Augustine, the zenith of Patristic thought. During the same years, seemingly protected from the atrocities of war by the Atlantic Ocean, but knowing that his family, his whole people, were suffering martyrdom, literally, under Nazi madness, Harry Austryn Wolfson, at Harvard, was also reading the Church Fathers and meditating upon them. His lonely study, at a time when very few in the leading American universities expressed any interest in Patristics, would eventually produce the monumental *Philosophy of the Church Fathers: Faith, Trinity, Incarnation*, a book published, like Chadwick's translation of the *Contra Celsum* and de Lubac's *Histoire et esprit*, in the 1950s, at the time of the first Patristic Conferences. Was there anything more improbable than the decision of these three scholars, in the darkness of the night, to seek solace in those early Christian intellectuals who had asked, in so many ways, the perennial question: *unde malum*? Beyond their theological constructions, the Fathers' real answer was encapsulated in the wager of faith: justice on earth, and cosmic salvation, would eventually dawn. Chadwick, de Lubac, Wolfson: three humanists for whom studying the Fathers provided a lighthouse in the maelstrom. In their different ways, these three great scholars recognized the importance and the urgency of our task: to reclaim the Church Fathers for the cultural memory of our times.

This is, indeed, how we should approach Patristics today: as a highly significant part of what it means to study and to teach the Humanities, in the University of the twenty-first century. I have spent more than three decades teaching in a Faculty of Humanities, in a university where very few among my students were Christian. In front of my mostly Jewish students, I needed to justify my intellectual involvement with the Church Fathers. 'If Augustine is such an important thinker, one of them asked me, how come I never heard of him?' This was no trivial question. And its answer remains, I am convinced, an eminently epistemological duty, never to be discarded. I know full well that my viewpoint is a rather marginal one. After all, Patristic literature is most often taught in theological institutions or faculties, where the brutal, nasty and short question 'Why should I care?' is not usually asked, or at least not asked aloud.

I wish to recall here what Adolf von Harnack, the greatest of all Patristic scholars in modern times, said in 1901 in his *Rectoratsrede* at the University of Berlin. Against the trend of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, which required intensive contacts between theologians and orientalists, and also between theologians and classicists, Harnack wished to emphasize the intellectual autonomy of Theological Faculties, and insisted that there was no need,

for students of Christianity, to acquire any knowledge of other religions: 'He who does not know this religion [Christianity], knows none, and he who knows all of its history, knows all [religions].'[2] Harnack added: 'What is the significance of Homer, of the Vedas, of the Qur'an next to that of the Bible?' Harnack, it would seem, was not only fighting a war within German universities. He was also answering Max Müller, another great German scholar, who had moved to Oxford. Müller notoriously wrote: 'He who knows only one [religion], knows none.' Müller, here, was right, as he was inscribing himself in the trend of comparative studies when the British Empire was at its zenith, when knowing was comparing: 'And what should they know of England, who only England know?' says Kipling in *The English Flag*. Harnack's conception of Christianity as a phenomenon *sui generis*, standing apart from all other religions in the history of humankind, blinded him to some of the most obvious presuppositions of sound historical research – presuppositions which he implicitly accepted, of course, in his own work.[3]

I can offer here only my own approach, that of a historian of religions living, between the Oxford terms, in Jerusalem, the city where Christianity was born, but the population of which is today, sadly, essentially Jewish and Muslim. Incidentally, Jerusalem plays a significant role in Patristic literature, from the Catechetical and Mystagogical Homilies of Patriarch Cyril, in the fourth century, through the only extant Patristic commentary on *Leviticus*, penned by the Origenian priest Hesychius in the fifth century, a contemporary of the redactor of *Leviticus Rabba*, the standard Palestinian Midrash on this biblical book, and to the writings of its Patriarch at the time of the Arab conquest, Sophronius. It is *in context* that I propose to study the Church Fathers, to read them in their historical, cultural and religious milieus. More precisely, it is in the context of the two other Abrahamic religions that I propose to read the Fathers. From the perception of Christianity as a Jewish heresy to that of Islam as a Christian heresy, Patristic literature provides a thread running through the transformations of the Israelite prophetic tradition. Indeed, just like literary creativity, religious creativity draws what has been called 'a map of misreading', certainly in religions sharing the same Scriptures or the same sacred stories. When reading the Fathers, one cannot ignore the fact that they often lived, thought and prayed (in particular in the East) side by side with Jews, and that they sometimes retained intellectual contacts with the Rabbis. In some cases, Patristic

[2] 'Wer diese Religion nicht kennt, kennt keine, und wer sie samt ihrer Geschichte kennt, kennt alle.' *Die Aufgabe der theologischen Facultäten und die allgemeine Religionsgeschichte* (Giessen, 1911), 11. See Susanne Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire* (Cambridge, 2009), 265.

[3] As shown, for instance, by the remarkable appendix to the fourth edition of his *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (1911), on striking similarities (*theilweise frappante Übereinstimmungen*) between Jewish-Christian and Qur'anic Christology. Before Harnack, Ritschl had spoken of the Jewish elements in early Christianity as of 'traces of a foreign faith'.

writings even provide the earliest extant witness to major trends in Rabbinic thought – for instance Origen's introduction to his *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, about Rabbinic esoteric mysticism. On the other hand, Patristic authors (for instance Ephrem the Syrian) can provide valuable hints on a major phenomenon, which has remained, oddly enough, almost totally unexplored: the preparation of the minds and hearts throughout the Near East, for the new prophecies which would prompt many, from the seventh century on, to accept Islam. Christians had shown, in antiquity, that they were willing to pay the highest possible price in order to retain their religious integrity. If many among them converted to Islam during the first three centuries of the Islamic conquest, it is not because they were forced, or strongly encouraged, to convert, but essentially because they found it *possible*. If this is the case, we should be able to identify, in the few centuries preceding the coming of Islam, what I propose to call a *praeparatio islamica*, *i.e.*, the ways in which what would become central tenets of the new religion were already incipient in late antique patterns of thought and behavior. Patristic literature, in particular, offers a major, if undervalued, testimony to the background of the Qur'anic view of Abraham and of its religion.

Every discipline walks a meandering path between what contemporary anthropologists call the *emic* and the *etic*, the view from within and the view from without. No progress of scholarship is possible without the insider's technical language, which alone permits precision, but there can also be no cognitive breakthrough, no interdisciplinary impact, without communication between disciplines, in order to both give and receive. For such communication, scholars must give up, for a time and to an extent, the usual esoteric vocabulary of their own discipline. The lack of interest in Patristic literature often shown today by colleagues from other disciplines represents nothing less than an intellectual scandal, as it entails giving up on understanding a crucial historical period in world history, the Christianization of the Roman Empire. I am not so naïve as to think that such a state of affairs can be easily corrected. But we may not have tried hard enough to present the often striking results of Patristic research to the academic public at large.

To be sure, such an imbalance between intra- and inter-disciplinary discourse is in no way peculiar to Patristic scholarship. One could easily argue the same, for instance, about Rabbinic studies, which deal with a literary corpus rather comparable, *mutatis mutandis*, to that of the Church Fathers: the two literary corpora were composed in the same period, and to a great extent deal with the hermeneutics of the same biblical texts. These two disciplines, which also share serious philological difficulties and linguistic demands, have recently started to engage in a timid dialogue. Such efforts should certainly be encouraged.

In the centuries between Jesus and Muhammad, the Eastern Mediterranean witnessed some of the most dramatic transformations of religion: the victory

of prophetic monotheism and the abandonment of animal sacrifices. The Church Fathers were no simple by-standing witnesses to these transformations. To a great extent, they created them – both through their literary polemics and as community leaders, at times, alas, permitting, supporting or even leading violent behavior. The name of Cyril of Alexandria, here, comes easily to mind: as we know, he seems to have been directly involved in the lynching of Hypatia in 414.[4]

Patristic texts have been scanned, of course, for their references to pagan myths, beliefs and rituals. From Clement of Alexandria, through figures such as Lactantius, Firmicus Maternus or Arnobius of Sicca, to Sozomen, and beyond, Patristic literature remains one of our most important sources for the study of late antique paganism. In a variety of ways, as a by-product of their virulent polemics, as it were, some of the Patristic writers offer valuable insights on religious attitudes in the world of their contemporaries, and on some central pagan myths and rituals. Clement, in particular, who was born a pagan in second-century Alexandria, is an unequalled source of information on various aspects of pagan religion, and especially on the Greek mysteries as well as on late Egyptian religion. What is even more remarkable, however, is his full-fledged conception of the history of religions, from the earliest antiquity – and not only of the *Heilsgeschichte* and the history of Israel.[5] Clement shows a remarkable consciousness of Christianity inscribing itself within the general history of religions. By far the most interesting feature of the *Protrepticus* from our perspective is Clement's concise history of religion, in seven stages of paganism, not necessarily chronologically consecutive.[6] This highly original conception would in itself have been enough to offer Clement a place among the best historians and observers of religion in the ancient world, together with Herodotus and his contemporary Lucian.[7] In the sixth book of the *Stromateis*, Clement develops at length the theme of Greek borrowing from the Egyptians and also from the Indians. Doing so, he devotes much attention to Indian religion, and is the first author in Greek literature to refer to Buddhism.

Recent scholarship has highlighted the fact that monotheistic belief was not restricted to Jews and Christians in the Roman Empire. Pagan monotheism (the locution sounds like an oxymoron) was in fact a rather widespread phenomenon

[4] On Cyril's role in the murder of Hypatia, see Maria Dzielska, *Hypatia of Alexandria* (Cambridge, Mass., London, 1995), 97-8.

[5] See Guy G. Stroumsa, 'Cultural Memory in Early Christianity: Clement of Alexandria and the History of Religions', in S.N. Eisenstadt, J.P. Arnason and B. Wittrock (eds), *Axial Civilizations and World History*, Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture 4 (Leiden, Boston and Köln, 2005), 293-315.

[6] *Protr*. II 26.1-8.

[7] On this text, see the excellent analysis of Arthur J. Droge, *Homer or Moses? Early Christian Interpretations of the History of Culture* (Tübingen, 1989), 129-38.

in the early centuries of the Christian era.[8] It is now becoming clearer that the traditional picture of the passage 'from paganism to Christianity', as a transition from polytheism to monotheism is a rather simplistic one. For many pagan intellectuals under the early empire – and not only among philosophers – as well as for a number of religious trends, the idea of a single supreme divine power was a natural one. This does not mean, of course, that there was no major difference regarding the nature of the Divinity between such views and those of Christians. The God of Plotinus is not quite that of Origen. The fundamental differences between pagan and Christian conceptions must be sought elsewhere than in the abstract idea of monotheism.

Significant as it may be, however, scholarly focus on 'pagans and Christians' may be deeply misleading as we seek to better understand the religious *Umwelt* of early Christianity. Such an approach tends to distort the perceived proportions of this environment, where enemies much closer than the pagans were prominent. Both the Jews and a number of sectarians, in particular dualists, offered much more serious challenges than the pagans to the emerging 'party line', or orthodoxy, than the 'atheist' pagans. Traditional historiography usually deals with polemics against Jews, Gnostics, Manichaeans and pagans in so many different frameworks, while the emergence of Islam, at the very end of the Patristic period, is often simply ignored. Hence, in order to fully understand the contribution of Patristic literature to the history of religions in late antiquity, one must study *together* the challenges offered by heretics, Jews and pagans.

It is here, I submit, that the idea of the Abrahamic religions may prove useful from a heuristic point of view. I shall thus focus on the place of Patristic literature in our understanding of the making of the Abrahamic religions. The locution 'Abrahamic religions' in the plural, is easily misleading. Although referring to the oldest antiquity, the locution appeared only in the last decades of the twentieth century. It offers the new, growing Muslim populations of Europe a sense of being part of the cultural fabric of societies which had until recently insisted upon their Christian identity. In a sense, speaking of 'the Abrahamic religions' permits to bring the Muslims 'into the family', as it were, just as the birth of the 'Judeo-Christian tradition' had reflected, a few decades previously, a sense of guilt for the Christian roots of modern, racial anti-Semitism and its tragic consequences.[9]

Until the last generation, one used to speak of the 'monotheistic religions', or of 'the religions of the book' in order to refer to Judaism, Christianity and

[8] See in particular the studies collected in Polymnia Athanassiadi and Michael Frede (eds), *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 1999), and in Stephen Mitchell and Peter Van Nuffelen (eds), *One God: Pagan Monotheism in the Roman Empire* (Cambrdige, UK, 2010). See further Giulia Sfameni Gasparro, *Dio unico, pluralità e monarchia divina* (Brescia, 2010).

[9] See Guy G. Stroumsa, 'From Abraham's Religion to the Abrahamic Religions', *Historia Religionum* 3 (2011), 11-22.

Islam. Even those terms, however, are not that old. While 'monotheism', like 'dualism', is an early modern neologism, Schleiermacher might have been the first to speak of 'the monotheistic religion'.[10] The concept of 'religions of the book', on the other hand, is due to Max Müller, who was here extrapolating from the Qur'anic phrase *ahl al-kitab*, 'peoples of the book', referring in the Qur'an usually to Jews, sometimes also to Christians.

Although the idea of Abrahamic religions seems at first to stem from the Qur'an, please note that one reads there about *millat Ibrahīm*, Abraham's religion, in the singular, not in the plural. According to the Qur'an, Jews first, and then Christians, mischievously corrupted the original religious message of Abraham, a message restored to its pristine purity by the Prophet Muhammad. The Jews, on their side, had always known that they were both Abraham's progeny and his spiritual inheritors. It is only with the birth of Christianity that the two competing traditions could start arguing about who was Abraham's true heir. In other words, the idea of 'Abrahamic religions' is rooted in competition for Abraham's inheritance, and therefore starts with Christianity, rather than with Islam, as the prominence and significance of Abraham's figure in the Qur'an would let us think. It is in Patristic literature, as well as in the Rabbinic *Midrashim*, that the Qur'anic figure of Abraham has its roots.[11]

To a great extent, and perhaps more than is usually acknowledged, the early polemic between Christians and Jews had Abraham as one of its main focal points. The Rabbis of the Talmud, in stark contradistinction with the Fathers, did not indulge very much in literary polemics against their opponents. While the Patristic heresiographers spent endless efforts describing at length the odious beliefs and practices of the heretics before refuting them, the Rabbis found it much more expedient to simply ignore them, thus 'killing them by silence', content with vague allusions to the *minim*, a generic term for heretics of all

[10] Friedrich Schleiermacher, *Der christliche Glaube nach den Grundsätzen der evangelischen Kirche im Zusammenhange dargestellt* (2nd ed. 1830/31) (repr. Berlin and New York, 2008). See Christoph Markschies, 'The price of monotheism: some observations on a current debate about late antiquity', in S. Mitchell and P. Van Nuffelen (eds), *One God* (2010), 100-11, 109.

[11] The Qur'an, as we know, deals with the figure of Abraham (Arabic *Ibrahim*) and with his religious community. 'And who has a better religion than one who submits himself to God (*aslama waǧhahu li-Illāhi*), does right and follows the true religion of Abraham the perennial believer (*millat Ibrahim hanīfan*)? God has taken Abraham for a friend (*wa-attakhadha Allāhu Ibrahīma khalīlan*)' (IV 125). For the Qur'an, there is only one religion of Abraham, and it is Islam: 'Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian, but a perennial believer and a Muslim (*hanīfan musliman*)' (III 67). For the Qur'an, both Jews and Christians seek to claim that Abraham, the first true believer in God's unity, belongs only to their own respective communities, although their sacred texts, the Torah and the Gospel, are later concoctions which cannot testify about Abraham's original religion. On Abraham in the Qur'an, see the entry on Abraham by Reuven Firestone in the *Encyclopedia of the Qur'an*, 5-11 (with bibliography). According to a seventh-century Christian source, Muhammad 'taught [the Arabs] to recognize the God of Abraham, especially because he was learned and informed on the history of Moses.' See Robert W. Thompson (trans.), *The Armenian History attributed to Sebeos* (Liverpool, 1999), I 135.

kinds. It is, then, mainly thanks to Patristic literature that we can retrieve the early career of the religious conflict between Christians and Jews about Abraham's inheritance.

Abraham was not only a main figure of contention between Jews and Christians. Various indicators point to the importance of the figure of Abraham in the Roman Empire, where he seems to have been a well-known and highly respected hero of archaic times. It is no mere chance that Emperor Alexander Severus (AD 208-235) is claimed to have possessed, together with statues of Orpheus and Apollonius of Tyana, one of Abraham (but no statue of Moses).[12] Emperor Julian himself, arguing against the Christians that, since they claim to be followers of Abraham, they should practice circumcision, adds that he himself reveres the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.[13] Marinos, Proclus's successor at the head of the Academy, was born in Neapolis in Samaria (today Nablus). According to his pupil Damascius, there was on Mount Garizim (the Samaritans' holiest site) 'the most holy shrine of Zeus Hypsistos, founded by Abraham, the patriarch of the ancient Hebrews'. Marinos, a Samaritan by birth, converted to paganism, as it were, as he became convinced that Samaritan beliefs had departed from Abraham's religion.[14] To be sure, these few texts provide only meager information, but they do point to a continuing presence of the figure of Abraham far beyond the Jewish and Christian communities.

'What has Athens to do with Jerusalem, or the Academy with the Church?'[15] Since Tertullian's pithy phrase, and despite it, the development of Christian theology in the Roman Empire, and beyond, has been symbolized by the

[12] *Historia Augusta* 29.2. Most ancient historians agree today that the third-century lives in the *Historia Augusta* are largely fictional creations from the late fourth century, informed by contemporary struggles between paganism and Christianity.

[13] 'I am one of those who avoid keeping their festivals with the Jews; but nevertheless I revere always the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; who, being themselves Chaldaeans, of a sacred race, skilled in theurgy, had learned the practice of circumcision while they sojourned as strangers with the Egyptians. And they revered a God who was ever gracious to me and to those who worshipped him as Abraham did, for he is a very great and powerful God, but he has nothing to do with you. For you do not imitate Abraham by erecting altars to him, or building altars of sacrifice and worshipping him as Abraham did, with sacrificial offerings. For Abraham used to sacrifice even as we Hellenes do, always and continually. And he used the method of divination from shooting stars. Probably this also is a Hellenic custom.' (*Against the Galileans*, 354B-356B; 422-3 Loeb Classical Library). See further Marinus of Nablus, a Neo-Platonic philosopher who had converted from Samaritanism, who identified the Hellenic tradition with the religion of Abraham (Damascius, *Life of Isidore*, test. 141, quoted by M. Tardieu, *Annuaire du Collège de France* 2005-2006, 438).

[14] Damascius, *Life of Isidorus*, 141: *Ha te eis kainotomian apo tēs Abramou thrēskeias aporrueisan, ta de Hellenōn egapasen*. See *Neoplatonic Saints*, trans. Mark Edwards (Liverpool, 2000), 55[2]. On the temple of Zeus Hypsistos, see Nicole Belayche, 'Hypsistos: Une voie de l'exaltation des dieux dans le polythéisme gréco-romain', *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 7 (2005), 34-55, esp. 51-4.

[15] Tertullian, *De praescriptione haereticorum* VII.

relationship between Jerusalem and Athens. What the great majority of the early Christian thinkers (especially, of course, those writing in either Greek or Latin) did, and to a great measure successfully, was, precisely, to build bridges between Athens and Jerusalem. Henri Chadwick has once used the metaphor of the ellipse in order to describe the relationship between Jerusalem and Rome in the early Church, in order to indicate its dialectical nature.[16] The same metaphor could certainly be used to describe the circulation of ideas between the young faith in the crucified Jewish Messiah and Greco-Roman culture. To a great extent, the ellipse Athens-Jerusalem can indeed symbolize the major effort of the early Christian theologians, from the days of the Apologetes to those of the Cappadocians. As the title of this lecture indicates, I propose to underline here another trajectory, of a different kind, in Patristic literature: that which would eventually lead to the foundation of a new religion by the Prophet from the Hedjaz.

Justin Martyr wrote his *Dialogue with Trypho*, it seems, about a decade before his death, in 150, two generations after the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple, perceived by the Christians as the divine punishment for the Jews' refusal to recognize Jesus as Messiah – a destruction commemorated precisely tonight in the Jewish calendar by fasting and reading the Book of *Lamentations*. Whether the text is based upon a real dialogue (Trypho's name recalls that of the contemporary Rabbi Tarphon, mentioned in the Mishna) or not is irrelevant here. Justin Martyr complains about the Jewish accusations identifying Christianity as an 'impious heresy'.[17] To be sure, the Rabbis could call the Christians heretics (*minim*) without considering them to be Jewish. The accusation of heresy referred to the Christian self-identity as *verus Israel*. Such a self-identity, however, prevented seeing in them, simply, yet another kind of pagans. Hence stems the fundamental ambivalence, between a heresy and a religion, of the Jewish perception of earliest Christianity.

To a great extent, the *Dialogue with Trypho* will set the main parameters of the whole genre of *Adversus Judaeos* literature, from the Patristic times on. In Justin's text, the figure of Abraham plays a major role in the dispute between Christians and Jews. Justin uses two different, and to some extent contradictory lines of argument. On the one hand, he insists on the fact that the Christians are the spiritual race of Abraham. On the other hand, he points out that through Mary, Jesus Christ belongs to the biological offspring of Abraham. Almost at the start of his book, Justin states that the Christians are the true, the spiritual Israelite race

[16] Henry Chadwick, *The Circle and the Ellipse: Rival Concepts of Authority in the Early Church, an Inaugural Lecture delivered before the University of Oxford on 5 May 1959* (Oxford, 1959).

[17] *hairesin atheōn christianōn*; *Dial. Tryph.* 17.1 (226-7 Bobichon). For Justin's text, I use Justin Martyr, *Dialogue avec Tryphon*, ed., trad., com. Philippe Bobichon, Paradosis 47.1-2 (Fribourg, 2003), vol. 1, text and trans., vol. 2, comm.

(*genos*), that of Abraham and of the other patriarchs.[18] Justin insists, on three different occasions, upon the fact that the Virgin Mary comes from the offspring of Abraham. Her Son, then, 'was born of a virgin of the race of Abraham'.[19] Mary belongs to Abraham's 'race', writes Justin.[20] What Justin wishes to establish here is the fact that Christian universalism can be expressed through the concept of the true Israel. The Christians are a people, indeed, the true people of Israel, and they will inherit God's promises, made through Christ.[21] The circumcision, and then the Sabbath, the festivals, and the sacrifices, were given as so many signs (*seimea*) because of the Israelites' hardened heart. All these Israelite rituals were provisory, and became obsolete with the coming of Christ. Abraham himself did not need such signs, as he was still uncircumcised when he was justified and blessed, thanks to his faith in God.[22] The Jews err when they claim to be Abraham's children. Only those Jews who will repent, finally recognizing the true meaning of the prophecies and of the Torah, will inherit together with the Christians.[23] This conceptual framework, established in the very first Patristic so-called 'Dialogue' with the Jews, would remain valid throughout the centuries. It represents the core of the conflict between the Church and the Synagogue. What is most significant from our perspective is the fact that for Justin, and for the Patristic tradition after him, the Christians are the true followers of Abraham's religion, a religion from which the Jews have deviated. According to the Qur'an, the Jews, and then the Christians, had deviated from Abraham's true religion, which was reinstated by Muhammad's community of believers. This conception, I submit, is copied on the Christian one. The Islamic concept of 'the peoples of the book' (*ahl al-kitāb*) extends to the Christians (and later also to the Zoroastrians) the traditional Patristic attitude to Jews.

In the early fourth century, Eusebius of Caesarea claimed, at the outset of his *Ecclesiastical History*, that 'it must clearly be held that the announcement to all peoples, recently made through the teaching of Christ, is the very first and most ancient and antique discovery of true religion (*theosebeias*) by Abraham and those lovers of God who followed him.'[24] Abraham, in other words, was the inventor, the first prophet of monotheism. The emphasis here is on the novelty of Abraham's religion. Regarding Abraham himself, he had just written that 'the children of the Hebrews boast [of him] as their own originator and ancestor.'[25]

[18] *Dial. Tryph.* 11.5; 212-3 Bobichon.
[19] *Dial. Tryph.* 43.1; 288-9 Bobichon.
[20] *Ibid.* 100.3; 454-4 Bobichon. It may be relevant to point out, with the *Dialogue*'s latest editor, Philippe Bobichon, that most previous editors and translators of the text have, with no justification, emend the text, correcting 'Abraham' into 'Adam.'
[21] *Dial. Tryph.* 44.1-2.
[22] *Dial. Tryph.* 23.3; 240-1 Bobichon.
[23] *Dial. Tryph.* 23.
[24] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* I 4.9-10.
[25] *archegon kai propatera*, *Hist. eccl.* I 4.5.

The obvious conclusion follows: it is the Christians, rather than the Jews, who are the true children of Abraham and who follow his religion, pure and original monotheism: 'It is only among Christians throughout the whole world that the manner of religion which was Abraham's can actually be found in practice.'[26] Eusebius then argues, like Justin, that the Christians, rather than the Jews, are the real followers of Abraham's pristine religion, a religion later 'hijacked' by the Law of Moses, now obsolete. Here, of course, Eusebius interprets Paul, for whom the earthly Jerusalem represents those who obey the Law from Arabian Sinai, and are the spiritual offspring of Hagar (and hence of Ishmael), while the heavenly Jerusalem stands for those who follow Christ, and are the true children of Sarah.[27] For Eusebius, the Christians should 'bypass' the Jews, as it were, and reclaim for themselves Abraham's true religion, untainted by later additions.[28]

But there is more. Some testimonies point to the existence of a real cult of Abraham in late antiquity. The first mention of such people wishing to model their conduct upon that of Abraham comes from Tertullian's *De monogamia*.[29] A particularly interesting testimony is that of Sozomen, a Church historian from Palestine, born around 400 in Bethelia, near Gaza. Sozomen describes a yearly festival (*panegyris*) of Abraham at Mamre, near Hebron, which was attended not only by people from the area but also by 'Palestinians, Phenicians and Arabs', sometimes coming from far away. This festival, he says, which is also the occasion for doing business at the adjacent market, was very popular. It was attended by Jews, who claimed Abraham as their forefather, by pagans, because of the angels' visit, and by Christians, since Christ had appeared to Abraham. Some pray to the God of the universe, others invoke their angels with libations of wine, or offer an animal sacrifice. Sozomen adds that Emperor Constantine, having heard of this scandalous symbiosis between pagans and monotheists, had ordered the altars to be destroyed, and a church to be erected, so that Abraham would be remembered only according to orthodox Christian rituals

[26] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* I 4.14.

[27] *Gal.* 4: 21-31. My friend Serge Ruzer calls my attention to the fact that Paul does not speak here of 'Jews', and that this opens the possibility that he was following a trend in contemporary Jewish thought, interpreting the idea of the heavenly Jerusalem.

[28] We see now clearly that the Qur'an applies exactly the same logic also to the Christians. The Gospel, just like the Torah, is a corruption of Abraham's original religion: 'O People of the Book (*Ya ahla al-kitābi*), why do you dispute concerning Abraham, when the Torah and the Gospel were only revealed after him? So you have no sense?' (III 65). Eusebius develops the same argument in his *Chronography* (the first part of his *Chronicle*, for which the birth of Abraham (in 2016 B.C.) is the starting point of Christianity, a religion, then, older than Judaism. See Simon Price and Peter Thonemann, *The Birth of Classical Europe* (London, 2010), 312-3.

[29] Tertullian, *De monogamia* VI 1.3 (*Tertulliani Opera* II 1235-6 in the CChr.SL). This text is quoted by Shlomo Pines in his 'Notes on Islam and on Arabic Christianity and Judaeo-Christianity', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 4 (1984), 135-52, see 143. Reprinted in Shlomo Pines, *Studies in the History of Religion* [= *The Collected Works of Shlomo Pines* IV, ed. Guy G. Stroumsa] (Jerusalem, 1996), 324. See Tertullian, *Adversus Judaeos* III 1.

(apparently, he had only limited success).[30] It is to be noticed that Arabs, or Saracens as they were called, took part in this Abrahamic 'ecumenical' festival. About them, Sozomen says elsewhere that the Arabs practiced circumcision, refrained from eating pork and observed many other Jewish rites and customs, having learned from Jews about their Abrahamic roots.[31] Constantine's purism and his violent interdiction of this too rare instance of religious toleration and pluralism in what was fast becoming, under his aegis, the 'Holy Land', meant to say that there was only one way of celebrating Abraham, just as there was only one religion of Abraham, Christian orthodoxy.

Sozomen's trustworthy testimony has not remained unnoticed by Islamicists, and some important studies in the last generation have suggested possible trajectories from Abrahamic rituals to the birth of Islam (in particular in the Abrahamic Meccan sanctuary).[32] The dearth of conclusive evidence, however, does not allow definitive conclusions, although the new epigraphic material coming to light from the Hedjaz highlights the importance of Jewish and Judaizing monotheism among the Arabs from the peninsula, from the fourth century on.[33] On the other hand, there are indications that in the fifth and sixth centuries, 'the Negev Arabs … seem to have been drawn to Abrahamism as a form of monotheism that specifically expressed their own ethnic identity: an especially Arab creed.'[34] Such an

[30] *Ecclesiastical History* II 4 (I 244-9 SC 306). On this festival, see Arieh Kofsky, 'Mamre: A Case of a Regional Cult?', in Arieh Kofsky and Guy G. Stroumsa (eds), *Sharing the Sacred: Religious Contacts and Conflicts in the Holy Land: First-Fifteenth Centuries CE* (Jerusalem, 1998), 19-30. See further Elizabeth Kay Fowden, 'Sharing Holy Places', *Common Knowledge* 8 (2002), 124-46.

[31] *Ecclesiastical History* VI 38.11 (III 242-6 SC 495). Sebeos, an Armenian ecclesiastical historian writing in the second half of the seventh century, also writes that the Arabs had learned from the Jews about their Abrahamic descent (Nevo-Koren, 187).

[32] See in particular Tilman Nagel, '"Der erste Muslim:" Abraham in Mekka', in Reinhard G. Kratz and Tilman Nagel (eds), *'Abraham, unser Vater': Die gemeinsamen Wurzeln von Judentum, Christentum und Islam* (Göttingen, 2003), 233-49. Michael A. Cook and Patricia Crone, *Hagarism* (Cambridge, 1977), ascribe much importance to the figure of Abraham in the late antique background of Islam. See also M.A. Cook, *Muhammad* (Oxford, 1983), 81: 'This evidence [of Sozomen] is not lightly to be set aside … [Although there is] no evidence that would show any direct link between this early religion of Abraham and Muhammad's message…, but it is at least a confirmation that Muhammad was not the first in the field…' On the Late Antique background of Islam, see Aziz Al-Azmeh, *Rom, das Neue Rom und Bagdad: Pfade der Spätantike* (Berlin, 2008).

[33] For Arabia, see in particular Christian Julien Robin, 'Le judaïsme de Himyar', *Arabia* 1 (2003), 97-172. See further Iwona Gadja, 'Quel monothéisme en Arabie du sud ancienne?', in Joëlle Beaucamp, Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet et Christian Julien Robin (eds), *Juifs et chrétiens en Arabie aux V^e^ et VI^e^ siècles: regards croisés sur les sources* (Paris, 2010), 107-17. On Christianity in Pre-Islamic Arabia, see now Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, 'L'expansion du christianisme en Arabie: l'apport des sources syriaques', *Semitica et Classica* 3 (2010), 177-87.

[34] Yehuda D. Nevo and Judith Koren, *Crossroads to Islam: The Origins of the Arab Religion and the Arab State* (Amherst, N.Y., 2003), 189-90. Nevo and Koren highlight the frequency of the name 'Abraham' in the Nessana documentary papyri from late antique Palestine, presumably

alleged Abrahamic movement, it seems, would have remained on the borderline between Judaism and Christianity. In this context, one should perhaps recall Harnack's remarkable intuition about the striking similarities between Jewish-Christian conceptions and some major theological doctrines of earliest Islam, such as the docetic view adopted in the Qur'an.[35] I have dealt elsewhere with circumstantial evidence strengthening this hypothesis. In our present context, suffice it to note the importance of Abraham in the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones*, a text capital for reconstructing Ebionite theology, where Abraham is presented as the first man to have passed from ignorance to knowledge.[36]

John of Damascus (c. 676-749) was born as Yuhanna ibn Mansur, as the son of a high-ranking official of the Abbasid caliphate, and died around the mid-eighth century in the monastery of Mar Saba, in the Judean wilderness. He was the last of the great Greek Patristic authors, and the first Christian writer to refer to the doctrines of incipient Islam, which he calls 'the religion of the Ismaelites (*hē … thrēskeia tōn Ismaelitōn*), at the end of his book *On Heresies*, where it appears as Chapter (or Heresy) 100.[37] John's perception of early Islam is quite parallel to the Jewish perception of early Christianity, according to Justin's testimony: the new religion is endowed with an ambiguous status, between a heresy and a religion in its own right. The new religion of the Ishmaelites, or Agarenes, sets itself quite clearly outside Christianity: they follow another prophet, they possess a new Scripture. And yet, in Christian consciousness, there is simply no room for another, independent monotheistic religion. One is either a Christian (orthodox or heretic) or a pagan. Judaism itself is conceived as misunderstood Christianity, as it were, while one can hardly accuse the new Arab religion of being polytheistic – the very accusation brandished by the Muslims against the Christians, since Trinitarian doctrine reflects *shirk*: 'association' (of other gods) to the Divinity. John nonetheless manages to accuse the Muslims both of mutilat-

written by Arabs, who, according to them, might have converted to Christianity from their previous 'Abrahamic' identity. But 'Abraham' is also frequent in papyri from fifth-century Egypt. See further Fergus Millar, 'Hagar, Ishmael, Josephus, and the Origins of Islam', in his *The Greek World, the Jews, and the East*, ed. Hannah M. Cotton and Guy M. Rogers (Chapel Hill, 2006), 351-78. Another hint about the 'Abrahamic' dimension of early Islam may be found in the so-called 'Sarah fresco' of Qusayr Amra, dating from the Umayyad period, which would reflect an identification of Sarah with the Arabs. See Garth Fowden, *Empire to Commonwealth: Consequences of Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, 1993), 145-9.

[35] G. Stroumsa, 'False Prophets of Early Christianity: Marcus, Montanus, Mani, Muhammad' (forthcoming).

[36] Pseudo-Clement, *Recognitiones* I 33.

[37] This work was redacted rather late, after 743. I am using the text in Jean Damascène, *Écrits sur l'Islam*, trans. Raymond Le Coz, SC 383 (Paris, 1992). On views of the Arabs and of early Islam among contemporary Christian writers, see Guy G. Stroumsa, 'Barbarians or Heretics? Jews and Arabs in Byzantine Consciousness', in Robert Bonfil, Oded Irshai, Guy G. Stroumsa and Rina Talgam (eds), *Jews of Byzantium: Dialectics of Minority and Majority Cultures*, Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture 14 (Leiden, 2011), 761-76.

ing God by taking the Logos from Him, and of being idolaters, through their veneration of the Meccan Ka'aba.[38] For John, Muhammad (*Mamed*), the false prophet of the Arabs, concocted his own heresy (*idian sunestēsato hairesin*), partly under the influence of an Arian monk.[39] He refers to the Qur'anic Docetic conception according to which the Jews 'neither killed nor crucified him, but it was made to appear so unto them (*walākin shubbiha lahum*).' In John's words, 'the Jews only crucified [Jesus's] shadow (*tēn skian autou*).'[40] It stands to reason that early Islam was conversant with all the religious ideas of the world in which it was born.[41] Yet, we must seek to identify the proximate channels through which such ideas reached the Qur'an. While one should not expect such a quest to reach a single source, it stands to reason that Jewish-Christians, whom we know were still in existence in the seventh century, and also, perhaps, 'Abrahamists', must be counted among these proximate channels.

The Syriac *Colloquium of Patriarch John with the Emir of the Agarians* preserves a summary of a discussion on religious principles held in 639 between the Muslim Emir and John, the Monophysite Patriarch, whom the Emir had summoned.[42] To the Emir's question on the religion of Abraham and Moses, John answers: 'Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron and the other prophets had and maintained the faith of the Christians.' This remarkable sentence shows both the major importance granted to Abraham and the patriarchs by the first leaders of the Muslim community and the unwavering attitude of the Christians, since, at least, the days of Justin Martyr: Abraham was a Christian, *i.e.*, Christianity is the true religion of Abraham.[43]

[38] Respectively *Heresy* 100.4 (216-9 Le Coz), where John rebuff the Muslim accusation of the Christians for associating Christ to God, and *Heresy* 100.5 (218-21 Le Coz), where John returns the Muslim accusation of the Christians for being idolaters by revering the cross.

[39] *Heresy* 100.1 (210-3 Le Coz). About the famous story of Muhammad and the monk Bahira, see Kristina Szilagyi, 'Muhammad and the Monk: The Making of the Christian Bahira Legend', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 34 (2008), 169-214.

[40] *Qur'an* 4: 156-8. See *Heresy* 100.2 (212-3 Le Coz). On Docetic conceptions in early Christianity, see Guy G. Stroumsa, 'Christ's Laughter: Docetic Origins Reconsidered', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 12 (2004), 267-88, and Ronnie Goldstein and Guy G. Stroumsa, 'The Greek and Jewish Origins of Docetism: a New Proposal', *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum / Journal of Ancient Christianity* 10 (2007), 423-41.

[41] As argued by Sidney H. Griffith, 'Syriacisms in the "Arabic Qur'ān": Who were those who said "Allāh is third of three" according to al-Mā'ida 73?', in Meir M. Bar-Asher, Simon Hopkins, Sarah Stroumsa and Bruno Chiesa (eds), *A Word Fitly Spoken: Studies in Mediaeval Exegesis of the Hebrew Bible and the Qur'ān, presented to Haggai Ben Shammai* (Jerusalem, 2007), 83*-110* (esp. 110*).

[42] According to the legend, Amrou would, a few years later and on orders of the Caliph, burn the Alexandrian library, since one single book, the Qur'an, was sufficient for all purposes.

[43] In this text, as well as in the seventh-century Greek Christian anti-Jewish polemics, the so-called *Trophies of Damascus*, Rabbis pay the role of 'theological consultants' to the Muslims, a fact which shows the extent to which, for the Christians, Jews and Muslims were perceived as two groups rather close to one another.

I started by pointing out that we should seek to retrieve the Fathers for our cultural memory. Like all religions, late antique Christianity retained two highly different faces. On the one hand, its explicit theology progressively emerged from Patristic literature, in particular from a long series of polemical works. On the other hand, one can detect what I propose to call the *implicit* theology of the Church Fathers. This implicit theology is inherent to their ethics and anthropology. In *The two sources of morality and religion*, published in French in 1932, the philosopher Henri Bergson distinguished two major types of religion, which he called, respectively, 'closed' and 'open' religion (*religion close*, *religion ouverte*). For him, the prophets of Israel, which represented, in stark contradistinction with the ritual laws of the Torah, a perfect example of open religion, would eventually lead to the message of Jesus and to Christianity. Despite the progressive building of ecclesial structures (the 'routinisation of charisma', in Weberian parlance), the prophetic element remained always present in late antiquity, by the nature of things often underlying heretical teachings. We have seen that monotheism cannot be used unqualified as the defining character of Christianity (and, of course, Rabbinic Judaism). The major difference between Biblical and philosophical monotheism is the prophetic character of the former, which sets ethics at the very core of religion – a *novum* in the ancient world.[44] If this is the case, I surmise that the figure of Abraham remained, throughout the Patristic period, a central point of reference, defining the nature of true, prophetic monotheism. The Biblical story of Abraham, of course, teaches us that human sacrifice must be eradicated in ethical, prophetic monotheism. But the Biblical patriarch is not only he who is ready to murder his son in order to blindly obey God's will. He also dares to bargain at length with God, in order to save Sodom, the sinning city. The ethical side of prophetic monotheism, as opened by Abraham, is also the open religion Bergson was speaking about.[45]

Running as a scarlet thread through the writings of the Fathers, from Justin Martyr to John of Damascus, the Abrahamic principle at once permits and demands the constant ethical and spiritual renewal of religion. The Christians argued with the Jews, and then also with the Muslims (and Muslims and Jews also argued with one another), as to who were the true sons of Abraham. The latter represents at once the religious *koinē* and the principle of discord between Jews, Christians and Muslims. I have spoken of the 'Abrahamic moment' of late antiquity as of a *praeparatio islamica*: the ethical teachings of the Fathers

[44] One example out of so many: 'The only true religion is that which is based upon virtue and justice' ('*Nulla igitur alia religio uera est nisi quae uirtute et iustitia constat*'), Lactantius, *Inst. Div.* VI 25.7 (374-7 in P. Monat, ed., trans., Lactance, *Institutions divines, Livre V, Tome I*, SC 204 [Paris, 1973], 374-7).

[45] For an insightful presentation of the Jewish traditional views on Abraham, see Stéphane Mosès, Marc de Launay, Olivier Revault d'Allones, *Le sacrifice d'Abraham, la ligature d'Isaac* (Paris, 2002), ch. 1.

and of the Rabbis would soon become those of the Qur'an, and then of the Muttakalimūn and the Sūfis, a fact underlined by some recent work.[46] It can be followed in the hermeneutical wars between the different late antique textual, or rather midrashic communities, as they function less as keepers of a sacred text than as its correct interpreters. The Abrahamic moment did less to promote ecumenism than to enhance the rise of heretical movements, each claiming that its own vision was the only correct one.

The Abrahamic moment of late antiquity forged an eco-system of sorts, which extended in the Middle-Ages from Baghdad to Toledo, and within which Jews, Christians and Muslims constantly interacted. One could perhaps conceive Rabbinic Judaism, Patristic Christianity and Early Islam as three different *prosopa*, or, perhaps, *haireseis*, 'parties' (in the original sense of the word)[47] of the Abrahamic movement. While each of these religions enhanced some Abrahamic aspects, as it were, it ignored others. The American Christian theologian Reinhold Niebuhr once said that Judaism and Christianity were each the heresy of the other. Today, if we are to reclaim the Fathers for the cultural memory of the twenty-first century, we must add Islam to this equation. The trajectory from Jerusalem to Mecca is no less central for the history of religions and cultures in late antiquity, and beyond, than that between Athens and Jerusalem. Culturally, as well as spiritually, we are all daughters and sons of Abraham, all inheritors of the Patristic crucible.

[46] I am referring in particular to Geneviève Gobillot, 'Les Pères de l'Église et la pensée de l'islam', in G. Gobillot (ed.), *L'Orient chrétien dans l'empire musulman: Hommage au professeur Gérard Troupeau* (Paris, 2005), 59-90. Gobillot insists on the strong similarities between the Qur'anic conception of the *fitra* – the original religious nature of man, and the views on the question developed by Lactantius. The theories of Christoph Luxenberg, *Die Syro-Aramäische Lesart des Koran: Ein Beitrag zur Entschlüsselung der Qur'ansprache* (Berlin, 2000), have not carried much scholarly consensus.

[47] See Heinrich von Staden, '*Hairesis* and heresy', in Ben F. Meyer and E.P. Sanders (eds), *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition: Self-Definition in the Graeco-Roman World* (London, 1982), 76-100.

Memory as History? Patristic Perspectives

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Abstract

In recent decades 'memory' has become an increasingly influential category in historical studies; but it has also turned out to be problematic. This lecture is intended to provide an overview of the main influences contributing to this development. It explores the implications of this development for the study of historical theology, in particular Patristics (or the study of early Christianity), and suggests some possible avenues for dealing with the concept in present and future research. Its main argument is that although memory is a problematic category and has to be handled with caution, it does have its uses. Indeed certain aspects of 'memory' and the challenges of applying it critically lie at the very centre of the concerns of contemporary historical theology. In a certain sense, thus this lecture proposes, historical theology is, inevitably, 'mnemohistory'.

Today we are more keenly aware than ever that the critical and analytical study of history is influenced by the often anything but rational forces of (social, collective or cultural) memory. We are aware of the problems this can cause. Yet we cannot avoid drawing on and (re-)constructing such memories, even at and with regard to this conference. For example, the directors have put on several panels reflecting on the founders of this conference, its changing purposes, and its leading figures over the past six decades. We are aware that this is problematic in view of the different methodological demands of our various disciplines. However, we are also alert to the danger that in a time when historical data and studies are so widely available and in such unprecedented quantity as today, the sense of the meaning and purpose of historical study in Patristics might be diminished. The very growth of this conference to its present size and the increasing plurality of disciplinary appoaches in Patristics may urge us from time to time to reflect on the underlying hermeneutic framework of this vast aggregate of disciplines. As I would like to argue in this lecture, 'memory' might be a concept that could be seen, with all due critical caution, as such a unifying paradigm. It seems that we cannot do without it. Therefore perhaps we better keep exploring how it works and how it influences our work in order to put it to good use.

Within the last two, three decades 'memory' has made tremendous inroads as a conceptual category in historical studies.[1] This has also implications for

[1] For an excellent, brief, but comprehensive introduction to the use of the concept of memory in historical studies see Geoffrey Cubitt, *History and Memory* (Manchester, 2007).

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historical theology including Patristics, the study of early Christianity, or the Early Church. I would like to explore this development a little and ask, what is going on? Could it be that memory is replacing history in historical studies? If so, what might be the consequences, in particular for historical theology? And more specifically, short of either – on the one hand – rejecting memory as a category outright, or – on the other hand – succumbing to it and abandoning historical-critical study, could the concept of memory be integrated and put to use for a critical historical study of theology? I would like to propose in this lecture that it could, and that one possible way of studying early Christianity through historical theology is to engage in a historical study of memory, or 'mnemohistory' (to use a term coined by Jan Assmann).[2]

This is also roughly the outline of my lecture: 1. What is memory, as far as my topic is concerned? 2. How does it affect historical theology? And 3. How might historical theology be done as mnemohistory? But before I begin I would like to convey a few personal observations which triggered my interest in this topic and made me wonder whether nowadays memory is not sometimes in danger of being used (or ab-used) as a substitute for a critical study of history; and, more widely, on a cultural level, whether the ideal of an enlightened historical-mindedness, as an important ingredient of the mentalities prevalent in free and open societies, is not in danger of being replaced by whimsical, sentimental, and ideological 'cults of memory', both on individual, small group and also larger group levels.

Let me therefore begin with a personal story. In 2006 my academic department was honoured by a visit of the then Vice-Chancellor of my University, who is by training an electrical engineer and a great believer in new technologies. When he was asked by us worried Humanities lecturers regarding the need to maintain and expand library facilities, an ongoing concern among Humanities departments, and quite tiresome in the ears of much-troubled senior executives, he pointed out to us that the whole content of the Humanities library would probably soon fit in the space of a post-stamp sized microchip-like device and that we should try and think in more innovative ways about library space in the future.[3]

[2] For an introduction to the concept (and a poignant application of it to a particular case) see Jan Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian. The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism* (Cambridge, MA, 1997), 1-22; for its context see *id.*, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis* (Munich, 1997) and *id.*, *Religion and Cultural Memory* (Stanford, CA, 2006). Still noteworthy also Assmann's seminal contribution 'Kollektives Gedächtnis und kulturelle Identität', in *id.* and Tonio Hölscher (eds), *Kultur und Gedächtnis* (Frankfurt am Main, 1988), 9-19. Less well known, but also constitutive for the development of 'memory studies' within the field of 'cultural studies' (*Kulturwissenschaften*), especially in Germany, is Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (Munich, 1999).

[3] Digital libraries were already a hot topic back in 2006, and a lot more has happened since then in terms of their growth and development. However, there has also been a growing concern in recent years that digital libraries and archives cannot exist in the long term without physical

Now alarming as this may have sounded, especially since there was also some truth in the remark, it was to some extent merely a piece of rhetoric; for in fact, helped, admittedly, by some external funding, the libraries at my institution have been improved and expanded in the last five years. But the reason why I do recall this encounter in 2006 is a different one. Early in 2010, barely four years later, my University, led by the same forward-looking Vice-Chancellor, contributed around half a million Pound of its precious strategic reserves towards the acquisition of a 1.2 million Pound worth collection of more than 14,000 volumes of rare books, many of them early modern prints, including Bibles and Patristic editions, which is now housed in some of the new space created by the expansion of the library.[4]

What made a forward-looking university, whose leaders set their hopes on the increasing digitisation of academic discourse, spend good money to acquire a pile of old and dusty tomes? Obviously, librarians and book historians could give us many good reasons, but none of these can explain to me this hard-nosed decision by business-minded university managers in the middle of a severe economic and financial crisis.

In reality, the parameters have not changed since 2006. Digitisation has even accelerated. We would have even more reason today than back in 2006 not to set our hopes on the future of paper-stacked libraries as deposits of cultural memory. And yet, it seems to me that it is increasingly being recognised that digitisation is of no use to us if we have nothing to digitise, just as historical-critical rigour is of no use if it runs out of material with which to engage. Perhaps we are witnessing here the first steps of a development analogous to that at the beginning of the era of print, when manuscript production began to decline and manuscripts began to acquire the status they still have today.[5] They were no longer of much practical use, but as the last resort deposit, the gold reserves, so to speak, of the intellectual culture they represent, they have now become indispensable as never before.

The growing interest in, or should we better say, hunger for, or obsession with, material remains is remarkable. 2006 also saw the publication of the *Judas Gospel* from the Codex Tchacos, the intriguing material history of which almost certainly attracted more interest than its content.[6] In March this year

repositories. Physical preservation of digitised books and archive material is essential for any long term digital strategy. For a spirited and inspiring discussion of this and related issues see Robert Darnton, *The Case for Books. Past, Present and Future* (New York, 2009).

[4] For a reliable brief report of the relevant chain of events see Matthew Reisz, 'Cardiff saves rare-books riches from dispersal', *THES*, 8 April 2010, p. 16.

[5] For a lively description of the beginning of this process see the opening of Anthony Grafton and Megan Hale Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book* (Cambridge, MA, 2006), 1-7.

[6] See the intriguing story of the history of the codex in the introduction to the critical edition by Rodolphe Kasser and Gregor Wurst (eds), *The Gospel of Judas* (Washington, D.C., 2006), 1-25.

(2011) a press release from the Jordanian government reported the find of a hoard of around 70 tiny lead codices, which were tentatively dated 'a few decades after the crucifixion'.[7] They were called the early Christian equivalent of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The history of early Christianity would have to be rewritten, it was suggested, again. They were identified as Christian because of certain symbols engraved on them, for example, what looked like a 't-shaped cross', 'a tomb', 'a menorah'. More could not be said at this stage because the texts, probably in Aramaic, but written in ancient Hebrew script, and probably in code, so it was said, had not yet been deciphered. And the report could not say when they might be. The finds, incidentally, remain a bone of contention between the states of Israel and Jordan – a contested memory.

By and large less contentious are the 100 material objects introduced by Neil MacGregor in his book of 2010, *A History of the World in 100 Objects*.[8] Here the idea seems to be driven further: One collects a lot of objects, tells their story, and that is then history, a history of the world even. I exaggerate, of course, but that seems to be the tendency. To be sure, 100 objects are a lot, and the scope of that project is vast and highly impressive. But the question remains: Is it history?

Another, similar, group of projects has been even more obviously developed from a certain type of memory studies, namely that of 'places of memory', *lieux de mémoire*, *Erinnerungsorte*. The concept was first used by Ernest Renan in the 1880s in view of places representing French nationalism. In the twentieth century Maurice Halbwachs developed it further and more recently it has re-emerged in the work of the French sociologist and historian Pierre Nora.[9] A volume edited by two eminent German historical theologians, Christoph Markschies and Hubert Wolf, also published in 2010, introduces forty-two Christian 'places of memory', *Erinnerungsorte des Christentums*.[10] Although no explicit claim is made here that this is history, there seems to be the suggestion that it is as good as history, if not better; for above all, memory, it is suggested, is good for the formation of identity, which is a good thing, and a core Christian concern too.

As could be expected, reviewers homed in on this latter point and noted that in some respect this approach stands Pierre Nora's concern on its head.[11] Nora's

[7] See Robert Pigott, 'Jordan battles to regain "priceless" Christian relics', BBC News Middle East, 29 March 2011 (http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-12888421).

[8] Neil MacGregor, *A History of the World in 100 Objects* (London, 2010).

[9] The 'classics' are Ernest Renan, *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?* (Paris, 1882); Maurice Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris, 1925); *id*., *La topographie légendaire des évangiles en terre sainte* (Paris, 1941); Pierre Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1984-1992). Significantly, Renan 'discovered' the aspect of 'memory' and 'places of memory' through a reflection on the role of forgetting in the process of remembering historical events.

[10] Christoph Markschies and Hubert Wolf (eds), *Erinnerungsorte des Christentums* (Munich, 2010).

[11] See *e.g*. Clemens Klünemann, 'Review of C. Markschies and H. Wolf, Erinnerungsorte (2010)', *Christ in der Gegenwart* 63 (2011), 4 December 2011: 'Jedoch haben die mehr als vierzig

aim had been to critique popular notions of places of memory, which in his view had tended to be assigned in an uncritical, ritualistic fashion and fulfilled a totemistic function. He was thinking of problematic places of memory, which he wanted to tackle through critical analysis with the aim of progressing to a critical history. If, as some reviewers claim, the recent publications mentioned fall short of critically addressing this concern they are in danger, as one reviewer put it (I paraphrase) of merely bestowing an academic blessing on popular notions and using the memory concept as an apologetic tool.[12]

With this I am already in the middle of my first main point: What is the nature of the memory-concept which I am discussing here, how did it develop, and how did it come to affect historical study? I chose my examples rather randomly. Still, inevitably, with Pierre Nora's places-of-memory concept I find myself one step away from Maurice Halbwachs' 'social structures (or frameworks) of memory', *cadres sociaux de mémoire*, and his concept of collective memory, developed in the 1920s,[13] which remains the base line concept for most memory studies today. There are other pioneers who should not be ignored. Aby Warburg, above all, also in the 1920s, developed the concept of reception (in the sense of 'afterlife', *Nachleben* – mainly of Classical Antiquity) and its pathways (*Wanderstraßen*), which became incarnate in his *Mnemosyne* project, that is 'the Institute', named after him, with the library at its heart.[14]

Warburg's reception concept influenced many disciplines, albeit in different ways. For Jan Assmann it was a form of mnemohistory.[15] It certainly taught Assmann the nature of cultural (including religious) traditions, which tend not to eliminate each other but to superimpose themselves so that nothing is lost, though it keeps on changing and can become something essentially different, Christianity emerging from Judaism, for example. According to this approach no tradition has ever invented itself. It found itself within itself. Memory, thus understood, never loses anything. Earlier traditions are stored within later ones. The German word *aufgehoben*, 'stored', could be used here, though the expression

Autoren wenig darauf geachtet, dass Erinnerungsorte und die Reflexion ihres symbolischen Gehalts dem von Nora als notwendig erachteten "Übergang von einer totemistischen Geschichte zu einer kritischen Geschichte" dienen sollten' (http://www.christ-in-der-gegenwart.de).

[12] C. Klünemann, 'Review' (2011): 'Christliche Erinnerung an Orten und in Begriffen festzumachen, wirkt in dieser Hinsicht rein apologetisch.'

[13] M. Halbwachs, *Le cadres sociaux* (1925).

[14] In fact, Warburg's and Halbwachs' concepts are linked through the work of Emile Durkheim. Warburg used the expression 'social memory' for the first time in 1923, referring to Durkheim, with whom Halbwachs had been closely collaborating between 1905 and 1909 as editor of the journal *L'année sociologique*. For this connection see Roland Kany, *Mnemosyne als Programm – Geschichte, Erinnerung und die Andacht zum Unbedeutenden im Werk von Usener, Warburg und Benjamin* (Tübingen, 1987), 176. For a comprehensive overview of Warburg's programme see Ernst Gombrich, *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography* (London, 1970).

[15] J. Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian* (1997), 12-5. Note also Assmann's tracing of the origins of Warburg's concept in J. Assmann and T. Hölscher (eds), *Kultur und Gedächtnis* (1988), 9-10.

can also mean 'cancelled'. Hegel used it to express what happens to earlier stages in the dialectic process as the process moves on to higher levels. In English the technical term 'sublation' is now commonly used to express the concept.[16] But Assmann is also heavily indebted to Halbwachs' insight that the social 'grid' of memory is at work (at any time) at a given present.[17] As such it does not have a past.

Strictly speaking these two aspects of memory are irreconcilable. Halbwachs' collective memory is disconnected from history. It only functions in a historically closed sphere, that of a collective whose individual members are not engaged in a discourse that would produce a critical, historically informed, historical-minded, view of their situation. In other words, they have no access to historical reality or truth, but rely on the confirmation of their prejudices through an ongoing mutual, ritual, evocation of their collective memory. This kind of memory does not really 'remember', it produces itself ingesting the reality it feeds on to replace it with the myth it itself generated. (More on this 'mythomotoric' property of memory later.)

As is well known, Halbwachs actually applied his concept in an early Christian case study, *La topographie légendaire des Évangiles en Terre Sainte*, published in 1941. The title of this work indicates that Halbwachs' aim was to compile, mainly from late antique and medieval texts, pilgrims' narratives and similar material, an inventory of places in the Holy Land, which are mentioned by, or implied in, the Gospel narratives. Yet he was not interested in the 'real' places and their history and geography, but in those places which the Christian memory created through those texts. Analysing a large number of short and more generic text units rather than whole texts with more reflective and verifiable literary-rhetorical strategies Halbwachs was able to demonstrate that here a collective Christian memory was at work shaping the Holy Land according to its own fashion, re-defining it in its own interest, especially against its Jewish past, thus occupying it (symbolically and at times also politically) and thus creating its own faith as a kind of illusion.

The similarities of this approach with Rudolf Bultmann's form criticism have been noted.[18] Both methods came to fruition during the culturally disillusioned and socially-politically suspicious period of the 1920s. They denied the possibility that the Gospels could in any way be trusted as historical records. The only certain knowledge that could be extracted from them was in regard to the frame of mind of those who compiled them (in Bultmann's case) and of those

[16] For a concise and reliable explanation of the (Hegelian) concept see Michael Inwood, *A Hegel Dictionary* (London, 1992), 284-6.

[17] J. Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian* (1997), 14.

[18] See Barry Schwartz, 'Christian Origins: Historical Truth and Social Memory', in Alan Kirk and Tom Thatcher, *Memory, Tradition and Text. Uses of the Past in Early Christianity* (Atlanta, GA, 2005), 43-56, 49.

who used them as points of departure for their own legendary traditions (in Halbwachs' case). For both authors, Bultmann and Halbwachs, the early Christian memory is therefore not really linked to history. In a sense there is also no real concept of tradition, since each memory product, is, instant by instant, generated in a particular present situation. There are no actual links to a critically explored past or a rationally anticipated future.

As already mentioned, Pierre Nora tried to tackle this problem by postulating that history, as a superior approach to reality (rational, evidence-based, reflective, integral), will eventually eclipse collective memory – as Halbwachs described it. Nora was writing in the 1980s and 90s, the time when Jan Assmann too began to develop his concept of cultural memory. Perhaps I should insert here a brief note on terminology. Collective, social and cultural memory really seem to refer to the same phenomenon, though they emphasize different aspects. Halbwachs' concept of collective memory I have just discussed. But Halbwachs also referred to it as 'social memory'. Some, especially historians, prefer the latter phrase, since they tend to perceive 'collective' as neglectful of the individual. In their view the term 'social' better reflects the interaction of social and individual aspects that goes on in memory.[19] Cultural memory, too, can be understood in this way. However, Jan Assmann's concept of cultural memory adds yet some further aspects.[20]

And here, I think, I come to my second point, how the study of memory begins to affect historical theology (It may not be very obvious at first, but I hope it will become clearer as I progress).

In his works published since the late 1980s Assmann spelt out what many felt: that they lived in what Assmann called a 'threshold period'. The 'living memory', referred to by Assmann as 'communicative memory', dominated by the trauma of the Second World War, and in particular the Holocaust, entered a phase in which it began to be replaced by what Assmann called 'cultural memory', that is it began to aquire a more distant, absolute, mythical status. As the German *Historikerstreit* in 1986 showed, this transition could be an intensive and fraught social process.[21]

Then the events from 1989 onwards showed us in ever new permutations how all distant past, no matter how distant (50 years, 500 years, 5000 years), as long as it exists as a cultural memory, is linked to a living, communicative, memory, and therefore interesting, relevant and potentially controversial.[22] As history

[19] See G. Cubitt, *History and Memory* (2007), 13.

[20] See for this especially J. Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory* (2006), and A. Kirk and T. Thatcher, *Memory, Tradition and Text* (2005).

[21] The relevant documents are collected in Rudolf Augstein, *Historikerstreit – die Dokumentation der Kontroverse um die Einzigartigkeit der nationalsozialistischen Judenvernichtung* (Munich, 1987).

[22] Talk of the 'end of history' in the early 1990s and of the 'simultaneity of the non-simultaneous' ('Gleichzeitigkeit des Ungleichzeitigen') can be understood in this context.

returned with a vengeance during the 1990s, it brought back the relevance of the study of the distant past, which of course was also good news for early Christian studies. But with it came the dangers of on the one hand practising merely conservation, and on the other hand radically contemporaneizing the past, as if it had happened only yesterday, or today. The museum with its artefacts and the historical romp, as well as the docu-drama and the political pamphlet, are among the main popular expressions of this tendency.

Subjecting the relationship between communicative and cultural memory to a critical analysis could be helpful in this situation. This goes beyond Halbwachs and Nora, because it links memory and history, but in such a way that memory, through the interaction between its communicative and its cultural dimensions, remains the dominant concept, or at least is not superseded by a rationalist and abstract concept of history. Mnemohistory, according to Assmann, is not just the exploration of a discourse, but of the myth-generating ('mythomotoric') power behind that discourse.[23] It is not so much historical-critical or textual-linguistic analysis but psycho-analysis, albeit on a collective, social, cultural-historical, level.

These new tools also suggested new possibilities for the study of earliest Christianity. In this respect Alan Kirk's and Tom Thatcher's book *Memory, Tradition and Text*, published in 2005, set new standards. Kirk and Thatcher, unlike Bultmann and Halbwachs, did not exclude the myth-generating early beginnings from their equation, the memories of Jesus' companions, Paul's memory of Jesus, the roles ritual and oral tradition may have played before Gospels were written, the possible use of written Gospels as commemorative artefacts and in ritual contexts. Rather, they related these aspects to the more tangible aspects, which Bultmann and Halbwachs had studied, the texts and emerging traditions.[24]

[23] J. Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian* (1997), 15-7.

[24] An intriguing case in point here is the assessment of the role of Jesus' resurrection in the memory of the emerging early Church. In the concluding chapter of the volume of A. Kirk and T. Thatcher, *Memory, Tradition and Text* (2005), 249-61, 'Jesus in First-Century Memory – A Response', Barry Schwartz observes (on p. 258) that while the memory-approach developed in the volume serves well to explain the relationship between the traumatic experience of Jesus' suffering and death and the formation of an early Christian identity, Kirk and Thatcher seem not even to 'attempt to explain why so precarious a claim [as that of Jesus' resurrection] could spread as rapidly and deeply as it did.' Well, it seems that it can be argued – on purely historical-critical grounds – that in fact it did not. According to Markus Vinzent, *Christ's Resurrection in Early Christianity and the Making of the New Testament* (Farnham, 2011), 1, 'the Resurrection was of little importance to most early Christians.' Whatever the merit of Vinzent's arguments in detail, the convergence of his findings (resulting from a historical-critical and textual approach) with the mnemohistorical analyses of Kirk and Thatcher is intriguing and could also be of great theological significance in that it helps to explain the historical origins of Christianity in ways commensurable with the human condition and with human reason rather than perpetuating a myth referring to a *deus-ex-machina* event. Jan Assmann has recently linked the concept of cultural memory with that of a salvation or a saviour, which might show a way forward. Jan Assmann, 'Das Heil:

Assmann's scope of course is wider, though no less relevant. His concern is a particular memory of ancient Egypt. His *cause célèbre*, developed in *Moses the Egyptian* (1997), is that of the fourteenth century BC Pharaoh Akhenaten, who introduced and enforced an exclusive 'monotheistic' form of sun-worship.[25] His successors, reverting to traditional religion, erased his memory, of which only a trace remained, which became the mythical figure of Moses, who in Hellenistic accounts became depicted as an outlaw Egyptian prince and leader of a group of reject desert tribes and eventually founder of a 'counter-religion', a religion that defined itself through its rejection of all other religions and the exclusive worship of one god (what Assmann calls the 'Mosaic distinction').

As Assmann shows, this memory exerted a strong influence on the intellectual history of the west, especially through universalist interpretations of the Biblical tradition from Philo via the early Christian apologists and Origen to the revival of the Patristic tradition in the Renaissance and early modern periods down to the present. Obviously, as critics have pointed out, and as he himself has admitted, Assmann is selective in his approach and has written something amounting to a history of the decline and fall of this universalist theology. Still, his work could also provide a blueprint for a counter-history focusing on the ongoing revival of this intellectual tradition including today.[26]

Naturally, the discovery in the 1840s of the Amarna culture and the possibility to understand the hieroglyphic record and to lift Akhenaten and his world into the bright light of modern history created an unprecedented discrepancy between the old memory of Moses the Egyptian and the new memory of Pharaoh Akhenaten. What struggle this could cause Assmann relates through Sigmund Freud's book *Moses and Monotheism*, written in the 1930s, in which Freud, in the light of the Amarna discoveries, engages with the traditional western memory of Moses the Egyptian. Freud's mnemohistorical observations are compelling, especially if we consider their historical context, the late 1930s: 'The first monotheistic, counter-religious and exclusivistically intolerant' (Assmann) religion in history is not a Jewish invention. It was founded by the Egyptian Pharaoh Akhenaten. But the hatred provoked by this historical trauma was, through the figure of Moses the Egyptian and founder of Judaism, directed at the Jews.[27]

In his book *The Mosaic Distinction* (2003) Assmann took this insight one step further and argued that the potential for this hatred, intolerance and violence lay in the structure of monotheism itself, its nature as a counter-religion

Religiöse Zukunftsvorstellungen im kulturellen Gedächtnis', in Günther Thomas and Andreas Schüle (eds), *Gegenwart des lebendigen Christus* (Leipzig, 2007), 463-78.

[25] J. Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian* (1997), 168-207.

[26] For an extremely erudite and philosophically profound attempt in that regard see Klaus Müller, *Streit um Gott. Politik, Poetik und Philosophie im Streit um das wahre Gottesbild* (Regensburg, 2006).

[27] J. Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian* (1997), 144-67, 167.

(which ancient authors had also sometimes identified as atheism, or hatred of humankind).[28] This provoked a debate mainly with Biblical scholars, upon which Assmann seems to have moderated some of his positions.[29] Still, I think, his positive contribution to the historical study of theology by highlighting the 'mytho-motoric', myth-generating, motivations of universalist approaches – one of his prime examples is Origen's *Contra Celsum*[30] – could yet be more fully exploited by (historical and systematic) theologians.

With this I come to the third and final part of my presentation: How might an historical theology be done as mnemohistory? Allow me to approach this question from a personal angle and point to the work of my late teacher and *Doktorvater* Norbert Brox. Some of Brox' studies, especially on second-century Christianity (including major works on Irenaeus, Gnosis, martyrdom, pseudepigraphy, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, and related topics) are still cited as groundbreaking.[31] His textbook, *A Concise History of the Early Church*, is known (and still used) by many students of the subject.[32]

But my interest here is not so much in Brox's hands-on historical research, but in his methodological reflections. Reluctant as he was to engage in these, he did so on a number of occasions. Among the (mostly shorter) publications resulting from this I would like to single out three, now included in a collection of articles entitled *Das Frühchristentum*, published in 2000.[33] They date originally from 1970, 1979 and 1987 and are entitled 'Church history as historical theology' (1970),[34] 'Questions regarding the paradigm ('Denkform') used by Church History as an academic discipline' (1979),[35] and 'Church History and

[28] Jan Assmann, *Die Mosaische Unterscheidung oder der Preis des Monotheismus* (Munich, 2003), translated by Robert Savage as *The Mosaic Distinction or the Price of Monotheism* (Stanford, 2009).

[29] See for example his contribution 'Monotheismus und die Sprache der Gewalt', in Peter Walter (ed.), *Das Gewaltpotential des Monotheismus und der dreieine Gott* (Freiburg i. Br., 2005), 18-38.

[30] See J. Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian* (1997), 83. Significantly, Assmann presents the Patristic evidence (Origen and Clement of Alexandria in this case) in the context of its original intellectual setting (late-antique Platonism or Neoplatonism) and its early modern reception, notably by the Cambridge Platonist Ralph Cudworth (in his work *The True Intellectual System of the Universe*, published in London, 1678). For a comprehensive new overview of this set of topics see now the contributions in Alfons Fürst and Christian Hengstermann (eds), *Autonomie und Menschenwürde. Origenes in der Philosophie der Neuzeit* (Münster, 2011).

[31] For a recent example see Timothy D. Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography and Roman History* (Tübingen, 2010), 12-3.

[32] Norbert Brox, *A Concise History of the Early Church* (London and New York, 1993).

[33] Norbert Brox, *Das Frühchristentum* (Freiburg i. Br., 2000).

[34] 'Kirchengeschichte als "Historische Theologie"', in Raymund Kottje (ed.), *Kirchengeschichte heute. Geschichtswissenschaft oder Theologie?* (Trier, 1970), 49-74; reprinted in N. Brox, *Das Frühchristentum* (2000), 9-27.

[35] 'Fragen zur "Denkform" der Kirchengeschichtswissenschaft', *ZKG* 90 (1979), 1-21; reprinted in N. Brox, *Das Frühchristentum* (2000), 29-49.

speech-act theory' (1987).[36] What is of particular interest here is that the original publication dates of these three essays span the recent history of the memory-concept and the most important stages of its development. As we shall see, Brox closely interacted with this development. His methodological contributions could therefore serve as exemplars for the possibilities of historical-theological uses of the concept.

In 'Church history as historical theology' Brox notes a widespread desire in society to understand reality in historical terms, even when it comes to the study of the church. People are essentially historically minded. Therefore, Brox argues, the study of history does not belong in the margins of theology; rather, the church and its teaching are identical with its history. There is no transcendent form which could override this, such as large numbers, economic power, ethical excellence or legal status. Nor is there a clear-cut boundary between church and non-church history. When we study history, including the history of theology, we are doing nothing that could not be verified or falsified by any historian. The critical tools are the same across all historical disciplines. That was in 1970.

Nine years later, in 1979, in an article entitled roughly 'Questions regarding the paradigm ('Denkform') used by church history as an academic discipline', Brox asks in more detail what the contribution of historical theology within a plurality of historical approaches to the study of early Christianity might be. By 'paradigm' ('Denkform')[37] he does not mean a grand meta-theory, but 'a plurality of smaller paradigms [or simply 'concepts' – JL] used to represent and narrate early church history'.[38] He provides a sample list of such paradigms, for example:

– history suspended between an absolute beginning and end;
– church history as a special kind of history, different or separate from other forms of human history;
– church history as a decline from an ideal beginning to a corrupt later stage, perhaps to be renewed by a reformation, or by an enlightenment period;
– early church history as a continuous, perhaps even harmonious, development, or progress; or
– as a plurality of histories of groups, parties, sects, goodies and badies, winners and losers;
– a series of revolutions, or a status-quo to be defended;
and many more.[39]

[36] 'Kirchengeschichte und (Sprach-)Handlungstheorie', in Peter Hünermann and Richard Schäffler (eds), *Theorie der Sprachhandlungen und heutige Ekklesiologie* (Freiburg i. Br., 1987), 98-103; reprinted in N. Brox, *Das Frühchristentum* (2000), 51-5.

[37] Although the singular ('Denkform') is used in the title of the article, the discussion inside the article is in fact about a plurality of 'Denkformen'.

[38] See the discussion in N. Brox, *Das Frühchristentum* (2000), 29-31: 'Denkform oder Denkformen[?]'.

[39] See a comprehensive list in N. Brox, *Das Frühchristentum* (2000), 31-5.

Importantly, these 'paradigms' do not come about accidentally. Behind their use lie often deliberate strategies. What is clear for Brox is that church history, like all history, always has a perspective and each perspective has a theoretical element. He cites Reinhart Koselleck's sentence that history is 'condemned to theory'. There is a 'Zwang zur Theorie'.[40] We have long become used to this, but it is not that long ago that it had to be boldly and controversially argued for. Historical theology, Brox observed, can be conservative, even reactionary, but it can also be subversive and culturally innovative. It could be used, in Brox's words, 'to redistribute light and shadow.'[41] By this he meant that it could, for example, try to rehabilitate heretics and their teachings, restore them from total oblivion. Entire traditions may thus be recovered, 'forgotten' or 'alternative' Christianities, or non-Christian elements transmitted through Christian history. In a similar way, apparently well established sets of events may be reinterpreted through concepts originally developed for other areas of historical research such as social history, gender history, and the 'histories' of ideas, science, medicine, culture *etc*. For both purposes, recovery/rehabilitation and re-interpretation, memory was in time to become an important concept.

Though it was not yet that in 1979, the year François Lyotard published his 'report' on the postmodern condition, *La condition postmoderne*,[42] and Michel Foucault was still alive (he died in 1984), busy critiquing the then still widely unacknowledged perspectivity of historical statements.[43] Still, even then (in 1979) this was no longer an academic world dominated by one overarching historical paradigm to which historical theology would have been subjected or could have latched on. Pluralism was already pervasive and began, through the idea of multiculturalism, to undermine even the one remaining implicit dominant paradigm, secularism. The idea, put forward at the time, for example by Guiseppe Alberigo,[44] to secularise church history and turn it into a strand of a

[40] N. Brox, *Das Frühchristentum* (2000), 29. Brox cites here Reinhard Koselleck, 'Über die Theoriebedürftigkeit der Geschichtswissenschaft', in Theodor Schieder and Kurt Gräubig (eds), *Theorieprobleme der Geschichtswissenschaft* (Darmstadt, 1977), 37-59, 37; originally published in Werner Conze (ed.), *Theorie der Geschichtswissenschaft und Praxis des Geschichtsunterrichts* (Stuttgart, 1972), 10-28, 14-5.

[41] N. Brox, *Das Frühchristentum* (2000), 33.

[42] Jean-François Lyotard, *La condition postmoderne: rapport sur le savoir* (Paris, 1979).

[43] Crucial in that regard were his analyses of power (of the state and of established systems, such as the health or the prison system) and the well known projects that emerged during that period, his 'histories', of the prison system (*Surveiller et punir*, 1975), and of sexuality (the first volume of which, *La volonté de savoir*, was published in 1976). A typical 'methodological' discussion from that period is his response to a critique of *Surveiller et punir* by historian Jacques Léonard entitled 'La poussière et le nuage', in Michelle Perrot (ed.), *L'impossible prison* (Paris, 1980), 29-39. But we could also cite in this context collections of earlier works of his that were published during that period, *e.g*. Michel Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1977).

[44] Giuseppe Alberigo, 'New Frontiers in Church History', *Conc*. 6 (1970), 68-84.

secular history of religions, turned out to be only partially forward-looking. It is true that to some extent 'early Christianity' is now a kind of new super-paradigm. 'Early Christian Studies' is the set of disciplines which deals with the phenomenon. The plurality of the phenomenon is becoming increasingly recognised. Many of us are speaking of Christiani*ties*.[45]

But the study of religion more widely is far from content to function as the handmaid of a secular history of religions. Quite to the contrary, it has in the last few decades learnt to work with methods, or paradigms, which have in the past been associated with foundational or philosophical theologies. Brox too held back in 1979 that historical theology, or any historical study of religion for that matter, that does not engage in theological questioning emerging from its own paradigm, would soon become irrelevant, even, and especially, as a form of history.

To demonstrate his point he cited an essay published in 1972 by the systematic theologian John Baptist Metz,[46] in which Metz defined the human sense of history generally, not just that of Christians, as a 'remembered history of past suffering'. It is this sense, according to Metz, which creates a perspective both for perceiving and representing the past as well as for projecting the future, namely in terms of hope and expectation. In Metz's view this memory is dangerous, subversive and potentially explosive. It challenges established, complacent, versions of the past and provokes an argument for the sake of a better, different, future, a future in which the status quo is overturned. The Christian memory of Christ's suffering and resurrection and the expectation of a second coming (as a kind of reversed memory) represents merely a specific manifestation of this perspective. But as such, according to Brox, it could be interpreted as a paradigm of certain types of early Christian historical thinking. Alan Kirk, Tom Thatcher and the contributors to their book, and others, developed these seminal ideas along the lines of more advanced forms of memory-studies, when they analysed 'the Jesus tradition' as a kind of 'social memory', with Metz's 'suffering' re-interpreted as the 'trauma' lying at the departure point of a very powerful cultural memory.[47]

[45] For a recent discussion of this development see Elizabeth A. Clark, 'From Patristics to Early Christian Studies', in Susan Ashbrook Harvey and David G. Hunter (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies* (Oxford, 2008), 7-42. A look into N. Brox, *Das Frühchristentum* (2000), 44 shows that the problem was already recognised in the 1970s: As Church History is becoming secularized, Brox writes, 'its subject matter needs to be redefined. The historian does no longer see *one* Church, but *churches*, and then prefers to describe his or her subject – already on ecumenical grounds – as a History of Christianity. It does not stop there. Because there is a need to widen the horizon further he or she will end up speaking – together with Ernst Troeltsch and Ernst Benz – of a History of Religion.'

[46] John Baptist Metz, 'The Future in the Memory of Suffering', *Conc*. 8 (1972), 9-25.

[47] See *e.g*. Arthur J. Dewey, 'The Locus for Death: Social Memory and the Passion Narratives', and Alan Kirk, 'The Memory of Violence and the Death of Jesus in Q', in A. Kirk and T. Thatcher, *Memory, Tradition and Text* (2005), 119-28 and 191-207; and compare again M. Vinzent, *Christ's*

Then, finally, in his 1987 article 'Church history and speech-act theory', with post-modernism in full swing, the *Historikerstreit* decided and the events of 1989 on the doorstep, Brox now writes that 'in history there is no objectivity of representation, no pristine past. Any explaining kind of history is an organised description of earlier events in the light of later ones. There is always yet another possibility to describe an event. It is an open-ended process'.[48] With this position he reinforces his scepticism regarding a purely secularised historical theology, a church history that merely describes the practices of early Christians or of the early Church. Such an approach is not only impossible by the terms of church history itself, but also of contemporary historical study generally.

Historical theology as a theological discipline deals historically-critically with the relationship between theory and praxis in the church. As a historical discipline it explores the conditions under which both theory and praxis emerge and develop in history, thus reflecting on a range of other disciplines engaged in the study of a relevant period and raising critical questions regarding the theory and praxis of these disciplines, including its own.

Thus when it comes to choosing topics, themes and fields of study, and here begins my conclusion, we are not only guided by the internal needs of a specific discipline, but by stimuli from our own social and cultural surroundings. We are not asking: What unresearched topics are there still awaiting us in the form of un-discovered texts and artefacts in the dusty vaults of old libraries, or in the desert sands of Egypt and Syria? This may be part of our task. But what is much more important is: What in the communicative memory of our present-day discourses challenges us to analyse and review the mythomotorics of our dominant cultural memories?

And I now just summarise again instances which I mentioned throughout my article: The interest in Patristics throughout the early modern period as manifest, for example, in old book collections, could be reflected upon more by Patristic scholars engaging with the relatively new discipline of the History of the Book.[49] Potentially a lot of manuscript material is still hidden in old collections, as, for example, recent discoveries of sermons of Augustine underline.[50] There is still a lot of potential even for text-critical research – Biblical and Patristic – in that regard. Contrary to Halbwachs' assumption not all early Christian traditions

Resurrection (2011), 5: 'Easter remained for the first two centuries and for some time beyond the day upon which to commemorate Christ's death, rarely his Resurrection; and children are baptized in Jesus Christ, the Son, "who was born and suffered" (*natum et passum*), not in the one who rose.'

[48] N. Brox, *Das Frühchristentum* (2000), 53.

[49] Exemplary in this regard is A. Grafton and M.H. Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book* (2006).

[50] See for this the contributions by Isabella Schiller, Dorothea Weber and Clemens Weidmann in *Wiener Studien* 121-4 (2008-2011) on the newly discovered 'Erfurt Sermones'. Shortly before this article went to print it was reported that 29 lost homilies on the *Psalms* by Origen were discovered in the Bavarian State Library in Munich.

originated from or developed purely through 'mythomotorics'. Instead, critical, usually textual (rather than historical), study did play a role as well, although it may at various stages have been superseded by the formation of memories, which involved 'mythologizing'.[51]

But the whole complex of the relationship between material, especially visual, and intellectual culture would fall under the auspices of a study of memory, then also the history of the universalist paradigm from the Hellenistic period almost to the present day; earliest Christianity with its questions regarding the elusiveness of Jesus, both in historical and literary terms, the apparent centrality of Paul and other aspects; obscure spots during the second and third centuries, for example, pseudepigraphical literature (and its mythomotorics), Gnosis, heresies, and the Jewish and pagan heritage down to the end of Antiquity,[52] and then again in the reception process, for example during the early modern period.

And finally, perhaps we could also appreciate the fact that the paradigm of memory is not only forced upon us by a fairly recent intellectual movement, but has ancient roots and can be connected to theoretical reflections in our sources themselves, in Biblical sources, as J.B. Metz observed, but also in Classical and Patristic sources. Augustine, of course, comes to mind. But that is another story.

[51] For example, Walter Bauer, *Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neutestamentlichen Apokryphen* (Tübingen, 1909), 67, observed that some early Gospel traditions were embellished. In his view these embellishments were concessions to the taste of 'Jewish-Christian readers' ('ausmalende [Züge] für judenchristliche Leser'). For instance some of these traditions identified the man in *Matth.* 12:10-4, whose withered hand Jesus healed on a Sabbath, as a bricklayer ('*caementarius*') named Malchus. When Jerome included this 'information' in his commentary, *in Matth.* 12.13 (CChr.SL 77, 90), he did so ostensibly as a historical and textual scholar, although by doing so he transmitted what became the stock of medieval legend. In his account the man tells Jesus of his professional past and begs him to heal him so that he did not have to beg for a living. The story subsequently developed a considerable afterlife in the Latin tradition. See Peter Lebrecht Schmidt, 'Und es war geschrieben auf Hebräisch, Griechisch und Lateinisch: Hieronymus, das Hebräerevangelium und seine mittelalterliche Rezeption', *Filologia mediolatina* 5 (1998), 49-93, 73, 79.

[52] Studies concerned with the memory of the pagan past in late-antique culture include Charles W. Hedrick, *History and Silence. Purge and Rehabilitation of Memory in Late Antiquity* (Austin, 2000); and, more recently, Jan Stenger, *Hellenische Identität in der Spätantike. Pagane Autoren und ihr Unbehagen an der eigenen Zeit* (Berlin and New York, 2009). Stenger's study includes an excellent reflection on the use of the memory-concept for the study of late-antique culture (see pp. 251-96 on 'pathways of memory', 'competing memories', and 'dangerous memory').

La formation des élites chrétiennes d'Augustin à Cassiodore

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Abstract

From 535 to 580, from Rome to Constantinopolis, some Christian *literati* wanted to create a Christian school for theological learning. They said their model was the Nestorian school of Nisibis, but in fact, they didn't exactly knew what this Persian school was. People like Cassiodorus, Junillus or Facundus of Hermiane were the inheritors of the patristic tradition, and their educational model was the classical school of the *paideia*. But whereas the patristic culture was familiar both with the classical and biblical traditions, the new 6th century cultural ideal was monastic. So, the secular knowledge, or part of it, could only survive when subordinated to biblical wisdom, or integrated into it. The first way was Cassiodorus' in Cassiciacum and the second Isodorus'. The clerical and monastic evolution of the *milieu lettré* made Isodorus the master of the Middle Ages.

Dans les années 535-580, entre l'Italie, Constantinople et l'Afrique, on posa par quatre fois la question d'un enseignement supérieur exégétique et théologique chrétien. Vers 535, le pape Agapet et Cassiodore, alors préfet du Prétoire en Italie, projetèrent de fonder à Rome une école supérieure chrétienne, sur ce qu'ils pensaient être le modèle de celles d'Alexandrie et de Nisibe. Ce projet n'aboutit pas à cause de la guerre entre Justinien et les Goths. Puis, entre 542 et 548, Junillus, haut fonctionnaire d'origine africaine alors Questeur du Sacré Palais de Justinien à Constantinople, envoya à Primasius, un clerc africain venu précédemment dans la capitale, un livre sur la méthode exégétique, qu'il disait inspiré de l'enseignement de Paul le Perse, formé à l'école de Nisibe.[1] Ensuite,

[1] Junillus, *De partibus divinae legis, Praefatio*. Édition et traduction dans Michael Maas, *Exegesis and Empire in the Early Byzantine Mediterranean. Junillus Africanus and the Instituta Regularia Divinae Legis* (Tübingen, 2003). Junillus y proposa une exégèse de type antiochienne, compatible avec le dogme de Chalcédoine. Il adopte la structure pédagogique des questions-réponses.

Sed dum te inter alios reverendissimos coepiscopos tuos usque ad Constantinopolim peregrinari provinciae coegisset utilitas, ex civilitatis affectu in notitiam conloquiumque pervenimus. Tu autem more illo tuo nihil ante quaesisti, quam si quis esset, qui inter Graecos divinorum librorum studio intelligentiaque flagraret. Ad haec ego respondi vidisse me quendam Paulum nomine, Persam genere, qui Syrorum schola in Nisibi urbe est edoctus, ubi divina lex per magistros publicos, sicut apud nos in mundanis studiis grammatica et rhetorica, ordine ac regulariter traditur.

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vers 550, l'évêque africain Facundus d'Hermiane regretta l'absence d'écoles où l'on étudierait les Écritures.[2] Enfin, vers 580 (ou vers 562), Cassiodore termina de rédiger ses *Institutiones*[3] pour les moines de Vivarium, où il rappelait dans l'introduction le projet antérieur d'Agapet.[4]

«Lorsque les intérêts de ta province te conduisirent jusqu'à Constantinople, en compagnie d'autres collègues très respectables dans l'épiscopat, nous nous rencontrâmes et nous eûmes une conversation cordiale. Et toi, comme tu en as l'habitude, tu me demandas avant tout s'il y avait, parmi les Grecs, quelqu'un qui brûlait pour l'étude et la compréhension des textes divins. À cela, je te répondis que j'avais vu quelqu'un, de son nom Paul et Perse de nation, qui avait été instruit à l'école des Syriens dans la ville de Nisibe, où la loi divine est enseignée de manière régulière et ordonnée par des maîtres publics, comme cela se fait chez nous pour les savoirs mondains de la grammaire et de la rhétorique».

[2] Facundus d'Hermiane, *Pro Defensione Trium Capitulorum* XII 4, 12; SC 499 (Paris, 2006).

Quoniam illi hoc integre scire possunt, qui ab ipsius artis sunt praeceptoribus instituti. Solae in contemptu sunt divinae litterae, quae nec suam scholam nec magistros habeant, et de quibus peritissime disputare se credat, qui numquam didicit.

«Car seuls peuvent avoir des connaissances correctes ceux qui ont été formés par des maîtres de l'art en question. Seules sont tenues en mépris les lettres divines, qui n'ont ni leur école, ni leurs maîtres, et desquelles on croit pouvoir disserter habilement sans avoir jamais appris».

[3] Cassiodore, *Institutiones I, Praefatio*. Édition et traduction de Wolfgang Bürsgens, *Cassiodor, Institutiones divinarum et saecularium litterarium* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 2003). Traduction de James W. Halporn, *Cassiodorus, Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning and On the Soul*, (Liverpool, 2004); discussion de Mark Vessey sur la datation, 40. Dans le passage suivant, deux traductions (A et B) du second paragraphe sont possibles selon que l'on retienne ou non le terme *Hebreis* ou *Hebraeis* (voir note 5) et que l'on considère ou non *fuisse institutum* comme un passif impersonnel.

Cum studia saecularium litterarum magno desiderio fervere cognoscerem, ita ut multa pars hominum per ipsa se mundi prudentiam crederet adipisci, grauissimo sum, fateor, dolore permotus ut Scripturis diuinis magistri publici deessent, cum mundani auctores celeberrima procul dubio traditione pollerent.

Nisus sum cum beatissimo Agapito papa urbis Romae, ut, sicut apud Alexandriam multo tempore fuisse traditur institutum, nunc etiam in Nisibi ciuitate Syrorum Hebreis sedulo fertur exponi, collatis expensis in urbe Romana professos doctores scholae potius acciperent Christianae, unde et anima susciperet aeternam salutem et casto atque purissimo eloquio fidelium lingua comeretur.

Sed cum per bella ferventia et turbulenta nimis in Italico regno certamina desiderium meum nullatenus valuisset impleri, quoniam non habet locum res pacis temporibus inquietis, ad hoc divina caritate probor esse compulsu, ut ad vicem magistri introductorios uobis libros istos Domino praestante conficerem; per quos, sicut aestimo, et Scripturarum diuinarum series et saecularium litterarum compendiosa notitia Domini munere panderetur – minus fortasse disertos, quoniam in eis non affectata eloquentia sed relatio necessaria reperitur. Utilitas vero inesse magna cognoscitur, quando per eos discitur unde et salus animae et saecularis eruditio prouenire monstratur.

«Comme je constatais que les études séculières étaient recherchées avec beaucoup d'ardeur, au point que la plupart des hommes pensaient que de telles études leur apporteraient la sagesse de ce monde, j'admets que je fus profondément et douloureusement perturbé par le fait que les professeurs publics des divines Écritures manquaient, alors que les auteurs de ce monde bénéficiaient incontestablement d'un enseignement très important.

Avec le bienheureux Agapet, pape de la ville de Rome, je fis des efforts pour qu'à Rome, une fois les fonds rassemblés, ce soit plutôt les écoles chrétiennes qui accueillent de savants professeurs,

Ces textes sont fort connus et ils ont été commentés depuis longtemps. Aussi, on mentionnera rapidement les questions liées à leur interprétation, et on insistera surtout sur leur signification historique. Il s'agira plus de comprendre le *hic et nunc* que le *quid*. En effet, ces témoignages montrent un souci commun, celui de la formation des élites chrétiennes, dans une partie du monde latin qui regroupe l'Italie, l'Afrique et Constantinople entre 535 et 580. Il faut tenter d'expliquer pourquoi cette préoccupation a existé à cette époque et dans ces régions.

Je ne développerai pas ici les problèmes liés aux textes. Le premier est philologique: il s'agit de l'interprétation du terme *Hebreis* (ou *Hebraeis ou hebraice*) chez Cassiodore, qui est discuté par les éditeurs et les commentateurs depuis près de deux siècles;[5] la solution la plus prudente est qu'il s'agirait d'une allusion

A: *Hebraeis*/*Hebreis*: comme on nous rapporte que cela a été établi pendant longtemps à Alexandrie et comme on rapporte que aujourd'hui encore les Hébreux, à Nisibe, cité des Syriens, expliquent avec zèle les textes; ainsi, les âmes pourraient gagner leur salut éternel et l'expression des fidèles pourrait se parer d'une éloquence chaste et sans tâche.

B: *Hebreis*: comme on nous rapporte que l'on a longtemps été formé à Alexandrie et comme on nous dit qu'on explique encore de nos jours avec zèle aux Hébreux à Nisibe, cité des Syriens; ainsi, les âmes pourraient gagner leur salut éternel et l'expression des fidèles pourrait se parer d'une éloquence chaste et sans tâche.

Mais comme je n'avais pu en aucune mesure accomplir mon projet à cause de la guerre qui faisait fureur et des combats violents qui agitaient le royaume d'Italie, – car les œuvres de la paix n'ont pas leur place en des temps troublés –, je fus poussé, j'en atteste, par l'amour divin à réaliser, avec l'aide de Dieu, ces livres introductifs pour vous servir de maître. A travers eux, je pense que l'ensemble des divines Écritures et un court exposé des lettres séculières pourront, grâce à Dieu, être présentés, quand bien même ces livres sont d'un style simple, car on n'y trouve pas une éloquence affectée mais un contenu indispensable. On reconnaîtra qu'ils sont d'une grande utilité puisqu'on apprend à travers eux d'où il est indiqué que proviennent le salut de l'âme et le savoir séculier».

[4] Le projet n'aboutit pas, car Agapet partit en 536 pour Constantinople afin d'essayer de dissuader Justinien d'envahir l'Italie (la Sicile était déjà conquise), et il mourut dans la capitale orientale. La guerre dura en Italie de 536 à 553. Cassiodore abandonna ses fonctions de Préfet du Prétoire en 538, et alla s'installer à Constantinople avant de revenir vivre sur ses terres à Vivarium vers 555, où il s'occupa de son monastère, qu'il fonda alors ou qu'il avait déjà fondé avant 540. Mais c'est après son retour qu'il rédigea les *Institutiones*, ou du moins le livre I et la préface.

[5] «*Hebreis*» est la leçon retenue par la majorité des manuscrits, ce qui est reconnu depuis l'édition de Roger A.B. Mynors, *Cassiodori Senatoris institutiones* (Oxford, 1937). Elle a posé problème et on a proposé:

1-de lire *Hebraeis* (édition de Pierre Garet de 1679) ou *ab Hebraeis*: (leçon créée par la PL 70, 1105, qui modifie Garet): «par les Hébreux»; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, 'Cassiodorus and the School of Nisibis', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 39 (1985), 135-7, conserve *Hebraeis*, mais le comprend comme un 'dativus auctoris' et comprend «by the Jews», et rappelle que les Nestoriens étaient appelés «Juifs» par leurs adversaires dans les textes syriaques (mais ici, on a Hébreux et non Juifs).

2-de lire *hebraice*: «à la juive»; c'est ce que suggérait Heinrich Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Africanus als Exegeten: nebst einer kritischen Textaufgabe von des letzteren Instituta regularia divinae legis* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1880), 210, note 1, qui supposait une

aux Nestoriens de Nisibe, – ville de l'empire sassanide –, dont les positions théologiques sur les deux natures du Christ les faisaient assimiler dans le monde romain, de manière erronée et polémique, aux Juifs. Le deuxième problème est factuel: le texte de Cassiodore est le plus tardif, mais il mentionne une volonté antérieure chronologiquement de fonder une école supérieure chrétienne; d'autres indices, archéologiques, permettent de penser que le projet d'Agapet fut bien réel.[6] Le troisième problème est celui de l'intertextualité. En effet, la mention d'école et de maîtres au service des lettres divines est d'abord attestée chez Junillus, puis chez Facundus et enfin chez Cassiodore. Facundus pouvait connaître le texte de Junillus envoyé en Afrique à Primasius. Cassiodore a peut-être rencontré Junillus à Constantinople; en tout cas, à Vivarium, il disposait de son ouvrage.[7] Enfin, le quatrième problème est celui de la chronologie comparée des livres I et II des *Institutiones*, le second ayant sans doute existé de manière autonome et antérieure au premier.[8]

erreur dans les manuscrits; il fut suivi par Arthur Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis* (Louvain, 1965), 194[42] qui transforme ainsi le *ab Hebraeis* de la *PL*; «à la juive» désignerait une méthode d'exégèse littérale et non allégorique (même si en réalité, l'exégèse rabbinique n'avait que peu à voir avec celle d'Antioche reprise à Nisibe)

3-de conserver *Hebreis* et de comprendre un datif: «l'enseignement (destiné) aux Juifs»; solution de Robert Macina, 'Cassiodore et l'école de Nisibe. Contribution à l'étude de la culture chrétienne orientale à l'aube du Moyen Age', *Le Muséon* 95 (1982), 131-66.

4-de conserver *Hebreis* et le comprendre comme un datif d'agent, ce qui permet de conserver la leçon des manuscrits et la traduction A; c'est le choix de W. Bürsgens, *Cassiodor* (2003), 92-93, qui semble la meilleure solution du point de vue de la philologie et de l'interprétation.

On a ainsi quatre interprétations possibles: a) un enseignement «des Juifs» ou «aux Juifs» au sein d'une école rabbinique à Nisibe; b) un enseignement «des Juifs», en posant qu'il s'agit en fait des Nestoriens; c) un enseignement destiné «aux Juifs», au sein de l'école nestorienne de Nisibe; d) un enseignement «à la juive», au sein de l'école nestorienne de Nisibe, qui insisterait sur une lecture littérale (mais plus proche en fait de la philologie des écoles classiques de grammaire que de la méthode rabbinique). L'interprétation la plus plausible est la b). Mais le choix d'une solution philologique n'a pas d'incidence sur la suite du raisonnement développé ici.

[6] Henri-Irénée Marrou, 'Autour de la bibliothèque du pape Agapit', *MEFR* 48 (1931), 124-69, repris dans *Tempora Christiana* (Rome, 1978), 167-212, 207. Marrou supposait que la bibliothèque d'Agapet était destinée à l'école projetée, et qu'elle aurait également accueilli des ouvrages profanes.

[7] Il le cite dans *Institutiones* I, X. Deux hypothèses sont possibles. La plus probable, à cause des rapprochements textuels (R. Macina, 'Cassiodore et l'école de Nisibe' [1982], 153), est que Cassiodore en parle vers 560 parce qu'il a lu le texte de Junillus mentionné dans les *Institutiones*. L'autre supposerait que la discussion publique voulue par Justinien entre Paul le Perse et un manichéen à Constantinople vers 527 (M. Maas, *Exegesis and Empire* [2003], 17) a été connue à Rome, et avec elle la réputation des maîtres de Nisibe. Cela aurait motivé le projet d'Agapet et de Cassiodore, qui en aurait ensuite parlé à Junillus lors de son séjour dans la capitale orientale. Ce dernier se ferait alors l'écho à la fois de ses souvenirs et des préoccupations romaines de Cassiodore.

[8] En effet, il existe une tradition manuscrite autonome du livre II, mais pas du livre I, comme l'a montré Fabio Troncarelli, *Vivarium: i libri, el destino* (Turnhout, 1998). On pourrait penser que le livre II des *Institutiones*, qui porte sur les arts libéraux du trivium et du quadrivium, a été

Une autre série de questions est liée aux contextes d'écriture de ces textes. Michael Maas a montré qu'il fallait comprendre l'ouvrage de Junillus en relation avec la décision de Justinien de critiquer en 543 des théologiens du V^e^ siècle morts depuis longtemps, Théodore de Mopsueste, Théodoret de Cyr et Ibas d'Édesse, en les définissant a posteriori comme «nestoriens». La finalité de cette condamnation était de permettre de rapprocher miaphysites et chalcédoniens contre un ennemi commun, les «Nestoriens».[9] Le modèle de Justinien comme empereur exégète suprême du droit romain, qui venait de s'exprimer dans la rédaction du *Corpus iuris civilis* (529-534), était désormais étendu à la Bible.[10] L'exégèse devenait ainsi un outil politique pour permettre l'unité de l'Église impériale. L'ouvrage de Facundus s'inscrit dans la querelle des Trois

détaché ensuite des *Institutiones* pour circuler de manière autonome à des fins d'enseignement profane; mais la cléricalisation sociologique du monde des lettrés après Cassiodore rend cela assez peu probable. L'autre hypothèse est de supposer que le livre II a d'abord circulé de manière autonome avant d'être intégré dans les *Institutiones* à Vivarium. Deux hypothèses sont possibles. Le livre II pourrait être un manuel d'introduction à la culture classique, dans l'esprit de l'œuvre de Martianus Capella. Il serait le versant profane du programme de l'école d'Agapet-Cassiodore, une partie du catalogue d'une bibliothèque mixte classique et chrétienne. Il daterait alors du projet romain des années 535, et Cassiodore l'aurait réutilisé et adapté à Vivarium en y insérant des ouvrages connus lors de son séjour à Constantinople, comme l'ouvrage de Junillus ou celui du Comte Marcellin (Mauro Donnini, *Cassiodoro, Le Istituzioni* [Roma, 2001], 17). L'autre solution suppose que le livre II est le complément théorique de l'*Expositio Psalmorum*, un commentaire qui était non théologique mais littéraire, et qui utilisait les normes de la grammaire, de la rhétorique et de l'érudition varronienne (James J. O'Donnel, *Cassiodorus* [Berkeley, 1979], 160 et 213-4). Il daterait alors du séjour à Constantinople, lors des années 538-555. F. Troncarelli, *Vivarium* (1998), suppose une rédaction en trois étapes: Cassiodore aurait édité séparément un ouvrage sur les savoirs séculiers entre 536 et 544, en complément de l'*Expositio* prévue pour un public laïc lettré de Constantinople (recension delta); puis après 562, il y aurait ajouté un traité sur le comput de Pâques (recension phi, à l'intention des moines de Vivarium). Enfin, il aurait composé le livre I et aurait réuni les deux parties vers 580.

[9] Ceci reprenait la politique de l'empereur Zénon qui, quarante ans plus tôt, avait édicté l'*Hénotikôn* en 482, avant de fermer l'école des Perses d'Édesse en 489.

[10] Junilius s'intéresse surtout à l'aspect exégétique de la méthode antiochienne: une lecture littérale, à laquelle il ajoute un peu d'allégorie. Il le fait à des fins politiques: la recherche d'un accord autour du décret de Justinien de 543 condamnant Théodore de Mopsueste, Ibbas d'Édesse et Théodoret de Cyr; Junillus veut montrer que l'on peut reprendre l'exégèse antiochienne dans un cadre chalcédonien. Il affirme ainsi des aspects idéologiques: le rôle de l'empereur comme exégète suprême de la loi humaine (dans le Code Justinien) et de la loi divine (dans la querelle des Trois-Chapitres); voir M. Maas, *Exegesis and Empire* (2003), 112-5. Ceci explique le titre d'*Instituta* calqué sur les *Institutes* de 533 et l'adoption du schéma scolaire des questions-réponses (*ibid*. 71-5). Ce que Justinien avait fait pour le droit (réforme du contenu et publication d'un manuel d'enseignement, les *Institutes*), Junillus voudrait le faire pour la théologie (avec les *Instituta* comme manuel des règles d'exégèse). Junillus n'a convaincu Primasius ni politiquement, ni exégétiquement: Primasius resta encore longtemps un opposant dans la Querelle des Trois Chapitres et son commentaire sur l'*Apocalypse* fut allégorique; voir Yves Modéran, 'L'Afrique reconquise et les Trois-Chapitres', dans Célia Chazelle et Catherine Cubitt (éds), *The Crisis of the Oikoumene: The Three Chapters and the Failed Quest for Unity in the Sixth-Century Mediterranean* (Tunhout, 2007), 39-82.

Chapitres, cet auteur refusant la condamnation posthume des trois évêques par Justinien; cependant, la remarque de Facundus contre les laïcs théologiens s'adressait diplomatiquement à Zénon, empereur mort, et non à Justinien. Enfin, les *Institutiones* de Cassiodore visaient certes à former des moines exégètes à Vivarium, mais aussi à justifier l'étude des lettres profanes dans un monastère.[11]

Le dernier ensemble de questions est lié aux *realia* mentionnés dans les textes. Il s'agit de la connaissance que Junillus et Cassiodore pouvaient avoir de l'école de Nisibe, de la mention des maîtres publics, et de l'allusion de Cassiodore à l'école d'Alexandrie. Nous connaissons mieux l'école de Nisibe grâce aux travaux récents de Adam Becker.[12] Son originalité était indiscutable et ses maîtres en avaient pleinement conscience.[13] Mais beaucoup de choses restent méconnues: son organisation et ses programmes,[14] ses liens avec l'école des Perses installée antérieurement à Édesse,[15] la comparaison avec les académies juives de Babylonie.[16] Si le rayonnement de l'école de Nisibe fut important au Proche-Orient,[17] ce que Cassiodore pouvait en savoir vers 535 à Rome,[18]

[11] Dans l'introduction, la mention du projet d'Agapet et les trois appels à Dieu visaient à justifier auprès des moines l'utilisation de la culture classique dans un monastère, ce qui était révolutionnaire. Le lien entre le profit spirituel lié à la sagesse divine et le savoir humain, qui même profane, en découle, était une idée majeure de Cassiodore depuis sa *conversio*, qui est manifeste dans l'*Expositio Psalmorum*; voir J.J. O'Donnel, *Cassiodorus* (1979), 158-9. Elle justifiait l'utilisation des techniques profanes de la grammaire, de la rhétorique et de la logique (*ibid*., 160-2).

[12] Adam H. Becker, *Sources for the Study of the School of Nisibis* (Liverpool, 2008).

[13] Un siècle plus tard, Barhadbsabba 'Arbaya écrivit la *Cause de la fondation des écoles*. Celle de Nisibe y apparaissait comme la dernière d'une série de 35 écoles successives qui commençait avec les anges enseignés par Dieu en personne. Nisibe récapitulait ainsi tout le savoir spirituel.

[14] A. Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis* (1965), 100-9; M. Maas, *Exegesis and Empire* (2003), 107; A.H. Becker, *Sources* (2008), 8-9. Adam H. Becker, *Fear of God and the Beginning of Wisdom. The School of Nisibis and Christian Scholastic Culture in Late Antique Mesopotamia* (Philadelphia, 2006), 87-9. On ne sait pas exactement comment traduire les termes syriaques correspondant aux diverses fonctions d'enseignement.

[15] Sur l'organisation des écoles d'Antioche et de Nisibe, cf. M. Maas, *Exegesis and Empire* (2003), 94-111, et A.H. Becker, *Fear of God* (2006), 55.

[16] A.H. Becker, *Fear of God* (2006), 14, a raison de remarquer que dans les deux cas, l'étude est définie comme une activité religieuse. Mais les méthodes talmudiques d'enseignement et d'exégèse étaient très différentes de celle de Nisibe.

[17] L'école de Nisibe fut un modèle au VII^e^ siècle pour d'autres écoles nestoriennes (A.H. Becker, *Fear of God* [2006], 157), mais aussi sans doute pour des écoles monastiques jacobites (comme celle de Quennesrin, où on étudia également la logique), voire pour des écoles musulmanes ultérieures (Cristina d'Ancona Costa [éd.], *Storia della filosofia nell'Islam medieval* [Torino, 2005], I 48-100).

[18] Sans doute peu de choses. En effet, on ne trouve rien sur cette école dans les *De viris illustribus* de Jérôme et Gennade. Peut-être avait-on eu connaissance en Italie du débat qui en 526-527 avait opposé à Constantinople le manichéen Photin et Paul le Perse. Ce dernier avait été mandaté par Justinien lui-même. La victoire de Paul, préféré aux théologiens grecs de l'Empire, mettait en valeur l'école de Nisibe, qui apparaissait ainsi comme la citadelle de la foi chrétienne contre

ou Junillus vers 543 à Constantinople, ou Cassiodore à Vivarium vers 580,[19] est en revanche très flou. La mention des maîtres publics à Nisibe et à Alexandrie est également complexe. Junillus et Cassiodore connaissaient deux modèles romains: celui des professeurs payés par l'empereur, ce qui existait par exemple à Constantinople depuis 425, ou bien celui des enseignants payés par les cités, comme c'était le cas pour Libanios à Antioche.[20] Mais il est peu probable que le roi des rois sassanide mazdéen ait financé l'enseignement de la théologie chrétienne à Nisibe, et il paraît douteux que la cité, dont on ne connaît pas les institutions après son intégration dans l'empire sassanide en 363, ait financé les maîtres chrétiens après leur installation dans la ville en 489.[21] Certes, les cours

l'hérésie manichéenne. Mais l'école se trouvait à Nisibe, en territoire sassanide depuis 363; et une partie de ses maître, dont Narsaï, avaient été expulsés d'Édesse, en territoire romain, en 489, pour des raisons théologiques. On les soupçonnait d'être des partisans de Nestorius, dont les positions avaient été condamnées au concile d'Éphèse en 431. En réalité, le point commun entre les maîtres d'Édesse et Nestorius n'était pas théologique, mais exégétique. Ils suivaient tous les préceptes de l'école d'Antioche, qui insistait sur une lecture grammaticale, littérale, historique et typologique (appelée *theoria*), du texte biblique, s'opposant ainsi à la tradition alexandrine, marquée par la philosophie (stoïcienne ou néoplatonicienne selon les époques) et son approche allégorique de lecture des textes. Ces différences renvoyaient à l'existence d'une école civique de rhétorique à Antioche et à celle d'une école civique de philosophie à Alexandrie; voir Frances Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge, 1997), 161-85. Pour le contexte général, Edward Watts, *City and School in Late Antique Athens and Alexandria* (Berkeley, 2006).

[19] Voir J.J. O'Donnel, *Cassiodorus* (1979), 131-6, et Jean Gribomont, 'Cassiodore et la transmission de l'héritage biblique antique', dans Jacques Fontaine et Charles Piétri (éds), *Le monde latin antique et la Bible* (Paris, 1985), II 144-52. On a pensé pouvoir rapprocher les statuts de l'école de Nisibe de l'organisation du monastère de Vivarium: Theodor Klauser, 'War Cassiodors Vivarium ein Kloster oder eine Hochschule?', dans *BoJ* 39 (1977), 413-20, hypothèse acceptée par W. Bürsgens, *Cassiodor* (2003), 23-9. Samuel J.B. Barnish, 'The work of Cassiodorus after his conversion', *Latomus* 48 (1989), 157-87, pose, 175-6, comme points communs: la structure semi-monastique, l'existence d'un scriptorium, la réalisation de traductions à partir du grec, la présence des lettres profanes. Mais les aspects polémiques et la production poétique d'hymnes étaient fort importants à Nisibe (cf. A.H. Becker, *Fear of God* [2006], 90-2), alors qu'ils étaient absents de Vivarium. De même, on a aucun indice d'un enseignement structuré à Vivarium (même si on peut penser à une lecture des *Institutiones*, puis des traités d'exégèse (I 10, 1), puis des modèles patristiques des commentaires), comme c'était le cas à Nisibe avec un cursus d'exégèse de l'Écriture établi sur trois ans (analysé par A. Vööbus, *The School of Nisibis* [1965], 186). Enfin, si Cassiodore a pu proposer son *Expositio Psalmorum* comme modèle d'exégèse, il n'a pas fait école, alors que Nisibe a eu une tradition continue d'exégèse liée à l'enseignement.

[20] Libanios recevait un salaire fixe et de l'argent de ses étudiants: Raffaela Cribiore, *The School of Libanios in Late Antique Antioch* (Princeton, 2007), 183-91.

[21] C'est une hypothèse défendue par R. Macina, 'Cassiodore et l'école de Nisibe' (1982). Mais la forme semi-monastique de l'école et la position cléricale des enseignants de Nisibe ne permettent pas de comparaison réelle avec le rang social de notables qu'impliquait la position de professeur public, civique ou impérial, dans l'empire romain. Toutefois, au VI^{e} siècle, l'école de Nisibe semble avoir accueilli environ un millier d'élèves, ce qui était considérable. Il n'est pas impensable qu'au vu des retombées économiques, les autorités locales aient pu favoriser le développement de l'institution sous une forme quelconque (par exemple, des dons de terrains).

de l'école de Nisibe n'étaient pas payants, mais cela était un indice de charité chrétienne. Déjà l'enseignement d'Origène à Alexandrie ou à Césarée de Palestine ou celui dispensé par l'école des Perses d'Édesse avant 489 étaient gratuits.[22] Mais ceci n'était pas un enseignement public au sens romain du terme.[23] La dernière difficulté est que Cassiodore mentionna l'école d'Alexandrie de jadis[24] à côté de celle de Nisibe. Or, il n'y avait rien de commun entre ces deux institutions, ni du point de vue de la tradition exégétique, ni du point de vue de l'organisation.[25] De plus, ces deux institutions étaient suspectes d'hérésie, origénienne ou nestorienne. On peut penser que la seule chose qui intéressait Cassiodore dans son argumentation destinée à des moines était de pouvoir faire référence à une réputation d'excellence en sciences religieuses, fût elle lointaine dans le temps (Alexandrie) ou l'espace (Nisibe).[26]

[22] Origène dépendait des évêques d'Alexandrie ou de Césarée, et au moins certains enseignants de Nisibe étaient rétribués par l'école; ceci explique que leurs auditeurs ne payaient pas.

[23] L'allusion de Junillus se comprend par le fait qu'il était habitué dans l'empire romain à l'opposition entre un enseignement public gratuit et un enseignement privé payant. Un enseignement privé gratuit n'existait pas, et le fait que les cours aient été gratuits à Nisibe a pu l'amener à considérer qu'ils avaient de ce fait un caractère public, quel que fut le statut juridique réel des enseignants. Les seuls modèles proches de Nisibe auraient été les écoles juives et les écoles monastiques, mais elles étaient sociologiquement plus communautaires, et ne concernaient pas autant d'élèves, ce qui réduisait leur dimension publique. En réalité, il n'y avait aucune raison pour qu'une cité de l'empire romain entretienne une école chrétienne, car même dans la société romaine christianisée du temps de Justinien, la cité et l'église locales restaient deux institutions différentes. Et le fait de créer des chaires impériales d'exégèse ou de théologie aurait soulevé des problèmes de compétences entre l'empereur et les évêques. Les regrets de Junillus sur les maîtres publics étaient donc rhétoriques, car une école chrétienne dans le monde romain ne pouvait être qu'épiscopale. D'ailleurs, la démarche de Cassiodore et d'Agapet montre que même si des chrétiens laïcs avaient donné des fonds, l'école chrétienne de Rome dont l'originalité aurait été l'ouverture aux laïcs à côté des clercs et des moines, serait restée sous le contrôle de l'évêque de la Ville.

[24] Cassiodore faisait allusion à l'école catéchétique et théologique d'Alexandrie qui exista de la fin du II^e^ siècle à la fin du IV^e^ siècle, illustrée par les noms de Clément, d'Origène (première moitié du III^e^ siècle), et de Didyme l'Aveugle (seconde moitié du IV^e^ siècle), qu'était allé écouter Jérôme.

[25] Cassiodore se souciait assez peu des réalités historiques de cette école. Ni l'autonomie de Clément et d'Origène face à l'évêque d'Alexandrie, ni la différence entre Clément, partisan de l'utilisation des traditions philosophiques autant que bibliques, au motif que la première dérivait de la seconde, et Origène, plus purement théologien, ne devaient le frapper. Les seules sources d'informations réelles sur ces personnages, outre leurs œuvres qui manifestaient leur indéniable niveau intellectuel, étaient les données présentes dans l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* d'Eusèbe (traduite par Rufin) et le *De viris illustribus* de Jérôme.

[26] On peut remarquer l'absence de mention de l'école civique de philosophie d'Alexandrie, pourtant contemporaine de Cassiodore. Celle-ci avait longtemps été de tradition néoplatonicienne (Markus Vinzent, '«Oxbridge» in der ausgehenden Spätantike oder: Ein Vergleich der Schulen von Athen und Alexandrien', *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 4 [2000], 49-82), mais sa prudence en matière de religion, qui s'exprimait par l'absence de réflexion sur la théurgie (Anne Shepard, 'Philosophy and Philosophical School', dans *CAH XIV, Late Antiquity, Empire and Successors, A.D. 425-600* [Cambridge, 2000], 835-54, spécialement 849) lui avait évité d'être

On peut tirer deux conclusions de ces remarques. D'abord, puisque l'école de Nisibe restait mal connue des Romains, Paul le Perse, Junillus et Cassiodore apparaissent moins aujourd'hui qu'au XX^e^ siècle des passeurs entre le Proche Orient, Constantinople et l'Occident latin. On comprend mieux Junillus dans le contexte politique de Justinien, et Cassiodore en relation avec le modèle culturel du *De doctrina christiana* d'Augustin. Toutefois, les aspects pédagogiques et exégétiques étaient bien liés, car ce fut pour mieux comprendre et utiliser la Bible que l'on posa à cette époque le problème des institutions chrétiennes d'enseignement supérieur. Il s'ensuit qu'en 580, la démarche de Cassiodore qui présenta comme des modèles d'enseignement supérieur chrétien l'école disparue d'Alexandrie, et celle, inaccessible, de Nisibe, ne s'explique que parce que ces noms étaient des *exempla* visant à justifier un projet pédagogique original, celui de l'introduction de la culture profane dans le monde monastique via la pratique exégétique. D'un point de vue rhétorique, on peut également penser que le projet d'Agapet et Cassiodore en 535 visait à présenter Rome comme s'inscrivant dans une chaîne qui regroupait les deux traditions exégétiques et théologiques antithétiques d'Alexandrie et d'Antioche/Nisibe.

Pour comprendre pourquoi cet intérêt pour l'école de Nisibe a existé, même sous forme de fantasmes, en Italie et à Constantinople, entre 530 et 580, il faut rappeler quels étaient les modèles de formation des élites qui existaient au début du VI^e^ siècle en Occident. Le premier était le système classique, fondé sur la grammaire et la rhétorique qui étaient enseignées dans des écoles qui pouvaient être impériales, civiques ou privées. Le deuxième était le système monastique, fondé sur l'étude de la Bible chrétienne et qui visait une formation spirituelle plus qu'intellectuelle. Le troisième était le système épiscopal visant à former des clercs et à leur donner une culture patristique fondée sur la grammaire, l'érudition religieuse et la rhétorique; mais ceci n'était possible que si le clergé vivait avec l'évêque de manière semi-monastique, comme cela fut le cas à Hippone autour d'Augustin. Le premier modèle était socialement dominant, le second était socialement marginal et le troisième était peu développé, même en Afrique. Cela signifie qu'au début du VI^e^ siècle, pour obtenir des clercs instruits, il n'y avait que deux possibilités. La première était de passer par l'école classique, puis de se former à la théologie par soi-même (comme le firent Ambroise et Augustin) ou avec un évêque (comme à Hippone). C'est ce que l'on peut appeler le schéma patristique séculier, avec une propédeutique profane puis un cursus théologique. Ce modèle a persisté au V^e^ siècle: Germain d'Auxerre, Sidoine Apollinaire, Avit de Vienne ou Ennode de Pavie étaient des

fermée, malgré ses maîtres païens, comme le fut celle d'Athènes (qui n'était au vrai qu'un cénacle privé et religieusement militant) en 529. Cette orientation plus conciliante envers le christianisme de l'école contemporaine d'Alexandrie fit que des chrétiens y furent enseignants après 560. Cela aurait sans doute intéressé Boèce, mais resta ignoré de Cassiodore, dont la formation grammairienne et rhétorique n'engloba pas la philosophie. C'était pourtant cette dernière qui fit une partie de la réputation des écoles d'Alexandrie et de Nisibe.

aristocrates lettrés qui devinrent des clercs; il en fut de même avec Vigile, Arator et Grégoire le Grand. La seconde solution aurait été de créer un système d'enseignement supérieur chrétien qui aurait assuré en même temps une formation profane et religieuse, en utilisant les techniques d'analyse littéraire et l'érudition classique afin de mieux comprendre le texte biblique. On peut appeler cela le schéma patristique religieux. Cela était dans doute le projet d'Agapet, mais il n'aboutit pas, à cause de la guerre en Italie. Il fut ensuite repris différemment, en excluant les laïcs, d'abord dans le cadre d'une école monastique (cas de Cassiodore à Vivarium), puis dans le cadre d'une école épiscopale (cas de Didier à Vienne) ou d'une école monastique liée à l'épiscopat (cas de certains monastères espagnols à la fin du VI^{e} siècle[27]). On peut remarquer qu'aucune de ces voies ne correspondait à ce qui se faisait réellement à Nisibe.[28]

Le souci d'un enseignement chrétien de haut niveau, qui se manifesta entre 530 et 580, en Italie, en Afrique et à Constantinople, s'explique par la relation entre les élites chrétiennes et le système scolaire classique. Le point commun de ces trois régions était que vers 530, elles relevaient encore de l'aire de la civilisation romaine, avec son administration étatique, ses cités et ses écoles classiques.[29] Ces aspects étaient liés: c'est parce qu'il existait des débouchés dans une administration de type impérial, que ce soit dans l'Orient romain, l'Italie ostrogothique ou l'Afrique vandale que les enfants des notables continuaient à aller dans les écoles des grammairiens et des rhéteurs. Cela n'était plus vrai ailleurs en Occident, en Grande-Bretagne, en Gaule et en Espagne. Là, vers 500, la structure administrative romaine, – préfecture du prétoire, diocèses, provinces –, avait disparu, et avec elle les carrières officielles qui justifiaient des études longues et coûteuses. Seules les familles les plus prestigieuses, de tradition sénatoriale, perpétuèrent par souci de distinction sociale la tradition classique par le biais du préceptorat privé, durant 150 à 200 ans en Gaule du

[27] Pierre Riché, *Éducation et culture dans l'Occident barbare, VI^{e}-VIII^{e} siècle* (Paris, 1995; texte de 1962), 244-6.

[28] Le programme de l'École de Nisibe était en effet fondé sur l'Écriture et la liturgie et avait une forte dimension monastique. Il était structuré par l'étude de la grammaire et secondairement par celle de la logique philosophique aristotélicienne. En revanche, la rhétorique ne semble pas avoir été étudiée à Nisibe, où on formait des moines, et éventuellement des moines savants, plus que des clercs prédicateurs. Et surtout, la formation grammaticale se faisait à partir de la Bible et non à partir des modèles littéraires classiques de la *paideia* qui n'existaient pas en syriaque et qui n'avaient pas été traduits du grec.

[29] Les chaires impériales existaient depuis 425 à Constantinople; à Rome, jusqu'en 535, existaient des chaires officielles de grammairiens, de rhéteurs ou de professeurs de droit payées par le Sénat, Cassiodore, *Variae*, IX, 21. Des chaires impériales de grammaire et de rhétorique furent refondées par Justinien à Carthage (534) puis à Rome et à Ravenne où on enseigna également le droit (554). Venance Fortunat, né entre 530 et 540, apprit la grammaire et la rhétorique à Ravenne, et Grégoire le Grand, né vers 540, reçut une éduction classique à Rome. Sur la survie de la civilisation romaine, voir Hervé Inglebert (éd.), *Histoire de la civilisation romaine* (Paris, 2005), 98-109.

sud et en Espagne.[30] Et les évêques issus de ces familles se chargèrent parfois eux-mêmes de la formation profane et biblique de leurs clercs, lorsqu'ils voulurent prolonger la tradition patristique séculière théorisée par Augustin.

Il faut expliquer pourquoi la demande d'un enseignement chrétien de qualité apparut là où les écoles avaient subsisté. La réponse est sociologique. En Gaule et en Espagne, la disparition après 460 de l'administration romaine et après 476-80, la fin de l'empire en Occident, signifièrent la fin de l'accès aux *dignitates* pour les non-Italiens.[31] Elle a conduit un certain nombre d'aristocrates, qui ne pouvaient plus faire carrière, à investir l'épiscopat.[32] Ce nouveau pouvoir local leur permit de maintenir leur rang social tout en donnant aux cités de puissants patrons dans un contexte troublé. En Afrique et en Italie, la persistance d'une haute administration détourna en revanche la plupart des élites sociales de l'épiscopat. Des facteurs locaux eurent également des effets dissuasifs. En Afrique, à cause d'un pouvoir vandale homéen méfiant et parfois persécuteur, la carrière ecclésiastique catholique était problématique. En Italie, certains notables locaux se replièrent sur leurs terres, ce qui pouvait les enrichir plus, mais les éloignait de l'école classique urbaine.[33] Enfin, sauf dans le cas des grandes villes, la majorité des évêchés italiens ou africains étaient de petite taille en comparaison de ceux de Gaule et d'Espagne, et donc peu attractifs en termes de pouvoir social. Aussi, en Italie et en Afrique, vers 500, les clercs, et en particulier les évêques, étaient souvent d'origine plus modeste qu'en Gaule et en Espagne.[34]

[30] Pierre Riché, *École et enseignement dans le Haut Moyen Age (fin du V^e siècle – milieu du XI^e siècle)* (Paris, 1979), 20.

[31] André Chastagnol, 'Sidoine Apollinaire et le Sénat de Rome', in *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 26 (1978), 57-70, argumenta en ce sens contre Arnaldo Momigliano, 'La caduta senza rumore di un impero', in *Sesto contributo alla storia degli studi classici, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura* (Roma 1980), 159-65. En Italie, les élites formées dans les écoles classiques continuèrent à faire carrière dans une administration romaine réservée après 476 de fait aux Italiens, dont Boèce et Cassiodore furent les représentants les plus illustres. Peter Gemeinhardt, *Das lateinische Christentum und die antike Bildung*, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 41 (Tübingen, 2007); les pages 506-11 traitent du thème de l'Église comme *Schola christiana* avec trois variantes idéaltypiques.

[32] Martin Heinzelmann, *Bischofsherschaft in Gallien: Zur Kontinuität römischer Führungsschichten vom 4. bis zum 7. Jahrhundert: soziale, prosopographische und bildungsgeschichtliche Aspekte* (Zürich, 1976).

[33] Cassiodore se plaint ainsi de ce qu'il considère comme une désertion sociale; voir Claude Lepelley, 'Un éloge nostalgique de la cité classique dans les *Variae* de Cassiodore', dans Michel Sot (éd.), *Haut Moyen Âge, culture, éducation et société. Études offertes à Pierre Riché* (Paris, 1990), 33-47.

[34] Pour l'Italie, voir les analyses de Claire Sotinel, 'Le recrutement des évêques en Italie aux IV^e et V^e siècles. Essai d'enquête prosopographique', dans *Vescovi e pastori in epoca teodosiana* (Roma, 1997), 193-204; et *ead.*, 'Les évêques italiens dans la société de l'Antiquité tardive: l'émergence d'une nouvelle élite', dans Rita Lizzi Testa (éd.), *Le trasformazioni delle élites in età tardoantico* (Roma, 2006), 377-404.

Vers 400, l'éducation classique était à la fois un moyen de distinction des élites, vis-à-vis du peuple (par la connaissance de la grammaire) et entre elles (par la maîtrise de la rhétorique), et la clé d'une carrière administrative impériale.[35] Les lettrés chrétiens des IV^e^-V^e^ siècles furent des laïcs de bonne famille ou des parvenus de la culture qui devinrent ensuite généralement évêques. L'expérience ascétique ou monastique ne fut pour eux qu'une parenthèse de type philosophique autant que spirituel, dans un cursus qui les mena de l'école classique au statut épiscopal. Henri-Irénée Marrou a mis cela en valeur en élaborant son idéal-type du Père de l'Église[36] valable pour les années 350-430. Si on donne à cet idéal-type non plus une valeur théologique, mais une valeur sociologique, on se rend compte que ce parcours, qui équivaut au schéma patristique séculier, a persisté au V^e^, voire parfois au VI^e^ siècle. Mais au V^e^ siècle, le problème de la conversion ne fut plus celui de la rupture avec le paganisme, mais celui du rejet de la vie mondaine. Or la diffusion du modèle monastique, bien étudiée par Robert Markus,[37] eut des conséquences importantes sur le problème de l'éducation des chrétiens. En effet, puisque après 500, l'idéal chrétien ne fut plus d'être un clerc lettré, mais un moine fervent, l'éducation classique devint un problème pour certains. En Italie et en Afrique, les jeunes notables chrétiens qui voulaient faire une carrière administrative, comme Boèce et Cassiodore, continuaient à aller à l'école du rhéteur ou du juriste, et ne recevaient à l'église qu'une instruction élémentaire. Quant à ceux qui étaient plus exigeants religieusement, comme Benoît de Nurcie ou Césaire d'Arles, ils arrêtèrent leurs études classiques, jugées mondaines, et se retirèrent dans des monastères où ils n'étudièrent plus que la Bible.[38] Dans le premier cas, les chrétiens ne connaissaient pas bien la culture biblique, sauf effort personnel; dans le second, ils ne maîtrisaient pas bien la culture classique supérieure (rhétorique et philosophie). Ainsi, après 500, le problème de la formation des clercs en Italie fut celui de la disparition du modèle de formation patristique séculier (études de grammaire, puis de rhétorique et carrière cléricale, après parfois une expérience ascétique).[39] Il fallait désormais choisir entre l'école profane de rhétorique ou de droit pour faire carrière et l'école de spiritualité qu'était le monastère. La succession des études disparut et le dilemme entre deux cursus, l'un profane, l'autre ascétique, apparut, qui créa une pénurie de clercs instruits.

[35] Claude Lepelley, 'Quelques parvenus de la culture de l'Afrique romaine tardive', dans *De Tertullien aux Mozarabes. Mélanges offerts à Jacques Fontaine* (Paris, 1992), 583-94 = *id*., dans Claude Lepelley, *Aspects de l'Afrique romaine. Les cités, la vie rurale, le christianisme*, Coll. Munera. Studi storici sulla Tarda Antichità 15 (Bari, 2001), 149-60.

[36] Henri-Irénée Marrou, *L'Église de l'Antiquité tardive 303-604* (Paris, 1985), 87-94 (texte de 1963 dans la *Nouvelle histoire de l'Église*, tome 1: *Des origines à Grégoire le Grand*).

[37] Robert Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge, 1990).

[38] Ceci était une rupture avec la tradition des ascètes et moines cultivés comme Jérôme, Sulpice Sévère, Paulin de Nole, Eugippius et Denys le Petit, que voulut poursuivre Cassiodore: voir S.J.B. Barnish, 'The work of Cassiodorus' (1989), 180.

[39] Avec quelques exceptions: Agnellus de Ravenne, le neveu du pape Vigile, Grégoire le Grand.

Ceux qui voulaient devenir moines ne firent plus d'études longues, et ceux qui allaient dans les écoles classiques restaient longtemps laïcs. Ce fut moins vrai en Afrique, car à côté du maintien des écoles classiques et de l'enseignement du grec, le débat continu contre les homéens jusque vers 530 permit aux clercs catholiques de maintenir un bon niveau de culture théologique qu'ils utilisèrent ensuite durant vingt ans lors de la querelle des Trois Chapitres.[40] D'ailleurs, le texte de Facundus ne se réfère ni à Alexandrie, ni à Nisibe, et regrette seulement l'absence d'école d'exégèse et de théologie. Le modèle de Facundus était sans doute le programme augustinien du *De doctrina christiana*, appliqué à des clercs dans un cadre semimonastique comme jadis le clergé d'Hippone autour d'Augustin. En tout cas, après la génération de Fulgence de Ruspe (468-533), on trouve celle de Facundus d'Hermiane, de Primasius d'Hadrumète, de Victor de Tunnuna, de Verecundus de Junca, de Ferrand et Liberatus (diacres de Carthage), qui vécurent jusque vers 550-560.[41] En revanche, en Italie, la situation était moins favorable. Ennode de Pavie mourut en 521; il appartenait aux Anicii et perpétuait le modèle patristique séculier d'une culture classique puis biblique. Mais après lui, l'église italienne ne disposa, sauf exception, que de laïcs instruits devenant sur le tard moines (comme Cassiodore) ou clercs (comme Arator) ou de clercs insuffisamment formés, tant scolairement, par défaut de formation classique, que religieusement, par l'absence de grands débats théologiques.[42] Or, les églises d'Italie avaient besoin de clercs instruits à cause des relations politiques et religieuses avec Constantinople, et pour essayer de suivre les complexes débats orientaux. C'est dans ce contexte que certains chrétiens s'inquiétèrent de la formation des clercs et posèrent le problème d'une *via media* entre l'école classique et la vie ascétique, qui délaissaient toutes deux l'étude des Écritures. Car vers 530, les clercs et les moines étaient en Italie moins instruits que les pères de l'Église antérieurs ou que des aristocrates laïcs contemporains comme Cassiodore ou Boèce.[43] Mais la haute

[40] Aimé Solignac, 'Un auteur trop peu connu: Facundus d'Hermiane', *REAug* 51 (2005), 357-74.

[41] Or, ces clercs avaient un bon niveau exégétique (Primasius d'Hadrumète écrivit un commentaire sur l'Apocalypse et Verecundus de Junca un commentaire sur les Cantiques), théologique (Fulgence et ses trois livres *Ad Thrasamundum*; Liberatus et son *Breviarum causae Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum*; Facundus et ses 12 livres de l'*Ad Iustinianum* et le *Contra Mocianum Scholasticum*) et culturel (Facundus et Liberatus connaissaient le grec, Victor de Tunnuna écrivit une *Chronique*). De même, le laïc africain Junillus était capable de s'intéresser à l'exégèse.

[42] Il n'y eut plus guère de théologiens en Europe après 475, faute d'accès au grec et à la philosophie. Seuls, au début du VI^e^ siècle, Denys le Petit, Boèce, le diacre Jean s'intéressèrent à la théologie, mais ce ne fut pas le cas d'Avit de Vienne et d'Ennode de Pavie.

[43] Aux V^e^-VI^e^ siècles, il n'existait pas deux cultures, une profane pour les laïcs et une religieuse pour les clercs et les moines. En effet, au V^e^ siècle les clercs avaient souvent reçu une éducation classique et aux V^e^-VI^e^ siècles, des laïcs se mêlaient encore des problèmes religieux chrétiens: au V^e^ siècle à Constantinople (Socrate le Scolastique), et au VI^e^ siècle en Italie (Boèce, Cassiodore), à Constantinople ou à Alexandrie (Justinien, Junillus, Cosmas Indicopleustès, Jean Philopon).

culture chrétienne dont rêvaient Agapet et Cassiodore en pensant à Alexandrie et Nisibe était en réalité la culture patristique séculière du *De doctrina christiana*.

Cependant, vers 580, le projet de Vivarium ne pouvait être le même que celui d'Agapet à Rome vers 535, pour deux raisons. D'abord, à Vivarium, Cassiodore s'adressait à des moines et non à des clercs ou à des notables laïcs. Rien n'indique qu'il ait songé à faire de Vivarium un nouveau Lérins, un monastère de transition où, après une formation spirituelle, les aristocrates déjà cultivés et devenus moines retourneraient dans le monde comme évêques pour s'occuper des laïcs. De même, Vivarium n'était pas Hippone: Cassiodore visait à former des moines savants, mais non des clercs prédicateurs. Alors que l'art oratoire avait été, selon le modèle augustinien, l'une des deux finalités du programme romain de 535 (*et casto atque purissimo eloquio fidelium lingua comeretur*), la présence de la rhétorique dans le livre II des *Institutiones* ne visait plus à former des orateurs. Elle devait seulement permettre à des moines d'analyser littérairement les textes bibliques, – selon le modèle développé par Cassiodore lui-même dans son *Expositio Psalmorum*.[44] La règle monastique de Vivarium n'était ni celle de la tradition orientale de Basile ni celle, bénédictine, qui en dérivait. Si à Vivarium les moines priaient, ils ne travaillaient pas tous de leurs mains; ceux qui le pouvaient passaient leur journée, voire leur nuit,[45] dans le *scriptorium*. Ils recopiaient les manuscrits, transmettaient et étudiaient les textes bibliques et ecclésiastiques, et ils se formaient également à la culture profane afin de pouvoir écrire à leur tour.[46] Vivarium était en partie un centre d'étude, de méditation, de copie, de traduction et de production intellectuelle et sa situation en bord de mer permettait aisément les échanges.[47] La seconde

[44] Cassiodore avait fait dans son *Expositio* un commentaire littéraire et érudit classique. Et à Vivarium, il insista plus sur l'établissement du texte et l'exégèse que sur la philosophie ou la théologie. Et s'il accepta la rhétorique et la dialectique (en particulier l'étude des syllogismes), ce n'était pas comme Augustin parce qu'il visait la prédication ou la controverse théologique, mais l'analyse stylistique du texte biblique. Voir Antonio Quacquarelli, 'Riflessioni di Cassiodoro sugli schemi della retorica attraverso i Salmi', dans Sandro Leanza (éd.), *Flavio Magno Aurelio Cassiodoro* (Messina, 1986), 313-34.

[45] Grâce à des lampes à huile d'un nouveau modèle, créé par Cassiodore lui-même, *Institutiones* I 30, 4.

[46] L'efficacité de Vivarium comme centre d'études fut réel: voir J.J. O'Donnel, *Cassiodorus* (1979), 215-7. On y traduisit les homélies de Jean Chrysostome sur l'*Épître aux Hébreux*, les *Antiquités judaïques* de Flavius Josèphe, on y confectionna le *Codex encyclius* (les lettres sur le concile de Chalcédoine) et on y produisit l'*Historia tripartita*, en partie originale, le *Computus Paschalis* et les *Institutiones*, ainsi que des commentaires scripturaires et le livre de Gaudentius sur la musique. L'importance de la musique à Vivarium, entre connaissance théorique et chant des Psaumes, est difficile à apprécier; voir Ubaldo Pizzani, 'La cultura musicologica di Cassiodoro', dans Sandro Leanza (éd.), *Cassiodoro. Dalla corte di Ravenna al Vivarium di Squillace* (Messina, 1993), 27-60.

[47] Cassiodore avait de bonnes raisons de s'installer à Vivarium (cf. S.J.B. Barnish, 'The work of Cassiodorus' [1989], 166-74). Cette retraite n'était pas un isolement. Loin du nord de l'Italie

raison pour laquelle Vivarium ne pouvait pas reprendre le projet de 535 était que l'Italie avait été ruinée par vingt ans de guerres romano-gothiques. On ne pouvait plus guère compter sur le réseau des écoles profanes pour transmettre la culture classique, et Justinien recréa en 554 des écoles impériales à Rome et Ravenne pour former les élites. Le projet d'Agapet s'expliquait par le succès des écoles classiques, celui de Vivarium par leur déclin.[48]

Cette différence générationnelle est essentielle, mais elle fut occultée dans la préface de Cassiodore qui se servit du projet romain pour justifier Vivarium, alors qu'il s'agissait de deux choses très différentes. En 535, face à l'école classique, on désira créer une école chrétienne qui utiliserait une partie de la culture profane: le projet était religieux et le modèle scolaire. Vers 580, Cassiodore voulait sauver une partie de l'érudition profane en la subordonnant à la culture chrétienne: le projet était culturel et le cadre institutionnel monastique. Le livre II des *Institutiones* existait de manière séparée depuis le temps d'Agapet ou du séjour à Constantinople, et seul le contexte italien de la fin du VI^e^ siècle explique l'addition de ce programme d'études classiques à un programme d'études bibliques exégétiques, contre toute la tradition monastique depuis le III^e^ siècle, qui était par définition hostile aux «savoirs extérieurs». À Rome, il s'agissait de mettre à disposition de futurs clercs les outils de la culture classique dont ils auraient besoin pour perpétuer une culture patristique sur le modèle du *De doctrina christiana*; à Vivarium, il s'agissait de préserver la possibilité d'une telle culture. Ceci explique la prudence avec laquelle Cassiodore justifia son projet. Dans l'introduction, il mentionna le pape Agapet, les précédents d'Alexandrie et de Nisibe, et il affirma les liens entre le salut de l'âme et l'érudition mondaine en invoquant Dieu par trois fois lorsqu'il parla des lettres séculières (Préface, 1). Dans le texte, il rappela l'utilité des lettres profanes pour la compréhension des textes bibliques et patristiques (I, XXVIII, 3-4). Dans la conclusion, il rappela qu'Augustin, avec d'autres (Cyprien, Lactance, Victorinus), avait dit qu'il ne fallait pas rejeter les écrits séculiers, reprenant le thème des dépouilles des Égyptiens et affirmant en I, XXVIII, 3, la

où la guerre avait duré si longtemps et où elle reprendrait dès 568, avec l'arrivée des Lombards, loin de Rome, qui avait été vidée de ses habitants, Vivarium était en bord de mer, principal vecteur de la communication antique. Les réflexions de S.J.B. Barnish sur la production et la distribution des manuscrits de Vivarium sont certes hypothétiques, mais montrent Cassiodore au centre d'un réseau d'échanges qui concerne Constantinople, l'Afrique, et l'Italie. Vivarium était un monastère ouvert sur le monde, où l'on pensait que sauver la culture permettait de mieux comprendre la Bible et favorisait le salut de l'âme. Sur la description de Vivarium, Günter Ludwig, *Cassiodor. Über den Ursprung der abendländischen Schule* (Frankfurt am Main, 1967), 29-52.

[48] Elie Peretto, 'Papa Agapito I e la mancatat fondazione delle Schola Christiana vagheggiata da Cassiodore', dans Sandro Leanza (ed.), *Cassiodoro* (1993), 212-20, a raison de remarquer qu'à Vivarium, Cassiodore modifia le projet d'Agapet qui ne portait que sur les lettres divines en s'appuyant sur une bibliothèque d'auteurs chrétiens grecs et latins. Mais l'école d'Agapet était complémentaire du système classique sur lequel il s'appuyait alors que Vivarium a dû prendre en charge les deux traditions, profane et sacrée.

nécessité des deux traditions culturelles.[49] Toutes ces précautions montrent que Cassiodore avait conscience de faire du neuf; sa rhétorique de la tradition et ses *exempla*, – les moines mentionnés (Jérôme, Eugippius, Denys le Petit) sont tous des lettrés, et seul Cassien fut également un maître spirituel –, étaient au service d'un projet révolutionnaire: l'introduction des savoirs «du dehors» au sein d'un monastère. Ceci explique la relation entre les deux livres des *Institutiones*. D'un point de vue pédagogique, le livre II aurait dû être placé avant le livre I, la formation profane permettant une meilleure compréhension des Écritures (Préface, 6), selon le schéma de formation patristique séculier. Mais Cassiodore le mit en deuxième position pour trois raisons. D'abord, il fallait manifester le respect dû aux choses religieuses.[50] Ensuite, Cassiodore s'adressait à des moines à qui il devait faire accepter l'intrusion de la culture profane, qui ne devait donc apparaître que comme un complément de formation; aussi présenta t-il les savoirs profanes comme des techniques auxiliaires ou une érudition utile mais non comme une propédeutique nécessaire.[51] Enfin, Cassiodore pensait depuis longtemps que les savoirs profanes dérivaient de vérités divines mieux exprimées dans la Bible.[52]

Le livre I des *Institutiones* reprenait certains points du *De doctrina christiana* augustinien:[53] une partie de la culture classique (les techniques formelles et l'érudition) était mise au service de la tradition biblique et ecclésiastique. Le programme scolaire classique du livre II était là pour permettre aux moines lettrés de réviser leurs connaissances formelles (celles du trivium et du quadrivium[54]) et

[49] Franz Weissengruber, 'Zu Cassiodors Utrasque doctrinas', dans *Consuetudines Monasticae* (Roma, 1982), 33-47.

[50] Justinien venait d'en faire autant dans son code. Alors que le *Code Théodosien* se terminait par le livre XVI consacré aux choses religieuses, le *Code Justinien* commençait avec elles.

[51] Mark Vessey, *Introduction*, dans J.W. Halporn, *Cassiodorus* (2004), 40-1, insiste sur le fait que l'introduction à la textualité chrétienne doit s'appuyer sur les lettres divines et les techniques humaines.

[52] *Expositio Psalmorum* 1,6 et 150,6; *Institutiones* I 4,2

[53] Cassiodore y présenta d'abord les livres bibliques avec leurs principaux commentaires patristiques (I-IX). Il parla ensuite des manuels de règles d'exégèse (X), des conciles œcuméniques (XI), des canons scripturaires (XII-XIV), de l'émendation des textes (XV), de l'excellence des Écritures (XVI), des historiens des temps bibliques et ecclésiastiques (XVII). Il fit l'éloge de certains auteurs chrétiens latins (XVIII-XXII: Hilaire, Cyprien, Ambroise, Jérôme, Augustin) et de moines lettrés comme Eugippius et Denys le Petit (XXIII). La fin du livre alterne des conseils de méthode de lecture (XXIV, XXVI-XX), la mention d'auteurs géographiques, agronomiques, orthographiques et médicaux (XXV; XXVIII 6; XXX 2; XXXI 2) et la description du monastère de Vivarium et de son fonctionnement (XXIX-XXX et XXII). Le fait d'inclure les aspects érudits dans le livre I et non dans le livre II permettait d'isoler les arts libéraux profanes et de maintenir une exigence de connaissance dans le domaine religieux. Il est également cohérent avec le *De doctrina christiana* XXXIX 58, qui considérait comme divin le savoir sur le passé et le monde.

[54] Malgré le *De ordine* (386) d'Augustin et les ouvrages de Martianus Capella et Boèce, Cassiodore serait le premier à structurer ainsi le cycle des études; voir W. Bürsgens, *Cassiodor* (2003), 33-6.

aux autres d'en acquérir afin de mieux comprendre la Bible et les Pères.[55] Augustin s'en était dispensé en renvoyant aux écoles classiques. Cassiodore n'avait plus ce luxe. Mais dans cette préparation technique, les exemples restaient tirés de Cicéron et Virgile.

Ainsi, en Italie, lorsque après 550, la plupart des écoles classiques avaient disparu, c'est au sein même du mouvement monastique que Cassiodore tenta de sauver l'idéal patristique séculier d'Augustin.[56] Il rompit en faveur de l'étude l'équilibre proposé par Basile de Césarée et Benoît de Nurcie entre travail intellectuel, manuel et spirituel. Cassiodore échoua doublement. Sa solution pédagogique institutionnelle ne lui a pas survécu, car la tradition culturelle monastique était trop prévenue contre les savoirs profanes. Et son programme exégétique personnel, fondé sur des normes grammaticales et rhétoriques, présenté dans l'*Expositio Psalmorum* n'a pas été repris ensuite car il fut jugé trop peu spirituel en un temps où la culture profane littéraire n'était plus un modèle social.

En conclusion, on peut dire que le modèle de Nisibe fut avant tout un fantasme romain et constantinopolitain lié à la coexistence d'une culture classique essentiellement rhétorique, d'une culture monastique qui ne pouvait donner qu'une culture chrétienne limitée,[57] et d'une culture patristique théologique et rhétorique sans institutions. Après 500, en Occident, l'idéal monastique mit en péril l'idéal patristique en dissociant l'enseignement classique de la perfection religieuse. C'est pour cela que l'on tenta de créer au VI^e^ siècle des centres de haute culture chrétienne, sur le modèle scolaire classique (projet d'Agapet), sur le modèle monastique (projet d'Eugippius près de Naples ou de Cassiodore à Vivarium) ou au sein d'écoles épiscopales (Didier à Vienne, Léandre à Séville).

[55] Michel Ferré, *Cassiodore Institutions, Livre II. Introduction, traduction et commentaire*, thèse (Saint-Étienne, 1999).

[56] Cassiodore ne fut pas le seul riche laïc italien du temps à fonder un monastère; voir Salvatore Pricoco, 'Spiritualità monastica e attività culturale nel cenobio di Vivarium', dans S. Leanza (éd.), *Flavio Magno Aurelio Cassiodoro* (1986), 357-77. Mais au monastère de Saint Séverin à Castellum Lucullanum près de Naples, Eugippius adopta un programme d'études augustinien plus réduit et strictement religieux; cf. Pierre Riché, *Éducation et culture* (1995; texte de 1962), 111; et Darius Alekna, 'Les premières interprétations du *De doctrina christiana* de S. Augustin: Possidius, Eugippius, Cassiodore' = 'Pirmosios Šv. Augustino *De doctrina christiana* interpretacijos: Posidijus, Eugipijus ir Kasiodoras', *Religija ir kultūra:* mokslo darbai (Vilnius, 2006) (3), 37-45. En revanche, à la différence d'Eugippius, et comme Cassiodore, Isidore devait s'intéresser à Augustin maître de la culture antique. En cela, il fut plus proche de l'esprit du *De doctrina christiana* et de l'action de Cassiodore: voir Jacques Fontaine, 'Les relations culturelles entre l'Italie byzantine et l'Espagne visigotique: la présence d'Eugippius dans la bibliothèque de Séville', *Estudios classicos* 26,88 (1984), 9-26; et Jacques Fontaine, 'Cassiodore et Isidore: l'évolution de l'encyclopédisme latin du VI^e^ au VII^e^ siècle», dans S. Leanza (éd.), *Flavio Magno Aurelio Cassiodoro* (1986), 72-91.

[57] Il faut distinguer cela de la culture ascétique liée à la direction de conscience telle que la pratiqua Jérôme avec les dames aristocratiques de l'Aventin, et qui était d'un très haut niveau intellectuel.

Mais rien de cela ne ressembla à l'école de Nisibe, où la culture chrétienne était fondée sur l'exégèse, la liturgie et les techniques logiques aristotéliciennes. Le vrai débat en Occident fut celui de la place des savoirs d'origine profane, entre la tradition monastique qui les refusait et la tradition patristique qui les utilisait. Le déclin des écoles classiques et le progrès des idées ascétiques fit que l'ère de la juxtaposition hiéronymienne des deux cultures ou de la synthèse augustinienne du *De doctrina christiana* (subordonner la culture profane à la culture chrétienne) était passée.[58] Il restait soit à réduire la culture profane à n'être qu'un outil formel au service de la culture chrétienne (Cassiodore et Grégoire le Grand), soit à inclure la culture profane dans la culture chrétienne (Isidore de Séville) à partir de la grammaire et de l'érudition. Cette dernière solution évitait la coexistence des deux cultures et fut la solution qui s'imposa dans les monastères.[59]

L'existence de clercs instruits était nécessaire pour éviter les intrusions des laïcs, qu'ils soient grands aristocrates romains ou empereurs de Constantinople, dans le champ religieux, domaine de l'action et du pouvoir des évêques. Il fallait pour cela avoir de bons techniciens en théologie et en exégèse, voire en rhétorique ou en dialectique. Aussi, le problème de la formation des évêques, des exégètes ou des théologiens était-il différent de celui des autres clercs. Pour eux, le modèle n'était pas celui des moines, mais les Pères de l'Église, ces lettrés chrétiens mis en valeur par Eusèbe dans son *Histoire ecclésiastique* ou par Jérôme et Gennade dans leurs *De viris illustribus*. En Afrique jusque vers 560 ou en Espagne jusque vers 590, le combat théologique justifia la survie de ce modèle,[60] mais en Italie, l'absence de débat religieux entraîna après 530 une réflexion sur la nécessité d'une structure chrétienne d'enseignement exégétique et théologique sur le modèle imaginé de l'école de Nisibe. Mais la mention de cette dernière ne fut qu'un argument rhétorique pour justifier un projet exégétique et politique chez Junillus, ou un projet pédagogique et institutionnel chez Cassiodore. Ce dernier formé à une époque de haute culture classique[61] voulut créer les conditions de la persistance d'une culture de type patristique au sein d'un monastère, alors que le modèle social de la culture classique était en train de disparaître et que celui d'une culture ascétique était en train de s'imposer.

[58] Il faut donc nuancer l'hypothèse de Michaela Zelzer, 'Cassiodoro come continuatore del rinascimento del quarto secolo', dans Sandro Leanza (éd.), *Cassiodoro* (1993), 221-31; Cassiodore se justifia par cette tradition, ce qui ne signifiait pas qu'il la prolongeait réellement.

[59] L'œuvre d'Isidore suffisait aux moines; elle pouvait être complétée par ceux qui désiraient accéder aux textes classiques, mais ceux-ci n'étaient plus définis comme un prérequis nécessaire.

[60] Il perdura en Espagne au-delà, car le modèle augustinien du clerc ou du moine savant fut diffusé après 569 par l'installation de moines africains en Bétique, ce qui permit la création d'un schéma patristique religieux au sein des monastères en lien avec les grands évêchés; voir Pierre Riché, *Éducation et culture* (1995; texte de 1962), 246-7.

[61] Arnaldo Momigliano, 'Cassiodorus and Italian Culture of his Time', dans *Proceedings of the British Academy* (25 may 1955), 207-45 = *Secondo Contributo alla storia degli studi classici* (Roma, 1960), 191-229.

L'instruction et la copie étaient normales dans un monastère, les traductions et les commentaires étaient en revanche exceptionnels.[62] Mais il ne s'agissait évidemment pas là d'un projet humaniste visant à étudier la culture profane pour elle-même.

À la fin du VI^e^ siècle, le modèle patristique augustinien était devenu difficile à atteindre, faute d'écoles classiques, et inutile à réaliser, faute de finalité. En effet, il n'y avait plus en Occident de lettrés païens à combattre, ni de grands débats théologiques. Et les standards rhétoriques de la prédication chrétienne avaient dû s'adapter à un discours simple, comme l'avait compris Césaire d'Arles. Aussi, la volonté de faire survivre l'*antiquitas* dans la *modernitas* (*Inst*. 1, 8, 16) ne survécut pas à Cassiodore, car elle supposait ce qui n'existait plus guère, la maîtrise d'une culture classique familière. L'avenir était à ceux qui créèrent du neuf. Grégoire le Grand, formé à l'école classique puis monastique, accepta l'utilité des savoirs extérieurs pour comprendre la Bible; mais il proposa une synthèse entre les techniques culturelles profanes, l'érudition religieuse cléricale et la spiritualité monastique,[63] à la différence de Cassiodore qui avait privilégié la dimension littérale et littéraire du texte biblique.[64] Isidore de Séville ne prolongea pas l'idéal patristique d'une culture synthétique, ni n'accepta le rejet monastique de la culture profane, et créa une nouvelle culture mixte qui préservait une part des connaissances antiques au sein d'un cadre chrétien. Cette culture simplifiée, neutralisée, fondée sur la grammaire et l'érudition religieuse et profane, fut mise au service du christianisme. Elle fut acceptée par les moines et les clercs qui l'utilisèrent pour comprendre la Bible selon la démarche de Grégoire. Le rêve latin de l'école de Nisibe ne fut qu'un épisode dans une problématique chrétienne plus générale, celle d'une nouvelle instruction, plus biblique, pour parvenir à une vraie conversion, plus spirituelle.[65]

[62] Marcello Marin, 'Saeculario elocutio e caelestio auctoritas nelle Institutiones di Cassiodoro', dans S. Leanza (éd.), *Flavio Magno Aurelio Cassiodoro* (1986), 442-52, parle, 447, d'une espérance culturelle chez Cassiodore.

[63] Ettore Paratore, 'Cassiodoro nelle cultura del suo tempo', dans S. Leanza (éd.), *Cassiodoro* (1993), 19-25, rappelle que Cassiodore a principalement écrit dans le domaine historiographique et exégétique, mais qu'il ne s'est pas intéressé à la dimension hagiographique. En cela, d'après Friedrich Prinz, 'Cassiodoro e il problema dell'illuminismo cristiano nella tardaantichità', dans Sandro Leanza (éd.), *Cassiodoro* (1993), 3-18, Cassiodore aurait privilégié un christianisme éthique et spirituel, et non numineux et thaumaturgique, dimension que Grégoire assuma dans ses *Dialogues*.

[64] Sur cet aspect fort important, Reinhard Schlieben, *Christliche Theologie und Philologie in der Spätantike: Die schulwissenschaftlichen Methoden der Psalmenexegese Cassiodors* (Berlin, 1974); Helda Köhler, 'Rhetorische Exegese: Cassiodors complexiones', dans Andrea Jördens, Hans Armin Gärtner, Herwig Görgemanns and Adolf Martin Ritter (éds), *Quaerite faciem eius semper: Studien zu den geistesgeschichtlichen Beziehungen zwischen Antike und Christentum. FS Albrecht Dihle*, Studien zur Kirchengeschichte 8 (Hamburg, 2008), 134-50.

[65] A.H. Becker, *Fear of God* (2006), 30, a bien remarqué que la conversion au christianisme signifie le rejet d'une forme d'enseignement et l'acceptation d'une autre.

The Rhetoric of Conversion in Ancient Philosophy and Christianity

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ABSTRACT

In his classic monograph *Conversion. The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* (1933), Arthur Darby Nock proposes an influential assessment of conversion in Antiquity. He identifies conversion as a specific feature of ancient Christianity and regards conversions to philosophy as exceptions within the pagan world. This paper collects and studies statements and accounts of 'conversion to philosophy' and seeks to establish their communicative and social functions. It, then, asks how Christian conversion narratives relate to the concept of 'conversion to philosophy', taking Cyprian of Carthage's account of his conversion in *Ad Donatum* as an example. The paper argues that conversion narratives support the self-presentation as a philosopher or as a Christian and, furthermore, play an important role in the debate about the realisation of a philosophical or a Christian life.

In recent years, scholars of ancient Christianity have become increasingly interested in conversion. The classic monograph on conversion in Antiquity, published in 1933 by Arthur Darby Nock, still serves as an important reference in the discussion.[1] Nock's psychological concept of conversion has been supplemented or substituted by sociological and linguistic approaches to conversion. But the major historical assumption of his study has persisted almost unchallenged: that conversion is a more or less exclusively Christian concept, a specific feature of ancient Christianity, which contributed to its success.[2] Although Nock identifies a concept of conversion in ancient philosophy, he dismisses this model as an exception within the pagan world.[3]

In the wake of Nock, studies of conversion in ancient Christianity have aimed mainly at studying the dynamics of Christianization.[4] Rarely has Nock's descrip-

[1] Arthur Darby Nock, *Conversion. The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* (London, 1933; reprinted Baltimore and London, 1998).

[2] See Martin Goodman, *Mission and Conversion. Proselytizing in the Religious History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1994).

[3] A.D. Nock, *Conversion* (1933), 164-86.

[4] See Gustave Bardy, *La conversion au Christianisme durant les prémiers siècles* (Paris, 1949), the French equivalent to Nock's monograph; more recently the studies of Ramsey MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire. A.D. 100-400* (New Haven, Conn., 1984); *id.*, 'Two

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tion of 'conversion to philosophy' raised the question of how Christian conversion narratives relate to this concept.[5] This article shall pursue this issue with a special emphasis on the functions of statements and accounts of conversion. For this purpose, I do not read Christian conversion accounts as testimonies to individual piety. Rather, I regard them as participants in the debate about the character of philosophy and the realisation of a philosophical life. I shall first outline this debate and will then turn to Cyprian of Carthage as a Christian test case.

Some episodes narrate how the founders and heads of the schools in the classical and Hellenistic period turned to philosophy themselves or brought about other people's conversion.[6] These accounts are products of the schools' traditions and may in some cases be traced back to the philosopher's self-presentation. The narratives serve obvious functions. Conversion to philosophy by a divine oracle clearly legitimizes the authority of the philosophical teaching.[7] Other episodes describe the protreptic effect which the philosophers' oral teaching or their written works had on students.[8] In this, the transforming power of their philosophy is demonstrated. It is not difficult to conclude that these accounts of conversion to philosophy played a role in the competition between rival schools.[9]

It is within this context that the famous episode of Polemo's conversion to philosophy has to be read.[10] Polemo, a wealthy young hedonist, once rushed

Types of Conversion in Early Christianity', *VC* 37 (1983), 174-92; Alan Kreider, *The Change of Conversion and the Origin of Christendom*, Christian Mission and Modern Culture (Harrisburg, Pa., 1999; reprinted 2006).

[5] Georg Misch, *Geschichte der Autobiographie. Das Altertum*, 2 vols., 3rd edition (Frankfurt/M., 1950), II 494-503, treats both pagan and Christian accounts of conversion to philosophy. Ramsay MacMullen, 'Two Types of Conversion in Early Christianity' (1983), regards the philosophical type of conversion as the model of the educated Christian elite and conversion by miracles, *etc*., as the model for the uneducated masses. Although he uncritically takes Christian accounts of mass conversions at face value and therefore misconceives their function, he nevertheless points in passing to a relation between conversion to philosophy and Christian conversion models. This needs further substantiation.

[6] For a collection of texts see Olof Gigon, 'Antike Erzählungen über die Berufung zur Philosophie', *Museum Helveticum* 3 (1946), 1-21.

[7] Socrates: Plato, *Apol*. 20c-23c; Xenophon, *Apol*. 14-5; Aristotle, *De phil*. frg. 1-2; Diogenes of Sinope: Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae phil*. 6.20-1; Zeno: Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae phil*. 7.2-3; 7.31-2. For Aristotle's conversion see O. Gigon, 'Antike Erzählungen' (1946), 17.

[8] Conversions directly or indirectly effected by Socrates' teaching: Xenophon (Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae phil*. 2.48); Aristippus of Cyrene (Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae phil*. 2.65); Plato (Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae phil*. 3.5-6); conversion effected by Plato's writings: Aristotle, *frg*. 64 Ross (Corinthian farmer); Themistius, *Or*. 295c-d (reading the *Republic*: Axiothea of Phleius; reading the *Gorgias*: Corinthian farmer; reading the *Apologia*: Zeno of Citium); conversion effected by Xenophon's account of Socrates' life: Zeno (Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae phil*. 7.2-3).

[9] Conversion narratives and collections of conversion accounts serve this function also by establishing successions and lineages of philosophical teachers. See the analysis of Diogenes Laertius' *Lives*: Jean-Paul Dumont, 'Les modèles de conversion à la philosophie chez Diogène Laërce', *Augustinus* (Madrid) 32 (1987), 79-97.

[10] Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae phil*. 4.16.

drunk into a lecture of Xenocrates. Listening to him, Polemo was overwhelmed by his praise of temperance, devoted himself to philosophy and embraced a virtuous life of detachment and composure. This, in turn, attracted Crantor to the Academy.[11] The story advertises the effective power of Xenocrates' teaching to transform people. It presents Academic philosophy as a way of life which aims not at dialectic speculations but at philosophical practice.[12] The account of Polemo's conversion was well known in the early and high empire, in the east and in the west, among Non-Christians as well as Christians.[13]

It is no exaggeration to say that 'conversion to philosophy' was generally in vogue among the Roman elite during the principate. With two exceptions, the following examples were not addressed in Nock's study.[14] Vergil, or one of his immediate followers, claims a conversion from poetry to philosophy, obviously without giving up poetry.[15] The poet and satirist Persius describes how the anxieties of his youth lead him to study with Cornutus. He praises his teacher's success in transforming his mind and thereby exhorts a wider public to seek liberty in philosophy.[16] The rhetorician and philosophical sophist Dio Chrysostom narrates a conversion from rhetoric to philosophy. In *Or*. 13, delivered after his rehabilitation, he recounts that he converted to the life of a wandering Cynic due to the oracle of Apollo. He gives an example of a protreptic speech directed against the vicious society in Rome and stylizes himself as a follower of Socrates in order to publicize his writings and to renew his career after his exile under Domitian.[17] Similarly, Lucian skillfully advertises a conversion

[11] Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae phil*. 4.17.

[12] Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae phil*. 4.18.

[13] See, *e.g*., Epictet, *Diss*. 3.1.14; 4.11.30; Plutarch, *Quom. adul. am. int*. 32 (71e); Horace, *Orat*. 2.3.253-7; Lucian, *Bis acuss*. 17; Origen, *C. Cels*. III 66-7; Augustine, *Conf*. VI 7.11-2; *Ep*. 144.2; *C. Iul*. I 4.12; I 7.35. In addition, Marcello Marin points to Fronto, *Ep. ad Marc. Aurel*. 2.2.5; Valerius Maximus, 6.9.1; Pomponius Porphyrio, *Comm. Horat. Flac*. (304-5 Holder); Ambrose, *Helia et ieiu*. 12.45 (*id*., 'Alipio e la topica della conversione [Conf. VI 7,11-12]', in *Le Confessioni di Agostino*, Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum 85 [Rome, 2003], 133-47, 139-40.44).

[14] A.D. Nock, *Conversion* (1933), 173-4: Dio Chrysostom; *ibid*. 182: Persius.

[15] Vergil, *Catalepton* 5. Although Vergil's authorship is disputed, this poem may be regarded as authentic. See John Ferguson, 'Epicureanism under the Roman Empire', revised and supplemented by J.P. Hershbell, in *ANRW* 2,36,4 (Berlin and New York, 1990), 2257-2327, 2265-7. But also as the work of an anonymous follower of Vergil, it testifies to the general popularity of conversion motifs.

[16] Persius, *Sat*. 5.30-51, about his time with Cornutus. Persius addresses his teacher and friend Cornutus (*Sat*. 5.23; 5.37), but the satire aims at a wider public (*Sat*. 5.64-5). See *Aules Persius Flaccus. Satiren*, herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert von Walter Kißel, Wissenschaftliche Kommentare zu griechischen und lateinischen Schriftstellern (Heidelberg, 1990), 604-26, for a useful commentary of the passage.

[17] The traditional reading of this text advanced, among others, by A.D. Nock, *Conversion* (1933), 173-4, has been convincingly replaced by J.L. Moles, 'The Career and Conversion of Dio Chrysostom', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 98 (1978), 79-100, 99, and Christoph Tobias Kasulke, *Fronto, Marc Aurel und kein Konflikt zwischen Rhetorik und Philosophie im 2. Jh. n. Chr*., Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 218 (München and Leipzig, 2005), 97-106. Kasulke

from rhetoric to philosophy, perhaps in order to explain and to legitimize his retreat from a career as a traveling sophist to the life of a private writer in Athens.[18] Moreover, Philostratus' biographical collection *Vitae sophistarum* contains two conversion accounts, which demonstrate that models of philosophical conversion were a prominent instrument for a literary or public (self-) presentation certainly for Philostratus and his addressees, but possibly already for the two protagonists and their audiences: the conversion of Isaeus, a contemporary of Dio Chrysostom, from rhetoric to philosophy, which did not impede his career as a celebrated orator, and Aristocles of Pergamon's conversion from a quiet life as a Peripatetic to the public life of a Sophist.[19] Further, Artemidorus of Daldis, who flourished in the second century, includes an incident of conversion to philosophy in his handbook of dream interpretation.[20] This may indicate that conversion to philosophy because of a dream was a model familiar to his contemporaries. Under Marcus Aurelius, the philosopher emperor, many Roman aristocrats presented themselves as philosophers in more or less demonstrative ways.[21]

The self-stylization of the Roman elite as men of philosophy did not meet with unanimous approval. The second century Platonist Calvenus Taurus, for example, repeatedly complained about students who studied philosophy in order to adorn their speech and not their lives.[22] Aulus Gellius records how a student who had just left the school of rhetoric for the school of Plato in order

(*ibid*. 97-106) considers the function and a probable biographical context of Dio's conversion narrative. Moles and Kasulke demonstrate that the distinction between a sophistic period and a philosophical period in Dio's life, the latter initiated by a philosophical conversion, follows Dio's own narrative and the corresponding construction of ancient authors, such as Philostratus and Synesius of Cyrene.

[18] See Lucian, *Bis acc*. 30-3 (conversion from rhetoric to philosophical dialogue); *Pisc*. 6; 11-2; 25 (admiration for philosophy and a long wearisome search for true philosophy impeded by false philosophers; retreat from life as a public speaker at the courts to the life of a writer of well received philosophical dialogues). The *Nigrinus* gives an elaborate, satirical account of his conversion modelled on Plato, *Symp*. 173a-e. See Chr.T. Kasulke, *Fronto, Marc Aurel* (2005), 107-32, for a probable biographical function of the narratives. In *Somn*. 5-16, Lucian similarly uses the model of conversion by a dream as the motive for his career as rhetorician.

[19] For Isaeus see Philostratus, *Vitae soph*. 512-3, and Chr.T. Kasulke, *Fronto, Marc Aurel* (2005), 139-42; Michael Weißenberger, 'Iasaios (2)', in *Der Neue Pauly* 5 (Stuttgart and Weimar, 1998), 1116; for Aristocles see Philostratus, *Vitae soph*. 567-8, and Johannes Hahn, *Der Philosoph und die Gesellschaft: Selbstverständnis, öffentliches Auftreten und populäre Erwartungen in der hohen Kaiserzeit*, Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien 7 (Stuttgart, 1989), 51; Kasulke, *ibid*. 134-9.

[20] Artemidor 5.18. See Michael Trapp, 'Artemidorus (6)', in *Der Neue Pauly* 2 (Stuttgart and Weimar, 1999), 51-2.

[21] See Cassius Dio, *Hist*. 72.35.2, and Johannes Hahn, 'Philosophy as Socio-Political Upbringing', in *The Handbook of Social Relations in the Roman World* (Oxford, 2011), 119-43.

[22] Aulus Gellius, *Noct*. 1.9.10 (I 56-7 Marshall): '*Est etiam … pro Iuppiter! qui Platonem legere postulet non vitae ornandae, sed linguae orationisque comendae gratia, nec ut modestior fiat, sed ut lepidior*'; see also 10.19.1; 17.20.4.

to put the finishing touches on his education was severely rebuked by the philosopher for a moral trespass.[23] This kind of exhortative encounter was part of the initiation into a philosophical school and aimed at improving the student's moral habit. Taurus criticizes the easy and light-hearted manner of the young man as not being in accordance with the standards of a philosophical life. And he does not accept the reply of the student who defends his failure as a widespread custom by pointing to other people's examples. Already Epictetus had reproved a student of rhetoric who came to visit him with an non-philosophical attitude.[24]

These episodes are revealing in three respects. Firstly, they illustrate that in the early empire the institutional line between an education in rhetoric and one in philosophy was by no means clear-cut, and that philosophy had become part of what Johannes Hahn has recently termed the socio-political upbringing of the Roman elite.[25] Secondly, they portray the opposition of a school philosopher to any superficial interest in philosophy. Thereby they, thirdly, reinforce the claim that philosophy had to change one's life.

The writings of the second century author Lucian of Samosata testify to this debate. Lucian wrote several satirical dialogues that level a subtle criticism at the self-stylization as philosopher and at the established philosophers of the schools. Rarely have they been studied by scholars interested in conversion.[26] Two works are of particular interest: The dialogue *Nigrinus* which reports a conversion to philosophy, and the dialogue *Hermotimus* which narrates a conversion in reverse, from philosophy to a *koinos bios*.

In his dialogue *Nigrinus*, Lucian's *alter ego* reports to a friend, how a talk with Nigrinus, a Platonic philosopher, kindled his enthusiasm for philosophy. Pressed by his friend, he repeats Nigrinus' speech and describes its immediate effect on himself. The encomium of philosophy and the protreptic, moral exhortation offered by the philosopher have healed the blind eyes of his soul

[23] Aulus Gellius, *Noct.* 10.19.1-4. The student's failure is not mentioned in the fragment. See Marie-Luise Lakmann, *Der Platoniker Tauros in der Darstellung des Aulus Gellius*, Philosophia Antiqua 63 (Leiden, New York and Köln, 1995), 114-9, who argues reasonably against the traditional interpretation which identifies the easy transition from rhetoric to philosophy as the trespass; advanced by Heinrich Dörrie, 'L. Kalbenos Tauros: Das Persönlichkeitsbild eines platonischen Philosophen um die Mitte des 2. Jahrh. n. Chr.', in *Platonica minora*, Studia et testimonia Antiqua 8 (München, 1976), 310-23, 317-8. But Dörrie's interpretation has been accepted by Johannes Hahn, *Der Philosoph und die Gesellschaft* (1989), 86; Christoph Tobias Kasulke, *Fronto, Marc Aurel* (2005), 133-4.

[24] Epictetus, *Diss.* 3.1 (231-9 Schenkl).

[25] Johannes Hahn, 'Philosophy as Socio-Political Upbringing' (2011).

[26] A study by Hubert Cancik, 'Lucian on Conversion: Remarks on Lucian's Dialogue *Nigrinos*', in *Ancient and Modern Perspectives on the Bible and Culture. Essays in Honor of Hans Dieter Betz* [Atlanta, 1999], 26-48) is a rare exception. Chr.T. Kasulke, *Fronto, Marc Aurel* (2005), 107-32, argues against an autobiographical interpretation of the dialogue, but he does not discuss its implications for the study of philosophical conversion.

and have completely changed his values. As a result, he despises his past longings for wealth and honour and now enjoys real freedom and happiness.[27] The episode is modelled on Apollodorus' encounter with Socrates and contains abundant reminiscences of other prominent passages from Plato's dialogues.[28] It concludes with the friend's confession that now he, too, feels a change of heart and longs to embrace philosophy.[29] The *Nigrinus* thus deals not only with philosophical conversion but also with philosophical mission.

Lucian's *Nigrinus* should not be read simply as autobiographical evidence.[30] Rather, it dramatizes the protreptic ideal that philosophy transforms the inner man. At the same time, it conveys a stinging satire of philosophical conversion. The description of the Platonist Nigrinus in his study is loaded with popular status symbols which the Roman elite used in order to demonstrate their philosophical interests.[31] The moral diatribe attacks the ambition, flattery and avarice of self-made philosophers.[32] Even the convert himself displays behavior that openly contradicts his conversion claim: his arrogant and supercilious air does not correspond to a philosophical attitude.[33] Furthermore, Lucian ridicules the method of philosophical meditations and denigrates the exuberant enthusiasm and emotional turmoil of the converts as madness.[34] He explicitly points to characteristics of the comedic genre and unmasks the account of conversion as ostentatious theatre play.[35]

In his dialogue *Hermotimus*, Lucian describes how a mature student of Stoic philosophy leaves his school after twenty years of affiliation due to the apotreptic exhortation of a Sceptic critic.[36] The dialogue attacks the concept of philosophy as an intellectual quest that gradually transforms the inner man. According to Lucian, Hermotimus is persuaded by the Sceptic critic simply because he is not able to give an account of his initial conversion.[37] Only an account of conversion

[27] Lucian, *Nigr.* 1; 4; 35.

[28] See Jennifer Hall, *Lucian's Satire*, Monographs in Classical Studies (New York, 1981), 159-60.

[29] Lucian, *Nigr.* 38.

[30] J. Hall, *Lucian's Satire* (1981), 151-75, and Chr.T. Kasulke, *Fronto, Marc Aurel* (2005), 107-32, provide critical discussions of the autobiographical character of Lucian's conversion accounts.

[31] Lucian, *Nigr.* 2. See Johannes Hahn, *Der Philosoph und die Gesellschaft* (1989), 43; *id.*, 'Philosophy as Socio-Political Upbringing' (2011), 136-7.

[32] Lucian, *Nigr.* 24-5. The description of the 'false philosophers' acts as backdrop for the depiction of Nigrinus as the ideal philosopher who lives a simple life without severe ascesis (25-34).

[33] Lucian, *Nigr.* 1.

[34] Lucian, *Nigr.* 5; 6-7; 38.

[35] See the references to the rhetoric of the theater in *Nigr.* 1; 8-12, and Chr.T. Kasulke, *Fronto, Marc Aurel* (2005), 115-7.

[36] See the apotreptic speech of the Sceptic Lycianus, which starts in *Herm.* 14 and comes to its dramatic conclusion in *Herm.* 83-6.

[37] See Lucian, *Herm.* 15, and Lycianus' repeated quest to hear Hermotimus' reasons for joining the Stoics.

would explain his preference and legitimize the authority of the Stoic school. Hermotimus' break with Stoicism is presented as a conversion from the intellectual quest within the philosophical schools toward the freedom and happiness of a virtuous life without philosophical sophistry. The virtuous, active life unencumbered by specific dogmatic teaching is presented as true philosophy.[38] Here, Lucian inverts the traditional model of philosophical conversion:[39] Hermotimus' turning away from Stoic dogmatic philosophy marks a conversion towards the better and is depicted as a deliverance from a tumultuous sea.[40]

Both dialogues reflect classical models of philosophical conversion. Lucian's use of these models as a vehicle for his satire indicates their general prevalence and, furthermore, supports the assumption that giving an account of one's conversion served as an instrument in the self-presentation as philosopher.

Looking at the situation in the early and high empire, we are thus confronted with competing claims connected with philosophy. And we have to acknowledge that, contrary to the entries in contemporary encyclopedic works, definitions of 'philosophy' or of 'a philosopher' were by no means clear-cut.[41] Philosophy is conceived of as a part of higher education and as a social marker, or as a way of life that presupposes or fosters radical or gradual transformation; as an intellectual quest or as a virtuous life without philosophical learning; as a profession that employs rhetorical skills, or as a school in opposition to rhetorical devices; as an active life within the given social order or as a life which implies a break with one's social environment.

Accounts of conversion to philosophy serve to make these diverse claims: They support the self-stylization as philosopher; they legitimize the authority of a philosophical school; they validate and advertise a specific way of life and thus contribute to theoretical notions of an ideal philosopher.

I suggest that Christian conversion narratives participate in this discourse – as an example, I take Cyprian of Carthage's account of conversion.[42] His account is particularly apt for my purpose, as, unlike his fourth-century colleague Augustine, this North African Bishop is not commonly regarded as a philosophical Christian leader.

In his early treatise *Ad Donatum*, Cyprian describes how God transformed his customs and habits in the moment of baptism.[43] Whereas his former life

[38] Lucian, *Herm*. 79-83.

[39] Hubert Cancik, 'Lucian on Conversion' (1999), 39. See Mark J. Edwards, 'Lucian and the Rhetoric of Philosophy: the *Hermotimus*', *L'Antiquité Classique* 52 (1993), 195-202, on Lucian's extensive use of protreptic commonplaces and philosophical imagery in this dialogue in general.

[40] Lucian, *Herm*. 84; 86.

[41] See Pollux, *Onom*. 4.39 (213 Bethe), and J. Hahn, *Der Philosoph und die Gesellschaft* (1989), 55.

[42] Cyprian, *Donat*. 3-4 (4-5 Simonetti).

[43] Cyprian refers to his past *consuetudines* in *Donat*. 3 (Z. 41-4; 4 Simonetti) and 4 (Z. 55-9; 4-5 Simonetti).

was dominated by empty ambition and the longing for wealth and honour, he is now able to achieve a virtuous and happy life. This *conversio*[44] of mind and soul marks a transition from a life full of doubt, darkness and despair to his present state in which certainty and light prevail.[45] According to Cyprian, this transformation is not the result of long-term study nor is it caused by the exhortation of a philosophical teacher.[46] It is a gift of divine grace.[47] But this position does not set him apart from the contemporary philosophical discourse. Pagan writers also question the necessity of philosophical learning for a *mutatio morum* and discuss man's need of divine assistance for this transformation.[48]

Cyprian's account of conversion in *Ad Donatum* is part of a protreptic exhortation to abandon the vices of the world, to receive baptism, and to seek refuge in the safe harbour of a Christian life. In this small treatise, the well-educated Carthaginian *advocatus* and recent convert, who only later quitted his position, addresses his friend and perhaps colleague Donatus. He aims to win him over to Christianity as a status-conscious life of moderate simplicity.[49] By pointing to his own conversion as example, Cyprian advertises Christianity to his peers as a philosophy with effective means to transform people. At the same time, he presents himself as a person who has already made progress in the transformation of his life. In so doing, he also justifies his own affiliation with Christianity against potential critics.

Cyprian's account is but one example of a Christian conversion narrative. A study of other conversion narratives will show that conversion accounts within Christianity fulfil the same functions as they do in the debate about philosophy: they support the self-presentation as a Christian and they serve as instruments to advertise and to negotiate competing claims and ideals concerning a Christian life.[50]

[44] Cyprian, *Donat*. 3 (Z. 41; 4 Simonetti).

[45] See the description of his past life in *Donat*. 3 (Z. 33-8; 4 Simonetti) compared to his present state after baptism in *Donat*. 4 (Z. 59-67; 4-5 Simonetti).

[46] Cyprian, *Donat*. 2 (Z. 30-2; 4 Simonetti): '*accipe quod sentitur, antequam discitur, nec per moras temporum longa agnitione colligitur, sed conpendio gratiae maturantis hauritur*.'

[47] Cyprian, *Donat*. 4 (Z. 67-80; 5 Simonetti).

[48] See Lucian's *Hermotimus*, discussed above. Lucius' story in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* has to be read as a 'narrative of conversion', which participates in the philosophical discourse. See Nancy Shumate, *Crisis and Conversion in Apuleius' Metamorphoses* (Ann Arbor, 1996), 1. Apuleius' account culminates in the message that man's transformation has to be granted by the deity. For a Platonic 'doctrine of grace', see Michael Erler, 'Hilfe der Götter und Erkenntnis des Selbst. Sokrates als Göttergeschenk bei Platon und den Platonikern', in *Metaphysik und Religion. Zur Signatur des spätantiken Denkens*, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 160 (München and Leipzig, 2002), 387-413.

[49] See Cyprian, *Donat*. 1; 16 (3; 13 Simonetti), with references to Cyprian's profession, the *feriata* as the time of shared leisure, conventionally spent at a rural estate with educated talks, dinner and accompanying music, now with Christian overtones.

[50] I shall leave these considerations, which are part of my current research project, for another occasion.

‘Dressing a Christian’: The Philosopher’s Mantle as Signifier of Pedagogical and Moral Authority

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ABSTRACT

In early Christian iconography, Jesus, the saints, and other biblical figures are often depicted dressed in the characteristic cloak of the Greek philosophers. The garment, known as the *pallium* in Latin and the *tribōn* in Greek, was a symbol of moral virtue, self-sufficiency, and wisdom. Literary sources demonstrate that this manner of dress was not limited to portraiture, but was worn by some prominent Christian teachers and clergy into the fourth century. Figures such as Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Heraclas of Alexandria, and others wore the philosopher’s mantle as a public, visual communication of their intellectual expertise and moral authority. This article presents several examples and offers an analysis that employs a theoretical framework anchored in the field of dress studies in order to adduce the array of meanings signified by the garment in various contexts. Each example is seen as a case of what Roland Barthes termed ‘real clothing’, that is, clothing as it is manufactured and worn, and as ‘verbal-clothing’, that is, clothing as it is verbalized and infused with meaning through written language. Attention is given to both positive and negative assessments of the garb. The wearing of the *pallium* by Christians communicated claims to moral and pedagogical authority in the context of the shifting contours of the philosophical field in late antiquity. Christians who dressed in the mantle enacted a visual engagement with and challenge to contemporary pagan philosophy. At the same time, the cloak aroused tensions among Christians as they debated among themselves the value of Greek education and participation in contemporary philosophical debates.

Early Christian portraits of Jesus, the apostles, and other biblical figures most often depict these subjects wearing the garment customarily worn by Greek philosophers. From sarcophagi and arcosolia to apses and icons, the garment, known as the *tribōn* in Greek and the *pallium* in Latin, dresses Christian sages and saints. Related to the Greek *himation*, the robe became increasingly characteristic of the portraiture of philosophers, poets, and orators beginning in Hellenistic Athens.[1] The ‘worn out’ (*tribōn*) cloak of Socrates became a symbol

[1] For examples, see Mary G. Houston, *Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Costume & Decoration* (New York, 2003), 68-70; and Paul Zanker, *The Mask of Socrates: The Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1995), especially Chapter Three.

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of moral virtue and self-sufficiency and was adopted by the students of the various Hellenistic philosophies, most notably the Cynics.[2] Because of the prominence of the garment in portraiture and iconography, Christian examples have been studied largely from an art-historical perspective.[3] However, Christian literary sources provide evidence of Christians who wore the philosopher's mantle between the second and fourth centuries AD. These coincide with the intellectualization of Christianity, as more of the educated embraced the gospel of Jesus Christ and Christian theology began to engage and challenge the concepts and doctrines of the philosophers. In this contribution, I will present several of these examples and offer an initial analysis using insights from the field of dress studies in order to adduce the array of meanings signified by the garment. My contention is that the mantle became a locus of competition within the philosophical contexts of late antiquity. It served as a public, visual communication of intellectual expertise and moral authority. By maintaining or assuming a style of dress associated with philosophers, some Christian teachers enacted a visual engagement and challenge to contemporary philosophical culture. At the same time, this style of dress aroused tensions within Christian communities as Christians debated among themselves the value of Greek literary and philosophical education.

Recent studies in classics and religion have opened up the social and cultural significance of clothing in the Roman world by integrating scholarship in the field of dress studies.[4] In these analyses, 'dress' is not limited to clothing, but also includes hairstyles, shaving habits, jewelry, and other accessories. Clothing itself has been theorized as non-verbal language that produces a communicative code, with its own vocabulary, grammar, and dialects.[5] This language of clothing functions within a complex of shared cultural values that makes it a comprehensible mode of communication. Roland Barthes outlines the complexity of this vestimentary code by distinguishing 'real clothing', that is, clothing as manufactured and worn, from 'image-clothing' and 'verbal-clothing'.[6] 'Image-clothing',

[2] See Plato, *Symposium* 219b and *Protagoras* 335d. In the first selection, Alcibiades contrasts Socrates' *tribōn* with his own robe, the *himation*, which he throws over himself and Socrates as he tries to seduce the sage. He notes that it was winter, so presumably the *tribōn* was of an inferior quality. On the Cynic cloak, see William D. Desmond, *Cynics* (Berkeley, 2008), 78.

[3] Prior to Zanker's thorough and important study, Henri Marrou compiled a catalogue of monuments with examples of the portraiture of the intellectual in *Mousikos Anēr. Étude sur les scènes de la vie intellectuelle figurant sur les monuments funéraires romains* (Grenoble, 1938).

[4] See, for example, Jonathan Edmondson and Alison Keith (eds), *Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture*, Studies in Greek and Roman Social History 1 (Buffalo, 2008).

[5] In this area, I engage the work of Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study in the Evolution of Institutions* (New York, 1899); Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System*, translated by Matthew Ward and Richard Howard (New York, 1983); Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, translated by Richard Nice (London, 2010); and Alison Lurie, *The Language of Clothes* (New York, 1981).

[6] R. Barthes, *Fashion System* (1983), 3.

or 'iconic-clothing', refers to visual and spatial representations of a garment, whether in a photograph, sketch, or some other medium. 'Verbal-clothing' can be a spoken or written representation of a garment. It is descriptive in nature. As one moves along the spectrum from real clothing to image-clothing to verbal-clothing, the conveyance of meaning becomes less ambiguous, as a chosen meaning and purpose is imposed on the garment by language.[7]

The analysis of any piece of clothing or mode of dress requires a contextual approach that considers who is wearing what, where, when, and with whom. A dialectic between what the wearer of a particular dress intends to communicate and what viewers of the dress perceive ensures that multiple conversations unfold simultaneously among competing and contrasting social positions and cultural values. For example, the paradigmatic cloak of the Cynic philosopher Diogenes communicated an anti-conventional social vision by the philosopher who wore it. The sight of a Cynic wearing the simple, ragged *tribōn* on the streets of Athens could arouse fear, resentment, or admiration, depending on the philosophical bent of its viewer. Similarly, an honorific statue of a Cynic dating to the mid-third century BC, and preserved in a mid-second century AD Roman copy now housed in the Capitoline Museum in Rome, presents us with an example of the *tribōn* as 'image-clothing'.[8] This piece at once enshrines the iconic robe and the practical philosophy it represents as worthy of public display, while it also perpetually draws its viewers into a silent confrontation with this 'subversive provocateur' and 'social dissident'.[9] Without a doubt, this otherwise unknown Cynic inspired both disgust and approbation. Meanwhile, the cloak of the idealized Cynic who appears in the writings of Epictetus and early Christian authors, functions less ambiguously as an example of verbal-clothing that symbolizes self-sufficiency and natural living, a sign of a love for poverty and moral authority.[10] But, as Lucian expresses in his description of Peregrinus, the mantle could also be donned by a vicious charlatan.[11]

Dress also functions to create and signify social distinctions.[12] This was especially true of Roman society, where dress visually communicated status, citizenship, ethnicity, and gender. The style, length, and folds of the fabric, and the color and width of stripes were not simply matters of fashion choice, but served as social codes, whether inscribed as social mores, or mandated by

[7] R. Barthes, *Fashion System* (1983), 5-6, 13.

[8] MC *inv*. 737.

[9] P. Zanker, *Mask of Socrates* (1995), 132. Zanker speculates the honorific statue may have been commissioned by some individual, or perhaps even a Hellenistic king, 'as a way of asserting that this was the only kind of "practical philosophy" that he truly found credible as a way of life'.

[10] See Epictetus, *Diatr*. 3.22, and the article by Derek Krueger, 'Diogenes the Cynic Among the Fourth Century Fathers', *VC* 47 (1993), 29-49.

[11] Lucian, *Peregr*. 15.

[12] P. Bourdieu, *Distinction* (2010), 201-2.

sumptuary laws.[13] Thus, dress was a key marker of 'Romanitas', and has been called part of the 'stagecraft' of Roman society where political, cultural, and social distinctions were displayed and negotiated.[14] If the toga 'was always considered the garment to be worn by the Roman man conducting public business', the *pallium* was associated with a career in teaching oratory or philosophy.[15] The former marked one as a citizen of the *gens togata*,[16] while the latter evoked Hellenic origins and denoted a vocation of study rather than public life or labor, what Thorstein Veblen would call an 'insignia' of 'conspicuous leisure'.[17]

Dressing improperly could be seen as a breach of the social order and a subversion of the moral order. As such, dress was often grounds for judging one's moral character in the Roman world. Julia Heskel demonstrates that 'inappropriate clothing was believed to mirror inappropriate behavior' in a study of Cicero's Verrine orations.[18] She examines how Cicero lambastes Gaius Verres' choice to wear a *pallium* rather than a toga when meeting with a delegation from Valentia.[19] Cicero translates Verres' clothing choice as an indication of an immoral character: as Verres chose to dress as a Greek instead of a Roman, he exhibited a defective character evidenced by negligence towards his duties.[20] Yet on another occasion, Cicero could defend Rabirius Postumus' wearing of the *pallium* while in negotiations with Mithridates in the east. While Rabirius' opponents interpreted this choice of dress as a renunciation of Roman citizenship, Cicero defended it as a practical, protective measure.[21]

The extent to which dressed functioned in the construction of early Christian ascetic identities has been examined by Kristi Upson-Saia. In an important study which applies the theories of dress studies to early Christian modes of dress, Upson-Saia argues that dress functioned as a culturally and socially 'contested

[13] On a number of occasions, through the fourth century AD, Roman emperors legislated the wearing of the toga for conducting public business. See, for example, Suetonius, *Aug.* 40; *SHA Hadrian* 22.2; and *Cod. Theod.* XIV 10.1.

[14] Jonathan Edmondson, 'Public Dress and Social Control in Late Republican and Early Imperial Rome', in J. Edmondson and A. Keith (eds), *Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture* (2008), 21-46.

[15] Shelley Stone, 'The Toga: From National to Ceremonial Costume', in Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante (eds), *The World of Roman Costume*, Wisconsin Studies in Classics (Madison, 1994), 13-45.

[16] Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.282.

[17] See Michael Koortbojian, 'The Double Identity of Roman Portrait Statues: Costumes and Their Symbolism at Rome', in J. Edmondson and A. Keith (eds), *Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture* (2008), 71-93; and T. Veblen, *Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899), 182.

[18] Julia Heskel, 'Cicero as Evidence for Attitudes to Dress in the Late Republic', in J.L. Sebesta and L. Bonfante, *The World of Roman Costume* (1994), 133-45.

[19] Cicero, *Verrine Oration* II 5.16.

[20] J. Heskel, 'Cicero' (1994), 135.

[21] Cicero, *Pro Rabirio* 9.25-10.29. See also, J. Heskel, 'Cicero' (1994), 136.

symbol' in the Roman world as various groups employed clothing in the negotiation of power.[22] She maintains that ascetic modes of dress, particularly women's dress, participated in a broader cultural discourse on gender and virtue.[23] Building upon these previous studies, my purpose is to examine how the philosopher's robe participated in debates concerning moral and pedagogical authority in late antiquity.

While easy for the modern eye to miss, the difference between the toga and *pallium*, or *tribōn*, was apparent to the ancient eye, from the cut of the cloth to the manner of draping. To the Roman, the *pallium* carried ethnic, social, and gender associations: it was generally a garment worn by educated, Greek men, who occupied themselves with teaching, writing, or philosophical contemplation. Usually worn without a tunic beneath, the *pallium* can be seen in the bare-shouldered portraits of philosophers that began to appear in the Hellenistic era.[24] In his study, *The Mask of Socrates: The Image of the Intellectual in Late Antiquity*, Paul Zanker traced the development of representations of orators, philosophers, and poets from classical Greece through late antiquity. While emphasizing iconographic continuity from one era to another, he also gives attention to social, cultural, and religious trends that help inform a reading of the iconic garment in various periods and locations. He notes that the *pallium*, once associated with a life of intellectual leisure, had become a display of educational credentials in late antiquity, 'an indispensable prerequisite for the man of public affairs'.[25]

From the Hellenistic period into late antiquity, the mantle arrayed the philosophers of various schools in their portraits. It can be seen in representations of Socrates, Stoics, Epicureans, Cynics, and even in a supposed portrait of the Neopythagorean Apollonius of Tyana found in the Cretan town of Gortyn.[26] As Dio Chrysostom noted in his defense of the philosopher's appearance, the same cloak draped the portraits of male divinities, including Zeus, Poseidon, and Asclepius.[27] Literary and iconographic evidence illustrates that the *tribōn* remained the garb of the self-professed philosopher into the fourth century and was worn even by Christians. For those Christians who adopted the philosopher's look, the *pallium* served as a locus of competition as these Christians displayed their educational credentials, dedication to philosophy, and their ascetic way of life, while positioning themselves as legitimate intellectuals and

[22] Kristi Upson-Saia, *Early Christian Dress: Gender, Virtue, and Authority*, Routledge Studies in Ancient History 3 (New York, 2011), 3.

[23] K. Upson-Saia, *Early Christian Dress* (2011), 33.

[24] The *pallium* was used in the seated honorific portraits of Stoic and Epicurean teachers. See examples in P. Zanker, *Mask of Socrates* (1995), 98-135.

[25] P. Zanker, *Mask of Socrates* (1995), 282.

[26] Heraklion Museum, *Inv.* 1.

[27] Dio Chrysostom, *Discourse* 72.5.

teachers in competition with pagans. As Christians engaged and challenged other intellectuals, some did so in a visual manner.

A good starting point, unsurprisingly, is Justin Martyr. In the introduction of the *Dialogue with Trypho*, Justin constructs a scene right out of a Platonic dialogue: walking around the atrium of a gymnasium, he is hailed by Trypho as 'philosopher'. Trypho explains that it is Justin's appearance (τὸ σχῆμα) that identified him as such.[28] He then remarks that his greeting was a gesture of respect for a man who 'wrapped himself' in the garment, as he was taught to do by his teacher Korinthos the Socratic. While the word σχῆμα has a wide range of meanings, here Justin uses it to refer to his appearance, likely calling attention to his dress. The phrase φιλοσόφου σχῆμα appears in the *History* of Herodian (*ca*. 170-240) to describe the appearance of a certain Cynic philosopher who wore a *tribōn* without a tunic, exposing his shoulders, and carried a small bag and staff.[29] Justin's use of the participle περικειμένων, literally, 'having around themselves' indicates that Justin wanted to call his readers' attention to his garment.[30]

Whatever the historicity of Justin's encounter with Trypho, this opening episode of the *Dialogue* acts as a verbal self-presentation of visual description. Trypho's response to Justin's appearance confirms the cultural significance of the *tribōn* in intellectual circles. By wearing the visually recognizable robe of the Hellenic sage, Justin was communicating a claim to intellectual expertise and teaching authority. Dressed in this way, Justin was visually indistinguishable from the philosophers of other schools. Trypho was able to recognize him as a philosopher (an appellation he readily accepts[31]) from his clothing, but he was unable to determine Justin's 'school' until they engaged in conversation. The mantle, then, acts as a tool of evangelization, inviting the intellectually-inclined to engage Justin in conversation. In this example of 'verbal-clothing', Justin's robe speaks to his education and legitimates a Christian philosophical discourse able to engage and compete with other philosophical voices.

In a second example from the turn of the third century, a Latin-speaking convert to Christ composed a speech for a Carthaginian audience in defense of a wardrobe change. In this case it was an exchange of the toga for the philosopher's mantle.[32] Tertullian's *De pallio* (*Pall*.) is a rich text that touches upon

[28] Justin Martyr, *Dial*.1.2 (PG 6, 473).

[29] ἀνὴρ φιλοσόφου φέρων σχῆμα. See Herodian, *Ab excessu divi Marci* I 9.3, where Commodus is accosted by a Cynic philosopher. In *Discourse* 4 on the ideal Cynic, Epictetus complains that anyone can simply adopt the look of the philosopher by wearing a cloak and growing a beard.

[30] *LSJ*, 9th ed., s.v. 'περίκειμαι'.

[31] Justin Martyr, *Dial*. 8.2 (PG 6, 492).

[32] Arguments for the dating of *De pallio* have varied from as early as 198 to as late as 223. Exact dating is of no consequence to the current discussion. For a recent discussion of the various proposals, see Marie Turcan (ed.), *Tertullien: Le manteau (De pallio)*, SC 513 (Paris, 2007), 19-28. Turcan dates the text to 209, the beginning of the reign of Septimius Severus and his two

the political, cultural and social implications of changing dress in Roman North Africa. In it the author responds to public criticism for his decision to put off the toga in favor of the *pallium* as his public garb. Tertullian chides his critics, likely the ruling elite and literati of Carthage,[33] for spending their time 'censuring clothing' ('*habitus denotare*', 1.1). It is unlikely that the *pallium* itself was the issue, but rather that Tertullian, a native North African and Roman citizen, had put aside the prescribed clothing of the *gens togata* for a Greek form of dress.[34] As Michael Koortbojian notes, a Roman donning the *pallium* in the public arena 'was synonymous with everything un-Roman'.[35] Tertullian's change of attire was intended and perceived as a subversive act that likely offended the cultural and political sensitivities of a region whose native sons were co-reigning Augusti. The conscious and public adoption of the *pallium* by Tertullian, a native Carthaginian, orator, and convert to Christianity, would have been provocative.

Tertullian begins with a discussion of the origins of human clothing couched within a philosophical discourse of 'change'.[36] He suggests that changing clothing is the 'solemn task' ('*sollemne munus*') of nature itself and part of the natural order of things:[37] the surface of the earth changes, day and night alternate, even animals, such as snakes and peacocks, regularly change their clothing. Change can be gradual, or it can be sudden and violent. Change can be disruptive, but it is ultimately restorative: 'It is by change that every world that is a corporate whole of different things and a mixture through vicissitudes exists.'[38]

For Tertullian's critics, the foreignness of his Greek style of dress spoke volumes. It was as if he had suddenly begun speaking a foreign language.[39] Tertullian acknowledges the ethnic and regional identifications of the *pallium* in an ambiguous way. On the one hand, he affirms the otherness of the garment, by noting that it is 'more Greek' in its origins,[40] but at the same time he compares the mantle to an indigenous North African costume worn before the arrival of the Romans. Appealing to his audience's sense of ethnic pride, he presents his 'change' of clothing as a natural return to Punic origins and rebukes

sons (M. Turcan, *Tertullien*, 19). The Latin of *De pallio* is taken from Turcan's critical edition. Unless otherwise noted, all English translations are taken from Vincent Hunink (trans.), *Tertullian:* De Pallio (Amsterdam, 2005).

[33] Tertullian addresses his audience as '*nobiles*' and '*principes*' (1.1). The latter title was used by Apuleius in *Florida* to address senators (16.1). It is possible that overall Tertullian envisages an audience of mixed status.

[34] Jean-Claude Fredouille points out that the wearing of the *pallium* was current in this period in North Africa. See *Tertullien et la conversion de la culture antique* (Paris, 1972), 448-52.

[35] M. Koortbojian, 'Double Identity' (2008), 82.

[36] Tertullian, *Pall.* II 1.4 – III 4.2.

[37] *Ibid.* II 1.1 (SC 513, 90).

[38] *Ibid.* II 1.4 (trans. V. Hunink, 35).

[39] A. Lurie, *Language of Clothing* (1981), 7.

[40] Tertullian, *Pall.* III 7.2: *Graecum magis* (SC 513, 138).

his toga-clad audience for forgetting their cultural heritage:[41] 'If any circumstances of class or dignity or time makes you wear other garments, you forget and even criticize the *pallium*, that used to be yours in all circumstances!'[42]

Tertullian's public change of clothing could be read as a criticism of Roman society and the Roman occupation of North Africa. Philosophers were often critics of public mores and sometimes revolutionaries; and Tertullian clearly constructs the toga as a symbol of the Roman colonization of North Africa:

> To you, however, after the benefit of injustice, as to people who lost their antiquity but not their position, after the foul omens of Gracchus and the violent mockery by Lepidus, the threefold altars of Pompeius and the long delays of Caesar, when Statilius Taurus had erected your walls and Sentius Saturninus had solemnly inaugurated them, and since concord was pleasing – to you the toga was offered. O how far did it wander! From the Pelasgians it came to the Lydians and from the Lydians to the Romans, in order that it would cover the Carthaginians, starting from the shoulders of the higher people![43]

I would suggest that Tertullian's motive was less a political rejection of Roman rule than a cultural and moral critique of the state of Carthaginian society. He can at once praise the peace and stability that characterized the reign of Septimius Severus, while equating the Roman toga with a cultural corruption of North Africa and the imposition of Roman civic and political responsibilities. Following a comic description of the process of donning the toga with the help of a servant called a *vestiplicus*, Tertullian posed these questions to his toga-clad audience: 'How do you feel in a toga, dressed or oppressed? Is it like wearing clothes or bearing them?'[44] Tertullian's public act of putting aside his toga to wear the *pallium* signified a distancing from the civic responsibilities of citizenship and an identification with the lower classes and professions who normally wore the garment.[45]

Finally, Tertullian reveals the moral implications of his change from toga to *pallium* by characterizing it as a withdrawal from public life for the purpose of serving society in the capacity of intellectual and philosopher. In an extraordinary example of sartorial *prosopopoeia*, Tertullian speaks as the *pallium* itself, declaring: 'I owe nothing to the forum, it says, nothing to the Campus Martius, nothing to the curia. I do not watch for a magistrate's function, do not occupy any *rostra*, do not attend to the governor's office … I have withdrawn from

[41] A. Lurie, *Language of Clothing* (1981), 93: wearing ethnically identifying costume is 'a reminder or a challenge to the outsider; and can also be a rebuke to other minority group members who are still wambling around town in the gown of the majority'.

[42] Tertullian, *Pall.* I 3.1 (trans. V. Hunink, 33).

[43] *Ibid.* I 2.3-4 (trans. V. Hunink, 31-3).

[44] *Ibid.* V 2.1 (trans. V. Hunink, 57).

[45] At *Pall.* VI 2.2, Tertullian lists the professions of those who wore the *pallium*, including grammarians, rhetors, sophists, doctors, poets, musicians, and astronomers, noting that 'these certainly are below the Roman *equites*' (*Pall.* VI 2.3, my translation).

public life ('*secessi de populo*').'[46] Divesting himself of the toga, then, is a withdrawal from participation in the civic obligations and institutions it represents. In addition to signifying his erudition,[47] the *pallium* confers upon Tertullian the public role of moral authority. Tertullian even speaks of clothing as language: 'A philosopher is heard as long as he is seen'.[48] In styling himself a philosopher by his dress, Tertullian does not identify himself as a Stoic or Cynic, as a second-century audience might have expected. Instead, he publicly declares himself a philosopher of Christianity, 'the divine sect and discipline'.[49] He concludes his speech by praising the *pallium*, identifying it as the robe of the Christian philosopher: 'A better philosophy has deigned you worthy, from the moment you began dressing a Christian.'[50]

Eusebius of Caesarea notes that several members of the circles of Origen and Pamphilus vested themselves in the philosopher's mantle. As he notes in the biographical sketch of Origen in Book Six of the *Ecclesiastical History*, the Alexandrian received a fine literary and philosophical education and was recognized by Christians and pagans alike for his intellectual sophistication, including his knowledge of Greek authors.[51] Eusebius considered himself an heir to this learned Christian tradition through his teacher Pamphilus, with whom he would work to further the spiritual and intellectual legacy of Origen at Caesarea.

In the *Ecclesiastical History*, Eusebius cites a letter in which Origen defends his study of Christian sectarian and Greek philosophical doctrines as a way of remaining engaged in broader philosophical debates. In his defense, he appeals to the examples of Pantaenus and Heraclas, the former his intellectual predecessor at Alexandria, the latter an associate and fellow student. Though the intended recipient of the letter is not immediately evident, it is clear that these two names carried weight. Origen met Heraclas during his philosophical studies, likely in the school of Ammonius at Alexandria.[52] Heraclas was five years ahead of Origen in his studies. According to Eusebius, the acquaintance with Origen led Heraclas and his brother Plutarch to become Christians.[53] Heraclas

[46] Tertullian, *Pall.* V 4.2 (SC 513, 202-4; trans. V. Hunink, 59, with modifications).

[47] *Ibid.* VI 2.2: 'All liberality of arts is covered by my four tips' (trans. V. Hunink, 63).

[48] *Ibid.* VI 1.2 (SC 513, 218; my translation).

[49] *Ibid.* VI 2.4 (SC 513, 224; trans. V. Hunink, 63).

[50] *Ibid.* VI 2.5 (SC 513, 224; trans. V. Hunink, 63, with modifications): '*Melior iam te philosophia dignata est ex quo Christianum vestire coepisti.*'

[51] See Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* VI 19 for the testimony of Porphyry.

[52] For this identification of the philosopher, see F.H. Kettler, 'Origenes, Ammonios Sakkas und Porphyrius', in *Kerygma und Logos. Festschrift C. Andresen* (Göttingen, 1979), 322-8; Pier Franco Beatrice, 'Porphyry's Judgment on Origen', in R.J. Daly (ed.), *Origeniana V* (Leuven, 1992), 351-67; Edward Watts, *City and School in Late Antique Athens and Alexandria*, Transformation of the Classical Heritage 41 (Berkeley, 2006), 161; and Ilaria Ramelli, 'Origen, Patristic Philosophy, and Christian Platonism: Re-Thinking the Christianisation of Hellenism', *VC* 63 (2009), 217-63.

[53] Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* VI 3.2.

eventually became a presbyter in the church of Alexandria, as Origen notes in his letter, all the while maintaining a philosopher's appearance. Origen writes that Heraclas 'stripped himself' (ἀποδυσάμενος) of 'common dress' (κοινῇ ἐσθῆτι) and 'assumed the philosophical look, and he maintains it until now (φιλόσοφον ἀναλαβὼν σχῆμα μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο τηρεῖ) and continues the earnest investigation of Greek works'.[54] The philosopher's look would have included the *tribōn*, which Heraclas had begun to wear while a student of Ammonius.[55]

As both real and verbal-clothing, Heraclas' garment participates in several conversations. First, it set Heraclas apart in the presbytery of Alexandria by displaying his intellectual achievement and philosophical pedigree. It also represented a particular expertise and pedagogical authority that at once employed philosophy in the service of Christian catechetics and expressed an intention to remain engaged in philosophical conversations outside the church. One wonders if Heraclas continued to wear the mantle once he became bishop of Alexandria in 232. Meanwhile for Origen, Heraclas' robe served as self-justification. He writes that Heraclas wore the philosopher's robe 'even until now', that is, in his own time, as a prominent Christian cleric and intellectual who continued to participate in the philosophical field beyond the mere reading of texts. As a Christian who dressed like a philosopher from among the Greeks without adulterating the faith, Heraclas provided an important precedent and paradigm for Origen's own activity.[56] Finally for Eusebius, Heraclas' robe serves the larger cause of praising Origen and his students in the *Ecclesiastical History*. He represents Origen in the style of a Christian philosopher who participated in a philosophical revival of the third century that paved the way for a Christian system of thought that could (and would) rival nascent Neoplatonism.

In the *Martyrs of Palestine*, Eusebius recounts the arrest, trials, and executions of his colleagues from the school of Pamphilus. Praising Pamphilus' 'philosophical way of life' (φιλοσόφῳ πολιτείᾳ) and 'discipline' (ἀσκήσει),[57] Eusebius casts his teacher as a producer of martyrs, and, in a rather Socratic way, describes the philosophical life of the Pamphilian school as preparation for martyrdom. For some, including the brothers Apphianos and Aedesius, this preparation included the study of literature and philosophy. Apphianos studied Greek literature at Berytus. Aedesius continued on to philosophical studies. Eusebius describes Aedesius as a persecuted philosopher: arrested, tried, and condemned to the mines of Palestine several times, he continued to comport

[54] *Ibid* VI 19.14 (SC 41, 117; trans. NPNF^2 1:265, with modifications).

[55] E. Watts, *City and School* (2006), 161[104] suggests that Origen's emphasis upon Heraclas' clothing 'indicates the difference in their status at the school'. With the conferral of the *tribōn* a 'rite of passage', Origen is implying that the learned presbyter is far more advanced in philosophy than himself.

[56] Origen does not remark here on his own wardrobe choices.

[57] Eusebius, *MP* Gr. 11.2 (SC 55, 156).

and attire himself ἐν τρίβωνος σχήματι, that is, in a garb specified as the *tribōn*.[58] Likewise, Porphyry, a youth of around twenty years of age, was present when his teacher Pamphilus was arrested, tried, and executed. When he appealed for the burial of his master, he was himself questioned, tortured, and finally burned. As he was brought out to the stake, Eusebius writes that he was 'clothed only in a philosophical garb which was thrown around him like a slave's tunic' (φιλοσόφῳ σχήματι μόνῳ τῷ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀναβολαίῳ ἐξωμίδος τρόπον ἠμφιεσμένον).[59] Dressed like a Cynic, the Christian Porphyry faced death cheerfully and courageously. In Eusebius' account, these examples of verbal-clothing function as symbols of philosophic resistance to the tyranny of the Roman persecutors. There is a strong Socratic parallel here with Aedesius and Porphyry serving as a type of Christian Socrates. This is consistent with other writings of Eusebius where he draws parallels between Socrates and Christian martyrs based on his reading of Plato.[60]

Fourth- and fifth-century accounts of Christians who wore the philosopher's mantle reflect the ambivalence that characterized Christian attitudes towards the Greek philosophical tradition. Some would see the garb as a marker of erudition and an expression of the ascetic lifestyle. For others, the robe aroused suspicion and animosity for its association with professional philosophers and rhetoricians. Conferred by the authorities of rhetorical and philosophical schools, the garment was an external expression of the embodied dispositions of the educated elite and visibly vested the man who wore it with pedagogical consecration, or bestowal of legitimacy, much like a doctoral gown.[61] In the tense disputes over doctrine and education in the fourth century between Christian and Greek intellectuals, the garment could be seen as a distinctive marker of intellectual and social capital, and as an identification with the schools and circles of the Greeks. In this respect, the philosopher's mantle became part of a discourse of distinction. For example, in Athanasius' *Life of Antony*, the

[58] *Ibid*. 5.2 (SC 55, 137).

[59] *Ibid*. 11.19 (SC 55, 163). The garment, here called ἐξωμίς (*LSJ*, 9th ed., s.v. 'ἐξωμίς') was a tunic with one sleeve which left one shoulder bare. It was associated with slaves and the poor.

[60] See, for example, Eusebius, *Praep. ev*. XIII 9-10.

[61] On the notion of consecration, see Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, trans. Richard Nice (Beverly Hills, 1970), 21; Pierre Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, Randal Johnson (ed.) (New York, 1993), 51; and David Swartz, *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (Chicago, 1997), 189-91. On the conferral of the *tribōn* on students of rhetoric in Athens, see Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or*. 43.17, where he describes the experience of the young Basil who was challenged to a rhetorical test by those who had 'received' their robes (προειληφότες τοὺς τρίβωνας). The fifth-century historian Olympiodorus, quoted in Photius (*Histories*, frg. 28 = Photius *Bib*. 80.177-78), indicates that novices in Athens were granted the right to wear the *tribōn* by a vote, followed by a kind of hazing ritual by fellow students in the baths. According to Raffaella Cribiore, *The School of Libanius in Late Antique Antioch* (Princeton, 2007), 51[48], teachers and students of rhetoric wore a red *tribōn*, while philosophers wore grey.

unschooled Coptic monk is able to recognize two philosophers who come to him on the basis of their appearance (ἐκ τοῦ προσώπου[62]). It is not personal acquaintance with these educated and cultured gentlemen that sparks this recognition; rather Antony was able to identify them by their look. Presumably any reader of the text would have been able to conjure a mental image of these philosophers, dressed in the *tribōn*, with long, flowing hair and beard.[63] Though no physical descriptions are given, the biography poses a striking visual contrast between the carefully coiffed and smartly dressed philosophers and the ragged, unkempt monk. The philosophers project an external beauty, which would have granted them authority in the pedagogical and intellectual circles of their day, while Antony's simple sheepskin cloaks signify a withdrawal and disavowal of those circles. The visual contrast sets up the philosophical debate that ensues in *Vit. Ant.* 72-80. In the end, the biography associates true wisdom with a new look.

More pointedly, John Chrysostom leveled accusations of duplicity and moral depravity against those who wore the *tribōn*. The examples are numerous throughout his works and are consistent with his view that Greek philosophy had little or nothing to offer the Christian.[64] He frequently describes the philosopher's robe as a deceiving cover for vicious charlatans waiting to corrupt the youth. He complains that people sought wisdom and guidance from those with long hair and dressed in a *tribōn*. He asserts that beneath the robes they would only find 'worthless men' and 'dogs'.[65] Chrysostom encouraged Christian parents to send their sons to be educated by monks rather than by Greek rhetoricians or philosophers.[66] The latter offered merely a shadow of the true philosophy taught by the monks.[67]

The case of Eustathius of Sebasteia presents an attempt to dress emerging Christian monasticism in philosophical garb. Before becoming bishop of Sebasteia in 356, Eustathius, son of the bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, established monastic communities for men and women in Armenia. The historian Socrates writes that Eustathius forbade marriage and required separation for married men and women seeking to join his communities.[68] His followers were also forbidden to worship in the homes of married clergy and were encouraged to gather for worship elsewhere. Eustathius' rigorous ascetic regime

[62] Athanasius, *Vit. Ant.* 72.3 (SC 400, 320).

[63] On the hair styles of the portraits of charismatic philosophers in late antiquity, see P. Zanker, *Mask of Socrates* (1995), 256-66.

[64] See A.J. Festugière, *Antioche païenne et chrétienne: Libanius, Chrysostome et les moines de Syrie* (Paris, 1959), 222.

[65] John Chrysostom, *Hom. Eph.* 21 (PG 62, 153). By calling philosophers 'dogs', Chrysostom is referring to the Cynic associations of the dress.

[66] *Id.*, *Adv. opp.* 96d-e.

[67] *Id.*, *Hom. Eph.* 21.

[68] Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* II 43. See also Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* III 14.

also regulated diet and dress. His controversial ascetic discipline, separation from local clergy, and associations with Arius of Alexandria in the 320s brought him under the careful watch of Nicene bishops in the region.[69]

Socrates writes that Eustathius dressed in the philosopher's mantle (αὐτός τε φιλοσόφου σχῆμα φορῶν) and prescribed an otherwise undescribed 'strange raiment' (ξένη στολῇ) for his followers.[70] This latter, called the περιβόλαιον in the Acts of the Council of Gangra, was probably not the same *tribōn* worn by Eustathius. Socrates seems to distinguish Eustathius' dress from that of his followers. Instead, Eustathius probably reserved the *tribōn* for himself as a marker of both pedagogical and moral authority in his role as leader of the community.

Eustathius' pretensions to a Christian philosophical authority were recognized by his admirer, the young Basil of Caesarea. Basil addressed *Ep*. 1 to Eustathius, calling him 'the philosopher'. The letter was likely written during his pilgrimage of eastern monastic communities in 357. Basil writes that the 'philosophy' of Eustathius led him to feel contempt for the philosophy he had learned at Athens.[71] The fact that young, well-educated Christian men like Basil would be attracted to Eustathius' ascetic teaching indicates that he offered a viable and convincing alternative to the mainstream philosophical schools. The historical sources offer little information about Eustathius' educational background. Therefore, it is unclear whether he retained the *tribōn* after formal philosophical study, or adopted it upon his ordination to the priesthood, apart from any association with a school. There is no indication from extant sources that Eustathius studied rhetoric or philosophy formally. Sozomen writes that he did not have a rhetorical education, though we should take his disparaging testimony with a grain of salt.[72] I would suggest that Eustathius' adoption of the *tribōn* marks a liminal stage in the Christian reception of Greek philosophy. The *tribōn* of Eustathius laid claim to the visually-communicated authority of the garment, while being distanced from the institutional contexts with which it was customarily associated.

Opposition to Eustathius' sartorial fashion arose within Christian circles. His father Eulalius regarded the *tribōn* as inappropriate to the priestly office. Other bishops of the region condemned the rigorous ascetic norms of Eustathius, including his teachings on dress, diet, and worship, at a council which met in Gangra.[73] Canon 12 of the Acts of the Council condemned the men of the

[69] See Basil of Caesarea, *Ep*. 263.3; and Anna Silvas, *The Asketikon of St. Basil the Great* (New York, 2005), 53.

[70] Socrates, *Hist. eccl*. II 43.

[71] Basil of Caesarea, *Ep*. 1.

[72] Sozomen, *Hist. eccl*. III 14.

[73] I am grateful to Samuel Rubenson for this reference. Dates for the Council of Gangra range from 325 to 380. See O. Larry Yarbrough, 'Canons from the Council of Gangra', in Vincent L. Winbush (ed.), *Ascetic Behavior in Greco-Roman Antiquity: A Sourcebook* (Minneapolis, 1990), 448; and Timothy D. Barnes, 'The Date of the Council of Gangra', *JTS* n.s. 40 (1989), 121-4.

Eustathian communities who wore the περιβόλαιον, 'because of presumed asceticism'.[74] The council also condemned women who dressed as men or who cut their hair short.[75] As O. Larry Yarbrough notes, it seems the bishops who condemned Eustathius at Gangra were largely concerned that his ascetic community threatened the unity of the churches by encouraging its members to stay away from the churches of married clergy.[76] But there was also clearly concern about how Eustathian asceticism challenged understandings of gender through prescribed forms of dress.[77]

A final example for consideration is the unusual case of Maximus the Cynic. In his twenty-fifth oration, delivered in Constantinople in the year 380, Gregory of Nazianzus delivered a panegyric in honor of 'the one who philosophizes about our matters in a foreign garb' (ὁ τὰ ἡμέτερα φιλοσοφῶν ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ τῷ σχήματι).[78] Preserved under the title 'In Praise of Hero the Philosopher,' 'the philosopher',[79] who is the subject of the oration, is believed to be Maximus, an Alexandrian priest and devotee of Cynic philosophy, who grew his hair long, wore cosmetics, and donned the emblematic *tribōn*.[80] Maximus' philosophical lifestyle, theological orientation towards Nicaea, and Cynic appearance provided Gregory with an opportunity to praise the union of faith and philosophy that he embodied and visualized. Gregory frequently verbalizes Maximus' appearance (particularly his robe and hair) as a visual and external indicator of his internal virtuous disposition.

Gregory speaks of Maximus' philosophical appearance as an instrument of pedagogy for those in the church. In describing the course of Maximus' education, Gregory takes note of his knowledge of each of the major schools of philosophy. Maximus found Aristotelianism, Academic skepticism, Stoicism, Epicureanism, and Cynicism all inadequate in themselves. These 'outside' (ἔξω) philosophies merely provided a shadow of the truth 'in the garb of philosophy' (ἐν τῷ τῆς φιλοσοφίας σχήματι).[81] Instead, Maximus discovered in Christianity the life of philosophic beatitude and a means of active participation

[74] See Canon 12 in O.L. Yarbrough, 'Canons' (1990). Yarbrough leaves the term untranslated, while Silvas translates it as 'the philosopher's mantle' in *Asketikon*. The term refers to a simple garment that is meant to serve as a covering. In 1*Cor*. 11:15, it is the term Paul uses for women's head coverings. The problem was probably less that the Eustathian community wore philosophical garb than that both men and women wore the same, simple covering. I would contend that only Eustathius in his role as priest and leader of the community wore the *tribōn*.

[75] See Canon 13.

[76] O.L. Yarbrough, 'Canons' (1990), 448.

[77] See the discussion of Eustathius in K. Upson-Saia, *Early Christian Dress* (2011), 69-75.

[78] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or*. 25.2 (PG 35, 1200); Brian Daley, *Gregory Nazianzus*, Early Church Fathers (New York, 2006), 18 dates this oration to the end of summer, 380.

[79] *Or*. 25.1 (PG 35, 1197).

[80] Martha Vinson, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus: Select Orations*, Fathers of the Church 107 (Washington, D.C., 2003), 157[1].

[81] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or*. 25.4 (PG 35, 1204).

in society. Through prayer and contemplation, he saw to his own spiritual improvement, while in his pastoral role as priest, he cared for the souls of others.

At the same time, his retention of the Cynic robe, even after he left the school, remains for Gregory a sign of Maximus' continued engagement with those intellectuals outside the church. Gregory indicates that Maximus continued to wear his *tribōn* in order to 'castigate the Hellenic smugness of those who make a pretense of solemnity with their robes and beards (τῷ τρίβωνι καὶ τῇ ὑπήνῃ)'. Thus, Gregory declares, 'he takes up a middle position between their empty boasting and our wisdom and assumes their garb and manner (τῶν μὲν τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν σκηνήν) while adopting our truth and sublimity'.[82] For Maximus, then, the philosopher's robe represented his commitment to study and the philosophical life, as well as his continued engagement within intellectual circles. Meanwhile, Gregory argues through Maximus' appearance that he represents the purification, or Christianization, of philosophy itself: Maximus exercises self-control, rejects luxury, and admires Cynic 'unpretentiousness', but he despises their 'godlessness'.[83]

In Maximus, the robe of philosophy adorns an embodiment of Christian knowledge and virtue. If Diogenes and Socrates typologically foreshadowed the righteous philosopher, then Maximus seemed to fulfill the type in the flesh, and in the robe. He admits the 'novelty of [Maximus'] dress (τῇ καινότητι τοῦ ἐνδύματος)',[84] but notes that even artistic depictions of the angels portray them in similar 'dazzling white garments'.[85] Gregory further suggests that Maximus' appearance gave him leverage with philosophers. It also confirmed the legitimacy of philosophical inquiry for Christians. This seems to be one of the driving forces behind Gregory's oration:

> My reasoning is that we must either engage in philosophy ourselves, or else hold it in high regard. Otherwise, we may very well find ourselves completely cut off from the good and adjudged guilty of unreason even though we were endowed with reason at birth and through word avidly pursue the Word.[86]

Gregory suggests that Maximus is able engage and contest other philosophical systems 'by the likeness of his garb' (τῇ τοῦ σχήματος ὁμοιότητι), but he also challenges 'the studied simplicity of some in our own camp', presumably those Christians who rejected any compatibility between Christianity and philosophical studies. Therefore, as Gregory defended philosophy and Nicene

[82] *Ibid*. 25.5 (PG 35, 1204; trans. M. Vinson, 161, with modifications).
[83] *Ibid*. 25.6.
[84] *Ibid*. 25.6 (PG 35, 1205).
[85] *Ibid*. 25.2.
[86] *Ibid*. 25.1.

orthodoxy on the eve of the council of Constantinople, Maximus visually represented their marriage.[87]

The tone of Gregory's poem *De vita sua* is altogether different. In this autobiographical work, Gregory recounts the attempt of Maximus' supporters to supplant him by consecrating the Cynic as bishop of Constantinople. Here praise of Maximus' appearance has turned into mocking, with his hair and penchant for cosmetics the target of his jabs. Whereas Gregory had spoken of the 'novelty' of Maximus' look as a useful tool of evangelization, in *De vita sua*, he disrobes Maximus as an 'Egyptian freak' (Αἰγύπτιον φάντασμα) – deceitful, gender ambiguous, and vain.[88] Maximus' appearance is no longer a sign of philosophical inspiration, but rather a devious corruption of nature:

> Why shouldn't wise men have these feminine cosmetics on their faces? There's little point in restricting such ugly and disgusting adornments to wise women only – it's a mute indication of character beneath. As if men can't have their Maximuses too! The fact indeed was pointed up by his hair style. It had previously managed to escape notice, we had to wait for contemporary philosophers to provide such marvels. To be ambiguous, that is, in nature and configuration, one must have a share of either sex, a woman in hair style, and a man by reason of the staff.[89]

When recounting the clandestine attempt at night to ordain Maximus as bishop, Gregory notes that the installation required the shearing off of his long hair.[90] Playing on the canine character of the Cynic tradition, Gregory mocks, 'the poor shorn dog, deprived, on the one hand, of his beautiful hair, and, on the other, of a flock to administer!'[91] Remarkably, in Gregory's revised verbalization of Maximus, he passes over the *tribōn* in silence. Instead, Gregory emasculates his friend-turned-rival by focusing on his hair and cosmetics. It seems that Gregory still regarded the *tribōn* as a signifier of philosophic virtue, even if its wearer failed, or betrayed, it.

News of the happenings at Constantinople reached Rome where Pope Damasus weighed in on the affair in a letter addressed to Acholius and other bishops of Macedonia. Like Gregory, Damasus attacks Maximus through a verbalization of his appearance. But unlike Gregory, he takes to task not only Maximus' hair, but also his robe. In so doing, Damasus uses the occasion to denounce Maximus as a pretender to the ordained ministry and to condemn those who attempt to harmonize faith and philosophy. Citing the Apostle Paul,

[87] Gregory discusses Maximus' defense of Nicene orthodoxy at *Or*. 25.8-15, including his arrest, torture, and exile.

[88] Gregory of Nazianzus, *De vita sua* 751 (PG 37, 1081).

[89] *Ibid*. 760-69 (trans. Denis Molaise Meehan, *Three Poems*, Fathers of the Church 75 [Washington, D.C., 1987], 98-9).

[90] *Ibid*. 905-24.

[91] *Ibid*. 926 (trans. D. Meehan, 103).

Damasus attacks long hair as improper for a man.[92] Certainly aware of the fashion among eastern philosophers, Damasus immediately condemns the philosopher's robe, urging his readers to heed the Apostle's warnings against philosophy in *Col*. 2:8. He contends that the 'garb of philosophers ('*habitum philosophorum*')' was not suited ('*non convenire*') for any Christian to wear, let alone a bishop.[93] Damasus notes two reasons for his opposition. First, in contrast to Gregory who saw in Maximus' robe the visual expression of the compatibility between philosophy and faith, for Damasus, it was an attack upon faith. The philosopher's *habitus* represented an attempt to dress faith in philosophy, which he regarded as 'hostile to faith' ('*inimica fidei*').[94] Second, aware of the similarity between the philosopher's mantle and the Greek *himation*, which, as noted above, dressed the statues of the gods, Damasus saw the garb as an infectious and idolatrous threat to Christianity: the man who dressed in the *habitus idoli* was not even to be called a Christian.[95]

The examples presented here of Christians who dressed in the manner of philosophers demonstrate the complexities of vestimentary codes. The language of clothing is communicated visually and verbally, in the contexts in which clothing is worn and seen, and in the writings of those who infuse clothing with meaning. The wearing of the *pallium* by Christians communicated claims to moral and pedagogical authority in the context of engagement with pagan intellectuals. It also fanned the flames of debate within Christian communities regarding the place of philosophy in Christian culture. The significance of the *pallium* extended even further, as it could also speak to questions of ethnic and gender identification, and civic participation. While for some the philosopher's *pallium* signified the entrance of the Christian voice into the philosophical currents of late antiquity, it seems that by the end of the fourth century it became more of a liability than an asset. Nevertheless, the long hair and mantle of the philosopher would continue to dress the apostles and saints, and the incarnate Lord himself, who adorned the apses and naves of Christian sanctuaries.

[92] Damasus, *Ep*. 5.1, citing 1*Cor*. 11:14.
[93] *Ibid*. (PL 13, 365).
[94] *Ibid*. 5.2 (PL 13, 366).
[95] *Ibid*. (PL 13, 367).

Competing Paradoxes: Martyrs and the Spread of Christianity Revisited

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'Paradox, after all, is an instrument of inclusion'.[1]

ABSTRACT

Few works on the spread of Christianity fail to quote Tertullian's *Apologeticum* 50. The temptation to view the blood of the martyrs as the seed of the Church is great and the formula has enjoyed great renown among believers as well as scholars. Recent scholarship has reconsidered the role played by the martyr in constructing a Christian identity without nevertheless affecting its conversional allure. From considering it capable of exercising a positive influence to picturing it as a cultural product destined to convert, the martyr continues to be credited with an appealing aura. Drawing on the very texts that present the 'blood as seed', the present paper argues that not only martyrdom lacked such a potency but that it was meant to alienate the non-Christian audience. The recurrence of the 'blood as seed' metaphor in the works of almost every Christian writer of the first three centuries suggests, nevertheless, that there is more to the phenomenon than empty rhetoric. By addressing the structure of the audience as well as the image of martyrdom in contemporary sources we will argue that it was the category of the catechumens that the metaphor referred to. Corroborating proof will be brought to sustain the hypothesis, underlining the relation between this group and the Christian community as well as its implication in martyrdoms.

Few works on the spread of Early Christianity fail to quote Tertullian's *Apologeticum* 50.[2] The temptation to view the blood of the martyrs as the seed of the early Church is great and the formula enjoyed great success among believers as well as historians of the Church who tended to take the metaphor and the adjoining paradox ('the more you kill us the more we become') at face value. Nevertheless, recent scholarship on imperial games evinced both the emotions that the onlooker was prone to in the amphitheater and its expectations from

[1] Peter Brown, 'Eastern and Western Christendom in Late Antiquity: A Parting of the Ways', in *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1989), 166-95, 184.

[2] 'The oftener we are mown down by you, the more in number we grow; the blood of Christians is seed.' (Unless otherwise indicated the quotations follow the text and numbering of the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* edition by Philip Schaff and Allan Menzies, 10 Vols., 1885).

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those in the arena, making it harder to relate Christian attitude with awe or admiration in the audience.[3]

Drawing on the research that reassessed the role of martyrdom in Early Christian identity-making,[4] scholars have recast the paradox in terms of cultural discourse without challenging its initial presupposition, that martyrdom had an alluring effect on Roman contemporaries.[5] While the recurrence of the idea in early Christian literature indicates that more than empty rhetoric lies behind it,[6] the possibility that in a context characterized by the reduction of dialogue to the terse *Christianus sum* a paedagogical theory developed seems unlikely.[7] It is the present study's goal to argue against a mass appeal of martyrdom, for the lack of such a dimension in the Christian concept, as well as to identify those liable of being moved by the martyr's obstinacy.

Martyrdom as border phenomenon

As pertinently argued by anthropologist Fredrik Barth in his seminal introduction to cultural interaction, identity derives from and is constructed in the

[3] See esp. Thomas Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators* (London, 1992); Donald G. Kyle, *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome* (London, 1998); E. Gunderson, 'The Ideology of the Arena', *ClassAnt* 15 (1996), 113-51.

[4] With Glen W. Bowersock's *Martyrdom and Rome* (Cambridge, 1995) and Judith Perkins' *The Suffering Self: Pain and Narrative Representation in Early Christian Era* (London and New York, 1995) the until-then seemingly closed case of martyrdom was reopened leading to a wave of new scholarship on the subject.

[5] Gillian Clark, *Christianity and Roman Society* (Cambridge, 2005), 18 considered martyrdoms as 'strong apologies for the faith to pagan audiences', expression quoted also by Daniel Boyarin, *Dying for God. Martyrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism* (Stanford, 1999), 101. Robin Darling Young, *In Procession before the World: Martyrdom as Public Liturgy in Early Christianity* (Marquette, 2001), 37 held that martyrdom's 'object was the conversion of the world' asserting that Christian groups used it consciously as conversional tool.

[6] The relation between martyrdom and the growing number of Christians, phenomenon presented as a paradox, appears in Tertullian, *Apologeticum* 50; *Mart. Apollonius* 25 in Herbert Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford, 1972) (all other references to martyrical *Acta* are from the same edition, unless otherwise indicated); Justin Martyr, *Dial. Tryph.* 110; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* IV 13.3; Origen, *Philokalia* 1.2; *Ep. ad Diognetum* 7.8 ('Do you not see that the more of them are punished, the more do others multiply? These things do not seem to be the works of man, these things are a miracle of God, these things are the proofs of his coming', in *The Apostolic Fathers*, ed. Kirsopp Lake [Cambridge and London, 1959], 2 vols., II 366-7) and *Acta* make reference to amazement and awe sustaining the idea that martyrs impressed the Roman audience (see *Mart. Poly.* 3.2; *Mart. Carpi* 38). In *Mart. Poly.* 3.2 the positive reaction is, nevertheless, inconsistent with its effect: 'the whole multitude *marveling* at the nobility of the Godloving and Godfearing race of Christians cried out: *away with the atheists*!' (my italics)

[7] The long apologetic speeches delivered by martyrs-to-be in front of Roman authorities, to be found in some *Acta* are, more likely than not, rhetorical tools of the editors than historical facts.

dialogue existing between groups aware of their distinctiveness.[8] Identity making is thus a border phenomenon, as Christian martyrs were.[9] Judith M. Lieu showed that, prior to martyrdom, Romans did not differentiate clearly between Jews and Christians[10] thus it can be said that it was in the arena that Christianity attained notoriety in the Mediterranean world. Translating notoriety into substantial conversion as the metaphor of the 'blood' would have it is where the conundrum lies. The representational valence of the martyr,[11] as an individual caught between clashing cultures,[12] acknowledged by both groups did not, nevertheless, mean neither its becoming mainly a conversional tool nor its success. The lack of sources regarding the rapid spread of Christianity in this age and the conspicuousness of the martyr seem to indicate that martyrdom did play an important role in the process but the very use of a paradox to present the phenomenon points to an indirect relation between the two.

Tools of a broken dialogue, the bodies of the martyrs bore both the gruesome effects of the Roman legal system and Christianity's message to the world but the latter was far from positive. The overall attitude towards prosecutors and audience depicted in maryrical *Acta* and related contemporary literature is one of indifference or antagonism, both stances with limited positive impact on the public, both transpiring a feeling of superiority that sometimes broke into open gloating. Early Christian writers constructing the concept of martyrdom went through pains to meet Romans on their own terms but the paradoxical amalgam of elements resulting from the process bears witness to the envisioned scope of this cultural mimesis: reassurance of the brethren by contrasting them with 'the world'.[13] The double process through which early Christians appropriated the cultural context of the *munera* while promoting their own attitude towards bodies as place of triumph through public humiliation, ambivalence synthesized in the laughter of the dying martyr, underlines the existence of diametrically opposed standings in the audience and, as we will argue, the martyr's actions were intended rather to cement the situation than to change it. Martyrs thus

[8] Fredrik Barth, 'Introduction', in Fredrik Barth (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Organization of Cultural Difference* (Oslo, 1969), 9-38.

[9] I use 'martyr' in a generic fashion comprising those who died as such, confessors, as well as the ideal figure elaborated by the authors of the age.

[10] Judith M. Lieu, *Christian Identity in the Jewish and Graeco-Roman World* (Oxford, 2004).

[11] Arthur Darby Nock, *Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* (Baltimore, 1998), 227 called the martyr 'the one Christian type known to the populace'.

[12] I use 'culture' with reference to early Christianity in a limited sense of a group proposing a radically different worldview.

[13] Carole Straw, 'A Very Special Death: Christian Martyrdom in its Classical Context', in Margaret Cormack (ed.), *Sacrificing the Self: Perspectives on Martyrdom and Religion* (New York, 2002), 39-57. G.W. Bowersock, *Martyrdom* (1995) argued pertinently that it was a phenomenon responding to Roman society's attitude towards Christians not one inherently developed.

'spoke' for both Christians and Romans in the audience but different reactions were expected from each.

Interaction with the Roman audience

'Your cruelty is our glory'[14]

Martyrical accounts from before the Great Persecution which reflect the atmosphere existing during, or immediately after a wave of persecution attest that the context tended to promote religious radicalism as more reassuring. Personal experience *par excellence*, martyrdom was not perceived by the earliest martyrs as an opportunity to catechize the Roman audience. It was only paedagogically inclined individuals such as Justin Martyr who, groomed in the same paideic culture as Clement of Alexandria and Origen will be, showed themselves ready to expound the Christian doctrines to a limited few.[15] It was rather the 'if you are worthy you will come to know'[16] of the bishop-martyr from Lyon that sums up the most common positive attitude of martyrs toward their persecutors.[17] This reluctance had more than one reason.

As early as the end of the first century Christians separated themselves ideologically from the world they lived in,[18] declining any responsibility towards it. In terms of proselytism, the apostolate had ended,[19] the Gospel had reached those meant to be saved and the Second Coming was imminent as the rise of persecutions was indicating. Conversion in this stage seems to have been left to individual efforts, moving 'though preexisting friendship pairs or nets'.[20] The

[14] Tertullian, *Ad scapulam* 5.

[15] It was only in the court room that the few martyrs-to-be that are presented as willing to explain their faith to Romans are placed, in the arena the attitude was inversed: offered the chance to speak to the audience Pionius refuses not deeming them worthy of his worlds. The same in *Mart. Poly.* 10.2. The governor was found worthy but the mob not.

[16] *Mart. Lugdun.* 31.

[17] Underlining the difference stemming from the process the martyr speaks of 'Dei mei', *Mart. Carpi* (Latin recension) 4.3.

[18] The *Ep. ad Diognetum* 5 shows the first traces of a process James B. Rives, 'Human Sacrifice among Pagans and Christians', *JRS* 85 (1995), 65-85, 74 called of 'self-barbarization'. Sociologists C.R. Snyder and Howard L. Fromkin, *Uniqueness, the Human Pursuit of Difference* (New York, 1980) have underlined that an extreme level of uniqueness (such as that found in early Christian literature) leads to a sense of rootlessness or ostracism. The *Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians* recommends love and kindness towards the brethren and sobriety towards those whom he calls 'gentiles'. *Ep. ad Phil.* 10, in *The Apostolic Fathers*, ed. K. Lake (1959), I 294-7.

[19] Clem. Rom., 1*Cor.* 5.6-7, in *The Apostolic Fathers*, ed. K. Lake (1959), I 16-7 that Paul was in the whole world, opinion also expressed by Justin Martyr, *Apol.* 1.42; 1.50; *id.*, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 117; Origen, *Philokalia* 1.5; *id.*, *Contra Cels.* 2.14.

[20] Rodney Stark and J. Lofland, 'Becoming a World-Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective', *American Sociological Review* 30 (1965), 862-75, 871. Sustained by Clem. Alex., *Qui dives salvetur* 33.1 and Tertullian, *Ad scapulam* 2 where Christians are so discreet that are known 'rather as individuals than as organized communities'.

high sense of election which characterized early Christian groups[21] separated them from the unbaptized and the gap grew bigger in times of persecution. Perceiving martyrdom as an essentially Christian phenomenon staged by God for the glorification of His most beloved sons,[22] Christians reduced the pagans' role to instrumentality without, nevertheless, absolving them of their implication.

Martyred '*temporali potestate sed Christi electione*',[23] the early martyrs moved rapidly from a communal to an individual concept of martyrdom. While both Ignatius of Antioch and Polycarp of Smyrna (or rather the editors of their *Acta*) betray an understanding of martyrdom *in chiave iudaica*, as a sacrifice for the benefit of the community,[24] the nuance rapidly diluted as it contravened to Paul's Adamic Christology. Paul (through his example as much as through his writings) seems to have influenced decisively the image of martyrdom as it developed in the first three centuries,[25] his soteriology postulating Christ's sacrifice as unique, ontologically transformative, and universal, reducing thus the relevance of imitating gestures from cathartic to exemplary. The shift of attention from communal to individual was a general characteristic of the period, part of the relocation of the sacred from places to people towards the end of the ancient period[26] and earliest Christianity appears not only as part but as a strong catalyst of the process.[27] It is in this dynamic that martyrs fall, as symbols of this reassessment of the human being's relation to God.[28]

[21] Clement of Rome addresses the problem of religious pride in his first letter to the community in Corinth. Celsus, who knew Christians as well as anyone, noticed that if all pagans wanted to convert Christians would not have them (see Origen, *Contra Cels.* 3.9). The same phenomenon is visible in the *Ep. ad Diognetum* 6 and Ignatius, *Ad Rom.* 3. The same dynamic can be found, according to D. Boyarin, *Dying for God* (1999), 109-10 in Jewish-Roman relations.

[22] Tertullian, *Ad Mart.* 3; *id.*, *Scorpiace* 4; Origen, *Exh. ad Mart.* 34 and Commodianus, *Instr.* 53 present Christ as *editor* of the games, situation corroborated by Perpetua's and Saturus' visions.

[23] *Mart. Mar. et Jam.* 3.4.

[24] We refer here only to death because Clem. Rom., 1*Cor*. 55.2, in *The Apostolic Fathers*, ed. K. Lake (1959), I 102-3 tells of people selling themselves as slaves to feed or free others and this he compares to the *devotio* of old Roman generals.

[25] Vladimir Ivanovici, *Seeking the Face of God on the Faces of His Saints. Martyrs as Enactment of the Pauline Image of the Body as Temple of God*, Doctoral dissertation submitted to The University of Bucharest, 2011.

[26] 'The classical period conjures up the image of a great temple; the Middle Ages, of a Gothic cathedral. In between, it is the portraits that strike the imagination, the icons of the holy men, the austere features of the philosophers, the ranks of the staring faces in frescoes and mosaics. For some centuries, the *locus* of the supernatural was thought of as resting in individual men.' Peter Brown, 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity', in P. Brown, *Society and the Holy* (1989), 103-52, 151.

[27] Ignatius of Antioch's epistle to the community in Rome evinces it most clearly but also in Athenagoras, *De res.* 25 is visible that martyrdom was an individual matter.

[28] D. Boyarin, *Dying for God* (1999), 107 noticed that Christian as well as Jewish martyrs from the second century were 'all about love'. Both Rabbi Akiva and Ignatius of Antioch denote awareness of the communal implications but their motifs remain highly personal.

Based ideologically on the general impetus to imitate Christ and specifically on a number of passages that indicated it as a confirmation of righteousness, martyrdom appeared as the crowning of a religious *cursus honorum*.[29] The predilection of the Roman authorities for the leaders[30] as well as the early prohibition to seek it voluntarily[31] reinforced the idea that martyrdom was a sign of divine election. Although well aware, as the case of Ignatius of Antioch testifies, of occupying a very special place in the divine economy and acknowledging a particular kind of authority deriving from their state these early martyrs did not attempt to influence those outside Christianity.

The editors of the *Acta* as well as the Christian authors dealing with the matter placed the martyrs' gestures in a different coherence, one drawing on the conceptual framework of the *munera* in order to underline the difference existing between themselves and the 'others'. It was an inverse amphitheatre that Christians in the first centuries came to envision as the setting for martyrdom, with the doomed sitting in the audience and the victors in the sand. The expression indicating a conversional dimension of martyrdom falls thus into this technique of rapprochement meant to evidentiate the disparity.[32] But there is more to it. From the range of gestures that became the mark of a good martyr one can discern between elements that only bore relevance for Christians (like Blandina's accidental crucifixion[33]), those that were meant primarily to affect the non-Christian audience (shaking their fist at them like Polycarp[34]), and those that were 'in the middle'. The idea that in death one's true nature was revealed was common knowledge[35] and a public display of courage could have been used to impress or deface the persecutors, nevertheless, martyrs seem to have chosen not to use it.

The matter of Christian retaliation reflexes has received little scholarly attention in its own but a study of these gestures would evince that the palette was rich, going from subtle sarcasm and educated references to Tertullian's open gloat over Judgment Day when the roles would be reversed and Fructosus' coming back from the dead to mock and offend his persecutor.[36] Although

[29] *Mart. Poly.* 1: 'Those who were bound in chains, the fitting ornaments of saints, and which are indeed the diadems of the true elect of God and our Lord.' Ignatius, *Ad Eph.* 7, while the author of the *Life and Passion of Cyprian of Carthage* 7 presents it as the last degree of glory.

[30] *Mart. Lugdun.* 12.

[31] *Mart. Poly.* 4 in relation with *Matth.* 10:23.

[32] A.A.R. Bastiaensen, 'Prudentius in Recent Literary Criticism', in J. den Boeft and A. Hilhorst (eds), *Early Christian Poetry. A Collection of Essays* (Leiden, 1993), 101-34, 123 called the phenomenon in his discussion of poetry a 'contrast imitation'.

[33] *Mart. Lugdun.* 41.14-20.

[34] *Mart. Poly.* 9.2.

[35] Seneca, *Ep.* 26.6.3: '*mors de te pronuntiatura est*' and the author of *Hebrews* 13:7 are only verbalizing an ancient topos best visible in Diogene Laertius, *De vita et moribus philosophorum.*

[36] Roig Lautaro Lanzillotta, 'Does Punishment Reward the Righteous? The Justice Pattern Underlying the Apocalypse of Peter', in Jan Bremmer and István Czachecz (eds), *The Apocalypse of Peter* (Leuven, 2003), 127-57, 134.

denying any substantial pagan contribution in martyrdom, Christians rejoiced in the difference stemming from the process. The community was reinforced in its faith on account of the pagans' ignorance as much as on its champions' bravery. The brethren felt the sweet smell and heard the heavenly voice at Smyrna while the others did not[37] thus Polycarp was in his right to deny the favor to hear him speak to those whom God found unworthy of His miracles.[38] The pagan audience was not there to be converted, not even to be impressed but to underline the difference existing between them and the believers. Regardless of this state transpiring from their very writings, editors of early *Acta* repeatedly referred to the 'amazement' felt by the pagans involved, directly or passively, in martyrdoms.[39]

Romans came to the amphitheater for the sense of power that such spectacles gave[40] as well as to reinforce their feeling of members of an empire that encompassed humanity. The recreation in a small scale of the Roman society stimulated the spectator's Roman sense of identity, making it less liable to be moved by aspects exterior to it.[41] Although the arena was a place where diversity and the exotic were appreciated[42] the Christian attitude meant to undermine the spectacle was just bad diversity. It was only irritation and contempt that the martyr's attitude could stir in the population, state confirmed by Tertullian who recommended to martyrs-to-be to exasperate the audience with their obstinacy.[43] Gestures such as laughter during torture or the use of wool chains[44] that might indicate courage were in fact meant to underline the martyrs' choice to be there, thus another denial of the authorities' legitimacy, leading to nothing but annoyance in the audience for whom the core concept of that behavior remained hidden.

It was their association with *superstitio* that annulled the pertinence that some of their gestures might have had. As underlined by Peter Brown, *superstitio* was not an external motif, Romans being known for their willingness to assimilate religious oddities, but rather an exaggeration, a *faux pas*. The line between proper observance and *superstitio* was thus as fine as it was unpardonable for the Romans. While Christian writers saw and presented their champions as acting within the same cultural milieu, referring their gestures to the

[37] *Mart. Poly.* 9.1; *id.*, 15.1; *Mart. fructuos.* 5.

[38] *Mart. Poly.* 10.2.

[39] *Ibid.* 3.2; *Mart. Carpi* 38.

[40] D.G. Kyle, *Spectacles of Death* (1998), 9.

[41] Although cultural diversity is mentioned as early as Plato's *Meno* dialogue, *Romanitas* was thought to circumscribe humanity, especially in the imperial age. See Yves Albert Dauge, *Le barbare. Recherches sur la conception romaine de la barbarie et de la civilisation* (Bruxelles, 1981).

[42] T. Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators* (1992), 112[45].

[43] Tertullian, *De patientia* 8 argues that the joy of the persecutors lays in the pain of the persecuted and that Christians should try to deny them this pleasure.

[44] *Mart. Pion.* 6.3-4.

same ancient *topoi* that Romans used for their gladiators, in order to attain a competitive edge, Romans were most likely to perceive them as madness.[45]

Consecration of the martyr's incapacity to convert through its actions comes from the Alexandrians. With Clement of Alexandria and Origen a new current entered Christianity and a new type of individual was postulated as its hero. The perfect Christian was characterized by its capacity to catechize others, pagans as well as Christians, to become a 'gate of life'[46] for them and complete in this manner its resemblance to Christ.[47] Regardless of the optimism that characterizes their worldview and the extension of the paedagogical nuance to pagans as well as Christians, they did not envision the martyr as one able to convert the audience.[48]

Unlike his predecessors or his less reserved contemporary from Carthage, Clement does not speak of astonishment and even less of conversion with regards to martyrdoms. What he does mention is wonder[49] but even this is restricted to only a few, the mass being merely disconcerted.[50] As a teacher steeped in pagan culture Clement was well aware of the persuasive capacities of the martyr's performance but all he accounts for is a sort of philosophical wonder.[51] It was only in case of miraculous intervention[52] that conversion followed martyrdoms, testimony in its own of the extraordinary nature of such an outcome. The audience of imperial amphitheatres remained unconvertible through martyrdom even after paganism as a whole had been brought within the conversional horizon of the Christians.[53]

[45] Tertullian *Apologeticum* 50 confirms that they were perceived as 'despaired' and 'lost'.

[46] Clem. Alex., *Strom.* IV 44.1. Unless otherwise indicated all quotations from Clement of Alexandria follow the edition of Pr.D. Fecioru, '*Clement Alexandrinul. Scrieri'*, 2 vols., Colectia Parinti si Scriitori Bisericesti 5 (Bucharest, 1982).

[47] *Ibid*. II 96.4; II 104.1.

[48] It was only once, when carried away by his discourse on the perfect gnostic whom he had just assimilated to God on earth (Clem. Alex., *Strom*. II 104.1) that Clement says that the gnostic convinces with his blood the unbelievers (*ibid*. IV 13.3) and drives them to be converted. Origen, *Comm. Ev. Joh*. II 34.211 conveys that martyrs are a testimony about the true light in front of the pagans but in his exhortation to martyrdom he details indicating that it is the brethren who are to be considered first, forgetting to even mention pagans.

[49] Clem. Alex., *Strom*. IV 74.3; IV 19.3.

[50] *Ibid*. IV 74.3.

[51] Tertullian in *Ad Scapulam* 5 mentions those who see the 'noble patience' and want to know its source and seeking for it they find the truth and convert.

[52] The Alexandrian martyr Potamiaena (executed around the time Clement is also thought to have written) returned from the dead in the dreams of her persecutors converting them according to Euseb. Caes., *Hist. eccl*. VI 5.5-7. Fructosus, bishop of Tarragona, also appears in the dream of his persecutor to insult and mock him. *Mart. Fructuos*. 5.

[53] In the first book of his *Stromateis* Clement of Alexandria exposes his theory of conversion and Christian man as example for others but stresses the difference in importance – Christians are the most important, pagans too must be helped but most importantly those who really want to be saved (*Strom*. I 48.1) thus Christians and catechumens. Origen, *Contra Cels*. 8.43 declares that

The few cases when Romans were converted by the martyrs' behavior are mentioned as something exceptional, with precise details, attesting thus the extraordinary of the situation. In such cases conversion followed elements that pertain to the miraculous such as Potamiaena's appearing post-mortem to her persecutors or the capacity of the prison guard's to perceive that martyrs had 'some great power within'[54]. It is only in the case of Agathonike (Greek recension) that the martyrs' attitude vis-à-vis death is really placed in relation with the conversion of a pagan bystander.[55]

The attitude displayed by martyrs in the arena was thus meant to impress the audience but in a negative, antagonistic manner as Christians rejoiced on account of the pagans' ignorance sometimes allowing themselves to reverie of the times when the roles would be inversed.[56] Having failed to identify those liable of being convinced among the Roman part of the audience let us expand the search area.

Interaction with the Christian audience

'I must triumph in his glory'.[57]

The paradox of the growing number of Christians resulting from persecutions could only be applied to those already baptized if one read it as a reference to the famous inconspicuousness of the early Christians in Roman society. It is the same Tertullian that presents Christians as being nothing short of the majority[58] and yet known only as individuals due to their low profile[59] and martyrical *Acta* do mention cases when, moved by the injustice made to the martyrs, Christians in the audience betrayed their stand, eventually adding to their number.[60] This could be interpreted as a glimpse of the real multitude of Christians, placing the metaphor in a speech meant to impress and warn the pagans. Nevertheless, the weakness of such a reading lies both in the small number of such cases mentioned compared to the recurrence of the formula and in the Roman authorities' lack of interest for the Christian group as such. It was only

the persecutors are influenced by the demons but that still does not make him think that they should become an object of Christian proselytism.

[54] *Pass. Perp.* 16.4.15-6.

[55] *Mart. Carpi* (Greek recension) 42-7.

[56] Martyrs 'support their patience by the assured hope of revenge' according to Tertullian, *Scorpiace* 12. See also *Apoc. Pet.* 7.10.

[57] *Life and Passion of Cyprian of Carthage* 19.

[58] Tertullian, *Scorpiace* 2.

[59] *Ibid.*

[60] Lucius reacts to Ptolemaius being convicted and becomes a martyr too, *Mart. Ptol. et Luc.* 15-6. The same is visible in *Mart. Lugdun.* 9-10 with Vettius and 49-50 with Alexander. See also the luminous face of the bystander in *Mart. Mar. et Jam.* 9.2.

with the Decian persecution that Roman authorities came to seek out Christians, until then their interest being restricted to beheading the communities.

The impact and relevance of the martyr for the local community lay in a different sphere, one to which we will turn to in the concluding remarks, after dealing with the last category of audience liable of being moved by the Christian champions.

The catechumens

Early Christian communities were fused together by the presence of the Holy Spirit which was received at baptism. This latter rite assured, with the shedding of the 'old man' and the receiving of the Name, both the forgiveness of past sins and access to the community of the saints. Having little or no leeway in sinning after baptism[61] imposed the need for a 'perfect training'.[62] It transpires that it was not so much the precepts,[63] considered arcane and thus falling into the category that would be disclosed after baptism, as the mode of life that was the subject of the long catechumenate presupposed in the early centuries.[64] Lacking the Holy Spirit, unaware of the core principles of the faith, and presenting a possibility of renunciation,[65] it was only normal for them to be considered external to the community.[66] They thus fit the pattern.

[61] Christians were considered saints after baptism, Hermas being tortured by the problem of forgiveness after baptism. By Tertullian's times the idea that a sort of humiliation in front of the community was amending for post-baptismal sins coagulated but the general opinion was that blood baptism was required to amend for such falls. Marcion was allowing up to three baptisms in order to deal with these sins according to Epiphanius, *Panarion* III 42.3.6-10. The matter was still under debate in the generation of Methodius of Olympus who wrote his *On the Resurrection* on the same issue.

[62] Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 40.

[63] *Acts of the Disputation with the Heresiarch Manes* 3.

[64] The council of Elvira, *Can*. 42 and the *Apostolic Tradition* 17 mention a period between two and three years but also that some extended it to a lifetime.

[65] Pliny in Bithynia (*Ep*. 10.96) found some that have given up Christianity. The possibility to observe, in parallel, other religios ordinances, possibility that catechumens had, also disqualified them. Lapsing presented a very important problem for the Christian communities as those selected for martyrdom were supposed to be God-chosen and their readmittance was problematic. Hermas, *Mand*. IV 3.1 and *Sim*. VIII 6.3 mentions 'people who became believers and have received the seal and broken it and not kept it whole'. See also 2*Clem*. 7.6.

[66] Proofs for this external standing are abundant, from Tertullian, *De praesc*. *haer*. 41 accusing heretics of keeping them too close to the community to the *Didache* where, according to Lars Hartman, *'Into the Name of the Lord Jesus': Baptism in the New Testament* (Edinburgh, 1997), 174-5 baptism 'marked a boundary, on the other side of which one was a "sharer of immortality" (4.8) and a person in whom God's "name" dwelt (10.2). […] Thus, after baptism one is not a dog. In positive terms, one could be called holy, for this is the epithet of the Christians in 4.2; 10.6, and such are worthy of receiving the holy.' Everett Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church*: *History, Theology and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries* (Grand Rapids, 2009), 329 held that

Despite their liminal situation martyrdom seems to have had a special appeal for this particular category, so many of them dying as martyrs that their status had to be repeatedly clarified.[67] An important clue comes from Perpetua's diary where the young woman and her companions, arrested while still unbaptized catechumens, display a very sound knowledge of the particularities of martyrdom. It appears thus that the concept of martyrdom played a central role in the catechetical teaching of the period, since Perpetua and her companions but also other martyrs in their situation seem to know exactly what to expect as well as their standing vis-à-vis God, coreligionists, and pagans. We are led to believe that, at least in third century north-Africa, the education of the willing was made with an accent on those elements shown to derive from Jewish apocalypticism that referred to the blissful afterlife and motifs that pertained to the martyrs' relevance in the *munera* culture.[68]

Why martyrdom would be so appealing to this particular category is indicated by modern studies of identity making and group interaction which indicate that individuals who are motivated to reduce uncertainty, such as those exposed to conflicting worldviews as the catechumens were, are likely to 'enhance intragroup similarities and intergroup differences as a way of providing more structure in the social environment and reducing feelings of uncertainty.'[69] Radicalism appears as a characteristic of those subject to peripheral membership in groups[70] traducing into outgroup derogation, especially when under the scrutiny of established ingroup members.[71] The attractiveness of martyrdom as way of attaining immortality along with local renown[72] was

'the frequent exorcisms show that the catechumens were not clean but still part of the world.' See also *ibid*. 440.

[67] The matter of the unbaptized catechumens which suffered a martyrical death is recurrent in the age, testifying to the conspicuousness of the phenomenon. See *The Canons of Hippolytus* 19; Cyprian of Carthage, *Ep. 73 (ad Jubaianus)* 22; *De rebaptismo* 11; *The Life and Passion of Cyprian of Carthage* 1, *The Testament of the Lord* 2.5.

[68] Cyprian of Carthage, *Ep*. 34; 13.2; 51.4 attesting the existence of some who advertized martyrdom inside Christian communities, and that their efforts were successful, at least in the first stage. Although he does not mention catechumens as object of this propaganda, his advancement of Numidicus as presbyter has to do with his persuasiveness towards martyrdom.

[69] C.L. Pickett and G.J. Leonardelli, 'Using collective identities for assimilation and differentiation', in T. Postmes and J. Jetten (eds), *Individuality and the Group: Advances in Social Identity* (London, 2006), 56-73, 67.

[70] J. Jetten, N.R. Branscombe and R. Spears, 'On being peripheral: Effects of Identity Insecurity on Personal and Collective Self-esteem', *European Journal of Social Psychology* 32 (2002), 105-23; J.G. Noel, D.L. Wann and N.R. Branscombe, 'Peripheral Ingroup Membership Status and Public Negativity Toward Outgroups', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 68 (1995), 127-37.

[71] J.G. Noel, D.L. Wann and N.R. Branscombe, 'Peripheral Ingroup Membership' (1995).

[72] Martyrdom assured immortality both according to Christian tenets (confessors see only martyrs in heaven in their visions) and in the traditional way, through public remembrance assured by the community who read the *Acta* each year on the commemoration of the passion. The early ban placed on surrender to the Roman authorities is indicative of the appeal martyrdom had.

thus doubled for the catechumens by their intragroup situation. A current contravening that of the Alexandrians also might have added to the phenomenon. The somber view on the human being's capacity to save itself through everyday effort as well as of the world in its entirety promoted by Tertullian and Commodianus[73] indicated martyrdom as indeed the sole key to heaven.[74] A radicalized discourse springing from a particular historical situation and area, the same that provide us with examples of catechumen martyrs.

The apologists constructed the martyr as a combination OT, NT and Greco-Roman motifs, subscribed to a general impetus to imitate Christ[75] and the unwritten canon that required the existence of a martyr for the success of a Christian community.[76] Making themselves a 'spectacle'[77] for the benefit of the group, the martyrs were under the scrutiny of the community who sanctioned one's behavior by comparing it to the ideal model. This was no easy burden as the case of Pionius shows us, the old and revered man having to behave in a distasteful manner in order to be clearly demarcated from those who lapsed by the Christians in the audience.[78] Martyrs were suddenly placed at the center of the community's life.[79] Endowed with a theological and paedagogical importance that sometimes overwhelmed, the martyr-to-be was warned to live up to the expectations of the brethren in the audience. Martyrdom appears thus in the second and third centuries at the core of Christian coalescing groups, the image

[73] It was a view that these north-African writers shared with radical Christian sects according to Tertullian, *Scorpiace* 5. See also Origen, *Hom. Jer*. 2.3.1-2 and *Didasc. Apost*. 5.

[74] Tert., *De anima* 55.

[75] Wilhelm Schneelmelcher (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha: Writings Relating to the Apostles, Apocalypses and Related Subjects* (Louisville, 1992), 18 observed that during the first two centuries in Christianity the only canon was the person of Jesus. George H. van Kooten, *Paul's Anthropology in Context. The Image of God, Assimilation to God and Tripartite Man in Ancient Judaism, Ancient Philosophy and Early Christianity* (Tübingen, 2008), 214 characterized Christianity as 'a mimetic chain'. It is in this dynamic that martyrs fell as Cyprian of Carthage, *Ep*. 76.1 shows: 'In the confession of your voice and the suffering of your body, you provoke the minds of your brethren to divine martyrdom, by exhibiting yourlselves as leaders of virtue, that while the flock follows its pastors, and imitates what it sees to be done by those set over it, it may be crowned with the like merits of obedience by the Lord.'

[76] 1*Tim* 4:12 but also Commodianus *Instr*. 61 showed that 'one is warring on behalf of many, the whole church is suspended on such a one if he conquers'.

[77] This appears to have been the mark of the holy man in the first and second century *koine* as testified by Philo, Paul, Plutarch and others building on the materialist philosophers' concept of human image as imprinting itself on the soul of those willing to accept it, molding it after its own form. See Jane Heath, *Metamorphosis of the Beholder: Pauline Visual Piety in its Hellenistic and Jewish Setting (Romans; 2 Corinthians 2:14-5:21 and 1 Corinthians 10-13)*, doctoral dissertation submitted to The University of Cambridge, 2009 and V. Ivanovici, *Seeking the Face* (2011).

[78] *Mart. Pioni* 4; 15-8.

[79] Martyrs both had a centripetal role for the local community, uniting it during persecutions, and gave it a universal dimension, certain communities coming to be identified with their martyrs.

of the martyr being that of a local and universal hero, produced as a mélange that presented a particular appeal to new adepts, especially young ones.[80]

Conclusion

Deriving their authority from likeness to Christ,[81] a cultural pattern that had no or very little relevance for the non-Christian audience, and absorbed by their imminent encounter with Christ, martyrs did not attempt to transform their deaths into conversional instruments.[82] The expected effects of martyrdom changed little in the first three centuries. Summed up in *Mart. Poly*. 2.1 these were: the glorification and perfection of the martyr, the reassurance of the brethren, and the defeat of the Devil.[83] The difference of perspective present in the proto-martyrium of Stephen[84] between persecutors and Christians is the key to understanding the phenomenon in its communal dimension, indicating the envisioned implication of the Roman audience. Promoting a complex image of guilt and causality,[85] early Christians saw games in a key ranging from blasphemous to criminal. It was only when presenting martyrdom that Romans appear as mere tools, either of God or the Devil (whoever the envisioned *editor* was) fact deriving from the rhetoric of martyrdom.

In this context, dominated by rhetoric rather than reality, the audience is an actor playing its part, an inverse mirror held in front of the readers[86] and one must not lose sight of the fact that these *Acta* were written while martyrdom was an ongoing process, thus with the purpose not only to inform but also to promote such a behavior. Martyrdom gave early Christian groups the visual

[80] Many *Acta* from the first four centuries mention that the confessors and martyrs were young, especially when they were catechumens, while Tertullian, *Adv. Val*. 2.3 and Cyprian of Carthage, *Ep*. 76.6 mention very young martyrs (perhaps children).

[81] The matter of likeness and its ontological relevance in the époque is complicated. Sight and imitation were considered participative and thus transformative. Paul and Philo present their ideal *tupos* as a spectacle (2*Cor*. 4:9-14, respectively *De Vita Mosis* 1: 158-9) one making itself visually available to the world in order to facilitate the metamorphic process. On the topic see J. Heath, *Metamorphosis of the Beholder* (2009).

[82] For both Ignatius of Antioch and Polycarp of Smyrna it is the editors that presents the communal valence as paramount, the martyrs' speech and behavior denoting that it was a highly personal quest although the community was always on their mind.

[83] Indeed, there is a cosmic dimension to these early martyrdoms, the initial defeat of the devil being reenacted with every individual sacrifice.

[84] *Acts* 6:15. In a move that will become classic in subsequent martyrical accounts the persecutors seem not to or refuse to see the miracle(s) and go ahead with the execution, underlining thus their 'otherness'.

[85] Theophil of Antioch, *Ad Autolycus* 3.15; Athenagoras, *Embassy for the Christians* 35; Cyprian of Carthage, *Ad Donatum* 7.9.

[86] Both *Mart. Poly*. 12 and Cyprian of Carthage, *Ep*. 54.6 reduce the mass to a single, individual identity.

factor that it needed in order to become pertinent to those already interested by it. This singular moment of manifested extraordinary substituted the lack of external differentiating factors that was one of the early cult's disadvantages. Martyrdom united baptized and catechumens in a type of liturgy that the latter could partake and in the secret teaching of martyrdom.

Christianity proposed a new type of interpreting the world that was promoted as both revealed and taught (baptism opened their understanding to subsequent teaching). The sharing of a common teaching (one so close to the core of the community's life) symbolizing the difference between elected and saved, welded together the Christians and the would-be in the audience. The use of the metaphor of the 'blood' ended around the time when Cyprian of Carthage reformed the concept of martyrdom. Confronted with the problems generated by confessors as parallel authority to the clergy, the bishop brought martyrs back within the community. His martyrs are no longer outstanding,[87] they are individuals who reached perfection in their personal lives, who are a model of righteousness for believers and in this they support the community, but do not transcend it and its daily rules.

In their teachings Christian apologists combined the Christological and apostolic model with motifs pertaining to the *munera* culture. The use of a paradoxical formula could be explained by drawing on the parallel with the gladiator, a figure that, as pertinently argued by Carlin Barton in her studies, stood under the sign of the paradox. Both martyr and gladiator entered the arena as despised, doomed individuals while being, nevertheless, given the possibility to attain immortality. Due to the Christian rhetoric overlapping only so far with the Roman one, the discrepancy between the nature and potential of the martyr in the arena is sometimes less clear.

The existence of more than one strata of rhetoric in these seemingly straightforward documents must be ascertained. The martyr was enjoying a conspicuousness very much like that of Abercius' monument and one should perhaps imagine the same level of combined rhetoric and overlapping dimensions that characterize the famous inscription.[88] The evolving nature of Christian communities and tenets in this period makes it difficult to discern the exact composition of the audience, nevertheless, as scholarship on imperial games has shown, the conversional quality of martyrdom cannot be sustained without the differentiation between catechumens and Romans.

[87] Peter Brown, 'Enjoying the Saints in Late Antiquity', *Early Medieval Europe* 9 (2000), 1-24, 9.

[88] See Margarett M. Mitchell, 'The Poetics and Politics of Christian Baptism in the Abercius Monument', in David Hellholm (ed.), *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism in Early Judaism, Graeco-Roman Religion, and Early Christianity* (Berlin, 2011), 1739-78.

Wealth, Business Activities, and Blurring of Christian Identity

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ABSTRACT

While Christians formed their distinct socio-economic enclaves and *koinonia* in the second and third centuries, they have always been integrated into the larger Roman society. Obviously, the more financially resourceful the members were, *i.e.*, the middling group such as merchants, artisans, and skilled workers with their own businesses, and those in the upper rank of the society, now with a greater burden and responsibility to support the poorer members and clergy in their communities, the more integrated they were. While honor, inheritance, power, property, and prestige – the usual building blocks that comprised one's social standing and status in a larger society – were not supposed to work in the same manner in Christian communities, these were not simply to be rejected or given up as such since they, at least wealth and power, were useful in serving the Christian communities when properly controlled and channeled with right motivations. This presented the very people with the greatest financial burdens a problem of maintaining their Christian identity while keeping their socio-economic standings, let alone aspiring upward social mobility. The extant Christian texts are almost unanimous in disapproving and warning dangers of business affairs for they were thought to obscure Christian identity and responsibilities. Early Christians consciously and intentionally constructed Christian self-definition revolving around the basic commercial and business dealings on individual, professional, and corporate levels. By and large Christian texts were apprehensive about and negative toward businesses and trades since they were thought to compromise the Christian identity of those participating; these concerns and negativity were partly reflecting the general aristocratic attitude toward trade but especially due to the idolatrous nature of avarice – insatiable desire for wealth – that was supposed to be behind all business affairs, as well as idolatrous aspects of business and commercial enterprises that were typically conducted in the pagan temples and under the names of pagan gods. While Christian leaders recognized difficulties of separating their faithful from the ways in which the larger Greco-Roman society operated in a complex socio-economic and religio-political web of public activities, civic responsibilities, and social pressures, they nonetheless drew theologically unequivocal, though practically ambiguous, boundaries for Christians. Despite their endeavors to sever the tie between Christian identity and business/trade, Christian businessmen/businesswomen apparently fused the two without much anxiety or misgivings in practice, enjoying the clientele of both Christians and non-Christians.

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This article aims to illuminate early Christian rhetoric on commercial and business activities in drawing a definite Christian boundary in the pre-Constantine era. While Christians formed their distinct socio-economic enclaves and *koinonia* even at the face of persecutions and personal sacrifices in the second and third centuries, they were always integrated into the larger Roman society. Obviously, the more financially resourceful the members were, *i.e*., the middling group such as merchants, artisans, and skilled workers with their own businesses, and those in the upper rank of the society, now with a greater burden and responsibility to support the poorer members and clergy in their communities, the more integrated they were with a lot more at stake. Honor, inheritance, power, property, and prestige – the usual building blocks that comprised one's social standing and status in a larger society were not supposed to work in the same manner in Christian communities. However, these were not simply to be rejected or given up as such since they, at least wealth and power, were useful in serving the Christian communities when properly controlled and channeled with right motivations. This presented the very people with the greatest financial burdens and/or with the greatest social mobility a problem of maintaining their Christian identity while keeping their socio-economic standings, let alone aspiring upward social mobility.

The extant Christian texts are almost unanimous in disapproving and warning dangers of business affairs because they were thought to obscure Christian identity and responsibilities. The *Shepherd of Hermas* censures particularly those who are 'absorbed in business' (*Sim*. 4.5; 8.8.1; 9.20.1; in *Vis*. 3.6.5-7 the rich and those who are preoccupied with business are the identical group) and those 'who became rich' (πλουτήσαντες) (*Sim*. 8.9.1), probably through business ventures. To these very ones who are guilty of 'desire for gain' and hypocrisy, (one-time) repentance was offered (*Sim*. 8.8.2; 9.19.3); while many heeded the commandments and repented, however, others 'fell away completely … for on account of their business affairs they blasphemed the Lord and denied him' (*Sim*. 8.8.2).[1] In times of peace 'those involved with numerous business dealings' (τὰ πολλὰ πράσσοντες) pull them away from the church community and the Lord (*Sim*. 4.5), leading them to helpless self-absorption with riches and evasion from due service to their own Lord, *i.e*., avoiding almsgiving and sharing with the poorer members in community (*Sim*. 4.5). In times of persecution, they are especially prone to apostasy 'because of their riches and their business affairs' (διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ τὰς πραγματείας) (*Vis*. 3.6.5). Thus, those involved in business 'a great deal' sin 'a great deal' (*Sim*. 4.5).[2] Much like the seeds that fell on the thorny soil in the Synoptic

[1] εἰς τέλος ἀπέστησαν … διὰ τὰς πραγματείας γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐβλασφήμησαν τὸν κύριον καὶ ἀπηρνήσαντο αὐτόν.

[2] This point of concern is also illustrated by prohibition of Christian widows to engage in business in *Ap*. *Const*. 3.7.

parable (*Mark* 4:7, 18-9; *Matth*. 13:7, 22; *Luke* 8:7, 14), their concerns in 'business affairs and wealth and pagan friendships'(πραγματείαις καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ φιλίαις ἐθνικαῖς) prevent their minds from understanding the truth and the divine parables, choke their faith, and leave them in spiritual barrenness and ruin (*Mand*. 10.1.4). This triad of business affairs, wealth, and pagan friendships, which forces them to commit hypocrisy out of 'desire for gain', is indicative of how powerful and critical the social connections are for the social climbers and the rich addressed here; the way to stay afloat in their social circle and business and to climb up the social ladder through accumulating riches, if possible, is by connecting with and maintaining 'the right company' through patronage. Those preoccupied with business and wealth avoid offending their pagan friends (which is interpreted by the author of *Hermas* as hypocrisy) and end up following 'the desires of sinful men', *i.e*., their pagan friends (*Sim*. 9.19.3). Uncomprehending, being unstable about, and acting hypocritically toward their true identity, they are always on the verge of sliding back to the world – by wanting to have the goods of both worlds and yet incapable of attaining the heavenly good due to their double-mindedness and murky and distracted state of the soul (see *Sim*. 9.20.1) – until they get rid of enough wealth and put aside *excessive* business activities (*Vis*. 3.6.5-6; 3.9.5-6; *Sim*. 4.5) on the one hand and 'do some good with that which was left to them' ('*aliquid boni facere de eo quod eis relictum est*') (*Sim*. 9.30.5) on the other, *i.e*., share with those in need (*Vis*. 3.9.4; *Sim*. 2.5, 10; 10.4.2). Interestingly, however, if someone should 'engage in just one [kind of] business' (μίαν τις πρᾶξιν ἐργάσηται), it will not corrupt and comprise one's identity and can still serve the Lord – by bearing fruit. How so? Note that the way for the rich and those involved in any business to be useful to God is to cut away their wealth (*Vis*. 3.6.7) though not entirely, but just enough to make them 'fit for the Kingdom of God' through removing 'the vanities of their possessions' (*Sim*. 9.31.2) while keeping them enough to 'seek out the hungry until the tower is finished' (ἐκζητεῖτε τοὺς πεινῶντας ἕως οὗτω ὁ πύργος ἐτελέσθη) (*Vis*. 3.9.5).

Commercial activities of buying and selling, and trade in general are even more suspect for Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons (c. 180 AD). Employing the received words of the anonymous presbyter, he regards wealth, including that of Christians, as the product of unrighteousness through commercial activities: 'For in some cases there follows us a small, and in others a large amount of property which we have acquired from the mammon of unrighteousness' (*Haer*. IV 30.1).[3] Whether that property may be a house, clothing, vessels, or 'everything else ministering to our every-day life … we acquired by avarice [before conversion], or received them from our heathen parents, relations or

[3] '*Omnes enim nos aut modica, aut grandis sequitur possessionem, quam ex mannona iniquitatis acquisivimus*.'

friends who unrighteously obtained them' (*Haer*. IV 30.1).[4] This is in fact the case 'even now' (*i.e*., after conversion) because business and trade in which Christians are engaged are *by nature* motivated by 'desire for gain', to use *Hermas*' phrase:

> For who is there that sells, and does not wish to make a profit from him who buys? Or who purchases anything, and does not wish to obtain good value from the seller? Or who is there that carries a trade, and does not do so that he may obtain a livelihood thereby? (*Haer*. IV 30.1)[5]

Irenaeus, continuing the remarks of the same presbyter, then paints a picture of commerce and business as a whole in a negative light, from which all Christians (not just the rich or those who run businesses) can hardly claim innocence as long as they participate in them. However, he does not call for total asceticism or partial renunciation as a remedy; somewhat (but not entirely) similar to *Hermas*, he advises use of those goods 'acquired from unrighteousness' for righteousness, *i.e*., caring for the needy and giving alms for the poor as in the words of the Lord (*Haer*. IV 30.3; see *Matth*. 25:35-6; 6:3; *Luke* 16:9).

Didascalia, like *Hermas*, recognizes the danger of engaging in business as blurring the participants' Christian identity. Once entering the world of business and trade, its 'desire for gain' is so consuming that it is difficult for them not to get entangled or absorbed and thus to mix up their priorities and identity. Those who are engaged in business are strongly reminded that 'the handicrafts of the faithful are called works of superfluity. Indeed, their true work is religion' (*Didasc*. 13). Therefore, the faithful are to pursue their trade and business only as a 'work of superfluity' so as to obtain their provision but no more than that (*Didasc*. 13). Practically, this means that, they 'endeavor never to withdraw from the assembly of the church' on the Lord's Day; they are to 'leave everything', including their crafts and commercial activities, and 'run eagerly to [their] church' (*Didasc*. 13).[6] With the threat of everlasting fire on the day of judgment, the text goes on to warn the faithful repeatedly not to leave the church and attend the assembly of the gentiles, *i.e*., the theatre, spectacles, and festivals, 'because of the idols' (13). Attendance at these public events, which were ubiquitous and deemed indispensable in Roman society, is considered not only to confirm their care for the world and concern for materialism ('affairs of living'), presumably because of trades and commercial activities conducted in those places, but also to commit idolatry and therefore pollute Christian identity (13). Thus, the text poses an eventual and inevitable

[4] '*Reliqua omnis ad diuturnam vitam nostram ministratio … de avaritia acquisivimus, vel ab ethnicis parentibus, aut cognatis, aut amicis, de injustitia acquirentibus percepimus*.'

[5] '*Quis enim vendit, et non lucrari vult ab eo qui emit? Quis autem emit, et non vult utiliter secum agi ab eo qui vendit? Quis autem negotians non propterea negotiatur ut inde alatur?*'

[6] Note that Sunday (the Lord's Day) was not made the public day of rest until by Constantine in 325 AD.

tension between business/commercial affairs and purity of Christian identity and is anxious to draw a clear boundary between them – an indication that in reality this kind of tension was likely 'smoothed out' by the faithful in an undesirable way, *i.e.*, they did mix up and harmonize their trades/businesses with Christian faith without many qualms.

Tertullian of Carthage certainly understood the seriousness of this tension and pressed this issue further in a similarly dichotomizing way. In his earlier apology ostensibly addressing a pagan audience, he stressed Christians' 'full participation' in Roman society and daily interactions with their 'gentile' neighbors in forum, meat market, baths, shops, factories, inns, weekly market, and 'the rest of the life of buying and selling' (*Apol.* 42.2); he denies that Christians are ascetics or unprofitable in business because, 'we sail ships … [go] to market with you … and our living depends on you' (*Apol.* 42.3).[7] In his more rigorous treatises addressing Christians, however, he saw right through the dilemmas of Christian traders and businessmen whose business transactions and Christian commitment could not be neatly compartmentalized or harmonized. In his treatise *On Idolatry* (*De idololatria*), while giving Christians strict guidelines on arts and crafts concerning idolatry (*Idol.* 5-8), Tertullian directly deals with the question of whether trade ('*negotium*') is a fitting occupation for a Christian (*Idol.* 11).[8] Like the other contemporary Christian authors, Tertullian clearly sees the fundamental motive of trade as covetousness ('*cupiditas*'; *pleonexia* in Greek), which is the root of all evil ('*radicem omnium malorum*') (1*Tim.* 6:10; see 1*Tim.* 1:19) and also called idolatry (*Col.* 3:5) according to the Apostle Paul (*Idol.* 11.1). Tertullian asks, if covetousness, which is accompanied by mendacity and perjury by the way, disappears, 'what is the motive for acquiring? When the motive of acquiring ceases, there will be no necessity for trading' (11.1).[9] However, suppose that there might be some righteous pursuit of gain just for the sake of argument; trade is still guilty of idolatry if it supplies any items used for sacrifices to the pagan deities, however indirectly it may be, such as frankincense and public victims (11.2-7); for it creates the possibility of and agency for idolatry. Not all trade might be combated in this way (11.2), but 'no craft, therefore, no profession, no form of trade contributing anything to the equipment or formation of idols will be free from the charge of idolatry' (11.8).[10]

[7] Tertullian emphasizes Christians' reliability and success in banking business in *Scap.* 4.7: 'We never deny the deposit placed in our hands.'

[8] This is another indication of the presence of those Christians in Carthage who were engaged in making idols or the 'attributes' of the idols and also in providing supplies related to sacrifices to the idols (whom Tertullians attempted to dissuade from those activities).

[9] '*Ceterum si cupiditas abscedat, quae est causa acquirendi? Cessante causa acquirendi non erit necessitas negotiandi.*'

[10] '*Nulla igitur ars, nulla professio, nulla negotiatio, quae quid aut instruendis aut formandis idolis administrat, carere poterit titulo idololatriae.*'

Furthermore, many of the business/commercial dealings took place in and around pagan temples and places of spectacles filled with pagan deities. Even if one may grant that Christians of socio-political standing or with business could enter those places for their official duties and proper business (since there is no law forbidding the mere places for Christians), however, they are still exposed to religious pollution because the things which are done in those places, including business dealings, 'belong to the idol-patrons to whom the very places are sacred' ('*quae in iis locis fiunt, quibus ipsa loca dicantur*') (*Spec*. 8). A case in point is the fact that normal commercial or business contracts are written in the name of pagan deities (*Idol*. 23). Tertullian presents a plausible situation that in borrowing money from pagans under pledged securities, Christians give a guarantee ('*cavent*') under oath ('*iurati*') but deny themselves to have disobeyed Christ's prescription against swearing (*Idol*. 23.1). Their guarantee under oath by pagan gods is in writing, not in speech; so these Christian businessmen or traders insist that since 'it is the tongue, not the written letter, which kills' ('*ligua, non littera occidit*'), they have not denied their Christian name and faith (*Idol*. 23.2). Nevertheless, Tertullian points out that one cannot write something without inner consciousness and participation (*Idol*. 23.2-5). Christ sees through the unspoken consent in his judgment seat and the Christian borrower's conscience is compromised when s/he silently meant to swear in his or her heart (which is required for the guarantee to take an effect). 'Thus, in his pen there speaks a hand clearer than every sound, in his waxen tablet there is heard a letter more vocal than every mouth' (*Idol*. 23.6).[11] They cannot justify signing a guarantee based on ignorance or unwillingness: 'For when you gave the guarantee, you were conscious of it, and when you were conscious of it, you were, of course, willing' (*Idol*. 23.5).[12] Therefore, they commit idolatry 'both in deed [writing] ('*facto*') and in thought' ('*cogitatu*') (*Idol*. 23.5). Tertullian prays that Christians would never face any necessity for that kind of (business) contract under pagan deities; and he continues that

> if it should fall out, may He [Christ] give our brethren the means of helping us (*i.e*., Christians lending Christians the necessary money), or give us constancy to break off all such necessity, lest those denying letters, the substitutes for our mouth, be brought forward against us in the day of judgment, sealed with the seals, not now of witnesses, but of angels! (*Idol*. 23.7)[13]

The implication is rather unmistakable – Christians should preemptively avoid business or commercial dealings (with pagans) that necessitate or even raise any occasion for such tacit compromise of Christian identity.

[11] '*Loquitur instilo, auditor in cera, manus omni sono conclarior, littera omni ore vocalior*.'

[12] '*Nam cum caveres, scisti, cum scires, utique voluisti*.'

[13] '*Si ita evenerit, det fratribus operandi opiam vel nobis abrumpendae omnis necessitates constantiam, ne illae litterae negatrices vicariae oris nostri in die iudicii adversus nos proferantur signatae signis non iam advocatorum, sed angelorum*.'

Indeed, for those Christians with wealth and birth, *i.e*., the Roman and civic elite and the rich in general, the social tension and dilemma would have been urgent and pressing. The very social, religious, and political roles (all intertwined) through patronage and euergetism they were expected to play, which were part and parcel of holding public office and power, such as offering sacrifices, keeping up the temples, funding spectacles, theaters, festivals, baths, and even judging endangered polluting their Christian identity (see *Idol*. 17.2-3). 'All the powers and dignities of this world are not only alien to, but enemies of God', spurted Tertullian (*Idol*. 18.8).[14] These Christians might protest that those functions were simply part of their societal responsibility due to their birth and substance and therefore there is no way to avoid those civic obligations (see *Idol*. 18.1, 4, 9). By implication, they were demanding that their inseparable civic and social ties and functions should be separated from their Christian (religious) identity. To that, Tertullian answers that the attire (priestly insignia) and pomp of these offices are already tainted with idolatry and thus make these functions closed to Christians (*Idol*. 18.1-4). As a matter of fact, Christ, our example, rejected worldly glory ('*gloria saeculi*'), honor, and dignity 'which He did not want, and He condemned what He rejected, and what He condemned, He consigned to the pomp of the devil' (*Idol*. 18.7).[15] Thus, '[f]or avoiding it, remedies cannot be lacking; since, even if they be lacking, there remains that one by which you will be made a happier magistrate, not in the earth, but in the heavens [*i.e*., martyrdom]' (*Idol*. 18.9).[16] On the one hand, as for Tertullian, the interlocking web of socio-economic and political position and pagan idolatry, the very way the Greco-Roman society operates, deceives Christians into insidious enslavement to the present world as though they could settle for compartmentalizing their Christian identity without having to renounce and separate from the whole system. On the other hand, other Christians would attempt to disentangle perfunctory religious customs ('idolatry') from those interwoven socio-economic and political fabrics of society that they could maintain their faith without jeopardizing their socio-political livelihood and standing *and* serve their Christian communities utilizing their 'worldly' and 'unrighteous' resources and influences.

The choice between these two options would not have been so stark and acute if ordinary Christians were not forced to make these decisions during the occasional persecutions. While Cyprian was more aligned with Tertullian's stance before the Decian persecution (see *Don*.), others in his congregation, including many of the wealthy and some of his clergy were not, illustrated by

[14] '*Omnes huius saeculi potestates et dignitates non solum alienas, verum et inimicas dei esse*.'

[15] '*Igitur quam noluit, reiecit, quam reiecit, damnavit, quam damnavit, in pompa diabolic deputavit*.'

[16] '*Ad evitandum remedia deesse non possunt, cum et, si defuerint, supersit unicum illud, quo felicior factus non in terris magistratus, sed in caelis*.'

the mass apostasy of the wealthy and its attendant controversy with the laxist faction over their readmission during the persecution. Cyprian saw that muddying of Christian separation from the world due to 'a blind attachment to their patrimony' (*Laps*. 11, 12) as the very pernicious consequence of the imperial persecution and yet had to concede to an extent reinstating the wealthy *lapsi* based on severity of their apostasy and penance (especially almsgiving) in light of the practical problems created by the loss of the wealthy on the preservation of the common chest and ecclesial charity.

While these literary texts reveal certain biases against business and commercial activities of the faithful with concerns, we have some interesting epigraphic indicators and indirect inferences of Christian businesses in the period from the mid-third to early fourth century, mainly catered to Christian needs in funerary monuments. In a classic study conducted on early Christian monuments in Phrygia, Anatolia, Elsa Gibson has identified a group of thirteen burial monuments in similar formulaic design and execution as products of the same workshop of stonecutters who might have been Christian.[17] Relatively recent follow-up studies carefully confirm the Christian identity of those masons (as well as the purchasers).[18] Twelve out of the thirteen epitaphs explicitly commemorate Christian burials – eight of them utilizing the now famous formula, 'Christians for Christians' (Χριστιανοὶ Χριστιανοῖς) and three of them using the word, 'Christian(s)', though one is lost – all decorated with the similar stylized vine and grape patterns, wreaths, and crosses.[19] These panel steles with the epitaphs also feature standardized funerary motifs (of the region) such as images of oxen and agricultural tools (on nine of the monuments) and gender specific symbols: pruning hooks and whips for males and baskets, combs, distaffs, and spindles for females.[20] Judging from the uniformity of motifs and symbols of this workshop and the display of 'mass-produced' quality with specific alterations made (*e.g*., erasure of a cross), Gary Johnson suggests that this workshop apparently pre-fabricated burial monuments (apart from epitaphs) for Christian use and subsequently altered some motifs for sale to non-Christian clientele.[21] If this is true, this seemingly active role of the workshop in the production and marketing of the distinctively Christian funerary monuments strongly indicates

[17] Elsa Gibson, *The 'Christians For Christians' Inscriptions of Phrygia*, Harvard Theological Studies 32 (Missoula, 1978).

[18] *E.g*., Gary J. Johnson, 'A Christian Business and Christian Self-Identity in Third/Fourth Century Phrygia', *VC* 48 (1994), 341-66; William Tabbernee, *Montanist Inscriptions and Testimonia: Epigraphic Sources Illustrating the History of Montanism*, Patristic Monograph Series 16 (Macon, 1997), 133-339.

[19] A vine and grape pattern represents importance of viticulture and wreath is a known funerary symbol of victory at death: W. Tabbernee, *Montanist Inscriptions and Testimonia* (1997), 298, 253. Only a cross indicates unique Christian identity.

[20] G. Johnson, 'A Christian Business and Christian Self-Identity' (1994), 344.

[21] *Ibid*. 350.

not only Christian self-identity of the stonecutters who have designed them (even more than that of the Christian customers) but also a departure from usual Anatolian practice, which did not express religious affiliation in epitaphs.[22] The concentration of crosses in these monuments in light of the fact that use of crosses as Christian symbols in Anatolian iconography was rare even in the fourth century only reinforces plausibility of this case.[23] Furthermore, inclusion of a Christianized curse formula in some of these epitaphs in case of violation of the tomb – the most famous one, 'the Eumeneian Formula', warning the violator that he 'will reckon with God' (ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν) – strengthens the case.[24] Despite unusually heavy Christian presence in this rural area and this remarkable professional Christian self-identification, however, the workshop is less likely to have been exclusively Christian during the third century but probably employed Christians as well as non-Christians, as it did business with both Christians and non-Christians.[25] Also, this workshop, comprised of at least some Christians, would have surely been engaged in business dealings with the regional economic institutions (non-Christian) created by the lines of distribution of raw stone.[26] Finally, these funerary monuments, which are 'handsome and expensive', also reveal the socio-economic level of the Christian clients, who are

> most likely agrarian population (inferred by the common funerary representations) with 'a level of income sufficient to afford some kind of stone burial monument', *i.e.*, the middling group with relative wealth.[27]

As a matter of fact, not just individual lay people but the church as an institution was engaged in financial and business functions. Starting from the early third century, 'Christian cemeteries' began to emerge in Carthage, Rome, and Alexandria as reported by Tertullian,[28] 'Hippolytus',[29] and Origen,[30] respectively. They most likely refer not to the common cemeteries owned by the respective local churches but to familial tombs owned by the wealthier members of the local churches made available for the deceased poor members without any means of private burials since the Roman law did not acknowledge corporate ownership by a legal entity (of course, Christianity was illegal during

[22] *Ibid*. 351.
[23] *Ibid*. 352.
[24] *Ibid*. 356-7.
[25] See W. Tabbernee, *Montanist Inscriptions and Testimonia* (1997), 250.
[26] G. Johnson, 'A Christian Business and Christian Self-Identity' (1994), 357.
[27] William Tabbernee, *Early-Christian Epitaphs from Anatolia*, Early Christian Literature Series 8 (Atlanta, 1997), 79.
[28] *Scap*. 3.1: 'our burial fields' ('*areae supulturarum nostrarum*').
[29] *Ref*. 9.12.14: administration 'of the coemeterium' ('*eis to choimeterion chatestēsen*'); *Liber Pontificalis* 1.141; see *Ap. trad*. 40.
[30] *Hom. Jer*. 4.3.16.

this time).[31] Nonetheless, while those tombs were legally private property and private burial complexes and though the church did not have a proper legal status as property owners, there was implicit recognition of corporate ownership *in practice* in the course of the third century as local clergy began to take a greater control in managing them and the church functioned *de facto* as a *collegium*, such as a funerary society.[32]

In Rome, one of the well-known examples, is the Catacomb of San Callisto on Via Appia Antica, administered by then deacon Callistus (later bishop) commissioned by bishop Zephyrinus (c. 199-217 AD). As it was a common custom in Roman society to appoint supervisors to manage private tomb properties, the original catacomb of San Callisto might have been the family tomb of bishop Zephyrinus.[33] The directive in the *Apostolic Tradition* prohibiting overcharging people to bury a person in the cemeteries 'for it is the property of all the poor' but prescribing the wage of the worker with the price of the tiles (40) reflects well the Christian Roman burial of the poor in the catacombs in the third century. The tiles mentioned in this text are most likely those tiles used in the catacombs to seal up the *loculi* in which the corpses are placed.[34] Also its charge to the bishop to provide for 'those who are in that place and take care of it' from the common fund points to the greater episcopal management of the catacombs as their *de facto* owners even as the church of Rome took the role of depository to which some widows and orphans entrusted their income/savings (Cyprian, *Epp*. 50.1.2; 52.1.2).[35]

In Alexandria, bishop Maximus (264-282 AD), the successor of Dionysius, and his assistant presbyter (acting as a financial secretary?) Theonas, who later succeeded Maximus as bishop (282-300 AD), served as depositaries for Christian businessmen (P. Amherst I 3).[36] A fragmentary papyrus from (probably)

[31] Carolyn Osiek, 'Roman and Christian Burial Practices and the Patronage of Women', in Laurie Brink and Deborah Green (eds), *Commemorating the Dead: Texts and Artifacts in Context: Studies of Roman, Jewish, and Christian Burials* (Berlin and New York, 2008), 244; Peter Lampe, *From Paul to Valentinus: Christians at Rome in the First Two Centuries* (Minneapolis, 2003), 370-1.

[32] C. Osiek, 'Roman and Christian Burial Practices' (2008), 264-9.

[33] Pau F. Bradshaw, Maxwell E. Johnson and L. Edward Phillips, *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis, 2002), 191; John Bodel, 'From *Columbaria* to Catacombs', in Laurie Brink and Deborah Green (eds), *Commemorating the Dead* (2008), 203-5, 230-1; C. Osiek, 'Roman and Christian Burial Practices' (2008), 246; Peter Lampe, *From Paul to Valentinus* (2003), 25-8, 369-72; *Liber pont*. 1.139.

[34] P.F. Bradshaw *et al*., *The Apostolic Tradition* (2002), 192.

[35] See Cyprian, *Ep*. 80.1.4, mentions the martyrdom of bishop Sixtus II and his four deacons '*in cimiterio*' on August 6, 258; most scholars agree that this cemetery refers to '*the* Christian cemetery in Rome par excellence, viz. that of Callistus': Graeme W. Clarke, *The Letters of St. Cyprian of Carthage: Vol. 4*, Ancient Christian Writers 47 (New York, 1989), 305[14].

[36] On discussion of this papyrus, see Adolf Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, trans. Lionel R.M. Strachan, rev. ed. (New York, 1927), 205-13; Herbert Musurillo, 'Early Christian Economy: A Reconsideration of P. Amherst 3(a)', *Chronique d'Égypte* 31 (1956), 124-34; Michael

Fayum, Egypt, perhaps the earliest autograph letter of a known Christian,[37] contains a number of requests sent by an unnamed Christian in Rome to a Christian community in the Arsinoite nome (a regional administrative unit) regarding the sale of goods that the community had produced. Apparently, the writer is concerned about a payment due to a certain Primitinus, probably a shipper,[38] and asks the community to deliver money to him who will soon be in Alexandria. The Arsinoite community should be able to deposit money enough for the payment through the sale of barley, bread, and linens. Here, Maximus 'the papa' is to receive a certain sum that is to be handed over to Primitinus, and another sum is to be given to Theonas, who is to hold it for the writer. This letter, though fragmentary, gives some insight into the socio-economic situation of the Alexandrian church and the economic role the Alexandrian higher clergy played, especially in expediting financial transactions and holding deposits.[39] Later in the early fourth century and on, the Alexandrian bishops would become increasingly involved in controlling the Mediterranean grain shipment and trade with their growing wealth and political influence, apparently for mobilizing funds for the poor relief programs in the charged context of church politics.[40]

In Carthage, on the other hand, Cyprian, based on a conciliar decision, repeatedly denounced any clerical involvement in 'earthly and worldly affairs' such as serving as a guardian of children and trustee of estates, and in profit-making by dealings of 'secular business (*rerum saecularium*)' (*Ep*. 1.2; *Laps*. 6). He complained that too many bishops, out of desire 'to have money in abundance', left their sees and people in hunger and 'acquired landed estates by fraud, and made profits by loans at compound interest' in foreign provinces (*Laps*. 6). Despite Cyprian's outcry, this kind of selfish episcopal practice allegedly went on not just in Carthage but also elsewhere. About a half-century later, the Council of Elvira in Spain prohibited bishops, presbyters, and deacons from leaving their sees and parishes or travelling in the provinces, in order to engage in profitable ventures (canon 19). However, the Council advised them to 'send a son, a freedman, an employee, a friend, or someone else' if it was 'an economic necessity' and also ordered them to 'engage only in business activities within their own area' (canon 19) – an indication that the economic activities and secular employment of bishops had become a growing trend by the early fourth century even with (or despite) consolidation of episcopal position and power.

J. Hollerich, 'The Alexandrian Bishops and the Grain Trade', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 25 (1982), 188-90; Graydon Snyder, *Ante Pacem: Archaeological Evidence of Church Life before Constantine* (Macon, GA, 1991), 152-3.

[37] A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* (1927), 205.

[38] Identified as such by A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* (1927), 207.

[39] G. Snyder, *Ante Pacem* (1991), 153.

[40] See M.J. Hollerich, 'The Alexandrian Bishops and the Grain Trade' (1982), 187-207.

Furthermore, with the rise of monastic movements in the Constantinian era, the monastic brotherhood were usually engaged in local enterprises of various goods, for example, the production of oil in northern Syria or around Bethlehem;[41] and according to Egyptian papyri the monks were involved in extensive economic activities with the secular world they were supposed to leave behind and kept a close contact with local elites.[42] Some, such as Pachomian and White monastery federations in Egypt, operated as substantial financial enterprises in agriculture and trading goods such as mats, baskets, ropes, and sandals, with considerable impact on local economy.[43] In addition, a famous (semi-)anchorite, Evagrius Ponticus, worked as a calligrapher and owned a decent library, and other monks were engaged in the business activities of plaiting ropes and weaving baskets, for instance.[44] Indeed, the Sayings of the Desert Fathers (*Apophthegmata patrum*) and other sources contain references to monks owning servants, books, garments, and vessels, as well as references to hospitality, thieves, charity, wages, bakeries and wine-presses, which indicate private resources and business activities of even anchorite and semi-anchorite monks.[45]

In conclusion, as Christianity moved up the social ladder in this period, the Christian texts repeatedly disapproved business affairs and commercial activities, linking them to the inordinate acquisitiveness of the (Christian) rich and *those who tried to be rich*, *i.e.*, middling group who could have had hope and chance of upward social mobility, through those engagements.[46] The message of not seeking to gain wealth and envy the rich (*e.g.*, Clement of Alexandria, *Quis div.* 2; Peter of Alexandria, *On Riches* 55) that accompanied disapproval of business and avarice, as well as the message of prohibiting the positions of honor and power (*e.g.*, Tertullian, *Idol.* 18) as un-Christian activities and disposition would have discouraged social mobility.[47] Yet it could have also been a reaction/response to the social reality of strong presence of those socially

[41] Everlyne Patlagean, 'The Poor', in Guglielmo Cavallo (ed.), Thomas Dunlap, Teresa L. Fagan and Charles Lambert (tr.), *The Byzantines* (Chicago and London, 1997), 22.

[42] See Edwin A. Judge, 'Fourth-Century Monasticism in the Papyri', in *Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of Papyrology* (Chico, 1981), 613-20.

[43] John E. Goehring, *Ascetics, Society, and the Desert: Studies in Early Egyptian Monasticism* (Harrisburg, 1999), 47-8; David Brakke, 'Care for the Poor, Fear of Poverty, and Love of Money', in Susan R. Holman (ed.), *Wealth and Poverty in Early Church and Society* (Grand Rapids, 2008), 77; Samuel Rubenson, 'Asceticism and Monasticism I: Eastern', in A. Casiday and F. Norris (eds), *The Cambridge History of Christianity* II. *Constantine to c. 600* (Cambridge, 2007), 637-68, 648, 650.

[44] Lucien Regnault, *The Day-to-Day Life of the Desert Fathers in the Fourth-Century Egypt* (Petersham, MA, 1999), 99-102; J.E. Goehring, *Ascetics, Society, and the Desert* (1999), 45-6.

[45] Samuel Rubenson, 'Power and Politics of Poverty in Early Monasticism', in Geoffrey D. Dunn, David Luckensmeyer and Lawrence Cross (eds), *Prayer and Spirituality in the Early Church* V. *Poverty and Riches* (Strathfield, 2009), 91-110, 96.

[46] Again, those who put confidence in 'the [business] transactions that have made them rich' are condemned in *On Riches* 37, attributed to Peter of Alexandria.

[47] See Robert M. Grant, *Early Christianity and Society* (San Francisco, 1977), 123.

mobile populations in local Christian assemblies.[48] With a possible exception of Irenaeus, for Christian leaders, wealth itself is morally neutral (though clearly dangerous), and following the cultural understanding, inheritance is the superior form of acquiring wealth to trade or business, which reveals their idea about socio-economic order (see Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* VIII 14.10). Indeed, while Christianity attracted not insubstantially the socially mobile groups, upon becoming Christians, they would have to give up aspirations for upward social mobility (through accumulation of earthly fortunes). As we have seen in the case of Christians who were engaged in business activities, this implicit and explicit message against social mobility was not likely followed by those who were able in reality. Moreover, the church and clergy also played an economically significant role by serving as depositories, banks, and trustees for its members and even engaged in trades apparently as 'fundraisers for charity' and business affairs for profits (especially in the later period). However, the leaders' vision of a society was largely conservative and static: that people's stations (*loci*) were ordained by God (*e.g.*, 1*Clem.* 38.2; Clement of Alexandria, *Quis div.* 3, 26; Peter of Alexandria, *On Riches* 66; Cyprian, *Epp.* 3.1.1; 8.1.1; see 12.1.1; Tertullian, *Cultu fem.* 2.9.1) and even that the worldly powers and honors were to be rejected as the enemies of God in extreme cases (*e.g.*, Tertullian, *Idol.* 18.8). Thus, while the concerns of blurring Christian identity projected 'an irreconcilable incompatibility [at least in rhetoric] between social mobility and Christian community – between the opportunities and status of human community and the commitment to divine community'[49] in rhetoric, the Christian engagements in business and commercial activities from the low to high levels revealed certain disparities in image and reality and demonstrated the complex negotiations and identities in relation to the larger culture and society.

[48] This kind of message would be repeated by the bishops throughout the Late Antiquity; *e.g.* John Chrysostom, *Hom. 1 Cor.* 15.6.

[49] Dennis E. Groh, *Christian Community in the Writings of Tertullian: An Inquiry into the Nature and Problems of Community in North African Christianity* (Ph.D. diss. Northwestern University, 1970), 69.

The Great Stemma: A Late Antique Diagrammatic Chronicle of Pre-Christian Time

Jean-Baptiste PIGGIN, Hamburg, Germany

ABSTRACT

A previously unsuspected 4th- or 5th-century Latin work by an unknown patristic author emerges through re-examination of the so-called genealogical tables found in certain medieval Spanish bibles and Apocalypse commentaries. Analysis of its text and layout suggests that this diagram, which I name the *Great Stemma*, began as a unified chronological chart which originally occupied a large, single roll and was later re-edited in codex form, sectioned into seven or eight folios. The change of format and an accumulation of errors in a lost, early Visigothic intermediary have degraded the logic of the original. The 'ur'-form can be reconstituted by comparing the content with the text of the *Liber Genealogus of 427*, an anonymous Donatist chronographic work. An analysis of the peculiar data order of the *Liber Genealogus* leads to the conclusion that the latter must be a commentary on an early version of the Great Stemma. The diagram is thus of much greater antiquity than was previously realized, and gives us evidence of a previously unobserved graphic method in patristic writing. The work has received only limited scholarly attention in the past, mainly for the sake of its Vetus Latina name forms which pre-date the new transliterations of the Hebrew names undertaken by Jerome of Stridon for his Vulgate translation. The Great Stemma author devised an unprecedented infographic layout, using 540 key persons to visualize biblical history from the Creation to the Incarnation, aligned with Roman and Achaemenid history. The timeline constitutes one of three layers of content which blend into a complex reflection on a Christian understanding of time. A second layer is composed of the chains of descent described in the gospel genealogies of *Matthew* and *Luke* and another brief chain of the descendants of Cain. These gain heightened symbolic significance through the graphic form, with these chains or *fila* parting at David and re-uniting in the person of Christ. A selection of stemmata representing the descendants of various patriarchs constitutes the third layer of content. The Great Stemma author used this innovative diagrammatic chronicle to demonstrate that contradictions between the Gospel genealogies of Christ can be resolved by a solution found in the *Protevangelium of James*: the introduction of the uncanonical Joachim as father of the Virgin. This analysis may lead to a better understanding of the thinking behind the diagrams employed a century later by Cassiodorus in his *Institutions* which utilize similar graphic techniques. It is hoped that a text-critical edition and a more detailed investigation of the diagram can be undertaken soon.

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Introduction to Data Visualization

To anyone interested in visualizations of abstract information, a diagram in Florence at the Laurentian Library must be the richest and most spectacular artefact from any point in the first millennium. This Latin document spans eight folios of an 11th-century codex, Plutei 20.54 (ff 38r-45v). At first sight it presents a genealogy, starting from Adam and ending with Jesus Christ. Superficially, the diagram's form reminds us of a modern family tree, with the names of the biblical patriarchs connected to the names of their children by lines.[1]

The extended diagram, which until recently had been thought to date from no earlier than the 8th century, or even to have been first drafted as late as the 10th century, contains about 540 biblical and historical names, mostly encased in roundels that are connected to their neighbours by lines. The persons named include:

- patriarchs in *Genesis*,
- kings of Judah and Israel,
- prophets,
- Roman emperors.

This genre, a large-scale data visualization, is perhaps unique in first-millennium literature, yet it would evince little surprise among modern readers precisely because information graphics are nowadays such a common feature in newspapers and textbooks.

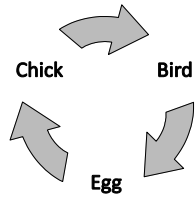

Figure 1. Nodes and connectors.

Data visualization is a feature of advanced writing systems. Nodes of text are made into closed entities, which can then be grouped on the page into sets or strung together with connecting lines. Different kinds of connectors can represent relationships among the entities such as sequence or hierarchy. The chick-bird-egg example in Fig. 1 is a simple but powerful way of describing the idea of a cycle.

[1] Fischer's and Frede's *Verzeichnis der Sigel: Kirchenschriftsteller*, republished as Roger Gryson, *Répertoire général des auteurs ecclésiastiques latins de l'antiquité et du haut moyen âge* (Freiburg, 2007), gives it the siglum 'PROL gen' (http://piggin.net/stemmahist/biblicalcatalog.htm). The document is not listed in the *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*.

Visualization is a practice that we acquire as we learn literacy, but are only dimly conscious of possessing. The greater utility of diagrams in comparison with text has been intensely discussed in psychology and computer science, and may be attributed to the rapid inferences we draw from figures by our human visual abilities.[2]

The Florence diagram, as we will see, has great affinity with a modern diagram type known as a mind map, which groups text fragments and displays their relationships as paths. The most frequently used pattern in such paths is that of hierarchy, since visualization is more effective at communicating the intricacies of hierarchy than linear speech is. The principle of hierarchy brings visual order to things as various as corporate organization charts, cladograms in biology, flow diagrams for military planning and family trees. Formally, a genealogy is a hierarchy like any other.

Any evidence that the pre-medieval world was familiar with such visualization techniques would not only shake a still widespread perception that Graeco-Roman intellectual life was discourse-centric, but also tend to contradict the view that Antique technical draftsmanship and mapping skills were poor and impracticable.

The Florence diagram makes sophisticated use of the mind-mapping technique. This article will investigate the diagram's:

- text,
- visual logic,
- date of origin, and
- role in Christian controversy.

My re-assembly of the sections in the codex into a continuous chart appears to be the first presentation of the diagram as a more or less single unit for well over 1,000 years. I have made some organizational alterations vis-à-vis the codex, based on evidence about how the document is most likely to have been spatially arranged in its archetypal form.

Reconstruction of the Diagram

Fig. 2 shows a proposed reconstruction of the diagram, here arranged in three rows for a modicum of legibility. A register has been added to mark the stages of bible history that are represented, from the Creation to the Incarnation. The entire diagram would have been up to two metres wide when hand drawn.

[2] Jill H. Larkin and Herbert A. Simon, 'Why a Diagram is (Sometimes) Worth Ten Thousand Words', *Cognitive Science* 11 (1987), 65-99.

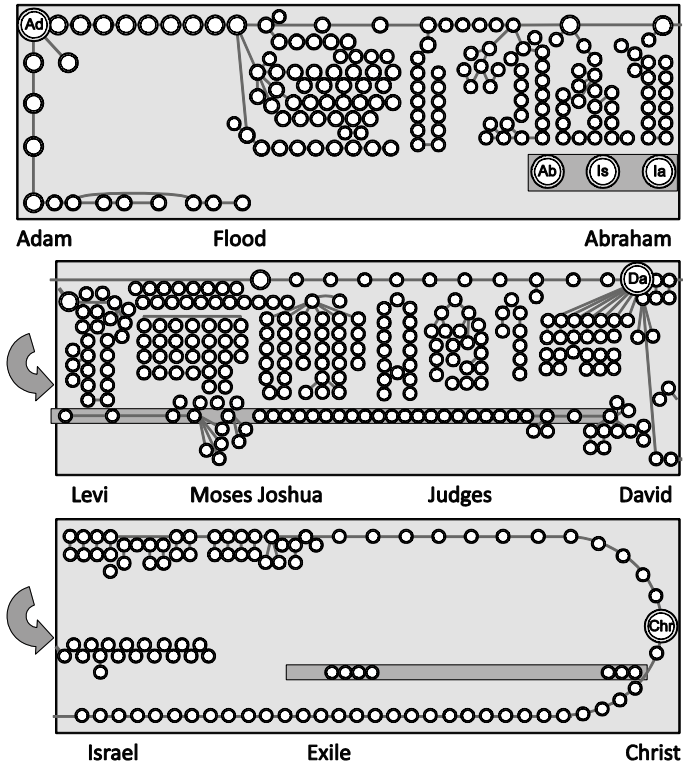

Figure 2. Document overview.

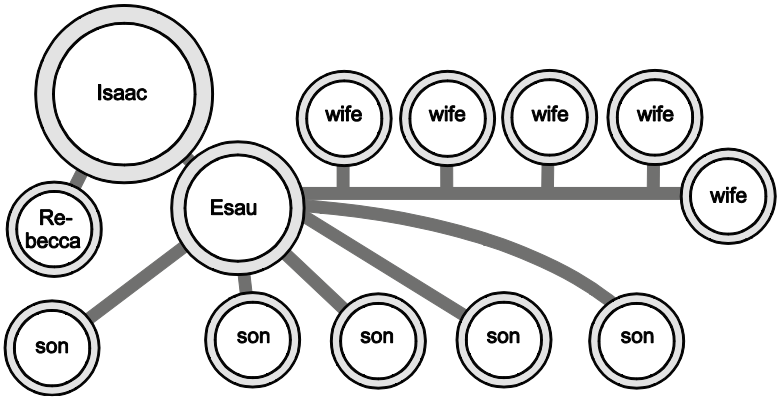

Figure 3. Family of Esau (detail, redrawn).

Fig. 3 shows a tracing of the manuscript's presentation of the family of Esau. A literal reading of *Gen.* 26, 28 and 36 indicates that Esau had five wives and five sons. The connections that radiate away from Esau here are of three sorts. One marks his descent from Isaac. One is a *trunk* connector to Esau's wives, indicating that all five share a common relationship with him. Five are ramifications, that is, branchings, to his offspring. Together, the scheme constitutes a *stemma*, roughly equivalent to what by the Renaissance period had come to be called a family tree.[3]

Alternative arrangements of the diagram can be found on the www.piggin.net/stemmahist website where it is possible to zoom in to read the fine detail.[4]

Because the Florence diagram is an assembly of many such stemmata into a harmonious whole, I have given it a short name, the Great Stemma. No author's name can be found on the Great Stemma, nor can any ancient title for it be discovered. A heading, *Genealogia ab Adam usque ad Christum per ordines linearum*, appears on at least two medieval Spanish copies, but this may be merely a librarians' descriptive label. Nor does the Great Stemma bear any date of authorship, although the Florence copy does contain a datable text on its final folio.

This is the *Ordo Annorum Mundi*, a chronological survey of the age of the world, in a recension of 672 AD that concludes with the Visigothic king Wamba. This not only indicates that the Florence Great Stemma is copied from an Iberian model, but also that 672 can be accepted as a provisional *terminus ante quem* on the way to establishing a date for the work.[5]

It is astonishing that the Great Stemma has received such limited scholarly attention before the present. Two Vetus Latina scholars, Bonifatius Fischer and Teófilo Ayuso Marazuela, quoted extensively from the document in the course of their research on the early western bible.[6] Several art historians, including Wilhelm Neuss, John Williams and Yolanta Zaluska, have studied how medieval Spain decorated it.[7] Most recently, the cultural historian Christiane

[3] This evolution is recorded in Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *L'ombre des ancêtres* (Paris, 2000).

[4] The stemma history section of the Piggin.net macro-typography website includes technical drawings of the Great Stemma, a collation of the text from the main witnesses, detailed technical discussion of the content, a new edition of the *Liber Genealogus* and an extensive bibliography: http://www.piggin.net/stemmahist.

[5] The *Ordo Annorum Mundi* has sometimes been falsely attributed to Julian of Toledo. José Carlos Martín of Salamanca has prepared a critical edition which is to appear shortly.

[6] B. Fischer (ed.), 'Nachträge', in *Genesis*, Vetus Latina: die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel 2 (Freiburg i.B., 1954). B. Fischer, 'Algunas observaciones sobre et «Codex Gothicus» de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro en León', *Archivos Leoneses* 15 (1961), 5-47. Teófilo Ayuso Marazuela, 'Los elementos extrabíblicos de la Vulgata', *Estudios Bíblicos* 2 (1943), 133-87.

[7] Wilhelm Neuss, *Die Apokalypse des Hl. Johannes in der altspanischen und altchristlichen Bibel-Illustration: das Problem der Beatus-Handschriften* (Münster, 1931). John Williams, 'The Beatus Commentaries and Spanish Bible Illustration', *Actas del simposio para el estudio de los*

Klapisch-Zuber took a closer look at a late copy, from Gascony, but rapidly dismissed it as an affront to the principles of 'graphical semiology', and argued that no coherent biblical genealogical diagram had existed before a medieval work, the *Compendium*, was devised by Peter of Poitiers.[8]

Interest in establishing a critical edition of the Great Stemma has taken root since I posted a text collation online in 2010, to my knowledge the first publication of any sort to cover the entire text, and presented the first graphic rendering of the document in a communication at the 2011 Oxford Patristics Conference.[9]

Zaluska had laid the foundations for this work more than 25 years earlier by defining recensions and giving them five principal sigla: Alpha, Beta, Gamma, Delta and Sigma. She based her analysis on copies that are found in a cluster of Spanish bibles and as frontispieces to the Apocalypse commentary by the Spanish monk Beatus of Liébana.

Unfortunately she initially left out of account the Florence manuscript, which is unilluminated and largely free of medieval alterations. Textual analysis shows that it constitutes an earlier recension than the other five. It can be argued that all the recensions derive from one lost early Visigothic version.

Zaluska did notice her omission, and late in the day drew her readers' attention to the Florence manuscript, but she has not published on the topic since.[10]

I have denoted the Florence diagram with a new siglum, Epsilon, and it has become the basis for my electronic edition of the Great Stemma and for the project of reconstituting the lost archetype of the work.

The 18 manuscripts are listed below with their common long names, Zaluska's adaptations of the Neuss sigla, archival locations and the recension to which they belong. They are tabulated by their codex type (the *Commentary* of Beatus, a bible or a history) and date, with the Morgan codex, penned in about 940, believed to be the oldest extant manuscript.

códices del 'Comentario al Apocalipsis' de Beato de Liébana 2 (Madrid, 1980), 201-19; Yolanta Zaluska, 'Les feuillets liminaires', in Xavier Barral i Altet (ed.), *El Beato de Saint-Sever, ms. lat. 8878 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris* (Madrid, 1984). Peter Klein's editions of the Beatus manuscripts have similarly examined the document in close detail.

[8] C. Klapisch-Zuber, *Ombre* (2000), 77. Graphical semiology is a term established by Jacques Bertin.

[9] Text and rendering at http://www.piggin.net/stemmahist

[10] Y. Zaluska, 'Entre texte et image: les stemmata bibliques au Sud et au Nord des Pyrénées', *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1986), 142-52. Y. Zaluska, 'Le Beatus de Saint-Sever à travers sa composition matérielle et ses généalogies bibliques', in Jean Cabanot (ed.), *Saint-Sever, millénaire de l'abbaye: colloque international, 25, 26 et 27 mai 1985* (Mont-de-Marsan, 1986), 279-92.

Table: The Manuscripts

Beatus

1	Morgan	M	New York, Pierpont Morgan Library	M. 644, 4v-9v	β
2	Tábara	T	Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional	cód. 1097B, 0-1v	α
3	Gerona	G	Girona, Museu de Catedral	Num. Inv. 7(11), 8v-15r	α
4	Urgell	U	La Seu d'Urgell, Museu Diocesán, Archivo de la Catedral	Inv. 501, I-V	γ
5	Facundus	J	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España	MS Vitrina 14-2, 10v-17r	β
6	Saint-Sever	S	Paris, Bibliothèque National	ms. lat. 8878	σ
7	Turin	Tu	Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino	lat. 93 / Sgn. I.II.1, 8v-15r	α
8	Rylands	R	Manchester, John Rylands University Library	ms. lat. 8, 6v-13r	α
9	Cardeña	Pc	Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, and New York, Metropolitan Museum	ms. 2, 3r-6v, and 1991.232.6, 2-3r	α
10	Las Huelgas	H	New York, Pierpont Morgan Library	M. 429, 6v-12r	α

Bible or Beatus?

11	Fragment Vitr. 14-2	Fi	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España	MS Vitrina 14-2, 2r-5v	β

Bibles

12	León Bible	Le	León, Colegiata de San Isidoro	cód. 2	β
13	San Juan de la Peña Bible	Ma	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España	lat. 2 (A. 2)	γ
14	Second León Bible		León, Colegiata de San Isidoro	cód. I. 3.	β
15	Calahorra Bible	Ca	Calahorra, Cathedral Treasury	ms. 2	δ
16	San Millán de la Cogolla Bible	Ac	Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia	cód. 2-3	δ

Histories

17	Roda Codex	Ro	Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia	cód. 78	α
18	unnamed		Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	Plut. 20.54	ε

Writing the first detailed study of the work, Zaluska built on Fischer's survey of the Vetus Latina word-forms for his *Genesis* to demonstrate that the text of the biblical names had undergone no influence from the new transliterations of the Hebrew names undertaken by Jerome of Stridon for his Vulgate translation at the end of the 4th century. Among the examples she isolates is Chor (*Gen*. 36:22), from the personal name Chorri in the Septuagint and Vetus Latina, which Jerome had amended to Horrei. Zaluska also detected the Vetus Latina name of a Horrite chief – Ucan – which Jerome had suppressed, as well as another name, Chat, which had arisen through scribal error in the Great Stemma's transmission. Both names continued to be reproduced in the Great Stemma into the high medieval period although they were no longer current in the *Genesis* narrative.[11]

The original core text seems to have been written without any awareness of the writings of Jerome, or of his contemporary Augustine of Hippo, although subsequent recensions other than Epsilon have been augmented with many annotations from both of those writers, as well as from Isidore of Seville.

Perhaps it was these augmentations which caused Fischer to lean to the misconception that a late 8th-century Iberian author may have drafted the diagram while consulting an early 5th-century text, thus creating a false impression that this was a clumsy and failed 'Dark Ages' attempt to invent the family tree.[12]

My hypothesis is that the drawing as we now see it is in fact the damaged remnant of one of the boldest achievements of Antique book design, dating from that period centuries earlier when the roll had yet to give way to the codex.

There can be little doubt that the diagram was originally conceived as a single piece, since a major copying error plainly occurred while the document was still united: thirteen forefathers in the *Matthew* genealogy, from Uzziah (here *Oziam*) to Azor, have been attached to the wrong wives. It seems that instead of copying each parental couple in sequence, an early scribe copied the sequence of husbands en bloc, then the sequence of wives, only to mismatch them. One major block of roundels was thus accidentally transposed by four positions to the right, disrupting other data throughout the area. This error crosses the page boundaries of the Epsilon and other recensions and infects all

[11] Y. Zaluska, *Feuillets* (1984), 242

[12] J. Williams, 'The Beatus Commentaries and Spanish Bible Illustration', (1980), 208: We are dealing with a *text* [my emphasis] of the fifth century.

the known manuscripts and must have been present in the early Visigothic intermediary.

The visual logic of the diagram, with lines that run the full sweep from beginning to end, indicates that its reader needed to see it as a whole, unrolled on a table or hung on a wall, to grasp its layering of various data types into a harmonious whole.

The Timeline

The first of those layers of content is a chronicle of world history. Orienting ourselves from the right, its principal episodes comprise:

- three Caesars (1st centuries, AD and BC)
- four Achaemenid rulers (6th century BC)
- nineteen Samarian kings, plus their Judaean counterparts (8th-10th century BC)
- twenty-two political phases in the Israelite tribal period (pre-11th century BC)
- the line of Moses back to Abraham (from *Genesis* and *Exodus*)

Most of these reigns are denoted by roundels, like the persons in the genealogies. Instead of ramifying, the chronicle roundels are strung out like beads on a string. Despite the sparseness of the content, this belongs to the chronicle genre, employing secular events to represent historical time, using an axis that the author may have intended to begin at Creation, though there are now gaps and the start is no longer extant.

This is certainly the earliest known diagrammatic chronicle, a form that differs from the better-known text chronicle by its focus on synchronisms.[13]

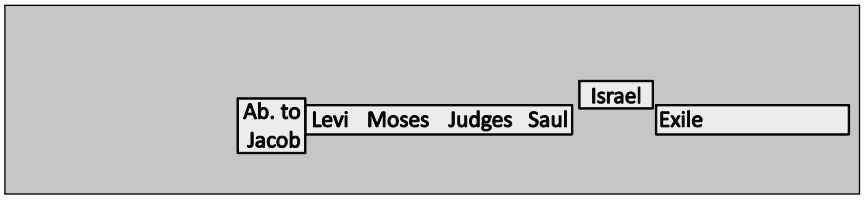

Figure 4. Timeline.

A possible arrangement of the material is shown in Fig. 4 in a schematic sketch that somewhat compresses the diagram's horizontal sweep. The block marked 'Exile' constitutes secular history, 'Israel' constitutes the preceding period of

[13] Andrea Worm, 'Diagrammatic Chronicles', in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (Leiden, 2010), 522-32; Worm suggests cautiously that this is a diagram 'possibly going back to fifth-century prototypes'.

the Samarian kingdom, and this follows blocks for the periods from Abraham to Jacob, and from Levi to Saul. This schematic figure can be used to interpret the main diagram.

The chronicle provides a backbone to the document and aims to persuade the reader that the genealogies to be arranged around it are not myth, but are embedded in world history. It appears to have once been arranged as a loose, left-to-right timeline, although one sequence, from King Cushan-rishathaim to Jephthah, judge of Israel, has been arranged in the main extant manuscripts as a string of roundels running down the page and then turning away to the left, doubtless to accommodate the exigencies of transferring material from an expansive roll to the more limited room on a codex page.

There is no direct evidence that this timeline was arranged to any fine scale of years, and indeed this would have been difficult to achieve where every roundel remained the same size, regardless of the length of reigns that varied between half a year and more than 40 years. However a coarser gradation in the order of quarter-centuries would have been feasible, and I have experimentally applied this in the reconstruction without insisting that it was in fact the Great Stemma author's intention to do so.

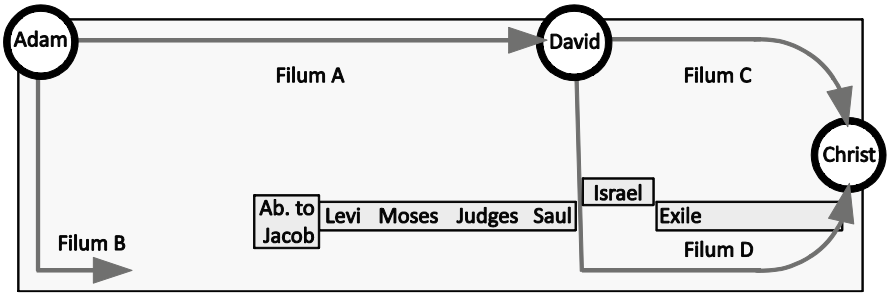

Figure 5. The Fila.

The *Fila*

Layered onto the timeline comes the document's dynamic factor, its four 'ancestral streams'. Fig. 5 shows these in the schematic view. The streams are the four arrows which sweep around the outer edge of the document, framing it, with Adam, David and Christ as nodal points.

In their purpose, these streams are analogous to the *fila* that measure the march of dynasties in the *Chronological Canons* of Eusebius of Caesarea. The regnal years of the various kingdoms there form *filum* sequences which run in parallel down each *Canons* page, providing a comparison between the different national time-reckoning systems.

Unlike the Eusebian *fila*, which are columns of year-numbers rigidly arranged on a vertical axis and in perfect alignment, the Great Stemma's *fila* sweep and bend to represent four main lines of descent in the bible story.

The A *filum* is the main line comprising God's chosen in the Hebrew scriptures, the succession of patriarchs from Adam's son Seth down to David.

The B *filum* comprises the antediluvian, accursed children of Cain in *Gen*. 4:17-24. This parting of the A and B *fila* alludes to an early Christian topos, the contrary paths adopted by the children of Seth and of Cain, which Augustine was to elaborate in the 15th book of his *City of God*.

The C *filum* is principally made up of the house of Judah, the 'royal' descent from King Solomon down to Christ in the *Gospel of Matthew*.

The D *filum* comprises the succession of obscure post-Davidic names set out in the genealogy in the *Gospel of Luke*, commencing with Nathan, who is described as a son of King David. We shall return to its meaning shortly.

Each of these lines has a significance in salvation theology. Together they constitute a reflection on the disintegration of history and its re-integration in Christ.

The Fine Detail

The third layer of information comprises the family groups. While they are a striking feature of the diagram, they are not part of its skeleton but simply fill its vacant spaces. There are up to 14 stemmata of this type. Most are free-standing and not connected to one another or to the *fila*. Their second generations are typically arranged in radial fashion. The Esau group, which we saw earlier, is one of the tidiest in arrangement. Other groups appear to have become disordered during scribal transmission. I will explore later whether such stemmata have other Latin counterparts.

This decompilation into the three content layers – the timeline, the four *fila* and the family groups – is essential to understanding the innovations in a document that is neither pure text nor pure art, but rather the oldest of a hybrid genre that we now broadly call information graphics, or infographics for short.

The *Liber Genealogus*

The key evidence in establishing a date for the Great Stemma is external to the document. This comes from close study of a related Late Antique Latin work, the *Liber Genealogus of 427*.[14] A theological prose work by an anonymous

[14] Theodor Mommsen (ed.), 'Liber Genealogus: Additamentum II [to the] Chronographus anni CCCLIIII', in *Chronicorum minororum saec. IV. V. VI. VII*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica (MGH), Auctores Antiquissimi (AA) 9 (Berlin, 1892). Its siglum is 'AN gen' in the Gryson *Répertoire général* and it has the number 2254 in the *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*.

Donatist author, it recites Christ's genealogy, adding etymologies of the Hebrew names.[15]

Its four principal recensions are denominated G (dated 427 AD), F (438), L (455/463) and T (undated). These four sigla were set by Theodor Mommsen and refer to the locations of the type manuscripts: St Gall, Florence, Lucca and Turin. T, which has been truncated, was once considered to be the ur-form, but no fundamental evidence can be adduced against the simplest solution: that the earliest recension bearing an actual date, G, is indeed the parent of the other three.[16]

There is a consensus that the *Liber* has some kind of textual relationship with the Great Stemma. Indeed, F and the Great Stemma appear together in one codex, Plutei 20.54. But previous scholars assumed that the diagram was derived from and inspired by the text.[17]

The solution to this unsolved puzzle was found by analysing the order in which the biblical persons are listed in the *Liber Genealogus*. Three possible sequences would have been practicable and need to be distinguished:

1. Strict historical order, with the oldest first;
2. The scriptural order of the narrative found in *Genesis*, *Kings*, *Chronicles* and other books, which is not strictly chronological, sometimes naming a son before the first mention of his uncle;
3. The order while traversing or reading the Great Stemma, top to bottom and left to right across the page, as well as within the individual stemmata.

My analysis established that the data order of the *Liber* is not a properly chronological sequence and in many cases deviates from the scriptural order as well.

The deviations can be explained by assuming that the *Liber* author used a diagram as his primary source, transcribing each *lemma* from it. The data order the *Liber* author uses is not derived from any story-telling plan: it simply reflects the graphic design of his model. This *Liber* data order is strikingly similar to that of the Great Stemma.

The most remarkable deviation from natural 'story' order involves the four *fila*. This is illustrated in Fig. 6, where numbers, denoting the main sections of the *Liber Genealogus* from one to seven, are overlaid on the positions of the matching data in the Great Stemma.

[15] Hervé Inglebert, *Les romains chrétiens face à l'histoire de Rome* (Paris, 1996) provides the most recent thorough discussion of it, with further analysis in Inglebert's *Interpretatio christiana: les mutations des savoirs (cosmographie, géographie, éthnographie, histoire) dans l'Antiquité chrétienne (30-630 après J.C.)* (Paris, 2001).

[16] The priority of T, also known as the *Origo Humani Generis*, was argued in Paul Monceaux, *Littérature donatiste au temps de Saint Augustin*, Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'à l'invasion arabe 6 (Paris, 1922).

[17] Y. Zaluska, *Feuillets* (1984), summarizes the debate, while leaving the position open.

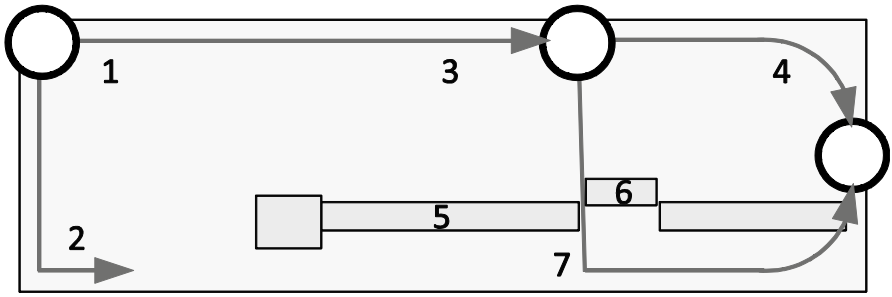

Figure 6. LG order.

The *Liber* first describes three *fila*, including *Filum* C, the post-Davidic genealogy according to the *Gospel of Matthew*. After dealing with the material numbered 1-4 in Fig. 6, it then breaks off from genealogy and describes the main part of the historical timeline (numbered 5-6), before resuming at the fourth *filum*, based on the *Gospel of Luke* (numbered 7).

This structure is not what one would expect from a historian or a writer of a biblical handbook. I would argue that the *Liber* author read his data not from the books of *Genesis* and *Kings* or even from a tabulation, but from the Great Stemma, adding etymologies from another source and his commentary as he went along.

His language even alludes to this spatial navigation: *Filum* A is interrupted with the words, '*Transeamus ad originem Cain et tunc ad generationem Noe revertimur*', as the author stops at Noah to insert his account of *Filum* B (2 in Fig. 6), then reverts to listing Noah's offspring (3 in Fig. 6).

In similar fashion, the *Liber* follows the graphic pattern in exploring certain major stemmata to their ends before returning to the relevant *filum*. The text first treats Judah, Perez and Hezron within their tribal setting (paragraphs 331-2), only to recapitulate the same names later as it works its way along *Filum* A (paragraphs 360-1).

At the micro level, within the stemmata, we also occasionally find a graphic-driven traversal order in the first, G recension of the *Liber*. Stemmata can be traversed, that is to say read or processed as data, by two methods: breadth-first or depth-first order. These are terms used in mathematics and computer programming to describe sequences for reading the nodes of a tree diagram. Breadth-first means to begin at the root and recite each generation in its entirety before continuing to the next generation: one names an ancestor, then his sons, then the grandchildren. This is the predominant pattern of genealogies in *Genesis*. In a depth-first traverse, one begins with the ancestor, proceeds to his eldest son, then describes that son's sons before returning to the second-eldest son and exploring his line fully. Sometimes this will be the shortest reading

path, and a cautious reader will employ this traversing sequence to avoid making large jumps over the page with the attendant risk of accidentally overlooking some of the material.

We find the distinctive approach of depth-first traverse at several places in the G recension of the *Liber*, for example in its treatment of the offspring of Keturah, a slave-spouse of Abraham. The text of *Gen*. 25:1-4 is a breadth-first traverse, listing all six sons of Keturah without any asides. However the first, G recension of the *Liber* alters the sequence to depth-first, interrupting the list of Keturah's sons at Jokshan to tell us the names of Jokshan's own sons before jumping a generation backwards again, as a reader might naturally do when reading the data from a graphic stemma.

It is curious that two later recensions, F and T, have restored the *Genesis* traversal order, presumably as a result of editorial correction sessions where scripture rather than the Great Stemma was used as the authoritative source.

This finding has two implications.

Firstly, if the Great Stemma diagram served as the model around which the prose of the G recension of the *Liber Genealogus* was structured in 427, we must accept this as a *terminus ante quem* for the Great Stemma itself. The former supposition that the diagram was first drawn in medieval Iberia proves 300 to 400 years shy of the mark.

Secondly, the finding suggests that the first, G recension of the *Liber* is unlikely to have been a Donatist's hand reference for bible study, as some scholars have suggested, and is better understood as resembling that Antique literary genre known as ekphrasis, a learned response to a work of art.[18]

Its author has augmented the diagram's content by providing meanings for many of the Hebrew names that he has obtained from an already old onomastic study which is independent of the tradition of Origen and Jerome. Franz Wutz conjectures that these etymologies were drawn up in Greek in the 3rd century by an unidentified author with a non-native knowledge of Aramaic.[19]

These philological notes are interspersed by the G author with several biblical narratives and his religious observations, exploring the parallels between the history of Israel and what he saw as unjust persecution of his Donatist brethren. The *Liber* may have been preserved because its author was respected in Africa and his commentary on the Great Stemma would have been seen as a considered response worthy of imitation.[20] Whether the Great Stemma itself is an African work is a moot point, but appreciated as a pair, the Great Stemma

[18] Richard Rouse and Charles McNelis, 'North African literary activity: A Cyprian fragment, the stichometric lists and a Donatist compendium', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 30 (2000), 189-238.

[19] Franz Wutz, *Onomastica sacra: Untersuchungen zum Liber interpretationis nominum hebraicorum des hl. Hieronymus* (Leipzig, 1914), 96. Wutz examines the etymologies in the T and L recensions of the *Liber genealogus* and two fragments in Greek, 56-97.

[20] This makes Monceaux' hypothesis that the T recension is the oldest unsustainable, since T's 'corrected' breadth-first traverses could hardly predate the drafting of G.

and the *Liber Genealogus* demonstrate sophistication in translating theological concepts into visualized form and back again to verbal discourse.

Influences on the Great Stemma

The chronicle which forms the backbone of the Great Stemma as we see it today is an awkward blending of two prior works which contain mutually incompatible arithmetic: the *Chronicle* (about 235 AD) of Hippolytus of Rome and the *Chronological Canons* (about 311 AD) of Eusebius of Caesarea.[21]

Distinctively Hippolytan elements in the account can be found for example in the period from Joshua to Eli inclusive, which is divided by the Great Stemma into 22 political phases. Hippolytan features here include the rule of an apocryphal judge Shamgar (6th phase) and his alter ego Samera (21st). Both phases were witnessed as present in the Great Stemma when it was seen by the author of the *Liber Genealogus* in 427, whereas their existence had been firmly ruled out by Eusebius. This would suggest that the author was either hostile to or ignorant of Eusebius.

On the other hand, there are features in the chronicle in its present state which are clearly rooted in the reasoning of Eusebius, including a cornerstone of his chronological calculations: Eusebius determined that in the year when Rome was founded, King Ahaz was ruling Judah. Our manuscripts of the Great Stemma reproduce this finding with the following gloss for the year 1 A.U.C., the foundation of Rome: '*Fiunt autem a conditione urbis Rome (id est XI Kal. Maias) conditore Remo et Romulo Martis et Ielie filio regnante tunc in Iudea Achaz annos quarto regni eius*'. This date in the Great Stemma is only one year off the date Eusebius uses: the third year of Ahaz's reign (Helm 88g). The slight difference is not significant, given that Eusebius was often satisfied with accuracy on a scale of olympiads, or four-year periods, and moreover that his publication relied entirely on side-by-side page layout, with its proneness to slight error, to demonstrate the synchronisms he had discovered.[22] This synchronism appears to be incompatible with the calculations of Hippolytus, who would have placed Ahaz about 60 years before 1 A.U.C.[23] The most plausible explanation for this Eusebian chronological content in the Great Stemma would be that a revision took place at the hands of an editor who was not well versed in the differences between the two systems. Since the *Liber Genealogus* is

[21] Dates by Josef Lössl (Hippolytus) and Richard W. Burgess and Shaun Tougher (Eusebius) in the *Encyclopaedia of the Medieval Chronicle*.

[22] The reference to the *Chronological Canons* employs the page and section number of the critical edition, *Eusebius Werke VII. Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, ed. Rudolf Helm, GCS 7 (Berlin, 1956).

[23] The only other early chronographer who can be contemplated as a possible source, Julius Africanus, would have placed Ahaz 19 years earlier than 1 A.U.C.

silent about this Eusebian layer, one infers that the material was added to the Great Stemma after 427. The *Ordo Humani Generis*, a summary of the Eusebian chronology of the world, has already been mentioned above: it is inscribed on the last page of the Florence manuscript. During such a revision, it may have been added to the diagram as a key to the time-spans.

Interpretation

The theological agenda of the Great Stemma may not be evident at first sight. Out of 540 roundels, there are some points of exegetical interest, but only one node is truly controversial. It attempts to solve a Gospel puzzle.

Matthew's genealogy of Jesus traces a line from King Solomon, the son of David, down to Joseph. *Luke*'s genealogy traces a line from Nathan, another son of David, down to Joseph. In the normal way of things, it would be impossible for Joseph to have two different paternal ancestries. A dispassionate observer would say that one of them must be false. A pagan critic would have held the muddle up to scorn. Christians felt some kind of convincing answer was needed to this.

The Great Stemma solves the contradiction by letting *Matthew*'s account be the paternal ancestry that ends with Joseph, while treating *Luke*'s as a genealogy of Mary, the mother of Jesus. Since *Luke*'s list explicitly ends with Joseph too, an early Christian faction had come up with an ingenious exegesis: *Luke*'s 'Joseph', it was argued, was the Virgin's grandfather, not her spouse. The gap between this Joseph and Mary was closed by a man named in apocryphal tradition as Joachim. *Filum* D of the Great Stemma accordingly traces Christ's descent, according to *Luke*, down to 'Joseph'. Up to that point it remains canonical. It then inserts Joachim in the chain, as the missing link, and concludes with the Virgin.

The Joachim story has a Greek source: the sentimental but uncanonical *Protevangelium of James*, which has been dated to about 200. By the fourth century it had evidently been translated into Latin and had gained currency in the Latin West. We know from a verse adaptation in a papyrus, now in Barcelona, that the *Protevangelium* must have been available in Latin translation in this period. A Manichean version of the Joachim legend was known to Augustine, since he discusses it non-committally in his dispute with Faustus.[24]

The Joachimites were at odds with the received wisdom, accepted by the later Augustine and others, as originally set down by Julius Africanus in his

[24] Ramón Roca-Puig, *Himne a la Verge Maria: 'Psalmus Responsorius'; Papir del segle IV* (Barcelona, 1965). Emile Amann, *Le Protévangile de Jacques et ses remaniements latins* (Paris, 1910).

Letter to Aristides.[25] This mainstream held that both *Matthew*'s and *Luke*'s genealogies can terminate at the Virgin's spouse because Joseph's legal ancestry would not have been the same as his biological heritage. Unfortunately we possess no rigorously argued early account of the Joachimite theory, and the geometrical splendour of the Great Stemma may perhaps have to serve in that role, demonstrating that a well-drawn diagram can indeed hold its own in intellectual debate.

When it was adopted as a tool by controversialists in early Christianity, an advanced graphic like this is likely to have been fundamentally intelligible even to the less literate and useful in proselytizing those with a poor command of Latin. Used with a live audience, the *fila*, the timeline and the *rami* would also have powerfully assisted the rhetoric of the preacher.

Techniques

A recent look at Origen's *Hexapla* and Eusebius's *Chronological Canons* has highlighted the leap forward that tabulation on two axes marks in codex technique and codex design.[26] The Great Stemma, it can be argued, is something just as impressive: a pinnacle of roll design, in which a great amount of information is accommodated on a single sheet by encoding it along multiple axes. At a micro level, its content is useful, but its true import is only evident at the macro level when the reader stops looking at individual words and instead perceives the assembly as a whole. The Great Stemma's modern counterparts are not represented by books but by the poster, the PowerPoint slide and the scrollable, zoomable electronic display.

What was once a highly intelligent conceptualization has become degraded during transmission, probably because of the copying technique used by scribes. Drawing the roundels in bulk, then filling in the text and adding connecting lines was bound to spoil not just the original alignment between the timeline and the *fila*, but also the sense that the Great Stemma is well formed. But when the Stemma is redrawn, an alignment is easily restorable and is consistent with the volume of material which must be accommodated.

Whether the Great Stemma is unique or part of a widely practiced antique genre is difficult to judge. Even the tree-like drawings within it have no parallels. We have remarkably little knowledge of techniques for visualizing hierarchies in antiquity. We certainly know of Roman interest in genealogy, the importance of agnate descent in Roman law and the practice of representing

[25] Christophe Guignard (ed.), *La Lettre de Julius Africanus à Aristide sur la généalogie du Christ* (Berlin, 2011).

[26] Anthony Grafton and Megan Hale Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea* (Harvard, 2006).

patrician stemmata with portraits in the entrances of homes, but we have little evidence of the graphic notation used.[27]

Isidore of Seville indicates that sketching twig-like family diagrams was part of a lawyer's job description in the late Empire. The Great Stemma is the sole indicator of how family stemmata may have been drawn.[28] In education we do find a parallel. Cassiodorus, writing in the 6th century, drew up 37 stemmata for the two volumes of his *Institutions* to organize basic religious and academic knowledge for his students. It is plain that these are neither mnemonic prompts nor an information-storage system, but rather an expository method.[29] In the preface to the *Institutions*, Cassiodorus tells us that teaching should be conducted as a dual process:

Duplex quodammodo discendi genus est, quando et linealis descriptio imbuit diligenter aspectum, et post aurium praeparatus intrat auditus.
– *Institutiones* 2, Praefatio, 13.

This might be paraphrased thus: first use a drawing to focus the 'visual' mind of the audience on the context, then follow through with words once the listener can see what you are talking about. The Great Stemma might have been used in preaching in similar fashion.

Conclusion

The 2010 web digitization by the Laurentian Library of the Epsilon recension of the Great Stemma is likely to facilitate wider future attention to this early Christian infographic.[30] It has perhaps never been 'lost', but has certainly been hidden in plain sight, with its technique, its date of authorship and above all its

[27] Antique practice shows no foreshadowing of the western medieval conceit of representing a family as an *arbor* or tree, with the founding ancestor on the soil and the youngest children as fresh leaves. The inconclusive evidence as to how the portraits were arranged in the patrician home is discussed in Christophe Badel, *La noblesse de l'Empire romain: les masques et la vertu* (Seyssel, 2005).

[28] Isidore: '*Stemmata dicuntur ramusculi, quos advocati faciunt in genere, cum gradus cognationum partiuntur…*' (Orig. IX.vi.28). The lemma 'stemma' should not to be confused with the *arbor consanguinatis*, a drawing which Isidore displays directly after to classify kinship terms.

[29] This interpretation is proposed in Anna Catharina Esmeijer, *Divina Quaternitas: A Preliminary Study in the Method and Application of Visual Exegesis* (Assen, 1978), 31. The Cassiodorus diagrams were teaching materials prepared in advance, not the lecturer's spontaneous drawings in dust or powder mentioned by Augustine (*Confessions* IV 16 [28]) and Martianus Capella (ed. Willis [Leipzig, 1983], 258.3 [VI 722]). See also: Michael Gorman, 'The diagrams in the oldest manuscript of Cassiodor's Institutiones', *Revue bénédictine* 110 (2000), 27-41.

[30] The Laurentian's web version of the sole Epsilon manuscript can be found at: http://teca.bmlonline.it/TecaViewer/index.jsp?RisIdr=TECA0000278388&pagina=081. The Roda manuscript, the most legible of the Alpha recension, is online at: http://bibliotecadigital.rah.es/dgbrah/i18n/catalogo_imagenes/grupo.cmd?path=1000124&posicion=409

intellectual and social context attracting too little interest from the patristics community. My analysis has been able to:

1. establish that the diagram was originally drawn in one piece;
2. show that its seeming incoherence arises from scribal errors and reconstruct its likely original organization;
3. reveal its visual logic;
4. move back its date of authorship to before 427.

It is hoped that a text-critical edition and more detailed investigation of the diagram can be undertaken soon. In the longer perspective of data-visualization history, the Great Stemma is a milestone, as the earliest documented use of a timeline and of stemmata. Substantial numbers of timelines do not appear until the 15th century.[31]

[31] Daniel Rosenberg and Anthony Grafton, *Cartographies of Time* (New York, 2010).

Types of Location of Christian Churches in the Christianizing Roman Empire

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ABSTRACT

During several journeys across the Mediterranean, I had a chance to see many ruins of ancient churches and I have tried to find information about them in the works of the Fathers of the Church, historians of the Church and other Christian sources of the fourth and the fifth centuries. Working on the correlation of written and material sources, I have put forward another problem – where did the Christians choose locations for the construction of their churches after the legalization of Christianity? The sources allow us to define at least eight types of such places, beginning with the places connected with the life and death of Jesus Christ, the Holy Apostles and Christian martyrs. The most interesting fact is that in the fifth century the Christians, trying to demonstrate their superiority over the ancient religions, intentionally chose the places for their cult either near ancient pagan sanctuaries or right inside them. Christianization of pagan sanctuaries may be regarded as the evidence of the definitive victory of Christianity over paganism.

The correlation between the written sources and the data from the material sources is an important problem of modern historical science. During several journeys across Asia Minor, Northern Africa, Greece and Italy I had a chance to see many ruins of ancient churches and I have tried to find information about them in the works of the Fathers of the Church, historians of the Church and other Christian sources of the fourth and the fifth centuries. Working on the correlation of written and material sources, I have put forward a problem – where and how did the Christians choose locations for the construction of their churches after the legalization of Christianity?

The aim of this contribution is an attempt to systematize such locations with the help of both written and archaeological sources. In addition, I am going to give some notable examples of each type of location, which seem to illustrate them best.[1] The scope of the article allows me only to suggest directions

[1] The literature on each point of this paper is voluminous. However, I am going to name some general recent works on the subject, which were available to me: Fatih Cimok, *A Guide to the seven Churches* (Istanbul, 2009); Suzan Bayhan, *Priene, Miletus, Didyma* (Istanbul, 2008); Ekrem Akurgal, *Ancient Civilization and ruins of Turkey* (Istanbul, 2007); Clyde E. Fant, Mitchell G. Reddish, *A Guide to Biblical Sites in Greece and Turkey* (Oxford, 2003); Jose A.I. Herrero,

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for further research, which may bring scholars to interesting and promising conclusions.

We can confidently assume that before the Edict of Milan of 313 AD the Christians did not build churches or any other special structures for their worship. They used to gather for their prayers, preaching or divine services in private houses, catacombs or just in the open air.[2] According to older scholarly tradition, Christianity had the status of unlawful religion (*religio illicita*), but we know of no law or special legislation directed against the Christians.[3] Under conditions of persecutions and as an illegal organization (*collegium illicitum*) it would be hard to imagine that the Christian Church, as a corporate body, could have any places of worship as property which it had, according to a note by Eusebius.[4] However, when some Christian authors used the word '*ecclesia*', meaning 'church' as a place of worship,[5] they did not always speak of property, but more often used '*ecclesia*' in the sense of 'community' or 'idea'.[6]

The sources of the fourth and the fifth centuries, including the works of the Fathers of the Church, contain various pieces of information about active construction of Christian churches and other buildings starting from the time of Constantine the Great. In addition to this written information, the archeological data and the ruins of ancient Christian churches became more accessible during the last decade, because new tourist routes were developed in Israel, Turkey, Greece and Northern Africa (before the revolutions of 2011) and I had a chance to observe these historical monuments with my own eyes.

Both written and archeological sources allow us to define at least eight types of places where Christians built their churches in the Christianizing Roman Empire.

Archeologia Cristiana (San Paolo, 2003); *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology*, edited by Luke Lavan (Leiden and Boston, 2003); Thomas S. Burns, *Urban Centres and Rural Contexts in Late Antiquity* (Michigan, 2001); John Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West, c.300-1200* (Oxford, 2000).

[2] See Valeriy A. Alikin, *The Earliest History of the Christian Gathering. Origin, Development and Content of the Christian Gathering in the First to Third Centuries* (Leiden and Boston, 2010).

[3] John E.A. Crake, 'Early Christians and Roman Law', *Phoenix* 19 (1965), 61-70, 70.

[4] William Dool Killen mentions a church property dispute in Asia Minor, which resulted in application to the emperor Aurelian for intervention. See William Dool Killen, *The Ancient Church: Its History, Doctrine, Worship, and Constitution* (The Echo Library, 2009), 261. And Whether the term οἶχος in Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* VII 30,19) is better understood as 'house' (in Russian translation), or 'building' (in English translation) than as 'property' it still constitutes an asset of the community.

[5] For example, Lactantius, *De mort.* XII.3: '*… in alto enim constituta ecclesia ex palatio videbatur…*'

[6] Vladimir M. Tulenev (trans., comment.), *Firmian Luciy Tseliy Lactantsiy, O smerti goniteley* (*De mortibus persecutorum*) (St Petersburg, 1998), 109[2].

1. The places connected with life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ

Saint Helena, the mother of the Emperor Constantine the Great, may be regarded as the first Christian archeologist, because traditionally she is credited with finding the relics of the True Cross. At the same time, she was the first person in the emperor's family who initiated the construction of the first known Christian church at the spot where the founder of Christianity was crucified. According to Eusebius of Caesarea Helena was responsible for the construction or beautification of two churches, the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem, and the Church on the Mount of Olives, sites of Christ's birth and ascension.[7] Socrates Scholasticus depicted the activity of Helena this way:

> Helena, the emperor's mother … being divinely directed by dreams went to Jerusalem … she sought carefully the sepulchre of Christ, from which he arose after his burial; and after much difficulty, by God's help she discovered it.

Further, the historian explained the difficulty:

> Those who embraced the Christian faith, after the period of his passion, greatly venerated this tomb; but those who hated Christianity, having covered the spot with a mound of earth, erected on it a temple to Venus, and set up her image there, not caring for the memory of the place.

Saint Helena not only cleared the place, but 'erected over the place of the sepulchre a magnificent church and named it New Jerusalem, having built it facing that old and deserted city.'[8]

Socrates noted that the emperor supplied all materials for the construction of the churches. In addition, he said that Helena 'reared another church not at all inferior, over the cave at Bethlehem, where Christ was born according to the flesh: nor did she stop here, but built a third on the mount of his Ascension.'[9]

Thus, the first churches in Palestine were erected in Constantine's reign at the locations of Jesus Christ's presence. After that, many other churches appeared in the Holy Land. The most important of them soon became places of pilgrimage.

2. The places connected with the activity and death of the Holy Apostles

These locations were not only in Palestine, but also in Egypt, Asia Minor, Greece and Italy. One of the notable examples of that kind is the church of St John the Evangelist in Ephesus, Asia Minor. First, at the spot of the sepulture

[7] Eusebius, *Vita Const.* III 43.
[8] Socr., *Hist. eccl.* I 17.
[9] *Ibid.*

of the Holy Apostle a small martyrium was constructed, probably in the second century, and the entire hill was used as a Christian cemetery.[10] Then, after the legalization of Christianity, a cruciform church was erected there, and the directions of the side chapels repeated the cruciform shape of St John's sepulture. Constantine the Great built a similar church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, and it was said that its form was inspired by the tradition according to which St John had dug his grave himself in the form of the cross and lain in it.[11]

The church of St John at Ephesus was completed in the fifth century and had become a known place for pilgrimage.[12] After an earthquake, the church was rebuilt by the order of the emperor Justinian, and turned out to be one of the biggest Christian temples in Asia Minor,[13] having dimensions of about 130 meters × 30 meters or even more. The church of St John attracts attention because it was situated right opposite the ancient pagan temple of Artemis, one of the Seven Wonders of the World. But the Christian church was high on the hill and the remains of the pagan temple were drowning in a swamp. Thus, the terrain and the very location of the church of St John emphasized the domination of Christianity over paganism and served the aim of desacralizing pagan religion.

3. Locations of the martyrdoms or burials of the Christian martyrs of the 1st-3rd centuries

These places may be traced all over the territory of the Roman Empire, wherever Christians were persecuted.

St Ambrose of Milan, during the conflict with the imperial court and the Arians in Milan in 386 AD, gave a vivid example of how a church was consecrated after the relics of the martyrs were discovered. In a dream the bishop was shown the place where the relics of the martyrs could be found. He ordered excavations to be made outside the city in the cemetery church and there found the relics of Saints Gervasius and Protasius. In a letter to his sister, St Ambrose wrote: 'I found the fitting signs, and on bringing in some on whom hands were to be laid, the power of the holy martyrs became so manifest, that even whilst I was still silent, one was seized and thrown prostrate at the holy burial-place.'[14] The entire letter contains explanation of the use of the relics of the martyrs for the new church, which was called Ambrosian. St Ambrose had the relics removed to the basilica, which was not consecrated yet, accompanied in the

[10] Georgiy Urbanovich, *Sem cerkvey Apokalipsisa* (Seven Churches of Apocalypses) (Smolensk, 2011), 98.
[11] *Ibid*. 98-9.
[12] *Peregrinatio Egeriae* 23, 10.
[13] Procopius Caesarensis, *De aedificiis* V 4.
[14] Ambrose, *Ep*. XXII 2.

texts by many miracles, showing divine favor in the context of the struggle between St Ambrose and the Arians.

In Milan under the altar of the church now called the Basilica *Sant'Ambrogio* it is possible to see the bodies of Saints Gervasius and Protasius and Saint Ambrose lying between them, as they were buried together by will of the bishop of Milan.

A quarter of a century after the death of St Ambrose, the Council of Carthage took place (419 AD)[15] and drew the attention of the Christians of Africa to the problem of veneration of the relics of the martyrs and to the tradition of building churches located on their burials. One of the canons of the Council said:

> … it seemed good that the altars which have been set up here and there, in fields and by the wayside as Memories of Martyrs, in which no body nor relics of martyrs can be proved to have been laid up, should be overturned by the bishops who rule over such places, if such a thing can be done. But should this be impossible on account of the popular tumult it would arouse, the people should none the less be admonished not to frequent such places, and that those who believe rightly should be held bound by no superstition of the place. And no memory of martyrs should at all be accepted, unless where there is found the body or some relics, on which is declared traditionally and by good authority to have been originally his habitation, or possession, or the scene of his passion. For altars which have been erected anywhere on account of dreams or inane quasi-revelations of certain people, should be in every way disapproved of.[16]

Although the canons of the Council concerned African churches only, they were known in other churches as well and may be regarded as a solid testimony that churches built in such locations were widespread in the Christian world by that time.[17]

4. Christian cemeteries

As far as Christian cemeteries are concerned, this was the most common type of location of a church or a chapel in the Christian world from the ancient times until now. The most famous were the subterranean cemeteries outside Rome known as catacombs.[18] Ancient Christians usually wished to be buried near the

[15] It was a local council, however the legates of the Pope were present as the council was regarding the question of appeals to Rome.

[16] According to *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Second Series, Vol. 14, edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Buffalo, NY, 1900) it was canon 83 (Greek lxxxvi.). In the Russian version it is canon 94.

[17] See John Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of the Saints in the Early Christian West c.300-1200* (2000), ch. I-III.

[18] See the recent general study on the catacombs in English of one of the world's foremost specialists in catacomb archaeology Leonard V. Rutgers, *Subterranean Rome. In Search of the Roots of Christianity in the Catacombs of the Eternal City* (Leuven, 2000).

graves of the martyrs or the saints. That was how the Christian cemeteries appeared.[19] Therefore, the churches of the previous type may be related to this type as well. However, it was only from about the seventh century that European burial was under the control of the Church and could only take place on consecrated church ground.

5. The places where the first Christian hermits lived and where the first Christian monasteries were founded

Many churches of this type can be seen in Cappadocia (Turkey), and some of them are dated back to the time of the Later Roman Empire and Early Byzantium. These churches were established in the caves inside the rocks or were cut into the sandstone quite near the cloisters of the monks and hermits, which can be seen inside the same rocks and sandstones. St Basil the Great and St Gregory of Nazianzus founded some such communities of monks.

In total, there were about three thousand small churches and cloisters in rocks and sandstones in the space between modern cities Kayseri, Niğde, Gülşehir and Ihlara valley (the area of this territory is just several hundred square kilometers). Skilled artisans created these facilities for Christian worship so that a person entering inside forgot that he was inside a cave or a rock: high arches, columns, vaults, light wells and ventilation shafts made an impression of majestic temples quite similar to those constructed with bricks. In addition, these churches in rocks and caves were decorated with picturesque frescoes, containing mostly biblical scenes and images of the saints.

Although Cappadocia is a unique region because of its exceptional natural wonders, some similar churches, cut into sandstone or rock, were situated in desert places in Syria, Palestine and Egypt[20] and in some other parts of the Roman Empire.

6. The places shown by the divine will

Early Christian literature contains many episodes of the construction of the churches at places which appeared in a dream or vision. For example, Eusebius

[19] See the recent works of Eric Rebillard, 'Conversion and Burial in the Late Roman Empire', in *Seeing and Believing: Conversion in late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Rochester, 2003), 61-83 and *id*., *Religion et sepulture: l'Église, les vivants et les morts dans l'Antiquite tardive (III^e-V^e siecles)* (Paris, 2003).

[20] See Georgiy Urbanovich and Oleg Rebizov (eds), *Following the Steps of Saint Apostles*, Church-historical Miscellany of the Smolensk Orthodox Theological Seminary. Egypt, 2010-2011 (Smolensk, 2011).

of Caesarea cites a Panegyric upon the building of churches, addressed to Paulinus, Bishop of Tyre:

> God himself … has granted the distinguished honor of building and renewing this earthly house to Christ … Paulinus … looking up to him as to the first teacher … using as archetypes whatsoever things he seeth him doing, produceth images of them, making them so far as is possible in the same likeness, in nothing inferior to that Beseleel, whom God himself 'filled with the spirit of wisdom and understanding' and with other technical and scientific knowledge, and called to be the maker of the temple constructed after heavenly types given in symbols.[21]

Theodoret tells of a captive Christian woman, who healed the queen of Iberia with her prayers, and the queen, in her turn, persuaded the king to build the church because of this. 'He then went to the marvellous captive, and asked her to show him how a church ought to be built. He who once filled Bezaleel with architectural skill, graciously enabled this woman to devise the plan of a church. The woman set about the plan, and men began to dig and build.'[22]

Although these examples showed how the design of the churches appeared in visions, we can assume that the first thing revealed in a dream was the location of a church.

7. Convenient places in relation to a city plan and public access

The most convenient building of this type in the fourth century turned out to be a Roman basilica. It was a public building, usually located in the forum of a Roman town and easily accessible. In addition, the architecture of a basilica suited Christian cult best of all. However, it was not possible to convert all basilicas into churches, as many of them were still used as public buildings. Hence, the Christians had to choose other places for constructing their churches. They also had to take into consideration a city plan and tried to choose such places for their buildings as were easily accessible or had some other public buildings (theatre, market, *etc*.) near them.

One of the examples of this type of location is represented by the church of Priene, the city on the Aegean shore of Asia Minor. The church, built in the fifth-sixth centuries, was situated in the very center of the city quite near the theater, which seems to have been used for preaching and some Christian ceremonies. There was a sanctuary of Egyptian gods at a distance of about 100 meters to the east, the impressive temple of Athena was situated at approximately the same distance to the north, there were some more pagan temples (of Zeus, Demeter, Asclepius) to the south and also a big synagogue. The church itself,

[21] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* X 4, 2, 25.
[22] Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.* I 24.

which is thought to have been a bishop's church, was rather small – just about thirty meters long and five meters wide. The church in Priene was located at the crossroads of the old pagan temples and cults – in the very center of the city.[23]

Another example of the location of Christian churches according to a city plan is represented by the city of Sbeitla in north-central Tunisia.[24] The city was founded by Romans in the second century AD and a temple dedicated to the Capitoline triad was erected in the very center of the city with a big forum adjoining it. Instead of constructing only one temple dedicated to the three most important Roman gods (Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva) the inhabitants of the city had built separate temples for each one; however, this complex looked like one building from the north as it had a common façade for all three temples. Because the forum remained the center of public, political and economic life of the city in Christian times, and hence the temple of the Capitoline triad looked like the center too, the Christians neither destroyed it, as it was (and is now!) a very impressive architectural structure, nor turned it into a church, as it was difficult to make a church out of a temple which consisted of three adjoining sections. A quite original way out from this situation was found: the forum together with the pagan temple was literally surrounded by Christian churches, in such a way that no one could enter the former center of paganism without passing by a Christian church. At least seven churches have so far been discovered, situated either quite near the pagan center, or adjoining the walls of the forum.

8. Pagan sanctuaries

The use of pagan sanctuaries and temples by Christians became possible after the edict of Theodosius which banned pagan cults.[25] The law prohibited any sacrifices (they were equated with contempt of the King) and adoration of Lares and Penates, as well as Geniuses; it condemned people who worshipped images created by a human hand; prescribed confiscation of temples and places for performing pagan cult and transferred them to the fisc; established a fine for connivance in any violation; encouraged informers and threatened officials who did not apply the law. Thus, Theodosius prohibited all kinds of pagan religious practice.[26]

[23] See Stephan Westfalen, 'Byzantine Basilica at Priene,' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000), 275-80.

[24] See general information on Sbeitla in Lambert M. Surhone, Mariam T. Tennoe and Susan F. Henssonow (eds), *Sbeitla* (Beau Bassin, 2010). Archaeological and historical review Noel Duval, Francois Baratte, *Les Ruines de Sufetula SBEITLA* (Tunis, 1973); Féthi Bejaoui, *Sbeïtla l'antique Sufetula* (Tunis, 1994).

[25] *CTh* XVI 10, 12 – 392 AD.

[26] Noel Q. King, *The Emperor Theodosius and the Establishment of Christianity* (London, 1961), 85. Drawing an analogy with modern times, Stephen Williams and Gerard Friell note that

This edict has been fairly called 'the end of the legal protection of the ancient religion'[27] and 'a death certificate of paganism'.[28]

After the edict, the Christians intentionally started establishing the places for their cult either near the ancient pagan sanctuaries of the old gods, or right inside them, trying to demonstrate their superiority over ancient religions.[29] The *Life of Porphyry of Gaza* (*ca*. 347-420) discusses the conversion of temples into churches this way:

> So they spent ten days overthrowing the temples of the idols, and after the said days they took counsel concerning the Marneion also, how they should deal with it. For some said that it should be digged down, and others burned down, and others that the place should be purified and consecrated unto a church of God, and there was much searching out of this matter. And at the last the holy bishop proclaimeth a fast to the people, and a prayer, that the Lord may reveal unto them how they must do … during the celebration of the Communion, a child of about seven years … cried out suddenly, saying: 'Burn ye the inner temple unto the foundation; for many terrible things have been done in it, especially the sacrifices of human beings. And after this manner burn ye it: bring liquid pitch and sulphur and fat of swine, and mingle the three and anoint the brazen doors and set fire to them, and so shall all the temple be burned; for otherwise is it not possible. But the outer temple leave ye with the court. And after the burning, having purified the place, found there a holy church.' And he said also this: 'I swear unto you before God, otherwise may it not be done; for neither is it I that speak, but Christ who is within me.'[30]

A couple of vivid examples illustrate how Christians converted famous pagan temples into Christian churches.

The sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma was one of the most known and venerated centers of paganism in Asia Minor. A grand temple was built there, which almost became the eighth Wonder of the World because of its immense size and 122 columns three meters in diameter each surrounding the entire building. In the fifth-sixth centuries, the Christian church was built right inside this huge pagan temple. Unfortunately, the ruins of the church can be seen only on

the issuing of this law was uncompromising and 'it was as if today an authoritarian atheist regime were to criminalize Easter eggs, holly, Christmas cards, Halloween pumpkins, first-footings, and even such universal gestures as the drinking of toasts.' Stephen Williams and Gerard Friell, *Theodosius. The Empire at Bay* (New Haven and London), 1995, 123.

[27] Walter W. Hyde, *Paganism to Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1946), 216.

[28] Ambrogio Donini, *U istokov christianstva* (Moscow, 1989), 266. Nevertheless, we should keep in mind that it was not 'a sudden death' of the old religion. Garth Fowden fairly noted: 'As a form of local and especially rural religion, polytheism showed remarkable powers of resistance. As a state of mind, whether the peasant's perception of the world around him, or the philosopher's doctrine, it could survive within Christianity.' – Averil Cameron and Peter Garnsey (eds), *Cambridge Ancient History* XIII (revised edition, 1998), 558.

[29] See an interesting article of R.P.C. Hanson, 'The Transformation of Pagan Temples into Churches in the Early Christian Centuries', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 23 (1978), 257-67.

[30] Mark the Deacon, *Life of Porphyry, Bishop of Gaza* (Oxford, 1913), 66.

photographs taken by German archeologists at the beginning of the twentieth century, as they were removed during the excavations. However, some interesting signs of Christian presence are preserved. On the doorposts of both tunnels entering the sanctuary of the temple, carved or scratched crosses remain; they served as protection of Christians from evil demons associated with paganism. In addition, Christian graffiti remained on the pavements and the steps outside the temple of Apollo. One of them shows a figure of a man with a spear and a shield near a bird and the word 'demonizomenos'. Some scholars are inclined to consider the bird as an eagle – a symbol of Zeus, father of Apollo, and the man as a Christian fighting it.[31]

Another example is a temple of Artemis in Sardis, which also had impressive dimensions and was very popular in that region of Asia Minor.[32] In the fourth-fifth centuries, the Christians erected a small basilica in close proximity to the huge columns of the pagan temple. Obviously, they had no intention to demonstrate the superiority of their religion over old pagan cult by means of architecture, as it sometimes happened in other places. However, the closeness of the pagan sanctuary made the Christians protect themselves from the possible 'influence' of the 'demons' which were associated with the pagan cults. For this purpose, the entrances to the sacral part of the temple of Artemis were filled with Christian signs and graffiti. These were sharp crosses, carved in marble, similar to the images of the cross of Calvary used later in Orthodox Church tradition, as well as snatches of phrases showing the influence of the Gospel of St John the Evangelist – 'life' (ζωή) and 'light' (φώς). The temple itself, as scholars consider, had never been turned into a church, though the presence of 'protecting' Christian inscriptions may testify in favor of Christian ceremonies taking place inside the sanctuary.

Christianization of pagan sanctuaries in Asia Minor may be regarded as evidence of the definitive victory of Christianity over paganism. However, I could not find any direct indications in the works of the Fathers of the Church on the necessity of 'conversion' of pagan temples to Christian Churches. It seems that Christians intentionally tried to use pagan sanctuaries and convert them into churches to show the final desacralization of paganism as religion.

The types of location of Christian churches in the Christianizing Roman Empire, mentioned above, served as samples for defining places for construction of churches in the Middle Ages and even later. Nowadays some of these types are no longer used for the construction of new churches (types 1, 2, 5, 8), some are used by modern Christians (types 3, 4, 6, 7), and a new type of location has appeared after the Roman Empire was Christianized – the construction of a new church at the place of the old one.

[31] http://adriennejenkins.blogspot.com/2010/06/mania-demonizomenos.html.

[32] See for a general review: G.M.A. Hanfmann, *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times. Results of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis 1958-1975* (Cambridge, 1983).

Pollution Wars: Consecration and Desecration from Constantine to Julian

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ABSTRACT

The clash of the Christian and pagan religions was inevitable, as by definition the two religions polluted the other. Pagans viewed the bodies in tombs that Christians frequently built their churches over as desecrating, while Christians believed the worship of false gods in pagan temples was desecrating. By the fourth century, this struggle between Christianity and paganism had escalated into the use and abuse of 'sacred space', as both groups violated the sanctuaries of their rivals and sometimes built their own over the same sites. This conflict was carried on at the highest levels as the emperor Constantine aligned himself with Christianity, as did his son Constantius II, yet both were followed by the Julian, the last pagan emperor. This paper examines this phenomenon in several cases involving Constantine and Julian and explores the intention and execution of both emperors.

Both Constantine the first Christian emperor and Julian the last pagan emperor used building works as a means to support their religious programs, using both church and temple construction and demolition. Constantine consecrated Christian churches using riches from temples he desecrated. Julian attempted to wipe out the incursion of what he saw as Constantine's apostasy by responding with a similar pattern. While the two religions struggled over a much wider period of time, this period during the fourth century is instructive.

In 324, Constantine wrote to the provincials of Palestine that, following persecutions of Christians, he had been chosen by God to restore both the state and his religion.[1] The outworking of this is seen in two laws recorded in Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*, a work of apologetic, but which can be carefully used for its historical content.[2] The laws themselves were not included in the *Codex Theodosianus*, but were referred to by Constans in his law of 341 AD.[3] In keeping with the Christian abhorrence of idol worship, one law 'restricted the pollutions of idolatry' [τὰ μυσαρά], and banned pagan sacrifice though

[1] Eus., *Vita Const.* II 28.1-29.1. For dating, see Cameron/Hall, 16-8.

[2] T.D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, 1981). Averil Cameron and Stuart G. Hall (trans.), *Life of Constantine* (New York, 1999).

[3] *C. Th.* XVI 10.2.

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this may not have been strictly or universally enforced.[4] Concurrently issued, the next law 'dealt with erecting buildings as places of worship and extending in breadth and length the churches of God'.[5] In line with this law, Constantine gave state funds and instructions to build, restore, or add on to area churches, proclaiming as Armstrong notes, 'a new order whose importance even the commonest citizen could sense'.[6]

Constantine's language revealed his view of the desecrating presence of pagan sacrifice. In a letter to the bishop of Jerusalem, Constantine wrote that pagan sacrifices at Mamre, the site of the lord's revelation of himself to Abraham, were, 'sacrilegious abominations' [ἀνοσίων μιασμάτων].[7] Eusebius recounted the humiliation of the priests by Constantine's agents, as they were 'ordering the consecrated officials themselves to bring out their gods with much mockery and contempt'.[8] Eusebius' account also stressed the desecration of the temples, writing that 'forbidden innermost sanctuaries of temples were trodden by soldier's feet'.[9] Awareness of these activities and Constantius' later anti-pagan laws motivated Julian's condemnation of Constantine and his son for denuding and demolishing the temples.[10]

Constantine's view of pagan desecration was further revealed in his demolishing of temples. In three locations, Aphaca, Cilicia, and Heliopolis, this was motivated by specific and unusual circumstances.[11] The Shrine of Aphrodite at Aphaca was described by Eusebius as a 'school of vice for all dissolute persons', where the rites included 'stolen and corrupt sexual relations, and unspeakable, infamous practices' [ἄρρητοί τε καὶ ἐπίρρητοι πράξεις].[12] Constantine ordered the temple destroyed and the site cleared by soldiers.[13] The Cilician Temple of Asclepius was completely razed, again by a military detachment.[14] Eusebius described Constantine's motivation as due to the role

[4] Eus., *Vita Const*. II 45.1, trans. Cameron/Hall.

[5] Eus., *Vita Const*. II 45.1, trans. Cameron/Hall.

[6] Eus., *Vita Const*. II 46.3; Gregory T. Armstrong, 'Imperial church building and church-state relations A.D. 313-363', *Church History* 36 (1967), 3-17.

[7] Eus., *Vita Const*. 3.52, trans. Cameron/Hall. Eusebius used the same language at *Laus Const*. 8, *Or. ad sanct. coet*. 13. Eusebius also wrote on the theophany at *Dem. ev*. V 9.5-8, *Hist. eccl*. I 2.7-8; see Justin, *Dialogue* 56. This hearkens back to *Ezekiel* 14:6: 'Repent and turn away from your idols; and turn away your faces from all your abominations' (NRSV).

[8] Eus., *Vita Const*. III 54.6.

[9] Eus., *Vita Const*. III 57.4, trans. Cameron/Hall.

[10] Constantius' anti-pagan laws: *C. Th*. XVI 10.3 (1 Nov 342, censured superstition but guaranteed temple structures), XVI 10.5 (23 Nov 353, banned nocturnal sacrifice), XVI 10.4 (1 Dec 354, closed temples, banned sacrifice), XVI 10.6 (20 Feb 356, extended ban to idolatry), IX 16.4 (25 Jan 357, banned divination), IX 16.5 (4 Dec 357, banned necromancy), IX 16.6 (5 Jul 358, outlawed augurs, soothsayers). Julian's condemnation: *Or*. 7, 228b-d, in which he referred to churches as 'tombs' [μνήματα], and added, 'since they thought so little of the gods they would soon need many such tombs'.

[11] Eus., *Vita Const*. III 55-8.

[12] Eus., *Vita Const*. III 55.3, trans. Cameron/Hall.

[13] Eus., *Vita Const*. III 55.4-5.

[14] Eus., *Vita Const*. III 56.2-3.

similar to Christ's played by Asclepius in the pagan pantheon: 'Countless people got excited about him as a saviour and a healer … though when it came to souls he was a destroyer, drawing the gullible away from the true Saviour'.[15] Eusebius also described the destruction of the shrine of Aphrodite at Heliopolis, where the worshippers drew a personal letter from the emperor as they 'allowed their wives and daughters without restraint to act as prostitutes'.[16] However symbolically important these desecrations were, it is important to note that they only happened in a minority of cases.

Constantine ordered numerous churches built, but turning from desecration to consecration, we have specific information on some that indicates his interest in consecrating churches over the pagan sites. Eusebius records that after destroying the shrine of Aphrodite at Heliopolis, Constantine erected a church in its place, though not necessarily on the same site.[17] Constantine built the martyr church of St. Mocius at Constantinople, and according to tradition converted a temple of Jupiter to do so.[18] At Jerusalem, Constantine restored the site of the Resurrection by demolishing the Temple of Aphrodite at the site with its 'defiled and polluted altars' [βεβήλων καὶ ἐναγῶν βωμῶν], and removing the rubble and earth.[19] His Church of the Holy Sepulchre was formally dedicated there in September 335 for his Tricennial celebration.[20] Perhaps the culmination of Constantine's interest in this area lays in his consecration of the palace in Constantinople, the city which he 'consecrated … to the martyr's God'.[21] He placed the Saviour's sign (likely the cross or labarum) over the palace gate and installed a large cross in his quarters 'to be as it were the safeguard of the empire'.[22]

In addition, Constantine's mother Helena and mother-in-law Eutropia traveled to Palestine and were instrumental in arranging for church construction at Mamre, Bethlehem, and the Mount of Olives. Regarding Mamre, Constantine instructed Macarius and the other bishops to build a basilica at the site, 'as soon as you learn that all the defilements [τὰ μυσαρά] there have been completely removed', which was done prior to AD 330, using one wall of the old enclosure.[23] At a cave in Bethlehem, Helena consecrated a shrine at the

[15] Eus., *Vita Const.* III 55.1, trans. Cameron/Hall.

[16] Eus., *Vita Const.* III 58.1-2, trans. Cameron/Hall. Method not described here.

[17] Eus., *Vita Const.* III 58.3, trans. Cameron/Hall.

[18] Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* VIII 17.5; see Cyril Mango, *Le Développement urbain de Constantinople IV^e – VII^e siècles* (Paris, 2004), 35f. Mango locates the church outside old Byzantium, but inside Constantine's new city. Local tradition held that Constantine built Mocius' martyrium from a temple of Jupiter. T.D. Barnes, *Constantine* (1981), 222; T. Preger, *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum* (Leipzig, 1901-7), 19, 214.

[19] Eus., *Vita Const.* III 25-7.

[20] Eus., *Vita Const.* IV 43, *Tricennial Orations.*

[21] Eus., *Vita Const.* III 48.1.

[22] Eus., *Vita Const.* III 2-3; 3.49. Cameron and Hall note, 'Eusebius presents the cross explicitly as a talisman', 299.

[23] Eus., *Vita Const.* III 53.2, trans. Cameron/Hall; Richard Krautheimer and Slobodan Ćurčić, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th ed. (New Haven, 1986), 59.

supposed site of Christ's birth, which both Helena and Constantine enriched with monuments, treasures, artwork, and curtains.[24] Helena also 'raised the sacred house of the church' on the Mount of Olives, where Christ was reported to have ascended to heaven.[25]

Adding insult to injury, Constantine also funded his building works by raiding pagan temples. According to Eusebius, Eunapius, and Libanius, the emperor had metal doors and roofing stripped from the temples, gold statues melted down for the precious metal, and bronze statues removed to Constantinople.[26] As more than one modern author has pointed out, Constantine forced the pagans to finance their own destruction.[27]

Constantine's death in 337 touched off a massacre of lesser members of the dynasty, including Julian's father Julius Constantius. Soldiers entered the residence and murdered the males present, save for young Julian and his ill half-brother Gallus.[28] Julian blamed his cousin Constantius II, and based on Burgess' research, Julian was almost certainly correct in this.[29] Julian and Gallus lived at their cousin's whim, with Gallus eventually serving as Constantius' Caesar. Constantius made Julian Caesar in 355 in Gallus' place, following his execution of Gallus for instability and insubordination. This lasted until Julian's troops declared him emperor, Constantius conveniently fell ill and died, and Julian found himself sole ruler and able to shrug off his Christian façade.

Julian, hailed in an inscription as 'born for the good of the state … on account of the wiping away of the ills of the former time', thought that he could suppress or overwrite Constantine's Christianization.[30] In his 361 satire *The Caesars*, Julian mocked Constantine's ephemeral accomplishments which would bloom briefly and disappear, an impermanence which Julian planned to

[24] Eus., *Vita Const*. III 41.1, III 43.1-2.

[25] Eus., *Vita Const*. III 43.3, trans. Cameron/Hall. Constantine wrote that the situation at Mamre was 'alien to our times'. This kind of language was similar to the aggressive-sounding laws which were not strictly enforced, written rather with a 'moralizing ideology and operative clauses indicating what was actually to be done'. Scott Bradbury, 'Constantine and the Problem of Anti-Pagan Legislation in the Fourth Century', *Classical Philology* 89 (1994), 120-39. Such constructions allowed the emperor to mollify rigorists and at the same time proclaim that the new paradigm for the empire was Christianity.

[26] Eus., *Vita Const*. III 54.1-6; see Eunapius, *Vita soph*. 472. Lib., *Or*. 30.6, trans. Norman, datable between 381, when Flavianus (30.15) was appointed bishop of Antioch, and 391, when the Serapeum (30.44) was destroyed; see Norman's discussion in Libanius, *Selected Works,* ed. and trans. A.F. Norman, vol. 2 (London, 1992), 95-7.

[27] Ramsay MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (New Haven, 1981), 136; see Rowland Smith, *Julian's Gods* (London, 1995), 211; P. Brown, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1982), 97f.

[28] Julian, *Or*. 7 228b, 230a; *Ep. Ath*. 270cd, 275a, 281b; Eunapius, *Vita soph*. 473.

[29] Richard Burgess, 'The Summer of Blood: The "Great Massacre" of 337 and the Promotion of the Sons of Constantine', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 62 (2008), 5-51. Of course, Constantius may not have been alone in this decision, as he was only twenty, and may have been influenced by others.

[30] *ILS* 946, trans. Smith (Mursa, Pannonia).

ensure.[31] In Spring 362, Julian included an autobiographical myth in his *Oration to the Cynic Heraclius,* making clear his belief that Constantine's apostasy from Helios was what had brought such great suffering on his people.[32] Helios offered to make Julian steward of the empire in place of Constantius II, the murderer of Julian's family.[33] Helios instructed the young man that he must 'return and cleanse all the impiety', as 'we (the gods) wish your ancestral house to be cleansed'.[34] Julian confirmed his intent by privately writing to his uncle in 361: 'The gods command me to restore their worship in its utmost purity'.[35] Libanius wrote that it was the desire to restore sacrificial worship of the gods that motivated Julian's desire to depose Constantius.[36] As Gibbon wrote, 'the names of Christ and Constantius … were soon associated in a youthful imagination'.[37]

Like most pagans, Julian found the proximity of Christian worship and the bodies of the dead appalling. We know from inscriptions that pagans believed the presence of dead bodies was polluting and required purification.[38] Eunapius described the collection of martyr's relics, and how Christians 'haunted their sepulchers [μνήμασι], and thought that they became better by defiling [μολυνόμενοι] themselves at their graves' as churches were frequently built over martyr's remains.[39] Eusebius attributed many martyr shrines to Constantine, and the later historians Socrates and Sozomen specify two, St. Mocius, and St. Acacia.[40] Julian also described Christian churches as, 'tombs and sepulchres' [τάφων καὶ μνήματα], and attempted to end the transportation of relics

[31] Julian, *Caesars* 329cd. Julian composed *The Caesars* for the week-long feast of Saturnalia, which began 17 December. As Lacombrade's and Baldwin's late dates are based upon rather arbitrary assumptions regarding phraseology 'gardens of Adonis' or an 'artistically crude' use of Christ, I agree with Wright regarding the Dec 361 date, especially as Julian likely had the legacy of Constantine and Constantius in mind as he entered Constantinople. Barry Baldwin, 'The *Caesares* of Julian', *Klio* 60 (1978), 449-66; Christian Lacombrade, *L'empereur Julien. Œuvres complètes, vol. 2* (Paris, 1964), 27-30.

[32] Julian, *Or*. 7 228d.

[33] Julian, *Or*. 7 228d. Julian is also titled the 'offspring' of Helios.

[34] Julian, *Or*. 7 231d, 234c.

[35] Written in Nov or Dec 361, following the death of Constantius. Julian, *Ep*. 9 415cd, trans. Wright; Julian also wrote more officially to one of his priests, 'we must maintain such rituals of the temples as ancestral custom prescribes', *Letter to a Priest* 302bc = Bidez 89b.

[36] Lib., *Or*. 18. 22-3: 'It was this that shook him to the core, as he saw their temples in ruins, their ritual banned, their altars overturned, their sacrifices suppressed, their priests sent packing, and their property divided between a crew of rascals' (trans. Norman).

[37] Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. 2 (London, 1905), 433.

[38] Demonstrated by inscriptions from Kos and Athens (*LSCG* 154 B 17-32; *IG* II-III 2nd ed., 659 = *LSCG* 39).

[39] Eunapius, *Vita soph*., VI 11.5.6 = Loeb 425.

[40] Eus., *Vita Const*. 3.47, although re. 'many' it is difficult to discern between Constantinian and Constantian construction, for which see C. Mango, G. Dagron, T.D. Barnes; Sozomen, *Hist. eccl*. VIII 17.5; see T.D. Barnes, *Constantine* (1981), 222; Socrates, *Hist. eccl*. VI 23.

by outlawing tomb violation.[41] In a similar vein, Julian undid the work of his half-Christian brother Gallus Caesar, who had moved the remains of the martyr Babylas to a shrine of Apollo at Daphne near Antioch, the first recorded case of transportation of relics.[42] Julian ordered Babylas' body removed and had the site ritually purified.[43]

As opposed to Constantine, Julian seemed to prefer an indirect approach to church desecration. Julian's refusal to punish the mob that killed the bishop of Alexandria in 361 demonstrated a clear lack of interest in protecting Christians under the law.[44] Further rioting and murder in Gaza and Emesa also won praise instead of punishment, with Julian hinting threateningly to the Antiochenes that church burnings in Emesa could be repeated in Antioch as well.[45] Julian himself suggested in early 363 that he was offering more than passive encouragement to those desecrating Christian churches with these words.

> I know well that those cities love me more than their own sons, for they at once restored the shrines of the gods and overturned all the shrines of the godless, on the signal that was given by me the other day; and so excited were they in mind and so exalted in spirit that they even attacked those who were offending against the gods with more violence than I could have wished.[46]

Julian responded to Constantine's robbery of the sacred contents of the temples with building works of his own.[47] He issued an edict which unfortunately has not been preserved in the *Codex Theodosianus*, but is preserved in the *Historia acephala*, a work recording events in the life of Bishop Athanasius of Alexandria. It recorded that Julian issued a law which was subsequently published in Alexandria on 4 February 362, 'commanding those things to be restored to the idols and temple attendants and the public account, which in

[41] *C. Gal.* 335c; *C. Th.* IX 17.5. Ironically, following Constantius II's similar prohibition at *C. Th.* IX 17.4 (357), at roughly the same time as his translation of the relics of Timothy, Andrew and Luke to Constantinople. Jerome, *Chronicle*, Helm, 240-1. Julian equated Christian martyr veneration with polytheism, *C. Gal.* 201c.

[42] Per Chrysostom, Gallus had interred Babylas at Daphne, believing that his presence would deter the debauchery of that pleasure resort, which it did as well as silencing the oracle. John Chrysostom, *Babylas* 14.67, 69. Julian's efforts were unable to restore the glory or function of the oracle, *Misopogon* 346b, see Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* V 19.15f.; Cyril Mango, 'Constantine's Mausoleum and the translation of relics', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 83 (1990), 51-61; see Glanville Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria: From Seleucus to the Arab Conquest* (Princeton, 1961), 364, 387f.

[43] Ammianus Marcellinus XXII 12.8. Although in the late fourth century Ammianus wrote of the removal of *corpora*, 'bodies', buried around the spring, Julian himself referred to the singular τὸν νεκρόν 'the corpse'. John Chrysostom also has μόνον τὸν μάρτυρα 'the martyr alone'. Julian, *Misopogon* 361b; John Chrysostom, *Babylas* 16.87. After the temple of Apollo burned down, Julian responded by immediately closing the great church of Antioch. Ammianus held that it was accident, not arson. Ammianus Marcellinus XXII 13.2-3.

[44] As noted by Glen Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), 81.

[45] Greg. Naz., *Or.* 4.93 (PG 35, 625a-c); Julian, *Misopogon* 357c (early 363).

[46] Julian, *Misopogon* 361a.

[47] For his response, *Or.* 7 228b-d.

former times had been taken away from them'.[48] Julian made the rebuilding of temples a priority, for which he was recognized in an inscription as the 'Restorer of the Temples'.[49] This was demonstrated by a law which did survive in the *Codex Theodosianus*, showing that Julian made temple construction the top priority of public construction throughout the Empire.

> We direct that judges of the provinces shall be admonished that they must know that they shall not arrange for any new work until they have completed those works which were commenced by their predecessors, *excepting only the construction of temples*.[50]

Julian's interest in overwriting may be seen in a slightly different fashion in a response to Constantine's consecration of his palace in Constantinople with the cross or labarum. According to Libanius, when Julian was emperor in Constantinople, 'a temple to the god who governs the day was built in the middle of the palace, and he took part in his mysteries, initiated and in turn initiating'.[51]

Like Constantine, Julian forced his opponents to pay for the construction of his religious edifices. Julian's edict is also supported by Libanius, who confirmed that Julian built, restored, and refurbished temples, and that those who had plundered the temples had to contribute money.[52] Julian also had priests oversee such cases, indicated by Libanius' letter on behalf of an Antiochene whose fine villa built from a temple was on the verge of being dismantled to repair the temple.[53]

In conclusion, both Constantine and Julian engaged in a similar series of actions. The evidence may not be sufficient to extrapolate from these cases to a regular policy for all cases of desecration and consecration involving these two rulers. But what we *do* have illuminates religious conflict in the fourth century. More specifically, the stated intentions of the two rulers reveal Julian's similar efforts as not mere coincidence, but a direct attempt to reverse his hated uncle's Christianization.[54] Julian's actions in this regard highlight the

[48] *Historia acephala* 9, trans. NPNF.

[49] *AE* (1969/70) 631, '*templorum [re]stauratori*'. see Ammianus Marcellinus XXII 5.2.

[50] *C. Th.* XV 1.3, 29 June 362.

[51] Lib., *Or.* 18.127; see Lib., *Or.* 12 80-1; trans. Norman. Julian supported his claim to be a follower of Helios by writing, 'the most clear evidence I can produce for this is at home'. *Or.* 4 130c, trans. Athanassiadi, *JTS* 28 (1977), 362; see Himerius, 'He has raised up temples to the gods, has established religious rites from abroad in the city, and has made sacred the mysteries of the heavenly gods introduced into the city', *Or.* 41.8.

[52] Lib. *Or.* 18.126, trans. Norman.

[53] Lib., *Ep.* 724 (Foerster) = 182b (Bradbury). Libanius defended the man's legal purchase of building material that was legal at the time, and counseled moderation and reason to the priest Hesychius overseeing the case.

[54] As noted by others in a broader context: 'Indeed, it might almost be said that the policy of Julian was modeled upon that of his predecessor, whose actions he endeavored, in a spirit of slavish imitation, to reverse'. C. Cochrane, *Christianity and Classical Culture: A Study of Thought and Action from Augustus to Augustine* (Oxford, 1940), 263. Smith notes: 'In his writings his hatred of Christianity is manifestly linked to his hatred of members of the Second Flavian dynasty', see Rowland Smith, *Julian's Gods* (London, 1995), 187.

contrast he drew between Constantine, 'the forsaker of Helios' and failed representative of his people, and himself as the chosen 'child of Helios' who would set things right, and suggest other lines of inquiry into Julian's thought and action.[55]

[55] Julian, *Or*. 7 229c, 228d.

Apollo's Charred Remains: Making Meaning in Fourth-Century Antioch

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ABSTRACT

When the oracular temple of Apollo burned down in Daphne, the emperor Julian warned that the people of nearby Antioch should interpret the charred remains as a shameful reminder of their maltreatment of Julian and the gods. Libanius likewise lamented the loss of the temple and encouraged Antiochenes to see in the transformed site a reminder of Apollo's strength and the peaceful rest that the temple had offered. Writing *De s. Babyla* at least fifteen years after the fire, John Chrysostom reignited this debate over the meaning that the remains of Apollo's temple (and the empty shrine to the Christian martyr Babylas that was in the temple precinct) should convey to passers-by. As a Christian he argued that the rubble witnessed indisputably to the power that the Christian martyr Babylas and his God held over Apollo and traditional religion. This essay will demonstrate the ways in which John Chrysostom's rhetoric reshaped the visible lingering devastation of Apollo's temple in a way that furthered his efforts to Christianize Antioch – landscape and citizens alike.

When the oracular temple of Apollo burned down in Daphne, the emperor Julian warned that the people of nearby Antioch should interpret the charred remains as a shameful reminder of their maltreatment of Julian and the gods. Libanius likewise lamented the loss of the temple and encouraged Antiochenes to see in the transformed site a reminder of Apollo's strength and the peaceful rest that the temple had offered. Writing *De sancto Babyla* at least fifteen years after the fire,[1] John Chrysostom reignited this debate over the meaning that the remains of Apollo's temple (and the Christian martyr Babylas' absence from the shrine that was in the temple precinct) should convey to passers-by. As a Christian he argued that the rubble witnessed indisputably to the power that the Christian martyr Babylas and his God held over Apollo and traditional religion. John Chrysostom's rhetoric significantly reshaped the visible lingering devastation

[1] For a detailed investigation of the possible dating of this text by Chrysostom, narrowing the most likely date to between spring 379 and spring 380, with the possibility that the text was first presented on Babylas' feast day, January 24, 380, see Christine Shepardson, 'Rewriting Julian's Legacy: John Chrysostom's *On Babylas* and Libanius' *Oration* 24', *Journal of Late Antiquity* 2 (2009), 99-115.

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of Apollo's temple in Daphne,[2] thus furthering his efforts to Christianize Antioch – landscape and citizens alike.

During his brief time as Caesar in the early 350s the future emperor Julian's half-brother Gallus built a martyrium in Daphne in the precinct of the oracular temple of Apollo, and had the third-century Christian martyr-saint Babylas' relics translated there from a cemetery outside of Antioch. When Julian visited Antioch as the emperor in the summer of 362, he was apparently informed that the oracle at Apollo's temple could no longer function because of the nearby (Christian) corpses; Julian quickly required that Babylas' remains be moved out of the temple's precinct, presumably in the hope of restoring Daphne's most famous oracle. The fire that completely destroyed the Apollo temple soon after Julian had forced the removal of Babylas' relics led to heated conversations over the symbolic meaning of the series of events, and their implications for the relative power of Apollo and the Christian God. Babylas' relics proved to be a particularly potent tool by which leaders in Antioch struggled to shape the religious topography of the region and, with it, increase their own authority.

Chrysostom describes that the shrine of Babylas was eminently visible upon entering Daphne from Antioch and that it chastised visitors as a parent or teacher would do, dissuading them from inappropriate behavior:

> As soon as one stops in Daphne and sees the martyrium from the entrance of the suburb, one is humbled … and becoming more reverent by the sight, and imagining the blessed one, immediately hastens to the coffin; and when one comes there, greater fear takes hold and casting out all negligence and becoming winged, one thus goes forth.[3]

Likewise, on their way out of Daphne, Chrysostom claims, the shrine again receives the visitors, suggesting that it was a highly visible and prominently Christian landmark coming and going between the suburb and the city.[4] Gallus' explicit restructuring and redefinition of the landscape carried with it clear consequences for religious practice and identification in the region, Christianizing a powerful location in Daphne that had been associated with Apollo, and through it, according to Chrysostom, the population of the region.

Needless to say, the dramatic events surrounding Julian's translation of Babylas' relics and the destructive fire that quickly followed became the site of continued competition, as leaders struggled to define the correct interpretation

[2] Mary Carruthers beautifully expresses Chrysostom's 'crafting' of 'public memory' at Daphne's Apollo temple site in *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (New York, 2000), 47 and more generally 46-57. I thank Georgia Frank for bringing Carruthers' analysis to my attention.

[3] Chrysostom, *De s. Babyla* 70 (184). All translations are mine from the Greek text in SC 362 (1990), 90-274. References are to the paragraph numbering in the SC, followed in parentheses by the SC page number.

[4] Chrysostom, *De s. Babyla* 70.

of Apollo's temple precinct.[5] The earliest extant descriptions of the fire come from Julian and Libanius, two influential leaders who were involved in the events and who, as non-Christians, mourned the temple's destruction, in contrast to Christian interpretations that used the destruction to denigrate traditional gods and religious ritual practices. Julian's *Misopogon* dates from February 363, merely a few months after the October 362 fire. In this text, Julian's description of the events is rather brief, but the story serves the larger purpose of the *Misopogon*, namely, to satirize the antagonistic relationship between Julian and the Antiochenes as a whole. In this context, Julian characterizes Antiochenes as lavish and concerned primarily with the theater and banquets rather than with the gods of their ancestors or intellectual pursuits. Although Julian did not claim to know the fire's origin, he argued that Antiochenes should interpret the charred temple remains as a shameful reminder of their own bad behavior toward Julian and the gods, a punishment for the citizens of Antioch by Apollo who abandoned his temple due to his (and Julian's) mistreatment at the hands of the Antiochenes.

Julian was not, though, the only one to offer an interpretation of the fire or to suggest how the burned remains should be understood by passers-by. Libanius' *Oratio* 60 is a mournful monody on the temple's destruction, although unfortunately the only extant fragments of the text survive in John Chrysostom's text *De sancto Babyla* from over fifteen years later. Aside from testifying to the fire's destruction, the surviving fragments of Libanius' monody highlight the ironic timing of the temple's destruction, and blame the fire on human mischief. Whereas Chrysostom's commentary on the quotations that he preserves from Libanius emphasizes the impotence of Apollo, read without Chrysostom's commentary the fragments themselves seem primarily to lament the loss of the temple, particularly at the very time when Julian had started to lavish attention on the site and the god after many years of neglect from the citizens of Antioch and Daphne.

Libanius' sadness is clear as he laments the transformation of this place, though understandably he dwells on its past glory. He mourns its current state in contrast to what it was before:

> O Zeus, what a resting place for a weary mind we have had taken away. The site of Daphne was so free from clamor and the temple more so, what a harbor upon a harbor, made by nature itself. Both were sheltered from the waves, but the second offered greater rest.[6]

[5] Carruthers notes that fire 'is often a key element in scenes of forgetting' (M. Carruthers, *Craft of Thought* [2000], 51).

[6] Libanius, *Or.* 60.6. Libanius' *Oratio* 60 is not independently extant, but has been reconstructed from the fragments quoted in John Chrysostom's *De s. Babyla.* While Chrysostom's quotations cannot be known to be accurate, scholars have nevertheless found the reconstructed oration plausible and useful for studying Libanius. All translations of this oration are mine from the Greek text in Richard Foerster, *Libanii Opera, vol. 4* (Leipzig, 1908), 298-321.

Libanius remembers the peaceful rest that the temple once gave, as if to suggest that the place of its remains should be remembered for what it was, a site of Apollo's strength, rather than as a place of desolation and loss.[7] Whereas Chrysostom later repeats a Christian interpretation that the destroyed temple became a new site with new religious meaning from what it had previously been, Libanius here presents a competing narrative, hoping to have passers-by remember in the remains what it was at the height of its power and beauty.

The Christian side of these efforts to shape what viewers understood the temple ruins to signify is represented textually by John Chrysostom, whose treatise *De sancto Babyla* addresses this issue in depth. After the emperor Valens' sudden death in battle in 378, Julian's legacy, and the related valuation of traditional religious practices in relation to Christianity, were again forefront in some debates. In this new political landscape, with the emperor Theodosius' recent accession to the throne, John Chrysostom rekindled the rhetorical manipulation of the meaning of the burned temple site in Daphne, arguing that it witnessed indisputably to the power that the Christian martyr Babylas and his God held over Apollo and all of traditional religion. Chrysostom argued that Babylas' relics reshaped the landscape physically in ways that signified Christianity's superiority over 'Greek superstition', such that passers-by could read this message when they saw the ruined temple site. It is this text that commented explicitly on the Apollo temple's central location for those coming and going from Daphne, that the destruction was striking to visitors and made them ask what had happened, with the result that they would be told of the superiority of Babylas and the Christian God over Apollo.[8]

The charred remains of the Apollo temple thus acted as a powerful site for the negotiation of religious orthodoxy and authority at the time of the fire in the writings of Julian and Libanius, and also many years later in the writings of John Chrysostom. Mary Carruthers notes: 'We should think of Daphne not just as a literal place but as a memory site';[9] and geographer Gerry Kearns discusses the 'politics of memory', or the effects that particular constructions of places have on the ways in which they are remembered.[10] The work of Susan Alcock and others also highlights the power dynamics involved in specifically

[7] Libanius, *Or*. 60.6.

[8] Chrysostom, *De s. Babyla* 70.

[9] M. Carruthers, *Craft of Thought* (2000), 49.

[10] Gerry Kearns, 'The City as Spectacle: Paris and the Bicentenary of the French Revolution', in *Selling Places: The City as Cultural Capital, Past and Present*, edited by Gerry Kearns and Chris Philo (New York, 1993), 49-102, 63. See also Chris Philo and Gerry Kearns, 'Culture, History, Capital: A Critical Introduction to the Selling of Places', in *Selling Places* (1993), 1-32, 3; Gregor Kalas, 'Writing Restoration in Rome: Inscriptions, Statues, and the Late Antique Preservation of Buildings', in Caroline Goodson *et al.* (eds), *Cities, Texts, and Social Networks, 400-1500: Experiences and Perceptions of Medieval Urban Space* (Surrey, 2010), 21-43.

landscape-related memories.[11] As is clear from the example of the burned temple of Apollo, memories are not static, and they are often shaped in such a way so as to 'legitimate certain developments in the present'.[12] In writing *De sancto Babyla* John Chrysostom engages, in the vocabulary of Briavel Holcomb, in 'place marketing'; 'the primary goal of the place marketer is to construct a new image of the place to replace either vague or negative images previously held.'[13] John Chrysostom identified the year after Theodosius' accession to the imperial throne as a strategic time in which to renew negotiations over the meaning and memories associated with the burned Apollo temple in Daphne, and amid the rich religious patchwork of the city in these years, he actively marketed his reading of those ruins in ways that promoted the authority of his Christian community.

Quite likely writing in response to Libanius' contemporary efforts in *Oratio* 24 to recuperate the emperor Julian's legacy as Theodosius came to power,[14] Chrysostom turned to the powerful local landmark of the Apollo temple precinct in Daphne to reinscribe his narrative of Christian superiority and power. Explicitly using the landscape to reify this meaning, Chrysostom wrote:

> The temple and the martyrium memorialize both [Julian's] madness and the power of blessed Babylas; the one [temple] is desolate and the other [martyrium] has the same energy that it had before. The coffin has not yet been brought up again, and God arranged this too in order that knowledge of the accomplishments of the saint might become clearer to those who come along.[15]

Chrysostom concludes that Babylas' body is doubly powerful, first in his presence and again in his absence: 'Babylas, having been in Daphne and again

[11] See, for example, Susan Alcock, *Archaeologies of the Greek Past: Landscape, Monuments, and Memories* (Cambridge, 2002); Ruth Van Dyke and Susan Alcock (eds), *Archaeologies of Memory* (Oxford, 2003); Dydia DeLyser, 'When Less is More: Absence and Landscape in a California Ghost Town', in Paul Adams, Steven Hoelscher and Karen Till (eds), *Textures of Place: Exploring Humanist Geographies* (Minneapolis, 2001), 24-40; *ead.*, *Good, by God, We're Going to Bodie! Landscape and Social Memory in a California Ghost Town* (Ph.D. diss., Department of Geography, Syracuse University, 1998); Paul Shackel, *Myth, Memory, and the Making of the American Landscape* (Gainesville, 2001); Pamela Steward and Andrew Strathern (eds), *Landscape, Memory, and History: Anthropological Perspectives* (Sterling, Va., 2003); Karen Till, *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place* (Minneapolis, 2005); Marc Treib, *Spatial Recall: Memory in Architecture and Landscape* (New York, 2009); Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (New York, 2011); Norman Yoffee, *Negotiating the Past in the Past: Identity, Memory, and Landscape in Archaeological Research* (Tucson, 2007); Alain Gowing, *Empire and Memory: The Representation of the Roman Republic in Imperial Culture* (Cambridge, 2005).

[12] C. Philo and G. Kearns, 'Culture, History, Capital' (1993), 25.

[13] Briavel Holcomb, 'Revisioning Place: De- and Re-constructing the Image of the Industrial City', in *Selling Places* (1993), 133-43, 133.

[14] See C. Shepardson, 'Rewriting' (2009), 99-115.

[15] Chrysostom, *De s. Babyla* 126 (272).

having left it behind, thus gives the greatest benefit.'[16] Chrysostom summarizes: 'Such is the power of the saints, while living and dead, both when they are present in places and again when they leave them behind.'[17]

Chrysostom is explicit in his recognition that reshaping physical places can redefine local religious and political power dynamics. With Apollo's temple precinct having been physically transformed by Gallus and then by Julian through the movement of Babylas' relics, Chrysostom attempts rhetorically to insure that the skeletal temple remains and the empty site at the Daphne martyrium continue to signify his message of Christian superiority to those who see them.

[16] *Ibid*.
[17] *Ibid*. 127 (274).

The 'Making' of an Emperor: Constantinian Identity Formation in his Invective Letter to Arius

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ABSTRACT

The invective letter of Constantine the Great to Arius and the Arians is often mentioned, but seldom examined. In one of the few published English translations, Paul R. Coleman-Norton introduced the letter by stating 'it is valuable not so much for its repertoire of imperial invective, as for its evidence of the emperor's interest in securing uniformity of theological belief among his subjects'.[1] This study challenges that supposition, asserting that this letter is valuable particularly because of its repertoire of invective. Why does it appear that Constantine loses his emotional composure in an intellectual environment where self-control was a highly prized virtue? What possible threat did Arius' challenges pose to arouse such rancor? Or is Constantine's response in this letter instead a calculated use of declamatory methods designed to portray Arius and his affiliates as 'other' by employing normative literary techniques based on Roman commonplaces? An examination of the invective letter of Constantine to Arius and the Arians, written c. 333 AD, discloses Constantine's use of common rhetorical strategies learned by Roman elites through their education in *paideia*. In the fourth century, many Christian heresiologists, educated in similar venues, adapted these same rhetorical strategies to create discrete zones of religious and social authenticity which they labeled orthodoxy and heresy. Physiognomic invective, argument from tradition, and argument from antiquity were three ways that Constantine sought to silence the threat which Arius posed to Christian unity, and above all to his imperial and religious legitimacy. The cultural, political, and religious role of *pontifex maximus* did not disappear with Constantine's elevation of Christianity, instead the well-worn patterns of the pagan emperors and Roman elite before him became the basis for his reconfiguration of the *mos maiorum* using the Roman rhetoric, symbols, and might of empire. Constantine's invective letter to Arius and the Arians is one example of his multi-pronged approach to assert his authority as the legitimate head of the fourth-century Roman Empire and the progenitor of Christendom.

But again I return to the matter: You say there is a multitude of people roaming around you. It is likely, I suppose. Then take them, take them I say, for they have given themselves to be eaten by wolves and by lions. However, each one of these will be assessed

[1] Paul R. Coleman-Norton, 'Rescript of Constantine I on Arianism, c. 333', *Roman State and Christian Church: A Collection of Legal Documents to A.D. 535,* vol. 1 (London, 1966), 185.

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an additional ten capita and oppressed by these costs, he will give the penalty continuously unless hastily returning to the saving church, he accepts the peace of the love of God through an eager desire for harmony.[2]

Constantine's *Letter to Arius and the Arians* was written c. 333 AD in response to Arius' threat to start a rival church after he was unable to persuade Athanasius to restore him to his former position as a teaching presbyter in the Alexandrian church. The letter was written in Latin, translated into Greek and conveyed by the magistrates Syncletius and Gaudentius. It was widely read during the fourth century, with portions in Epiphanius' *Panarion* 69.9.4 and complete copies included in the writings of Athanasius and the anonymous writer of the ecclesiastical history previously attributed to Gelasius of Cyzicus.

The near mythic caricatures which have either lionized or demonized Constantine may cast doubt on the provenance of this letter, both for its acerbic rhetoric and its nuanced theological content.[3] However, a comparison with themes and language in Constantine's letters in response to the Donatist controversy, his writings preserved in Eusebius' ecclesiastical history, *Vita Constantini* and his *Oration to the Saints*, as well as similar themes on his triumphal arch in Rome support Constantinian authorship.

The citation above from the *Letter to Arius and the Arians* stresses Constantine's goal that Arius accept 'the peace of the love of God through an eager desire for harmony'. Dating to the Augustan period, *pax romana* was the core value of Roman emperors. Often coupled with *pax deorum*, Roman emperors believed that peace assured the stability of the empire and was achieved by appeasing the gods. Constantine interpreted this imperial mandate to maintain peace as including the responsibility to prevent dissension within his Christian coalition as reflected in his letters to Aelafius, Celsus, and the catholic bishops on the Donatist controversy, the Trajanic inscription on his imperial arch – 'founder of peace' (*fundatori quietis*), and Eusebius' accounts in *Vita Constantini* and his *Ecclesiastical History*.[4]

[2] Constantine, *Ep. ad Arium et Arianis*, in Athanasius, *Decretis* 40.39-40a (*Athanasius Werke, Urkunde* 34, vol. 2, ed. Hans George Opitz [Berlin, 1938], 74); see Gelasius, *Kirchengeschichte* III 19.39-40, ed. Gerhard Loeschke and Margret Heinemann, GCS 38 (Leipzig, 1918). In addition to Constantine's threat to add a ten capita tax, he also threatened to force Arius' supporters to resume the responsibility of public liturgies, a benefice granted to all Christian clergy (Constantine, *Ep. ad Arium et Arianos*, in Athanasius, *Decr.* 40.41, ed. Opitz, *Urk.* 34 [1938], 74).

[3] The stereotypical views of Constantine are equally the product of his ancient supporters and opponents as well as modern historians dating from the 16th century (cf. Timothy Barnes, *Constantine: Dynasty, religion, and power in the later Roman Empire* [Oxford, 2011], 1-16). Neither ancient propaganda nor modern historical bias are sufficient to ignore the evidence that Constantine had a purpose for using the abrasive rhetoric contained in this letter, or even the possibility that he possessed greater theological sophistication than has been attributed to him, both factors evident in this letter.

[4] *Letter to Aelafius* (appendix 3), *Letter to Celsus* (appendix 7), *Letter to the catholics* (appendix 9) in Optatus, *Against the Donatists*, ed. Mark Edwards, Translated Texts for Historians 27

In *Oration to the Saints* 18 and 19, Constantine attributed the prophecy of the birth of Christ to the Erythraean sibyl, just as he claimed that the same sibyl prophesied Arius' madness in the *Letter to Arius and the Arians*.[5] The equation of heresy with madness was a recurring theme in many of the fourth century Christian writers, as it was in some of the letters of Constantine, who characterized the Donatists as mad as early as 315 AD.[6] These repeated themes support Constantinian authorship, but they do not explain why he used marginalizing language against Arius, rather than more physically punitive measures. Therefore, having substantiated the themes in this letter which support Constantinian authorship, my primary goal is to explain how Constantine's use of invective against Arius was one aspect of his overall program of imperial legitimation by his use of rhetorical strategies inculcated through the educational process established for elite Roman males. Similar rhetorical strategies were also adopted by fourth century Christian heresiologists to marginalize their opponents as heretics.

In *Politics and the English Language*, George Orwell states 'Orthodoxy, of whatever colour, seems to demand a lifeless, imitative style'.[7] If anything can be said about Constantine's invective *Letter to Arius and the Arians*, it is not that it is lifeless. However, like many of the writings of the fourth century, it is imitative, as opposing sides in the fight for political and religious legitimacy attempted to establish themselves as cultural agents. The methods used by Constantine and other fourth century orthodox writers were not new strategies, but rather engrained through training in *paideia* and based on Roman cultural commonplaces. The *mos maiorum*, or the customs of the fathers, had a long history in Roman culture, and were core values, traditions, and ways of thinking and being which made a person legitimately 'Roman'. Therefore, when Christianity became the sponsored religion of the Roman Empire in the fourth century, opposing groups who sought to portray themselves as orthodox and their opponents as heretics used existing rhetorical strategies based on the *mos maiorum* to garner authenticity.

This was done using both positive self-construction in the form of physiognomic fashioning and negative physiognomic invective which marginalized an opponent as outside of societal norms using physical stereotypes. Positive physiognomic fashioning secured cultural capital for holy men and women by

(Liverpool, 1997), 183-4, 194, 196; Constantine, *Ep. ad Miltiade*, in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* X 5.18-20 (SC 55, 108-9); Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 2.56, 72 (PG 20, 1031A-B, 1047A-B).

[5] Constantine, *Ep. ad Arium et Arianos*, in Athanasius, *Decr.* 40.19, ed. Opitz, *Urk.* 34 (1938), 71; Constantine, *Oration to the Saints* 18-9 in *Constantine and Christendom*, ed. Mark Edwards, Translated Texts for Historians 39 (Liverpool, 2003), 41-5.

[6] Constantine, *Letter to the Catholic Bishops*, ed. Edwards (1997), 190-1; cf. *Letter to Celsus*, ed. Edwards (1997), 193; *Letter to the Numidian Bishops,* ed. Edwards (1997), 198.

[7] George Orwell, 'Politics and the English Language', in *A Collection of Essays* (New York, 1970), 166.

depicting their physical traits as windows into their eternal souls and badges of spiritual honor. According to Georgia Frank, fourth-century Christians assumed that virtue was visible and that 'seeing the holy provides an active, tactile encounter with it'.[8] Therefore, a gaunt face, bloodshot eyes, and leathery skin were proof of a holy man or woman's complete surrender to the divine.

But the same physical characteristics were cited as evidence of heresy or religious deviancy when possessed by an opponent. In these instances, physiognomic invective was used as a bruising rhetorical strategy which placed the writer at the center of acceptable society and his subject beyond the borders of civilized society, conferring status dominance.[9] Constantine's use of physiognomic invective against Arius seeks a similar goal – to posit his perspective as authoritative by basing it on Roman commonplaces learned in his training in *paideia* as the son of a caesar at the imperial court. By portraying Arius as foreign, bestial, and dangerous, Constantine sought to minimize his popularity and squelch his fractious party which threatened the unity of Constantine's Christian coalition.

In Constantine's *Letter to Arius and the Arians*, he used three well-established methods to silence Arius. Argument from tradition, argument from antiquity, and physiognomic invective have a long history in Greek and Roman literature as rhetorical devices designed to substantiate a writer's views. Arguments from tradition were based on quotations from respected writers or thinkers such as Homer or Plato, cultural expressions whose embedded nature had moved them to the status of perceived truth, or cultural icons whose very existence conferred legitimacy, such as the Sibylline oracles. Arguments from antiquity emphasized the value placed on ancient ideas over against new innovations. In Roman society, new ideas were viewed as inferior; therefore, arguments from antiquity sought to link the proponent's ideas with a long and respected prior history, while an invective which depicted an opponent as novel, inferred that he/she was rootless and without connection to the trusted values of Roman society.

Physiognomic invective posited the view that the body was a mirror of the soul and negative physical traits revealed the subject's hidden moral failures. As a pseudo-science used frequently since the classical Greek period, it was built on the cultural assumption that it was possible to judge character from physical appearance.[10] By comparing the physiognomic subject with animals, feminine qualities viewed as inferior in Roman society when possessed by a man, or negative ethnic stereotypes, the physiognomist attempted to establish

[8] Georgia Frank, *The Memory of the Eyes: Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity*, The Transformation of the Classical Heritage 30 (Berkeley, 2000), 14.

[9] Maud W. Gleason, *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome* (Princeton, 1995), xxi.

[10] Aristotle, *Analytica priora* 2.27, 70b, ed. Hugh Tredennick, LCL 325 (Cambridge, 1938).

his views as authoritative and his opponent as outside the accepted norms of Roman society and religion.

The following excerpt from Constantine's *Letter to Arius and the Arians* is a bruising physiognomic *ekphrasis* which portrays Arius as bestial and debased, hiding his deceptive motives and inner madness under the veneer of an ascetic outward appearance.

> Look! Let all note how he emits doleful cries when pierced by the viper's bite so that his own veins and flesh, saturated with venom, evoke bitter pangs; how his whole emaciated body has wasted away with squalor, filth, lamentation, pallor, and shivering, and finally, miserably full of a thousand other evils, it dries up; how his deformed appearance and smelly, filthy thicket of hair; altogether half-dead, faint appearance, and bloodless face is consumed with anxiety; how all things converging upon him at the same time – frenzy, insanity, and futility – through the long duration of the calamity have made him both rustic and beastly.[11]

This vivid description of Arius' appearance by the Emperor Constantine is markedly different from the physiognomic fashioning which trained Christian pilgrims to see living saints with the eyes of faith. If verbal sculpting of the physical appearance of orthodox monks, virgins, and bishops concretized holiness as a state of being, then what negative emotions and perspectives of Arius' character might be evoked from this portrayal of him as the embodiment of evil?

Since Constantine was the unrivaled ruler of the Roman Empire, why would he need to marginalize Arius using physiognomic invective? Evidence of his dominance permeates every aspect of fourth-century Roman society including his imperial coinage; the triumphal arch in Rome covered with legitimizing *spolia* accessing the cultural capital of classical emperors Hadrian, Trajan and Marcus Aurelius; the formation of his new Roman capital, Constantinople, and the dedication of Christian basilicas throughout the Roman Empire. However, when Arius threatened to establish a rival Christian church, he raised the specter of a competing vision to Constantine's own totalizing imperial vision based on peace and his personal sense of divine mission as protector and propagator of imperial Christianity. The danger that Arius posed was not a physical threat by force of arms. Like a terrorist whose potential impact is much greater than his/her actual power, Arius threatened to damage the symbols of the Roman state's corporate identity as Constantine was formulating them under the protection of the *Deus Summus*.

At issue for Constantine was not theological precision based on esoteric points of Nicene doctrine – it was the underlying unity of his rule based on his Christian coalition which he sought to preserve. Therefore, when Arius bragged

[11] Constantine, *Ep. ad Arium et Arianos*, in Athanasius, *Decr.* 40.35-6a, ed. Opitz, *Urk.* 34 (1938), 73-4; see Gelasius, *Kirchengeschichte* III 19.16-29, ed. Gerhard Loeschke and Margret Heinemann, GCS 38 (Leipzig, 1918).

that a multitude shared his views and would follow him if he established a rival church to replace his lost position in Alexandria, Constantine responded with rhetoric designed to ostracize Arius as outside the bounds of religious legitimacy. Using methods based on Roman *mos maiorum*, Constantine followed the similar strategy of fourth century Christian heresiologists to depict Arius as 'other', using physiognomic invective, argument from tradition, and argument from antiquity. Physical punishment against Arius would only have served to enhance his status as a martyr for the 'true' faith in the model of his former teacher Lucian. Instead, Constantine's rhetoric constructed Arius as a dangerous outsider, the embodiment of spiritual evil. Contrary to its appearance, this letter is not simply a careless overflow of unbridled anger. It is a calculated, although inconsistently executed, attempt to use rhetoric to demonize Arius and silence apparent threats to Constantine's unified view of his Christian coalition.

At the First Ecumenical Council at Nicaea in 325, Constantine pressured the attending bishops to arrive at a formula for understanding the relationship of the Son to the Father. The *homoousion* doctrine, though taken for granted today, was not readily accepted and did not actually become orthodox doctrine for many decades in spite of the canons established at Nicaea. In the process, a great rift arose between competing factions on the basis of different views of philosophical, exegetical, and episcopal authority. After Arius was anathematized, he spent several years attempting to be restored to ministry at Alexandria. After he submitted a tepid statement of faith to Constantine in 327, he was reinstated by a local council at Nicomedia and Constantine ordered Bishops Alexander and Athanasius to restore Arius to ministry under the Alexandrian church. Bishop Alexander refused, as did his successor Athanasius. After six years of continued attempts to be reinstated in Alexandria, Arius apparently wrote a very passionate letter to the emperor threatening to start his own church with his substantial supporting faction. Although Arius' letter is no longer extant, portions of its content can be surmised from Constantine's responses in his invective letter which was broadly disseminated.

The Letter to Arius and the Arians is not a well-written example of classical rhetoric. It is uneven in its structure, hybrid in its character between epistle and epideictic speech intended to influence the values of its audience, and portions of the letter contain solecisms and other literary inconsistencies. In spite of its many flaws, it does demonstrate the rhetorical strategies which Constantine shared with fourth century imperial Christians who sought to draw normative religious and social boundaries. At stake in the newly constructed fourth century environment was the question of who could shape Roman culture. An emperor could use physical force and the other elements of his imperial power, such as withholding financial benefits, but he couldn't control the thoughts of his people. However, public opinion could be swayed by convincing rhetoric that demonstrated that Constantine's views were based on foundational beliefs about what it meant to be 'truly Roman'.

Constantine begins the letter with the premise that 'an evil interpreter is plainly the image and representation of the devil'.[12] With this phrase, he introduces a trope which occurs repeatedly throughout the letter – the source of Arius' knowledge is not only mistaken, it is demonic in origin. As early as Polycarp and Ignatius, some Christian heresiologists began to redefine heresy, not as a choice, but as error spawned from the archetypal evil being – Satan.[13] By the fourth century, the evil origin of heresy and its personification in the devil was an accepted topos which was often combined with zoological physiognomy to characterize Satan as a snake. In this letter, Constantine ascribes the insidious qualities of the snake to Arius through his appearance and behavior. Using metaphors which describe Arius as writing with a pen dripping venom (v. 8), behavior simulating poisonous serpents hiding in their dens, presumably waiting to strike (v. 11), and the victim of a viper's bite so saturated with venom that he emits the poison from his own flesh (v. 35), this zoological characterization builds on a well-used heresiological trope – that heretics hide their true character and false teachings behind a mask of orthodoxy. According to the anonymous Latin writer of the fourth-century physiognomic treatise, 'the snake is a cruel animal, harmful, insidious, formidable when he is decided, elusive when he is afraid and voracious in appetite … Men who follow this type are murderous, audacious, fearful, and love to do evil'.[14]

There are twelve separate physiognomic passages in this letter, including a lengthy, brutal *ekphrasis*, a portion of which is cited above, which portrays Arius' physical bearing as an offensive onslaught on the senses, encompassing the horrific sights, sounds, and smells which emanate from his underlying moral depravity. Yet, there is no gender or ethnic physiognomy in the entire letter. Although only conjecture is possible, one cannot help but wonder if Constantine's political astuteness shaped his choice of invective against Arius. By avoiding ethnic and gender stereotypes, he was careful not to alienate elite Roman women or his Egyptian constituency through a portrayal of Arius as either effeminate or ethnically deviant.

Constantine's verbal assault against Arius' emaciated body and careless physical deportment is ironic, however, given the elite status accorded by Nicene writers to orthodox monks and virgins for a similar carelessness in their physical demeanor.[15] What is berated by Constantine as evidence of Arius' moral deficiencies is applauded by Nicene followers as proof of a focus on spirituality.

[12] Constantine, *Ep. ad Arium et Arianos*, in Athanasius, *Decr.* 40.1, ed. Opitz, *Urk.* 34 (1938), 69.

[13] Ignatius, *Ep. ad Trallians* 10, 11.1, Polycarp, *Ep. ad Philippians* 7.1, A Select Library of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol. 1, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (Grand Rapids, 1979); see Alain Le Boulluec, *La notion d'hérésie dans la littérature grecque II^e-III^e siècles,* vol. 1 (Paris, 1985), 31.

[14] *De physiognomia Liber* 128, ed. Jacques André (Paris, 1981), 137.

[15] Jerome, *Ep. ad Marcella* 24.4-5, A Select Library of the Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers, vol. 5, Series II, ed. Phillip Schaff and Henry Wace (Grand Rapids, 1954), 142-3 – In this letter to Marcella,

By his physiognomic inscriptions, Constantine makes explicit what lies beneath the surface in Arius' depraved character. Invoking the senses of his audience, Constantine marshals the evidence of Arius' general outward appearance, manner of standing, gnashing of teeth, deformed figure, impure throat, twisted mouth, bitter and winding tongue, doleful cries, veins, flesh, filthy hair, emaciated and pale body, permeated with the stench of evil to testify to his status as a complete outsider.[16] Arius has been driven from civilized society, and based on Constantine's characterization, his own body supports this verdict. By positioning his audience as jurors and himself as prosecutor, Constantine's physiognomic characterizations establish the authority of his conclusions about Arius' character, justifying the reason he has not been restored to communion with the Catholic church.

Along with negative descriptions of Arius' physical bearing, Constantine employs stock cultural characterizations such as knave (v. 20) and rascal (v. 21). Not simply name-calling, these terms of vituperation used in Roman literature and comedy, served as social codes to imply a host of negative qualities rejected by Roman society, which were embodied in stereotypical roles such as the *prosopon* of a low-class person or slave involved in dishonest or treacherous deeds, even parricide.[17] In fact, Constantine calls Arius a parricide of justice, stating explicitly what he inferred by this appellation, that by his heretical doctrine Arius was eroding God in Christ and murdering the truth.[18]

Constantine used argument from tradition as a rhetorical weapon by indirect reference to Christian scripture, Homer's *Iliad*, and the Sibylline oracle of Erythraea.[19]

> Indeed, I, your man, relying on divine Providence, from the most ancient writings of the Greeks and Romans shall demonstrate clearly Arius' madness, which has been prophesied and predicted three thousand years ago by the Erythraean Sibyl. For indeed she says: 'Alas, to you O Libya Maritima, indeed, the time will come when the people and your daughters will be forced to undergo a great crisis, hard and difficult, where the faith and piety of all will be judged…'[20]

Jerome praises the virgin Asella for traits for which Arius was derided. Similarly, Gregory Nazianzen lauds the careless appearance of the devoted monk (Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 6.2, ed. Martha Vinson, *Select Orations*, Fathers of the Church 107 [Washington, 2003], 4).

[16] Constantine, *Ep. ad Arium et Arianos*, in Athanasius, *Decr.* 40.3, 35-6, ed. Opitz, *Urk.* 34 (1938), 69, 73-4.

[17] *A Latin Dictionary, Revised*, ed. Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short (Oxford, 1996), 795.

[18] Constantine, *Ep. ad Arium et Arianos*, in Athanasius, *Decr.* 40.33, ed. Opitz, *Urk.* 34 (1938), 73.

[19] Constantine references a divine saying, 'they are skilled in evil' in v. 2 from *Jeremiah* 4:22; in v. 6 he uses a paronomasia from Homer's *Iliad* 5.31 to compare Arius with Ares, the god of war, although he incorrectly ascribes the voice of reason to Aphrodite, instead of Athena; and he marshals the authority of the Erythraean Sibyl against Arius in v. 18-9. Constantine, *Ep. ad Arium et Arianos*, in Athanasius, *Decr.* 40.2, 6, 18-9, ed. Opitz, *Urk.* 34 (1938), 69-71; Homer, *The Iliad of Homer*, trans. Richard Lattimore (Chicago, 1961), 129.

[20] Constantine, *Ep. ad Arium et Arianos*, in Athanasius, *Decr.* 40.18-9, ed. Opitz, *Urk.* 34 (1938), 71.

From the fifth century BC, the Sibyls were consulted as a guide for the Roman nation in times of crises.[21] In spite of the destruction of the original Sibylline collection in 83 BC, the reconstituted collections continued to be treated as authoritative through the mid-fourth century AD and were also used by Christians to substantiate a uniquely Christian interpretation of historical events.[22] In his invective letter, Constantine contrasts his own guidance by God with the foolish madness of Arius which was purportedly prophesied by the Erythraean Sibyl three thousand years earlier. The importance of Constantine's reference to the Sibyl is not that it is in fact a true prophecy that proclaimed Arius' folly three thousand years earlier. Rather, his use of the Sibylline oracle attempts to bring the full weight of Roman tradition on his side against an apparent interloper whose ideas threaten the very foundation of Rome and its newly accepted faith, Christianity.

Finally, Constantine's invective against Arius builds upon an argument from antiquity, denigrating the lack of respected history and duplicitous origins of his theological ideas. In verse 2, Constantine said, 'So then, he introduces a novelty never yet seen since the creation of humanity – a belief of unbelief'.[23] Since the second century, Christian writers accused their opponents of creating new ideas which contradicted the respected antiquity of truth, an accusation also lodged against the second century apologists by their Roman detractors. Constantine's characterization of Arius' ideas is reminiscent of Athanasius' accusation against Arius that his teachings were *kainotomia*, innovations without root in the Christian past.[24] Constantine's accusation infers that if Arius has created these ideas himself, then they are human inventions in direct contradiction to the divine origin of ancient truth and they should be rejected.

In verse 21, Constantine says, 'whereby you pierce the truth with your variegated discourses…' depicting Arius' theology as confusing, unreliable, and deadly, in sharp contrast to the reliable and certain lineage of orthodox truth. Like the sword used by the Roman soldier to pierce Jesus' side, Arius' ideas are portrayed as a threat to the souls of his hearers. By this, Constantine infers that Christian truth has a single origin, while heretics' innovations are not only new, they spring up from multiple evil sources, like a multi-headed hydra.[25] Although this rhetorical strategy is more directly derived from the Christian

[21] *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 1400-1.

[22] See David S. Potter, *Prophecy and History in the Crisis of the Roman Empire: A Historical Commentary on the Thirteenth Sibylline Oracle* (Oxford, 1990); Lactantius, *Divinarum institutionum* I.6; Constantine, *Oratio ad sanctos* 18.

[23] Constantine, *Ep. ad Arium et Arianos*, in Athanasius, *Decr.* 40.2, ed. Opitz, *Urk.* 34 (1938), 69.

[24] Athanasius, *Ep. ad episcopos Aegypti et Libyae* 21 (PG 25, 588C); see Richard Vaggione, *Eunomius of Cyzicus and the Nicene Revolution* (New York, 2000), 38.

[25] Second century church fathers developed this heresiological topos which became a standard strategy used by fourth century writers such as Ambrose of Milan; Ambrose, *De fide* 1.44-6 (PL 16, 538A-539A); see A. Le Boulluec, *La notion d'hérésie,* vol. 1 (1985), 23.

apologists of the second century who defended their beliefs against Christian heterodoxy, the values which they reinforced were clearly Roman.

Constantine's multi-faceted rhetorical response to Arius is not an emotional tirade which violated Roman Stoic views regarding *apatheia* and the self-control required of the consummate Roman man.[26] Instead, it is a calculated attempt to establish his view of Roman life and Christian faith as authoritative in the face of the threat which Arius posed to his foundational ideas regarding the peace and stability of the Roman Empire. The importance of peace and stability are evident in Constantine's responses to the various crises which he faced before he gained ultimate supremacy over his imperial rivals as well as after he established himself as the sole ruler of the Roman Empire. This is seen in his letters regarding the Donatist controversy, in his *Oration to the Saints*, in letters to the various partisans in the Arian controversy, and even in two central Trajanic *spolia* on his triumphal arch in Rome which hail Constantine as the founder of tranquility (*fundatori quietis*) and the liberator of the city (*liberatori urbis*).[27]

Constantine's preoccupation with a personal sense of divine mission to propagate the Christian faith, establish peace, and to insure the Roman way of life do not need to be seen as mutually exclusive or contradictory goals. For him, they were one and the same. Therefore, it only makes sense that he would choose rhetorical strategies which were also embedded in a Roman way of seeing the world to combat perceived threats. His invective letter against Arius and the Arians was his attempt to safeguard his vision of a united Roman empire under the *Deus Summus* by silencing his opponent through the use of physiognomic invective, arguments from tradition and antiquity, and heresiological commonplaces which held currency in Christian and Roman worldview. The goal was to portray Arius as evil, beastly, and outside the norms of civilized Roman culture. By doing so, he silenced Arius in a way that would not have been possible if he had executed him – he ridiculed him and his ideas so that they lacked currency in a society where status was based primarily on cultural capital. In terms of Roman prestige, Constantine's invective sought to deplete Arius' religious and social capital by portraying him and his followers as neither truly Christian nor truly Roman.

[26] Epictetus says 'to be afflicted with passions is the only real source of misery…' (*The Discourses of Epictetus* 2.13.1, ed. Christopher Gill [London, 1995]).

[27] Constantine, *Ep. ad Aelafium* in appendix three of Optatus, *Against the Donatists*, ed. Mark Edwards, Translated Texts for Historians 27 (Liverpool, 1997), 183-4; *Ep. ad Celsum*, in appendix seven of Optatus, *Against the Donatists*, ed. M. Edwards (1997), 194; Constantine, *Ep. ad Miltiade*, in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* X 5.18-20 (SC 55, 108-9); Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 2.56, 72 (PG 20, 1031A-B, 1047A-B).

Nicene Fraud at the Council of Rimini

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ABSTRACT

The council of Rimini closed with Western bishops signing off a homoian creed and failing to uphold Nicene orthodoxy. Their colleagues claimed a fraud had been perpetrated, but the question remains as to what this fraud actually entailed. This paper suggests that 'fraud' was a familiar trope in political and religious rhetoric for actions of heretics, and that it was only one of many excuses put forward to defend the Rimini bishops. If anything, the greatest fraud was the Nicene re-telling that implied any hoax occurred at the Council.[1]

The council of Rimini (359 AD) marked a turning point in the fortunes of the pro-Nicene party. The first session of the Council (June-July) refused to sign the pre-prepared 'Dated Creed' and insisted on the Nicene Creed as the only standard of faith. But the ten delegates sent to inform the Emperor were not accepted, and were forced to return to Rimini. At the second session the Rimini bishops were persuaded to do a U-turn and countersign a slightly revised version of the 'Dated Creed', which became definitive for many decades after. Such, at least, is the account of Athanasius in his *De synodis* (1.1-14).

The action of the Rimini bishops baffled everyone; as Jerome famously declared, 'the whole world groaned and was astonished to find itself Arian.'[2] Contemporary and later accounts alike suggest fraud and trickery. But what exactly was the nature of this fraud? This paper suggests that the word 'fraud' was primarily form of invective used as part of the political rhetoric, and that specific accusations of what the fraud actually entailed only crystallized later in time and were part of the neo-Nicene rewriting of history.

Ancient and modern views of the 'fraus'

Some modern scholars, especially earlier in the twentieth century,[3] have followed the Nicene narrative which suggests that the Illyrian bishops Ursacius

[1] I should like to thank Dr. Michael Williams (National University of Ireland, Maynooth) for his invaluable comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

[2] Jerome, *Alterc*. 19.

[3] See review in Daniel H. Williams, *Ambrose of Milan and the End of the Arian-Nicene Conflicts* (Oxford, 1995), 29; also 22[53].

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and Valens were dishonest and untrustworthy heresiarchs whose main crime was double-dealing. Jerome[4] (supported by evidence in Hilary[5]) suggests that Valens deceived the Rimini delegates about the interpretation of one of the anathemas, which forbade speaking of Christ as 'a creature like one of the creatures': although this could be interpreted in an orthodox sense, it could also be taken in a homoian or even anomoian way (*sc*. Christ is still a creature). This narrative is adopted by some modern scholars such as Ayres and D.H. Williams.[6] The most extreme hypothesis is mentioned by Gwatkin[7] who considers the possibility that the Illyrian bishops secretly doctored the document signed by the Rimini bishops by subsequently adding a homoian phrase.

An exactly contrary position in modern times is taken by Meslin[8] or Burns[9] who suggest there was no fraud at all. For them Ursacius and Valens made honest attempts at compromise due to their inclinations 'à l'idéal eusébien d'une Via Media'.[10] However, for some Meslin goes too far in his attempts to whitewash the Illyrians as entirely innocent victims of Nicene vilification.[11]

Possibly the most thorough analysis of Rimini is still that by Yves-Marie Duval,[12] who takes a middle position. He suggests that the cries of fraud were ultimately the result of misunderstanding or lack of clarity on what the terms of the Rimini creed and anathemas actually meant.[13] For Duval, the Latin bishops at Rimini were certainly misled when they were misinformed that their Greek colleagues at Seleucia had agreed to give up the *homoousios*.[14] The main problem at Rimini, however, was the ambiguity of terms in the official Council documents which could be taken in a homoian sense.[15]

[4] Jerome, *Alterc*. 18.

[5] Hilary of Poitiers, *Collectanea Antiariana Parisina* B.VIII.2. Hilary's collection is hereafter abbreviated as *Coll. Ant. Par*.

[6] Lewis Ayres, *Nicaea and its Legacy: An Approach to Fourth-Century Trinitarian Theology* (Oxford, 2004), 161; D.H. Williams 'Ambrose of Milan' (1995), 22-37.

[7] Henry M. Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism* (Cambridge, 1882), 182[1]; see also 178 on the villainy of the Illyrians.

[8] Michel Meslin, *Les Ariens d'Occident 335-430* (Paris, 1967).

[9] Paul C. Burns, *The Christology in Hilary of Poitiers' Commentary on Matthew* (Rome, 1981), *e.g*. 28-33.

[10] M. Meslin, *Ariens* (1967), 71-85, 281-91; esp. 279, 284.

[11] *E.g*. M. Meslin, *Ariens* (1967), 288, 290. Meslin's views are critiqued in the review of his book by Yves-Marie Duval, 'Sur l'Arianisme des Ariens d'Occident', *Mélanges de Science Religieuse* 69 (1969), 145-53, *e.g*. 146, 148.

[12] Yves-Marie Duval, 'La manœuvre frauduleuse de Rimini', in *Hilaire et son temps: Actes du Colloque de Poitiers 29 Sept. – 3 Oct. 1968* (Paris, 1969), 51-103.

[13] Y.-M. Duval, 'La manœuvre frauduleuse' (1969), 96-8. A similar argument (viz. that protagonists were confused about terminology or semantics) is often used of the fifth-century Christological controversy.

[14] See for example *Coll. Ant. Par*. A.I.1; see also Sulpicius Severus, *Chron*. II 44.2.

[15] Y.-M. Duval, 'La manœuvre frauduleuse' (1969), 61. Duval suggests that the bishops at Seleucia were also misled as to actions at Rimini. This particular 'deceit' is not discussed further

Certainly there may have been misunderstandings and the Rimini legates may have been unaware why they were being asked to sign the 'Dated Creed' (as suggested for example by Meslin: 'Les sentiments que, dès le premier jour du Concile de Rimini, manifesta la majorité d'entre eux révèlent combien ils étaient demeurés à l'écart et dans l'ignorance des complexes spéculations de 358…').[16] Nevertheless, the Nicene defence of the Rimini bishops seems to have been a touch disingenuous, as is now to be shown.

Fraus in political rhetoric

The first point to note is that the concept of mendacity or falseness is not only found after Rimini but is a common trope in these debates for referring to the wiles of heretics (also expressed by other terms such as *mendacia, dolus, falsitas*: see next paragraph). Unfortunately for Ursacius and Valens, their past actions made them particularly open to this accusation.

Athanasius starts his letter *Ad episcopos Aegypti*, written in the year before Rimini, with a long introductory section on the devices of heretics. Among other things he mentions how they 'pretend to study Scripture', their tactics are described as 'craft of the deceivers', and they themselves contain 'seeds of falsehood' and practise 'deceits' and 'wiles'.[17] The accusation of mendacity is a trope in Athanasius: heresy is by its very nature fraudulent, since it deceives believers.[18] This is not unique to Athanasius: the theme is ubiquitous in the literature. For example, Hilary describes a creed as 'fraudulent and beguiling';[19] the bishops at Serdica berate 'counterfeit doctrine';[20] the Eastern bishops claim the failure to condemn Aetius' theology is a 'trick' ('*dolus*').[21] Of course, treating heretics as fraudulent is not something new in the fourth century: this was a common line of Irenaeus[22] and is found as early as the Apostolic Fathers.[23]

While it may be perpetrated by humans, it is clear that heretical *fraus* has more metaphysical origins. The section by Athanasius already cited waxes lyrical on the tricks and deceits carried out by the devil: this 'crafty spirit mocks men by false displays, deluding and drawing each into his own pit of

in this paper, since it is not one that belongs to Rimini itself and does not feature significantly in later accounts of Rimini.

[16] M. Meslin, *Ariens* (1967), 285.

[17] These examples from Athanasius, *Ep. ad ep. Aeg.* 4, but the whole introduction of that letter (§1-11) contains similar rhetoric throughout.

[18] See *e.g.* Athanasius, *Ep. fest.* 19.6.

[19] *Coll. Ant. Par.* B.II.9, 4 (the creed of Sirmium?).

[20] *Coll. Ant. Par.* B.Appendix.I, 2.

[21] *Coll. Ant. Par.* B.VIII.1.

[22] *E.g.* Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* I 13.1.

[23] Ign., *Eph.* 9.

wickedness.'[24] Again this is a standard part of rhetoric in the 350s.[25] Even Athanasius does not use the word deceit to mean a deliberate hoax when referring to Rimini: 'For when … the synod met, those men laid bare the design of their own deceitfulness';[26] he accuses them of being 'ignorant and deceitful men'[27] whose actions betray their 'dishonesty and duplicity'.[28] His phrasing here indicates that 'deceitfulness' is not to do with secret plots (since it was 'laid bare') but with heretical convictions.

Thirdly the concept of fraud or falseness also refers to doctrinal inconsistency or prevarication, which was seen as a punishable offence. For example, within a few months of Rimini the emperor deposed Aetius for lack of clarity on his doctrinal standpoint.[29] One of Athanasius' key objections is the (supposed) continual policy changes of his opponents: 'Daily they shift their ground.'[30] And if inconsistency is fraudulent the same may be said of innovation, since it is seen as an inconsistency with teaching handed down from gospel times. Hence innovation also constitutes fraud: '… their deceitfulness. For they attempted to … propose to us an innovation.'[31] Indeed, one of his key arguments against the 'Dated Creed' is how laughable it is that a creed should be fixed to a certain recent date, rather than going back to the time of Christ.[32]

Charges of *fraus* and the like, then, are part and parcel of religious or political polemic. Unfortunately, Ursacius and Valens were particularly open to charges of *falsitas* due to an infamous volte-face in their past. The synod of Serdica (342/3) had deposed those who rejected the orthodoxy of Athanasius and Marcellus of Ancyra, including the 'ignorant and headstrong young men' Ursacius and Valens.[33] By 347 the pair had approached Julius of Rome and asked to be received back into communion:[34] 'We declare that everything we claimed before about Athanasius' reputation was false, and lacks any weight.'[35] This recantation became infamous and from then on, the two are continually

[24] Ath., *Ep. ad ep. Aeg.* 2.

[25] *E.g.* Germinius, *Coll. Ant. Par.* B.VI, 4 ('*laqueis diaboli*'); Hilary, *Coll. Ant. Par.* B.I.4 ('*diabolica fraus*').

[26] Ath., *De syn.* 1.10. This letter is also preserved in a slightly different (more accurate?) form by Hilary, *Coll. Ant. Par.* A.V.1, 1-3.

[27] Ath., *De syn.* 1.9.

[28] Ath., *De syn.* 1.2.

[29] Philost., *Hist. eccl.* V 1: 'As for Aetius, deposed because he taught the doctrine of [the Son being] exactly like [the Father] which expressly contradicted his other sermons and writings, he was banished to Mopsuestia in Cilicia…'

[30] Ath., *De syn.* 1.6. See also 1.11: 'who by so often changing what they had believed, have troubled all the churches…'; 1.13: 'the fickleness of Eudoxius, Acacius and their fellows…' Compare also *id.*, *Ep. ad ep. Aeg.* 5f.

[31] Ath., *De syn.* 1.10.

[32] Ath., *De syn.* 1.3f.

[33] *Coll. Ant. Par.* B.II.1, 8; *Coll. Ant. Par.* B.II.2, 4; *Coll. Ant. Par.* B.Appendix.I, 5.

[34] *Coll. Ant. Par.* B.II.5, 4.

[35] *Coll. Ant. Par.* B.II.5, 6f. Note also B.II.5, 8.

berated in the literature as vacillating, deceitful and untrustworthy: 'Let not Ursacius and Valens be listened to, for they have retracted their former assertions, and in what they say now they are not to be trusted'.[36] This recantation may have been out of cunning or just political necessity, but at the very least it can be said that Ursacius and Valens did manifest a change in policy. For their contemporaries, this is exactly what constituted fraud or deceitfulness.

In all, then, accusations of *fraus* are entirely to be expected in pro-Nicene literature following any council whose outcome was not fully in support of Nicene principles.

Excuses used by the Rimini bishops

Following the Rimini debacle, an explanation was demanded of the Rimini bishops and a number of self-defence pleas quickly arose. The first of these, as already demonstrated, was the charge of *fraus*. Thus the Rimini bishops excuse themselves as innocent faithful who were ignorant of what was going on. This is Ambrose's suggestion when he indicts the misleading Rimini anathema: 'Simple people heard, and believed'.[37] He goes on to describe innocent Christians like birds who pursue faith but are 'caught on the hook of ungodly deceit'.

This is a plea of ignorance but also implicitly hints at a second excuse, namely that of naïveté or weakness on the part of the Rimini bishops. A letter from Liberius written shortly after the events encouraged the Italian bishops to forgive those who had been at Rimini. Liberius suggests that it would be unnecessarily severe not to forgive them for what they had done in ignorance.[38] Yet Liberius' use of the word 'ignorance' cannot refer to a deliberate fraud, but must be rhetorical. Elsewhere in the same letter he says the fault was committed through naïveté or inexperience ('*imperitiae culpa*'). In other words he knows that the bishops were not so much tricked, as weak under pressure. After all, if the Rimini bishops truly acted in ignorance, there would be no need to spare them: as it is, the appeal for forgiveness implies they have committed a fault. The theme of the naïveté of the Rimini bishops recurs in the later narratives: Sulpicius Severus speaks of their 'weakness of character' ('*imbecillitas ingenii*').[39]

[36] Liberius, ap. Ath., *Hist. Ar.* 36. Other examples from Socr., *Hist. eccl.* II 37: 'those men [Ursacius and Valens] always sided with those with most power'; Hosius of Cordoba, ap. Ath., *Hist. Ar.* 44: 'How can you endure Valens and Ursacius, although they have retracted and made a written confession of their calumnies?'

[37] Ambrose, *De fide* 3.16.

[38] *Coll. Ant. Par.* B.IV.1, 1.

[39] Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.* II 43.3. See also II 41.4, which describes the delegates sent to the Emperor in between the two sessions as 'young men ('*adolescentes*'), with insufficient learning and judgment'.

The third excuse for the Rimini bishops was the charge of imperial pressure or bullying. At the first session of the Council, the Rimini bishops insisted they would hold to the Nicene symbol. In their letter to the Emperor they implore not to be forced to sign the new declaration of faith presented to them: 'We beg this over and over again, that there should be nothing new!'[40] Bullying continued when this letter was presented to the Emperor by ten chosen delegates. Hilary describes how the delegates were harassed for several months and eventually capitulated: 'Exhausted by the long delay, and terrified by the Emperor's threats ('*minis perterriti*'), they condemned the wholesome faith which they had previously defended and upheld the heretical faith they had previously condemned.'[41] The legates were then sent back to Rimini to persuade the other bishops to sign the new declaration. According to this telling, coercion and strong-armed tactics continued at the second session, until finally all the required signatures were obtained.[42]

So then, there are these three excuses to justify the capitulation of the Rimini bishops: fraud from the Illyrian bishops accompanied by ignorance from the others at Rimini; weakness and naïveté; and imperial pressure or bullying. Indeed, the three excuses are found within the same texts. Athanasius accuses the Illyrian bishops of bullying in the same texts which also speak of Rimini as a fraud.[43] A letter from the Gallic bishops at the Council of Paris (360/361) uses the defence pleas of deceit or fraud and ignorance[44] next to suggestions of coercion,[45] apparently with no fear of inconsistency. Yet to some degree these excuses are mutually inconsistent (if the bishops were entirely ignorant as to what they were doing, why would they also need to be bullied?).

Of course it is quite possible that the Rimini bishops were both tricked and bullied, but nor were they entirely guiltless. The letter of Liberius discussed above shows that many Italian bishops wished to withdraw from communion with the Rimini delegates. Hilary's collection of documents pertaining to the Council (found in the *Collectanea Antiariana Parisina*) defends the actions of the Rimini bishops before others; but when he addresses the bishops themselves he bitterly attacks them for their actions.[46] And Jerome's *Altercatio* shows that

[40] *Coll. Ant. Par.* A.V.1, 3. This letter of the Rimini bishops after the first session is also found in Ath., *De syn.* 10; Socr., *Hist. eccl.* II 37; Sozom., *Hist. eccl.* IV 18; Theod., *Hist. eccl.* II 19.

[41] *Coll. Ant. Par.* A.V.2.

[42] Ath., *Ad Afros* 3; Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.* II 44.1. Note also that the Rimini bishops were not permitted to return home until all was completed, *e.g.* Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.* II 41.1. See also T.D. Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius* (London, 1993), 144-9.

[43] *E.g.* compare *De syn.* 1.9: '[the Bishops marvelled] at the deceitfulness of their language and their unprincipled intentions' with 1.10 where the Bishops beg 'that you will not permit us to be harassed'.

[44] *Coll. Ant. Par.* A.I, 1 and 4: 'the devil's deceit, and a cunning conspiracy of the heretics'; they have been deceived ('*falleremur*'); they have been duped ('*fraudem se passam*').

[45] *Coll. Ant. Par.* A.I, 1: 'forced ('*coacti*') into silence on the word *ousia'*.

[46] *Coll. Ant. Par.* B.VIII.2, 1-3.

Luciferians were still refusing to accept the Rimini bishops decades after the event. These reactions reveal the pervasive contemporary view that the Rimini bishops had some justifying to do; they were not felt to be as ignorant as some of the rhetoric would have us believe.

The true hoax: refusing to compromise

So far it would seem that the word *fraus* is either a heckle indicating dubious theology or a policy change, or else one of many excuses for feebleness. Yet there is no doubt in the minds of the later historians that a hoax of some kind has occurred. So what was it? There may not have been any specific scam, but certainly the overall outcome of the Council was not as Constantius intended. Although not explicit in the fourth-century narratives, one could point to the fact that a supposed compromise creed ended up being used by Nicenes as definitive of an anti-nicene position. But if this is fraud, it is the Nicenes who are to blame.

Rimini was originally billed as a council that would bring unity to the church, and Constantius' stated aim in calling councils was to bring harmony (a position broadly seen as sincere by scholars such as T.D. Barnes[47] and W. Löhr[48]). The 'Dated Creed' was composed *in camera* not only by Ursacius and Valens but by agreement with Basil of Ancyra and other moderates;[49] this important mitigating factor is not mentioned in the Nicene authors, who attribute the 'Dated Creed' to the Illyrians alone. This was not a party manifesto, but a compromise document;[50] the true position of Ursacius and Valens may be better expressed by the infamous 'blasphemy of Sirmium' of 357, and the 'Dated Creed' is considerably more moderate.

Attempts at compromise continued at the council. When the Rimini bishops initially rejected it, Ursacius and Valens attempted to revise the document to the satisfaction of the assembly ('But when what they offered publicly in the council was seen to be out of favour, they thought it ought to be composed in

[47] T.D. Barnes suggests Constantius tried to avoid excessive interference in church matters for some twenty years, and only stepped in when the situation appeared to get out of hand. See *Ammianus Marcellinus and the representation of historical reality* (London, 1998), 89 and 'Athanasius and Constantius' (1993), 132. However, Barnes believes the emperor broke with former policy by 359 and put strong pressure on the Rimini bishops to conform. See 'Athanasius and Constantius' (1993), 144-6.

[48] W. Löhr, 'The Homoiousian Church Party', in M.R. Barnes and D.H. Williams (eds), *Arianism after Arius* (Edinburgh, 1993), 85, 98

[49] *E.g.* Epiph., *Haer.* LXXIII 22; letter of Germinius, *Coll. Ant. Par.* B.VI, 3. See also T.D. Barnes, 'Athanasius and Constantius' (1993), 144-5.

[50] M. Meslin, *Ariens* (1967), 78-80; J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (London, 1972), 290: 'It was a mediating creed, designed as far as possible to please everybody…'

a different way')[51] but did not initially meet with success. Maybe it did take imperial pressure for the Rimini bishops to sign off a revised version of the 'Dated Creed'. But this pressure was not moved by a homoian agenda: the aim was not heresy, but harmony.[52] Yet for Athanasius, of course, any attempt at compromise is duplicitous: 'When this [Creed] had been read, the dishonesty of its framers was soon apparent.'[53]

This notion that Rimini was aiming to find a compromise is further supported by the fact that Nicene accounts agree that the 'Dated Creed' was capable of being read in a perfectly orthodox fashion. Jerome is categorical that there is nothing superficially wrong with the signed creed: 'For at that time nothing seemed so holy, so appropriate for a servant of God, than to pursue unity … especially since the Exposition [*i.e.* dated Creed] did not on the surface present anything sacrilegious.'[54] Duval's inference is that the 'fraud' was the vague phrasing of the anathemas, which could be taken in a homoian way: however it is here suggested that the formulation was *deliberately* vague, so that all could find a way to agree to it. Even the term *ousia* is not anathematized strictly speaking, but merely avoided as unscriptural and confusing for the people;[55] Jerome, for one, felt this was a plausible line of reasoning ('*verisimilis ratio*') which made the absence of *ousia* acceptable to Rimini bishops.[56]

So then, this compromise document should have been ideal, with wording deliberately contrived to be ambiguous in order to be acceptable to all.[57] And it seems not to have caused as much offence at the council as the accusations of fraud and bullying might imply. Sulpicius Severus suggests the Rimini bishops

[51] *Coll. Ant. Par.* A.V.I, 2. Ath., *De syn.* 1.10 records this section of the delegates' letter in a more vituperative way: 'But when they perceived that we did not share their purpose nor agree with their evil mind, they transferred themselves to our council, alleging that it might be advisable to compile something instead. But a short time was enough to expose their plans.'

[52] Socr., *Hist. eccl.* II 37. L. Ayres 'Nicaea and its Legacy' (2004), 160-1 suggests that the Rimini bishops rejected the document because they were suspicious of the intentions of Ursacius and Valens. There is certainly truth in this, but that does not mean their suspicions were necessarily justified.

[53] Ath., *De syn.* 9.

[54] Jerome, *Alterc.* 17.

[55] Ath., *De syn.* 8 (citing the council document): 'Whereas the term "essence"… gives offence as being misconceived by the people, and is not contained in the Scriptures, it has seemed good to remove it…'; Jerome, *Alterc.* 18: 'Since it is not found in Scripture and gives offence to plenty of the more simple people by its newness, it has seemed good to remove it.'

[56] Jerome, *Alterc.* 18. W. Löhr, 'The Homoiousian Church Party' (1993), 97-8 also highlights this confusion in the purpose of the Rimini creed, regarding whether it was party-political statement or unifying compromise.

[57] Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.* II 44.2: 'Valens and Ursacius affirmed that the present formula was conceived according to universal understanding ('*catholica ratione*') … But [they said] if anything seemed to be insufficiently explicit in the formula, [the other delegates] were to add what they thought should be added.'

were eventually content to sign;[58] Jerome goes so far as suggest the council closed joyfully.[59]

Yet despite the efforts of both the emperor and the Illyrian bishops, the attempt at unity and compromise utterly failed, and the actual outcome was not harmony but a further polarization of the theological and political parties. Before the Rimini bishops even got home, they were already being criticized for signing the 'Dated Creed', and were already coming up with excuses for having failed to uphold Nicene orthodoxy. Almost immediately they emphatically withdrew their support of the 'Dated Creed': the event was a *fraus diaboli* and they 'retract everything done wrongly, in ignorance.'[60]

The result of this should have been predictable. The 'Dated Creed' had been a compromise document, but now was rejected by the pro-Nicene wing: it *ipso facto* no longer represented the views of the whole church, and became a homoian creed associated with the homoian cause. Consider the famous case of the Empress Justina in her conflict with Ambrose over the basilica at Milan: the Rimini creed was here presented by Ambrose as a party-political statement – hardly a compromise document acceptable to all parties. This, then, was the fraud of Rimini: that a formula intended to bring unity and compromise in fact came to be regarded as a party manifesto.

If this is an accurate reading of the events, the blame for any *fraus* should not be cast solely on Ursacius and Valens. The devil's own hoax was that a council called to obtain unity, and a document devised as compromise, instead protracted and intensified the conflict and animosity of the debates. But in this it was the pro-Nicenes, not the homoians, who refused to compromise, and then rewrote history to distance themselves from the actions of those who had capitulated; and this rewriting of history was the true fraud of Rimini.

Conclusion

Accusations of *fraus* should not be taken too literally since they are part and parcel of the invective of the day, referring to the devil's work as much as that of the heretics. Indeed, one proof of fraud at Rimini often cited is the letter from the Gallic bishops at Paris; however their reference is actually to *fraus diabolica*,[61] here attributing the Rimini debacle to the devil's meddling. This was probably a permissible accusation in its context which would have been understood exactly as it was meant, namely as a fairly standard slander against one's theological opponents.

[58] Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.* II 44.2.
[59] Jerome, *Alterc.* 18f.
[60] *Coll. Ant. Par.* A.I, 4.
[61] *Coll. Ant. Par.* A.I, 1.

But later Nicene revisionism succeeded in rewriting history – and in duping modern scholars. The cries of 'fraud' after Rimini were manifold but unfocused. There were surprisingly many targets for the accusation (misinformation about the Seleucia council; changing a clause; political sleight-of-hand from Ursacius and Valens; deceiving the Seleucia delegates…). The very proliferation of accusations casts suspicion on their veracity. It is only in later literature that the accusations become a little more focused (*e.g.* when Jerome infers that the fraud related specifically to Valens' descriptions of the anathemas[62]). The Nicene historians a generation later needed the narrative of a specific fraud to illustrate the as yet unsubstantiated accusation of fraud.

The fact is that at Rimini, cries of *fraus* were just one excuse among many from the bishops who knew that they had disappointed their colleagues: attack is the best form of defence. A variety of actions at the council were called duplicitous, whether the charge was fair or not. Certainly Ursacius and Valens were particularly susceptible to charges of fraud due to some policy irregularities in their past. No doubt the homoians and their allies used bullying and applied political or diplomatic pressure, and this paper does not seek to exonerate them. But the Nicenes were themselves hardly models of meek passivity in their refusal to compromise. The real misrepresentation was the Nicene portrayal of the council delegates as innocent victims being duped by unscrupulous homoians. The fraud of Rimini was not anything perpetrated by Ursacius and Valens: it was the neo-Nicene rewriting of history that was the hoax.

[62] Jerome, *Alterc*. 18. As Duval has shown, this is not entirely consistent with other accounts of Rimini. See Y.-M. Duval, 'La manœuvre frauduleuse' (1969), 75-81.

From Valens to Theodosius: 'Nicene' and 'Arian' Fortunes in the East August 378 to November 380

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ABSTRACT

Scholars maintain that the death of the emperor Valens in 378 permitted the Nicene party to 'turn the tide' against its adversaries even before Theodosius I began his pro-Nicene policy late in 380. Without imperial support, the 'Arian opposition' could not withstand the growing strength of the Nicenes. However, available evidence shows a different picture of the two years after Valens' death. The East was disrupted by sectarian strife that precluded any party from gaining the final advantage over the others. Nicene advances during this time were offset by the general conditions of disorder in Eastern Christianity, by Homoean resistance, by Nicene disunity, and by the contemporary ascendency of the Eunomians and Apollinarians. The Nicenes were restricted in their expectations of success while their opponents were hopeful for the future. The enemies of what eventually was to become established orthodoxy were far from defeated, and a Nicene victory was not foreseeable.

But behind the scenes the Nicenes built the foundation of their victory. With the support of Theodosius, the Neo-Nicene faction under the leadership of Meletius, bishop of Antioch, held a council at Antioch in 379 to plan the establishment of the Nicene faith in the East. This council made a doctrinal accord with western Nicenes that assured western support for the eastern Neo-Nicene party. This council also devised doctrinal and creedal statements for the spread of the Neo-Nicene faith in the East. Nevertheless, only the support of Theodosius ensured the final Nicene victory. Free to pursue his religious policy in late 380, Theodosius established the Neo-Nicene faith as the religion of the East by calling the Council of Constantinople in 381 and by legally suppressing sects opposed to Neo-Nicene orthodoxy. Most of the credit for the Nicene victory should go to Theodosius.

Introductory note

The terms 'Arian' and 'Nicene' obscure and distort the wide variety of Christian belief about divinity in the East c. 378.[1] Research has better identified the

[1] Maurice F. Wiles, *Archetypal Heresy: Arianism through the Centuries* (Oxford and New York, 1996), 1-26.

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opposing groups and their relations with each other at the time of Valens' death.[2] The term 'Arians' in ancient sources generally refers to the Homoeans, conservatives who held that the Son was only 'like' (*homoios*) the Father.[3] The 'Semi-Arians', those who maintained that the Father and Son were 'similar' (*homoiousios*) in nature and who enjoyed a brief ascendency in the late 350s until defeated by the Homoeans,[4] were mostly replaced in the 360s and 370s by the so-called 'Macedonians' who gave equal divine status to the Father and Son but not to the Spirit.[5] The term 'Neo-Arian' refers to the tradition of Aetius and Eunomius who believed in the fundamental 'unlikeness' (*heterousios*) in nature and status of the Father and Son.[6] Because of Eunomius' leadership,[7] the Neo-Arians at this time were often termed 'Eunomians'. These 'Arian' groups were as opposed to each other as they were to the Nicenes.[8] Although the term 'Nicene' generally covers those who upheld the Nicene formula and the 'sameness' (*homoousios*) of the nature and status of the Father and Son, this essay will show that the Nicenes were also divided into opposing factions.[9] The author will try to distinguish carefully between religious groups and to use proper sectarian categories in presenting the complex religious picture of the Roman East during the period under discussion.

* * *

During his reign the emperor Valens (364-378) championed the Homoean faith as the official Christianity of the Eastern Roman Empire.[10] The death of Valens at the battle of Hadrianople on August 9, 378, created a two year hiatus in the

[2] *Ibid*. 27-32.

[3] For the Homoeans and their history see Hanns C. Brennecke, *Studien zur Geschichte der Homöer*, Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 73 (Tübingen, 1988).

[4] For the history of the Homoiousians and their interactions with the Homoeans see *ibid*. 5-86; Jaakko Gummerus, *Die homöusianische Partei bis zum Tode des Konstantius* (Leipzig, 1900), esp. 90-185; Winrich A. Löhr, *Die Entstehung der homöischen und homöusianischen Kirchenparteien*, Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte; Bonner Beiträge zur Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte 2 (Witterschlick and Bonn, 1986), esp. 93-158.

[5] R.P.C. Hanson, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God: The Arian Controversy 318-381* (Edinburgh, 1988), 760-72.

[6] Thomas A. Kopecek, *A History of Neo-Arianism,* 2 vols., Patristic Monograph Series 8 (Cambridge, 1979).

[7] Socr., *Hist. eccl*. II 35 and IV 26.

[8] See Socr., *Hist. eccl*. IV 13 and Soz., *Hist. eccl*. VII 6 for the definitive break between Eunomius and the Homoeans.

[9] For an introduction to the varied understanding and use of *homoousios* among Christians during the 'Arian controversy' see Frauke Dinsen, *Homoousios: Die Geschichte des Begriffs bis zum Konzil von Konstantinopel (381)* (Kiel, 1976), 57-175.

[10] For Valens' religious policy see H.C. Brennecke, *Geschichte der Homöer* (1988), 181-242; Noel E. Lenski, *Failure of Empire: Valens and the Roman State in the Fourth Century A.D*., Transformation of the Classical Heritage 34 (Berkeley, 2002), 242-63.

imperial direction of religious policy in the East. Imperial concerns in the Balkans prohibited Valens' successor, Theodosius I, from establishing his pro-Nicene policy until his entry into Constantinople on November 24, 380.

Modern historians generally view the years 378 to 380 as preparatory to a Nicene victory. The Homoean church, no longer artificially propped up by imperial support, 'collapsed', and the Nicenes gained ascendency over their enemies even before Theodosius began his religious policy late in 380.[11] But a reading of contemporary writers and fifth century church historians does not substantiate the standard view that the death of Valens signaled the victory of Nicene cause in the Roman East. Rather, the twenty-seven months after the death of Valens were a period of heightened sectarian strife in which opponents of what later became Nicene orthodoxy held the ascendancy. The Nicene victory came only when Theodosius reasserted imperial direction over East Roman religious affairs.

This discussion begins with a few words about Valens. Valens espoused the Homoean cause early in his rule of the East for a number of reasons: his own inclination, the large number of Homoean bishops that remained in office since the inception of the Homoean church in the last years of Constantius II's reign, the Homoean atmosphere of Constantinople, and the influence of Eudoxius, Homoean Bishop of Constantinople, who baptized Valens in 366 or 367.[12] Thereafter Valens upheld Homoean supremacy to the end of his reign. In general, Valens followed a policy of moderation and pragmatic treatment of his religious opponents.[13] But when he encountered Nicene resurgence later in his reign, Valens responded with a severe persecution of Nicene clergy and ascetics during the years 373 to 376.[14] Notable Nicene bishops such as Eusebius of Samosata, Barses of Edessa, and Gregory of Nyssa were exiled while other clergy and several monks were tortured, exiled, sent to the mines, or pressed into imperial service. Valens was forced to discontinue his actions against the Nicenes because of the invasion of the Goths into the Danubian provinces in the late 370s.[15] Yet at his death the East was largely Homoean. Sozomen states that at that time most eastern sees were held by 'Arians'.

[11] *E.g.* H.C. Brennecke, *Geschichte der Homöer* (1988), 242; N.E. Lenski, *Failure of Empire* (2002), 262f.; Henry M. Gwatkin, *The Arian Controversy*, Epochs of Church History (London, 1914), 150-2; Ernst Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*. Tome Premier. *De l'état romain à l'état Byzantin (284-476)*, French Edition by Jean-Remy Palanque (Paris, 1959), 197; Timothy D. Barnes, 'The Collapse of the Homoeans in the East', *SP* 29 (1997), 3-16; Stephen Williams and Gerard Friell, *Theodosius: The Empire at Bay* (New Haven, 1995), 52.

[12] N.E. Lenski, *Failure of Empire* (2002), 243-6; W.A. Löhr, *Entstehung* (1986), 156f.; H.C. Brennecke, *Geschichte der Homöer* (1988), 183-206, esp. 202-6.

[13] N.E. Lenski, *Failure of Empire* (2002), 246-55.

[14] *Ibid.* 255-61.

[15] Socr., *Hist. eccl.* IV 35; Soz., *Hist. eccl.* VI 37; see N.E. Lenski, *Failure of Empire* (2002), 261.

Although the Homoean party lost the support of the Roman state with the death of Valens, this did not mean that the Homoean cause ended in the East. The Homoeans Demophilus and Dorotheus remained the respective bishops of Constantinople and of Antioch, the political capitals of the Eastern Empire.[16] Other Homoean bishops remained in office until removed by Theodosius I.[17] In addition, many Homoean bishops enjoyed considerable local support. Gregory of Nazianzus, the leader of the Nicene community in Constantinople during these years, testifies to Demophilus' popularity in the capital after Valens' death.[18] Hence, the Homoeans continued as an important sect in the Roman East. Sozomen reports that the Homoeans were large in number and aggressively promoted their theology throughout the East at this time.[19]

But the suspension of imperial religious policy in the East after Valens' death permitted other sects to advance their cause. This process was aided by the recall of exiles from Valens' reign by both Valens and the emperor Gratian. In order to unify the Empire during the Gothic crisis, Valens called back selected Nicene exiles of his reign in autumn of 377.[20] Soon after Valens' death Gratian recalled all exiles of Valens' reign, Nicene and Non-Nicene.[21] These actions permitted the return of many sectarian leaders[22] and did not give special privileges to any group, including the Nicenes.[23] These edicts provided a temporary equality of status to the Nicenes and non-Nicenes in the East and enabled them to compete on an equal footing. This process was augmented by Gratian's grant of toleration and freedom of worship to all but extreme Christian sectarians.[24]

Under these circumstances the Neo-Arian sect particularly advanced its influence in the East during this period.[25] Eunomius, the leading prelate of this movement, left his exile on the island of Naxos after Gratian's recall and

[16] Socr., *Hist. eccl.* V 3.

[17] H.C. Brennecke, *Geschichte der Homöer* (1988), 242; N.E. Lenski, *Failure of Empire* (2002), 263. Theodoret says (*Hist. eccl.* V 7) that the Council of Constantinople of 381 was called to deal with surviving Homoean bishops. Hence, there must have been many Homoean bishops in 381.

[18] *De vita sua* 660-4; see Richard P. Vaggione, *Eunomius of Cyzicus and the Nicene Revolution*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford, 2000), 316.

[19] *Hist. eccl.* VII 6.

[20] Ruf., *Hist. eccl.* XI 13; Jer., *Chron.* s.a. 378; see N.E. Lenski, *Failure of Empire* (2002), 261; R.P. Vaggione, *Eunomius of Cyzicus* (2000), 304-11; Rochelle Snee, 'Valens' Recall of the Nicene Exiles and anti-Arian Propaganda', *GRBS* 26 (1985), 395-419, esp. 397-402, 413-9.

[21] Socr., *Hist. eccl.* V 2; Soz., *Hist. eccl.* VII 1.

[22] Socrates says (*Hist. eccl.* IV 11) that Valens exiled bishops not in communion with the Homoean bishop of Constantinople; see also Soz., *Hist. eccl.* VI 10. Hence, several sects' prelates would have suffered exile. Sozomen reports (*Hist. eccl.* VII 2) that some Macedonian bishops returned to their sees after Gratian's edict.

[23] R. Snee, 'Recall of the Nicene Exiles' (1985), 411f.

[24] Socr., *Hist. eccl.* V 2; Soz., *Hist. eccl.* VII 1.

[25] R.P. Vaggione, *Eunomius of Cyzicus* (2000), 311, 318f.

returned to Constantinople by the end of 378. He seems to have published at this time his *Apologia apologiae* in response to Basil of Caesarea's *Adversus Eunomium* to the great appreciation of his partisans in the area. In addition, in 380 he and other Neo-Arian prelates at the capital elected a bishop for the Neo-Arians of Palestine.[26] Later that year Eunomius and several other Neo-Arians met in a council at Antioch to reorganize their sect throughout the East.[27] Thereafter Eunomius returned to Constantinople and to his estate in Chalcedon where he read his works to his admiring public from whom he won many converts.[28]

It is true that the Nicenes may have profited the most by Valens' and Gratian's edicts since Valens increasingly persecuted their sect as his reign wore on. Important Nicene prelates were able to recover their positions in the East. An example is Peter, Athanasius' successor as Bishop of Alexandria, who returned to his see in 378; around the same time a mob chased out of the city his Homoean replacement Lucius.[29] Cyril of Jerusalem seems to have taken back his see without opposition in late 377 or 378, as Jerusalem is cited by Sozomen as a Nicene see at the time of Valens's death.[30] Gregory of Nyssa does not appear to have dealt with a sectarian competitor after he returned to his see in 378 since he was secure enough in the control of his church to travel several times in the following months.[31]

But the return of other Nicene churchmen did not bring Nicene control in other localities. Often the returning prelates did not unseat the Homoean bishop that had taken their place under Valens. Thus the Homoean Dorotheus remained the official bishop of Antioch when the exiled Meletius returned to the city in late 377.[32] After his restoration in 378, Gelasius of Caesarea in Palestine shared his see for several years with Euzoius, his Homoean replacement in the mid-370s.[33] In addition, Sozomen reports that the returning Nicenes often worked together with their Homoean counterparts and even asked them to stay on.[34] Sozomen gives the example of Eulalius of Amasia in Pontus who followed this policy even though most of the Christians in his city were Nicenes.

Some remarks should be made here. First, sees shared by Nicenes and their opponents must have been common in the East during these years. This often

[26] Philost., *Hist. eccl.* IX 18.

[27] Philost., *Hist. eccl.* IX 18.

[28] Socr., *Hist. eccl.* V 20; Soz, *Hist. eccl.* VII 6.

[29] Socr., *Hist. eccl.* IV 37; Soz., *Hist. eccl.* VI 39; see T.D. Barnes, 'Collapse of the Homoeans' (1997), 4.

[30] *Hist. eccl.* VII 2; see Jan W. Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem: Bishop and City*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 72 (Leiden, 2004), 44.

[31] Anna M. Silvas, *Gregory of Nyssa: The Letters*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 83 (Leiden and Boston, 2007), 39f.

[32] Socr., *Hist. eccl.* V 3.

[33] J.W. Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem* (2004), 43 and n. 54.

[34] *Hist. eccl.* VII 2.

happened in cities that accommodated several sectarian communities. For example, Antioch had at least four bishops: Dorotheus, the official Homoean churchman; Meletius, the returned Nicene exile; Paulinus, the leader of a Nicene schismatic group in the city whom Valens tolerated out of regard for his piety;[35] and Vitalis, the bishop of the Apollinarians.[36] Even if no competitor is reported for a Nicene leader, such a competitor often should be assumed. Although there is no known Homoean bishop at Edessa after Barses returned in late 377, the Homoean community in the city was large and aggressive under Valens,[37] and it would be unusual that a bishop would not be in attendance of such a community.

Second, the continued strength of the Homoean party in the East is evident in the restricted expectations that the Nicene exiles displayed when they arrived home. The Homoeans were entrenched and were generally in control of the East.[38] This suggests that the Homoean church survived the death of Valens and remained strong on a local level. Far from 'collapsing' as often claimed, the Homoean party continued to be the main opposition to the Nicene cause in the years after Valens.[39]

Furthermore, the returning Nicene exiles encountered determined resistance from the Homoeans. Theodoret reports that Eusebius of Samosata was killed by an Arian partisan in late 379 or 380.[40] Sozomen relates that Eulalius' Homoean counterpart at Amasia rejected his offer of co-partnership.[41] After his return to his see, Cyril of Jerusalem appears to have met strong opposition from his clergy who were heavily influenced by the succession of Homoean bishops since his deposition by Valens in 367.[42] Even displaced Homoean bishops fought back: Socrates says that after his expulsion from Egypt Lucius continued to administer to the Homoeans of Alexandria from his residency at Constantinople.[43] Such resistance shows the error of H.M. Gwatkin's view that Homoean party after Valens' death was too weak to oppose the returning Nicenes.[44]

Third, the influx of exiles caused confusion and disturbances throughout the East.[45] This was particularly true at Antioch where the return of Meletius caused dissension and violence among the various Christian factions of the

[35] Socr., *Hist. eccl.* IV 2; Soz., *Hist. eccl.* VII 3.
[36] Soz., *Hist. eccl.* VI 25; Theod., *Hist. eccl.* V 4.
[37] Judah B. Segal, *Edessa, 'the Blessed City'* (Oxford, 1970), 91.
[38] Soz., *Hist. eccl.* VII 2.
[39] M.F. Wiles, *Archetypal Heresy* (1996), 27.
[40] *Hist. eccl.* V 4.
[41] *Hist. eccl.* VII 2.
[42] J.W. Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem* (2004), 47.
[43] *Hist. eccl.* V 3; see also Soz., *Hist. eccl.* VII 5.
[44] *The Arian Controversy* (1914), 152.
[45] R.P. Vaggione, *Eunomius of Cyzicus* (2000), 310, citing Soz., *Hist. eccl.* VII 2.

city.[46] In addition, Rufinus reports that the Nicene clergy and monks exiled by Valens also returned to their homes in the East after Valens' edict of recall.[47] Since the monks were particularly contentious toward the Homoeans under Valens,[48] their return must have provoked more disturbances between the two groups. Indeed, Sozomen reports that Nicene monks fought with their religious opponents during this period.[49] These events illustrate the violence and disruption that characterized eastern religious conditions at this time.

A review of the Nicene situation in the Eastern Empire shows no apparent ascendancy on the part of this sect during the years 378 to 380. Granted, this sect became strong in numbers in Egypt, Syria and some of Asia Minor, especially among ascetics.[50] The Nicenes by this time had also won over many opposing sectarians to their communion, including some Macedonians who returned to the East after Gratian's edict of recall.[51] In addition, some returning Nicene prelates, such as Meletius of Antioch and Eusebius of Samosata, ordained new clergy.[52] But these developments did not greatly advance the Nicene cause in the East. The Nicenes did not hold the advantage in many parts of the East, including much of Asia Minor.[53] Moreover, Sozomen reports[54] that several Macedonians who had accepted the Nicene *homoousios* position before Valens' edict of recall soon after the edict returned to the *homoiousios* faith and remained a separate party in the years afterward.[55] Furthermore, the hasty ordinations by Nicene leaders demonstrate their lack of clerical resources at this time.

Yet the Nicenes' greatest problem was disunity. The experiences of Basil of Caesarea prior to Valens' death demonstrate this problem.[56] His efforts to unite eastern Nicenes were obviated by personal disputes and by the petty ambitions of his colleagues, and his years of negotiations with the western Nicenes to involve them in the affairs of the East were negated by western suspicions of

[46] Socr., *Hist. eccl.* V 5; Soz., *Hist. eccl.* VII 3; Theod., *Hist. eccl.* V 3.

[47] *Hist. eccl.* XI 13.

[48] Socr., *Hist. eccl.* IV 24; Soz., *Hist. eccl.* VI 27, 31; Theod., *Hist. eccl.* IV 24-6.

[49] *Hist. eccl.* VI 27.

[50] T.D. Barnes, 'Collapse of the Homoeans' (1997), 16.

[51] Soz., *Hist. eccl.* VII 2; see R.P.C. Hanson, *Search* (1988), 766.

[52] Theod., *Hist. eccl.* V 4.

[53] Sozomen says (*Hist. eccl.* VI 10) that under Valens the Nicenes were weak 'particularly in Thrace, Bithynia, and the Hellespont, and still further beyond'. In addition, the Homoean resistance to returning Nicene exiles suggests that Nicene strength was limited in many sections of the East at this time.

[54] *Hist. eccl.* VII 2.

[55] R.P.C. Hanson, *Search* (1988), 765-7. The Macedonians attended the Council of Constantinople of 381 as a separate group: Adolf M. Ritter, *Das Konzil von Konstantinopel und sein Symbol,* Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 15 (Göttingen, 1965), 68-85.

[56] Lewis Ayres, *Nicaea and Its Legacy: An Approach to Fourth Century Trinitarian Theology* (Oxford, 2004), 222-9.

eastern orthodoxy. Basil also complained that members of his own cause, such as Eustathius of Sebaste, were undermining his efforts more than his non-Nicene opponents.[57] Since Basil died only a few weeks after Valens,[58] Basil's assessment of the internal disharmony of the eastern Nicenes should be taken as an accurate representation of their condition in the East at the beginning of the period under study.

Dissensions among the Nicenes continued after Valens' death. The most important issue was over the see of Antioch. The West and Alexandria did not accept Meletius as bishop of that see because of Homoean support in his obtaining that office in 360; they acknowledged instead Paulinus from another Nicene group at Antioch. But most easterners supported Meletius.[59] The discord between these two leaders reverberated throughout the East; Gregory of Nazianzus reports that the conflict divided his congregation in Constantinople.[60]

Another division in the Nicene ranks was over *homoousios* theology. During the 360s and 370s a 'Neo-Nicene' doctrine based on the idea of a shared divine unity in three persons or hypostases developed in the East.[61] Athanasius of Alexandria, Basil of Caesarea, and Meletius of Antioch represented this theology that was expressed in its fullness by Gregory of Nazianzus in his *Theological Orations* delivered at Constantinople in 380.[62] Yet the new theology offended the 'old Nicenes' who maintained a more restricted view of divine unity. In addition, this division exacerbated other dissentions within Nicene ranks: Basil of Caesarea supported Meletius' claim to the see of Antioch against that of Paulinus because of the latter's refusal to accept Neo-Nicene theology.[63]

Furthermore, there were many schismatic *homoousios* groups that fragmented the Nicene cause during these years. The most important of such groups were the Apollinarians.[64] This faction accepted the Son's consubstantiality with

[57] *Letter* 263; see L. Ayres, *Nicaea and its Legacy* (2004), 228.

[58] Basil's death is better dated late September 378 than the traditional January 1, 379; see the discussion of this issue by A.M. Silvas, *Gregory of Nyssa* (2007), 32-9.

[59] For the 'schism of Antioch' see Ferdinand Cavallera, *Le schisme d'Antioche (IV^e-V^e siècle)* (Paris, 1905), esp. 33-243.

[60] *De vita sua* 679-84; see J.A. McGuckin, *Saint Gregory of Nazianzus: An Intellectual Biography* (Crestwood, NY, 2001), 253f.

[61] F. Dinsen, *Homoousios* (1976), 115-35, 154-67; L. Ayres, *Nicaea and Its Legacy* (2004), 236-40; Hanns C. Brennecke, 'Erwägungen zu den Anfängen des Neunizänismus', in Damaskinos Papandreou *et al*. (eds), *Oecumenica et Patristica: Festschrift für Wilhelm Schneemelcher zum 75. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart, Berlin and Cologne, 1989), 241-57.

[62] R.P. Vaggione, *Eunomius of Cyzicus* (2000), 320.

[63] L. Ayres, *Nicaea and its Legacy* (2004), 226-8.

[64] For the Apollinarians see Guillaume Voisin, *L'Apollinarisme: Étude historique, littéraire, et dogmatique sur le début des controverses christologiques au IV^e siècle* (Louvain and Paris, 1901), esp. 31-112; Charles E. Raven, *Apollinarianism: An Essay on the Christology of the Early Church* (Cambridge, 1923), esp. 126-76.

the Father but said that Christ's human soul was replaced by the *logos*.[65] This sect originated when Apollinarius of Laodicea left the Nicenes and established his own church with himself as leader around 374.[66] Apollinarianism spread to Syria, Palestine, and Egypt by 376.[67] The sect founded its own churches and set up bishops over them; thus Vitalis became their bishop of Antioch and Timothy their bishop of Berytus.[68] By the time of Valens' death Nicene proponents such as Epiphanius of Salamis and Basil of Caesarea and a council under Bishop Damasus of Rome had condemned Apollinarius and his doctrines.[69]

Condemnation did not stop the Apollinarian movement. In fact, the apogee of the sect came in the years following Valens' death.[70] The sect continued to expand in the East, especially in Asia Minor.[71] In his *De vita sua*, Gregory of Nazianzus refers to their doctrines and to the disruptions that they were causing in the East.[72] In addition, it appears that at some point during these years Apollinarius and other leaders of his sect held a meeting in Antioch to augment its progress.[73]

The experiences of Gregory of Nazianzus in Constantinople exemplify the difficulties of Nicene leaders in the East amid the sectarian chaos and Nicene divisiveness after Valens' death.[74] When Gregory arrived in the capital in 379 to take charge of the city's Nicene community,[75] most of the city's residents were Homoeans who were immediately hostile to him. Gregory's congregation was so small that the sailors from the visiting Egyptian grain fleet comprised its largest element. The Nicenes of the capital had no church of their own, and Gregory had to use a house chapel for his liturgy. In addition, a Homoean mob physically attacked Gregory during Easter services of 379. Gregory's *Theological Orations* show the many opponents that he faced in the city: Homoeans, Neo-Arians, Macedonians, Apollinarians, Gnostics and even pagans. Against these enemies Gregory made little headway until Theodosius entered the city in late 380. In addition, the attempt by Peter, bishop of Alexandria, to replace

[65] Socr., *Hist. eccl.* II 46; Theod., *Hist. eccl.* V 3f.

[66] Soz., *Hist. eccl.* VI 25.

[67] G. Voisin, *L'Apollinarisme* (1901), 107.

[68] C.E. Raven, *Apollinarianism* (1923), 139-42 (Vitalis), 143 (Timothy).

[69] *Ibid.* 144-5 (Damasus), 237-40 (Epiphanius), 253f. (Basil).

[70] G. Voisin, *L'Apollinarisme* (1901), 106.

[71] C.E. Raven, *Apollinarianism* (1923), 148f.

[72] Vv. 607-51; see J.A. McGuckin, *Gregory of Nazianzus* (2001), 237 and n. 32.

[73] Evidence in Apollinarian documents suggests that one or two Apollinarian synods took place in Antioch during this period: C.E. Raven, *Apollinarianism* (1923), 147 and n. 5.

[74] Gregory of Nazianzus, *De vita sua* 552-1272, esp. 552-1112; see J.A. McGuckin, *Gregory of Nazianzus* (2001), 240-3.

[75] It is not certain how Gregory came to lead the Nicenes of Constantinople. Gregory says (*De vita sua* 596) that he was called to the capital by many bishops in a conference. J.A. McGuckin, *Gregory of Nazianzus* (2001), 236-40, believes that this conference was the Council of Antioch of 379.

Gregory with Maximus the Cynic as Nicene leader of the capital in 380 revealed the tensions over precedence that had developed in previous years between the sees of Alexandria and Constantinople.[76]

In comparison, the Nicene faith was much stronger in the western section of the Roman Empire in 380. Adherence to the Nicene Creed was broader in the West, and Nicene leaders such as Ambrose of Milan fought vigorously against Homoean churchmen.[77] But the Nicene ascendency in the West was a recent development. The Nicene Creed was recognized as an orthodox formula during most of the 'Arian controversy', but only Rome, at least from the time of Bishop Liberius (352-366), claimed it to be necessary for faith.[78] Although they often opposed Constantius II's religious policies, western bishops did not widely support the Nicene Creed until the 360s when they encountered the theology of Hilary of Poitiers, much of which came from his study during his exile in the East in 356-360, that provided a better Latin argument for *homoousios* and Nicaea as standards of faith.[79] The forced establishment of the Homoean Church by Constantius II in 359 and 360[80] solidified the adherence of Western bishops, especially Damasus of Rome, to the Nicene cause.[81] Throughout the 370s, Damasus with the general support of the western bishops acted as the arbiter of Nicene orthodoxy in the West and also in negotiations with Eastern Christians, including Nicenes.[82]

Amid their difficulties, the Eastern Nicenes achieved a major accomplishment during the years under study here. This was the Council of Antioch of 379, a meeting of 153 bishops called by Meletius of Antioch, the leader of the eastern Neo-Nicenes, to resuscitate Nicene fortunes in the East.[83] Several recently returned prelates were in attendance, including Eusebius of Samosata,

[76] *Ibid*. 314.

[77] Daniel H. Williams, *Ambrose of Milan and the End of the Nicene-Arian Conflicts*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford, 1995), esp. 104-84; N.B. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan: Church and Court in a Christian Capital,* Transformation of the Classical Heritage 22 (Berkeley, 1994), esp. 1-157.

[78] D.H. Williams, *Ambrose of Milan* (1995), 7, 16-8.

[79] F. Dinsen, *Homoousios* (1976), 146-53; Hanns C. Brennecke, *Hilarius von Poitiers und die Bischofsopposition gegen Konstantius II*, Patristische Texte und Studien 26 (Berlin and New York, 1984), esp. 335-67; Jörg Ulrich, *Die Anfänge der abendländischen Rezeption des Nizänums,* Patristische Texte und Studien 39 (Berlin and New York, 1994), esp. 111-263.

[80] For Constantius II's foundation of the Homoean church see J. Gummerus, *Homöusianische Partei* (1900), 134-62; H.C. Brennecke, *Geschichte der Homöer* (1988), 5-86, esp. 56-86; R.P.C. Hanson, *Search* (1988), 348-86, esp. 371-86.

[81] W.A. Löhr, *Entstehung* (1986), 93-141; D.H. Williams, *Ambrose of Milan* (1995), 18-103. Nevertheless, the Homoean faith remained strong in some areas of the West after 380: *ibid*. 104-236.

[82] R.P.C. Hanson, *Search* (1988), 795-804; Lester L. Field, Jr., *On the Communion of Damasus and Meletius: Fourth-Century Synodal Formulae in the Codex Veronensis LX*, Studies and Texts 145 (Toronto, 2004), 117-200; Justin Taylor, 'St Basil the Great and Pope St Damasus', *DR* 91 (1973), 186-203, 262-74.

[83] Gustave Bardy, 'Le concile d'Antioche (379)', *RevB* 45 (1933), 196-213.

Eulogius of Edessa, and Gregory of Nyssa.[84] The date of the synod is established from a passage in Gregory of Nyssa's *Life of Macrina* in which Gregory states that he attended a great church council at Antioch eight months after the death of his brother Basil of Caesarea (17.1).[85] Since Basil's death is now dated to late September of 378,[86] the Council of Antioch met in May or June of 379.

The number of bishops attending this council is of interest. One hundred fifty-three bishops is a testimony to the strength of the Neo-Nicene party at this time. But that number is actually only a fraction of the several hundred contemporary eastern bishops.[87] Thus, the large number of bishops at the council does not mean that the Neo-Nicene faction was headed for supremacy in the East.

Nevertheless, the council achieved impressive results that had implications for a future Nicene victory in the Eastern Empire. First, Meletius and the attending bishops signed a doctrinal accord with Damasus of Rome that established a unity of conviction between East and West based on the Nicene faith, belief in the divinity of the Spirit, and condemnation of Apollinarianism.[88] This accord accomplished what Basil of Caesarea had attempted unsuccessfully for several years: the reestablishment of communion between eastern and western Nicenes that was considered necessary for the victory of the Nicene faith in the East. Second, the council endorsed the Neo-Nicene faith as the religion of the Eastern Empire. Hence, the council passed a statement of faith[89] and a creed[90] for disseminating the Neo-Nicene faith in the East.

The true importance of the council of 379 at Antioch is that it was the precursor of the Council of Constantinople of 381.[91] The Antiochene council provided the membership of the Council of Constantinople and Meletius became its president as he had been at Antioch two years earlier.[92] The Constantinopolitan council of 381 revised the statement of faith[93] and the creed[94] produced

[84] L.L. Field, *Communion of Damasus* (2004), 21.

[85] A.M. Silvas, *Macrina the Younger, Philosopher of God*, Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts 22 (Turnhout, 2007), 126.

[86] *Supra* n. 58.

[87] Ramsay MacMullen, *Voting About God in Early Church Councils* (New Haven, 2006), 6, 120 n. 4, argues that there were perhaps seven or eight hundred eastern bishops in the late fourth and the fifth centuries.

[88] L.L. Field, *Communion of Damasus* (2004), 117-37. This is the *Exemplum synodi* that survives in a Latin copy found in the *Codex Veronensis LX*: William Telfer, 'The Codex Verona XL (58)', *HTR* 36 (1943), 169-246, esp. 180, 185, 188.

[89] This statement was cited by the Council of Constantinople of 382 as proof of eastern orthodoxy at that time; see Theod., *Hist. eccl.* V 9; A.M. Ritter, *Konzil* (1965), 136.

[90] A Latin version of this creed is found in the *Codex Veronensis LX*; see W. Telfer, 'Codex Verona' (1943), 183, 185, 195-8.

[91] R.P.C. Hanson, *Search* (1988), 806.

[92] *Ibid.*

[93] *Ibid.* 803f., 811f. F. Dinsen, *Homoousios* (1976), 169f. A.M. Ritter, *Konzil* (1965), 116-21.

[94] R.P.C. Hanson, *Search* (1988), 812-20.

by the synod of Antioch in 379 and established the Neo-Nicene faith in the East. The Council of Constantinople fulfilled the initiatives of the earlier Council of Antioch.

Thus the significance of the Council of Antioch concerns the time after the one under discussion. The question remains whether the council had an effect on the religious balance of the period under review here. The evidence suggests that it did not. No contemporary or fifth century historian mentions the council;[95] hence, it is not likely to have done much to advance the Nicene cause at the time. Also, the council was unable to depose any opposing bishop. In addition, the activities of one member of the council, Gregory of Nyssa, can be traced during the months afterward. These show that the council did not markedly advance the eastern Nicene cause during these years.

Gregory encountered crisis after crisis in the year after the council.[96] When he returned to Nyssa from Antioch, Gregory found that Neo-Arians had been conspiring against him in his absence, and only with great difficulty did Gregory regain control over his see.[97] Early in 380 Gregory travelled to Ibora in Pontus and succeeded in installing in that city a Nicene bishop against unspecified 'enemies'.[98] Later that year he was called to Sebaste to set up a Nicene bishop in that city. But Gregory encountered great resistance from the non-Nicenes at Sebaste, and he was incarcerated by local civil authorities to prevent public discord; the result of his visit to Sebaste was that the see passed to a non-Nicene candidate.[99] In addition, Gregory's *Letter* 5.1-2 shows that sometime during this period he was forced to defend his orthodoxy against unnamed Nicenes who were suspicious of his bringing other sectarians into the Nicene fold.[100]

The cumulative effect of Gregory's experiences after the council of Antioch was that he saw them as a series of disasters and humiliations.[101] His letters from this period show the pain and anguish that these events had caused him.[102] More importantly, there is no hope of victory over the enemies of Nicene faith on Gregory's part in these letters, and his various sectarian opponents seem as resistant and as belligerent toward the Nicenes as ever. Considering that some of Gregory's activities during 380 were called for by the Council of Antioch,[103]

[95] *Ibid.* 803.
[96] A.M. Silvas, *Gregory of Nyssa* (2007), 43f.
[97] Gregory of Nyssa, *Letter* 19.11; see A.M. Silvas, *Gregory of Nyssa* (2007), 178.
[98] *Ibid.* 178f.
[99] *Ibid.* 178-81.
[100] *Ibid.* 137.
[101] *Ibid.* 44.
[102] *Letters* 5, 10, 17, 19, 22, and 23; see A.M. Silvas, *Gregory of Nyssa* (2007), 43.
[103] See the interpretation of Gregory's *Letter* 5.2 by A.M. Silvas, *Gregory of Nyssa* (2007), 136.

the council seems to have only added to the unsettled and combative religious conditions that characterized the East immediately after Valens' death.

Although the disrupted conditions of Eastern Christianity precluded a clear victor in the religious conflicts at this time, the enemies of the Nicenes were ascendant in the East during the two years after the death of Valens. The resurgence of the Neo-Arians and the continued growth of the Apollinarian movement must have intimidated the Nicenes during this period. Sozomen reports that the Neo-Arians and the Apollinarians challenged the Nicenes throughout the East, and his further comment that Eunomius and Apollinarius made ready converts wherever they went suggests that many of their converts came from the Nicenes.[104] The greatest opposition to Gregory of Nazianzus at Constantinople as seen in his *Theological Orations* came from the Neo-Arians and their polemics.[105] A number of factors aided the spread of Apollinarianism in the East.[106] The doctrines and writings of Apollinarius drew many to his churches, and the exemplary lives of the sect's leaders, Apollinarius, Vitalis, and Timothy, encouraged conversions to their sect. Sozomen also says that Apollonarius devised a church order to encourage a corporate spirit among his faithful that included singing hymns at festivals and while working and that such provisions attracted converts.[107]

In addition, it was not the Nicenes but their opponents who were more confident of ultimate success in the years before and even after Theodosius began his religious policy. Sozomen says that the Homoeans hoped to win the new emperor to their cause through officials of their faith stationed at court.[108] Sozomen adds that the Nicenes around Theodosius feared that the popularity of Eunomius and his debating ability might entice the emperor into accepting Eunomius' views. This was a genuine concern: some of the eunuchs at Theodosius' court were disciples of Eunomius[109] who could possibly influence the emperor in favor of the Neo-Arian leader. In fact, Sozomen reports that the Empress Flacilla, a stalwart Nicene, prevented an interview between Theodosius and Eunomius at Constantinople sometime in the early 380s.[110]

The confusion in religious affairs in the East in the years after Valens' death was the result of the lapse of the imperial direction of religious policy.

[104] *Hist. eccl.* VI 27. Philostorgius reports (*Hist. eccl.* IX 9) that his mother's family converted from the Nicene faith to Neo-Arianism under Valens; see R.P. Vaggione, *Eunomius of Cyzicus* (2000), 286 and n. 151.

[105] Frederick W. Norris, *Faith Gives Fullness to Reasoning: The Five Theological Orations of Gregory Nazianzen*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 13 (Leiden and New York, 1991), 53-68.

[106] G. Voisin, *L'Apollinarisme* (1901), 109-11.

[107] *Hist. eccl.* VI 25.

[108] *Hist. eccl.* VII 6.

[109] Philost., *Hist. eccl.* X 6.

[110] *Hist. eccl.* VII 6.

Theodosius I, Valens' successor, took office in January 379.[111] Theodosius was a Nicene from his youth,[112] and he intended to follow a pro-Nicene religious policy as emperor.[113] However, the new emperor was unable to implement his religious policy until he entered Constantinople late in November 380. Until then, he was forced to remain in the Balkans and fight the Visigoths who had invaded the empire and killed his predecessor.[114] Theodosius' base of operations during this period was at Thessalonica where he came into contact with the city's Nicene bishop Acholius.[115]

Theodosius during this period took efforts in support of the Nicene cause that had no impact on the religious conditions of the East at the time. He gave his permission for the Council of Antioch to meet in 379,[116] and he attached his rescript to the doctrinal accord between the eastern and western Nicenes after it was signed at the Council.[117] In addition, Theodosius officially proclaimed his intention of bringing all his subjects into the Nicene faith. On February 28, 380, Theodosius at Thessalonica published his *Cunctos populos*, an edict that established the Nicene faith as the only permitted religion in the empire.[118] This faith is defined as that of the apostle Peter and his successor Damasus, bishop of Rome, and Peter, bishop of Alexandria. The edict promises penalties for non-compliance both earthly and everlasting.

The edict shows that Theodosius was aligning himself with an East-West coalition of bishops that included Damasus of Rome and his eastern allies Acholius of Thessalonica and Peter of Alexandria.[119] In addition, Acholius was in league with Meletius, bishop of Antioch and leader of the eastern Neo-Nicenes, who likewise joined this coalition by signing the East-West doctrinal accord with Damasus at Antioch in 379.[120] Theodosius had already subscribed to this alliance when he endorsed the East-West Antiochene doctrinal agreement of 379. The Neo-Nicenes and the emperor were creating in 379 and 380 the basis of their ultimate victory in 381.[121] It should be noted that the victors of the Eastern 'Arian controversy' were a particular Nicene faction, the

[111] Hartmut Leppin, *Theodosius der Grosse*, Gestalten der Antike (Darmstadt, 2003), 44.

[112] Socr., *Hist. eccl.* V 6; Soz., *Hist. eccl.* VII 4.

[113] Noel Q. King, *The Emperor Theodosius and the Establishment of Christianity*, Library of History and Doctrine (Philadelphia, 1960), 20.

[114] Robert M. Errington, 'Theodosius and the Goths', *Chiron* 26 (1996), 1-27.

[115] R.P. Vaggione, *Eunomius of Cyzicus* (2000), 313f.

[116] R.P.C. Hanson, *Search* (1988), 804.

[117] L.L. Field, *Communion of Damasus* (2004), 137.

[118] *Codex Theodosianus* XVI 1.2; see N.Q. King, *Emperor Theodosius* (1960), 28-31; Jörg Ernesti, *Princeps christianus und Kaiser aller Römer: Theodosius der Grosse im Lichte zeitgenössischer Quellen,* Paderborner theologische Studien 25 (Paderborn a.o., 1998), 19-25.

[119] M.B. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan* (1994), 108.

[120] R.P. Vaggione, *Eunomius of Cyzicus* (2000), 314.

[121] M.B. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan* (1994), 108f., claims that Acholius of Thessalonica imposed a pro-Nicene religious program on a politically and theologically unsophisticated

Neo-Nicenes lead by Meletius of Antioch, who defeated many other Nicene and non-Nicene groups in the East. Theodosius' baptism later in 380 by the Acholius[122] made the emperor even more committed to the Neo-Nicene faith when he entered Constantinople on November 24, 380.[123]

Once in the capital Theodosius acted with impressive speed. Three days after he arrived in the capital, the emperor put Demophilus on notice that if he wished to remain bishop of the city he would have to accept the Nicene faith; Demophilus and his community left the city rather than comply.[124] Theodosius soon established Gregory of Nazianzus as bishop of the capital.[125] The emperor began his legal enactments against non-Nicenes in the following January.[126] In January Meletius left Antioch and joined Theodosius in Constantinople to plan a council that would settle matters in the Eastern Church.[127] This council, the Council of Constantinople held in the summer of 381, established Neo-Nicene orthodoxy as the faith of the East, drew up an appropriate creed for the this faith, and anathematized several opposing sectarians.[128] More of Theodosius' laws upheld the council's resolutions[129] and continued to penalize Christian groups that would not accept Neo-Nicene orthodoxy.[130]

Yet these laws caused many disturbances throughout the East. At one point sectarian violence and unrest forced Theodosius to convene in 383 the 'council of the sects' at which the emperor encouraged several Nicene and non-Nicene sectarian leaders to debate and compromise on the Christian faith.[131] Although this effort failed and Theodosius returned to the legal suppression of his religious opponents, the incident shows opposing sectarian strength in the East even after Theodosius installed his religious policy. It also demonstrates that

Theodosius. But Theodosius was an astute ruler who probably saw Neo-Nicene theology and the Damasus-Meletius alliance as the best means of championing the Nicene faith in the East.

[122] Socr., *Hist. eccl.* V 6; Soz., *Hist. eccl.* VII 4.

[123] N.Q. King, *Emperor Theodosius* (1960), 30; H. Leppin, *Theodosius* (2003), 58, 69.

[124] Socr., *Hist. eccl.* V 7; Soz., *Hist. eccl.* VII 5.

[125] J.A. McGuckin, *Gregory of Nazianzus* (2001), 325-8.

[126] *Codex Theodosianus* XVI 5.6; see N.Q. King, *Emperor Theodosius* (1960), 33-5; J. Ernesti, *Princeps christianus* (1998), 26.

[127] R.P.C. Hanson, *Search* (1988), 805; A.M. Ritter, *Konzil* (1965), 35-36.

[128] F. Dinsen, *Homoousios* (1976), 167-75; R.P.C. Hanson, *Search* (1988), 805-20; A.M. Ritter, *Konzil* (1965), 33-131. For the creed of the council see *ibid.* 132-208.

[129] *Codex Theodosianus* XVI 1.3 and 5.8; see N.Q. King, *Emperor Theodosius* (1960), 44-6; J. Ernesti, *Princeps christianus* (1998), 27.

[130] For Theodosius' subsequent legislation against Christian dissidents see N.Q. King, *Emperor Theodosius* (1960), 53-9; J. Ernesti, *Princeps christianus* (1998), 27-9. J. Ernesti provides a good analysis of Theodosius' anti-heretical laws *ibid.* 31-63. For another account of Theodosius' legislation against Christians who would not conform to his religious settlement see Karl Leo Noethlichs, *Die gesetzgeberischen Massnahmen der christlichen Kaiser des vierten Jahrhunderts gegen Häretiker, Heiden und Juden* (Cologne, 1971), 128-65.

[131] Socr., *Hist. eccl.* V 10; Soz., *Hist. eccl.* VII 12; see N.Q. King, *Emperor Theodosius* (1960), 53f; A.M. Ritter, *Konzil* (1965), 226f.; J. Ernesti, *Princeps christianus* (1998), 57f.

the Nicene victory in the East was not inevitable had ordinary sectarian competition between Nicenes and non-Nicenes continued without imperial intervention. Had Theodosius not acted as he did, the 'Arian controversy' could have been prolonged for decades, and it is speculation as to which sectarian group would have prevailed or even if there would have been a victorious party.

The Power of the Relics: Theodosius I and the Head of John the Baptist in Constantinople

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ABSTRACT

The present study analizes the political and religious meaning of the move of the relic of the head of John the Baptist to Costantinople by Theodosius I, and the following construction of the church dedicate to the saint. Our aim is to reconstruct the historical complexity of an act that christian sources (for example Sozomenus) interpret and use in an ideological way, to emphasize, first, the contrast between Theodosius and Valens – the arian Emperor who failed to move the same relic – and, afterwards, the conflict between Theodosius and Eugenius, because some Church Historians connected Theodosius' victory at the Frigido River with the Constantinopolitanian cult of the Baptist.

'Saints' bodies represent for our city a more effective defense than any other invincible fortress. Like the watchtowers around the city, they don't force back only assaults by visible enemies but also attacks from invisible demons, removing all tricks of the devil'.
(Ioh. Chris., *In Mart. Aegypt*., 694)[1]

These were the words used by John Chrysostom when celebrating the entry to Constantinople of the relics of some Egyptian martyrs – not better identifiable because he never mentioned them by name in the prayer – under the reign of Arcadius (395-408 AD). The bishop of Antioch's emphasis, in affirming the role of these relics as effective 'tools' for the protection for the city and its inhabitants, is the confirmation of how the phenomenon of worship of martyrdom was developing in the late fourth as well as in early fifth centuries AD, both in the western and eastern Empire. Unlike Rome, which had a long Christian tradition as reference and a large number of famous burial places – the

[1] Johannes Chrysostomus, *In Mart. Aegypt.* 1 (PG 50, 694): τὰ γὰρ τῶν ἁγίων σώματα τούτων τείχους παντὸς ἀδάμαντος καὶ ἀρρᾳγοῦς ἀσφαλέστερον ἡμῖν τειχίζει τὴν πόλιν· καὶ καθάπερ σκόπελοί τινες ὑψηλοὶ προβεβλημένοι πανταχόθεν, οὐχὶ τὰς τῶν αἰσθητῶν τούτων καὶ ὁρωμένων ἐχθρῶν προσβολὰς ἀποκρούνται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀοράτων δαιμόνων ἐπιβουλάς, καὶ πᾶσαν τοῦ διαβόλου μεθοδείαν ἀνατρέπουσί τε καὶ διαλύσιν οὕτως εὐκόλως. The date of the homily is unknown, it doesn't give concrete information about which city pronounced it, though scholars are inclined to consider that it was Constantinople, see P. Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient. Histoire et géographie des origines à la conquête arabe* (Paris, 1985), 94[166].

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most important was that of Peter and Paul apostles – the continuous flow of relics to Constantinople began on a regular basis from the time of Arcadius only, and grew later especially under Theodosius II and his sister Pulcheria.[2] They, actually, inaugurated an era which was full of discoveries and purchases of the bodies of saints which were important to make Constantinople become a 'cradle' of relics, as it is witnessed by many pilgrims and travelers, who went to the capital of the East, as recounted in their tales. In the 12th century, Fulcher of Chartres, who arrived in Constantinople on the occasion of the First Crusade, considered the relics of the martyrs worthy enough to be included in a list which he personally compiled, of the many treasures held by the city,[3] and Robert the Monk, writing some time later, judged the possession of the relics as the main *raison d'être* of the city of Constantine.[4]

The large purchase of saints' bodies in Constantinople, promoted by various emperors in a period which ranges from 360 to 1204, seems to confirm that the power of the relics within the community consisted above all in condensing its own energy into thinking that the city was judged worthy by God by the presence of the saints;[5] but it also suggests a series of reflections on the religious and political aspects of the phenomenon. Its complexity, meaning the city as the capital of the East, is due to its fragmented and at times contradictory evidence, mainly in reference to initial translations from the second half of the 4th century AD, from the reign of Constantine to that of Theodosius I. The statement by

[2] Numerous were the translations of relics that occurred at the time of Theodosius II and Pulcheria. Sources mention those of Joseph, son of Jacob, and Zechariah, father of John the Baptist, taken from Palestine in 415 AD (*Chron. Pasch.* [PG 92, 788b], Marcell., *Chron.* ed. Mommsen, MGH p. 72); around 428 AD – for an earlier dating to 421-422 AD see K.G. Holum, 'Pulcheria's Crusade AD 421-422 and the Ideology of Imperial Victory', *GRBS* 18 (1977), 153-72, – the Empress Pulcheria, from Jerusalem, sponsored the arrival of the right hand of St Stephen, by having a church built at the imperial palace of Daphne in its honour (Theoph., *Chron.* CSHB, p. 87 Bonn). We should also recall prophet Isaiah's relics, discovered in the city of Panias (Cedr., *Chron.* I CSHB p. 600 Bonn); those of S. Lorenzo and S. Agnes, received from Rome and placed in the church built especially to house them ἐν ταῖς Πουλκεεριαναῖς (Niceph. Call., *Hist.* 14, 10) and the famous Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, also arranged in a sanctuary built in their honour (Soz., *Hist. eccl.* IX 2, 7-18; *Chron. Pasch.* 813a [PG 92]).

[3] Fulcher de Chartres, *Hist. Iherosolym.* c. IX: '*O quanta civitas nobilis et decora! Quot monasteria, quot palatia, sunt in ea opere mira fabricata! Quot etiam plateis vel vicis opera ad spectandum mirabilia! Taedium est magnum recitare quanta sit ibi honorum omnium opulentia, auri scilicet, argenti, palliorum multiformium, sanctorumque reliquiarum.*'

[4] Rob. Monach. *Hist. Iherosolym.* I, xx: '*Ibi nunc habent receptaculum sacratissimae reliquiae sanctorum prophetarum apostolorum et innumerabilum martyrum sanctorum quae ibi translatae sunt a facie paganorum … Ideo talis est effecta urbs regia Constantinopolis ut sanctarum quas supra diximus reliquiarum foret tutissima regia.*' He also asserts that by these precious remains Constantinople received protection and the excellence of imperial status by which it could be compared in every respect to Rome, except for the fact that the latter was the seat of papal authority: '*Et ideo bene debet Romae coaequari dignitate sanctuarii et excellentia regiae dignitatis, nisi quod Roma est papali apice sublimita et caput et summa totius Christianitas.*'

[5] P. Brown, *Il culto dei santi* (Torino, 1983), 128-9.

Eusebius according to which Constantine had founded the capital and made it into 'the ultimate Christian city', since he consecrated it to the God of the martyrs and adorned it with their tombs,[6] seems to be controverted not only by the small number of *martyria* built by the Emperor outside the city[7] – together with an under-representation of 'indigenous saints' – but also by the respect of Roman customs and traditions, from the Laws of the Twelve Tables until the reiteration done by Theodosius I with *CTh* 9, 17, 6 in 381 AD, according to which the burial of corpses *intra urbem* was forbidden.[8] In this first phase Constantinople was involved only in the translation of the saints' bodies in a small measure,[9] but the phenomenon had a sort of increase after a second translation of the relics took place at the time of Constantius II – those of Timothy, Andrew and Luke, placed at the Holy Apostles, and those of the Palestinian martyrs Pamphilus, Theodule along with their companions of torture taken to Hagia Sophia[10] – especially at the time of Theodosius I, when John the Baptist's head was transferred to Constantinople. Setting aside the examination of the cases of the time of Constantius II – whose complexity has been investigated by J. Wortley in two recent studies[11] – we will try to analyze here the role assigned to Theodosius I in introducing the precious relic of John the Baptist: given the importance of the saint in the history of Christianity, his gesture in fact would not have been of little political significance.

The event is only remembered by Sozomen. He relates that Theodosius I, who came 'by God's or by the prophet's himself incitement' (ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ

[6] Eus., *Vita Const.* 3, 48, 1: τὴν δὲ γ' ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ πόλιν ἐξόχω τιμῇ γεραίρων εὐκτηρίοις πλείοσιν ἐφαίδρυνε μαρτυρίοις τε μεγίστοις καὶ περιφανεστάτοις ὄικοις, τοῖς μὲν πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος τοῖς δ' ἐν αὐτῷ τυγχάνουσι, δι' ὧν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὰς τῶν μαρτύρων μνήμας ἐτίμα καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν τῷ τῶν μαρτύρων καθιέρου θεῷ.

[7] Regarding the construction of sacred buildings in the capital on the Bosphorus at the time of Constantine, I'll make reference to the considerations emerged from my Phd thesis.

[8] See Cic., *De leg.* 2, 23, 58: '*Hominem mortuum in urbem ne sepelito neve urito.*' The measures taken by Theodosius I in reiterating the transferal of the tombs that were *supra terram* to outside the walls, stated that not even churches could be considered a suitable location for burials ('*ac ne alicuius fallax et arguta sollertia ab huius se praecepti intentione subducat atque apostolorum vel martyrum sedem humandis corporibus estime esse concessam*'): relics could enter the city, but the bodies of saints couldn't. See G. Dagron, 'Le christianisme dans la ville byzantine', *DOP* 31 (1977), 3-25, 11-9; R. Lizzi Testa, 'La politica religiosa di Teodosio I. Miti storiografici e realtà storica', *RAL* s. 9 (1996), 323-61, 336.

[9] Most of the Byzantine writers however attributed the construction of a large number churches to Constantine, hence the acquisition of saints' remains to whom they were dedicated, see J. Wortley, 'The legend of Constantine the relic-provider', in R.B. Egan and M.A. Joyal (eds), *Daimonopylai: Essays presented to Edmund G. Berry* (Winnipeg, 2004), 487-96, 490-1.

[10] For the translations of Saint Timothy, Luke and Andrew see Philostorg., *Hist. eccl.* III 2 e *Chron. Pasch.* 733AB (PG 92); for those of the Palestinian martyrs Pamphilus and Theodule, see Cedr., *Chron.* 1, 523.

[11] J. Wortley, *The earliest relic-importations to Constantinople*, PECIA: Ressources en médiévistique 8-11 (Saint Denis, 2005), 207-25, 214-20; J. Wortley, 'Relics and the Great Church', *BZ* 99 (2006), 631-47, 634-43.

αὐτοῦ τοῦ προφήτου κινοῦντος) to the village of Chosilaos near Chalcedon, convinced the consecrated virgin Matron, member of the sect of the Macedonians, to hand over the head of John the Baptist she had in possession. The relic was there because a few years earlier the emperor Valens, trying to carry it from Cilicia – where it was discovered by some monks from Jerusalem – to Constantinople, had been forced to give up and leave it there; indeed the mules that pulled the cart had refused to continue the journey. Differently, Theodosius I, once obtained the relic, wrapped it up in a purple cloth, brought it to Constantinople and left it in a church built for the occasion in the quarter of *Hebdomon*.[12]

Most scholars who dealt with this topic thought it important to highlight the different meanings that the action of the emperor, as described by the Byzantine historian, seemed to suggest. It was pointed out that the failure of Valens, in comparison with the success of Theodosius I, reflected a contrast between the hated supporter of the Arians and the Nicene emperor, capable of obtaining the relics even by heretical hand,[13] bearing up thanks to a such a edifying story, the victory of Nicene orthodoxy as a profession of faith to the Empire.[14] Even the act of wrapping the head in a precious material, a clear sign of imperial power, placed inside a church specifically built at the *Hebdomon*, was not without significance: it linked the precious relic with a place that legitimized the emperor, and affirmed public display of supernatural alliance from which Theodosius I would have obtained support in the campaign against the usurper Eugenius.[15]

Little interest has been shown to the traditions of the origin of the head; apart from the detailed work done on the relic of John the Baptist published by C. Du Cange in 1665, and a chapter on the inventions of the translations of the relics in the East in the early 700s belonging to the work by D. Papebroch. Today a study is still missing which aims at identifying the pathways of the famous head from where it was discovered – it varies according to the different sources in

[12] Soz., *Hist. eccl.* VII 21 and *Patria* 3, 145 (ed. Preger p. 260). A variation of the same information is reported by *Chron. Pasch.* ad a. 391, where the city of Cyzicus is indicated as place of origin of the relic: here the Emperor is said to have discovered the saint's head in the house of a woman who was a follower of the sect of the Macedonians, and, after keeping it hidden for some time at Chalcedon, carried it to the church built in Constantinople for its honour to *Hebdomon*.

[13] The name of Macedonians initially identified groups of homeousians in Constantinople and surrounding areas gathered around Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople from 344 to 346 AD. From 380 AD the word came to identify those who, not being Arians, refused to recognize the divinity of the Holy Spirit, see M. Simonetti, s.v. *Macedonio (macedoniani)*, in *DPAC* II (Casale Monferrato, 1984), 2062.

[14] H. Leppin, *Theodosius der Große* (Darmstadt, 2003), 179-81.

[15] S. Diefenbach, 'Frömmigkeit und Kaiserakzeptanz im frühen Byzanz', *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 35-66, 44-7; E. Bozóky, *La politique des reliques* (Paris, 2007), 87.

traditions – to the cities it was taken and preserved in churches built in its honor.[16]

The earliest evidence about the figure of the Baptist comes from the *Gospels of Matthew*, *Mark* and *Luke*. They all report that John who was imprisoned by Herod Antipas for having blamed him because of Herodias and for other cruelties he had committed was beheaded to satisfy a request made by Salome at his birthday banquet.[17] We know that his head was placed on a wooden tablet (σῶμα, ἄνευ τῆς κεφαλῆς) to be taken by Salome to her mother Herodias whilst John's disciples got the body to give him a dignified burial.[18] Even though sources do not explicitly refer whether the Baptist's head was placed in the grave or not, the use of the term πτῶμα indicating the burial seems to support the hypothesis that it had a different fate from the other remains of the saint. The lexicon Suda in fact attests the meaning of πτῶμα to be 'body without the head' (σῶμα, ἄνευ τῆς κεφαλῆς) confirming that, at the time of the composition of the Gospels, the saint's body and the head had been separated.[19]

After the Gospels, a cursory reference to the Baptist can be found in the works of Flavius Josephus where he said that the fortress where the saint was imprisoned belonged to Machaerus.[20] The story of John is in the context of the narration of the war between Aretas king of Petra and Herod, who was guilty of having divorced the daughter of Aretas to marry Herodias. The historian, reporting the opinion of some Jews, believed that the defeat of Herod was 'right God's punishment' for having imprisoned and then killed an ἀγαθὸς ἀνήρ (so they considered John the Baptist). In the first century AD therefore the saint began to acquire great importance not only in the role of Precursor of Christ which he had played in life – also mentioned by the historian himself – but mostly because, even at that date, it was believed that his head had such power as to affect the outcome of a clash between two rival sovereigns.

It was only in the fourth century that there was a word about John the Baptist again. The first was by Rufinus of Aquileia; according to him the saint's tomb, which was located in the city of Sebaste in Palestine near that of the prophet Elijah had been desecrated by pagans at the time of Emperor

[16] C. Du Cange, *Traité historique du chef de S. Jean Baptiste* (Paris, 1665); D. Papebroch, *De inventionibus et translationibus sacris capitis [Ioannis Baptistae] in Oriente factis*, AASS *Iunii* IV (Antwerp, 1708), 711-39.

[17] See *Mark* 6:27; *Matth.* 14:10; *Luke* 3:19.

[18] *Mark* 6:28-9; *Matth.* 14:11-2.

[19] *Suid.* s.v. πτῶμα. Unlike πτῶμα, the most common term used in Greek language to indicate 'body' in a broad definition referring to 'living beings' and those 'inanimate, lifeless beings and bodies' was σῶμα, while with δέμας they intended body as *domicilium animae*; see *TLG* s.v. σῶμα e δέμας.

[20] Ios., *Antiq.* XVIII 5, 2.

Julian: they burnt John's bones and scattered his ashes in the region.[21] He also adds that some monks from Jerusalem tried to recover as many fragments of the remains of the saint as possible and led them to Philip, the founder of their monastery, who, thanks to the help of deacon Julian (later bishop of Porec), delivered them to the patriarch of Alexandria, Athanasius 'in order to save them for the benefit of the next generation'.[22]

Besides Rufinus, Theodoret and Philostorgius also mention the story about the mess the pagans made in John the Baptist's tomb, but say nothing about moving the saint's relics from Alexandria to Sebaste, even though both had been in contact with the work of the bishop of Aquileia.[23] Theodoret was very careful in retrieving this type of information from sources, as evidence shows in the story of the construction of martyrdom building (σηκός) around 431 AD to house the relics of saints and prophets brought to Cyrus from Phoenicia and Palestine, including the ascetic James who had recognized those of John the Baptist.[24] The absence of Rufinus' news in Theodoret could be explained by the self-referential nature of the news in Rufinus. The mention of Julian as an active monk in the transfer of the relics, but above all the specification of his episcopacy in Istria, which might have taken place around 370 or after 381 AD as his name was not among the signatories of the Council of Aquileia of the same year, probably was useful to Rufinus to 'explain' the wide diffusion of the relics of John the Baptist in northern Italy: they were present in the cathedral of Aquileia around 390, in the *Basilica apostolorum* of Milan in 386 (maybe due to Ambrose who had been part of the Council of Aquileia in previous years), in the Cathedral of *Concordia* inaugurated in 390, in the *basilica concilii Sanctorum* of Brescia before the 401/402, and in Turin and beyond the Alps.[25] The intention of the

[21] See Rufin., *Hist. eccl.* II 28: '*Sepulchrum Joannis Baptistae mente rabida et funestis minibus invaderent, ossa dispergerent, atque ea rursum collecta, igni cremarent, et sanctos cineres, pulveri immixtos, per agro set rura dispergerent.*'

[22] Rufin., *Hist. eccl.* II 28: '*Prophetico spiritu profuturas generationi posterae conservavit.*'

[23] Philostorg., *Hist. eccl.* VII 4: τὰ τοῦ προφήτου Ἐλισσαίου ὀστᾶ καὶ τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰοάννου (ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἄμφω ἐτέθαπτο) τῶν θηκῶν ἐξελόμενοι καὶ ζῴων ὀστοῖς ἀλόγων συγκαταμίξαντες, ὁμοῦ πρὸς κόνιν κατέκαυσαν καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀέρα διεσπείραντο; Thdt., *Hist. eccl.* III 7, 2: ἐν Σεβαστῇ δέ, καὶ αὖτη δὲ εἰς τὸ προειρημένον ἔθνος τελεῖ, Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ τὴν θήκην ἀνέωξαν πυρί τε παρέδοσαν τὰ ὀστᾶ καὶ τὴν κόνιν ἐσκέδασαν. The mere presence of John the Baptist's tomb at Sebaste, without reference to the events related to its desecration, is established by Hier., *In Os.* 1, 5: '*Ubi nunc Sebaste est, in qua et sancti Ioannis Baptistae ossa sunt condita*'; *id.*, *Ep.* 108, 13: '*Vidit duodecim patriarcharum sepulcra, et Sebasten, id est: Samariam, quae in honorem Augusti ab Herode Graeco sermone Augusta est nominata. Ibi siti sunt Heliseus et Abdias Phrophetae, et (quo maior inter natos mulierum non fuit) Baptista Iohannes*'; *id.*, *In Mich.* 1, 1 (PL 25, 1156).

[24] Thdt., *Epp.* 25-6; *Hph.* 21, 19-20. In this case, a local tradition on translation of the relics of John the Baptist (probably the head).

[25] L. Cracco Ruggini, 'Il 397: l'anno della morte di Ambrogio', in L.F. Pizzolato and M. Rizzi (eds), *Nec timeo mori. Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi ambrosiani nel XVI centenario della morte di Sant'Ambrogio* (Milano, 1998), 9[16].

bishop was therefore to create a thin thread to link Sebaste, and other places in Palestine, with Alexandria and the dioceses of Northern Italy. Through the dissemination of the relics of John the Baptist, which took place after the Council of Aquileia, he convened to resolve the issue of the two Danubian bishops of Arian faith Palladius of Ratiaria and Secondianus of Singidunum, and aimed to eradicate the heretical phenomenon permanently confirming the agreements reached at the Council of Nicea.[26] Neither Rufinus, nor the later historians Philostorgius and Theodoret, however, talk about the head of John the Baptist in the remains of the desecrated body at Sebaste, but only referred more generically to his bones.[27]

Given such tradition, we don't know where Sozomen heard the news about the discovery of John the Baptist's head in Cilicia and its transport to Constantinople under Theodosius I; furthermore Dionysius Exiguus and Marcellinus *comes* reported, during the 6th century AD, a completely different story about the origin and the subsequent transfer of the relic. They actually relate that John's head, discovered in Jerusalem by two oriental monks, was brought to the city of Emesa, and belonged to various private personalities like Eustochius/Eustathius, an arian heretic; there, it had been hidden and finally found by a monk called Marcellus in the monastery of *Spelaion*, nearby the city.[28] Uranius, bishop of Emesa, celebrated the event as if it had happened on February 24th 453 AD: this date is the same as that mentioned in the *Synaxarion* of the Constantinopolitan Church where, strange to say, we find no mention of any celebration of the relic carried to the capital by Theodosius I. This means that, despite the importance attached to the transfer of the John the Baptist's head to Constantinople at the time of Theodosius I and to the church built in its honour, the faithful people in Constantinople forgot the precious relic, addressed their reverence to a 'second head' of the saint – that in Emesa –, officially commemorated by the Church of Constantinople after the 6th century AD.

To explain the reason why the 'first head' of the Baptist, that is the one that Sozomen dealt with, is no longer mentioned in the sources, and its memory declined in favour of the 'second head' from Emesa, scholars proposed various

[26] See C. Sisto, s.v. *Aquileia*, in *Dizionario dei Concili* I (Roma, 1963), 60-1.

[27] Rufin., *Hist. eccl.* II 28: '*Sepulchrum Joannis Baptistae … ossa dispergerent*'; Philostorg., *Hist. eccl.* VII 4, 5: ὀστᾶ τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου; Thdt., *Hist. eccl.* III 7, 2: Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ … τὰ ὀστᾶ. John of Nikiu, *Chron.* 78, 42 in the seventh century, remembered that the head of the Baptist was worshiped at Sebaste, as well as his body: the head was taken in great secrecy to Alexandria at the time of Athanasius (328-339 AD) but 'rediscovered' only during the patriarchate of Theophilus (384-412 AD), when a large church was built in the city in honour of the saint.

[28] Dionys. Exig., *Inv. cap. Ioh.* (PL 67, 420-32); Marcell., *Chron.* ad a. 453 (PL 51, 928-9); *Chron. Pasch.* ad a. 453; Bed., *Martyr.* August. 29; Sym. Metaph., *Vita s. Matronae* 14 (PG 116, 933). Theophanes Confessor, *Chron.* ad a. 761, at the end of the eighth century, says that the Baptist's head was carried in 761 AD from the monastery of *Spelaion* to the beautiful church in the city of Emesa, which was built to receive the precious relic.

theories. In the early 900s, according to E. Lucius, 'la relique n'attira pas particulièrement l'attention des croyants, si bien qu'il devint possible de retrouver un autre crâne authentique du Baptiste', probably because it had been in the hands of heretical monks for a long time, or maybe because it did not produce enough number of miracles anymore.[29] Recently also G. Kazan claims that 'the relics brought by Theodosius fell from favour, were lost, or simply run out'.[30]

None of these explanations seem to highlight the fact that Sozomen is the only source that mentions the event of the translation attributed to Theodosius I. Neither eastern contemporary authors, such as Gregory of Nazianzus and John Chrysostom – who usually talk about the translations of martyrs in Constantinople – nor westerns, such as Ambrose and Paulinus of Nola, mention the case. The latter one, in a poem composed in the early 5th century AD, recalling how Constantine (not Constantius II, who really did it) had built so solid walls around Constantinople as to provide such a great protection to the city – that could be compared to the protection that Rome had thanks to the presence of SS. Peter and Paul –, mentioned the 'minor apostles' Andrew, brother of Peter, and Timothy, a disciple of Paul (whose remains were moved under Constantius II) as 'defenders' of the eastern capital, while he did not mention at all the purchase of the relics of John the Baptist that, according to Sozomen, took place just a few years earlier.[31] There is no mention of this in Sozomen's contemporary historians either, Theodoret of Cyrus, and mainly Socrates, whose work inspired our author for the composition of his own *Ecclesiastical History*.[32]

The lack of references in contemporary and later sources, taking into account that the only evidence we have is by Sozomen, a Constantinopolitan source

[29] E. Lucius, *Les origines du culte des saints* (Paris, 1908), 220-1.

[30] G. Kazan, 'The Head of St. John the Baptist – The Early Evidences'. In a forthcoming study focused on the analysis of the relic of the saint's head, Kazan judges the preference granted to the tradition of the 'second head' of the Baptist as 'bizarre', compared to the 'first', because this has only been authenticated by the church of Emesa, while the other was mentioned by Sozomen and recognized by the emperor himself, because the details of the story seem to belong to a genre of fables, and finally because the building where it is said the relics were discovered belonged to the wrong Erode, that is Herod the Great instead of Herod Antipas.

[31] Paul. Nol., *Carm.* 19 (PL 61, 329-42): '*Nam Constantinus proprii cum conderet urbem*/*nominis, et primus Romano in nomine regum*/*Christicolam gereret, divinum mente recepit*/*consilium, ut quotiamo Romanae moenibus urbis*/*aemula magnificis strueret tunc moenia coptis,*/*his quoque Romuleam sequeretur doti bus urbem,*/*ut sua apostolicis muniret moenia laetus*/*corporibus: tunc Andream devesi Achivis,*/*Timotheumque Asia: gemini sita turribus extat*/*Constantinopolis magnae caput aemula Romae,*/*verius hoc similis Romanis culmine muris,*/*quod Petrum, Paulumque pari Deus ambitione*/*compensavit ei, meruit quia sumere Pauli*/*discipulum cum fratre Petri*.'

[32] See G. Sabbah, *Sozomène. Histoire Ecclésiastique. Introduction*, SC 306 (Paris, 1983), 59-87; T. Urbainczyk, 'Observations on the Differences between the Church Histories of Socrates and Sozomen', *Historia* 47 (1997), 355-73, 355-62; H. Leppin, 'The Church Historians (I): Socrates, Sozomenus, and Theodoretus', in G. Marasco (ed.), *Greek and Roman Historiography in Late Antiquity (Fourth to Sixth Century A.D.)* (Leiden and Boston, 2003), 219-54, 223-4.

who lived more than a century later after the event, raises the suspicion that the Byzantine historian invented the story *ex novo*. The context where we find it is related to the story of the usurpation and the defeat of Eugenius by Theodosius I, in the decisive battle which took place at the Frigid River in Istria at the end of 394 AD. About this famous battle the Latin Christian sources (Rufinus) and the Byzantine Christian ones (Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret) report the events with appropriate encomiastic accents, in order to exalt the Emperor's victory as a result of his *pietas*. There were some elements that gave a providential and miraculous dimension to the story. The first one is represented by the mention of messengers sent by Theodosius I to the hermit John of Lycopolis, famous in ancient times for his qualities as a healer and a prophet, in order to learn about the outcome of the war against Eugenius, as the Emperor had done a few years earlier, before embarking on the Italian campaign against the usurper Maximus.[33] All the ecclesiastical historians refer to the *pietas* of the Emperor, which expressed itself through the many prayers addressed to God; these resulted in the onset of a miraculous wind which, after a series of uncertain fights, ensured victory to Theodosius I thanks to its violence – it made the battle difficult – and to the superstitious fear it generated on enemy troops.[34]

Theodoret and Sozomen also attest two 'prodigious facts' whose importance in the story is noteworthy, but that are not reported by Rufinus, the oldest source on the matter. The bishop of Cyrus, in fact, tells that two saints, dressed in white and riding two white horses, appeared to the Emperor – dropped off to sleep while praying in a chapel in the mountains near the site of the battle – and announced him the victory.[35] Apart from the obvious Dioscuri's legendary imprint of the tale in describing the characteristics of the two saints λευκόπωλοι and σωτῆρες and the nocturnal nature of the vision, it is interesting to underline that the identification of them with John the Evangelist and Philip the Apostle probably represents a simplified version of an older story, whose meaning was not very clear to Theodoret. It rather contemplated the presence of John the Baptist (who was frequently confused with the Evangelist, while the couple John the Evangelist/Philip the Apostle was not so predictable),[36]

[33] See Rufin., *Hist. eccl.* II 32 (victory with shedding of blood); Thdt., *Hist. eccl.* V 25, 2 (victory without bloodshed); Soz., *Hist. eccl.* VII 22, 7-8. In Socrates there is no reference to this episode. On the figure of John the monk and on his skills as a healer and prophet see also Rufin., *Hist. eccl.* II 19; Soz., *Hist. eccl.* VI 28; Pallad., *Hist. mon.* 35.

[34] See Rufin., *Hist. eccl.* II 33; Socr., *Hist. eccl.* V 25, 14; Thdt., *Hist. eccl.* V 25, 12; Soz., *Hist. eccl.* VII 24, 6. In the 'pagan version' of the Battle of Frigidus reported by Zosimus and John of Antioch, the strong wind is replaced with another natural phenomenon, the total eclipse of the sun; its invention was demonstrated by scholars, see F. Paschoud, *Zosime Histoire Nouvelle* II (Paris, 1979), 476ff.

[35] Thdt., *Hist. eccl.* V 25, 4-7.

[36] The combination of the two apostles is found only in the letter that the bishop Polycrates of Ephesus sent to Pope Victor I, where they are remembered as 'two great stars (μεγάλα στοιχεῖα) set in Asia that resurrected on the last day'; see Eus., *Hist. eccl.* III 31, 3 and V 24, 2-3.

accompanied by Philip, abbot of Jerusalem who, according to Rufinus' story, had rescued some parts of the body of the Baptist after the desecration of his tomb at the time of the Emperor Julian.[37]

Sozomen relates that Theodosius I, who was leaving Constantinople to fight with Eugenius, stopped to pray John the Baptist in the church dedicated to him at the *Hebdomon*. A prodigious announcement of victory – a possessed man appeared to him – took place while the Frigidus' battle was still going on in the faraway Istria.[38] Though the information is betrayed by only one source, the comparison between Sozomen and Rufinus shows that the bishop of Aquileia already referred to a procession that Theodosius I would have lead in Constantinople before his departure toward the West, together with priests and people in front of the shrines of martyrs and apostles – which were still *extra urbem* – in order to receive full protection through the intercession of the saints.[39] While Rufinus is very vague about the location of the procession and identity of the saints whom Theodosius I asked support for the battle, Sozomen does not only speak about *Hebdomon* as a final destination of the procession, but also identifies John the Baptist, and more precisely his head, as the protector of his salvation and of that of the Empire, because it helped him defeat Eugenius.

The ability attributed to this particular relic to assure victory between two contenders, was not new in the ancient world: in the 1st century AD Josephus already emphasized that the defeat of Herod against the king of Petra depended on having insulted the saint's head. It seems therefore unlikely that Sozomen, busy in creating the event of the saving intervention of John the Baptist in the Battle of Frigidus and of course the following discovery of his head by the Emperor, could take from Josephus the belief in the great power of this relic, which ensured the triumph for whoever possessed it. Later, in the same years when the Byzantine historian composed his work, there was witness to an increasing condemnation of the Jews, whose assimilation to the heretics and pagans in the imperial constitutions promoted by Theodosius II as in *Nov*. 3 *De Iudaeis Samaritanis Haereticis et paganiis*, was the real dividing line in the condemnation of those who continued to profess polytheism.[40] In a new cultural context of renewed interest, although 'negative', towards the Jewish world, it is probable that Sozomen could read a text rich in information about that culture such as *Antiquitates Iudaicae* of Flavius Josephus which gave him inspiration to make his story.

[37] Cracco Ruggini, 'Il 397' (1998), 8-9.

[38] Soz., *Hist. eccl.* VII 24, 2 and 8.

[39] Rufin., *Hist. eccl.* II 33: '*Nec tam excubiarum vigiliis, quam obsecrationum pernoctatione munitus circumibat, cum sacerdotibus et populo omnia orationum loca, ante Martyrum et Apostolorum thecas iacebat cilicio prostratus, ex auxilia sibi fida sanctorum intercessione poscebat*.'

[40] Lizzi Testa (forthcoming).

The explanation of the reason why Sozomen chose to speak about the translation of the head of John the Baptist in Constantinople under Theodosius I, is not only explained by the need to show the victory of the Emperor as a result of his *pietas* through the cult of such a powerful relic. It rather reflects a willingness to give lustre to what was happening at the time of Theodosius II: it is the probable construction of a *memoria* in honour of the saint in the district of *Hebdomon*.[41] While most scholars, believing the news of Sozomen to be trustworthy, attributed the construction of the church in honour of the saint to Theodosius I, who would have placed later here the precious relic, a careful reading of the sources shows that at this date the only church in the district was the μαρτύριον of John the Evangelist, not that of the Baptist. In fact Socrates, within the context of the Gainas' revolt against Emperor Arcadius which occurred in 399-400 AD, reported that the Gothic general, as he were possessed by a demon, reached John the Apostle's μαρτύριον 'which was located at a distance of seven miles from the city';[42] the same news is reported by Sozomen too, who tells us that Gaina retired to pray in the church of John the Baptist.[43] Socrates' noteworthy degree of reliability in reporting facts that were chronologically close to him, combined with the fact that Sozomen was interested in proving that it was the Precursor's church, leads to the hypothesis that at the time of Theodosius I the only church present in the *Hebdomon* was dedicated to John the Evangelist.[44]

The considerable flow of relics during the reign of Theodosius II with the arrival in the capital of the remains, among the others, of Joseph, son of Jacob, of Zechariah, John the Baptist's father, but above all of the famous prophet Elijah whose tomb was, according to ecclesiastical Historians, not by chance

[41] The district of Hebdomon, as the name itself suggests, derives from the fact that it was seven miles away from the church of St Sophia. It had a Campus Martius, imitating of Rome, a barracks (καστέλλιον τῶν Θεοδοσιανῶν), an imperial palace of Constantine era (Magnaura), one of Justinian era (Secundiane) and several churches. The characteristics of the neighbourhood as a place where troops gathered before leaving for war and where emperors were proclaimed is attested up until the 6th century AD, see R. Janin, 'Les églises byzantines du Précurseur à Constantinople', *EO* 37 (1938), 312-51, 313-9; R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine. Développement urbain et répertoire topographique* (Paris, 1950), 408-11 and R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin*, I. *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat œcuménique. Les Églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1969), 413-5.

[42] Socr., *Hist. eccl.* VI 6, 23: Ὑποκρινόμενος γὰρ δαιμονᾶν ὡς εὐξόμενος τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ ἀποστόλου Ἰωάννου (ἑπτὰ δὲ σημείοις ἀπέχει τοῦτο τῆς πόλεως) καταλαμβάνει.

[43] Soz., *Hist. eccl.* VIII 4, 14: ὡς εὐξόμενός τε καταλαμβάνει τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἣν ἐπὶ τιμῇ Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως πατὴρ ᾠκοδόμησε πρὸς τῷ Ἑβδόμῳ.

[44] For reliability of Socrates see P. Maraval, *Socrate de Constantinople. Histoire Ecclésiastique (Livre I)*, *Introduction*, SC 477 (Paris, 2004), 9-22. A later source like Patria of Constantinople (*Patria* 3, 145 ed. Preger p. 260) clearly shows the blending of the stories of Socrates and Sozomen when he remembers that the Baptist's head brought to Constantinople by Theodosius I was placed by the Emperor inside the church of John the Evangelist at *Hebdomon*, pending the construction of the shrine in his honour.

next to that of the Baptist at Sebaste, probably contemplated the purchase of some fragments belonging to the Precursor. In his honour a *memoria* was constructed which Sozomen attributed to Theodosius I, through a literary work that assured great prestige to the reigning Emperor.

This was probably not the only reason that prompted Sozomen to promote the *inventio* of the translation of John the Baptist's relics to Constantinople. The saint's head had, in fact, a special sacred value. Being the last of the prophets and the Precursor of Christ, he was usually associated with the Apostles, while his baptism in blood incorporated him actually in the church. Moreover, he was shown, in monastic literature, as an ideal example of ascetic life, being austerity customs, love for solitude and spirit of prayer elements which characterized the first public witness to Christ's coming.[45]

The relic of his head, the most significant part of the saint's body by virtue of the story about him, was therefore considered particularly valuable because it belonged to someone who had been in close contact with Christ, having baptized him, and for whom Christ himself had shown great respect:[46] he praised his personality and ministry, labelling him as a strong and rigorous man, comparing him to a 'burning and shining lamp' and to 'the greatest among those born from a woman'.[47] The privileged place assigned by Christ to the Baptist made him receive special attention from the Fathers of the Church, he was indeed the only saint whose carnal birth had a celebration.[48]

Since the position of the Baptist was equivalent to that of the saints Peter and Paul who were in charge of the protection of Rome, the transfer of its most popular relic to Constantinople would have meant giving the capital of the East a prestigious status in relation to the other Christian cities, becoming an apostolic centre for a long time. In this sense, Byzantium's effort to slowly build itself a more distinguished identity than the western and Roman one, found its motivation right in the foundation of the city by Constantine, that, having taken place in a late era, put the city in the delicate position of needing to legitimize its role within Christianity. A first sign of the supremacy of Constantinople in the East was at the time of Theodosius I, who did not only decide to reside

[45] On the figure of John the Baptist see B. Mariani, s.v. 'Giovanni Battista', in *EC* VI (Firenze, 1951), 515-27; T. Stramare, s.v. 'Giovanni Battista', in *BS* VI (Roma, 1965), 599-616; E. Malatesta and R. Marichal, s.v. 'Jean le Baptisté', in *DS* VIII (Paris, 1974), 175-92. As for signs on the iconography of the holy man see G. Santagata, s.v. 'Giovanni Battista (iconografia)', in *DPAC* II (Casale Monferrato, 1984), 1532-3.

[46] That the figure of John the Baptist (and later his remains) enjoyed great 'popularity' within the Christian tradition is evident from the fact that the name of John the Baptist is mentioned more frequently than that of any other character in the Gospels, except of course for Christ himself; see J. Wortley, 'Relics of "the friends of Jesus" at Constantinople', in J. Durand and B. Flusin (eds), *Byzance et les reliques du Christ* (Paris, 2004), 143-57, 146-7.

[47] *John* 5:35: ἐκεῖνος ἦν ὁ λύχνος ὁ καιόμενος καὶ φαίνων; *Matth.* 11:11: οὐκ ἐγήγερται ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν μείζων Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ.

[48] See Malatesta and Marichal, s.v. 'Jean le Baptisté' (1974), 184-5.

permanently in the capital, – his predecessors chose to settle elsewhere –, but through Canon 3 of the Council of Constantinople in 381 AD also attributed to the bishop of Constantinople the first honour after Rome:[49] Constantinople was the new Rome, an expression which gave a value of protocol.[50] It was, however, with Canon 28 of Chalcedon that the jurisdictional developments of the bishop of Constantinople received their final sanction, in fact it was recognized that the city of Constantine had the same privileges and the same grandeur of Rome, which only by rank continued to overtake it.

The pre-Chalcedonian atmosphere, which represented the context where Sozomen devised the structure and the style of his work, with no doubt inspired great interest in the Byzantine historian for the various heretical movements, which is easily understandable in reference to the Christological dispute which arose in the years from Nestorius to Eutyches. The same context also allowed him to be a witness, in as much as he was close to the court circles, to the attempt to build a political and religious identity in Byzantium. According to the historian, in fact, it showed itself through the affirmation of *pietas* as a fundamental value, meant as trust in the continuing intervention of Providence in human affairs, and through miracles, premonitions in the night, unexpected victories and discovery of saints' relics, especially those of the Old Testament prophets.[51] The invention of a translation to Constantinople of such a precious and powerful object represented a mean to express the victory of orthodoxy over heresy and to offer protection and prestige, as the relic had belonged to the largest of the Christian prophets:[52] it would have allowed backdating to the time of the founder of the Theodosian dynasty a claim to the primacy of Constantinople not only in the East, but throughout the Empire, and even in respect to Rome, giving a foundation to the claims of the court of Theodosius II and Pulcheria in the fifth century AD, when he composed his work. Sozomen's

[49] The need to define the status of the bishop of Constantinople was in fact due to the abnormal perception of the role that it addressed: on the one hand, he was in fact the bishop of the city from which the Empire was actually ruled, on the other, being a late foundation, it lacked the traditional priority status with respect to the historical sites of the Church. Canon 3 is then represented by the first signal for the systematic organization of the Church based on adjustment of old administrative structures, and the clear desire on the part of Theodosius I to declare Constantinople as the undisputed capital of the East, see R.M. Errington, 'Church and State in the First Years of Theodosius I', *Chiron* 27 (1997), 21-72, 59-62.

[50] COD 28 (Mansi III 560): τὸ μέντοι Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπίσχοπον ἔχειν τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν Ῥώμης ἐπίσχοπον διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν νέαν Ῥώμην.

[51] G. Sabbah, *Sozomène. Histoire Ecclésiastique. Introduction*, SC 516 (Paris, 2008), 7-58, 39-47.

[52] On the figure of John the Baptist as a symbol of the victory of the Orthodox faith against the heresies, see for example Thdt., *Hph.* 21, 19, where the main character of the story, ascetic James, on the concern of Theodoret reguarding the great spread of Marcionism, responds: 'You do not need me or any other intercessor of God, you have your renowned John, the voice, the Precursor of the Lord, who continuously raises this prayer for you'.

interest in conveying a similar message was probably due to his closeness to the members of the imperial court, especially Pulcheria, who at the time was carrying on her struggle against Monophysitism: her qualities are enhanced by the historian in book IX of his work, where he clearly shows his favour towards the ecclesiastical policy of the Empress.

Therefore, according to the reports of the contemporary Procopius, Justinian dedicated a beautiful church to John the Baptist in the 6th century AD in *Hebdomon*.[53] The emperor in the sixth century had powerfully proposed the problem of primacy for the episcopal jurisdiction between Rome and Constantinople with a series of acts, one of which was the request to Pope John II to take the relics of Peter and Paul to the capital of the East, once again confirming the significance of the relic and the prestige it assured to those who possessed it. But by this time, the tradition of the so-called 'first head' of the Baptist told by Sozomen had fallen into oblivion, having already exhausted the function it had been created for. This explains the need of the entourage of Justinian to invent a new legend about it (that is the 'second head' of Emesa) whose memory was designed to last in time, having the date of its discovery been set in occasion of the liturgical celebrations in Constantinople.

[53] Procop., *Aed.* 1, 8: τὸ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ τέμενός … ὅπερ αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἔναγχος ἐν τῷ Ἑβδόμῳ καλουμένῳ ἀνέθηκεν.

A Ladder to Heaven: Ephesus I and the Theology of Marian Mediation

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ABSTRACT

This paper raises the question of Mary's mediating role in salvation history as found in the writings of Cyril of Alexandria during the period of the Nestorian controversy and the council of Ephesus (429-431). Was Cyril one of the first to consider Mary as a mediating figure and consequently, as an intercessor in the liturgical life of the church and popular practices of devotion? In answering this question, this paper considers Cyril's interpretative lens on Mary with its reliance on Scripture and tradition-based imagery to structure her praise. In addition, some new and original aspects of Cyril's work are highlighted, for example, the explicit emphasis on Mary's middle role between God and creation, the focal point of which is her womb as the locus of the incarnation. Finally, Cyril's usage of the Marian title 'theotokos' lays out the groundwork for later portrayals of the 'holy and most pure Virgin' as mediating between God and humankind by virtue of her 'divine' motherhood.

In the history of early Mariology the council of Ephesus is remarkable in that it initiates the formal development of Marian theological discourse and confirms it as an integral part of Christological doctrine. This conceptual trend would lead to a new and fresh consideration of the basics of incarnational theology. As illustrated by the works of Cyril of Alexandria, the image of the Virgin Mary and the fiat of her motherhood as encapsulated in the title *theotokos* (God-bearer) would emerge as the focal point of the union between human and divine realms. By extension, this process of maturation of Marian doctrine has the additional outcome of laying out the groundwork for later depictions of the Virgin as a protectress of the Christian realm, defender of the church, and an intercessor enjoying a special favor with her Son. In the liturgical and epistolary materials related to the Ephesian controversy of 429-431 glimpses of such notions appear in a rudimentary and raw state. For example, the writings of Cyril of Alexandria hint at the possibility of envisioning Mary as a mediating figure set apart from all creation by way of delivering rhetorical praise that clearly anticipates later developments in that regard. Thus Ephesus introduces, almost as an afterthought, the conceptual trajectory of depicting Mary as a mediator and provides the impetus for subsequent unfolding of this notion in Marian theology and homiletics.

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Here a note of caution is in order. Even a superficial glance at the *theotokos* debate demonstrates that the emergence of Marian theology was an ongoing process related to the church's evolving perception of Christ's mission and personhood. Hence the tumultuous proceedings of the Council of Ephesus, despite their stamp of approval on Cyril's defense of the *theotokos* should not be seen as an ultimately political show of Cyril's superiority. Such judgment belies the complexity of the situation, including its doctrinal aspect.[1] Cyril's victory at Ephesus was neither easy nor quick. His letters from Ephesus betray his anxiety and the hope for a victory, which he did not take for granted.[2] He was sustained by the conviction that his opponent Nestorius preached 'false doctrines', which would eventually be 'extinguished' by the 'right dogmas of the church'.[3] In addition, while waiting for the synod to assemble, Cyril wrote of his hope that Christ 'will cleanse his churches of distorted concepts and will restore most brilliantly the true faith'.[4] The 'true faith' Cyril had in mind referred to the depiction of Christ as the incarnate Word of God, born in the flesh by the Virgin Mary.[5] In light of these statements we should see Cyril not as a villain bullying his way through the Ephesian council, but rather as a leader of the church committed to a cause, – the cause of orthodoxy, as he saw it – and acting in conformity with his mission. It is noteworthy that he perceived the issues discussed at Ephesus, including the *theotokos* issue, as having universal impact on the foundation of the Christian faith and promoting conciliar decisions that will be incumbent upon the corporate Christian community.

Cyril's consistent affirmation of the title *theotokos* leads seamlessly to his depiction image of Mary as a bridge between human and divine realms. Such interpretation of Mary's facilitating role in the incarnation poses the important question of whether the title 'mediator' could properly be applied to Mary at this early stage. Textual evidence does not support this possibility. Instead, Cyril's portrayal of the Virgin relies on simplified abstractions with its emphasis on the facts of the incarnation and the role of Mary as linked inextricably with the salvific mission of her son. Like his illustrious predecessors Irenaeus and Athanasius, Cyril does not focus on the image of Mary per se, in isolation

[1] See Kenneth Holum, *Theodosian Empresses* (Berkeley, 1982), 170-2; also Leena Mari Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn* (Leiden, 2001), 51-2. Peltomaa opposes Holum's judgment of the council as a hollow political victory for Pulcheria by pointing out that 'this notion may be correct on the level of popular piety and politics, but it is not so on the doctrinal level.'

[2] See John McEnerney, *St. Cyril of Alexandria: Letters*. Fathers of the Church 76-77 (Washington, 1987), I 108-16. For a list of the lavish gifts to the imperial court which Cyril hoped to help his cause, see Cyril's *Epistle* 96, ACO 1.4, 224-5, trans. McEnerney II 151-3. See the critical edition in E. Schwartz (ed.), *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum I: Concilium Universale Ephesinum*, 5 vols. (Berlin, 1927-1932).

[3] *Ibid*. 108; also *Epistle* 26, ACO 1.1.2, 69-70, trans. McEnerney I 110-1.

[4] *Epistle* 21, ACO 1.1.1, 117, trans. McEnerney I 100.

[5] See *Epistle* 18, trans. McEnerney I 94.

of the purpose of the incarnational event. Rather, he describes the incarnation as a sign of God's indisputable workmanship sealed with the cooperation of Mary. In acquiring a 'substance of flesh', God's solidarity with the human race becomes reality. In order to re-create all in himself, Christ incorporates the wholeness of humanity into his divine being and endures that which human beings must suffer. This experiential language as applied to the humanized God should be noted here for it resurfaces repeatedly in Cyril's writings as an illustration of the exchange of properties between the two existential domains in Christ. Cyril is keen on affirming the genuine character of Christ's humanity, including its experiential aspect, and portraying Mary as its guarantor. She is the person who mediates the union between God and humanity in the event of the incarnation, and whose 'divine motherhood' confirms special powers on her. This dimension of Cyril's incarnational theology foreshadows future considerations of the doctrine of Mary as a mediator.

Remarkably, Cyril's position on the special dignity of Mary as a *theotokos* uniting God with human nature remains consistent throughout the controversy. In his brilliant exposition of what would later become the standard formula of church Christology, Cyril repeatedly argues that his theological agenda concurs with the teachings of the 'most devout bishops throughout the East and West', and the faith of the fathers 'in whose writings we always find the Holy Virgin Mary named Mother of God'.[6] Throughout the Christological debates, Cyril's perspective on Mary's significance would grow in sophistication without losing the power of his original insight. His correspondence with the monks of Egypt, the doctrinal treatise *Against Nestorius* and a rich variety of homiletics materials illustrate this contention abundantly.

Of particular interest in this regard is Cyril's collection of homilies related to the gospel of *Luke*. Cyril's *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke*, as it is officially known, is a compilation of a series of 156 homilies (preserved in a Syriac translation and only fragments in Greek) that was most likely delivered in 430, on the eve of the council of Ephesus. In recent scholarship, this work has not received much critical mention, despite its demonstration of Cyril's mastery of liturgical parlance. In terms of its theological content, the *Commentary* showcases Cyril in his mature form of expression and is a powerful testimony to themes that are essential to the Alexandrian patriarch's incarnational vision. It is an apt illustration of the judgment of A. Kerrigan who sees Cyril not as an 'outstanding exegete' in the sense of being an innovator (his exegesis is fairly traditional in its techniques, focusing on the interaction of both the literal and spiritual sense of the narrative) but rather as a theologian with impressive 'depth, clarity, orthodoxy and spiritual value of his doctrine'.[7]

[6] See McEnerney I 52.

[7] Alexander Kerrigan, *St. Cyril of Alexandria, Interpreter of the Old Testament* (Rome, 1952), 460.

The Lukan collection presents the mariological theme as embedded within Cyril's reflections on the meaning of the incarnation. If the 430 dating of the homilies is correct, Cyril's choice of scriptural material could be seen as illuminating in its own right, since, as a defender of the *theotokos*, he could not overlook the fact that *Luke*'s gospel is the first to look at Mary as a central character in the drama of the incarnation. For it is only in Luke's scene of the annunciation that Mary's virginity, her song of praise, and special blessing from Elizabeth give the story a 'very plastic and dynamic character, which brings the Virgin Mary into the foreground, whereas the christological theme recedes in comparison'.[8] In Cyril's appropriation of this text, the typological significance of Mary's image prevails even as it co-exists with the basic affirmation of her humanity as a 'virgin engaged to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David'.[9] Thus Cyril's approach demonstrates how *Luke*'s schematic portrait of Mary would be adopted by later Christian writers as one of the primary sources for constructing the image of the virgin mother.

Cyril's comments on the birth narrative in *Luke* 1-2 are noteworthy with their retelling of Alexandrian Christology.[10] Much like his predecessor Athanasius, Cyril highlights the soteriological value of Christ's incarnation as a task undertaken by the triune God who desires to bring back humanity to himself. Cyril's discussion of the incarnation brings together several important motifs – the account of Jesus' birth as salfivic, the role of Mary as *theotokos*, and finally, the story of the relationship between Father and Son which is the most substantial summary of Cyril's Trinitarian thought as related to the purpose of the incarnation.

In the commentary Cyril's exegetical hermeneutics rely on a clear-cut Christological *skopos* as the fundamental principle in interpreting the contents and message of Scripture. Scripture as a whole, Cyril affirms, is a testimony to Christ and Christ as the savior of the human race.[11] In line with Cyril's overwhelming emphasis on Christ's salvific work, the one divine person most frequently mentioned in the Lukan homilies is God the Son. Cyril uses the phrase 'God the Father' typically in the context of commenting upon the incarnational role of the Son or as a way to elaborate on the divine mission of salvation with which the Son is entrusted. In addition, Cyril makes a consistent and unambiguous distinction between the

[8] *New Testament Apocrypha I*, ed. W. Schneemelcher (Louisville, KY, 1991), 481.

[9] *Luke* 1:27.

[10] This series of 156 homilies is alternatively called a *Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke*. The most likely date for their delivery is the end of 430. For bibliographical references see Johannes Quasten, *Patrology*, 4 vols. (Maryland, 1963), III 124. For the preserved Greek text of three of those homilies see PG 77, 1009.

[11] In her survey *From Nicaea to Chalcedon* Frances Young argues that what distinguishes the Christian appropriation of Jewish scriptures is not the prophetic spirit in which they are now interpreted (as Christians do, Jewish exegetes consider the messianic hope as part of the history of their nation), but rather the novelty and uniqueness of Christian exegesis 'lies in the perception of the reference of the text.' See Francis Young, *From Nicaea to Chalcedon* (London, 1983),128.

divine economy, in the context of which Christ is the first-born son of Mary, and the pre-existent divinity of the only-begotten Word:

> He is the Only-begotten in respect to His being the Word of the Father, having no brethren by nature, nor being coordinate with any being; for the Son of God, consubstantial with the Father, is one and alone; but He becomes the firstborn by descending to the level of created things.[12]

In *Homily One* from where this text is excerpted, Cyril reflects at length on the ways in which the title 'first born' is applied as pertinent to both Scripture and tradition. The Son, he claims, owns the title of 'first-born' in a two-fold way: he is the first-born of all creation as well as the first-born among those who are raised up into incorruption.[13]

In *Homily Four*, he states 'God has saved the world through the mediation of the Son, in that He was made like unto us'.[14] Similarly, in *Homily Three*, the Son is portrayed as obeying the Father's commission to save the world. So the Son is 'obedient and submissive to God the Father in every aspect'.[15] Cyril does not subscribe to a version of utilitarian Christology where the Son is no more than an instrument of the Father, similar to the way in which the Virgin is handled as the vehicle for setting the incarnational process in motion. Instead, Cyril's choice of language reflects his affirmation of the special bond between Father and Son as well as the fact that they are equally committed to the salvation of all created things and equally engaged in the grand soteriological scheme Cyril works with.

Furthermore, Cyril's Christology portrays Christ as true God and true man brought together in an organic and inseparable union.[16] Cyril qualifies this major assumption by constantly reiterating that the two natures, human and divine, are brought into a real union in which they remain unequal. This conceptualization of Christ emphasizes his oneness – he is the same Son from the Father and born from a woman – at the same time as it takes into account the duality on which this oneness rests: 'Although the natures', Cyril claims in *Homily One*, 'which concurred in forming the union are both different and unequal to one another, yet he who is formed from them both is only one, nor may we separate the one Lord Jesus Christ into man severally and God severally'.[17]

Cyril contends that the guiding force in the incarnation is the divine initiative. It is in this sense that Cyril seeks to affirm the transcendent omnipotence

[12] *Homily 1*, 49. In Robert Payne-Smith, *Cyril's Commentary upon the Gospel according to S. Luke* (Oxford, 1859).

[13] *Hom. 1*, 49.

[14] *Hom. 4*, 59.

[15] *Hom. 3*, 55.

[16] *Hom. 1*, 47: 'The natures, however, which combined into this real union were different, but from the two together is one God the Son, without the diversity of the natures being destroyed by the union. For a union of two natures was made, and therefore we confess one God, One Son, One Lord.'

[17] *Hom. 1*, 47.

of God: unlike created beings who are limited by nature and seek sustenance in their rootedness in the divine reality,[18] God as such is not limited by the boundaries of natural law when he assumes flesh.[19] This is why he creates human nature for himself, in a sovereign act consistent with the very first expression of his power that had established the world. At the same time Cyril is careful to introduce Christ's mother as indispensable to the divine design of the incarnation. Highlighting Mary's motherhood as divine is the only way to emphasize the authentic character of the human birth:

> It is with reference to this notion of a union without confusion that we proclaim the holy Virgin to be the mother of God, because God the Word was made flesh and became man, and by the act of conception united to Himself the temple that He received from her.[20]

He rejects a docetic view of the incarnation according to which either 'the virgin is corrupted' or she was uncorrupted, but Christ 'was brought forth only in appearance'.[21] Cyril reaffirms Mary's perpetual virginity as an article of faith at the same time at which he describes the Word as born and 'made flesh without sexual intercourse'.[22] Its occurrence is miraculous and not 'in accordance with the laws of nature', both in terms of the lack of birth pains and in terms of Mary's virginity.[23] It is authentically a human experience but at the same time the type of humanity unblemished by sin that God had originally envisioned at the beginning of creation, as knowing only the good and 'exempt from that depravity which belongs to man'.[24]

The most explicit example of the importance Cyril ascribes to the saving work of Christ is found in Luke's *Homily Two*, a jubilant retelling of the event of the incarnation. This text, with its exuberant praise of the incarnational event, could be a precursor to a later homily, most likely delivered by Cyril during the time of the council of Ephesus, his Ephesian *Homily Four*, which is considered one of the most famous mariological homilies of antiquity. But while the Ephesian homily is explicitly centered on Mary,[25] the Lukan source

[18] See Steven McKinion, *Words, Imagery, and the Mystery of Christ: a Reconstruction of Cyril of Alexandria's Christology* (Leiden, 2000), 99.

[19] See John McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria: the Christological Controversy, its History, Theology, and Texts* (Leiden, 1994), 215.

[20] *Hom. 1*, 47: 'And it is with reference to this notion of a union without confusion that we proclaim the holy Virgin to be the mother of God, because God the Word was made flesh and became man, and by the act of conception united to Himself the temple that He received from her.'

[21] *Ibid*. 48.

[22] *Ibid*.

[23] See *Hom. 1*, 48.

[24] *Hom. 2*, 53.

[25] This leads to some scholarly doubts about its authenticity, see J. Quasten, *Patrology* (1963), III 123-4 cautiously ascribes it to Cyril; the critical edition in E. Schwartz disputes the authenticity of the most famous of these pieces, *Homily Four* on Mary. Refuting Schwartz, Santer considers this piece genuine; see M. Santer, 'The Authorship and Occasion of Cyril of Alexandria's Sermon on

is a Christ-centered reflection on the meaning and purpose of the incarnation as presented by the gospel. Both homilies affirm that it is the divine Word who has descended into human flesh as a guiding principle of the Christ-reality. Echoing Irenaeus who is the first to juxtapose Eve's curse of death to Mary as the source of life and rebirth,[26] Cyril's Lukan *Homily Two* emphasizes that 'because a woman has brought forth in the flesh the Emmanuel who is life, the power of the curse is loosed'.[27] Interestingly enough, Cyril claims that this is the reason why the pains of all earthly mothers have ceased from that time forward – a statement that underlines both the unique character of the birth and the unique role Mary comes to play in it.[28] Christ 'endured to be born from a woman for our sake', Cyril continues.[29] He portrays the incarnation as a 'great and extraordinary event' that destroys sin and death and justifies by faith so that, above all, it heals and restores the relationship between God and humanity.[30] It is the culminating event in the beautifully contrived dispensation by means of which God has saved the world.[31] It is meant to bring the human race back to the Father through the work of the Son because, as he puts it, it pleased God the Father to form into one new whole all things in him.[32]

In 431 Cyril's homilies delivered at Ephesus build up on this incarnational theme while supplementing it with the additional attention he pays to an emerging notion of Marian mediating powers. In general Cyril stays faithful to his earlier basic conception of the image of the Virgin as the meeting point of human and divine realities. *Homily Four*, for example, proclaims at length that it is 'through her' that creation is renewed, the faith is upheld, and the Christian commonwealth is built. At the same time Cyril's argument acquires the additional dimension of highlighting the paradox of Mary's motherhood as centered on her womb, the dwelling place of the uncontainable God.[33] This particular

the Virgin (Hom. Div. iv)', *SP* 12 (1975), 144-5. In terms of style and contents, the sermon fits within the Ephesian context and thus there is no compelling reason to doubt its ascription to Cyril. *Homily Four* is the basis for *Homily Eleven* (frequently quoted in mariological surveys), the latter being enlarged and retouched version of the original piece; see J. Quasten, *Patrology* (1963), III 124.

[26] Irenaeus' understanding of salvation as recapitulation or going back to paradisiacal existence finds further expression in the parallels he draws, on the one hand, between Mary and the virgin earth from which Adam was created, and, on the other, between Mary and Eve as the two archetypal virgins. See *Adversus haereses* III 21,10, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers* I 454; Irenaeus of Lyon, *Against the Heresies*, trans. D.J. Unger (New York, 1992). Like Adam created out of untilled earth, Christ was formed in a virgin womb; and Mary is the origin of life as opposed to Eve, the cause of death.

[27] *Hom. 2*, 52.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] *Ibid.* 53.

[31] *Ibid.* 51.

[32] *Ibid.* 54.

[33] (PG 77, 994).

idea, of containing and constraining the uncontainable, becomes part of the philosophical legacy of the Ephesian council.[34]

In adopting the notion of Mary's womb as the point of uniting the properties of human and divine natures in Christ, Cyril counters Nestorius' argument as directed against the special privileges of Mary as a mother. In the Nestorian description there is no image of containment of God, rather of the womb of the Virgin as a temporal dwelling in which God stayed.[35] Additionally, this image is reminiscent of traditional depictions of Mary as a tabernacle.[36] From Nestorius' perspective Mary is *christotokos* because she supplies Christ's body, an entity which he envisions in terms of Scripture-influenced architectural metaphors:

> The body is the temple of the Godhead of the Son, and a temple that is united in a sublime and divine conjunction, in such a way that the nature of the Godhead appropriates the characteristics of this [temple].[37]

Nestorius stops short of constructing a typological reference to the Virgin laden with the allusions of indwelling and containment. God himself, Nestorius asserts, could not be contained or circumscribed in the Virgin's womb. The womb of Mary and the tomb are twin images of containment which refer not to God but to the human being with whom God is joined:

> [That] which was formed in the womb is not in itself God … That which was buried in the tomb was not in itself God … If that were the case, we should manifestly be worshippers of a human being and worshippers of the dead.[38]

Instead Mary is described as a receiver of God or 'theodochos'.

Cyril, on the other hand, conceives of Mary as a *theotokos* or the one who gives birth to God. His own Christological perspectives is clearly informed by (Pseudo-)Athanasius, as it is in the Athanasian corpus that we find the first attempt at developing a systematic theory of the incarnation in which Mary plays a part.[39] While refuting the Arian teaching of the created nature of the

[34] See L.M. Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary* (2001), 107.

[35] Says Nestorius: 'A creature did not produce the Creator, rather she gave birth to the human being, the instrument of the Godhead. The Holy Spirit did not create God the Logos […] Rather, he formed out of the Virgin a temple for God the Logos, a temple in which he dwelt.' See *John* 2:19. *Hom. One*, ed. R. Norris, *The Christological Controversy* (Philadelphia, PA, 1980), 124-5; the same idea is repeated in Friedrich Loofs, *Nestoriana* (Halle, 1905), 340.

[36] See *Luke* 1:35.

[37] *Second Letter to Cyril*, ed. J. McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria* (1994), 367. Compare this to a later statement in Nestorius' *Bazaar* which develops the same idea: the body, says Nestorius, is 'united unto him as being animate and intelligent in order that we might suppose that the union was without confusion and further without change of *ousia* and of nature.' In G. Driver and L. Hodgson, *Nestorius: The Bazaar of Heracleides* (Oxford, 1925), 171.

[38] *Hom. One*, ed. R. Norris, 130.

[39] Athanasius' authority was claimed for the treatise *On Virginity* which Bertrand Buby erroneously considers to be authentic but whose dating falls anytime between the fifth and the ninth century. See Pseudo-Athanasius, *On Virginity*, ed. D. Brakke, CSCO 592, Syr. 232 (Leuven, 2002),

Son, Athanasius is especially interested in the way in which the divine Word becomes flesh, much in the way in which Cyril would explore the same question later on.[40] Athanasius emphasizes, first, the significance of Mary's body as a temple that God has prepared for his own use and, second, her purity from which God takes an authentically and fully human body.[41] Athanasius affirms God's free decision to confine himself to the 'realm of corruption' by taking on flesh so that 'the law involving the ruin of men might be undone'.[42] In the body given by Mary, the Son of God descends into the material world of human

v; also Bertrand Buby, *The Marian Heritage of the Early Church*, 3 vols. (New York, 1996). The treatise links the state of virginity with an orientation toward the heavenly bridegroom (*ibid*. 9, p. 4) and purity from worldly anxieties (*ibid*. 6, p. 3). 'For this is the definition of the virtue of virginity: that in soul and body you might be holy' (*ibid*. 14, p. 6). Most likely a compilation from a variety of sources, the treatise examines a sampling of gospel parables and psalmic exhortations to holy life to argue that chastity is a 'garment of glory' (*ibid*. 53-4, p. 20-1). Mary is called the 'mother and teacher of virgins' (*ibid*. 78, p. 29); the familiar juxtaposition between her life-giving obedience and Eve's disobedience is affirmed (*ibid*. 77, p. 29); thus the author concludes: '[T]hus, Adam, Eve, and all those before and after us, are saved because she continued in faith, love, and holiness, with chastity' (*ibid*. 77, p. 29). If the dating was more precise, this remark could be one of the early instances of the acknowledgement of Mary as an intercessor. The virgins are instructed to follow Mary's example in their daily conduct and model their practices on her life (*ibid*. 80-1, p. 30). The christological theme in this text is rudimentary which alone should challenge the claim to Athanasius' authorship; Christ is mentioned only once in the context of being compared to Adam and Mary to Adam's counterpart (*ibid*. 79, p. 30).

[40] According to Virginia Burrus, orthodox imagination saw the 'Logos and flesh of Christ, life-sustaining Word and otherwise-moribund body, as intimately interwoven, almost as two aspects of the same entity'; see Virginia Burrus, '*Begotten, Not Made': Conceiving Manhood in Late Antiquity* (Stanford, 2000), 42. There are statements in Athanasius to the effect that the Word disguises himself by appearing in a body, but they are read best in the context of his radical disagreement with Arianism; see *De incarnatione* 16, in *Christology of the Later Fathers*, ed. E. Hardy (Philadelphia, 1954), 70. Athanasius is so concerned on emphasizing that Christ is 'not man only, but also God, and the Word and wisdom of the true God' (*ibid*. 16) that he constantly underlines the divine initiative in the incarnation. At the same time he insists that Christ's humanity is real, because it is the only way for humankind to 'comprehend and know their maker … lest they should find no profit in existing at all' (*ibid*. 11; Hardy, 65).

[41] See Athanasius' mention of the Virgin in *On the Incarnation,* a work that brings together major conceptual elements of his incarnational theology to resurface in later writings: 'He takes a body of our own kind, and not merely so, but from a spotless and stainless virgin, knowing not a man, a body clean and in very truth pure from intercourse of men. For being Himself mighty, and Artificer of everything, He prepares the body in the Virgin as a temple unto Himself, and makes it His very own as an instrument, in it manifested, and in it dwelling'. In P. Schaff and H. Wace (ed.), *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, 2nd series, vols. 1-14 (Grand Rapids, MI, 1961), Athanasius, *On the Incarnation*, vol. 40, 112.

[42] *Ibid*. This passage is remarkable because it holds together in a somewhat delicate balance ideas that will influence both Cyrilline and Nestorian theologies: Cyril will emphasize the physicality of the Word's humanity as his very own while Nestorius will refer to the functional aspects of the incarnation in insisting that the Word dwells in the body as an instrument without intimately co-mingling with it. Athanasius focuses on the genuine character of the flesh of the incarnate God and the benefits stemming from it, but does not explain exactly how the union between an immaterial God and a material body takes place.

experience and so Athanasius asserts: 'This is why Mary was necessary, that he might receive this body from her, and offer it up as his own for us'.[43] Mary is indispensable to the purposes of his soteriology and Athanasius relies on Scripture to articulate the historicity of the image of Christ's mother: Mary is betrothed (like all other women), her womb is opened at birth,[44] she nurses her son and wraps him in swaddling clothes like other human babies, her breasts produce milk for his nourishment, the body of the Word, her son, is real in the sense that it could suffer.[45]

Cyril would concur with this theological perspective but also enhance the impact of its mariological stratum by his carefully constructed portrayal of Mary as God's entrance into human life. Cyril works on perfecting the details of his Marian imagery and the salvific character of her birthgiving, not merely as an appendix to the overarching Christological framework of the Ephesian debates but rather as a doctrinal idea in its own right. For Cyril the Virgin mediates God's appropriation of the realm of human experience because the freely offered gift of her humanity enables God to experience the fullness of human life and redeem it as such. His mention of the womb of Mary is not just a compelling rhetorical flourish but as a doctrinal statement that both elevates Mary above all created things and underlines the genuine character of the incarnational event.

In conclusion, Cyril's mariological perspective is instrumental in generating and introducing the philosophical language pertaining to the mediating powers of the Virgin. He both follows tradition and surpasses it with his powerful articulation of the significance of the Virgin's contribution to the incarnation. Repeatedly he designates Mary's 'divine motherhood' as the vehicle of salvation. In this context Cyril's contribution to the idea of Mary's womb as a container of the unconstrained God is also original and noteworthy. His emphasis on Mary's indispensable role to God's plan of salvation anticipates later developments in Marian theology and sets the stage for the advancement of Mary's role as a mediating figure.

[43] *Letter to Epictetus*, trans. J. McGuckin (1994), 383.

[44] Notice that in his *Letter to Epictetus* Athanasius mentions Mary's womb only in the context of paraphrasing the biblical text; he does not elaborate on the womb as the locus of salvation.

[45] See: 'It was a marvel that he was the one suffering, yet not suffering; suffering in so far as the body which was his very own suffered, yet not suffering in so far as the Word, being God by nature, is impassible. The Incorporeal One himself was present in the passible body, and the body has in itself the impassible Word, who all the time was abolishing the infirmities of the body itself.' *Letter to Epictetus*, trans. J. McGuckin (1994), 384.

What are Sermons Doing in the Proceedings of a Council? The Case of Ephesus 431

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ABSTRACT

The documents related to the Council of Ephesus I (431 AD) suggest that the gathered bishops did not engage in examinations and discussions about the faith, as requested by the emperor. A close reading of the homilies included in many of the collections of conciliar documents show how some bishops presented their own view on important theological details to the council. The paper focuses on the sermons of Theodotus of Ancyra. He praised Cyril's leadership at the same time that he exhorted the bishops to follow his own Christology, which had significant differences to Cyril's.[1]

The homilies which were apparently preached in Ephesus during the Council of 431.[2] were part of the discussion of the faith meant to happen at a council,[3] and also provided arguments for the validity of the conciliar sessions and of their outcome. The persuasive and didactic character of the homilies can be shown by comparing selected excerpts with conciliar statements and passages from letters and other documents included in the conciliar collections. Once included in collections of documents[4] related to the council, the homilies

[1] Funded by the Gates Cambridge Trust.

[2] An overview of the political and ecclesiastic situation can be found in Christiane Fraisse-Coué, 'Le débat théologique au temps de Théodose II: Nestorius', in Luce Pietri (ed.), *Histoire du Christianisme des origines à nos jours II: Naissance d'une chrétienté (250-430)* (Paris, 1995), 499-550.

[3] ACO I 1/1 115, 19-20. The broader context of the christological debate is presented in Alois Grillmeier, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche I: Von der Apostolischen Zeit bis zum Konzil von Chalcedon (451)* (Freiburg, ^{3}1990). For more details on the views each side held, see Luigi I. Scipioni, *Nestorio e il concilio di Efeso: Storia, dogma, critica*, Studia patristica Mediolanensia 1 (Milano, 1974); John McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria: The christological controversy: Its history, theology, and texts*, SVigChr 23 (Leiden and New York, 1994); and Nicholas Constas, *Proclus of Constantinople and the Cult of the Virgin in Late Antiquity: Homilies 1-5, Texts and Translations*, SVigChr 66 (Leiden, 2003).

[4] In the title of this paper, 'proceedings' stands for collections of documents of late fourth- and fifth-century councils, often including texts beyond the more or less accurate minutes of some of the sessions. See, for example, Andreas Weckwerth, *Ablauf, Organisation und Selbstverständnis westlicher antiker Synoden im Spiegel ihrer Akten*, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum. Ergänzungsband, Kleine Reihe 5 (Münster, 2010), 4-5.

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reached wider audiences, providing them with evidence of the occurrence of an examination of the faith, and presenting to them some of the arguments employed.

As a case study, I focus on the four homilies by Theodotus of Ancyra[5] which have been transmitted in collections of conciliar documents, either in the original Greek,[6] or in Latin, Ethiopic, and Armenian-Georgian translations, alongside sermons by other conciliar bishops like Cyril, Firmus, Juvenal, and Acacius. Two of Theodotus' homilies were composed prior to the council, but are said to have been read to the conciliar bishops. The other two which were so to speak preached to the council,[7] have sometimes been described by scholars as mere encomia of leaders like Cyril, celebration of the success of the Cyrillian conciliar sessions, or attacks against Nestorius.[8]

Epideictic aspects predominate in certain passages, where, for example, psogos and encomium are present nearby in expressions like 'oh renegade' and [he] 'enlightens the soul by righteousness, in that he teaches the faith', respectively.[9] They are part of Theodotus' arguments for the strength and validity of the Cyrillian conciliar sessions in relation to the authority of the church. Theodotus claimed the church could face its challenges by resorting to its received teaching, expressed in unchanging authoritative statements.[10] These would be the Scriptures, the Nicene creed, and excerpts from some Fathers, and Theodotus used these yardsticks in a hierarchical gradation, made possible by his attitude to language.[11] Scripture is the central source of authority, from which all other assertions derive their strength. Thus, for example, Theodotus interpolated in *Matthew* 16:17 a statement like 'the mystery of the Incarnation, truly, you recognised',[12] expanding Scripture with words or phrases which resemble it

[5] Theodotus was bishop of Ancyra, the capital of Galatia Prima, modern day Ankara, in the first half of the fifth century AD. He was a staunch supporter of Cyril of Alexandria as recorded in the minutes of the Cyrillian sessions of the Council of Ephesus I. See Michel Aubineau, 'Une homélie de Théodote d'Ancyre sur la nativité du Seigneur', *OCP* 26 (1960), 224-32; J. McGuckin, *St. Cyril* (2004), 61-5; 'Theodotus von Ankyra', in Friedrich-Wilhelm Bautz and Traugott Bautz, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* (Hamm, 2004), 997-9; about Ancyra, see Clive Foss, 'Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 31 (1977), 27-87.

[6] In: *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum – iussu atque mandato Societatis Scientiarum Argentoratensis*, edidit Eduardus Schwartz [continuauit Johannes Straub] (Berlin, 1914ff.), hence ACO.

[7] The audience probably included laymen, however the interjections and rhetorical questions suggest that Theodotus was addressing primarily the bishops at hand, especially in *Homily* VI, Bernd M. Weischer, *Homilien und Briefe zum Konzil von Ephesos*, Qērellos 4.1 (Wiesbaden, 1979), 122-33. Hence Qērellos.

[8] Roberto Caro, *La homilética mariana griega en el siglo V*, Marian Library; new ser., vols. 3-4 (Dayton, Ohio, 1972), 158; Giovanni Lo Castro, *Teodoto di Ancira: Omelie cristologiche e mariane*, Collana di testi patristici 97 (Roma, 1992), 8-9.

[9] Theod. Anc., *Hom.* VI, Qērellos, 124, 5, 11-3.

[10] Theod. Anc., *Hom.* VI, Qērellos, 132, 5-7.

[11] Theod. Anc., *Hom.* II, ACO I 1/2, 76, 22-31; 77, 10-35; 79, 34-80, 29.

[12] Theod. Anc., *Hom.* VI, Qērellos, 128, 18.

closely. He also employed rhetorical figures interwoven in scriptural allusions. Next in importance comes the authority of the Fathers. Theodotus' brief catch phrases echoed the faith as encapsulated in creedal statements, as in *Homily* III, where a narrative part is followed by short statements:

> God has descended into indignity, not diminished with respect to nature, but conferring his grace. He remained what he was. And he has assumed what he was not. He remained God according to his nature, he became what you are on account of his philanthropy for you.[13]

He claimed that the teaching of 'the assembly of the good and of the holy Fathers'[14] provides strength to the church.

Theodotus preached to the conciliar bishops about their reliance on authority, arguing that conciliar decisions should be grounded on the pillars provided by scriptural, creedal and patristic excerpts. 'Authority' and 'transmission' are important, but the *leitmotiv* is related to the *teaching* of the faith, both as its content and as the manner of conveying and *discussing* it. And therein lies the problem, since, for Theodotus, there was no room for rational enquiry into theological matters. Theodotus was already involved in the Christological debates before the council, and he drew from this experience a reticence towards human reasoning, since 'it is not natural for the mind of human beings to look down on him [God]'.[15] He claimed that reason destroys miracles, damaging the faith:

> Believe the wonder and do not explore with reasoning what came to be! Do not dissolve the wonder, being contentious to find the reason; for the wonder which reason makes known, does not remain. If the reason is acquainted with what came to be, the fact is no longer a sign nor a wonder; and if it (is) sign and wonder, leaving behind the reasoning, recover the belief.[16]

Thus he argued that all Christians had to rely on belief, faith and the support of grace. Theodotus awarded great importance to the role of grace, while acknowledging there was room for action by the members of the developing institutional church.

Theodotus claimed, at least as a rhetorical amplification, that all human beings must become and remain orthodox for salvation to be fulfilled, not

[13] εἰς εὐτέλειαν κατέβη θεός, οὐ μειωθεὶς τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν χάριν δωρούμενος. ἔμεινεν ὃ ἦν, προσέλαβεν ὃ οὐκ ἦν· ἔμεινε θεὸς διὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν, γέγονεν ὅπερ σύ, διὰ τὴν περὶ σὲ φιλανθρωπίαν, Theod. Anc., *Hom.* III, ACO I 1/2, 72, 8-10.

[14] Theod. Anc., *Hom.* VI, Qērellos, 122, 3.

[15] οὐ πέφυκε γὰρ νοῦς ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν καθορᾶν, Theod. Anc., *Hom.* II, ACO I 1/2, 74, 8.

[16] πίστευε τῷ θαύματι καὶ μὴ ἐρεύνα λογισμοῖς τὸ γενόμενον. μὴ καταλύσης τὸ θαῦμα, εὑρεῖν τὸν λόγον φιλονεικῶν· οὐ γὰρ μένει τὸ θαῦμα οὗ ὁ λόγος γνωρίζεται. εἰ τοῦ γενομένου γνώριμος ὁ λόγος, οὐκέτι σημεῖον οὐδὲ θαῦμα τὸ γεγονός· εἰ δὲ σημεῖον καὶ θαῦμα, καταλιπὼν λογισμοὺς τὴν πίστιν ἀνάλαβε, Theod. Anc., *Hom.* I, ACO I 1/2, 89, 29-34.

nullified.[17] He used this to argue that preachers and bishops had to convey the faith, which is taught by the church, to all Christians:

> The grace of the spirit has established as remedy the holy priesthood, and it has severed the member that was affected by the suffering, not being unsparing with that one, but sparing the remaining members. […] It is an old form of treatment, and it goes back to the origins: that is how also the saints have taken care of this most-sacred church. […] For piety is not planted if corruption is not first severed. Doubtlessly it is reasonable from the start to water, to employ care for farming, to supply words of piety, to apply all care to the member: but if badness becomes stronger than care, excision is the medicine for those thus disposed.[18]

They are responsible for their own salvation and that of their audience and diocese. At the council, Theodotus preached in support of the authority of the Cyrillian sessions, so that the theology endorsed by them – which for Theodotus was part of this must-have orthodoxy – would be acknowledged as part of the teaching of the church. Theodotus prepared his audience for further difficulties, emphasising the need of cohesion:

> The enemy banded together, but, defeated, fled, amazed by the strength of the church and its faith. […] Fight, my friends, for the sake of justice, for without fight no one is crowned.[19]

The need of such preaching on unity can be judged bearing in mind not only the later history of dissension and splits among Cyrillians, but also the fact that Theodotus' own theology differed from Cyril's.[20] Nevertheless, he claimed that they held the 'same' faith:

> On *this* rock of the faith shall we be built, and be in Christ Jesus, in that we believe in one and only son of God, in that we do not divide and do not separate the one.[21]

Thus a range of differences could be accommodated, with which the views that were not tolerated had concomitantly to be contrasted. The views of the

[17] Theod. Anc., *Hom.* I, ACO I 1/2, 84, 6-7.

[18] οἰκονόμησεν ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος χάρις ἰατρείαν ψυχῶν τὴν ἱερωσύνην τὴν ἁγίαν, καὶ τὸ προληφθὲν τῷ πάθει μέλος ἐξέκοψεν, οὐκ ἐκείνου ἀφειδῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν λοιπῶν μελῶν φειδόμενος. […] ἀρχαῖον τοῦτο τῆς θεραπείας τὸ εἶδός ἐστι καὶ ἄνωθεν· οὕτως οἱ ἅγιοι ἐπεμελήθησαν τῆς πανσέπτου ταύτης ἐκκλησίας. […] οὐ φυτεύεται γὰρ εὐσέβεια μὴ ἐκκοπείσης κακίας. εὔλογον μὲν πρῶτον ἀρδεύειν, ἐπιμελείαι γεωργικῇ χρῆσθαι, λόγους προσάγειν εὐσεβείας, ἐπιμέλειαν παντοίαν προσφέρειν τῷ μέλει· εἰ δὲ ἡ κακία κρείττων γένοιτο τῆς ἐπιμελείας, ἡ ἐκκοπὴ ἴαμα τῶν οὕτως διακειμένων ἐστίν, Theod. Anc., *Hom.* III, ACO I 1/2, 71, 25-6; 71, 30-72, 3.

[19] Theod. Anc., *Hom.* VI, Qērellos, 126, 1-2, and 132, 3-4.

[20] Albert van Roey, 'Le florilège nestorien de l'Adversus Nestorium de Cyrille d'Alexandrie et du traité contre Nestorius de Théodote d'Ancyre', *TU* 125 (1981), 573-8, 573; Lionel R. Wickham, 'Review of The Dyophysite Christology of Cyril of Alexandria. By Hans van Loon', *JTS* 61 (2010), 381-3.

[21] Theod. Anc., *Hom.* VI, Qērellos, 130, 7-9.

enemies of the faith were encapsulated in slogan-like concise statements with evident absurdities.

Theodotus' reminders to the audience about their episcopal authority and the responsibilities it entails, or the exhortations to follow Cyril's leadership are inseparable from the Christological arguments which form most of the content of his homilies. Theodotus' praise of Cyril concerns his teaching,[22] and one reading of his homilies is that they were part of the effort to make Cyril's theology part of the authoritative doctrine of the church, just as Cyril's second letter to Nestorius had been endorsed in the session of 22 June. Also instruction may have been necessary, for example for bishops who perhaps even after the first conciliar sessions were not sufficiently familiar with the Christologies they had endorsed or condemned.[23] Thus Theodotus is not repeating redundantly what the bishops had agreed on, since reiteration was seen as an aid to better knowledge. When revisiting key themes of the Christological debate,[24] like the exegesis of *Philippians* 2:5-11,[25] Theodotus followed, as in other explanations of theological topics, guidelines which are centred around Scripture, mimic creedal statements while granting centrality to the Nicene symbol of faith, and echo authoritative patristic excerpts, as mentioned above.

The homilies were part of the 'examination of doctrine' performed by the council to the extent that it was done along the lines which Theodotus praised, used and wanted to enforce, where apprehension and intellection of matters of faith centred around ecclesiastical authority, generally expressed in scriptural or creedal terms.[26] 'Exactness', 'proposition and solution'[27] on matters of faith were expected of the council, not the least by its imperial convenors. But what we usually associate with 'discussion and clarification' was not expected even by Theodosius II, whose complaints, for example, voiced in the *sacra* of 29 June,[28] hardly refer to the lack of discussion, but rather to the occurrence of

[22] Theod. Anc., *Hom.* VI, Qērellos, 124, 13.

[23] Unfamiliarity with Nestorius' theology may explain the tenor and lack of theological content of the votes to his letter. See Thomas Graumann, *Die Kirche der Väter: Vätertheologie und Väterbeweis in den Kirchen des Ostens bis zum Konzil von Ephesus (431)*, Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 118 (Tübingen, 2002), 388.

[24] Cyril, *Ep.* 1, Coll. Vat. 1,13-4 ACO I 1/1, 16, *Expl. xii cap.,* Coll. Vat. 148,13-4 ACO I 1/5, 19-20; Nestorian *florilegium,* Coll.Vat. 60,7 ACO I 1/2, 47, 16-22.

[25] Theod. Anc., *Hom.* III, ACO I 1/2, 72, 30-73, 9.

[26] A. Weckwerth, *Ablauf* (2010), 26; John McGuckin, 'Mystery or conundrum? The apprehension of Christ in the Chalcedonian definition', in Pieter William Martens (ed.), *In the Shadow of the Incarnation: Essays on Jesus Christ in the Early Church in Honor of Brian E. Daley, S.J.* (Notre Dame, Ind., 2008), 246-59, 251; Richard Price, 'The Theology of the Councils: Resources and Limitations', paper presented at the 16th International Conference on Patristic Studies (Oxford, 2011).

[27] ἡ ἀκριβὴς τῆς ἀληθείας ζήτησις; κατὰ πρότασίν τε καὶ λύσιν, Theodosius II, *Sacra ad synodum Ephesinam (431) missa*, Coll. Vat. 31 ACO I 1/1, 120, 21; 23.

[28] Theodosius II, *Epistula scripta ad concilium Ephesinum (431) per Palladium,* Coll. Vat. 83 ACO I 1/3, 9, 27-32.

separate councils. Furthermore, the bishops repeatedly claimed they had performed this examination. The Cyrillian bishops, describing their sessions, even suggested that the minutes bear witness to the discussion:

Your might, wishing to secure religiousness, commanded the holy council to perform a more zealous *search* about the doctrines: which we performed, complying with the *ancient tradition* of both the holy apostles and evangelists, and of the 318 gathered at Nicaea; and which *we, having interpreted in harmony and with one opinion, clearly settled for your religiousness in the fulfilled proceedings themselves, in which we also deposed Nestorius, having discovered him manifestly considering other things*.[29]

Acacius' condemnation of Nestorius' letter is a good example of 'examination of doctrine' during the sessions which aimed to persuade and which was recorded, insofar as his arguments are similar enough to Theodotus' method for us to rate homily and vote alike:

Acacius, bishop of Melitene, said: The letter of the most devout bishop Nestorius, having been read, showed that indeed not without cause he struggled with fear to come to this holy and great synod. For it was consistent with his conscience, having both debased the divine Scriptures and undermined the doctrines of *the holy fathers*, to be restrained by such fears as to fortify his own house with a multitude of soldiers. Indeed, most clearly has his letter, which was read, made exactly evident that having abstracted the sayings concerning the only begotten son of God wrapped in *the faith of the holy fathers, the 318 bishops*, to the flesh alone he attached the things of the saving economy, having affirmed that the mere temple of God sustained birth and end. And while he attributed spuriously to the Scripture as also it teaching the birth and the suffering not of divinity, but of humanhood, he also calumniated the writings of *the most holy and most God religious bishop Cyril*, as speaking of a suffering God, what indeed neither he nor another of the religiously disposed either had in mind or dared to say. Through everything he showed himself in word alone confessing the union of God with the flesh, but in act denying this altogether. He proved himself also employing *foreign teaching* to say that in the very present the doctrines have been enlightened by him. Which, being absolutely all alien to the truth, and having much impiety, I renounce, making myself alien of the communion with those uttering such things.[30]

[29] Τὸ μὲν ὑμέτερον κράτος τὴν εὐσέβειαν βεβαιῶσαι βουλόμενον ἐπέταξε τῇ ἁγίαι συνόδῳ *ζήτησιν* περὶ τῶν δογμάτων ποιήσασθαι σπουδαιοτέραν, ἣν καὶ πεποιήμεθα καὶ τῇ ἀρχαίαι *παραδόσει* τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων καὶ εὐαγγελιστῶν πειθόμενοι καὶ τῇ τῶν τιη' συναχθέντων ἐπὶ τῆς Νικαίας, *ἣν καὶ ἑρμηνεύσαντες συμφώνως καὶ γνώμῃ μιᾷ ἐμφανῆ τῇ ὑμετέραι εὐσεβείαι κατεστήσαμεν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, ἐν οἷς καὶ Νεστόριον ἕτερα φρονοῦντα ἐναργῶς εὑρηκότες καθείλομεν*, (Cyrillian) *Synodi relatio ad imperatores destinata per Palladium*, Coll. Vat. 84 ACO I 1/3, 10, 29-11, 2.

[30] Ἀκάκιος ἐπίσκοπος Μελιτηνῆς εἶπεν· Ἔδειξεν ἡ ἀναγνωσθεῖσα ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου ἐπισκόπου Νεστορίου ὅτιπερ οὐκ εἰκαῖον ἠγωνίασε φόβον εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν ταύτην καὶ μεγάλην συνελθεῖν σύνοδον. ἀκόλουθον γὰρ ἦν τὸν συνειδότα ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὰς θείας παραχαράξαντα γραφὰς καὶ τὰ *τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων* παρασαλεύσαντα δόγματα τοσούτῳ κατασχεθῆναι φόβῳ ὥστε στρατιωτῶν πλήθει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ περιτειχίσαι οἰκίαν. σαφέστατα γὰρ καὶ ἡ ἀναγνωσθεῖσα αὐτοῦ ἐδήλωσεν ἐπιστολὴ ὅτιπερ τὰς περὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγκειμένας *τῇ πίστει τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων τιη΄* ἐπισκόπων φωνὰς

Acacius mentions Nestorius' absence, made relevant for the theological discussion as a sign of his conscience in that his religious shortcomings are taken for granted.[31] Most of the statement exemplifies Nestorius' apparently absurd theology with the denial of the real oneness of God with human flesh, so that any aspect of the salvific economy would be from the flesh alone; and Nestorius' claim of Cyril's theopaschism. Underlined are highlighted points where Acacius alludes to the authority of Scripture, and, in italics, where he mentions the authority, whether of the church, of the fathers, of Nicaea, or of individuals like Cyril. The alternating anacoluthon and polysyndeton of brief sentences accentuated the formulaic character of the passages in which Acacius encapsulated the theological views.

The order of the acclamations condemning Nestorius' letter[32] may be indicative of the persuasive strength of Acacius' statement. Instead of seeing in the change of order the eagerness[33] of Iconius and Hellanicus, more attention should be given to Theodotus of Ancyra's vote, delayed if compared to his involvement elsewhere in the session of 22 June.[34] Although Acacius is followed first by Memnon[35] and only then by Theodotus, his statement, with its theological topics on birth and death of Christ, was perhaps directed at Theodotus, while at the same time giving sufficient arguments or reminders to set the expected univocal condemnation back on track. Neither the interpretation of Nestorius' absence, or the listing of theological topics were formulaic expressions of condemnation of teaching as can be inferred from their absence from other votes.

Like several subsequent votes, Theodotus' condemnation of Nestorius has some material beyond the matter at hand, while not being very long:

ἀφελὼν μόνῃ τῇ σαρκὶ τὰ τῆς σωτηριώδους περιῆψεν οἰκονομίας, ψιλὸν τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ γέννησίν τε καὶ τελευτὴν ὑπομεῖναι εἰπών. καὶ κατεψεύσατο μὲν <u>τῆς γραφῆς</u> ὡς καὶ αὐτῆς τὴν γέννησιν καὶ τὸ πάθος οὐ τῆς θεότητος, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος διδασκούσης, κατεσυκοφάντησε δὲ καὶ τῶν *τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου καὶ θεοσεβεστάτου ἐπισκόπου Κυρίλλου* γραμμάτων ὡς παθητὸν λεγόντων θεόν, ὅπερ οὔτε αὐτὸς οὔτε ἄλλος τις τῶν εὐσεβῶς φρονούντων ἢ ἐνενόησεν ἢ εἰπεῖν ἐτόλμησεν. διὰ πάντων δὲ ἔδειξεν ἑαυτὸν ὀνόματι μόνῳ τὴν ἑνότητα τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τὴν σάρκα ὁμολογῶν, τῷ δὲ πράγματι ταύτην πάντῃ ἀρνούμενος, ἤλεγξε δὲ ἑαυτὸν καὶ ξένῃ *διδαχῇ* χρησάμενον ἐν τῷ νῦν πεφωτίσθαι τὰ δόγματα λέγειν δι' αὐτοῦ. οἷς ἅπασιν ἀλλοτρίοις οὖσι τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ πολλὴν τὴν ἀσέβειαν ἔχουσιν ἀποτάσσομαι, ἀλλότριον ἐμαυτὸν τῆς τῶν τοιαῦτα φθεγγομένων κοινωνίας ποιῶν, Coll. Vat. 47,8 ACO I 1/2, 32, 14-30.

[31] Juvenal had already interpreted the absence along these lines when suggesting how to proceed after the three summons. See André de Halleux, 'La première session du concile d'Ephèse (22 juin 431)', *ETL* 69 (1993), 48-87, 71.

[32] A. Weckwerth, *Ablauf* (2010), 225-6, A. de Halleux, 'La première session' (1993), 67.

[33] Anna M Crabbe, 'The invitation list to the Council of Ephesus and metropolitan hierarchy in the fifth century', *JTS n.s.* 32 (1981), 369-400, 385.

[34] Coll. Vat. 45,4 ACO I 1/2, 14, 13-21; Coll. Vat. 62,7 ACO I 1/2, 55, 9.

[35] Coll. Vat. 47,9 ACO I 1/2, 32, 31-32.

We perceive that in nothing is the letter of the most pious Nestorius concordant with the exposition of the 318 holy fathers assembled at Nicaea. Since we believe the exposition, we reckon Nestorius' letter alien from the right faith and we judge those considering these things alien from the right faith.[36]

Interrupting a trend of increasing verbal aggression, when he acknowledges the incompatibility with Nicaea, he adds no personal offence, all the while awarding Nestorius still due formal titles, when referring to the letter under consideration using a formula dropped in the preceding votes.

The validation of the teaching of a father by the living tradition of the church had its high point in the approval of texts at synods and councils, employed alike for condemnation. Acacius' statement provided some clarification of the matters of faith, apparently instructing and persuading the other bishops. If lengthier statements like Acacius' acted not only as a choice of sides, but also provided arguments for the remaining bishops, it is possible to see in the acclamation to the letters a 'discussion of the faith'. Similarly, when some bishops like Theodotus stood up to defend the council, for example in the form of homilies, they contributed to the 'clarification of the faith' during the conciliar period.[37] When the sermons were included in the collections of conciliar documents, the arguments became available to a wider audience. There, with rubrics[38] which allude to the preaching or reading to the council, the texts exemplified the occurrence of 'common examination of the faith'.

[36] Θεόδοτος ἐπίσκοπος Ἀγκύρας εἶπεν· Κατ' οὐδὲν συμφωνοῦσαν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου Νεστορίου ἔγνωμεν τῇ ἐκθέσει τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων τῶν ἐν Νικαίαι συνειλεγμένων τιη'· ὅθεν τῇ μὲν ἐκθέσει πειθόμεθα, τὴν δὲ ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Νεστορίου ἀλλοτρίαν τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως τιθέμεθα καὶ τοὺς ταῦτα φρονοῦντας ἀλλοτρίους τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως [εἶναι] κρίνομεν, Coll. Vat. 47,10 ACO I 1/2, 33, 3-7.

[37] The bishops had to remain in Ephesus for several months, but their engagement in conciliar matters throughout this long period is uncertain, even if the conciliar homilies offer glimpses of liturgical activity.

[38] For example, Theod. Anc., *Hom.* II, ACO I 1/2, 73, 26-7, Theod. Anc., *Hom.* III, ACO I 1/2, 71, 21-2.

The Case of Theodoret at the Council of Chalcedon

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ABSTRACT

The aim of the article is to show both how Theodoret of Cyrhus was treated at the council of Chalcedon and why this was significant for the Church's way to deal with dissident members or dissident positions in the fifth century. At the synod of 449, Theodoret has been deposed for alleged Nestorianism. To the Alexandrian party Theodoret was a provocation for his constant support of Nestorius despite the condemnation of Nestorius in the year 431. At Chalcedon the position of Theodoret was still unclear and there is an interesting discussion whether he should be treated as a full member or as an accused bishop. As the most prominent and skilled exponent of the Antiochene theology and known for his loyalty to Nestorius, in the eye of many present bishops, Theodoret was a danger for the peace and orthodoxy of the church. It is due to the intervention of the imperial officials that he was given the chance of rehabilitation. Nevertheless, the council demanded of Theodoret that he fully accepted the anathema of Nestorius. This to do, Theodoret had refused in earlier years. But the council was not willing to accept him without the full submission to this demand and Theodoret finally had to give in. For the council this was a substantial victory because it has managed to enforce its rule in forcing Theodoret to publicly accept the condemnation of Nestorius. The humiliating treatment of Theodoret was an admonition to all bishops to withdraw from independent positions which would endanger the homogeneity of the official doctrine.

The topic of this article[1] is how Theodoret of Cyrus was treated by the Council of Chalcedon. The appearance of Theodoret of Cyrus at the Council of Chalcedon is rarely studied and if so, it is most often looked at from the perspective of Three-Chapter-Debate more than a century later. This is also the case in a recent article by Richard Price.[2] The purpose of our study is to show the ecclesiological significance of the treatment of Theodoret in the context of fifth century Church politics and the events that led from Ephesus I to Chalcedon and beyond.

[1] This paper is part of a project on the Council of Chalcedon and Church unity, supported by the SNF, Swiss National Science Foundation.

[2] Richard Price, 'The Second Council of Constantinople (553) and the Malleable Past', in *id.* and M. Whitby, *Chalcedon in Context. Church Councils 400-700*, Translated Texts for Historians, Contexts 1 (Liverpool, 2011), 117-32.

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1. The appearance of Theodoret at the Council

From the first session, Theodoret took part at the Council as extraordinary participant, invited by the emperor since the Robber Synod had deposed him in 449. He becomes twice a topic of debate at the Council: in the first[3] session, where his attendance provokes protest and the Council had to clear his status, and again in the eighth session with the official treatment of his case.

In the long first session, Theodoret appears only after the settling of the first tumults over the status of Dioscorus and the claim of Euseb of Dorylaeum to investigate the behaviour of the responsibles of 449.[4] The imperial officials, who presided the Council ordered to let Theodoret participate because Pope Leo had taken him back into communion and the emperor had invited him to participate. Only on demand of the chair Theodoret was permitted to come in. Prior to this he was not allowed to enter the church (and one can suppose that the supporters of Dioscorus prevented him accessing it). However, his entrance provoked the protest of the bishops of Egypt, Illyricum and Palestine. They shouted that the canons excluded Theodoret and called him teacher of Nestorius.[5] This reaction makes it probable that the party of Dioscorus was responsible for the denial of access. The Council of 449 had deposed and excommunicated Theodoret because of his alleged Nestorianism and his critic of the writings of Cyril. As an excommunicated person, he would not have been admitted to the Council but Leo of Rome declared the decisions of this Council void and accepted Theodoret back into communion. Against the protests of the Egyptian, Illyrian and Palestine bishops, the Oriental bishops and those with them exclaimed that they had signed blank sheets and that they had suffered blows. These shouts must refer, as Gaddis and Price in their translation of the Acts rightly comment,[6] to the subscription of the Oriental bishops to the deposition of Theodoret at Ephesus. It seems probable, that the supporters of Dioscorus reminded the Orientals of their subscription of the deposition, although the Acts have not registered this. In addition, the Orientals returned

[3] *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* (ACO) 2,1,1-3. *Concilium universale Chalcedonense*, ed. Eduard Schwartz (Berlin, 1933-1935). The numbering of the sessions follows the translation of *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, vols. 1-3, translated with an introduction and notes by Richard Price and Michael Gaddis, Translated Texts for Historians 45 (Liverpool, 2007). They mainly follow the chronological numberings of the Latin version of Rusticus (ACO 2,3,1-3 Schwartz) which was also followed by Carl J. Hefele and Henri Leclerq, *Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1908). In the Greek version that follows a more systematic order, the act with the session on Theodoret is counted as the ninth and not as the eighth as we find it in the Latin acts.

[4] *Actio* 1,26 (ACO 2,1,1 actio I 26 p. 69-70 / Latin: ACO 2,3,1, p. 44-5 Schwartz).

[5] Because of his excommunication and deposition in Ephesus 449, see Johannes Flemming, *Akten der Ephesinischen Synode vom Jahre 449*. Syrisch mit Georg Hoffmanns deutscher Übersetzung und seinen Anmerkungen (Berlin, 1917), 108-9.

[6] R. Price and M. Gaddis, *Acts* (2007), II 134[66].

the accusations of the Egyptian bishops claiming that the Manicheans, murderers of Flavian (bishop Flavian of Constantinople) and enemies of the faith, should be expelled. Next, Dioscorus of Alexandria said that the Council cast out Cyril in admitting Theodoret because Theodoret had anathematized Cyril.[7] This intervention of Dioscorus was answered by the Orientals: 'Drive out Dioscorus the murderer'. A bit later, the Egyptian bishops adopted the argument of Dioscorus that the council expelled Cyril in admitting Theodoret.[8] It is an argument that should become quite important for the Monophysite party after the council and led to the condemnation of Theodoret's writings at Constantinople in 553, but it was not mentioned in the eighths session on Theodoret.

After these tumultuous outbursts, Theodoret went forward to the center of the Church and explained that he had delivered a petition to Pope Leo and to the emperor where he demanded, that his deposition at Ephesus and the charge of heresy should be investigated. He now asked the Council to examine these charges against him.[9] With this petition, Theodoret showed that he attended the Council as an accuser.[10] The chair underlined that Leo had already restored Theodoret to his see, that the archbishop of Antioch was witness of his orthodoxy and that Theodoret enjoyed full right of speak.

After further tumults with Oriental and Egyptian bishops opposing each other with accusations and acclamations pro or contra Theodoret, the imperial officials ordered silence and rebuked the Council that it was not suiting bishops to behave like this. The officials decided that Theodoret should take place in the center with Euseb of Dorylaeum and participate with full right of speak. After this, the chair ordered to continue the reading of the acts of Ephesus 449.[11] However, a bit later, Dioscorus returned to the topic of the presence of Theodoret. Dioscorus himself was accused that he obeyed Count Helpidius in excluding Flavian in 449. Against this, Dioscorus drew the parallel to the admittance of Theodoret now and suggested that only imperial power enabled Theodoret to participate at Chalcedon. Dioscorus criticized that Theodoret was sitting with the bishops. The chair emphasized, that Theodoret participated as accuser and Dioscorus as accused.[12] After this intervention by the imperial officials' there are no further protests against the presence of Theodoret recorded in the Acts and his name appears in the attendance list of the following sessions as in the lists confirming the decisions of the council. One has to suppose therefore, that he participated in the following sessions as an ordinary member with the exception of the third session. At this session, which dealt

[7] *Actio* 1,29 (ACO 2,1,1, p. 69 / Latin ACO 2,3,1, p. 44 Schwartz).
[8] *Actio* 1,43 (ACO 2,1,1, p. 70 / Latin ACO 2,3,1, p. 45 Schwartz).
[9] *Actio* 1,34-5 (ACO 2,1,1, p. 69-70 / Latin ACO 2,3,1, p. 44-5 Schwartz).
[10] *Actio* 1,34 (ACO 2,1,1, p. 69 / Latin ACO 2,3,1, p. 44 Schwartz).
[11] *Actio* 1,46 (ACO 2,1,1, p. 70 / Latin: ACO 2,3,1, p. 45 Schwartz).
[12] *Actio* 1,194-6 (ACO 2,1,1, p. 97 / Latin ACO 2,3,1, p. 74 Schwartz).

with Dioscorus, Theodoret as Euseb of Dorylaeum did not attend. His participation was possible although he had not yet officially regained his see because the emperor had invited him personally and because Leo had accepted him into communion and restored him to his see.[13] However, there was need of the formal restoration through the Council. Shortly after the second intervention of Dioscorus on the status of Theodoret during the reading of Cyril's letter to John of Antioch, Theodoret used his right of speech and commented the reading with the exclamation 'Anathema to whoever says two Sons; for we worship one Son, our Lord Jesus Christ the only-begotten'.[14] The intention of this comment was obviously to eliminate any suspicion of Nestorianism and to show his accord with Cyril. To this purpose, we can add his comment in the second session to the reading of the *Tome of Leo*, where he remarked that it corresponded to the teachings of Cyril.[15] Again, he showed that he not only supported Leo, who was an important ally for his rehabilitation but likewise acknowledged Cyril as a pillar and guarantee of orthodoxy. There are no further interventions of Theodoret, which leads to the assumption, that he behaved cautiously and evaded any risk of provoking the hostile bishops with any statement.

2. Theodoret as the leading exponent of Antiochene theology

In a second step, I would like to show why Theodoret was that much controversial and met with such harsh opposition. Since the first Council of Ephesus Theodoret had developed as the chief exponent of the Antiochene theological position and the main critic of Cyril's theology.[16] For the pro-Alexandrian bishops this was much the same as to be a Nestorian.

During the first Council of Ephesus Theodoret was one of the delegates at the Court to plead for Nestorius. After the Council with the break between Oriental bishops and the party of Cyril, Theodoret supported John of Antioch

[13] See above and *Actio* 1,34 (ACO 2,1,1, p. 69 / Latin ACO 2,3,1, p. 44 Schwartz).

[14] *Actio* 1,248 (ACO 2,1,1, p. 111 / Latin ACO 2,3,1, p. 90 Schwartz).

[15] *Actio* 3,26 (ACO 2,1,2, p. 82/ Latin ACO 2,3,2 actio 2,26, p. 16 Schwartz). The way by which Cyril got his position as a pillar and guarantee of orthodoxy is not the topic here. Susan Wessel emphasizes the rhetorical skill of Cyril and his stylization of himself as heir of Athanasius in the defense of the Nicene Creed (against the postulated attacks of Nestorius). See Susan Wessel, *Cyril of Alexandria and the Nestorian Controversy: The Making of a Saint and of a Heretic* (Oxford, 2004). In addition, I would suggest that much of the success of Cyril depended on the fact that he was able to work out a position oriented towards consensus. Theodoret shared this ability, even if not with the same success in the reception of his works.

[16] For recent studies on Theodoret in the period between Ephesus 431 and Chalcedon 451, see Paul B. Clayton, *The Christology of Theodoret of Cyrus: Antiochene Christology from the Council of Ephesus (431) to the Council of Chalcedon (451)* (Oxford and New York, 2007); Adam Schor, *Theodoret's People: Social Networks and Religious Conflict in Late Roman Syria* (Berkeley, 2011).

to find an agreement with Cyril and dissociated himself of the more fundamental Orientals, who did not accept any agreement with Cyril. In their union of 433, John acknowledged the deposition of Nestorius and Cyril did not insist on the position of his third letter to Nestorius, especially the anathemas. Although Theodoret attested the orthodoxy of Cyril in 433, he attacked his orthodoxy again after the polemics of Cyril against Theodore of Mopsuestia in 438. In his apology for Theodore and Diodore,[17] a work surviving only in fragments, he again attacked the Apollinarism of the writings of Cyril. This work was the basis on which he was condemned in 449. Theodoret's activities created a sense of community between the Oriental bishops and thus becoming a competitor to the 'Cyril's Church'.

The apology for Theodore, the appearance of the Eranistes, and the strong presence and influence of Theodoret in Antioch led the emperor prohibit Theodoret to leave his see in Cyrus. In 448 Theodoret complained in a letter to Dioscorus, that some persons calumniated him speaking of two Sons and denying Mary to be Theotokos. Theodoret had always distanced himself of these old Nestorian key words. He demanded, Dioscorus should silence these accusers.[18] Dioscorus however took the testimonies as arguments to condemn and excommunicate Theodoret in Ephesus 449 *in absentia* whereas an imperial decree prohibited Theodoret to attend the Council.[19] The Oriental bishops who had signed his deposition claimed in the first session of Chalcedon that they had signed blank sheets or that they signed under heavy pressure.[20]

After his deposition and excommunication, Theodoret sought support from officials and bishops. One of the prominent correspondents was Anatolius, the chair of the Council of Chalcedon, another was Pope Leo, who declared the decisions against Theodoret as void. Marcian, the new emperor, made Thedoret return to Cyrus and invited him to take part at the new Council.[21]

However, for the Council at Chalcedon, Theodoret was in a way a compromising figure. Hardly any discussion there took place about the way his case was dealt with at the Robber synod in 449 with regard to his condemnation *in absentia* without any chance to defend himself. Nevertheless, as the outstanding figure of Antiochene theology and with his open loyalty to his old friend Nestorius, Theodoret could give the Council the touch of a pro-Nestorian Council. The declaration of faith with its stress on the two Natures was not wholly

[17] See L. Abramowski, 'Der Streit um Diodor und Theodor zwischen den beiden ephesinischen Konzilien', *ZKG* 67 (1955/56), 262-93; *ead*., 'Reste von Theodorets Apologie für Diodor und Theodor bei Facundus', *SP* 1 (1957), 61-9.

[18] Theodoret, *Ep*. 83, *Théodoret de Cyr. Correspondance* 2, ed. Yvan Azéma, SC 98 (Paris, 1964), 204-19.

[19] J. Flemming, *Akten der Ephesinischen Synode* (1917), 108-13.

[20] *Actio* 1,28 (ACO 2,1,1, p. 69 / Latin ACO 2,3,1, p. 44 Schwartz).

[21] See Theodoret, *Ep*. 92-6; 99-101; 103-4; 106; 109, in *Théodoret de Cyr, Correspondance* 2-3, SC 98; 111 (Paris, 1964-1982).

consistent with the asserted faithfulness to the orthodoxy of Cyril, as probably most of the bishops knew. Therefore, the accordance between Cyril and the tome of Leo had to be underlined that much. For the bishops, it was important to protect the Council of the charge of Nestorianism as one of the attending bishops warned in the first session.[22] In this situation, the rehabilitation of a person like Theodoret with his open loyalty to Nestorius was a threat for the acceptance of the Council. In its treatment of Theodoret, the Council had to show first, that Theodoret and his position were not representing a winning party of the Council, and secondly, that the Council and the Church as whole would not admit any Nestorian sympathies whatsoever.

3. The session dealing with Theodoret

The session dealing with Theodoret was the eighth of its kind,[23] the first in a series on the status or orthodoxy of different bishops.[24] The record of the eighth session begins without any introduction to the topic of this session, hence without any real opening. One has to remember that the whole account of the acts is the product of the redaction of those responsible for it and does not report the content of the entire session but only displays it in the light of the official point of view.[25] For this session, the work of the redactors becomes quite clear. Apart from the probable gap in the beginning, for the whole session there is neither a specification of subjects nor is it spelled out who is speaking and shouting. Instead we always read the generalized formulation of 'the bishops'. The acts give the impression of a purposely-unified picture in dealing with Theodoret.

Reading the protocols of the session it remains open, whether the task of the session was to restore Theodoret to his see or to investigate his orthodoxy. Insofar as Theodoret had participated since the second session as an ordinary member of the Council with full right to speak and to judge, it seems probable that the session was planned as a formal confirmation of the decision of Leo and Marcian who had accepted Theodoret back, restored communion with him

[22] *Actio* 1,531 (ACO 2,1,1,143 Schwartz): Eustathius of Berytus: 'Take care lest after our departure some people begin to say that it was defined that one must speak of two separated natures after the union' (Trans. Price and Gaddis, *Acts* I [2007], 222-3).

[23] *Actio* 9,4-24 (ACO 2,1,3, p. 9-11 [368-370] / Latin: *Actio* 8,4-24, ACO 2,3,3, p. 13-5 [452-4] Schwartz).

[24] After the case of Theodoret, the Council discussed the orthodoxy of Sophronius of Constantia and John of Germanicia, who also had to say an anathema over Nestorius, and Amphilochius of Side over Eutyches, see *Actio* 9,25-31 (ACO 2,1,3, p. 11 [370] / Latin: *Actio* 8,25-31, ACO 2,3,3, p. 15 [454] Schwartz).

[25] For the redaction of the *Acts* see Thomas Graumann, '"Reading" the First Council of Ephesus', in R. Price and M. Whitby (eds), *Chalcedon in Context* (2011), 27-44; Richard Price, 'Truth, Omission, and Fiction in the Acts of Chalcedon' (*ibid*. 92-106).

and ended his exile prior to the Council. However, it became very quickly clear that there were some bishops who would not restore him to his see without investigating his orthodoxy.[26] With three further bishops to prove their orthodoxy, the end of the session rather suggests that it was planned from the beginning as an investigation in the orthodoxy of Thedoret. However, these bishops made themselves suspicious of false loyalties during the Council and it could therefore be an ad hoc decision of some bishops to ask for a proof of orthodoxy and loyalty to the decisions of the Council.

The protocols begin immediately with shouting bishops asking Theodoret to anathematize Nestorius. The lack of a display of a real beginning of the session, which dealt with three other bishops, may refer to some further tumults caused by bishops opposing the rehabilitation of Theodoret. The heated opening is a clear indication that the status and person of Theodoret was still controversial.

Theodoret had always refused to anathematize Nestorius, something the bishops now demanded, and instead only condemned the positions attributed to Nestorius. This time again, he tried to avoid it. Instead, he tried to expose his faith to prove his orthodoxy. He asked for the reading of his petition to the emperor and the letter to the legates of Leo. The bishops replied very rudely that they were not interested to hear anything but the anathema over Nestorius.[27] Theodoret then explained in a general statement that he condemned Nestorius, Eutyches, and everybody holding unorthodox beliefs.[28] However, the bishops did not accept this and insisted on the anathema over Nestorius, his teachings, and his friends. It was a declaration that every sign of sympathy for Nestorius was to be judged as heretical. Theodoret reacted angrily to this personal affront. He answered that he would only say what he knew would be pleasing to God. Then, he declared, that he was not interested in regaining his see but that he had wanted to show his orthodoxy since the Council of 449 had called him a heretic. Then, he added again that he anathematized Nestorius, Eutyches, and everybody who speaks of two Sons. These words of Theodoret indicate that the main topic of the session was indeed the restoration of his see linked to the question of his orthodoxy. One can therefore suppose that the bishops, who mistrusted Theodoret, blocked the restoration, unless he anathematized Nestorius. The words of Theodoret did not satisfy his critics and the bishops insisted again, that the anathema over Nestorius and all holding his views had to be clearer. Theodoret answered he would not say anything more but simply believe, as the Council did not allow him to explain his faith. This

[26] The formal annulations of all the decisions of Ephesus 449 (with the exception of the substitution of Domnus of Antioch through Maximus) took part later in the tenth session on Ibas. *Actio* 9,145-59 (ACO 2,1,3, p. 38-9 [397-8] / Latin: *Actio* 10,145-59, ACO 2,3,3, p. 47-8 [486-7] Schwartz).

[27] *Actio* 9,6 (ACO 2,1,3, p. 9 [368] / Latin: *Actio* 8,6, ACO 2,3,3, p. 13 [452] Schwartz).

[28] *Actio* 9,7 (ACO 2,1,3, 9 [368] / Latin: *Actio* 8,7, ACO 2,3,3, p. 13 [452] Schwartz).

provoked shouts that he was a heretic and a Nestorian and that one whould 'drive out the heretic'. This time, it seems, Theodoret realized that there was no way out and any discussion useless. The bishops would not accept anything but the anathema. He, therefore, said, 'anathema to Nestorius and to whoever does not say the holy Virgin Mary is Theotokos, and to whoever divides the only-begotten Son into two Sons'. He added that he had signed the declaration of faith and the *Tome* of Leo and believed accordingly. He finished by saying 'and after all this may you be preserved'. Gaddis and Price understand these last words in their translation convincingly as an ironic blessing.[29]

At this climax, the officials intervened and said that all doubts about the orthodoxy of Theodoret have been resolved because of his anathema over Nestorius and his signing of the declaration of faith and the letter of Leo. The only remaining task for the Council was for the bishops to decree that Theodoret should take back his see. As in the first session, the intervention of the chair stopped any further protests and discussions.

After this decision of the officials, most probably in the person of its chair Anatolius, an old acquaintance of Theodoret, the acclamations of the bishops follow. The bishops now shouted, 'Theodoret is worthy of the see, restore the orthodox to the church. May the church receive back the shepherd. May the church receive back the orthodox teacher'.[30] The statements of the bishops announcing their agreement follow. Here again, all traces of possible further critic or only fragmentary support of this decision is suppressed by the acts to create a unified picture.

As usual, the Legates of Leo were the first to declare their assent. They explicitly testified to the orthodoxy of Theodoret and interpreted the decision of the Council as confirmation of the decision taken by Leo who had received Theodoret back into communion before the Council and had declared his deposition as void. Next Anatolius of Constantinople and after him Maximus of Antioch affirmed the orthodoxy of Theodoret, both referring to his condemnation of Eutyches and Nestorius. Next, Juvenal of Jerusalem had to declare his assent and with him begin the statements, which only express their consent to the decision of the Council without explicit reference to the orthodoxy of Theodoret. Unfortunately, there are only the statements of four further bishops recorded and then the indication of a general acclamation confirming the correctness of the decision. Again, the acts give no clear impression of the attitudes of the different parties of the Council vis-à-vis Theodoret. However, it seems most plausible that the bishops opposing him and the bishops praising his orthodoxy formed two parties as in the first session, even if the acts do not specify this. However, the Egyptian

[29] R. Price and M. Gaddis, *Acts* II (2007), 255[11].

[30] The acclamation is recorded differently in the Greek and the Latin version. The Greek version altered the text in the light of the condemnation of Theodoret's writings in 553 from 'orthodox teacher' to 'bishop'. See E. Schwartz, ACO 2,1,3, p. 10.

bishops did not participate anymore and the Illyrian and Palestinian bishops had learned in the sessions concerning the declaration of faith that every discord would not be tolerated. In this sense, the session on Theodoret shows perfectly the different ways to bring the bishops into one line.

Some observations can be made about the presentation of the events of this session. Although several bishops questioned the orthodoxy of Theodoret, it is interesting that they did not confront him with concrete reproaches of heresy or heretical statements. They were not interested in an exposition of his faith and there is no charge of heretical statements of Theodoret. Even more surprisingly, there is no mention of Theodoret's criticism of Cyril's writings, the topic that dominated the protests in the first session. The bishops only wanted to hear an anathema over Nestorius, his views and his friends.

The debates of this session are revealing in the sense that no real discussion took place. Theodoret's rejection of the distinction of two Sons and of anybody denying the title Theotokos to Mary represented the discussion after Ephesus 431. In 451 these points were no longer the controversial topics of the theological debate between Monophysite and Duophysite approaches but were only the Nestorian catch words everybody knew.[31] This must not surprise since using catchwords was quite common for the fifth century theological debate, especially in contexts dominated by rhetorical abbreviations and acclamations. In addition, most bishops certainly were not confident enough of their theological skills to engage in a public discussion on theological subtleties, especially since the declaration of faith was a careful consensus of the different positions but at this time not the internalized orthodox position that everybody was capable of explaining. In that sense, every discussion had to be very superficial and concentrated on keywords. The impression of a superficial treatment of the question of orthodoxy leads to two conclusions. First, Theodoret condemned the Nestorian catchwords and said his anathema over Nestorius and this was obviously the essential point that satisfied the plenum. A second conclusion is that the Council was not worried about unorthodox views of Theodoret but about his lasting loyalty to Nestorius.

Insofar as Theodoret had signed all the documents that regulated orthodoxy, the judgement of him being orthodox was justified by the standard laid down by this Council. However, most of the bishops did probably not even contest Theodoret's own views. They and perhaps other bishops who fully trusted in Theodoret's orthodoxy had a problem with his open loyalty to Nestorius.

[31] After 431 the theological debate continued, especially with Cyril and Theodoret refining different points and focussing on problems like the passibility of God/Logos and the way of thinking the union in Christ without compromising the humanity of Christ. Further, there was an approximation in the use of the terms *hypostasis* and *physis*, but the discussion of these terms was only in its infancy during the years before and at the time of Chalcedon. All these problems remained untouched in the session on Theodoret.

These observations allow the conclusion, that the problem with Theodoret was not a problem of heresy but of that of loyalty. The bishops did not accept any subtly differentiated, but insisted on a unified and firm position towards Nestorius and they made clear that they would not receive Theodoret back and restore him to his see without a clear anathema over Nestorius. Finally, they got the anathema in a procedure that can be seen as humiliating for Theodoret. His case at the Council shows most clearly, that neither Nestorius nor Nestorianism was any longer a topic for discussion, but that both had become heresiological stereotypes without leaving room for maneuvers, excuses or exceptions.

The question arising in the controversies over Chalcedon a century later and taken over by Price and Gaddis in their commentary to the eighth session,[32] whether Theodoret was received back into communion as a repentant or a doctor of the Church, starts from the assumption, that his status was that of an excommunicated, who had to demonstrate his orthodoxy. This however, was not the case. The task of the eighth session was not to take him back into communion but the official recognition and approbation of the restitution to his see by Leo. The theory of Justinian that the Council received Theodoret and Ibas as repentants was based on the comment of Juvenal on Ibas. Juvenal explained in his judgment on Ibas that out of mercy the Church did receive back repentant from heresy.[33] This statement was transferred unto Theodoret.

The attitude of the Council towards Theodoret is difficult to judge but the conclusion of Richard Price, that most of the bishops opposed Theodoret because of his critique of Cyril seems not justified.[34] Certainly, many bishops felt offended by the attacks of Theodoret in the *Eranistes*. However, there were many bishops too, who did not accept the more controversial writings of Cyril either that Theodoret attacked, especially the anathemas. In addition, the critique of Cyril was not debated in this eighth session. Although there was a decisive intervention of the chair at a critical moment, there was a considerable number of supporters of Theodoret in the first session. The elucidating study of Adam Schor on Theodoret and his network shows an impressive net of allies of Theodoret in varying contexts that could count in favor of Theodoret. Even if this network was fragile because of its loose and informal organization and did not stand the crisis of 449, it could be re-activated in the more favorable atmosphere of Chalcedon.[35] Given the decisions that were reached about the

[32] R. Price and M. Gaddis, *Acts* II (2007), 251.

[33] *Actio* 11,164 (ACO II,1,3, p. 40 [399] / Latin ACO 2,3,3, p. 49 [488] Schwartz).

[34] Richard Price, 'The Second Council of Constantinople (553) and the Malleable Past' (2011), 117-32. Similar is the judgment of Andrew Louth, 'Why Did the Syrians Reject the Council of Chalcedon', in *Chalcedon in Context* (2011), 107-16. Louth sees the theological views of the Antiochene as an 'eccentric, and rather scholarly approach to Christology' (*ibid.* 111) not shared by most of the Syrian bishops.

[35] Adam Schor, *Theodoret's People* (2011).

statements of faith in the Christological controversies, many 'neutral' bishops, too, would probably have voted in favor of Theodoret. Hence, the decision of the Council was not one that was forced by the Emperor against the opinions of the majority of the bishops, as Price suggests, but rather reflects the voices of many bishops who rejected how the Alexandria dominated Robber synod had proceeded.

4. The case of Theodoret in an ecclesiological perspective

In a further very short final step of reflection about this case, I would suggest, that the way the Council had dealt with Theodoret is significant for the way, how the Church of the fifth Century approached unity and plurality. The case of Theodoret shows the increasing impact of the Emperor's court in Church affairs, as Theodoret owed his rehabilitation at least partly to the imperial officials, but these did not act without being backed by many bishops of the Council. It appears that interests and actions of both, State and Church, were deeply interwoven.

The fact that Theodoret was forced by the Council to abandon his loyalty for Nestorius and to adjust himself to the harsh guidelines of orthodoxy and group membership of the Church has an ecclesiological impact, although the focus of the session on Theodoret was of a disciplinary, not a theological nature, as was shown above.

What Theodoret had tried to do in the case of Nestorius (so not in his own anti-heretical writings), was to differentiate between the person of Nestorius and the theological positions attributed to him by Cyril and his party. Against the rules of orthodoxy, he refused to anathematize Nestorius. With his partial independency, he stood against the general trend in the Church of the fifth Century, which eliminated forms of individual or irregular beliefs or praxis. Theodoret was made a showcase to prevent further bishops of developing critical positions that might question the status of formulated creeds and decrees. In addition, it showed that no exceptions or modifications of orthodoxy was tolerated. The effectiveness of the measure is evident: the other three bishops, who had to prove their orthodoxy and loyalty to the decisions of the Council because they had showed too much sympathy for Nestorius or Dioscorus, did not try to show any resistance against what had been demanded from them, but they all agreed immediately to the required anathemas.

The case of Theodoret was an immediate success for the hard-liners of the Church against any hybrid position. This is quite contrary to the Monophysite polemic that saw the rehabilitation of Theodoret as a sign of weakness against Nestorianism. In fact, it was a rehabilitation obtained by public subordination under Church norms and this was a victory of the Council and not of Theodoret. Theodoret was only indirectly successful at the Council. He had neither

decisive part in the establishment of the Two-Natures-Christology, nor in the breaking the dominance of the Alexandrian Patriarch in the East.

As the events after Chalcedon show, the rigorous position vis-à-vis suspected heretics and the narrow understanding of orthodoxy and Church membership condensed into a formula, led in the case of the Monophysites to a schism that could not be healed, not even with the condemnation of Theodoret's writings in 553. The problem was no longer particular people like Theodoret or Ibas, but a Church dominated by the state and its interests and a limited view of Church membership and ecclesial unity.

The *Encyclical* of Basiliscus (475) and its Theological Significance; Some Interpretational Issues

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ABSTRACT

The Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (451) endeavored to solve certain important Christological and ecclesial issues disturbing the international churches in the mid-5th century AD. Despite intending to establish a broad doctrinal and ecclesial base of unity, the council exacerbated major divisions in the Byzantine Church, a situation which became increasingly apparent from the latter part of the 5th century. The first serious effort to restore ecclesial unity after 451 was associated with the *Encyclical* issued by the (usurping) Emperor Basiliscus. Basiliscus' first public policy statement, issued in 475, was drafted by Paul the Sophist in consultation with Timothy Aelurus. Basiliscus' policy sought to set aside the theological solutions offered at Chalcedon. This document had a short life not merely because its imperial sponsor had a brief reign but also more immediately because it aroused a very hostile reception in Constantinople from the Chalcedonian party. The *Encyclical* was quickly withdrawn (476) in favor of the *Antiencyclical* which reasserted the primacy of the Chalcedonians. Neither of these documents, despite their theological and historical significance has received an exhaustive treatment in contemporary scholarship. In this article I attempt to elucidate the theological significance of the Basiliscan *Encyclical* and sketch some main interpretational aspects associated with the document.

The Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (451) attempted to solve certain important Christological and ecclesial issues disturbing the international churches in the mid-5th century AD. Despite intending to establish a broad doctrinal and ecclesial base of unity, the council exacerbated major divisions in the Byzantine Church which became increasingly apparent from the latter part of the 5th century.

The first serious attempt to restore ecclesial unity after 451 was associated with the *Encyclical* issued by the (usurping) Emperor Basiliscus. Basiliscus' first public policy statement, issued in 475, was drafted by Paul the Sophist in consultation with Timothy Aelurus (one of the most significant defenders of the Miaphysite cause at the time, and only recently restored to his position as Archbishop of Alexandria). Basiliscus' policy attempted to set aside the theological solutions offered at Chalcedon. This document had a short life (not merely because its imperial sponsor had a brief reign) but also more immediately because it aroused a very hostile reception in Constantinople from the

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Chalcedonian party. The *Encyclical* was quickly withdrawn (476) in favor of the *Antiencyclical* which reasserted the primacy of the Chalcedonians. Neither of these documents, despite their theological and historical significance has received an exhaustive treatment in contemporary scholarship. Aloys Grillmeier was the only scholar of the 20th century who elaborated on the subject and gave us a theological analysis of the *Encyclical*. Moreover, the recent study of the document by Philippe Blaudeau gave us a very detailed analysis of the historical horizon out of which the document had emanated along the line with a subtle discussion of its theological significance. Hence, there still remain some problematic areas associated with the *Encyclical*. I attribute this state of affairs in relation to post-Chalcedonian scholarship to the fact that a more theologically subtle and ecumenically significant document, namely, the *Henoticon* of Zeno, overshadowed and, in a sense, displaced the texts of Basiliscus.

Nevertheless, both the *Encyclical* and *Antiencyclical* represent one of the most significant (though unsuccessful) steps toward both doctrinal and ecclesial reconciliation between two major factions of the Byzantine church clashing over fundamental interpretations of Christology. In this article I attempt to elucidate the theological significance of the Basiliscan *Encyclical* and sketch some main interpretational aspects associated with the document.

To present a brief historical introduction of the subject, we shall recall the council of Ephesus of 431, the first ecumenical council that attempted to work out the general issues of Christology that made an unequivocal statement regarding a kind of non-incarnational theology associated with the Antiochene tradition.[1] The council denied the latter's theological validity and anathematized its major protagonist of the time, namely, Nestorius of Constantinople. The council also proscribed the introduction of new statements of faith other than that of Nicaea I and its augmentation by First Constantinople (canon 7). As we also know the council of Chalcedon, though affirming Ephesus (its theology and canons), nevertheless introduced a new statement of faith (mainly aiming at combating Eutychianism but also attempting to elaborate on the most recent development in Christology). Moreover, the council restored to their bishoprics and affirmed as 'orthodox' such staunch Nestorians as Theodoret of Cyr and Ibas of Edessa. Finally, the definition of faith, which theological content was indebted to Cyril of Alexandria and Leo of Rome,[2] nevertheless, failed to preserve the original language of Cyril (this

[1] A non-incarnational Christology is the one in which the subject of self-emptying and Incarnation is someone other than the Word of God (say, the pre-existing soul of Jesus or a human being Jesus of Nazareth) and in which the notions of self-emptying and embodiment are given a non-literal significance. This type of Christology is also associated with the notion of double subjectivity in Christ (Son by nature and Son by grace or adoption) in which two ontologically dissimilar (and self-subsistent) entities manifest themselves in two centers of operations united by the single *prosopon* (an external appearance) of Christ.

[2] For the discussion on the subject of the definition of faith, see John Anthony McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria: The Christological Controversy, Its History, Theology, and Texts*,

concerns the significant omission of the notion of 'hypostatic union' and the introduction of the notion of 'made known in two natures'). Combined with the deposition of Dioscorus, the patriarch of Alexandria, all these 'innovations' provoked a violent reaction in the East that thought of Chalcedon as hiding Nestorian theology behind the curtains of a seemingly Cyrilline language.[3] By the end of the 5th century the doctrinal controversy that divided Christendom also posited a serious ecclesial challenge to the imperial authorities by now introducing the two ecclesial poles fighting for control over the major sees (this situation would eventually lead to the creation of a separate ecclesial hierarchy in Egypt parallel to that of the imperial church). In this situation one might expect the imperial authorities to make one of two possible decisions regarding the issue: either to subdue the newly emerging anti-Chalcedonian movement or to reconcile two fractures of Christendom (namely, Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian). It should be noted that by the 7th decade of the 5th century the first possibility was out of question due to the great pervasiveness of the anti-Chalcedonian movement (though in the 1950s there was still a tendency to think of Miaphysitism as representing 'the mind of minority'[4] which is obviously incorrect). Thus, the only reasonable way to proceed was the way of reconciliation. The *Encyclical* of Basiliscus, therefore, represents the first serious attempt to restore the ecclesial unity after 451.

Let us look at a brief summary of the document. The *Encyclical* starts with the affirmation of a 'true succession' of imperial enactments regarding faith:

> It has ever been our pleasure that whatever laws have been decreed on behalf of the true and apostolic faith by those pious predecessors of ours who have maintained the true service of the blessed and undecaying and life-giving Trinity should never be inoperative.[5]

SVigChr 23 (Leiden, 1994); McGuckin very persuasively argued for the Cyrilline theological content of the definition, 230-1; for the most recent scholarly evaluation of the subject matter, see an eloquent exposition of the significance of the definition by Richard Price and Mary Whitby, *Chalcedon in Context* (Liverpool, 2009).

[3] See the Creed of Philoxebus: 'I. We anathematize the Council of Chalcedon because it anathematized thr true Council of three hundred and eighteen Fathers. II. We anathematize the Council of Chalcedon because it has acted hypocritically, and because it has exceeded all men in wickedness – the ancients, those who come next, and those who have been in these last days; the ancients with Cyril in Ephesus, those who come next with Dioscorus in Ephesus, and those who have been in these last days in Chalcedon. III. And we anathematize it also because it testified concerning itself and said that the canon of the Fathers [canon 7 of Ephesus I] commanded that anathema should be laid upon everyone who composed another faith. IV. And we anathematize the Council of Chalcedon also because it anathematized Nestorius, although agreeing with him and with his doctrine. VI. And we anathematize the Council of Chalcedon also because it received Ibas and Theodoret as orthodox. etc.' Wallis Budge, *Discources of Philoxenus* (London, 1894), xxxiii-xxxv.

[4] Aloys Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition. V.2. From the Council of Chalcedon (451) to Gregory the Great (590-604)*, trans. Pauline Allen and John Cawte (London and Oxford, 1975), 241.

[5] PG 86b, 2601; translation is taken from George Florovsky, *The Byzantine Fathers of the Sixth to Eighth Century*, trans. Raymond Miller and Anne-Marie Döllinger-Labriolle, Helmut

The document proceeds by affirming the unity between the imperial system and that of the Church. Thus

… being further convinced that unity among the flock of Christ is the preservation of ourselves and our subjects, the sound foundation and unshaken bulwark of our empire…

Then there follows the declaration of the Nicene Creed as the sole and exhaustive formulation of Christian faith:

We decree that the basis and settlement of human felicity, namely, the symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy Fathers who were assembled, in concert with the Holy Spirit, at Nicaea, into which both ourselves and all our believing predecessors were baptized, that this alone should have reception and authority with the orthodox people in all the most holy churches of God, as the only formulary of the right faith, and sufficient for the utter destruction of every heresy and for the complete unity of the holy churches of God.

Moreover, it confirms the efficacy of Constantinople I and Ephesus I:

And this, without prejudice to the force of the acts of the hundred and fifty holy Fathers assembled in this Imperial city in confirmation of that sacred symbol itself and in condemnation of those who blasphemed against the Holy Spirit. And without prejudice to all the acts passed in the Metropolitan city of the Ephesians against the impious Nestorius and those who subsequently favored his opinions.

The document addresses Chalcedon and Leo's Tome as divisive for the unity of Church and its statement of faith as innovation against Nicaea I (the worst description regarding faith and piety at the time). Thus,

the so-called Tome of Leo, all things said and done at Chalcedon in innovation of the before-mentioned holy symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy Fathers, whether by way of definition of faith, or setting forth of symbols, or of interpretation, or instruction, or discourse,

those, the document decrees

shall be anathematized both here and everywhere by the most holy bishops in every church, and shall be committed to the flames whenever they shall be found, inasmuch as it was so enjoined respecting all heretical doctrines by our predecessors.

Thus, the *Encyclical* pronounces the decrees of Nicaea, Constantinople, and Ephesus as the only ecumenically endorsed ones on the subject of faith. Here the anathema is given to those

who do not confess that the Only-Begotten Son of God was truly incarnate and became man of the Holy Spirit, and of the holy and ever-virgin Mary, Theotokos, but, according

Wilhelm Schmiedel (Belmont, Mass., 1987), 73-4; though M. Whitby's new translation seems more accurate and faithful to the text, I, nevertheless, decided to use the translation offered in Florensky's volume since it is more concise and yet correct.

to their strange conceit, either from heaven or in mere fantasy and appearance [*all' e ex ouranou, e kata fantasian kai dokesin terateuomenous*]. And, in brief, every heresy and whatever other innovation in respect either of thought or language has been devised in violation of the sacred symbol in any manner or at any time or place.

Should the document be classified as purely, or for the most part negative, denying certain things and not giving us an affirmative statement on the state of affairs? Firstly, the document gives us a balanced Christological statement (in a very brief but explicit way); thus its significance is not purely negative. Also, one can argue that its positive input can be measured against that which is omitted or not explicitly stated. Now we shall look at the positive side of the document.

First let us take a look at its Christological core. The anathema here is given to those 'who do not confess that the Only-Begotten Son of God was truly Incarnate and became man.' What is it here that is puzzling or innovative? Does not this statement merely confirm the creed of Nicaea? It should be noted in this context that John's *kai o Logos sarx egeneto* along the line with the notion of self-emptying (*kenosis*) found in the Pauline epistles, was the major stumbling block for the Christian apologists since the 3rd century and on. This phrase, if understood literally, would have necessarily led a 3rd century intellectual to the conclusion that Christianity attempted to justify the divine intervention into the realm of created realities, a notion utterly unthinkable at the time (as the audience could not accept the mythical intervention of the divine Logos into the realm of *gignoma*). It is for that reason that Origen of Alexandria had to posit the pre-existent soul of Jesus as the personal subject of Christ; the same motivation can be seen behind Eustathius of Antioch's Christology where the personal subject of Christ is a human being, Jesus of Nazareth. The statement of faith ecumenically endorsed by Nicaea I reaffirmed the 'Incarnational Christology' of John and Paul (a Christology where the Logos is the personal subject of Christ); hence the re-affirmation was pronounced in an almost non-reflective way (due to the fact that the major issue at the time was the nature of the Pre-existing Logos; thus all subtleties of Incarnational Christology were yet to be introduced by the following generations of theologians); thus the Creed of Nicaea reintroduced a major Christological problem for Christian theologians and rhetoricians of the 4th century. The Apollinarian and Nestorian crises of the 4th and 5th centuries over the issues of the Incarnation brought a good deal of theological reflection on the subject. During that time all possible qualifications were given to the Incarnational Christology to make it coherent and ecumenically acceptable.[6] Hence, the council of Chalcedon

[6] Cyril of Alexandria's Christology is a good example of a lofty and subtle discourse on the subject of the Incarnation in which the personal identity of Christ as the Logos incarnate is qualified through the notions of oneness, sameness and difference, motion and rest, simplicity and complexity, in relation to essence (*kath' ousian*) and to the economy; in itself and in other, in

clearly demonstrated that when qualifications are given to the subject a simple statement of faith can be interpreted in multiple, theologically irreconcilable ways. Now the *Encyclical* re-affirmed the Nicene theology. What was so puzzling about it? The answer is – nothing. Basically it dropped all qualifications and the formulas associated with them to accommodate all factions of the now divided Christendom. Now, however, the faith of Nicaea was affirmed after a century long christological development as the only ecumenical foundation of Christian doctrine of the Incarnation following the suggestion of Ephesus I. The key message communicated by the Creed in the theological context of the late 5th century can be thought of as the re-affirmation of the unity of the personal subject (*ipostasis*) of Christ as the Logos Incarnate.

As Grillmeier rightly noted the one and two nature formulas are omitted from the document. Does it mean that the notion of natures is left open for certain regional variations that in no way affect the Incarnational theology of Nicaea? I think that that is the case. Taking into account that the figure of Timothy Aelurus stands behind the document it seems plausible to suggest that the wider non-Chalcedonian camp did not consider the one nature formula as a necessary confirmation of the 'right faith'. The following squabble between Timothy and the Eutychian monks over the 'co-substantial with us' (of which Pseudo-Zachariah gave us a complete account) clearly demonstrated that the notion of two essential universal entities united in one non-accidental particular being (framed in the language of *phusis*, *prosopon*, and *ipostasis*) was considered foundational for the Miaphysite movement. Thus, the document left particular formulas affirming the unity of Christ ('one and the same, contemplated in two natures' vs. 'one nature of God the Word incarnate') as provisional and potentially reconcilable (this inference seems to be valid in the context of the document). Hence, there is something truly remarkable in the fact that Timothy, who is considered as the major protagonist of the miaphysite cause at the time, purposely omitted the 'one nature formula' from the document. Does this fact suggest that the 20th-century scholarship over-exaggerated the significance of the '*mia phusis*' formula for the wider anti-Chalcedonian movement? I think it definitely does!

The inclusivity of the document and its ecumenical outreach is also evident from the fact that it did not mention Eutyches (the absence of his name is quite significant in this context, especially in the light of his anathematization by Chalcedon). It is thus my conjecture that the document also attempted to accommodate the Eutychian faction (as least its moderate part) of the anti-Chalcedonian movement. Thus since the document annulled everything that

universal and in particular, *etc*. These qualifications allowed Cyril to demonstrate that the Word of God becomes incarnate, descends, and yet remains immutable and self-same; that He suffers and yet remains impassible, *etc*. As a result, the incarnational Christology through the use of qualifiers became coherent (non-contradictory) and intelligible.

was done by Chalcedon, it follows that the condemnation of Eutyches is also annulled. In this context I argue against Grillmeier's[7] and Frend's[8] interpretations of the subject. Both scholars proposed, appealing to the authority of Evagrius Scholasticus and Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor (especially to the latter one), that the *Encyclical* condemned both Nestorian and Eutychian heresies. Taking into account Zachariah's unequivocally anti-Eutychian stand,[9] it is of no surprise that it was used to justify the claim of anti-Eutychian position of the document. Hence, the *Encyclical* itself, in my opinion, does not seem to provide us with any direct signs to confirm such a conclusion.

Grillmeier in his arguments seemed to be relying on a particular interpretation of the phrase 'either from heaven or in mere fantasy and appearance' as repudiating the Eutychian monks. Now, we can assume with a high degree of plausibility that the notion of 'from heaven' refers to Apollinarius; in that case, the clause signifies a confirmation of the anathema given to old heretical movements, Apollinarist and docetic (Manicheans), by the previous councils; hence, it might also refer to the Eutychius' followers. Now the question is whether there were different groups of Eutychian followers with a very peculiar theology of incarnation (with a higher degree of non-orthodoxy than that of Eutyches himself) is a crucial one (since Eutyches, a radical Cyrilline, has not been reported as introducing the notion of fantasy or appearance and thus cannot be charged for docetism).[10] And we know from Pseudo-Zachariah that when Isaiah of Hermopolis and Theophilus of Alexandria, the Eutychians, claimed Timothy as holding the same opinions on the subject of the Incarnation as theirs, Timothy wrote a few letters from his exile[11] repudiating their opinions. The second letter of Timothy to Constantinople explicitly rejects 'orthodoxy' of those who do not confess that the Lord is consubstantial with us (they are said to condemn themselves). Since we know that Eutyches was charged for his denial of consubstantiality it is clear that Timothy in his letters explicitly distanced himself from the Eutyches' theological commitments (and consequently of those of Isaiah and Theophilus). Hence, Eutychians represented an important part of the anti-Chalcedonian movement and thus should have naturally been Timothy's allies. On the other hand, the document explicitly shows that Timothy was not willing to tolerate the heresy of Docetism. Now the question is whether one

[7] '[T]he Christological teaching of the Eutychian monks were expressly rejected', A. Grillmeier, *Christ* (1987), 241.

[8] 'The encyclical based itself on the theology of Cyril and Dioscorus while castigating Nestorianism and Eutychianism impartially.' W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (Cambridge, 2008), 170-1.

[9] Philippe Blaudeau, *Alexandrie et Constantinople (451-491)* (Rome, 2006), 587.

[10] Presumably Isaiah of Hermopolis and Theophilus of Alexandria; see Geoffrey Greatrex, *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor* (Liverpool, 2011), 153-7.

[11] Pseudo-Zachariah preserved for us the second letter of Timothy; G. Greatrex, *The Chronicle* (2011), 155-7.

can attribute the notion of 'in fantasy or appearance' to the Eutychians? This will definitively prove the anti-Eutychian overtone of the *Encyclical*.

If it was the case that one of the groups of Eutychian followers was associated with the notion of 'in mere fantasy', then the argument about the *Encyclical* as excluding (a certain group of) Eutychians is arguably justified. And indeed as R. Phenix argued, 'the Eutychians were thus also labeled "phantasiasts"'[12] on the account of their claim that 'Christ's human form was just an external trapping of the Word of God', using the analogy of the signet ring and the wax.[13] It is clear in this context the argument of the ring-seal is the important one in our understanding of the subject matter. Now, as we know, the argument of the signet ring was brought up after the introduction of the *Encyclical* (during the squabble between Timothy and the Eutychian monks that took place over the interpretation of the *Encyclical*); this, in turn, indicates that Timothy, who was, I suggest, an ally of the Eutychians (as representing part of the same anti-Chalcedonian cause) at the time of the *Encyclical*'s introduction (this also explains why he attempted to communicate the meaning of the document to them instead of confronting them on the first place), finally came to realize that theological commitments of, at least, some of them are erroneous and thus totally irreconcilable with the 'right faith'[14]; this happened during his debate over the meaning of the *Encyclical*;[15] thus the argument of the ring-seal was introduced *post factum* (or came to Timothy's attention) and has to do with the reception of the document; therefore it does not concern the document's theology *per se* (which again seems to be more inclusive than it was presented by Grillmeier). One may suggest in this context that the 'real' historical referent of the notion of the 'phantasiasts' was Julian of Halicarnassus.[16] Severus of Antioch, in his anti-Julian polemic, while systematically

[12] Indeed, we will find some such groups also in the 6th century; the example of Julian of Helicarnasus is a notorious one.

[13] G. Greatrex, *The Chronicle* (2011), 182-3 (footnote).

[14] 'When he [Timothy] understood their intention, he admonished them and instructed them, "Scripture teaches us that Christ was like us in every detail … he [Christ] was a perfect human being".' *Ibid*. 182. Unfortunately, Zachariah does not give us more details about the arguments. Thus it is unclear whether the ring-seal argument was the key one in the discussion.

[15] Michael Whitby, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus* (Liverpool, 2000), 139.

[16] G. Greatrex, *The Chronicle* (2011), 358: '… Julian, the bishop of Halicarnassus, who converted to the heresy of the Manicheans, and [who] considers the willing suffering of the salvation of the Messiah, the great God, [to be] a fantasy…' From Pseudo-Zachariah we also learn about Julian as 'an old man who was zealous in faith, who when he was asked to say 'two natures', in the same manner as Eutyches and those monks who did not properly discern the order [of the problem], fell into the heresy of Eutyches', *ibid*. 332. Thus, here the notion of 'fantasy' is ascribed to Julian who is immediately connected to the Eutyches and his heresy. It should be noted in this context that Severus was the one who initially put the Manicheans, the Eutychians, and Julian into the same bracket using an old rhetorical trope that invalidates the argument of the opponent by describing its theological content as identical to those of old heresies. Thus, '… in this *Defence*

deconstructing Julian's theology, also argued *ad hominem* and ascribed old heretical notions to Julian in his rhetorical passages. One may suggest here that Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, a staunch Severian, followed Severus, made a connection between Julian and Eutyches, and then used Severus' account as a theological justification for the arguments against the Eutychians (indeed a great explanatory tool in hands of Zachariah to make sense of the theological content of the anti-Eutychian polemic of Timothy that took place earlier). However, it is quite reasonable to suggest that the signet ring argument is about something different (than that of fantasy or appearance). What is it then about?

Firstly, we may notice that the analogy of the signet ring and wax entails a contact; thus the nature of the connection between the Lord and his flesh in this case is at least contiguous. It entails a 'contact' between 'one' and 'the other'; though the accidental character of such connection definitely destroys the notion of 'hypostatic' or 'natural' union which is explicitly non-accidental.[17] Thus, the connection between the deity and humanity under this scenario is accidental; 'humanity' (or human conditions) just 'happens' to the Logos (or temporary inheres in the Logos). Hence, the 'humanity' that the Logos 'touches' is a 'real' one (according to the simile of the signet ring and the Logos). Pseudo-Zachariah attributed this kind of reasoning to the anxiety of the Eutychians to protect the purity and divine splendor of the Logos (of its nature) from being contaminated by the lowliness of human nature. Thus, though the Logos 'stamps', so to say, the body, the latter one signifies merely an external condition for the Logos (an external trapping of the Word of God).

The notion of fantasy, on the other hand, entails an object of a low degree of reality, of something that is judged by the faculty of imagination, of a kind of things classified as *ta fantasmata*, as products of the faculty of imagination. If such a thing with the low degree of reality is equated with Christ's humanity (with possible variations from imaginatory: visions or dreams, to absolutely non-existent: *me on*), then the nature of such 'union' is not merely accidental;

[of Julian] which recently arrived, where you took hold of a pretext and acted as accuser of the Manicheans and of the fantasies of Eutyches' party while disseminating these views of yours with loud noise, by means of which you suppose that you are concealing the impiety of your teaching, you state: "… the power of impassibility in the suffering of the Lord's body…". Who, then, is there who on reading this does not clearly determine that you are opposed to the Fathers…'. Pauline Allen and C.T.R. Hayward, *Severus of Antioch* (London and New York, 2004), 100. Thus, the link between the old heresies and Julian is established.

[17] Cyril's 2nd letter to Nestorius emphasized the reality of Christ's humanity to the extent of proposing that 'the Word body is not dissociated from him; with it he presides jointly with the Father himself'. [*oti me allotrion tou logou to soma autou, meth' ou kae auto sunedreuei to patri, ouk os duo palin sunedreuonton uion, all' os enos kath' enosin meta tes idias sarkos*], Cyril of Alexandria. *Select Letters*, edited and translated by Lionel R. Wickham (Oxford, 1983), 8-9. Thus, the essential mode of union is emphasized by the metaphorical depiction of the Logos as exiting the temporal boundaries of the created universe and yet preserving the union to eternity.

rather, the union as such is questioned and consequently denied (as the reality of one of the constituents of such a 'union' is negated).

Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that the signet ring argument apparently has very little in common with the notion of fantasy. Are there any possible points of connection between the two notions? The question thus is whether the notion of fantasy can be thought of as being associated with that of 'contact'; in other words, whether the Logos can 'touch', so to say, that which is mind-dependent or non-existent. This question is rather a difficult one. As Anne Sheppard demonstrated, Porphyry used the *Philebus* (39A) and possibly the *Timaeus* (70E) to justify 'the close connection between *fantasia* and *mnime*'[18] in which the analogy of the scribe [memory] inscribing the appearances (*fantasmata*) in the soul is at work. The notion of contact (touching, stamping, or inscribing) is implicit in this analogy. Next, there comes the analogy of the painter painting images in the soul. The second analogy is, indeed, of the same type (implying a contact between the painter and the soul to produce *ta fantasmata*). However, the *Timaeus* introduces the analogy of a mirror and speaks of appearances as reflections and images. In this case the notion of contact is clearly absent. Hence, the first two analogies make it evident that a mind-dependent entity can be thought of as being created or introduced through the contact with the craftsman. The inference is that it is possible to think of the Logos as 'stamping' the body (or, rather, the faculty of imagination) to produce appearances. Hence, this level of philosophical subtleties could hardly be introduced by the 'simple-minded' Eutychian monk.

What is more significant in this context is the connection that Porphyry draws between *fantasia* and *okhema*, 'vehicle' of the soul; this might explain the conjunction drawn by Paul the Sophist between the notions of 'from heaven' and that of 'fantasy' and 'appearance' (these two are apparently of a similar significance since it has been shown that *fantasia* deals with appearances: *fainetai* – it appears).[19] Thus, as Sheppard noted, 'a distinctive aspect of Porphyry's views on *fantasia* … is the association of *fantasia* with the "astral body" or "vehicle" of the soul. There is a lot about this in Synesius' *De Insomniis* but we find it also in *Sententiae* 29[20] and *Ad Gaurum* VI.1.'[21] Now one may suggest that Synesius could have been a point of transmission of this tradition (which he inherited from Hypanthia and introduced to Alexandrian Christianity after having become a bishop). So, the Alexandrian Platonism might have been the source to which Paul the Sophist referred. Thus, it is possible that some late

[18] Anne Sheppard, 'Porphyry's Views on Phantasia', in George Karamanolis and Anne Sheppard (eds), *Studies on Porphyry* (London, 2007), 71-6, 73.

[19] See *The Sophist* 264b.

[20] Porphyre, *Sentences*. Travaux edités sous la responsabilité de Luc Brisson; avec une traduction anglaise de John Dillon I (Paris, 2005), 329-30.

[21] A. Sheppard, 'Porphyry's Views on Phantasia' (2007), 71-6, 73, 75.

antique Alexandrian Platonists could have spoken of the Logos' body in terms of 'either from heaven or in mere fantasy and appearance' (meaning to demonstrate that the Logos' ethereal body 'appeared' in terrestrial form to the disciples through their faculty of imagination); and that Paul's clause attempted to combat them. Though, at this point we cannot proceed further and have to stay content with this speculation.

Here again, Julian of Halicarnassus seems to be Pseudo-Zachariah's 'real' referent of the notion of the 'phantasiasts' (though once again one may question whether Julian was of such an opinion and infer a different conclusion from the given premises). In any case, a great deal of rhetorical arguments in the anti-'other' polemic (and possibly multiple conflations) makes the subject matter a bit blurry. Hence, my conclusions are that the proposed 'anti-Eutychian' overtone of the *Encyclical* should not be taken for its face value and that, in order to decipher its significance one might need to take into account the history of the anti-Chalcedonian movement on the larger historical scale. Thus, such overtone has to do (arguably) with the reception of the document rather than with its immediate theological content.

Pseudo-Zachariah, as Philippe Blaudeau noted, classified Eutychianism and Nestorianism as equally destructive for the union[22] and ultimately as having the single source of infection (which is indeed a correct inference from their theologies). Hence, the absence of condemnation of Eutyches in the document was an embarrassment for Zachariah. It was the anathematization of the docetics in the Paul the Sophist' draft of the *Encyclical* that allowed Zachariah to connect the 'phantasiasts' with the Eutychians and, by implication, present the imperial policy reflected in the document as detrimental for both heresies.[23] But, once again, this reasoning, 'dont on note qu'il ne procède pas strictement de la réflexion de Timothée', though it justifies 'le paradigme hérésiologique assigné par Zacharie à son *Histoire ecclésiastique*',[24] is unquestionably alien to the *Encyclical*.

To recapitulate, the allegedly 'anti-Eutychian' position of the document is indirectly supported by Timothy's letter to Constantinople, by the fact of

[22] "La répétition de cette association entre les deux hérésies prépare donc son expression conceptuelle, exposée dans la brève démonstration attribuée à Paul le Sophiste. C'est ce dernier qui, selon Zacharie, établit que le nestorianisme et l'eutychianisme reposent sur une même inconsistance: l'une comme l'autre des deux doctrines ne parviennent pas à accepter l'Union entre l'absolue sainteté de Dieu et une humanité considérée comme forcément dégradante pour la splendeur du Verbe. C'est pourquoi l'Incarnation est pensée en registre de séparation en deux natures (nestorianisme-chalcédonisme) ou de distorsion entre apparence et réalité de sa condition humaine (eutychianisme)", Ph. Blaudeau, *Alexandrie et Constantinople (451-491)* (2006), 587.

[23] "L'argumentation prêtée à Paul le Sophiste supplée donc par anticipation à l'absence de toute dénonciation nominative d'Eutychès dans l'édit impérial. Elle enrichit également le contexte dans lequel se tient l'affrontement définitif entre les moines négateurs de l'humanité intégrale du Christ et Timothée Aelure", Ph. Blaudeau, *Alexandrie et Constantinople (451-491)* (2006), 587.

[24] *Ibid.*

Timothy' squabble with the Eutychian monks in Constantinople, and, as a consequence, by his gradual distancing from the Eutychian faction of the anti-Chalcedonians.[25] Moreover, the identification of the 'phantasiasts' with the Eutychian monks provides just another indirect confirmation to such a conclusion. Both conjectures come from Pseudo-Zachariah's *Chronicle*. However, the text itself does not give us any direct indications that the Eutychians cannot be well accommodated by the document. This is confirmed by the absence of Eutyches' name and by the annulment of the decrees of Chalcedon (including the one condemning Eutyches). Taking onto account Zachariah's moderate Miaphysitism and his hostile attitude to the Eutychians, any indirect proofs extracted from the *Chronicle* that suggest that the *Encyclical* condemned either Eutyches, or his followers, or both, should be taken with reservations and as concerning the reception of the document rather than its theological significance. Instead, the document gives us some definitive traces of the attempt to incorporate politically and spiritually important Eutychian faction (as least its moderate wing) into imperial ecclesial structure.

The inclusivity of the document also unfolds itself in its attitude towards the sees of Rome and Alexandria. As Frend noted, 'in the text preserved by Zacharias the teaching of "the chief priest Celestine, Cyril, and Dioscorus" was praised, and thus it was not directed against the see of Peter as such.'[26] Nevertheless, the ecclesial and political implications of the document (mainly concerning the ecclesial rights of Constantinople affirmed by Chalcedon and the ecumenical role of Leo the Great) made the *Encyclical* unacceptable to the sees of Constantinople and Rome. For example, Acacius of Constantinople found the document theologically tolerable but unacceptable in its attempt to take away certain privileges from the see of Constantinople. Moreover, the acts of the local council of Ephesus (475) orchestrated by Timothy, the one that restored the ecclesial privileges of the see of Ephesus, was indigestible for Constantinople which since 451 considered Ephesus as its own ecclesial domain. Consequently Acacius plotted against Basiliscus and effected the introduction of the *Antiencyclical*. As a result, in 476 the *Encyclical* was withdrawn, and replaced by the *Antiencyclical*. It was this document that explicitly condemned both Nestorius and Eutyches and their supporters thus gearing more towards the Chalcedonian faction of Christendom.

[25] G. Greatrex, *The Chronicle* (2011), 186.
[26] W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (Cambridge, 2008), 171.

Victor of Vita and the Conference of 484: A Pastiche of 411?

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ABSTRACT

In 411 AD, following a century of religious conflicts within the North African provinces of the Roman Empire, Nicene bishops succeeded in declaring their opponents – 'Donatists' – heretics and thus liable to legal punishments. The 'Catholic' bishops managed to reduce their religious opponents to silence through a council of bishops, the conference of 411, which was in fact more a trial to convict 'Donatists' than an open debate. The crucial factor in the triumph of the 'Catholics' was their success in obtaining the support of civil authorities, first and foremost the Emperor Honorius, as his edict of convocation to the conference indicates. Honorius wrote with the exasperated tone of one eager to put this annoying conflict behind him, and looking forward to the conclusion of this trial, the issue of which was already clear in his mind. 'Donatists', realizing they had been trapped, resorted to all kinds of 'diversion maneuvers'. But they could not divert the outcome and were condemned. Victor of Vita's depiction of a conference between Nicene and Homoean – Vandal – bishops in 484 presents uncanny similarities to the 411 conference. But in this case, the roles were reversed and the Nicenes were in the position that 'Donatists' had found themselves in 75 years earlier. This study argues that comparison between these two accounts, taken as representative of the two great religious conflicts of late antique North Africa – 'Catholics' vs. 'Donatists' and Vandals vs. Nicenes – reveals a great deal of continuity in the methods of coercion used to impose religious conformity, on the one hand, and, on the other, in the strategies employed by the victims of these policies of religious unification. Indeed, Victor included the edict of the Vandal king Huneric following the conference of 484, in which the king admitted to recycling previous Roman anti-heretical laws. Conversely, Victor depicted the Nicene bishops as having recourse to 'diversion maneuvers' similar to the ones that 'Donatists' had used in 411. This strategy was a way for Victor to cast the Vandals in a persecuting role and functioned as a tool of boundary maintenance, in order to assert and reinforce distinctions between Nicenes and Vandals which were constantly being eroded by the Vandal religious policy.

On May 20, 483, according to Victor of Vita, the Vandal King Huneric issued an edict requesting Nicene bishops living under Vandal rule to assemble in Carthage on February 1, 484, to debate with their Homoean opponents and establish who possessed the true Christian faith.[1] It is the contention of this

[1] Victor Vitensis, *Historia persecutionis Africanae prouinciae* [henceforth *HP*] II 38-9. The text of Victor is cited throughout according to: *Victor de Vita. Histoire de la persécution vandale*

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article that in organizing this council of bishops, Huneric and his advisors borrowed and adapted numerous elements of the strategy that Honorius and his court had used in their dealings with the 'Donatists'.[2] Honorius' religious policy in Africa had culminated with a very similar council of bishops in 411.[3] A close comparison of the two events and their larger context, however, reveals that, contrary to Victor's depiction, Vandal religious policies continued previous Roman policies and had equal ecclesiastical and theological legitimacy for doing so.

The Vandals' knowledge of the conference of 411 and its larger context emerges from Huneric's edict of union for all Christians of Africa following the conference of 484 quoted by Victor (3.8-11). In this text, Huneric followed the spirit of earlier Roman laws of the fifth century against heretics and other unorthodox groups, which he then applied against the Nicene community that he considered unorthodox.[4] Most strikingly, Huneric recycled a number of Honorius' laws against

en Afrique, ed. Serge Lancel (Paris, 2002), 139-40. Translations are from John Moorhead, *Victor of Vita: History of the Vandal Persecution* (Liverpool, 1992). For the larger context of this event, see now Andy Merrills and Richard Miles, *The Vandals* (Oxford, 2010), 177-203, esp. 184-5. On Victor, see Christian Courtois, *Victor de Vita et son œuvre. Étude critique* (Algiers, 1954); and Éric Fournier, *Victor of Vita and the Vandal "Persecution": Interpreting Exile in Late Antiquity* (Unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2008).

[2] On the labelling problem involved with the Christian factions discussed here, see Brent Shaw, *Sacred Violence. African Christians and Sectarian Hatred in the Age of Augustine* (Cambridge, 2011), 5-6, updating *id*., 'African Christianity: Disputes, Definitions, and "Donatists"', in M.R. Greenshields and T.A. Robinson (eds), *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Religious Movements: Discipline and Dissent* (Lampeter, 1992), 5-34.

[3] *Gesta Collationis Carthaginensis, anno 411* [henceforth *Gesta*]. The text of the *Gesta* is cited throughout according to *Actes de la conférence de Carthage en 411*, ed. Serge Lancel, SC 194-5, 224 and 373 (Paris, 1972-1991). English translations are mine. On the context leading to the conference and for analysis of the event itself, among the vast bibliography, see Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography* (Berkeley, ²2000), 330-9; Serge Lancel, *Saint Augustin* (Paris, 1999), 404-29; Erika T. Hermanowicz, *Possidius of Calama: A Study of the North African Episcopate at the Time of Augustine* (Oxford, 2008), 132-220; B. Shaw, *Sacred Violence* (2011), 544-86.

[4] *HP* III 3: '*Triumphalis et maiestatis regiae probatur esse uirtutis, mala in auctores consilia retorquere: quisquis enim aliquid prauitatis inuenerit sibi imputat quod incurrit*' ['It is well known that the casting back of evil counsels against those who give them is a feature of triumphant majesty and royal strength']; III 7: '*Ideo in hos est necessarium ac iustissimum retorquere quod ipsarum legum continentia demonstratur quas inductis secum in errore imperatoribus temporum diuersorum tunc contigit promulgari*' ['And so it is necessary and very just to twist around against them what is shown to be contained in those very laws which happen to have been promulgated by the emperors of various times who, with them, had been led into error']. It is difficult to see anything else than a Catholic bias in the comment of S. Lancel, *Victor de Vita* (2002), 24 and 47, that Huneric's recycling of anti-Donatist laws was done 'malignement'. On Huneric's use of previous Roman laws in general, see Giulio Vismara, 'Gli editti Romani dei re Vandali', in *Scritti di storia giuridica* I: *Fonti del diritto nei regni Germanici* (Milan, 1987), 391-429 (= *Studi in onore di Gaetano Scherillo*, 3 vols. [Milan, 1972], II 849-78), esp. 417-22. See also Caroline Humfress, *Orthodoxy and the Courts in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2007), esp. 217-68 on the intersection of law and theology in the prosecution of heresy and, by implication, in the formation of

'Donatist'.[5] Thus the Vandal king banned heretical meetings, threatened to confiscate the buildings where such forbidden reunions would occur and to exile the participants, and fined baptism by heretics with a stiff ten pounds of gold.[6]

orthodoxy. The text of *Codex Theodosianus* (henceforth *CTh.*) is cited throughout according to: *Theodosiani Libri XVI*, eds. Theodor Mommsen and Paul Meyer, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1905). Translations are from Clyde Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions* (Princeton, 1952).

[5] Already noted by S. Lancel, *Victor de Vita* (2002), 177-9, followed by B. Shaw, *Sacred Violence* (2011), 804.

[6] *HP* III 8: '*Quarum illud uidetur tenere conceptio ut nulla exceptis superstitionis suae antistibus ecclesia patuisset, nullis liceret aliis aut conuictus agere aut exercere conuentus, nec ecclesias aut in urbibus aut in quibusdam paruissimis locis penitus obtinere neque construere, sed praesumpta fisci uiribus iungerentur; sed etiam et eorum patrimonia, ecclesiis suae fidei sociata, suis antistibus prouenissent; nec commorari ad quaecumque loca talibus licentia patuisset, sed extorres omnibus urbibus redderentur et locis; nec baptismatis haberent omnino aliquam facultatem aut forte de religione disputarent, et nullam haberent ordinandi licentiam siue episcopos siue presbyteros uel alios quos ad clerum pertinere contingeret, proposita seueritate uindictae ut tam hi qui se paterentur huiusmodi honores accipere quam etiam ipsi ordinatores denis libris auri singuli multarentur; eo adiecto ut nullus eis locus esset uel aditus supplicandi, sed etiam si qua specialia meruissent minime praeualerent; et si in hac pernicie perdurarent, et de proprio solo ablati in exilium sub prosecutione idonea mitterentur*' ['The purport of these laws was that no church was to have been kept open, except by the priests of their superstition: other priests were not allowed either to conduct assemblies or hold meetings, nor to possess or construct churches in cities or even in the tiniest places; these were to be taken over and added to the possessions of the fisc. In addition, their patrimonies, which had pertained to the churches of their faith, were to have passed to their priests. Such people were not to have been given the liberty to stay in any places at all, but they were to be banished from all cities and places. Nor were they to have any means for baptizing at their disposal, in case they should happen to dispute concerning religion; and they were to have no freedom to ordain bishops or priests or other ranks of clergy. A severe punishment was set forth: both those who permitted themselves to receive such honours and those who ordained them were to be fined ten pounds of gold each. Furthermore, there was to be no opportunity or possibility for them to make any petition, and even if they deserved special treatment they were not to prevail. And if they persisted in this wicked behaviour, they were also to be driven from their own land and sent into exile under a suitable guard']. Compare *CTh.* XVI 5.45 [27 Nov. 408]: '*Defensorum curialium omniumque officiorum specula custodiat, ne quis intra aliquam ciuitatem uel ulla territorii parte secreta, qui ab ecclesiae catholico sacerdote dissident, inlicitae coitionis habeat facultatem. Ipsa etiam loca iuri publico sociari seclusa omni excusatione censemus et proscribtos eos in exilium detrudi, qui audent disputare ea et adserere, quae institutio diuina condemnat*' ['The vigilance of the defenders, of the decurions, and of all the members of the office staffs shall be on guard that no person who dissents from the priesthood of the Catholic Church shall have an opportunity for unlawful assembly within any municipality or any secluded part of the territory thereof. We decree also that the places temselves of such assembly shall be appropriated to public ownership and that every defense shall be barred. Those persons who dare to dispute and to assert what is condemned by divine teaching shall be proscribed and dispatched into exile'] and XVI 5.52.5 [30 Jan. 412 = 415] (noticed by Lancel, see previous note): '*Clerici [donatistae] uero ministrique eorum ac perniciosissimi sacerdotes, ablati de Africano solo, quod ritu sacrilego polluerunt, in exilium uiritim ad singulas quasque regiones sub idonea prosecutione mittantur, ecclesiis eorum uel conuenticulis praediisque, si qua in eorum ecclesias haereticorum largitas praua contulit, proprietati potestatique catholicae, sicut iam*

He also forbade heretics to write a will,[7] and fined according to social ranks whoever refused to convert to the new orthodoxy (Homoean Christianity).[8] Finally, Huneric also threatened officials who would dare help (Nicene) heretics.[9]

dudum statuimus, uindicatis' ['The clerics and ministers of such heretics and their most pernicious priests shall surely be removed from the African soil which they have polluted by sacrilegious rites and shall be separately sent into exile, under suitable escort, into various regions. If the depraved bounty of such heretics has bestowed any landed estates on their churches, such churches or conventicles and landed estates shall be vindicated to the ownership and control of the Catholic Church, just as We formerly decreed']. See also Aug., *C. litt. Petil.* II 83.184; *C. Cresc.* III 47.51-48.52; *Ep.* LXVI 1; LXXXVIII 7; CV 2.4; and Poss., *VAug* 12 on the use against 'Donatists' of *CTh.* XVI 5.21 [15 June 392], a law of Theodosius punishing the ordination of heretical clerics with ten pounds of gold.

[7] *HP* III 9: '*In populos quoque praefati imperatores similiter saeuientes quod eis nec donandi nec testandi aut capiendi uel ab aliis derelictum penitus subiaceret, non fideicommissi nomine, non legati, non donationibus aut relictione – quae mortis causa appellatur –, uel quolibet codicillo aliisue forsitan scripturis, ita ut etiam qui suis palatiis militarent condemnationi grauissimae pro dignitatis merito facerent subiectos, ut omni honoris priuilegio expoliati infamiam incurrerent et publico crimini huiusmodi personae se cognoscerent esse subiectos; officialibus etiam iudicum diuersorum triginta argenti pondo poena proposita quam, si quinque uicibus in errore perdurantes contigisset inferre, tum demum tales conuicti atque subiugati uerberibus in exilium mitterentur*' ['The aforementioned emperors also raged against the laity in a similar fashion, because they were to lose completely their right to bestow and bequeath, or to receive what was left to them by others, whether in the form of a bequest held for someone else, or of a legacy, or of donations, or by that means termed 'by cause of death', or by means of any codicil or any pieces of writing whatsoever. They would also make those who held office in their palaces subject to a very harsh punishment in accordance with their rank, so that, stripped of every privilege pertaining to their position, they would incur disgrace, and persons of this kind would realize that they were subject to the same law as everyone else. Also, a penalty of thirty pounds of silver was enacted for the officials of the various judges, and if it came to pass that they persisted in their error and paid the penalty on five occasions, then were such people, having been convicted and beaten into submission by rods, to be eventually sent into exile']. Compare *CTh.* XVI 6.4.3-4 [12 Feb. 405]: '*Sciant ii uero, qui ex supra dictis sectis iterare baptisma non timuerint aut qui consentiendo hoc facinus propria huius societatis permixtione damnauerint, non solum testandi sibi, uerum adipiscendi aliquid sub specie donationis uel agitandorum contractuum in perpetuum copiam denegatam, nisi prauae mentis errorem reuertendo ad ueram fidem consilii emendatione correxerint. 4. Illos quoque par nihilo minus poena constringat, si qui memoratorum interdictis coetibus seu ministeriis praebuerint coniuentiam, ita ut moderatores prouinciarum, si in contemptum sannctionis huiusce consensum putauerint commodandum, sciant se uiginti libras auri esse multandos, officia etiam sua simili condemnatione subiuganda*' ['If, indeed, any persons of the above mentioned sects have not feared to administer baptism the second time or if any persons by consenting and mingling in this association have not condemned the crime, they shall know that they are forever denied not only the right to make a testament, but also to acquire anything under title of gift or to enter into contracts, unless they should emend their conceptions and should correct the false doctrine of a perverse mind by returning to the true faith. 4. The same punishment shall no less restrain those persons also who have connived at the forbidden assemblies or ministries of the aforementioned persons. Thus, if the governors of the provinces, in contempt of this sanction, should suppose that their consent ought to be given, they shall know that they will be punished with a fine of twenty pounds of gold, and their office staffs shall be subject to a like condemnation'] and XVI 5.54.7 [17 June 414] (noticed by Lancel, see note 5): '*Officiales autem diuersorum iudicum si in hoc errore fuerint deprehensi, ad triginta libr(arum) argenti inlationem*

poenae nomine teneantur, ita ut, si quinquies condemnati abstinere noluerint, coherciti uerberibus exilio mancipentur' ['Moreover, if the apparitors of the various judges should be apprehended in such false doctrine, they shall be held to the payment of thirty pounds of silver by way of fine; and if, after five condemnations, they should be unwilling to abstain therefrom, they shall be chastised with blows and sent into exile'].

[8] *HP* III 10: '*[P]ro singulis quibusque personis illi obseruandum praeceperant ut inlustres singillatim auri pondo quinquagena darent, spectabilis auri pondo quadragena, senatores auri pondo tricena, principales auri pondo uicena, sacerdotales auri pondo tricena, decuriones auri pondo quina, negotiatores auri pondo quina, plebei auri pondo quina, circumcelliones argenti pondo dena; et si qui forte in hac pernicie permanerent, confiscatis omnibus rebus suis exilio multarentur*' ['It is said that they ordered that these things were to be observed with respect to each individual person: the *illustres* were each to pay fifty pounds of gold, *spectabiles* forty pounds of gold, senators thirty pounds of gold, leading men twenty pounds of gold, priests thirty pounds of gold, decurions five pounds of gold, merchants five pounds of gold, common people five pounds of gold, and *circumcelliones* ten pounds of silver; and if any persons happened to persist in this wickedness, all their goods were to be confiscated and they were to be punished with exile']. Compare *CTh.* XVI 5.52 [30 Jan. 412 = 415]: '*[N]isi ex die prolatae legis omnes donatistae, tam sacerdotes quam laicique, catholicae se, a qua sacrelege desciuere, reddiderint, tunc inl(ustres) singillatim poenae nomine fisco nostro auri pondo quinquaginta cogantur inferre, spectabiles auri pondo quadraginta, senatores auri pondo triginta, clarissimi auri pondo uiginti, sacerdotales auri pondo triginta, principales auri pondo uiginti, decuriones auri pondo quinque, negotiatores auri pondo quinque, plebei auri pondo quinque, circumcelliones argenti pondo decem*' ['Moreover, unless form the date of the issuance of this law, all Donatist priests as well as clerics and laymen should return to the Catholic sect from which they have sacrilegiously withdrawn, then, as a punishment, all such persons of Illustrious rank shall be compelled to pay to Our fisc a fine of fifty pounds of gold each; persons of Respectable rank, forty pounds of gold; Senators thirty pounds of gold; persons of Most Noble rank, twenty pounds of gold; men of the rank of civil priest, thirty pounds of gold; chief decurions, twenty pounds of gold; decurions, five pounds of gold; tradesmen, five pounds of gold; plebeians, five pounds of gold; Circumcellions, ten pounds of silver each'].

[9] *HP* III 11: '*Ordines autem ciuitatum, sed et procuratores et conductores possessionum tali poena uidebantur affligere ut, si forte tales celare deligerent et minime publicassent et retentos iudicio non facerent praesentari, ipsi tenerentur ad poenam, conductoribus etiam regalium praediorum hac multa proposita ut quantum domui regiae inferrent, tantum etiam fisco poenae nomine cogerentur exsoluere, ut generaliter in omnibus conductoribus uel possessoribus qui in eadem superstitione crediderint perdurandum constituimus obseruari; iudicibus etiam qui huic rei instantissime non imminebant poena proscriptionis et sanguinis supplicium poneretur, sed et de primatibus officiorum tres numero punirentur, aliis uiginti librarum auri condemnatione multandis*' ['We see that they afflicted the governing classes of the cities, as well as the overseers and the leaseholders of the estates, with a penalty of this kind: if it happened that they were pleased to hide such people and had not made them public, and did not have them held fast and presented for judgment, they themselves were to discharge the penalty. This was the punishment enacted for the leaseholders on the royal estates: by way of punishment they would be forced to render to the fisc as much as they paid to the royal household. This, we determine, is to be observed in general in the cases of all leaseholders and proprietors of land who believe they should persist in the same superstition. With respect to judges who failed to devote themselves to this matter with due urgency, proscription and capital punishment would be imposed as their penalty; the three chief officials of their departments were also to be punished, and the others condemned to a fine of twenty pounds of gold']. Compare *CTh.* XVI 5.46 [15 Jan. 409] (noticed by Lancel, see note 5): '*Quod si quisquam iudicum peccato coniuentiae exsecutionem praesentis legis omiserit, nouerit amissa dignitate grauiorem motum se nostrae clementiae subiturum, officium quoque suum, quod saluti propriae contempta suggestione defuerit, punitis tribus primatibus condemnatione uiginti*

Such close parallels led Brent Shaw to write that 'the servitors of the new Vandal kingdom deliberately re-enacted the past as part of the present'.[10] Or, more simply perhaps, the Vandal policy-makers found in past laws against 'Donatists' useful strategies that they could re-deploy in their own context. Either way, these parallels clearly indicate that the Vandal king's officials had access to Honorius' laws, either through archives, perhaps the proconsular archives (we know that Vandal kings appropriated the residence of the proconsul in Carthage), or through copies of the *Theodosian Code*, perhaps episcopal copies of Book XVI.[11] Similarly, we know through Augustine that the *Gesta* of the council of 411 were being read in public by 'Catholic' bishops throughout Africa.[12] Whatever the origin of this knowledge, there are simply too many parallels between the two councils for Vandal officials and Homoean clerics

librarum auri plectendum. Ordinis quoque uiri si in propriis ciuitatibus uel territoriis commissum tale aliquid siluerint in gratiam noxiorum, deportationis peonam et propriarum amissionem facultatum se nouerint subituros' ['But if any of the judges through the sin of connivance should fail to execute the present law, he shall realize that he will forfeit his official rank and that he will suffer a more severe action of Our Clemency. His office staff also, if it should jeopardize its own safety by contemptously refusing to give official recommendations, shall be fined twenty pounds of gold, in addition to the punishment of its three primates. Moreover, if the members of a municipal senate out of favoritism to the criminals should keep silent about the commission of such an offense in their own municipalities or the territories thereof, they shall know that they will suffer the penalty of deportation and the forfeiture of their own property'] and XVI 5.54.5 [17 June 414] (noticed by Lancel, see note 5): '*Conductores autem domus nostrae si haec in praediis uenerabilis substantiae uti permiserint, tantum pensione poenae nomine cogantur inferre, quantum in conductione pensitare consuerunt*' ['Moreover, if the chief tenants of the estates of Our household should permit the aforesaid practices on the landed estates of Our venerable substance, they shall be forced to pay by way of fine whatever amount they have been accustomed to pay as rental'].

[10] B. Shaw, *Sacred Violence* (2011), 804.

[11] *CTh*. XVI 5.55 [3 Aug. 379]: '*Iuliano Proc(onsuli) Afric(ae). Notione et sollicitudine Marcellini spect(a)b(ilis) memoriae uiri contra donatistas gesta sunt ea, quae translata in publica monumenta habere uolumus perpetuam firmitatem*' ['to Julianus, Proconsul of Africa. It is Our will that the proceedings as held against the Donatists through the judicial investigation of Marcellinus, a man of Respectable memory, and as transferred to the public records, shall have permanent validity']. *Gesta* III 220: '*Augustinus, episcopus ecclesiae catholicae, dixit: "Si inde dubitant, archiua proconsulis requirantur"* ' ['Augustine, bishop of the Catholic Church, said: "If they have doubts about this, they should consult the proconsular archives']. The fact that Vandal kings made the proconsular palace of Carthage their royal residence increases this possibility: A. Merrills and R. Miles, *The Vandals* (2010), 78. Access to archives is also inferred by S. Lancel, *Victor de Vita* (2002), 22. See also Arnold Hugh Martin Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602. A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey*, 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1964), I 474-5; Claude Lepelley, 'L'Afrique à la veille de la conquête vandale. Quelques aspects de l'administration des provinces romaines d'Afrique avant la conquête vandale', *AnTard* 10 (2002), 61-72, 62-5; John Matthews, 'The Making of the Text', in Jill Harries and Ian Wood (eds), *The Theodosian Code. Studies in the Imperial Law of Late Antiquity* (London, 1993), 19-44, accepted by A. Merrills and R. Miles, *The Vandals* (2010), 219. Private copies can be inferred from *Constitutio de constitutionariis* (in *Theodosiani Libri*, eds. Th. Mommsen and P. Meyer [1905], I 2 4).

[12] Aug., *s*. XCIX 8 and CLXIV 13; *Gesta cum Emerito* 4.

not to have been aware of the *Gesta* of 411.[13] And combining this apparent knowledge of both the legislative apparatus against 'Donatists' and the show trial that the conference of 411 was intended to be yields the picture of Vandals recycling a legal strategy that they found in the documentary vestiges of late antique Carthage.[14] The Vandals obviously deemed this tactic appropriate and profitable to their own context. Of course, as Shaw cautioned, the two conflicts were significantly different.[15] Indeed, the two disputes had vastly different theological stakes. This did not prevent the Vandals, however, from adopting useful strategies that would legitimate their proceedings in order to sanction the orthodoxy of their church in Africa, and by the same token of their triumph over Nicenes.[16]

The conference of 411, as is well known, was an event that the 'Catholic' episcopate of North Africa had been preparing for a decade by petitioning the court in order to reduce their religious opponents to silence within Africa. Such pressure was a contributing factor to the general climate of religious violence that embroiled both sides of the conflict.[17] In reaction to this situation, Honorius issued on February 12, 405, an edict of union that prescribed severe punishments for those who repeated baptism and refused to join the universal (Catholic) church.[18] Honorius and his Catholic court justified this policy in the following way:

> Those who are called Donatists are said to have progressed so far in wickedness that with criminal lawlessness they repeat the sacrosanct baptism […]. Thus it happened that a heresy was born from a schism.[19]

[13] *Contra* Boudewijn Sirks, *The Theodosian Code: A Study* (Friedrichsdorf, 2007), 249: 'After 439, when the last part of Africa was conquered by the Vandals and Carthage was taken, there would not have been much application for such a collection (the Vandal kings not being orthodox)'. Even though Sirks' comments concern the *Sirmondian Constitutions*, the same logic applies to *CTh*.

[14] Thomas Graumann, 'Upstanding Donatists: Symbolic Communication at the Conference of Carthage (411)', *ZAC* 15 (2011), 329-55.

[15] B. Shaw, *Sacred Violence* (2011), 773, 803-4.

[16] Harold A. Drake, 'Intolerance, Religious Violence, and Political Legitimacy in Late Antiquity', *JAAR* 79.1 (2011), 193-235. Compare A. Merrills and R. Miles, *The Vandals* (2010), 71-3, for similar strategies in the political realm. While the words of E. Hermanowicz, *Possidius* (2008), 226: 'The point is that the striving for recognition, with simultaneous vilification for one's opponents, had entered a new, more intense, legal phase' were intended for the 411 situation, they highlight precisely the continuity with the Vandal case.

[17] Peter Iver Kaufman, 'Donatism Revisited: Moderates and Militants in Late Antique North Africa', *JLA* 2.1 (2009), 131-42; Michael Gaddis, *There is No Crime for Those Who Have Christ. Religious Violence in the Christian Empire* (Berkeley, 2005).

[18] The edict itself did not survive, but *CTh*. contains four fragments from the same date: XVI 5.38 and XVI 6.3-5. See *CTh*. XVI 11.2 (5 March, 405) for the order to post the edict throughout Africa.

[19] *CTh*. XVI 6.4: '*Adversarios catholicae fidei exstirpare huius decreti auctoritate prospeximus. Ideoque intercidendam specialiter eam sectam nova constitutione censuimus, quae, ne haeresis vocaretur, appellationem schismatis praeferebat. In tantum enim sceleris progressi dicuntur hi, quos Donatistas, vocant, ut baptisma sacrosanctum […] repetitionis infecerint. Ita contigit, ut*

In this rationalization, Honorius revealed the source of his influence on this ruling: the 'Catholic' bishops who met in Carthage in 404 for their annual council had decided to petition the court for help against their ecclesiastical foes and Augustine in particular had suggested labeling them as heretical precisely because they repeated the sanctity of baptism.[20]

'Donatists' faced such dire straits for five years, until the military pressure from Alaric made Honorius issue a toleration edict.[21] So the religious violence erupted anew, with 'Donatists' intent on avenging themselves of their 'Catholic' enemies.[22] The annual 'Catholic' council of Carthage of 410 therefore decided to send yet another embassy to Ravenna. The ambassadors were sent to ask for the revocation of toleration, as well as for the convocation of a general conference to end the conflict that had been dividing Christians of Africa for almost a century.[23] The day after Alaric started besieging Rome, and thus revealing the ruler's priorities, Honorius revoked the toleration and ordered a conference to be organized.[24]

haeresis ex schismate nasceretur' (tr. C. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code* [Princeton, 1953], 464). On the difference between schism and heresy: Maureen Tilley, 'When Schism Becomes Heresy in Late Antiquity: Developing Doctrinal Deviance in the Wounded Body of Christ', *JECS* 15 (2007), 1-21; see Stanley Lawrence Greenslade, 'Heresy and Schism in the Later Roman Empire', in Derek Baker (ed.), *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest* (Cambridge, 1972), 1-20.

[20] Aug., *Ep.* XCIII 5.16-7; CLXXXV 7.25. This is Augustine's famous *volte-face* on the use of the secular arm to enforce religious orthodoxy: Robert Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine* (rev. ed. Cambridge, 1970), chap. 6, 'Coge Intrare: The Church and Political Power', 133-53; Peter Brown, 'Religious Coercion in the Later Roman Empire: The Case of North Africa', *History* 48 (1963), 283-305; Herbert A. Deane, *The Political and Social Ideas of St. Augustine* (New York, 1963), chap. 6, 'Church, State, and Heresy', esp. 180-7; Henri Maisonneuve, 'Croyance religieuse et contrainte: la doctrine de saint Augustin', *MSR* 19 (1962), 49-68, *contra* Joly, 'Saint Augustin et l'intolérance religieuse'. See Frederick H. Russell, 'Persuading the Donatists: Augustine's Coercion by Words', in W.E. Klingshirn and M. Vessey (eds), *The Limits of Ancient Christianity. Essays on Late Antique Thought and Culture in Honor of R.A. Markus* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1999), 115-30, for a recent defense of Augustine's views on coercion. See also James Patout Burns, 'Augustine's Role in the Imperial Action Against Pelagius', *JTS* 29 (1978), 67-83, for a similar process.

[21] To ensure that the corn supply so necessary to Rome would not be interrupted by religious dissent, now secondary: *CTh.* XI 28.6 (25 June, 410).

[22] Aug., *Ep.* CV 1.1 and 2.4; CVIII 5.14 and 6.18; CXI 1.

[23] Charles Munier, *Concilia Africae a. 345-a. 525*, CChr.SL 149 (Turnhout, 1974), 220. This request is also confirmed by the emperor's letter to the Conference of 411: *Gesta* I 4 and III 29. See S. Lancel, *Actes* (1972), I 24.

[24] *CTh.* XVI 5.51 (25 August, 410). In addition to the works cited at note 3, see the introduction of Émilien Lamirande, in *Œuvres de Saint Augustin* 32, 4th series: *Traités anti-donatistes* 5 (Paris, 1965), 27-77. For Marcellinus' *Edictum cognitoris*, see *Gesta* III 972-8. For details concerning its application and implications for 'Donatist' bishops, see esp. Émilien Lamirande, 'L'offre conciliatrice des catholiques aux Donatistes relativement à l'épiscopat (*Gesta collationis Carthaginiensis*, I, 16)', *Église et Théologie* 2 (1971), 285-308, along with the comments of Albert C. de Veer, *REAug* 18 (1972), 321-3.

On October 14, 410, Honorius ordered the tribune Flavius Marcellinus to convene and preside over the assembly that was to open on June 1, 411. In his edict, Honorius had specified that he would not hesitate to reissue the decrees of past emperors to protect the Catholic law.[25] This appeal to past rulers, as we have already seen, was replicated by Huneric in 484. But numerous other elements of the conference would be echoed during the Vandal council. In one instance, Marcellinus' edict on the organization of the debate specified that each side must select seven representatives to speak during the proceedings, forbidding more attendants to disturb the meeting with noisy commotions.[26]

Throughout the conference, the issue of which side could justifiably call itself 'Catholic' was of primary importance.[27] 'Catholic' bishops defended their conception of the church as universal based on scriptural verses, which they documented extensively in their *mandatum* to the council, but also on the fact that they were in communion with all other 'Catholic' communities throughout the Empire.[28] 'Donatist' bishops countered this claim by focusing on numerical superiority within Africa, which occupied the remainder of the first session. Essentially, they questioned the validity of the two hundred and sixty-six signatures that 'Catholics' claimed to have in support of their mandate.[29] This eventually led Marcellinus to contradict his initial edict to have only the delegates, their advisors and their secretaries attend the debate, and agree to hear all the bishops whose names were listed affirm or deny their signatures. The result was still controversial: 'Catholics' had indeed 266 bishops, to 279 'Donatists', but 'Catholics' claimed that 20 bishops had not yet subscribed, and Alypius tried to add 120 who were absent![30]

This focus on numbers was important for 'Donatists' because they believed themselves to be more numerous than 'Catholics', in which case it would prove that their opponents were not Catholic according to their own definition of the universal church. By contrast, for 'Donatists', the Catholic Church was not

[25] *Gesta* I 4: '*Nos tamen eadem frequentius non piget replicare quae omnium retro principum deuota in Deum definiuit auctoritas, ne temporibus nostris si quid forte in iniuriam legis catholicae fuerit generatum iusto iudicio hoc nobis possit imputare posteritas*' ['However we will not be reluctant from repeating the measures determined by the authority of previous emperors devoted to God, so that if in our time any event that could cause harm to the Catholic faith were to occur, posterity would not have any valid reason to impute it on us'].

[26] *Gesta* I 10: '*Non amplius quam septenos ambarum episcopos partium mutuae inter se disceptationis habituros esse conloquium.* […] *[E]piscopi […] nihil turbidum, nihil tumultuosum, nihil denique intempestiuum debere prorsus obstrepere*' ['no more than seven bishops from each party will be able to speak in this debate. […] Bishops must not be troubled by disorder, tumult, in short, by anything inopportune'].

[27] *Gesta* I 16; III 22, 75 and 91.

[28] '*Mandatum*': *Gesta* I 55; universal: *ibid.* III 16 and 103.

[29] *Gesta* I 58-9. On the importance of numbers for 'Donatists': III 70 and 165. See now B. Shaw, *Sacred Violence* (2011), 569-73.

[30] *Gesta* I 213-7.

necessarily universal, but pure, and the one that suffers persecution, not the one that inflicts it.[31] Therefore Petilianus, the main 'Donatist' advocate, would later claim that this was exclusively an African affair and that the rest of the world was irrelevant to this debate. It was intended to determine who was 'Catholic' and would in due course be able to be in communion with transmarine Catholics.[32]

For 'Donatists', however, it was clear from Honorius' edict that the cause had been determined in advance, as the Emperor labeled their opponents as 'Catholics' and their party as 'Donatists'.[33] This is what led them to appear 'dilatory' throughout the conference, as they desperately strove to find a way to gain the legal upper-hand in the proceedings.[34] For instance, during the third day of the conference, Petilianus made the strategic mistake of requesting the reading of documents going back to the beginning of the schism, which was bound to show that Constantine had found Caecilianus innocent of the charges brought against him and that had sparked the initial schism. Petilianus thus tried to cover his blunder by arguing that Nicenes should be guilty in absentia for not respecting the delay prescribed to appear in Carthage, a point that had been pushed aside during the first day of the proceedings.[35] To no avail, unsurprisingly Marcellinus ruled in favor of Nicenes, issued an edict to condemn 'Donatists' on June 26, and the imperial court followed with a flurry of legal measures reasserting the legal sanctions they had been liable to since 405.[36]

The wider context leading to the conference of 484 was different.[37] In terms of number, despite being in power, the Vandals and their Homoean clerics were no match for the Nicene community. This is why, until 483, the Vandal religious

[31] *Gesta* III 75, 225 and 258. See E. Hermanowicz, *Possidius* (2008), 213; P. Brown, *Augustine* (²2000), 214-5.

[32] *Gesta* III 99: '*Nihil nobis de peregrinis, nihil nobis de longe positis praeiudicari posse, cum inter Afros hoc negotium uentiletur, sed magis hoc exspectari ut quicumque ex ueridica cognitione fuerit superatus, his ab orbe uideatur esse reiectus*' ['Nothing about foreigners who are very far from us can cause us prejudice, since it is among Africans that the matter is debated; rather we must expect that the side who will be vanquished through a truthful judicial examination, that this one be repudiated from the (Catholic) world'].

[33] *Gesta* I 4.

[34] Maureen Tilley, 'Dilatory Donatists or Procrastinating Catholics: The Trial at the Conference of Carthage', *ChHist* 60 (1991), 7-19; E. Hermanowicz, *Possidius* (2008), 193-6; B. Shaw, *Sacred Violence* (2011), 564-73.

[35] *Gesta* III 143; on the argument '*de tempore*', see S. Lancel, *Actes*, SC 194 (1972), 75-8.

[36] The ruling is lost, but known through the conference's *capitula* III 585 (Lancel, SC 195, 556) and Aug., *Brev. coll.* III xxv 43. On the aftermath of the conference: Serge Lancel, 'Le sort des évêques et des communautés donatistes après la Conférence de Carthage en 411', in *Internationales Symposion über den Stand der Augustinus-Forschung (12 bis 16 April 1987, Giessen)* (Würzburg, 1989), 149-67, esp. 151-4; and Bengt Alexanderson, 'Après la conférence de Carthage (411) Augustin et les réactions des donatistes', in *Comunicazione e Ricezione del Documento Cristiano in Epoca tardoantica. XXXII Incontro di studiosi dell'antichità Cristiana* (Rome, 2004), 195-203.

[37] See now A. Merrills and R. Miles, *The Vandals* (2010), 177-85.

policy of favoring the Homoean faith focused mainly, if not exclusively, on the Pronconsular province around Carthage,[38] where Geiseric had settled his men '*in sortibus Wandalorum*', whatever the exact details of this settlement.[39] We should not be surprised, however, that the point of departure from this status quo was similar to 411: Nicene clerics broke the laws that targeted them. This is what Huneric expressed clearly in his edict of convocation: that Nicenes were proselytizing in the territories of the Vandals, by which he meant in Proconsularis.[40]

[38] Yves Modéran, 'La chronologie de la vie de saint Fulgence de Ruspe et ses incidences sur l'Histoire de l'Afrique vandale', *MEFRA* 105 (1993), 135-88, 165; *id*., 'L'Afrique et la persécution vandale', in C. Pietri and L. Pietri (eds), *Nouvelle Histoire du Christianisme, des origines à nos jours*, 3: *Les Églises d'Orient et d'Occident (432-610)* (Paris, 1995), 247-78, 247 and 271; *id*., 'L'établissement territorial des Vandales en Afrique', *AnTard* 10 (2002), 87-122, 107; and especially *id*., 'Une guerre de religion: Les deux églises d'Afrique à l'époque vandale', *AnTard* 11 (2003), 21-44, 23-4. It is noteworthy that he has moved from a more traditional terminology, esp. in 'L'Afrique et la persécution Vandale', to raise doubts about it in his more recent articles. Accepted by A. Merrills and R. Miles, *The Vandals* (2010), 188. See Leonard Ralph Holme, *The Extinction of the Christian Churches in North Africa* (London, 1898), 93, 106; Hans-Joachim Diesner, 'Zur Katholikenverfolgung Hunerichs', *ThLZ* 90 (1965), 893-6; Peter Heather, 'Christianity and the Vandals in the Reign of Geiseric', in John Drinkwater and Benet Salway (eds), *Wolf Liebeschuetz Reflected. Essays Presented by Colleagues, Friends, and Pupils* (London, 2007), 137-46, esp. 142, who does not seem to be familiar with Modéran's work; compare *id*., *The Fall of the Roman Empire. A New History of Rome and the Barbarians* (Oxford, 2006), 546.

[39] *HP* II 39. Andreas Schwarcz, 'The Settlement of the Vandals in North Africa', in Andy Merrills (ed.), *Vandals, Romans and Berbers. New Perspectives in Late Antique North Africa* (Burlington, VT, 2004), 49-57, arguing against Y. Modéran, 'L'établissement territorial' (2002) and defending Goffart's and Durliat's theory of accomodation, according to which the barbarians were given tax revenues and not actual land. The bibliography on the debate on the settlement of barbarians (land or tax revenues?) is vast. The most recent addition is: W. Goffart, 'The Technique of Barbarian Settlement in the Fifth Century: A Personal, Streamlined Account with Ten Additional Comments', *JLA* 3 (2010), 65-98.

[40] *HP* II 39: '*"Rex Hunirix Wandalorum et Alanorum* uniuersis episcopis omousianis. *Non semel sed saepius constat esse* prohibitum ut in sortibus Wandalorum sacerdotes uestri conuentus minime celebrarent, *ne sua seductione animas subuerterent Christianas. Quam rem spernentes plurimi reperti sunt contra interdictum missas in sortibus Wandalorum egisse*, asserentes se integram regulam Christianae fidei tenere. *Et quia* in prouinciis a deo nobis concessis scandalum esse nolumus, *ideo dei prouidentia cum consensu sanctorum episcoporum nostrorum hoc nos statuisse cognoscite ut, ad diem kalendarum Februariarum proxime futurarum, amissa omni excusatione formidinis, omnes Carthaginem ueniatis*, ut de ratione fidei *cum nostris uenerabilis episcopis possitis* inire conflictum *et* de omousianorum, *quam defenditis*, de diuinis scripturis proprie adprobetis, *quo possit agnosci si* integram fidem *habeatis. Huius autem edicti tenorem uniuersis coepiscopis tuis per uniuersam Africam constitutis direximus. Data sub die tertio decimo kalendas Iunias anno septimo Hunirici [20 May, 483]"*' ['Hunirix, king of the Vandals and Alans, *to all the homousian bishops*. It is well known that not once but quite often *your priests have been forbidden to celebrate any liturgies at all in the territory of the Vandals*, in case they seduce Christian souls and destroy them. Many of them have despised this and, contrary to the prohibition, have been discovered to have said mass in the territories of the Vandals, *claiming that they hold to the rule of the Christian faith in its fullness*. And because we do not wish for scandal in the provinces granted us by God, therefore know that by the providence of God and with the

The procedure to organize the council was also similar to 411. The Homoean bishops' likely role in requesting this council appears through what the king presented as the main purpose of the debate: to defend each side's doctrine based on Scriptures to determine who holds the true faith.[41] The impossibility of this task ('homoousios' is not a scriptural term) made Victor and the Nicenes consider this request as a prelude to a wider persecution of their faction. But from the Vandal perspective, this was a perfect strategy, one that defended the orthodoxy of the previous councils of Ariminum and Seleucia. Huneric might very well have wished to avoid a repetition of 411, when the Nicene side managed to defeat 'Donatists' through what amounted to a historical argument (Constantine's original verdict) without engaging the debate over the faith based on Scriptures. Conversely, Nicene bishops resorted to maneuvers very similar to those of 'Donatists' in their attempt to delay and avoid the inevitable.

Upon reception of the convocation edict, Eugenius of Carthage asked for a larger council that would involve transmarine Nicene bishops as well, and especially the bishop of Rome. The king's reply, that the cause only concerned the lands under his control, attacking the Nicene view of their own church as universal, echoes the 'Donatist' view of their church in 411.[42] The more specific details of the debate's organization are also very similar to 411, but the Vandal king seems to have made a point of outdoing his predecessor: Huneric allowed 10 delegates to engage in the discussion to Marcellinus' 7 and gave the bishops 9 months to organize themselves whereas Honorius had given them 8.[43] The numerous references to rowdy behavior by the Nicene bishops constitute another similarity with 411.[44]

Nicenes also attempted to delay the discussion on faith with technicalities, as 'Donatists' had done in 411. First, Eugenius requested to know who would judge the debate, a legitimate concern. But when the king's secretary answered

consent of our holy bishops we have decreed this: that on the first of February next you are all to come to Carthage, making no excuse that you are frightened, so that you will be able to *debate concerning the principles of faith* with our venerable bishops *and establish the propriety of the faith of the Homousians*, which you defend, *from the divine scriptures*. From this it will be clear whether you hold the faith in its fullness. We have sent a copy of this edict to all your fellow bishops throughout Africa. Given on 20 May 483 in the seventh year of Hunirix'] (emphasis added).

[41] *HP* II 39: '*Ut de ratione fidei cum nostris uenerabilibus episcopis possitis inire conflictum et de fide omousianorum, quam defenditis, de diuinis scripturis proprie adprobetis, quo possit agnosci si integram fidem habeatis*' [see translation in previous note]. See A. Merrills and R. Miles, *The Vandals* (2010), 183, on Homoeans' insistence on supporting their faith from Scriptures.

[42] *HP* II 41-3 = *Gesta* III 99.

[43] *HP* II 53 = *Gesta* I 10.

[44] Here, the frequency of '*strepitum*' might indicate textual borrowings from Victor. *HP* II 54: '*Et exinde strepitum concitantes calumniari aduersarii coeperunt*' and III 1: '*strepitum fecerimus audientiam fugientes*' = *Gesta* III 239-40: '*Cumque streperent, Alypius, episcopus ecclesiae catholicae, dixit: "De tumultu testatum sit"* ' and 272: '*Et, cum diceret, cumque streperetur, Alypius, episcopus ecclesiae catholicae, dixit: "Scriptum sit quia perstrepunt"* .'

by alluding to the patriarch Cyrila, Nicene bishops interrupted him to protest against the legitimacy of this title. Nicenes then attempted to display the strength of their numbers, as 'Donatists' had done in 411.[45] An unnamed Nicene bishop then asked to know the Homoeans' intentions by deploying technical legal vocabulary implying that Homoeans were the plaintiff.[46] If Vandals and Homoean bishops had borrowed and refined their strategies from the Gesta of 411, this shows that Nicene bishops still had a solid legal background and training.[47] Cyrila's answer, that he 'did not know Latin', is intriguing for its potential implication that he ignored the technical legal vocabulary alluded to here, which did not belong to a debate on the faith, as the 'Donatists' had alluded to numerous times in 411.[48] But as in 411 again, when each side accused the other of being dilatory, Nicenes attacked Cyrila for avoiding the debate and having recourse to '*diuersis cauillationibus*'.[49]

It is at this juncture that Nicenes presented a '*libellum*' supporting their faith with scriptural evidence that, strictly speaking, never met the king's criteria to prove the 'homoousios'. Its reading was interrupted by the Homoeans' opposition to the use of the term 'Catholic' by Nicenes, which, as in 411, constituted the crux of the debate.[50] Curiously, our knowledge of the outcome of both councils is incomplete, because the end of the *Gesta* is missing and Victor only reports that the Homoeans told the king that Nicenes were avoiding the debate.[51] The official Vandal version, through Huneric's edict that followed the conference, is the only extent document on the outcome of 484. For the Vandal king, the Nicene heresy had already been condemned at Ariminum and Seleucia, his version of the 411 appeal to Constantine, and Nicenes had avoided the debate through sedition.[52] It is therefore only as a result of what Homoeans undoubtedly considered a triumph of the just cause of their church through a council

[45] *HP* II 54 = *Gesta* I 58-9, III 70 and 165.

[46] *HP* II 55: '*Conuersique nostri Cyrilae dixerunt: "Propone quod disponis"*.' Compare with S. Lancel, *Actes* (1991), IV 1583, s.v. 'proponere 2'. S. Lancel, *Victor de Vita* (2002), 308[228].

[47] E. Hermanowicz, *Possidius* (2008), 220, and passim; and C. Humfress, *Orthodoxy and the Courts* (2007), 135-216.

[48] *Gesta* I 31, 35, 47; III 149, 153, 181, 185, 188, 191, 213.

[49] *HP* II 55.

[50] *HP* III 1; the '*Liber fidei Catholicae*' is at II 56-100. This text also echoes the *Nicene mandatum* of 411 (*Gesta* I 55) in both length and content.

[51] The end of the manuscript of the *Gesta* is missing. Our knowledge of the outcome depends on the *Capitula* of the text (S. Lancel, SC 195, 500-56); Aug., *Brev. coll.*; *Ad Donat. post coll.*; *Ep.* CXLI; *HP* III 1. Huneric's edict following the conference, for example, mentions a second day of debate (III 6: '*secunda die*'), whereas Victor's narrative gives the impression that it was a very short conference. The king's specification that '*uniuersa ad seditionem per se concitati populi reuocantes*' seems to allude to the first day, as he follows with '*quin immo et secunda die, dum eis mandaremus ut de eadem fide…*' This is yet another striking parallel to the process of 411, when the first day 'Donatists' required the procession of all bishops in attendance, and the real debate was postponed to the third session.

[52] *HP* III 6.

of bishops that Huneric issued an edict (*HP* 3.8-11) that reused the same laws by which Honorius had enforced Nicene unity in 405.[53]

This comparison of the two conferences therefore illustrates in two main points that the events of 484 were more than a simple pastiche of those of Honorius' time. First, the similarities between the policies adopted by Honorius and Huneric against rivals to their orthodox communities reveal modern scholars' inconsistency in labeling only Huneric as a persecutor. But we also need to move beyond this simple answer, to realize that persecution, in the Christian Roman Empire, became a claim of disempowered Christians to attack the legitimacy of opposing ecclesiastical factions, in particular when the empowered faction benefitted from the support of the imperial court. That is, we need to move beyond the rhetoric of both 'Donatists' and Nicenes. Second, in the present case, the similarities between the strategies employed by both Honorius and Huneric to obtain religious unity are much more interesting and instructive. This comparison shows Vandal rulers to be in continuity with their Roman predecessors in their religious policy and their methods to enforce them. The Vandals' main opponents in unifying their realm were Nicene bishops who considered themselves, in the absence of military protection, as the defenders of Roman identity, which they equated with Nicene faith. This explains why Victor labored so intensely, through his text, at erecting boundaries between the two communities. And this also explains the importance, for Vandal rulers, of officially defeating these Nicene bishops by playing according to their own rules. This they attempted to do with the council of 484, which they planned by taking insights from Honorius' conference of Carthage in 411 and its legal underpinning.

[53] See notes 6-8.

The Fate of Emperor Zeno's *Henoticon*: Christological Authority after the Healing of the Acacian Schism (484-518)

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ABSTRACT

Justin I's accession to the imperial throne in 518 marked the end of a schism between East and West that lasted over 30 years. During this period of schism the West continued to uphold the Council of Chalcedon strictly, but the East adopted different standards for Christological correctness. These standards were epitomized in an official document issued in 482, the *Henoticon*. This text modified the Christological canon in significant ways: it declared the Nicene Creed to be the only valid profession of faith, it included barely veiled criticisms of pope Leo's *Tome* to Flavian and of the Council of Chalcedon, and it canonized Cyril of Alexandria's long-controversial *Twelve Anathemas*.

The healing of the Acacian schism in 518/9 took place on Roman terms. Recognition of the pope as unique authority in matters of doctrine and acceptance of the Council of Chalcedon in the East were among the key requirements for reconciliation.

But the reconciliation and the restoration of Chalcedon to the canon of orthodoxy were not understood uniformly in Constantinople. To some they meant an unconditional return to the period before the publication of the *Henoticon* and a complete erasure of the independent Eastern developments of 484-518. To others, however, the period of the Acacian schism was one in which Christological orthodoxy had been meaningfully redefined in Constantinople and in the East along the lines of the *Henoticon*, and Chalcedon could be interpreted satisfactorily only within this framework. Among the latter was a group of monks from the province of Scythia Minor, chief players in the so-called Theopaschite controversy (519-521).

This paper argues that the *Henoticon*, even though abandoned as an official document on Christology after the reconciliation with Rome, influenced the writings of the Scythian monks. Far from disappearing after the first few troubled years following the healing of the schism, the influence of the *Henoticon* can still be discerned in Justinian's 'Theopaschite' edict of 533. Later in the reign of Justinian, as well as in the reign of Justin II, Miaphysite groups continued to promote the *Henoticon* as a basis for unity in the imperial Church.

In 482 patriarch Acacius of Constantinople drafted a document on faith subsequently circulated as emperor Zeno's *Henoticon*. As the name indicates, hope was placed in the ability of this document to achieve unity between the different Christological positions that emerged after the Council of Chalcedon (451).

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Despite this laudable intention, however, the *Henoticon*, which was officially upheld in the East as a standard of orthodoxy until 518, caused a long-lasting rift between Rome and the Eastern Patriarchates, known as the Acacian schism (484-518).

There has been considerable scholarly attention given to the *Henoticon* as an instrument of imperial religious policy between 482 and 518.[1] Little has been said, however, about the afterlife of this document. The *Henoticon*'s influence on the Christological canon outlasted its life as official document on Christology, and, as discussed in this paper, its Christological propositions bridge the period of the Acacian schism and the period that followed the reconciliation.

After presenting briefly the content of the *Henoticon*, this article argues that most of the document's focal points continued to be issues of intense interest in the East in the period following 518. Additionally, the style of the *Henoticon*, as well as literal borrowings from the document can be found in texts produced after 518, as analyzed below.

The beginning of the *Henoticon* stresses the importance of the Council of Nicaea as sole authority in matters of faith, as well as the need for unity in the Church.[2] The document then proceeds to outline the main Christological elements on which this unity ought to be based. Foremost among these are the recognition of Mary as *Theotokos* in a *true* sense (κατὰ ἀλήθειαν), the affirmation of Christ's double consubstantiality, with God and with humanity, and an insistence on the unity of subject in Christ.[3] The most important sources of Christological authority are also outlined, namely the first three ecumenical councils and Cyril of Alexandria's *Twelve Anathemas*.[4] Nestorius and Eutyches, as well as their followers, are anathematized.[5] Perhaps most notoriously, the document condemns heretical teachings that may have been proposed anywhere, at any time, 'whether at Chalcedon or at any Synod whatsoever'.[6]

[1] The efficiency of the *Henoticon*, for example, has been widely discussed in modern scholarship. Positions assessing this range from denouncing the *Henoticon* as a document that did significantly more harm than it did good (see Alois Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition* 2,1: *From Chalcedon to Justinian I*, tr. Pauline Allen and John Cawte [Atlanta, GA, 1987], 247-317; Grillmeier essentially shares the position of the sixth-century author Facundus of Hermiane, summarized in the phrase '*non confusio facit unitatem*'; see discussion of this in A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition* 2,1 [1987], 257-9), to pointing out, more positively, that, for the first time in over 30 years, the *Henoticon* succeeded in bringing into communion the patriarchal sees of the East, despite its ultimate failure (Patrick T.R. Gray, *The Defense of Chalcedon in the East [451-553]*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought 20 [Leiden, 1979], 28-34; Fiona K. Haarer, *Anastasius I: Politics and Empire in the Late Roman World* [Cambridge, 2006], 123-6).

[2] Evagrius Scholasticus, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus* III 14, tr. Michael Whitby, Translated Texts for Historians 33 (Liverpool, 2000), 147.

[3] *Ibid*. III 14, 148-9

[4] *Ibid*.

[5] *Ibid*. III 14, 149.

[6] *Ibid*.

Additionally, the *Henoticon* contains a potential criticism of pope Leo's *Tome* in the statement 'we declare to be of one being both the miracles and the sufferings which He endured voluntarily in the flesh'[7] (pope Leo had written in the Tome '*unum horum coruscat miraculis, aliud succumbit iniuriis*', 'one shines with miracles, the other succumbs to sufferings').

There is no extant evidence regarding an official, explicit retraction of Zeno's *Henoticon* upon the accession of emperor Justin I. Rather, it was tacitly abandoned as an official document in 518.[8] But, in all probability, the period following Justin's accession witnessed a variety of attitudes to the *Henoticon* in Constantinople. Likely, there existed groups which interpreted the reconciliation with Rome as a complete break from the religious policy of emperors Zeno and Anastasius. But, unquestionably, there existed also groups which accepted the changes brought about by Justin's accession as a positive synthesis with the previous period.

Among the former were the Acoimetai monks, who had always opposed the *Henoticon* sternly. Belonging to the latter group was a party of monks from the Danubian province of Scythia Minor. Their presence in Constantinople in 518-9 left a significant imprint on the reconfiguration of Christological orthodoxy after the healing of the Acacian schism.

The Scythian monks emphasized a point that was rather rare in this period: they strove to defend Chalcedon against Nestorianizing interpretations. One of the questions that come to mind is 'who were these Nestorians?' In light of later developments, one could point specifically to the Acoimetae monks, who were eventually condemned as Nestorians by emperor Justinian in the early 530s. But, shortly after emperor Justin I's accession, the situation was less clear. The Scythians' 'Nestorians' may have included the Acoimetai monks, but were probably a broader group, namely all those who, after 518, wanted to do away with the developments of the previous period, above all the Christological climate shaped by the *Henoticon* (in particular, Theopaschite vocabulary and a certain way of talking about Mary emphatically as Mother of God) and to embrace the straightforward acceptance of Chalcedon and pope Leo's *Tome* that was required by pope Hormisdas as a primary condition for reconciliation.

[7] *Ibid*. For a discussion of this issue see A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition* 2, 1 (1987), 254; see also P.T.R. Gray, *The Defense of Chalcedon* (1979), 29.

[8] Volker Menze, *Justinian and the Making of the Syrian Orthodox Church* (Oxford, 2008), 44 believes that the *Henoticon* remained an official document until March 519, when the official reconciliation between Constantinople and Rome, marked by the acceptance of pope Hormisdas' *Libellus*, occurred. One can also hypothesize that, over the period between July 518 and March 519, the *Henoticon* gradually stopped being seen as an authoritative Christological document. Likely, there never existed an official retraction. Given the imperial reluctance to address the strong anti-Chalcedonian feelings in Alexandria, it is likely that the *Henoticon* continued to be considered authoritative there.

Against those who maintained that the decisions of Chalcedon ought to be upheld with strictness, the Scythian monks argued that certain clarifications were necessary. For many of the suggested clarifications, one can trace connections to the *Henoticon* or *Henoticon*-derived doctrinal positions that emerged between 482 and 518.

Similarities to the *Henoticon* in the works of the Scythians include an emphasis on the importance of professing the Virgin Mary as *Theotokos* in a *true* sense,[9] on the notion of double consubstantiality alongside unity in Christ, and on the value of the Creed of Nicaea. Even the famous Scythian formula 'one of the Trinity suffered' could be seen as an extension of the *Henoticon*'s 'one of the Trinity, God the Word, became incarnate'. Their all-inclusive solution for the problem of natures in Christ is equally reminiscent of the style of the *Henoticon*, which left out all mention of natures: to the Scythians, both the two natures and the one nature ought to be professed in order to safeguard orthodoxy.[10]

An interesting passage occurs in the *Libellus fidei*, a statement of faith produced by the Scythians in 519:

> And therefore *it is rightly believed that the miracles and sufferings are of one and the same*, of the Word of God incarnate and made man: for God is not one and the man another, but the same is God and man – according to the words of *blessed pope Leo, who said*: 'The impassible God did not scorn becoming a passible man, and the immortal submitting himself to the laws of death' (Leo I, *Tomus ad Flavianum*). *The blessed Cyril also wrote in similar words against Nestorius*: 'If anyone does not confess that God the Word suffered in the flesh, was crucified in the flesh, and tasted death in the flesh, and became the first-born from the dead, although as God he is life and life-giving, let him be anathema' (Cyril of Alexandria, twelfth *Anathema*).[11]

In this passage, the author, Maxentius, stresses the unity of subject in Christ. To articulate his view, Maxentius uses a sentence made popular by the *Henoticon* ('the miracles and sufferings are of one and the same'), one quote from pope Leo's *Tome*, and then seals the whole argument with Cyril's twelfth *Anathema*, which he declares to be consistent with the quote from the *Tome*.

This passage is a good example of the synthesis that the Scythians were trying to promote: the new context of Christological orthodoxy, for which pope Hormisdas set the tone, made pope Leo's *Tome* a standard of orthodoxy. The Scythians attempted to reconcile this requirement with the terms of

[9] Mary should be confessed as *theotokos* '*vere et proprie*'. This idea is developed emphatically in Maxentius' *Dialogus contra Nestorianos* I 1-5, ed. François Glorie, CChr.SL 85A (Turnhout, 1978), 51-110, 55-60.

[10] See Maxentius, *Libellus fidei* VIII (13), ed. François Glorie, CChr.SL 85A (Turnhout, 1978), 5-25, 13. See also Maxentius, *Capitula edita contra nestorianos et pelagianos ad satisfactionem patrum* 1, ed. François Glorie, CChr.SL 85A (Turnhout, 1978), 29-30, 29.

[11] Maxentius, *Libellus fidei* XIII (26), 21, emphasis mine.

the *Henoticon*, primarily the emphasis on unity of subject in Christ and the canonization of Cyril of Alexandria's *Twelve Anathemas*.[12]

Problematic in this passage is the juxtaposition of a quote from the *Tome* with the abovementioned sentence from the *Henoticon* 'it is rightly believed that the miracles and sufferings are of one and the same', which is essentially a rejection of another statement from the *Tome*, 'one shone with miracles, the other succumbed to sufferings'. It sheds doubt over the Scythians' familiarity with the *Tome*, or, if interpreted from a different perspective, their endorsement of the *Tome* as a whole.[13]

All in all, the writings of the Scythians seem to plead for retaining some of the main elements of the *Henoticon* (both Christological elements and sources of authority), while at the same time accepting the Council of Chalcedon and pope Leo's *Tome*. This attitude is particularly interesting coming from a group that had apparently remained in communion with Rome throughout the period of the Acacian Schism.[14] It raises more general questions about the status and influence of Zeno's *Henoticon* in groups from the Eastern parts of the empire which, like the Scythians, maintained their support for Chalcedon at all times and did not separate themselves from Rome at the time of the schism.

Beyond the context of the Theopaschite controversy, the influence of the *Henoticon* is also discernible in emperor Justinian's attempts to draw the

[12] Neither the Council of Ephesus nor the Council of Chalcedon attached Cyril's *Twelve Anathemas* to the canon of orthodoxy. There is some disagreement in modern scholarship on this issue. See Dom H.M. Diepen, O.S.B., *Douze dialogues de christologie ancienne* (Rome, 1960), Dialogue III 49-66. Diepen argues that, despite the lack of voting, the *Twelve Anathemas* were in fact canonized by the Council of Ephesus, and, implicitly, by Chalcedon. Against this position, see A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition* 1: *From the Apostolic Age to Chalcedon (451)*, tr. John Bowden (Atlanta, GA, 1975), 485. For the reception of Cyril's *Anathemas* at Chalcedon see A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition* II, 2, 241-3. The Scythians' fervent supporter in Rome, Dionysius Exiguus, refers to Cyril's *Third Letter to Nestorius* (to which the *Anathemas* are appended) as an *Epistula synodica* (*Praefatio ad Petrum episcopum in epistulam encyclicam Cyrilli Alexandrini* 1, ed. Salvatore Gennaro and François Glorie, CChr.SL 85 [Turnhout, 1972], 59-60, 59). Moreover, writing in defense of the *Anathemas*, one of the Scythian monks refers to this text as having been approved in Rome ('*Scythae monachi collectoris sub nomine "catholici" disputatio XII capitulorum Cyrilli Alexandrini*' 37a, ed. François Glorie, CChr.SL 85A [Turnhout, 1978], 195-213, 195). These early-sixth-century testimonies bear the influence of the standards for orthodoxy formulated by the *Henoticon*, which canonized Cyril of Alexandria's *Twelve Anathemas*. For a relatively contemporary explanation for what an *Epistula synodica* means, see Innocentius of Maronia, *Epistula de collatione cum severianis habita* 36, ed. Eduard Schwartz, ACO IV, 2 (Strasbourg, 1914), 169-84, 175: '*Synodicas autem eius dico, sicut superius dictum est, epistolas quae a sanctis conciliis et* susceptae *et* confirmatae *sunt*.'

[13] In addition to this brief reference in the *Libellus fidei* XIII (26), 21, the second book of Maxentius' *Dialogus contra Nestorianos* contains a lengthy section (II 10-1, 90-1) on the necessity of confessing that 'to one and the same belong the miracles and the sufferings', a statement that his 'Nestorian' opponent rejected.

[14] See Maxentius, *Responsio aduersus epistulam Hormisdae* I 8, ed. François Glorie, CChr. SL 85A (Turnhout, 1978), 123-53, 137.

anti-Chalcedonians back to the imperial Church in the 530s. There is, for example, remarkable continuity between the policy of the *Henoticon* and Justinian's 'Theopaschite' edict, issued on 15 March 533.

Basic content similarities between the 'Theopaschite' edict and the *Henoticon* include common references to the tradition of Nicaea and an emphasis on the importance of preserving it pure from innovation. More remarkable, however, is the rejection of the Leonine 'one shone with miracles, the other succumbed to the sufferings',[15] in what amounts to a literally identical formulation to the one in the *Henoticon*, as well as the use of another literally identical sentence 'the Trinity has remained a Trinity even after one of the Trinity, God the Word, was made flesh'.[16] Interestingly, this latter sentence is absent from versions of the edict that were sent personally to patriarch Epiphanius of Constantinople and to pope John II. This could potentially indicate a deliberate excision from the original text, meant to alleviate concerns regarding potential problematic connections of Justinian's document to the *Henoticon*.

The manner in which the 'Theopaschite' edict defines its position regarding the Council of Chalcedon is remarkable in the context of the present discussion. The section dedicated to the edict in the *Codex Iustinianus* contains several parts. *Codex* I 1.5 appears to be the basic text of the edict; *Codex* I 1.6 preserves a copy meant to publicize the edict, sent to the people of Constantinople and to various Eastern churches; items I 1.7 and I 1.8 in the *Codex* are versions of the edict enriched with additional explanations, sent to patriarch Epiphanius of Constantinople and to pope John II of Rome.[17] An additional copy meant to publicize the edict is preserved in the *Chronicon Paschale*.[18] While the three copies of the edict, *Codex* I 1.5 and I 1.6, and the text preserved in the *Chronicon Paschale* make no mention of the Council, the explanatory letters sent to the patriarch and to the pope explicitly endorse it (the letter to patriarch Epiphanius does so with limitations: Chalcedon is minimally defined, as the Council that rejected Nestorius and Eutyches, with no reference to its definition of faith).[19]

Just like emperors Zeno and Anastasius I, who gave over time differing interpretations regarding the *Henoticon*'s prescriptions on the Council of Chalcedon, Justinian adapted his policy as required to restore/maintain religious

[15] *Corpus iuris civilis* 2: *Codex Iustinianus* I 1.5,1; I 1.6,5; I 1.7,10 and I 1.8,18 ed. Paul Krueger (Berlin, 1877), 6, 7, 9 and 11. Also in *Chronicon Paschale 284-628 A.D.*, *sub anno* 533, tr. Michael Whitby and Mary Whitby, Translated Texts for Historians 7 (Liverpool, 1989), 129.

[16] Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History* III 14, 149; *C.I.* I 1.5,2,6 and I 1.6,6,7; *Chronicon Paschale*, *sub anno* 533, 130.

[17] *C.I.* I 1.5,6-7; I 1.6,7-8; I 1.7,8-10; I 1.8,10-2. Based on a passing reference in *C.I.* I 1.6,3-4,7, one could also hypothesize that the 'Theopaschite' edict had already been issued in or soon after 527; I 1.5 could be this earlier document.

[18] *Chronicon Paschale*, *sub anno* 533, 129-30.

[19] *C.I.* I 1.7,11-2 and 15,9-10; *C.I.* I 1.8,19,11.

unity on different fronts, and his defense and promotion of the Council of Chalcedon did not always abide by Roman standards. Moreover, even though more connected with the papal see than his predecessors, he chose, upon issuing his 'Theopaschite' edict, not to disclose in Rome the full extent of his initiative.

Part of the same strategy, perhaps, – and, once more, reminiscent of the *Henoticon* – is the lack of references to the thorny issue of defining Christ as being 'one nature' or 'in two natures' from the 'Theopaschite' edict. Although, in the long run, Justinian was unable to solve the dispute regarding the validity of the formulas simply by avoiding it, this seems indeed to have been the emperor's consistent approach in the early 530s. This conclusion can also be supported with evidence from the Conversations of 532.

In 532 bishops, clergy and monks from the Chalcedonian and the anti-Chalcedonian sides were summoned to the Palace of Hormisdas in Constantinople and asked to formulate, through discussions, a common position on Christology.[20] It appears that the participants in the Conversations took the negotiations into a direction undesired by Justinian, despite the presence in the discussions of an imperial representative, the patrician Strategius, who was supposed to keep the discussions on-course. The negotiations degenerated into heated discussions regarding the natures in Christ and the value of evidence brought in for support by each of the two sides.[21] Judging by Justinian's final propositions to the Miaphysites, as presented in the short Syriac summary of the Conversations, the emperor probably felt that finding common ground meant avoiding in-depth discussions about the natures (his proposed solution to this problem was to recognize the orthodoxy of 'one incarnate nature' and to reject Nestorianizing uses of 'two natures').[22] Avoiding the issue altogether is precisely what Zeno's *Henoticon* had done, and, as discussed above, what Justinian himself would do the following year in his 'Theopaschite' edict.

In terms of reception, particularly in Constantinople, the 'Theopaschite' edict was interpreted differently by different religious groups, just like the *Henoticon* had been. Many certainly read it as a confirmation of Chalcedonian belief (perhaps on account of the reference, in most of the preserved versions, to

[20] The negotiations failed and unity was not achieved despite a number of concessions that the emperor was willing to grant to the anti-Chalcedonians at the end of the conversations. The concessions included explicit anathemas formulated against Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and Ibas of Edessa, the acceptance of the formula 'one incarnate nature of God the Word' (on condition that the Miaphysites would not anathematize the use of 'two natures'), and a reinterpretation of Chalcedon as the council that condemned Eutyches (the Miaphysites were not required to accept the statement of faith of Chalcedon); see the short Syriac summary of the Conversations 7, tr. Sebastian P. Brock, 'The Conversations with the Syrian Orthodox under Justinian (532)', *OCP* 47 (1981), 87-121, 116.

[21] See the long Syriac account of the Conversations 28-32, S.P. Brock, 'The Conversations' (1981), 104-6; see also the account of Innocentius of Maronia, *Epistula de collatione cum severianis habita* 28-63, 173-9.

[22] Short Syriac summary 7, S.P. Brock, 'The Conversations' (1981), 116.

Chalcedon's 'one hypostasis' (in the phrase ἕνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν);[23] also, as discussed above, the two explanations sent to the patriarch of Constantinople and to the pope preserve explicit endorsements of the Council. Others must have seen it as a document supporting the Miaphysite cause: the document bears textual and stylistic resemblance to the *Henoticon*, a feature which must have been recognized by some; there is no mention of the two-natures formula in any of the preserved versions; and *Codex* I 1.5 and 6 leave out the Council of Chalcedon altogether. The passage that immediately precedes the 'Theopaschite' edict in the *Chronicon Paschale* possibly reflects this latter interpretation. On the occasion of an earthquake in Constantinople in 533, the *Chronicon* relates, a crowd gathered in the Forum of Constantine and began to chant the Trisagion hymn with the Theopaschite addition ('Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, *who was crucified for us*, have mercy on us!'). The same crowd also shouted: 'Crucified one, save us and the city; Augustus Justinian, may you be victorious. Destroy, burn the document issued by the bishops of the Synod of Chalcedon.'[24] The *Chronicon* does not mention any repressive measures taken against this unruly crowd. Instead, it simply proceeds to quote Justinian's 'Theopaschite' edict, which, according to the chronology proposed by the *Chronicon*, was re-issued on this occasion (in Nov. 533). The implication of the structure of the *Chronicon* at this point is that Justinian's 'Theopaschite' edict was the imperial answer to the anti-Chalcedonian uprising that followed the earthquake, and brought justification to the detractors of Chalcedon. As in the case of the *Henoticon*, Chalcedonians and anti-Chalcedonians alike claimed Justinian's edict for their cause.

Both in the case of the Scythian monks and in the case of Justinian's 'Theopaschite' edict it is hard to determine if the use of elements that were of foremost importance in the *Henoticon*, and even of literal quotes, was a conscious and purposeful, and therefore polemical, decision. It is possible that these elements had simply become so deeply embedded in Constantinopolitan Christology over the period 482-518 that the mere removal of the *Henoticon* from the list of official documents on Christology could no longer affect their status – and this was certainly the case with Cyril of Alexandria's *Twelve Anathemas*.

Religious policy in Constantinople changed significantly after 536, and the terms and style of the *Henoticon* become less consistently discernible in Justinianic religious documents. The Synod of Constantinople of 536, overseen by patriarch Menas, took a determined stance against anti-Chalcedonians and forced Justinian into affirming more strongly and clearly his Chalcedonian allegiances.

[23] *C.I.* I 1.6,6,7; I 1.7,8,9; I 1.8,16,11; *Chronicon Paschale*, *sub anno* 533, 130; the phrase is absent from *C.I.* I 1.5.

[24] *Chronicon Paschale*, *sub anno* 533, 127-8.

Nevertheless, the *Henoticon* continued to enjoy support among Miaphysites. Doctrinal statements of Anthimus, patriarch of Constantinople between June 535 and March 536, in letters addressed to Severus of Antioch and Theodosius of Alexandria, mention the *Henoticon* as a document that should be taken as a basis for church unity, alongside the first three ecumenical councils.[25] A petition submitted by Chalcedonian monastics to the Synod of Constantinople of 536, which emphatically identifies the *Henoticon* as an instrument of utter religious division, and dwells on the history that surrounded it, could have been meant to counter this same contemporary Miaphysite upholding of the *Henoticon*,[26] thus indirectly testifying to the popularity that this document was still enjoying. In response to Justin II's renewed attempts to reconcile the Miaphysites to the imperial Church in the late 560s, a group of Oriental bishops sent to the emperor a statement of faith that required, among other things, the condemnation of the phrase 'two natures'; should this not be acceptable to the Chalcedonians, the Oriental bishops wrote that they would be content simply with a reaffirmation of Zeno's *Henoticon*, in addition to a recently issued edict of Justin II which stipulated that 'there are not two sons, nor two persons, nor two hypostases'.[27] Also, the *Henoticon* enjoyed continued support in Armenia.[28]

Although suppressed in 519 as an official document, the main Christological emphases of the *Henoticon* continued to feature prominently on the agenda of some of the most important players in the Christological controversies, in particular the Scythian monks and emperor Justinian. Later in the sixth century, the *Henoticon* was retained as an authoritative statement on Christology in Miaphysite communities.

[25] Ps.-Zachariah Rhetor, *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor: Church and War in late Antiquity* 9, 21b (letter of Anthimus to Severus of Antioch) and 9, 25b (letter of Anthimus to Theodosius of Alexandria), ed. Geoffrey Greatrex, tr. Robert R. Phenix and Cornelia B. Horn, Translated Texts for Historians 55 (Liverpool, 2011), 375 and 391-2. According to the text preserved by Ps.-Zachariah, Anthimus interpreted the *Henoticon* as an annulment of the Council of Chalcedon and of the *Tome* of pope Leo I. Richard Price has challenged the authenticity of this testimony, arguing that Anthimus' anathematization of Chalcedon is not credible, given that this did not feature among the accusations that led to his deposition, *The Acts of the Council of Constantinople of 553* vol. 1, Translated Texts for Historians 51 (Liverpool 2009), 13.

[26] *Λίβελλος μοναχῶν πρὸς Μηνᾶν πατριάρχην*, *Acts of the Synod of Constantinople (536)*, ed. Eduard Schwartz, ACO III (Berlin, 1940), 38-44.

[27] Michael the Syrian, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)* II, X, 2, ed. and tr. Jean-Baptiste Chabot (Paris, 1901), 286-7.

[28] F.K. Haarer, *Anastasius I* (2006), 143.

Aurum in luto quaerere (Hier., *Ep.* 107,12). Donne tra eresia e ortodossia nei testi cristiani di IV-V secolo

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ABSTRACT

Since cases of educated and committed heretical women provoked violent controversies in the Orthodox field, it has been suggested that many reports on education and actions of non-heretical women may have gone lost. This is possible and may even be true for the first centuries of Christianity, but we must note that later Christian texts of the fourth and fifth centuries are full of information about such women, when authors write various biographical stories of women who were *exempla* of virtue or of ascetic life. According to the rule of ancient biography they dedicate a section or even full series of chapters to them, displaying the zeal of these women against heresies. What emerges from here with force is the description of women who take part in religious controversies and become active protagonists in the fight against heresy.

Il IV secolo rappresenta un periodo importante nella storia della Chiesa: esso segna la definitiva affermazione della religione cristiana tra le classi colte, convertitesi anche grazie all'apporto dell'elemento femminile, pronto ad abbracciare le novità in campo religioso in virtù della maggiore dignità tributata dal Nuovo Testamento alla donna[1], connotata nella tradizione pagana ed ebraica dalla debolezza, a differenza dell'uomo contraddistinto da virtù e forza[2]. Nonostante il conflitto tra paganesimo e cristianesimo si risolva a vantaggio di quest'ultimo[3], è anche vero che la religione cristiana, impegnata a difendere la propria dottrina come una dottrina che tende alla perfezione e all'universalità, è parimenti costretta sul fronte interno a unificare errori e deviazioni in

[1] Cfr. Adalbert G. Hamman, *Vie quotidienne des premiers chrétiens (95-197)* (Paris, 1972), 61-7.

[2] Per un'analisi di queste tematiche cfr. Elena Giannarelli, *La tipologia femminile nella biografia e nell'autobiografia cristiana del IV secolo* (Roma, 1980), 9-25; Clementina Mazzucco, *'E fui fatta maschio'. La donna nel cristianesimo primitivo (secoli I-III)* (Firenze, 1989), 104-7; Umberto Mattioli, *Ἀσθένεια e ἀνδρεία. Aspetti della femminilità nella letteratura classica, biblica e cristiana* (Roma, 1983); Kari Vogt, '"Becoming male": a gnostic and early Christian metaphor', in Kari Elisabeth Boerresen (ed.), *Image of God and Gender Models in Judaeo-Christian Tradition* (Oslo, 1991), 172-87.

[3] Cfr. Arnaldo Momigliano (ed.), *Il conflitto tra paganesimo e cristianesimo nel secolo IV* (Torino, 1975).

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funzione di un concetto di ortodossia che, anche in reazione alle accuse esterne di scismi o controversie, desidera essere unitario e garantito da un'unica autorità. Fin dai primi secoli, il cristianesimo è chiamato a confutare i sistemi e le teorie professate dai movimenti dissidenti elaborando, diversamente da essi, una teologia fondata sulla coerenza, sulla verità di fede[4].

Gnosticismo, montanismo, origenismo, priscillianismo, donatismo, arianesimo sono solo alcune di quelle eresie o controversie contro le quali il cristianesimo dovette intervenire in nome dell'unità della Chiesa e della salvaguardia della retta dottrina cristiana. E in alcuni di questi movimenti dissidenti, come per esempio in quello gnostico e in quello montanista, le donne non solo sono state accettate ma il loro ruolo appare determinante[5], anche se per un corretto giudizio bisogna tener presente quella vena polemica che affiora nei testi cristiani, quasi sempre ortodossi, volti a ridicolizzare gli avversari mostrandoli succubi di donne[6]. In effetti, accanto agli esponenti di spicco delle varie dottrine eretiche si deve annoverare la presenza di alcune donne. Simon Mago ha posto le fondamenta dell'eresia aiutato da Elena; Marcione si è fatto precedere a Roma da una donna per farsi preparare la strada; Filomena ha ispirato Apelle; Montano ha avuto Prisca e Massimilla[7].

E' stata avanzata l'ipotesi che proprio perché casi di donne eretiche colte e impegnate suscitarono nell'ambiente ortodosso violente polemiche, molte notizie sulla formazione e sull'agire di donne non eretiche possano essere andate perdute[8]. Ciò è sicuramente vero e condivisibile per i primi secoli del cristianesimo, ma bisogna notare come questo silenzio venga meno nei testi cristiani di IV e V secolo, allorché i vari autori propongono i medaglioni biografici di quelle donne che sono state *exemplum* di virtù o di vita ascetica, dedicando secondo le regole della biografia antica una sezione o una serie di capitoli allo zelo manifestato da queste donne contro le eresie.

L'epistolario geronimiano permette di conoscere alcune di quelle aristocratiche romane che rimasero in costante rapporto con lo Stridonense, partecipando anche alle controversie antiorigeniane che finirono per opporlo a Rufino[9].

[4] Cfr. Manlio Simonetti, *Ortodossia ed eresia tra I e II secolo* (Soveria Mannelli, 1994).

[5] Nelle *Prescrizioni contro gli eretici* 41,5 (edd. François Refoulé-Pierre de Labriolle, SC 46 [Paris, 1957], 147) Tertulliano ricorda che le donne presso gli eretici hanno il coraggio di insegnare, disputare, decretare esorcismi, curare e perfino battezzare.

[6] Cfr. C. Mazzucco, *'E fui fatta maschio'* (1989), 16-7.

[7] Cfr. Hier., *Ep.* 133,4 (ed. Isidorus Hilberg, CSEL 56 [Vindobonae-Lipsiae, 1918], 247). Qui gli eretici sono definiti da Gerolamo in senso dispregiativo *muliercularum socii*, mentre nell'*Ep.* 22,38 la vocazione di Eustochio alla verginità viene contrapposta a quella falsa delle vergini eretiche, che dovrebbero essere piuttosto considerate delle prostitute. Cfr. anche Patrick Laurence, 'L'implication des femmes dans l'hérésie: le jugement de saint Jérôme', *REAug* 44 (1998), 241-67.

[8] Cfr. Klaus Thraede, *s.v. Frau*, in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* (Stuttgart, 1972), VIII 197-269, 236.

[9] Su Gerolamo e le dame dell'Aventino cfr. Ferdinand Cavallera, *Saint Jérôme. Sa vie et son œuvre* (Louvain-Paris, 1922), I 84-91; 100-13 *et passim*; E. Glenn Hinson, 'Women Biblical

Nell'epistola 108 composta alla morte di Paola, dopo la descrizione delle virtù della donna, seguono le azioni da cui emergono tali virtù: in prima battuta la lotta contro le eresie. Lo Stridonense vuole dimostrare *quomodo (Paula) hereticorum caenosos devitaverit lacus*[10]. Un sostenitore della dottrina origenista inizia a proporre a Paola *quaestiones* oggetto di forte dibattito all'epoca: la discussione verte infatti sulla dottrina origeniana dell'anima e della resurrezione dei corpi[11]. Le domande insidiose dell'eretico non fanno tuttavia vacillare l'attaccamento di Paola all'ortodossia, presentata in verità poco addentro alle problematiche teologiche. Sebbene infatti sia Gerolamo e non Paola a mettere a tacere l'eretico, ribattendo contro le sue errate dottrine come testimoniano le pagine dell'*Epitaphium*[12], il merito della vittoria è fatto risalire alle preghiere della donna, che l'eretico cercava di sviare. Dunque, il trionfo di Gerolamo è in ultima istanza anche il trionfo di Paola, che inizia a detestare quest'uomo e tutti coloro che professano la medesima dottrina, arrivando a proclamarli pubblicamente *hostes Domini*[13]. L'inserimento nell'*Epitaphium* di questa sezione sulla controversia origenista nell'ottica di Gerolamo ha lo scopo non di confutare sommariamente un'eresia per la quale, secondo lui, occorrerebbero molti volumi, ma soltanto di mostrare la *fides* di una donna così nobile che ha preferito subire inimicizie di uomini, piuttosto che dispiacere a Dio, venendo meno alla retta dottrina[14].

Dotata di *ingenium*[15] e assai versata nella lettura e nella discussione dei passi della Sacra Scrittura[16], anche Marcella non rimane turbata dalle dottrine di

Scholars in the Late Fourth Century. The Aventine Circle', in Elizabeth A. Livingstone (ed.), *Studia Patristica, vol. XXXIII. Papers presented at the Twelfth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1995* (Leuven, 1997), 319-24.

[10] Hier., *Ep.* 108,23,1. Per l'*Ep.* 108 di Gerolamo si fa riferimento a quella pubblicata in *Vita di Martino, Vita di Ilarione, In memoria di Paola*, con introduzione di Christine Mohrmann, testo critico e commento a cura di Antonius A.R. Bastiaensen e Jan W. Smit, traduzioni di Luca Canali e Claudio Moreschini, *Vite dei Santi IV* (Milano, 1975), 148-237.

[11] Cfr. *ibid.* 108,23,2 ss.

[12] Cfr. *ibid.* 108,24 e 25.

[13] Cfr. *ibid.* 108,25,4.

[14] Cfr. *ibid.* 108,25,4 (ed. A.A.R. Bastiaensen, J.W. Smit, *Vita di Martino, Vita di Ilarione, In memoria di Paola* [1975], 220): '*Et haec dixi, non ut breviter heresim confutarem, cui multis voluminibus respondendum est, sed ut fidem tantae feminae ostenderem, quae maluit inimicitias hominum subire perpetuas quam Dei offensam amicitiis noxiis provocare.*'

[15] E' stato notato come il termine ricorra spesso negli elogi che Gerolamo tesse delle sue discepole al fine di evidenziarne l'elevato livello intellettuale: cfr. Marie Turcan, 'Saint Jérôme et les femmes', *Bulletin Budé*, IV[e] série, numéro III (1968), 259-72, 268.

[16] Cfr. Hier., *Ep.* 127,7 (CSEL 56, 151): '*Et quia alicuius tunc nominis aestimabar super studio scripturarum, numquam convenit, quin de scripturis aliquid interrogaret, nec statim adquiesceret, sed moveret e contrario quaestiones; non ut contenderet, sed ut quaerendo disceret earum solutiones, quas opponi posse intellegebat.*' Anche Marcella è oggetto di un *epitaphium*, l'*Ep.* 127 di Gerolamo a Principia, testo al quale si può ricorrere per completare la biografia intellettuale di questa donna, nominata spesso in altre lettere e nelle prefazioni di opere del santo di Stridone.

Montano, quando un suo seguace, per avvalorare le loro teorie, le presenta i testi estratti dal Vangelo di Giovanni, quelli dove il Salvatore promette di salire al Padre e di mandare il Paraclito[17]. E' la sua solida e non comune conoscenza della Sacra Scrittura a permetterle di non cadere in errore[18], perché per lei conoscere e capire la Scrittura equivale a fare della propria vita uno specchio dei precetti divini e ad obbedire ad una fede vera, non farisaicamente intesa come ripetizione vuota di parole, separate e distinte dal comportamento dell'individuo[19].

Lo studio e l'approfondimento del testo sacro, che non costituiscono un semplice esercizio intellettuale ma un momento fondante dell'esistenza e dell'ascesi, devono però essere accompagnati, come precisa Gerolamo, dalla lettura di quelle opere di autori dotti, che non siano incorsi in errore circa le verità dogmatiche. Nella lettera a Furia lo Stridonense scrive: 'Dopo la Scrittura, leggi i trattati scritti da uomini dotti, ma solo quelli la cui fede è ben nota. Non hai nessuna necessità di cercare l'oro tra il fango: tra un gran numero di perle, assicurati la perla unica'[20] e ugualmente nell'epistola a Leta, un vero e proprio manuale di come educare la figlia, Gerolamo raccomanda molta attenzione nel leggere i libri apocrifi, nei quali sono frammischiati non pochi elementi falsi, così che se qualche volta saranno consultati non per trarne verità dogmatiche ma solo per contemplarne devotamente i simboli, occorrerà 'una grande prudenza per discernere l'oro nel fango'[21]. Nell'epistola 119 indirizzata a Minervio e ad Alessandro, dove i due monaci di Tolosa vogliono che Gerolamo spieghi

[17] Cfr. Hier., *Ep*. 41,1.

[18] Cfr. *ibid*. 41,4. Sull'importanza della Bibbia nella formazione delle donne cfr. Elena Giannarelli, 'Antiche lettrici della Bibbia: dame, martiri e pellegrine', in Claudio Leonardi, Francesco Santi, Adriana Valerio (edd.), *La Bibbia nell'interpretazione delle donne* (Firenze, 2002), 23-48; Clementina Mazzucco, 'Donne e Bibbia nel cristianesimo tra II e V secolo', in A. Valerio (ed.), *Donne e Bibbia. Storia ed esegesi* (Bologna, 2006), 23-49.

[19] Cfr. Hier., *Ep*. 127,4 (CSEL 56, 148): '*Divinarum Scripturarum ardor incredibilis, semperque cantabat: in corde meo abscondi eloquia tua, ut non peccem tibi, et illud de perfecto viro: et in lege Domini, voluntas eius, et in lege eius meditabitur die ac nocte meditationem legis non replicando quae scripta sunt, ut Iudaeorum aestimant Pharisaei, sed in opere intellegens, iuxta illud apostolicum: sive comeditis, sive bibitis, sive quid agitis, omnia in gloriam Domini facientes et prophetae verba dicentis: a mandatis tuis intellexi, ut, postquam mandata conplesset, tunc se sciret mereri intellegentiam scripturarum*.'

[20] *Ibid*. 54,11 (ed. Isidorus Hilberg, CSEL 54 [Vindobonae-Lipsiae, 1910], 478): '*Post scripturas sanctas doctorum hominum tractatus lege, eorum dumtaxat, quorum fides nota est. Non necesse habes aurum in luto quaerere: multis margaritis unam redime margaritam*.'

[21] *Ibid*. 107,12 (ed. Isidorus Hilberg, CSEL 55 [Vindobonae-Lipsiae, 1912], 303): '*Caveat omnia apocrypha et, si quando ea non ad dogmatum veritatem, sed ad signorum reverentiam legere voluerit, sciat non eorum esse, quorum titulis praenotantur, multaque his admixta vitiosa et grandis esse prudentiae aurum in luto quaerere. Cypriani opuscula semper in manu teneat, Athanasii epistulas et Hilarii libros inoffenso decurrat pede. Illorum tractatibus, illorum delectetur ingeniis, in quorum libris pietas fidei non vacillet; ceteros sic legat, ut magis iudicet, quam sequatur*.'

loro i testi escatologici di 1*Cor*. 15:51 e 1*Th*. 4:15-7, a un certo punto lo Stridonense dichiara che sia Origene sia Eusebio di Cesarea sono state delle persone dottissime, ma per quanto riguarda le verità dogmatiche sono incorsi in errore; quante cose, invece, in senso opposto si possono dire di Teodoro, di Acacio e di Apollinare, che hanno lasciato un ricordo tangibile delle loro fatiche attraverso i loro commenti alla Sacra Scrittura. Alla fine Gerolamo conclude: 'L'oro si cerca nella terra; dal letto dei fiumi si estrae della ghiaia luccicante e il torrente Pactolo è più ricco di fango che di acqua corrente'[22].

Discernere l'oro nel fango (*aurum in luto quaerere*) o espressioni simili sono usate da Gerolamo per indicare la difficoltà di trovare, all'interno di scritti non ortodossi oppure di autori dotti ma che sono caduti in errore, la retta dottrina, le verità dogmatiche; l'oro simboleggia i veri precetti che rientrano nell'ortodossia, il fango è il lago melmoso delle dottrine errate, nel quale occorre muoversi con prudenza. Nel breve trattato sulla verginità, composto in occasione dell'improvvisa decisione di Demetriade di diventare sposa di Cristo, Gerolamo le consiglia di custodire la fede e di non dare ascolto a quella dottrina professata da uomini che hanno l'abitudine 'di borbottare a bassa voce negli angoli'[23]. Pur imperversando la tempesta dell'eresia, capace di contaminare la purezza di molte persone, come una malattia infettiva, Gerolamo è sicuro che Demetriade non vi presterà ascolto, perché ella possiede delle maestre in Dio, la cui fede è la linea da adottare in fatto di dottrina.

Senza dubbio una robusta conoscenza dei testi scritturistici e delle verità dottrinarie funge da baluardo contro possibili deviazioni a favore di teorie non ortodosse. Ciò comunque non comporta il rigettare in blocco quegli autori che, pur avendo presentato dottrine errate, abbiano fornito utili commenti alla Sacra Scrittura: occorre cogliere il buono che vi si trova, evitando le parti non ortodosse, proprio sulla base di quanto dice l'Apostolo: 'Esaminate tutto, ritenete ciò che è buono' (1*Th*. 5:21)[24].

Eloquente è proprio la figura di Marcella. Nella veste di attenta discepola, solleva questioni relative ai testi biblici[25], propone a Gerolamo il problema del

[22] *Ibid*. 119,11 (CSEL 55, 468): '*Ego et in adulescentia et in extrema aetate profiteor et Origenem et Eusebium Caesariensem viros esse doctissimos, sed errasse in dogmatum veritate. Quot e contrario de Theodoro, Acacio, Apollinare possumus dicere! Et tamen omnes in explanationibus scripturarum sudoris sui nobis memoriam reliquerunt. In terra aurum quaeritur et de fluviorum alveis splendens profertur glarea Pactolusque ditior caeno est quam fluento*.'

[23] Cfr. *ibid*. 130,16.

[24] Questo metodo è adoperato anche da Gerolamo, secondo quanto da lui riportato: leggere gli autori antichi, vagliare ogni tesi, trattenere quelle buone, senza scostarsi per nulla dalla fede della Chiesa (cfr. Hier., *Ep*. 119,11).

[25] Marcella e Paola interrogano Gerolamo sul significato di termini ebraici usati di frequente, come *amen* o *alleluia*, e semplicemente trascritti nelle versioni bibliche (cfr. Hier., *Epp*. 25-6), oppure su difficoltà esegetiche. Nonostante preferisca il senso letterale del testo, ritenendolo valido fondamento della verità, Paola predilige l'interpretazione allegorica e protegge in questo modo l'edificazione dell'anima. Cfr. Hier., *Ep*. 108,26,1 (ed. A.A.R. Bastiaensen, J.W. Smit, *Vita*

peccato irremissibile contro lo Spirito Santo sostenuto da Novaziano[26] e probabilmente, al pari del suo maestro, non si sarà mostrata indifferente all'opera così sottile e corposa di Origene, abile nell'esplicazione esegetica dei testi sacri, in quanto capace di fornire soddisfacenti spiegazioni alle questioni più complesse. A lei, che desidera conoscere il significato esatto di *diapsalma* sulla base dei testi biblici, Gerolamo, dopo aver fornito una sua spiegazione, precisa che se ciò non la soddisfa, è pronto a tradurle letteralmente il pensiero di Origene. Se il nuovo mosto, ossia la spiegazione di Gerolamo, per lei non è sufficiente, si lasci trascinare dall'autorità del vino vecchio, Origene[27].

Lo Stridonense non è in grado invece di riferire a Marcella quale significato Origene abbia dato nei suoi commenti al passo del *Salmo* 126, sul quale la nobildonna vuole chiarimenti. Ora, secondo Gerolamo, non bisogna pensare che un uomo di tale tempra abbia potuto tralasciare qualcosa; è la negligenza dei posteri a non aver tramandato il contenuto[28]. Ancora. Nello sconsigliarle la lettura del *Commento al Cantico dei Cantici* di Reticio d'Autun perché può aspirare a comprendere un testo migliore di quello, pieno di incongruenze interpretative, sebbene Gerolamo in un primo tempo abbia apprezzato e prestato quello scritto ad alcuni suoi allievi, lo Stridonense chiede a Marcella: 'E dimmi: non aveva i dieci volumi di Origene?'[29]. Dunque, Origene proposto a Marcella come *auctoritas* nell'esplicazione dei testi sacri[30]. I commentari dell'Alessandrino permettono di chiarire quella Sacra Scrittura, alla quale Marcella è attaccata e di cui studia con passione il contenuto. Ma l''altro Origene', l'autore di tutta una serie di teorie sull'anima e sulla resurrezione, è ben altra cosa[31].

Del resto, già l'epistola 59 dove Marcella, fra le cinque questioni bibliche riguardanti il Nuovo Testamento, alla terza solleva il problema di come saranno i corpi alla parusia del Signore, dimostra una sua certa curiosità sul problema

di Martino, Vita di Ilarione, In memoria di Paola [1975], 220-2): '*Scripturas tenebat memoriter et, cum amaret historiam et illud veritatis diceret fundamentum, magis sequebatur intellegentiam spiritalem et hoc culmine aedificationem animae protegebat*.' E' lo stesso metodo adottato da Gerolamo, che nei suoi commenti prima procede *ad litteram,* poi passa all'esegesi allegorica, divisa in morale e spirituale. Marcella invece ama l'aderenza letterale al testo, sottoposto ad attenta discussione.

[26] Cfr. Hier., *Ep*. 42.

[27] Cfr. *ibid*. 28,5.

[28] Cfr. *ibid*. 34,1.

[29] *Ibid*. 37,3 (CSEL 54, 288). Per dimostrare le straordinarie capacità di Blesilla, che si dedica con ardore all'apprendimento dei testi sacri, al fine di una migliore vita ascetica, il termine di paragone è proprio Origene (Hier., *Ep*. 39,1).

[30] Nell'*Ep*. 36,1 Gerolamo rimanda papa Damaso per alcune questioni a quanto scritto da Origene; nell'*Ep*. 62,2 a Tranquillino spiega che Origene, data la sua erudizione, non deve essere rigettato in blocco come esegeta, ma bisogna leggerlo ogni tanto e riuscire a cogliere il buono che è presente nelle sue opere. A Teofilo precisa che egli ha sempre sostenuto Origene come traduttore e interprete della Scrittura, ma che non l'ha mai riconosciuto ortodosso nella fede (*Ep*. 82,7).

[31] Sul rapporto Marcella e Origene cfr. Patrick Laurence, 'Marcella, Jérôme et Origène', *REAug* 42 (1996), 267-93, qui tenuto presente nel delineare la sezione sulla nobildonna.

del corpo[32]. Nel momento in cui ella prende coscienza dei pericoli causati da alcune delle idee origeniane, nel 398 è coinvolta direttamente nella lotta antiorigenista. Rufino ha tradotto in latino i *Principi* di Origene, rimaneggiando l'opera laddove l'Alessandrino si esprime in modo trinitariamente subordinante, non più compatibile con l'ortodossia della fine del IV secolo, o dove propone le contestate dottrine della preesistenza dell'anima e dell'apocatastasi. Nella prefazione Rufino giustifica il suo modo di tradurre adducendo l'esempio di Gerolamo, che qualche anno prima, quando era ancora sostenitore di Origene, volgendo in latino le omelie dell'Alessandrino su *Isaia*, aveva eliminato alcuni passi pericolosi dal punto dottrinale. Oltre a provocare una violenta reazione da parte di Gerolamo, l'opera fa scandalo a Roma e dà luogo ad una campagna antiorigenista[33].

Stando alle parole riportate da Gerolamo nell'elogio funebre della vedova romana, Marcella dopo essere rimasta per molto tempo in penombra decide di intervenire:

> Allora la santa Marcella, che per lungo tempo si era tenuta in disparte per non dare l'impressione che fosse mossa da gelosia, non appena si accorse che la fede, lodata dalla bocca dell'Apostolo, veniva violata in parecchi punti, e che l'eretico trascinava dalla sua parte persino i sacerdoti, non pochi monaci, e soprattutto un gran numero di uomini, giocando sulla semplicità del vescovo, che giudicava gli altri dal suo ingegno, si oppose pubblicamente, volendo piacere a Dio più che agli uomini[34].

Marcella ha esitato a lungo prima di schierarsi apertamente contro Rufino e, in effetti, prima della traduzione dei *Principi*, non ha avvertito la necessità di intervenire in maniera diretta; nell'affare del *Contro Gioviniano* è Pammachio che a Roma ritira gli esemplari in circolazione in virtù dello scandalo suscitato dall'opera e a lui Gerolamo invia la ritrattazione che costituisce l'epistola 49. Certo è che una volta notata la portata dell'origenismo, Marcella – come scrive Gerolamo – non esita ad opporsi pubblicamente all'origenismo e ai suoi sostenitori, volendo piacere più a Dio che agli uomini; si adopera per ottenere la condanna di Rufino e delle idee da lui difese[35].

Alla morte di papa Siricio, avvenuta il 26 novembre del 399, Anastasio diviene il nuovo vescovo di Roma. Consapevole di questa nuova opportunità, Marcella riprende la lotta contro gli origenisti. Scrive Gerolamo:

> Fu lei il principio della condanna degli eretici, con l'addurre testimoni, che prima da loro erano stati ammaestrati e poi da lei liberati dall'eresia; fu lei a mostrare l'enorme numero di coloro che erano caduti in inganno, a presentare gli empi volumi dei *Principi*

[32] Cfr. Hier., *Ep*. 59,3.

[33] Per un quadro sulla controversia origenista cfr. Elizabeth A. Clark, *The Origenist Controversy. The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate* (Princeton, 1992).

[34] Hier., *Ep*. 127,9 (CSEL 56, 152).

[35] Cfr. P. Laurence, 'Marcella, Jérôme' (1996), 286.

e a far vedere che erano stati corretti dalla mano dello Scorpione … Di questa vittoria così gloriosa l'origine fu Marcella[36].

Superbo elogio di una donna, alla quale viene attribuito tutto il merito di una vittoria, che necessita di alcune precisazioni. Infatti, la nobildonna romana non è stata la principale e la sola protagonista ad essere chiamata in causa nella lotta contro Rufino e l'origenismo: è Oceano, insieme a Pammachio, ad esaminare la traduzione dei *Principi*, fatta da Rufino, e ad inviarla a Gerolamo, pregandolo di farne una lui, fedele ed esatta[37]. Pammachio e Oceano sono gli strenui sostenitori di Gerolamo, chiamati ogni volta in causa nella lotta contro Rufino. Insieme a Marcella formano quella che Gerolamo chiama 'la fraternità romana', costituita da quel gruppo di amici uniti dal desiderio di difendere a Roma la sua posizione[38]. E' il partito di Gerolamo che si fa sotto per ottenere la condanna dell'origenismo, proprio mentre Teofilo, urtatosi con i monaci origenisti di Nitria, diventa un antiorigenista. Dunque, la lotta contro l'origenismo e la dimostrazione dell'inaccettabilità di alcune dottrine origeniane vedono la presenza di più partecipanti, che contribuiscono alla sconfitta finale di Rufino.

Gerolamo, inoltre, omette l'increscioso affare di Milano, nel quale è coinvolto Eusebio di Cremona e in penombra la stessa Marcella. La lettera che Anastasio ha scritto a Simpliciano di Milano per domandargli di mettere al bando l'opera di Origene viene affidata a Eusebio di Cremona. Costui ha portato con sé una lista di blasfemie desunte da Origene, da sottoporre al papa[39]. Tuttavia, al momento della lettura dei *capitula*, si nota che uno di questi, presentato come tratto dai *Principi* e avente per oggetto la Trinità è stato interpolato[40]. Viene chiesto a Eusebio di Cremona chi gli abbia fornito quell'esemplare. Allora, scriverà Rufino più tardi, *respondit matronam quamdam sibi dedisse, de qua ego, quaecumque illa est, nihil dico; sed sui eam et dei conscientiae derelinquo*[41]. La *quaedam matrona* è con ogni probabilità Marcella, alla quale Rufino attribuisce, insieme a quel perfido, falsario di Eusebio che lancia anatemi contro Origene e calunnie contro di lui, un ruolo nella falsificazione dell'esemplare[42]. Andando oltre sulle possibili responsabilità e reali

[36] Hier., *Ep*. 127,10 (CSEL 56, 153).

[37] Cfr. *ibid*. 83. Vedi anche P. Laurence, 'Marcella, Jérôme' (1996), 288-9. Nel 411 Oceano ha in suo possesso degli *opuscula contra Rufinum* (cfr. Hier., *Ep*. 126,1).

[38] Cfr. Hier., *Ep*. 85,3. Cfr. anche P. Laurence, 'Marcella, Jérôme' (1996), 284.

[39] Cfr. Hier., *Ep*. 95,3.

[40] Cfr. P. Laurence, 'Marcella, Jérôme' (1996), 290-1; Y.-M. Duval, 'Le *Liber Hieronymi ad Gaudentium*: Rufin d'Aquilée, Gaudence de Brescia et Eusèbe de Crémone', *Revue Bénédictine* 97 (1987), 163-86, 171-7.

[41] Ruf., *Apol. c. Hier*. 1,19 (ed. Manlius Simonetti, *Tyranii Rufini Opera*, CChr.SL 20 [Turnhout, 1961], 54). Per un quadro completo si rimanda a Jérôme, *Apologie contre Rufin*, ed. Pierre Lardet, SC 303 (Paris, 1983), 48-69.

[42] Cfr. Ruf., *Apol. c. Hier*. 1,18; 1,21. Cfr. inoltre P. Laurence, 'Marcella, Jérôme' (1996), 289-91.

implicazioni di Marcella nell'affare di Milano, è evidente che, a differenza di Paola la quale non si addentra attivamente nella *querelle* religiosa dell'epoca, da donna d'azione Marcella viene presentata da Gerolamo energicamente attiva nella lotta contro l'origenismo, a tal punto da attribuirle tutto il merito della vittoria contro Rufino. E con la sua costante presenza nella controversia e con la sua attiva personalità, Marcella evoca un'altra nobildonna, degna di attenzione: Melania *senior*.

Congratulandosi con Sulpicio Severo per la stesura della *Vita Martini*, Paolino di Nola risponde al ritratto del santo di Tours con quello di Melania *senior* nell'epistola 29, accostando così un celebre monaco, asceta e vescovo, ad una donna che, però, a suo parere è altrettanto degna della santità perché, militando in Cristo, ha riscattato la sua naturale debolezza e si è mostrata *tam viriliter christiana*[43]. Al tempo dell'imperatore Valente, imperversando l'arianesimo, Melania è guida di tutti quelli che resistono per la fede e senza alcun timore accoglie e nasconde quei cristiani che per la loro singolare fede sono soggetti a odio da parte degli eretici. Per questo motivo viene arrestata, ma impavida e sprezzante delle conseguenze, si mostra pronta ad andare incontro al suo destino. Condotta alla presenza del giudice, quest'ultimo appare così turbato dalla veneranda presenza della donna, come scrive Paolino, da lasciar cadere il furore dell'eresia, *dum fidei miratur audaciam*[44]. L'ardore della *fides* di Melania è così forte da essere oggetto di ammirazione e da concederle la vittoria. E' necessario ricordare anche il suo intervento a favore dei monaci seguaci di Atanasio, perseguitati ed esiliati, ai quali la nobildonna presta soccorso. Mandati in esilio vicino a Diocesarea in Palestina, Melania, che si cura del loro sostentamento, li segue; qui viene incarcerata e rilasciata non appena ha dichiarato la sua condizione di serva del Signore e di donna libera[45].

Il capitolo 46 della *Storia Lausiaca* di Palladio si chiude inoltre con il ricordo dell'attività svolta da Melania e Rufino per ricomporre lo scisma di Paolino, al quale avevano aderito circa quattrocento monaci[46]. Si tratta in verità di una notizia assai oscura, giacché non siamo in grado di precisare chi sia questo Paolino. L'ipotesi generalmente accolta è quella già formulata da Tillemont, secondo cui Palladio, con un piccolo errore nel nome, avrebbe fatto riferimento allo scisma causato da Paoliniano, fratello di Gerolamo, ordinato prete

[43] Paul. Nol., *Ep*. 29,6 (Paulinus von Nola, *Epistulae-Briefe*, hrsg. von Matthias Skeb, Fontes Christiani 25/2 [Freiburg-Basel-Wien-Barcelona-Rom-New York, 1998], 690). Cfr. Elena Giannarelli, 'Da madre a figlio: eredità genetica e trasmissione di valori in testi biografici di età imperiale', *Filologia antica e moderna* 15 (1998), 27-54, 46-7.

[44] Cfr. Paul. Nol., *Ep*. 29,11 (Fontes Christiani 25/2, 706).

[45] Cfr. Pallad., *Hist. Laus*. 46,3-4 (Introd. di Christine Mohrmann, testo critico e commento a cura di G.J.M. Bartelink, traduzione di Marino Barchiesi [Milano, 1974], 222-5). Anche Paolino di Nola, *Ep*. 29,11 ricorda l'episodio, mettendo in evidenza la prodigalità di Melania.

[46] Cfr. Pallad., *Hist. Laus*. 46,6 (testo critico e commento a cura di G.J.M. Bartelink, traduzione di M. Barchiesi [Milano, 1974], 224-5).

da Eusebio di Salamina, senza che Giovanni, vescovo di Gerusalemme, ne fosse stato informato[47]. Lo scisma fu ricomposto nel 397 a Gerusalemme da Gerolamo e Rufino. Questa soluzione lascia qualche perplessità, sia perché una questione puramente disciplinare difficilmente avrebbe potuto coinvolgere quattrocento monaci in uno scisma, sia perché da parte di Paoliniano e dei suoi seguaci non vi fu alcuna negazione della divinità dello Spirito Santo. E' forse possibile che lo scisma indicato sia quello di Antiochia, contro il quale fu convocato il Concilio di Costantinopoli del 381, senza comunque pervenire a una soluzione definitiva. In questo caso Palladio avrebbe indicato Paolino e gli altri monaci oppositori di Flaviano, vescovo di Antiochia dal 382[48]. In ogni caso, sorvolando il problema relativo a quale scisma Palladio faccia davvero riferimento, è interessante notare come l'autore tratteggi Melania mossa dal desiderio di voler porre fine allo scisma in questione e di ricondurre nel solco dell'ortodossia coloro che negano valore allo Spirito Santo.

Ma Melania *senior*, oltre ad aver avuto un ruolo importante in queste vicende, ha giocato anche una parte notevole nella controversia fra Rufino e Gerolamo, a tal punto che lo Stridonense non esita a cambiare il suo iniziale atteggiamento positivo nei riguardi della nobildonna[49]. Lodata da Gerolamo per la sua virtù, per il suo ideale di vita ascetica, nel momento in cui Melania si schiera dalla parte di Rufino e contro Gerolamo, quest'ultimo non esita a sfoggiare il suo sarcasmo e ad attuare sul nome di Melania un superbo gioco etimologico, definendola quella *cuius nomen nigredinis testatur perfidiae tenebras*[50]. Lo Stridonense allude alla nobildonna attraverso una perifrasi, che ottiene nello stesso momento il duplice effetto di evocare il personaggio e di rinnegarlo, nella cancellazione implicita del processo di allusione del suo nome proprio. Così, dall'essere *sancta* e *inter christianos … nobilitas*[51], Melania arriva ad offuscare le sue virtù e diventa simbolo della perfidia, connaturata addirittura nella sua stessa essenza, come testimonia il suo nome. Due donne, Marcella e Melania *senior*, accomunate inizialmente dallo stesso ideale e ardore ascetico, in seguito si vedono schierate su due fronti opposti nella lotta contro l'origenismo, impegnate a sostenere i rispettivi amici.

E per un non minor ardore della fede ortodossa spicca anche Melania *iunior*. Nella vita greca attribuita a Geronzio, il biografo ricorda che tale è il suo zelo per la fede ortodossa che se ella sente dire che qualcuno è eretico se, sotto le sue esortazioni non si converte al bene, non accetta niente da lui. Addirittura considera una grande trasgressione della fede ortodossa anche il solo nominare

[47] Cfr. Francis Xavier Murphy, 'Melania the Elder: a Biographical Note', *Traditio* 5 (1947), 59-77, 72.

[48] Cfr. *ibid*. 72; Eduard Schwartz, 'Palladiana', *ZNW* 36 (1937), 161-204, 200 n. 72.

[49] Cfr. Patrick Laurence, 'Les pèlerinages des Romaines sous le regard de saint Jérôme', *REL* 76 (1998), 226-40, 230-1.

[50] Hier., *Ep*. 133,3 (CSEL 56, 246).

[51] *Ibid*. 39,5 (CSEL 54, 305).

gli eretici nella santa anafora[52]. Non solo. Melania viene presentata ben attiva nella lotta contro Nestorio e allo stesso tempo come l'artefice principale della conversione al cristianesimo di suo zio, Rufo Antonio Volusiano. La conversione di Volusiano e la vittoria contro Nestorio hanno una doppia finalità. Da un lato si cerca di fare di Melania una santa 'ortodossa', ben lontana dalle simpatie origeniste della sua famiglia[53], dall'altro si vuole mettere ben in luce i pericoli ai quali va incontro nel realizzare tutto ciò. Infatti, lottando contro il paganesimo di suo zio e contro l'eresia di Nestorio, ella lotta in ultima istanza contro il diavolo, al punto da rischiare di perdere la sua stessa vita:

> Il diavolo, nemico della verità, estremamente geloso a sua volta dell'edificazione di quelli che venivano a trovarla e della salvezza di suo zio, essendosi travestito da giovane uomo nero ed essendosi avvicinato a lei, così le parlò: "Fino a quando con i tuoi propositi distruggerai le mie speranze?" (cap. 54).

A seguito di questo incontro, Melania resterà immobilizzata a letto per sei giorni a causa di un atroce dolore all'anca. Solo la notizia dell'avvenuto battesimo dello zio fa sì che la malattia sparisca miracolosamente, a tal punto che 'colei che non si poteva trasportare si mise a salire da sola tutti i gradini' (cap. 55). Nello stesso tempo il diavolo è costretto ad andarsene; Melania ha lottato ed è risultata vincitrice[54].

E se nella vita greca a lei dedicata vediamo, in conformità alle sue relazioni[55], solo l'accesa tensione antinestoriana che la porta a discutere di teologia con molti senatori e con i più brillanti uomini di cultura, senza mai venir meno alla fede ortodossa e a sostenere quelli che sono nel dubbio[56], attraverso l'opera agostiniana intravediamo, invece, la partecipazione di Melania alla polemica pelagiana. Sperando di poter influire indirettamente a favore di una riabilitazione di Pelagio, insieme a Piniano e Albina, Melania, dopo aver lasciato l'Africa, si reca prima ad Alessandria poi a Gerusalemme. Dopo un incontro con Pelagio, i tre attuano un estremo tentativo con Pelagio, inducendolo a condannare per iscritto tutti gli errori di cui è accusato; ottenute delle dichiarazioni riguardanti i due punti essenziali della controversia, la grazia e il peccato originale, le inviano ad Agostino, con lo scopo di aiutare il monaco britannico a chiarire le sue idee e a sottrarsi dal sospetto o dalla condanna di

[52] Cfr. *Vie de Sainte Mélanie*, capp. 27-8, ed. Denis Gorce, SC 90 (Paris, 1962), 180-2.

[53] Cfr. Elizabeth A. Clark, *The Life of Melania the Younger. Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (New York-Queenston, 1984), pp. 141-52.

[54] Cfr. Cristian Badilita, 'Figures et biographies de femmes aux IV^{e} et V^{e} siècles', in *Giovanni Crisostomo: Oriente e Occidente tra IV e V secolo*, *XXXIII Incontro di Studiosi dell'Antichità Cristiana, Augustinianum 6-8 maggio 2004, Roma*, Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum 93 (Roma, 2005), 627-48, 645.

[55] Le simpatie di Melania per le dottrine antinestoriane sono conformi a quanto suggerito dalle sue relazioni: San Cirillo (cap. 34), Lauso (cap. 53), Eudocia (cap. 56).

[56] Cfr. *Vie de Sainte Mélanie*, cap. 54, SC 90, 232-4.

eterodossia[57]. Agostino scrive in risposta il *De gratia Christi et de peccato originali* e lo invia a Gerusalemme per dimostrare l'errore di Pelagio[58], al quale a questo punto, vista l'impossibilità di una sua riabilitazione, non resta che mettersi al sicuro sotto la protezione del patriarca Cirillo di Alessandria.

Dunque, quando nei secoli IV e V il cristianesimo si trova a dover intervenire in dispute teologiche, a dover difendere l'ortodossia contro l'imperversare delle varie controversie o eresie, emergono con tutta forza dei ritratti di donne che, calate a pieno nella *querelle* religiosa dell'epoca, dalla penombra sono trasformate in protagoniste attive nella lotta contro le eresie e in alcuni casi il loro contributo viene fatto apparire come importante ai fini dell'estirpazione della controversia stessa. Paola, Marcella, Melania *senior* e Melania *iunior* non sono presentate nell'immobilità di azione, ma animate dalla salda volontà di far trionfare i principi della retta fede, a dispetto del dilagare delle dottrine errate e pronte a prendervi parte.

Lo zelo per l'ortodossia e la suscettibilità per la purezza della fede di queste donne sono elementi che le collocano, fra l'altro, sulla stessa linea dei fondatori del monachesimo, dove erano già presenti ed importanti: Antonio fugge gli eretici e abbandona la solitudine a lui cara, per venire ad Alessandria a difendere Atanasio contro gli ariani[59], al quale, stando a quanto riportato da Palladio, probabilmente durante il suo esilio prestò aiuto per nascondersi una bellissima vergine che provvide a lui per un po' di tempo[60]; Pacomio getta nell'acqua un libro di Origene[61]. L'amore per la fede ortodossa diventa una garanzia dell'attaccamento religioso di queste donne, così che esse possono essere assunte come testimoni del *sanctum propositum*[62]. Grazie allo zelo per la retta dottrina, alcune di esse sono state capaci di 'discernere l'oro nel fango', di abbracciare la lotta contro l'eresia in nome dell'ortodossia.

[57] Cfr. Agostino Trapè, 'Verso la riabilitazione del pelagianesimo?', *Augustinianum* 3 (1963), 428-516; Peter Brown, 'The Patrons of Pelagius: the Roman Aristocracy between East and West', *JTS* 21 (1970), 52-72.

[58] Cfr. Aug., *De grat. Chr. et pecc. orig.* I,1-2 (Opere di Sant'Agostino, vol. 17/2. Sant'Agostino, *Natura e Grazia*, vol. II. *Gli atti di Pelagio. La grazia di Cristo e il peccato originale. L'anima e la sua origine*. Introd. e note di Agostino Trapè, trad. it. di Italo Volpi [Roma, 1981], 137).

[59] Cfr. Athan., *Vit. Ant.* 68-70.

[60] Cfr. Pallad., *Hist. Laus.* 63.

[61] Cfr. Louis Théophile Lefort, *Les vies coptes de S. Pachôme et de ses premiers successeurs* (Louvain, 1943), 353 n. 8.

[62] Cfr. Patrick Laurence, 'Albine: la conversion d'une aristocrate romaine au *sanctum propositum*', *CrSt* 20 (1999), 257-74; Id., 'Jérôme et l'*ancilla Christi*: servitude et liberté', *Augustinianum* 37 (1997), 411-29, 417.

Der *Christus medicus* und ein *medicus christianus*: Hagiographische Anmerkungen zu einem Klerikerarzt des 5. Jh.

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ABSTRACT

In hagiographical literature some Christians of the medical profession are venerated as martyrs and wonderworkers. Based on the well-known motif of *Christus medicus* in patristic authors, they are called not just medics of bodies but also of souls. This article will look at theological and historico-medical questions.

Christus medicus

„Nicht die Gesunden bedürfen des Arztes, sondern die Kranken" (Mt 9,12; par. Mk 2,17; Lk 5,31) entgegnet Jesus, als Fragen und Empörung laut werden, weil er mit Zöllnern und Sündern zu Tische sitzt – und die unerfüllten Erwartungen seiner Mitbürger, als er wider Erwarten in seiner Heimat keine Heilungen bewirkt, kleidet er in den Spruch: „Arzt, heile dich selbst!" (Lk 4,23) Über diese Schriftstellen hinaus, die dem späteren Leser den *Christus medicus* suggerieren, liegt die theologische Erkenntnis, daß Jesu Wirken in einer bestimmten Weise ärztlich zu verstehen ist, auf der Hand. In den Evangelien tritt Jesus vielfach als Heiler in Erscheinung, von ihm geht eine heilende Kraft aus,[1] weder stellt er eine Rechnung[2] noch verordnet er Medikamente,[3] heilt meist durch sein Wort, streckt seine Hände aus oder legt sie auf.[4] Gelegentlich verlangt er von den Kranken den im Gesetz zwar vorgeschriebenen Ritus und rückt den «helfenden» Glauben in den

[1] Lk 6,19; Mk 3,10; Mt 14,36 / Hämorrhoissa: Mt 9,21; parr. Mk 5,28; Lk 8,44.

[2] Zu Parallelen und Unterschieden zwischen den Evangelien und den paganen Wundergeschichten vgl. Michael Dörnemann, *Krankheit und Heilung in der Theologie der Kirchenväter*, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 20 (Tübingen, 2003), 60-5.

[3] Es wird allenfalls eine Art „ärztliche Handlung" unter Verwendung seines Speichels und eine Nachfrage nach der Wirkung der Therapie geschildert (Mk 7,33; 8,23; Joh 9,6). Zur Verwendung des Speichels vgl. Rudolf Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium. I. Teil. Einleitung und Kommentar zu Kap. 1,1-8,26*, Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament II/1 (Freiburg i.B./Basel/Wien, 1976), 395, 418; Parallelen: Philippusakten (AP 128); Plinius' Naturkunde (28,4,37); Tacitus, *hist*. 4,81; Sueton, *vit. Vesp*. 7,2f.; Cassius Dio 66,8.

[4] Mt 8,3.15; 9,29; Mk 1,41; 8,23; Lk 4,40f.; 5,13; 13,13; 22,51 (vgl. M. Dörnemann, *Krankheit und Heilung* [2003], 64). Bei Mk finden sich 17×, bei Mt 19× und Lk 20× Berichte von Heilungen, im Joh 4× Heilungen bei den Zeichen (ebd. 60-5).

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Vordergrund.[5] Die vielen Wunder Jesu streben hierbei nicht einen simplen medizinischen Heilerfolg an, sondern werden in einen größeren Zusammenhang eingeordnet: Sie haben eine zeichenhafte Bedeutung für den Anbruch des Gottesreiches, in dessen Herrschaftsbereich die ganze menschliche Existenz gehört. Ohne daß die Evangelien die aus der Krankheit herrührenden physischen und sozialen Einschränkungen übergehen würden, transzendiert das von Gott gewährte Heil die angesprochenen Nöte. Die Sünde bleibt somit der schlimmere Schaden,[6] deren Vergebung ein heilendes Auftreten Jesu im Umgang mit Sündern veranschaulicht.[7] Schließlich ist Jesus Exorzist.[8]

Nachdem die alttestamentliche Religiosität Jahwe als Arzt kennt,[9] mag es verwundern, daß Jesus dieser Titel trotz der vielfältigen Heilungswunder im NT zunächst versagt bleibt. In der nachfolgenden christlichen Literatur jedoch ändert sich dies geradezu kompensatorisch, angefangen von den Apostolischen Vätern, Apologeten und Apokryphen bis zu den Kirchenvätern, die sich zurecht dieser Deutekategorie bedienen. Ihnen gilt zunächst, gewissermaßen in einem weiter zu fassenden Verständnis, Gott als Arzt, in einem konkreten Sinn bietet dann die Menschwerdung seines Sohnes noch größeren Freiraum zur Entfaltung dieser Vorstellung. Das in dieser Hinsicht wohl älteste schriftliche Zeugnis stammt von Ignatius von Antiochien,[10] der gegen gnostisch-doketische Ansichten in dieser soteriologisch gehaltenen Metapher Tatsächlichkeit und Wirklichkeit des Eintritts Christi in Welt und Zeit unterstreicht. Menschwerdung und Gottsein stehen bei ihm in einer dynamischen Spannung, die im Subjekt des Herrn und Arztes bei aller Antithetik aufgefangen wird, zugleich aber aufrechterhalten bleibt – ein Geheimnis, das der Bischof hymnisch besingt. Es ist gerade die christliche Erlösungsbotschaft, die im manchmal vielleicht ein wenig erbaulich wirkenden *Christus-medicus*-Motiv ihren fundamentalen Ausdruck findet und hierbei ohne komplexe Terminologie auskommt, daneben klingt bereits ein seelsorgerliches Ideal an. Das so entwickelte Modell wird bei einer Reihe von theologischen Schriftstellern der ersten vier Jahrhunderte dann auf sakramententheologische, ekklesiologische und pastorale Zusammenhänge übertragen, indem sie sich „medizinaler“

[5] Z.B. Mk 1,44; Lk 17,11-9. Umgekehrt wird im Asklepieion von Epidauros ein vergleichbarer Glaube an die Wunderkraft der Gottheit für eine Heilung nicht vorausgesetzt (vgl. *mirr.* 3 & 4: Rudolf Herzog, *Die Wunderheilungen von Epidauros. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Medizin und der Religion* (Leipzig, 1931), 8ff.

[6] Vgl. Joh 5,14.

[7] Z.B. im Normenwunder von Mk 2,1-12, das die Vollmacht Jesu zur Sündenvergebung durch eine Heilung aufzeigt.

[8] Mit dem Exorzismus im Rahmen der Botschaft vom Reich Gottes (Mt 9,32-4; 12,22-37; Mk 3,21-30; Lk 11,14-23; Mt 8,28-34; Mk 5,1-20; Lk 8,26-39; Lk 17,21) sind Sündenvergebung und ebenso physische Heilungen verbunden. Jesus erteilt hierbei den Dämonen Befehle (Mt 8,32; Mk 1,25; 5,8) und bevollmächtigt hierfür auch seine Jünger (Mt 10,1; Mk 6,7.13; Mk 16,17-20; Lk 9,1; Joh 20,23): vgl. M. Dörnemann, *Krankheit und Heilung* (2003), 65-7.

[9] Ex 15,26.

[10] Ignatius, *ep. Eph.* 7,2 (Lindemann/Paulsen 182).

Sprache bedienen und sogar mit Anklängen an hippokratische Texte die Sakramente, die Übung der Tugenden und die Heiligung als Heilmittel des göttlichen Arztes bezeichnen, der mit süßen oder schmerzhaften Eingriffen den früheren Seelenzustand wiederherzustellen sucht, oder indem sie den Seelsorger mit einem Arzt vergleichen, der in eben dieser Absicht wirken soll.[11]

Medici tropici

Christus wirkt auch durch seine Jünger als Arzt und ist in ihnen gegenwärtig.[12] Es ist also nur ein kleiner gedanklicher Schritt, wenn die Arztmetapher auch auf diejenigen ausgedehnt wird, die mit ihm oder in seinem Sinne tätig sind. Das Vorbild ist biblisch, da Jesus sowohl vor seiner Passion als auch nach seiner Auferstehung die Jünger an seinem thaumaturgischen und exorzistischen Wirken beteiligt.[13] So konnten sich die Apostel auf Christus berufen,[14] wobei sie ihre Zeitgenossen durchaus an die Tätigkeit von Wanderärzten erinnert haben mögen,[15] explizit wird ein solches Prädikat aber erneut erst außerhalb der kanonischen Literatur in den apokryphen Apostelakten ausgesprochen.[16] In einer apokryphen Schrift aus judenchristlichem Umfeld, den „Taten des Petrus und der zwölf Apostel“ (Wende 2./3. Jh.), gibt sich Jesus, der zuvor als verkleideter Engel Lithargoël auftritt, den Jüngern zu erkennen und vertraut ihnen in einer symbolischen Geste seine Arzttasche an. Einer der Empfänger, Johannes, macht hierbei den berechtigten Einwand, für diese Aufgabe nicht über die nötigen medizinischen Kenntnisse zu verfügen, und verleiht so der Erzählung mit einem missionarischen und zugleich pastoralen Motiv die metaphorische Wende: die physischen Heilungen sollen die Jünger eigentlich als Ärzte der Seelen ausweisen, sie sollen die Herzen der Menschen heilen.[17] Gleiches gilt auch für Propheten,[18] Engel,[19] Asketen,[20] prominente Kirchenpolitiker, Bischöfe

[11] Vgl. M. Dörnemann (2003), *Krankheit und Heilung* (z.B. S. 250 oder das summarische 12. Kapitel: 299ff.).

[12] Philippusakten: AP 4,4 (CCA 11,126): „ich werfe mich vor dem Arzt in dir nieder“.

[13] Mt 10,1; Mk 6,13; 16,15ff.; Lk 9,1f.

[14] Apg 3,6; 5,15f.; 9,32-34.

[15] Reinhard von Bendemann, ‘Christus der Arzt. Krankheitskonzepte in den Therapieerzählungen des Markusevangeliums’, *BZ.NF* 54 (2010), 36-53, 162-78, hier 164ff.

[16] APt ActVerc 1 (NTApo^5 II,259); AT 95 (NTApo^5 II,339); AJ 56 (NTApo^5 II,177).

[17] ActPt12 pp. 9ff. (NTApo^5 II, 378f.).

[18] Abraham, Moses, Samuel, Elija, Jeremia, Johannes d. T.: Origenes, *hom. in Jer.* 14,1-3 (GCS Or. 3,106ff.); Gregor v. Nyssa, *v. Mos.* 2,413 (GNO 7/1,126), *laud. Bas.* 792-793 (GNO 10/1,111f.); Hieronymus, *tract. in Mc.* 1,13-31 (CCL 78,468f.); in seiner *ep.* 40,1,2-3 erscheinen Jeremia, Ezechiel und Amos als „geistliche Chirurgen“, die die von den Sünden verursachten Schäden operieren.

[19] Origenes, *hom. in Num.* 14,2,10 (GCS Or. 7/2,125); *hom. in Lc.* 13,2 (FC 4/1,154ff.); Pantaleon, *mirr. Mich.* 28 (PG 140, 587).

[20] Athanasius, *v. Anton.* 87 (SC 400, 358); Gregor v. Tours, *virt. S. Mart.* 3 init. (MGH.SRM 1/2,182).

und Äbte,[21] die ebenfalls ärztlich wahrgenommen werden. Nachdem schon in vorchristlicher Zeit die Philosophie als heilsam angesehen wurde bzw. ihre Anhänger die Seele von den Leidenschaften heilen wollten,[22] wird gerade auch diese abschließend aufgegriffene Facette der Arztmetapher dem christlichen,[23] insbesondere dem asketischen Umfeld angepaßt.

Medici sancti

Gleichzeitig werden christliche Ärzte und Ärztinnen in hagiographischem Kontext überliefert. Hierbei wird der ausgeübte Heilberuf am Beginn vieler Viten, d. h. noch im Werdegang des Protagonisten und eher beiläufig, oft durch ein einfaches *arte medicus* oder ein ἰατρὸς τὴν τέχνην, festgestellt. Die ihnen in besonderer Weise zugeschriebene Fähigkeit, analog zu den körperlichen auch die seelischen Krankheiten zu heilen,[24] hat ihr literarisches Vorbild in apokryphen Apostelakten,[25] außerhalb der legendarischen Literatur erscheint dies

[21] Vgl. Klemensroman 64,3;146 (NTApo^5 II,469.479). In den Apostolischen Konstitutionen (um 380) wird der Bischof im Umgang mit im übertragenen Sinne erkrankten Gemeindegliedern zum „mitleidigen Arzt" erklärt, der im Extremfall auch als geistlicher Chirurg tätig werden muß, und kranke Glieder abtrennt: *Const. App.* 2,41,5-8 (SC 320, 272-4); in der Syrischen Didaskalie wird der Bischof als „Arzt der Kirche" (DA 7; CSCO 401, Syr. 175, 84) und „mitleidiger Arzt" für die Sünder aufgeführt (DA 10; CSCO 401, Syr. 175, 120); Clemens v. Alexandria, *paid.* 1,8,64,4 (GCS Cl. 1,128). Im Hinblick auf den klösterlichen Vorgesetzten findet sich Vergleichbares bei Basilius v. Caesarea: *reg. brev. tract.* intt. 82.99.158 (PG 31, 1141, 1152, 1185); *reg. fus. tract.* intt. 30.52 (PG 31, 993, 1041); vgl. M. Dörnemann, *Krankheit und Heilung* (2003), 217f. Auch Benedikt v. Nursia möchte den Abt als „weisen Arzt": RB 27,2;28,2ff. (CSEL 75, 89, 92). Vgl. auch Gregor v. Nazianz, *or.* 32,2.29 (SC 318, 86, 146-8); *or.* 2,16f. (SC 247, 110-2); M. Dörnemann, *Krankheit und Heilung* (2003), 229ff. Weitere Belege: Basilius v. C., *ep.* 82 (Courtonne 1,184); *ep.* 66,2 (Courtonne 1,124); *ep.* 242,3; 263,1f. (Courtonne 3, 67.121); Gregor v. Nyssa, *laud. Bas.* 792 (GNO 10/1,111); *Melet.* 852 (GNO 9,442); Gregor v. Nazianz, *ep.* 163 (GCS 53,118); Rufin, *h. e.* 10,31 (GCS 9,994).

[22] Vgl. M. Dörnemann, *Krankheit und Heilung* (2003), 47ff.; Gerhard Fichtner, 'Christus als Arzt. Ursprünge und Wirkungen eines Motivs', *FMSt* 16 (1982), 1-18, hier 11; R. von Bendemann, 'Christus der Arzt' (2010), 169f. Verwiesen wird auf folgende Autoren: Demokrit, fr. 117 (Löbl 98; zitiert bei Clemens Alexandrinus, *paid.* 1,6,1-4); ferner Plutarch, de liberis educandis 10.17 (*paid.* 1,3,1-3); ebenso Plato, *Phd* 80d; *Charm.* 154-158; Seneca, *Ad Lucilium* 99,29; *Ep.* II 15,1-2; *Ep* V 50,9; 52,9; Helv III 1; Const XIII 2; Dio Chrys., *Or* I 8; Epiktet, *Diss* III 23,30; vgl. Euseb, *p. e.* 13,3,38.

[23] Z.B. Clemens v. Alexandrien, *q. d. s.* 29,3 (GCS Cl. 3,179); Vögtle, 'Affekt', *RAC* 1, 160-73.

[24] U.a. ActaSS Ian. II,9; Feb. I,339.778; Apr. II,971; Mai. III,240; Mai. V,143; Jul. V,390.391.393; Aug. III,268; Sep. VII,433.

[25] Thomasakten (ca. 220-240): implizit in AT 37, ferner in AT 156 (NTApo^5 II,319.362); ActPt12 p. 8 (NTApo^5 II,378f.; 2./3. Jh.): „Vortrefflich hast du, Johannes, (einmal) gesagt: „Ich weiß, daß die Ärzte der Welt (nur) die weltlichen (Krankheiten [die (Dinge) die zur Welt gehören / das, was weltlich ist]) heilen, die Ärzte der Seelen aber das Herz heilen."; vgl. auch AT 95 (NTApo^5 II,339): „Ja er ist ein Seelenarzt. Denn die meisten Ärzte heilen die Körper, die der Auflösung verfallen, dieser aber die Seelen, die nicht zugrunde gehen."

m. E. erstmals bei Euseb von Caesarea, nämlich als der Historiker in seiner Kirchengeschichte gewissermaßen die „Heiligsprechung" des laodizäischen Bischofs Theodot unternimmt, eines arianischen Parteigängers, der neben exzellenten medizinischen Fähigkeiten auch die Seelen in einzigartiger Weise therapiert habe.[26] Ähnlich lobt Gregor von Nyssa einen Arzt dafür, daß er nicht nur den Körper kuriere, sondern auch die Seele einbeziehe, wofür dieser im besonderen[27] und Seelenärzte im allgemeinen eine höhere Wertschätzung verdienten.[28] In hagiographischer Fortschreibung wird mit dieser Sinnfigur die relevante Entwicklung im Leben eines heiligmäßigen Arztes nachgezeichnet: die vorausgesetzte Berufsausübung wird der göttlichen Gnadenwahl zum Ansatz für die eigentliche Berufung des Heiligen, sei es im Anschluß an die Bekehrung zum Christentum, sei es der asketische Rückzug aus der Welt oder die Bekleidung eines Amtes, wodurch dieser persönliche Prozess mit der Außenwirkung des Helden parallelisiert wird. Die Ebenen, auf denen dies geschieht, sind die missionarische Ausstrahlung eines Märtyrers, der therapeutische bzw. caritative Einsatz im Kirchenamt und die charismatisch-pneumatische Wiederherstellung der körperlichen und seelischen Gesundheit bei einer Reihe von Thaumaturgen. In der Zuwendung des heiligen Arztes zu den Kranken kommt mit der von Nächsten- und Gottesliebe geprägten Berufsausübung dann ein weiteres Heiligkeitsideal hinzu: „Nicht mehr der innerlich und äußerlich Abstand haltende Arzt war nun das Ideal, … sondern gerade das Gegenteil, der engagierte, betroffene, mitleidende Helfer".[29] Ein weiteres Merkmal heiliger Ärzte zeigt sich ebenso schon in der Darstellung Jesu und seiner Jünger in den Apokryphen, wo diese, ganz anders als der gierige Heilgott Asklepios und seine Kultdiener,[30] als unentgeltliche Heiler auftreten.[31] Die Rede von Jesus als unentgeltlichem Arzt bleibt auch in nachfolgenden Zeiten erhalten[32] und wird

[26] Euseb v. Cäsarea, *h. e.* 7,32,23 (SC 41, 228). Schon im alten Martyrologium am Allerseelentag (2. November) vermerkt, fehlt sein Name in der neuen Edition des Römischen Heiligenkalenders. In der vom arianischen Historiker Philostorgius zwischen 425-433 verfaßten Kirchengeschichte wird der anhomöische Bischof Aëtius ebenfalls als ein Arzt, der die Krankheiten des Leibes und der Seele heilt, vorgestellt: Philostorgius, *h. e.* 3,15 (GCS 21,47).

[27] Es handelt sich um einen Brief an den kaiserlichen Leibarzt Eustathius, einen Sohn des berühmten Arztes Oribasius (Hauschild, Basilius 168 Anm. 152): Gregor v. Nyssa, *trin.* 71 (GNO 3/1,3; der Brief findet sich auch im Briefcorpus Basilius' v. Caesarea, *ep.* 189: Hauschild, Basilius 175 Anm. 231); M. Dörnemann, *Krankheit und Heilung* (2003), 264.

[28] Gregor v. Nyssa, *beat.* 7,1285 (GNO 7/2,156), thematisiert an dieser Stelle den Zorn. Wer der entsprechenden Seligpreisung nach (Mt 5,9) Frieden stiftet, heilt gewissermaßen diese seelische Erkrankung und sei höher zu ehren als der, der körperliche Gesundheit vermittle.

[29] Hans Schadewaldt, 'Arzt und Patient in antiker und frühchristlicher Sicht', *Med. Klin.* 59 (1964), 146-52, hier 149f.

[30] Vgl. Pindar, *Pythiae* III, 54-57; sowie Plato, *R.* 408c (M. Dörnemann, *Krankheit und Heilung* (2003), 25ff.); Clemens v. Al., *prot.* 2,30,1 (GCS Cl. 1,22), bezeichnet Asklepios als „φιλάργυρος".

[31] Johannesakten (ca. 150-160): AJ 22;56;108 (NTApo^5 II,158.177.187; CCA 1,169.241.299): ἰατρὸς δωρεὰν ἰώμενος; Thomasakten (ca. 220-240): AT 20.156 (NTApo^5 II,311.362).

[32] Ps-Makarios, *hom.* 12,2,4 (GCS Mac. 1,153); Ephräm, *serm.* 7,148 (CSCO 305, Syr. 130, 98).

ähnlich dem hagiographischen Modell, das den Weg zum Seelenarzt nachzeichnet, i. S. einer Typologie fortgeschrieben, wie z. B. in den Ausführungen des arianischen Historikers Philostorgios über Aëtius deutlich wird, dieser habe von den Bedürftigen keinen Lohn für seine medizinischen Bemühungen verlangt.[33] Traditionell gibt es 17 Paare solcher Anargyroi, von „Silberlosen", d. h. Heilern, die für ihren Einsatz kein Entgelt fordern.[34]

Der Arztdiakon Dionysius

Einem glücklichen Umstand, wohl der Liebe zur Epigraphie und Dichtkunst, verdanken wir eine Inschrift des 5. Jh., die, im Original verloren,[35] ein stilvolles Kondensat des persönlichen Wirkens eines Klerikerarztes, genauer eines Diakons („*levita*") bietet, der zu Lebzeiten offenbar hochgeschätzt war, und dies nicht nur bei seinen römischen Mitbürgern, sondern auch bei Gegnern, wohl den Goten,[36] die ihn verschleppt hatten.[37]

Der sich aus dem Dienst an den Kranken ergebende gesellschaftliche Nutzen und das hohe Ansehen seines Berufs,[38] seine diesbezügliche Pflichterfüllung[39]

[33] ἄμισθος: Philostorgius, *h.e.* 3,15 (GCS 21,47).

[34] Steidle, Ich war krank 457 (allerdings ohne Nennung der Namen). Unter den von mir untersuchten Arztheiligen wird dieses Prädikat, manchmal auch nur inhaltlich, bei immerhin neun Heiligen bzw. Heiligenpaaren schon in ihrer *Vita* verankert und Thalelaios, Kosmas und Damian, Kollouthos, Kyros und Johannes, Pantaleon, Diomedes, Zenobios von Aigai, Fabiola, Nikarete, Sampson und Pausikakos zugeschrieben (vgl. Winfried Büttner, *Vom Arzt des Leibes zum Arzt der Seele. Heilige christliche Ärzte und Ärztinnen aus Spätantike und Frühmittelalter*, Diss. Erlangen 2009).

[35] Christian Schulze, *Medizin und Christentum in Spätantike und frühem Mittelalter. Christliche Ärzte und ihr Wirken*, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 27 (Tübingen, 2005), 87, Nr. 79: *„Hic levita iacet Dionysius artis honestae / functus et officio, quod medicina dedit. // Huius docta manus famae dulcedine capta / dispexit pretii sordida lucra sequi. // Saepe salutis opus pietatis munere iuvit, / dum refovet tenues dextera larga viros. // Obtulit aegrotis venientibus omnia gratis, / inplevit factis, quod docuit monitis. // Laudibus aetheriis famulatus mente fideli / destitit inlicitis actibus esse reus. // Amissis opibus robur non perdidit ullum, / quo patiens praedae tempore dives erat. // Ars veneranda fidem, fidei decus extulit artem: / haec studii titulos, altera mentis habet. // Civibus ac sociis qualis fuit, inde probatur, / quem potuit victor hostis amare suus. // Postquam Romana captus discessit ab urbe, / mox sibi iam dominus subdidit arte Getas. // Hosce suis manibus vitam committere fecit, / quorum mortiferos pertulit ante metus."*

Die Inschrift findet sich im syll. Laureshamensis cod. Vat. Pal. 833 f. 66^{v} und ist bei Grutero, Inscriptiones antiquae 1173, Nr. 3 veröffentlicht. Bei de Rossi/Ferrua wird sie unter dem Kapitel „Inscriptiones quae e Verano abierunt" dem Coemeterium Cyriacae zugewiesen.

[36] „Geten": Hierfür verweise ich auf die 551 vollendete Gotengeschichte Jordanes' (*De origine actibusque Getarum*): vgl. Bürsgens, Art. Jordanes: LACL^{3} 402. Evtl. wurde er schon bei der Plünderung Roms durch die Westgoten im Jahre 410, vielleicht während der Ereignisse der 70er Jahre des 5. Jh. gefangengenommen.

[37] *civibus ac sociis qualis fuit, inde probatur / quem potuit victor hostis amare suus* (Vv. 15-16).

[38] *ars honesta* (V. 1) / *ars veneranda* (V. 13).

[39] *functus et officio, quod medicina dedit* (V. 2).

und gerühmten praktischen Fähigkeiten[40] unterstreichen seine Achtung als Mediziner. Daß Dionysius sich hierbei nichts Verbotenes zuschulden kommen ließ, ist keine nebensächliche Bemerkung.[41] Offensichtlich ist nicht an Charakterzüge und Eigenschaften gedacht, die dem Arztberuf zuwiderlaufen würden, sondern an untersagte Handlungen, vielleicht wird auf Verbote aus dem Hippokratischen Eid angespielt,[42] genausogut aber können die von einem Geistlichen erwarteten Anforderungen angesprochen sein. In medizinhistorischer Hinsicht interessiert hierbei die Frage, ob ihm chirurgische Eingriffe durch sein geistliches Amt verwehrt waren. Denn einerseits wird Dionysius eine *docta manus* zugesprochen, andererseits kennt man die Zwickmühle, in der sich der vor einem invasiven Eingriff zunächst zurückschreckende Bischof Paulus v. Mérida wiederfindet.[43] Über Vermutungen kommt man in diesem Punkt jedoch nicht hinaus, wenigstens dürfte aber die Folgerung wahrscheinlich sein, daß mit den „verbotenen Taten" sowohl der geistliche als auch der medizinische Tätigkeitsbereich angesprochen ist, da die Inschrift seine beiden Fähigkeiten parallelisiert und mit deren Bedeutungsebenen spielt, am deutlichsten bei der Nennung des Wortpaares „*salutis opus*", das auf das bzw. ein Heilswerk Gottes in der Verantwortung der Amtsträger verweisen mag, genauso aber auf die körperliche Heilung und Gesundheit, der sich der Diakon in seinem besonderen Aufgabenbereich zuwandte.[44]

Über alle fachliche Wertschätzung hinaus legen die wenigen Zeilen zudem nahe, daß die unbekannten Stifter des Grabmals in ihm durchaus einen Heiligen erkennen wollten, da die gewünschten hagiographischen Kriterien dort angesprochen werden. So wird dem gewaltsam exilierten Klerikerarzt über treue Dienstbeflissenheit, Kraft und Geduld hinaus[45] mit der Feindesliebe eine besonders hohe Tugend zugesprochen.[46] Zu diesen eher allgemeinen persönlichen Eigenschaften tritt bei ihm die gegenseitige Befruchtung des geistlichen und weltlichen Amtes,[47] die, in Wort und Tat umgesetzt,[48] durch die Integration der

[40] *huius docta manus famae dulcedine capta* (V. 3).

[41] *destitit inlicitis actibus esse reus* (V. 10; Schulze liest vermutlich „*inclitis*").

[42] Dies beträfe das Gebot, zum Nutzen der Kranken zu therapieren, das Schweigegebot, die verbotene Beihilfe zu Suizid und Abtreibung sowie die Verpflichtung zur sexuellen Enthaltung gegenüber Patienten und deren Angehörigen, evtl. ist auch an operative Maßnahmen wie den dort aufgeführten Steinschnitt gedacht.

[43] *Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium* 4,2 (CChr.SL 116, 26ff.). In vergleichbarer Weise könnten derartige Maßnahmen mit seinem liturgischen Dienst, insbesondere der den Diakonen zukommenden Spendung der Eucharistie, und den mit dem Amt verbundenen Reinheitsvorstellungen unvereinbar sein.

[44] *saepe salutis opus pietatis munere iuvit* (V. 5).

[45] *famulatus mente fideli* (V. 9) / *robur* (V. 11) / *patiens* (V. 12).

[46] *Hosce suis manibus vitam committere fecit, / quorum mortiferos pertulit ante metus* (Vv. 19-20).

[47] *Ars veneranda fidem, fidei decus extulit artem: / haec studii titulos, altera mentis habet* (Vv. 13-14).

[48] *inplevit factis, quod docuit monitis* (V. 8).

medizinischen Komponente in sein seelsorgerliches Schaffen, und der religiösen in sein ärztliches in ihm den Leib- und Seelenarzt erkennen läßt, der am Heilswerk mitwirkt – all dies sozusagen „noch“ ohne hagiographische Titulatur und thaumaturgische Verklärung. Ferner erscheint mehrfach der Anargyros, der möglicherweise von Haus aus bis zu seiner Verschleppung über ein großes Vermögen verfügen konnte,[49] mit relativer Sicherheit aber im Kontext kirchlicher Mildtätigkeit praktiziert hat. So blieb er trotz des Verlustes seines Eigentums sittlich „reich“,[50] auch Gewinnstreben konnte ihm nicht unterstellt werden[51] – er half mit freigebiger Hand[52] und verlangte kein Entgelt.[53]

Nachrichten zu einer weiter fortbestehenden Verehrung seiner Person fehlen, die Erinnerung an ein Zeugnis gelebten Glaubens und Handelns haben seine Zeitgenossen und spätere Gelehrte der Nachwelt dennoch überliefert. Bei ihm werden seine vorbildlichen Charakterzüge, die von der beruflichen Pflichterfüllung und moralischen Bewährung in der Not bis zur Feindesliebe reichen, und sein dem Nächsten gewidmetes kirchliches Amt gleichsam zum Grundstoff, der seine Konkretion darin erhält, daß er als Arztdiakon sich unentgeltlich um die Gesundheit seiner Patienten sorgt und ebenso an der Heilsvermittlung teilhat, also in diesem umfassenden Sinn wirklich Arzt des Leibes und der Seele geworden ist.

[49] *amissis opibus* (V. 11).

[50] *amissis opibus robur non perdidit ullum, / quo patiens praedae tempore dives erat* (Vv. 11-12).

[51] *dispexit pretii sordida lucra sequi* (V. 4).

[52] *dextera larga* (V. 6).

[53] *obtulit aegrotis venientibus omnia gratis* (V. 7). In einer Sepulkralinschrift aus den römischen Sebastianskatakomben begegnet ein ohne seinen Namen überlieferter Arzt aus dem 4./5. Jh., der gegenüber Armen nicht „geldgierig“ gewesen sein soll (C. Schulze, *Medizin und Christentum* (2005), 98, Nr. 99: […*pau*-]*peribus non cupidus … cuius beneficia omnibus co*[*gnita…*]). Die ihm zugute gehaltenen „Wohltaten“ (*beneficia*), ebenso das ihm zugesprochene Verhalten, die Vermögenssituation seiner Patienten berücksichtigt zu haben, fügen sich in stoisch geprägte Vorstellungen zur ärztlichen Vergütung, decken sich zugleich mit der christlichen Moral. Bei einer weiteren Inschrift wird einer „Archiatrina“ Augusta aus Gdanmaa in Lykaonien (3.-4. bzw. 4.-6. Jh.) für ihre ärztliche Tätigkeit auf dem Grab die Hoffnung auf ein Entgelt von seiten Christi nachgerufen (C. Schulze, *Medizin und Christentum* [2005], 53, Nrr. 12/13): „Ich, der Archiater Aurelios Gaios, habe hier den Grabstein aufgestellt für meine Gattin Augousta, die als Archiatrina den Körpern vieler Kranker ein Heilmittel gab, (wofür ihr ihr Heiland Jesus Christus ein Entgelt geben wird…)“.

Episcopal Consecration – the Religious Practice of Late Antique Gaul in the 6th Century: Ideal and Reality

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ABSTRACT

Episcopal consecration in Gaul in the sixth and seventh centuries is rarely discussed despite its significance as the conclusion to appointment through ordination and election. This paper will examine and compare the evidence for consecration in church council canons and the narrative sources for the terminology and practice of episcopal consecration in Gaul.

With the brevity of the article in mind the aim is to formulate some conclusions about the similarities and differences in consecration practice and language in the evidence from a variety of genres. Ordination, election and consecration of bishops were ineluctably connected to the establishment of the late antique church hierarchy and so the procedures were significant in the construction of a bishop's legitimacy and authority. It is important to separate the three procedures and concentrate on one aspect at a time to try to gain a more informed picture of the practice. Accordingly, the terminology and procedures of the three topics will be examined separately to eliminate confusion in language usage and practice. In this article the central issue to be discussed is the role of episcopal consecration as an essential element required for entry into the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

While the normative evidence of church canons discloses the ecclesiastical ideal, it also depicts problems with a number of consecrations carried out by metropolitans and their bishops. Despite this the topic of consecration in the *acta* of the *Concilia Galliae* was of less interest compared to the topics of ordination or election. Narrative accounts of the period refer to consecrations of bishops in disparate accounts that reveal the attendant friction between parties in the exercise of authority over consecration.

Introduction[1]

In this article I will examine the terminology and procedure of that part of the episcopal installation that is later termed 'consecration' in both the canonical

[1] I am most grateful to Stephen Llewelyn, Alanna Nobbs and the anonymous referees and editors of *Studia Patristica* for their most valuable comments and criticism on the draft of this article which were instrumental in its improvement. I would like to thank the Anglican Deaconess Ministries in Sydney for the award of a travelling scholarship which made it possible for me to attend and give this paper at the 16th Patristics Conference in 2011. All Latin of the *acta* of the *Concila Galliae* cited was exported from *The Library of Latin Texts,* Series A or B (Turnhout,

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and narrative evidence from sixth and seventh-century Gaul. I will also include a brief history of the procedure in the early church and how that is connected to the contemporary practice of consecration in Gaul. The article will show that consecration differs from ordination and election, and that 'ordination' is the usual term used for episcopal installation. A further aim is to demonstrate the emerging problems in the procedure of episcopal installation as indicated in the narrative accounts and to examine the canon law for corrections to alleviate the problems.

Tradition

Like the other two procedures of ordination and election, the terminology and actual ceremony for consecration was derived from the traditions of the early church. A direct link between the earliest episcopal installations and the later procedure in Gaul is tentative.[2] The installation of the first ecclesiastical leaders is depicted in several letters of the New Testament[3] and was later formalized and documented in the *Apostolic Traditions*. The work supposedly blended parts of the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, *Apostolic Canons*,[4] the *Apostolic Church Order* as well as the *Constitutions of Hippolytus* and the *Canons of Hippolytus*.[5] Both Botte and Coquin have dated the *Canons of Hippolytus* to around the mid-fourth century.[6] The text contains thirty-eight canons translated into Latin from other languages.[7] From this source we can see the first rules for the installation

2009), Paul Tombeur (ed.), http://www.brepolis.net (exported 27/07/09). I have kept the spelling of all the late Latin texts which were often different to classical equivalent terminology.

[2] Adolf von Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, trans. James Moffat (Berlin, 1906, Gloucester, Mass., 1972), 448. See also the expansive scholarship with regard to this topic in Frank. L. Cross and Elizabeth A. Livingstone (eds), *Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Peabody, Mass., 1997), 91; Frances A. Sullivan, *From Apostles to Bishops: the Development of the Episcopy in the Early Church* (New York, 2001), 223.

[3] 1*Tim*. 3. The first appointments may be depicted when St. Paul sent Timothy to lead the Christians in Asia and Titus to lead Christians in Crete. They were called bishops and able to ordain other clerics of a province.

[4] Karl J. Hefele, *A History of the Church Councils, from the original documents*, vol., I trans., Henry N. Oxenham (Edinburgh, 2007), 458. The text here states in the Greek: canon 1. *Ἐπίσκοπος χειροτονείσθω ὑπὸ ἐπισκύπων δύο ἢ τριών*. The Latin translation is also short: *Episcopus a duobus aut tribus episcopus ordinetur*.

[5] F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone (eds), *Dictionary of the Christian Church* (1997), 91; *Hippolyte de Rome, La Tradition Apostolique, d'après les anciennes versions*, ed. Bernard Botte (Paris, 1968), 11-3; Paul M.J. Bradshaw, Maxwell E. Johnson and L. Edward Phillips (eds), *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary* (Minneapolis, 2002), 2. 24; *The Canons of Hippolytus*, ed. Paul M.J. Bradshaw, trans. C. Bebawi (Bramcote, 1987), canon 2, 11-2.

[6] René-George Coquin, *Les Canons d'Hippolyte* (Paris, 1966), 54-60; Bernard Botte, 'L'origine des Canons d'Hippolyte', in *Mélanges en l'honneur de Mgr Michel Andrieu* (Strasbourg, 1956), 53-63.

[7] P.M.J. Bradshaw, *The Canons* (1987), 5.

of bishops which were created by the ecclesiastical institution and its hierarchy and which were later to be established by the church councils and their *acta*.

The Latin translation of the *Canons of Hippolytus*, canon 2, which concerns the installation of bishops, only mentions the laying-on of hands – *Consentibus omnibus, imponant super eum manus*.[8] At no point is the Latin term *consecratio* or its cognates used, although the opening of the L and S(AE) texts uses *ordinetur* and *ordinabitur* (*ordinare* is equivalent to the Greek χειροτονεῖν). This is followed by the instructions for election, including the nomination announcement once a harmonious consensus had been achieved between the assembled, people, presbytery (plus the deacon in S(AE)) and bishops. All groups mentioned should be present and the decision must be unanimous. This should occur on a Sunday when the final imposition of hands will be made with the presbyters standing-by quietly.[9] The imposition of hands represents the episcopal consecration but the term *consecratio* or its cognates is not used. However, the L and S(AE) texts differ in their last sentence about the identity of the persons who impose their hands. In the procedure according to L 'bishops' are not mentioned but it states 'with the consent of all they (?) impose on him hands.' However, the text of S(AE) mentions that 'bishops' in the plural impose their hands. Sullivan interprets, 'one of the bishops present, at the request of all, laying his hand on him', and Bradshaw renders it, 'they are to choose one of the bishops and presbyters, he lays his hand on the head praying…' [10]

Successive Christian writers in the early church preserved the formulas for episcopal installation from the letters, councils and previous patristic writers,[11] each of them discussing the various references to episcopal installation. In this way the procedure was constructed as an ideal for the episcopal appointment and as a means to maintain correct hierarchical succession.

[8] B. Botte, *La Tradition* (1968), 40; This example is the version in Latin, named L, the other version is named S(AE) from the Sahidic, Arab and Ethiopian which writes: '*episcopus omnibus consentientibus* (συνευδοχεῖν) *qui imposuerunt manus super eum*'.

[9] B. Botte, *La Tradition* (1968), 40, Text L: '*De episcopis: episcopus ordinetur electus ab omni populo, quique cum nominatus fuerit et placuerit omnibus, conveniet populum una cum presbyterio et hisqui praesentes fuerint episcopi, die dominica. Consentientibus omnibus, imponant super eum manus, et presbyterium adstet quiescens.*' Text S(AE): '*Ordinabitur* (ordinare = χειροτονεῖν) *episcopus secundum quod dictum est, electus ab omni populo, irreprehensibilis. Qui cum nominatus erit et placuerit eis, populus omnis conveniet et presbyteri et diaconi, die dominica* (κυριαχή), *episcopis omnibus consentientibus* (συνευδοχεῖν) *qui imposuerunt manus super eum. Presbyteri stabunt.*'

[10] B. Botte, *La Tradition* (1968), 40-4, see footnote above for full text; F.A. Sullivan, *From Apostles* (2001), 174; P.M.J. Bradshaw, *The Canons* (1987), 12.

[11] See Iren., *Adv. haer.* III 3.3, John Keble, *Five Books of Saint Irenaeus Against Heresies* (Oxford, 1872); Euseb. Caes., *Hist. eccl.* VII 32, Kirsopp Lake, Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical Histories* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964-5); Cyprian, *Ep.* 55.8; 67.5, Graeme, W. Clarke, *The Letters of Saint Cyprian of Carthage* (New York, 1984-9); The change from presbyters involved in the final imposition of hands into solely bishops is first seen here.

In the first Ecumenical Church councils procedures for episcopal installation were discussed and recorded. The Council of Nicæa, (325), canon 4, mentions that three bishops must be present at an episcopal ordination. The council in the Greek version of its text uses the expression Ἐπίσκοπον προσήκει … καθίστασθαι which is best translated 'It is fitting for a bishop … to be appointed'. In the Latin also there is no mention of consecration – the phrase *episcopum convenit … ordinari* is used – and whereas the Greek reads, (*sc.* προσήκει…) τότε τήν χειροτονìαν ποιεῖσθαι, the Latin has *tunc ordinatio celebretur*. Together the expressions καθίστασθαι and τὴν χειροτονίαν ποιεῖσθαι indicate the appointment and voting by hands.[12]

Council of Nicæa (325), canon 4: 'The bishop shall be appointed by all (the bishops) of the *eparchia* (province). If this should be difficult, through pressing need or distance, three of each of the same (bishops) should be gathered when consensus has occurred and those absent send agreement through letters. It is proper to make the appointment (raising forth the hands), the confirmation of the whole is given to the provincial metropolitan.' (Hefele's translation from the Greek)
Episcopum convenit maxime quidem ab omnibus qui sunt in provincia episcopis ordinari. Si autem hoc difficile fuerit, aut propter instantem necessitatem aut propter itineris longitudinem: modis omnibus tamen tribus in id ipsum convenientibus et absentibus episcopis pariter decernentibus et per scripta consentientibus tunc ordinatio celebretur. Firmitas autem eorem, quae gerentur per unumquamque provinciam, metropolitano tribuatur episcopo.
'It is firmly agreed that the bishop be ordained by all the provincial bishops. If it should prove difficult through urgent necessity or on account of length of journey, at least three (bishops) are to meet together and with the decision of the absent bishops communicated by letters the ordination is then to be celebrated. But confirmation of what happened and granted by the metropolitan in every province.' (Translated from Latin)

From these examples, it can be seen, certain aspects of the procedure were omitted and others added or changed in meaning between the Greek and Latin versions. In the Latin text ordination is discussed but not the election process or consecration. In the Greek the terminology of canon 16 of the same council adds to our discussion by using the terms χειροτονία and χειροτονέω for the ordination of presbyters and deacons; the term 'consecration' is not used.[13] The dictionary definition of χειροτονία is 'choice or election to office by the raising of hands.' In Christian terms, the verbal form may convey the meaning of 'to appoint' or 'to install'.[14] Returning to the text of Council of Nicæa, canon 4, it is clear that the Greek holds the key to the terminology of consecration

[12] 2*Cor*. 8:19; Jonathon A. Draper, *The Didache in Modern Research* (Leiden, 1996), 61, *Did*. 15

[13] Guiseppe Alberigo, *Corpus Christianorum* I, in G. Alberigo, A.M. Ritter *et al*. (eds), *The Oecumenical Councils from Nicaea I to Nicaea II (325-787)* (Turnhout, 2006), 21

[14] Frederick W. Danker, Walter Bauer *et al*. (eds), *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (London and Chicago, 2000), 1083, 581. Nowhere in

because it mentions the imposition of hands. Although a number of scholars translate the term by 'consecration', there is no word in the Latin that indicates the imposition of hands by the metropolitan of the province or by the other bishops. The Latin version of the canon does not refer to the procedure of imposing hands nor is the term 'consecration' used for episcopal installation in this early period.

A number of other councils mention the appointment to the episcopacy and we can begin to see that they were trying to clarify the terminology. For example, see the text of the Council of Antioch (341),[15] canon 19 and the Council of Carthage (28th August 397), canon 2.[16] These two councils show the development of a more formal procedure. In the Council of Chalcedon (451),[17] canons 2 and 25, the Greek word used for episcopal installation is χειροτονία and the terminology of choice in the Latin is *ordinare* or *ordinatio*. In reference to the installation of bishops in the above texts, consecration is not mentioned but rather has been inferred by the modern translators.[18]

Additionally, nowhere in his work does Tertullian use the term consecration in the context of episcopal appointment. Similarly, Cyprian uses 'ordination' or the verb 'to ordain' rather than 'consecration' or 'to consecrate' when discussing the same procedure. Ambrose only refers to consecration in connection with the sacraments, as well as with the dedication of objects and of virgins in

this text of the canons of the council of Nicaea is the term ἐγκαινίζω – to dedicate or consecrate, mentioned in the Greek.

[15] Council of Antioch (341), *Canon* 19; 'A bishop shall not be ordained without a synod and the presence of the metropolitan of the province. And when he is present, it is by all means better that all his brethren in the ministry of the Province should assemble together with him; and these the metropolitan ought to invite by letter, and it were better that all should meet; but if this be difficult, it is indispensable that a majority should either be present or take part by letter in the election, and that thus the appointment should be made in the presence, or with the consent, of the majority; but if it should be done contrary to these decrees, the ordination shall be of no force. And if the appointment shall be made according to the prescribed canon, and any should object through natural love of contradiction, the decision of the majority shall prevail.' http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/3805.htm (accessed on 4/10/2011); Council of Laodicea (363), *Canon* 12: 'Bishops are to be appointed to the ecclesiastical government by the judgment of the metropolitans and neighbouring bishops, after having been long proved both in the foundation of their faith and in the conversation of an honest life.' www.newadvent.org/fathers/3806.htm (accessed on 31/11/2011).

[16] K.J. Hefele, *A History* (2007), II 411. This council is not to be confused with other councils held in the same year at Carthage (397), *Canon* 2 'When a bishop is consecrated, two bishops must hold the book of the gospels over his head and his neck, while one pronounces the blessing over him, all other bishops lay their hands on his head'.

[17] William Bright, *The First Four General Councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon* (Oxford, 1892), 144-9, 213-5.

[18] G. Alberigo *et al.* (eds), *The Oecumenical Councils from Nicaea I to Nicaea II (325-787)* (Turnhout, 2006), Concilium Chalcedonense (451), *Canon* 2. 138. Here both the original Greek and Latin texts are shown. K.J. Hefele, *A History* (2007), III 386.

the church.[19] Can we surmise from this evidence that the idea of episcopal consecration had not yet been developed in the sense that it came to have in later periods? It must also be noted that in this early period the terms *ordinare* and *ordinatio* were not only reserved for the installation of bishops but were used also when presbyters, deacons and other clerics were ordained. Furthermore, there appears to be little concrete discussion that 'consecration' represents the imposition of hands.[20]

Problems

One of the problems in examining the terminology and procedure of episcopal installation is the paucity of evidence for the period 500-700. Another problem is that often a number of terms have been translated as consecration when the more common *ordinatio* was used in original source. One example is in Thorpe's translation of the Gregory of Tours' *Libri decem historiae*, book X 31. In this section the current bishop describes the appointment of every bishop of Tours, prior to his own. Whereas in the original Latin Gregory only uses the term consecration in reference to the installation of bishops when speaking of them as a group,[21] Thorpe uses 'consecrated' with reference to each installation of the nineteen bishops. This rendering of terminology has resulted in imprecise and misleading language. A further difficulty when consulting modern works

[19] *Library of Latin Texts Series A* (Turnhout, 2010); all examples exported at: 15/06/2011; Tert., *Apol.* XVI 36; V 1, Tertullian, *Apology, De spectaculis,* trans. by T.R. Glover (London, 1966); Tert., *De idolatria* III; Cyprian, *Ep.* 56.1; 67.2, 4, 5, G.W. Clarke, *The Letters of St. Cyprian of Carthage*, Ancient Christian Writers (New York, 1984-9), 43-4, 46, 47; Ambrose, *De spiritu sancto* 1.7.88; 2.14; *De mysteriis* 1.14; 5.26; 7.40; 9.50, 52,54; *Ep.* 17.14; Bernard Botte, *Ambroise de Milan, Des sacraments; Des mystères; Explication du symbole*, SC 25 (Paris, 1980). In several examples from Ambrose, similarly the term is used to indicate another usage. Although the term 'consecrate' serves to indicate a similar idea, with the descent of God during a rite where 'consecration' is used: Ambrose, *De Spiritu Sancto* 1.7.88: *Quae nostris futura temporibus aquas sacerdotalibus invocata precibus consecraret* – 'and should consecrate the waters when invoked by the prayers of the priest,' http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/34021.htm (accessed on the 14/11/2011). See also Ambrose, *De mysteriis* 7.40 (B. Botte, *Ambroise,* 110). In the case of Cyprian he is writing specifically about the appointment of bishops in the sections noted above but never refers to consecration. Augustine, *Ep.* 138.2.10. Similarly the cases researched in the work of Augustine where the term consecration is found it is also used in a different context.

[20] I can only find one reference to the imposition of hands. See Cyprian, *Ep.* 67.5.

[21] Greg. Tur., *HF* X 31, 593-601, Bruno Krusch, Wilhelmus Levison (eds), *Gregorii episcopii Turonensis historiarum libri X*, MGH SS Scriptorum rerum Merovingicarum t 1, p 1 (Hannover, 1965); Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks, by Gregory, Bishop of Tours*, trans. Ernest Brehaut (New York, 1973); Gregory of Tours, *The History of the Franks,* trans., Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth, 1974), 601; Latin text imported 06/06/2012 from *The Latin Library,* http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/

is that there is only sparse reference to episcopal consecration compared to a much wider discussion on the terms for episcopal ordination or appointment.

As mentioned above, no reference concerning the use of the term consecration can be found in the liturgy or prayers of the earlier period.[22] As well as this, research into the early traditions of this procedure and its terminology reveals an inexact or ambiguous state of affairs. Because of the above problems it is deemed a fruitful area for further research.

Periods and evidence

In the period prior to 500, there are very few references in the Latin to episcopal consecration. It is found in the *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua*, an ecclesiastical text concerned with discipline and liturgy, written in Gaul in the early sixth century.[23] The term refers to the procedure of episcopal installation and the accompanying liturgy for the ceremony. The latter includes a formula which is addressed to those attending the ceremony; it indicates the person who is to perform the consecration and then requests a prayer by the congregation.[24] On a related matter, Duchesne conjectures that during the metropolitan's prayer, two bishops held the open book of the gospels over the neck of the one being consecrated while other bishops placed their hands on him.[25] Between 500 until 700 references to episcopal consecration are also rare. Surprisingly, the evidence for the terminology is also sparse in the *Concilia Galliae*, and only sporadic evidence for episcopal consecration is found in the historical and hagiographical works written by Gregory of Tours and other contemporaries. However, the procedure for episcopal ordination is commented on at least

[22] B. Botte, *La Tradition* (1968), 40-7; P.F.M. Bradshaw, *The Canons* (1987), 13; Paul F.M. Bradshaw, 'The participation of other bishops in the ordination of the a bishop in the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus', *SP* 18 (1989), 335-8.

[23] Carl Munier, *Concilia Galliae A. 314-506*, CSEL 148 (Turnhout, 1963); Hubert Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform in Frankenreich: die Collectio Vetus Gallica, die älteste systematische Kanonessammlung des fränkischen Gallien* (Berlin, 1975); Louis Duchesne, *Christian Worship Origin and Evolution: A Study of the Latin Liturgy up to the Time of Charlemagne* (London, 1904), trans. M.L. McClure, 350.

[24] L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship* (1904), 372-5: '*Ut igitur praefuturus omnibus**, electus** ex omnibus, universis sacris sacrandique idoneus fiat, sub hac, quae est homini per hominem postrema benedictio. consummata atque perfecta, suae **consecrationis**, nostrae subplicationis, adtentissima concordissimisque omnium precibus adjuvemur; omnium pro ipso oratio incumbat, cui exorandi pro omnibus pondus imponitur.*'

[25] L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship* (1904), 375. There is no reference for this part of the ceremony, but we have one example from an earlier council that confirms the procedure at council: Concilia Galliae 314-506 – *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* (475) Cl. 1776, SL 148, 181, line 223f. *Recapitulatio ordinationis officialium ecclesiae* Canon 90 (II). See footnote 16 with the canonical reference to holding the book of Gospels over the head during the ceremony.

forty-nine times and episcopal election at least eighteen times in the canons, with a similar frequency found in the histories and hagiographies.[26]

Sparse evidence in two genres

Given that consecration is seen as (a) the culmination of a bishop's installation, (b) the legitimization of his authority, (c) the confirmation of his role in the sacred rites, and (d) the foundation of his place in the apostolic hierarchy, the infrequency of reference to it carries a degree of difficulty. We need to examine the terminology and procedure to discover if the idea of episcopal consecration was an early development or something that has been created by modern historians for this period. Although the evidence of consecration is sparse, it does allow us to compare the procedure and its terminology across both the normative evidence of the Church canons and the writings of individual bishops such as Gregory of Tours. This comparison also allows us to evaluate the importance of the third stage of episcopal installation.

In the terminology of the canons the first reference to episcopal 'consecration' is found in:

Council of Orleans (541), canon 5: '… a bishop must be *consecrated* in the church of the city where he was elected for ordination and in the church over which he will preside…[27]

Council of Orleans (549), canon 10: '… so that no one may be permitted to obtain the bishopric either through gifts or procuring, but with the wish of the king together with the election of the clerics and people, just as it has been written and preserved in the ancient canons. The bishop should be *consecrated* by the metropolitan, or his representative, accompanied by the provincial bishops. If anyone purchases his ordination, violating the rule of this sacred constitution, we state that his *ordination* has been through bribes and he must be deposed.'[28]

Both canons mention all three procedures of ordination, election and consecration. It seems that here the idea of consecration is fairly clearly stated: it follows

[26] Susan Loftus, 'Examination of Episcopal Elections: the normative view of the Concilia Galliae versus the narrative accounts', in Johan Leemans, Peter Van Nuffelen, Shawn Keough, Carla Nicolaye (eds), *Episcopal Elections in Late Antiquity 300-600* (Berlin, 2011), 423-36.

[27] Conc. Aurelianense (541), *Canon* 5: '*Id etiam regulare esse praespeximus decernendum, ut episcopus in ciuitate, in qua per decretum* ***elegitur ordinandus****, in sua ecclesiae, cui praefuturus est,* ***consecretur****. Sane si subito necessitas temporis hoc implere non patitur, licit melius esset in sua ecclesia fieri, tamen aut sub praesentia metropolitani aut certe cum eius auctoritate intra prouinciam omnino a comprouincialibus* ***ordinetur****.*'

[28] Conc. Aurelianense (549), *Canon* 10: *'Ut nulli episcopatum praemiis aut conparatione liceat adipisci, sed cum voluntate regis iuxta* ***electionem*** *cleri ac plebis, sicut in antiquis canonibus tenetur scriptum, a metropolitano vel, quem in vice sua praemiserit, cum comprouincialibus pontifex* ***consecretur.*** *Quod si quis per coemptionem hanc regulam huius sanctae constitutionis excesserit, eum, qui per praemia* ***ordinatus*** *fuerit statuimus remouendum.*'

the bishop's legal election with all parties in accord. The second canon includes 'the wish' of the king in the election decision. The final authority for consecration rests with the metropolitan (his presence is required or his representative attends with his written consent) and the provincial bishops. This should take place in the church over which the candidate would preside. In the first example the term 'ordination' refers to a form of confirmation followed by his election. Whether this is the confirmation by the people and clerics or by just all those present is unclear. In the second canon the use of ordination refers to the overall procedure.

There are a number of alternative uses made of the verb 'to consecrate' in canon law. These include a reference to Arian bishops who 'on returning to the faith are to be received back through benediction by the imposition of hands, but in the case of the Arian churches, they are to be consecrated in the same rite which was employed for the dedication of "orthodox" churches.'[29] Two canons discuss the consecration of widows. The first states that the consecration of widows, who are deaconesses, was not allowed in its region. The second forbids the use of another power or regal authority to abduct and consecrate widows or young women to the Lord.[30] The term is also used when referring to sacred objects such as the consecration of altars or churches as well as to the consecration of wine during the Eucharist. These are the sum of references to consecration in the *Concilia Galliae*.

Narrative Histories

In Gregory of Tours' *Decem librum historiarum* the terms 'consecration' or its cognate verb are used infrequently. The most interesting is at book X 31 in reference to the appointment of bishops. Whilst Gregory refers to the previous eighteen bishops of Tours and himself the nineteenth using the term *ordination*, he only refers to episcopal *consecration* on one occasion. In reference to his

[29] Conc. Aurelianense (511), *Canon* 10: '*De hereticis clericis, qui ad fidem catholicam plena fide ac uoluntate uenerint, uel de basilicis, quas in peruersitate sua Gothi hactenus habuerunt, id censuimus obseruari, ut si clereci fideliter conuertuntur et fidem catholicam integrae confitentur uel ita dignam uitam morum et actuum probitate custodiunt, officium, quo eos episcopus dignos esse censuerit, cum impositae manus benedictione suscipiant; et ecclesias simili, quo nostrae innouari solent, placuit ordine* ***consecrari***.'

[30] Concilium Epaonense (517), *Canon* 21: '*Veduarum* ***consecrationem,*** *quas diaconas uocitant, ab omni regione nostra paenitus*.' See Concilium Clippiacense (626-627), *Canon* 26: '*Viduas, quae se Deo* ***consecrare*** *petierint, uel puellas Domino* ***consecratas*** *nullus neque per auctoritatem regiam per quamcumque potestatem suffultus aut propria temeritate rapere uel trahere audeat Quod si utrique consenserint…*' It was considered similar to the consecration of a bishop. The consecration of women either widows or virgins was set down in L.C. Mohlberg, *Missale Gallicanum Vetus* (Cod. Vat. Palat. Lat. 403); *Rerum Ecclesiasticarum, Documenta*, Series Major: Fontes III (Rome, 1958); *Missale Gallicanum Vetus* II 701, was cited in L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship* (1904), 424-6.

own installation, he states that it occurred in 'the church where Saint Martin and all the previous bishops were *consecrated*'.[31] But this is erroneous as Gregory was consecrated in Rheims by the metropolitan bishop Egridius. The poet Venantius Fortunatus gives the evidence using the term *sacravit*, perhaps for poetical purposes.[32]

In the whole of Gregory's *Histories*, there are only thirteen examples of the use of the verb *consecrare*, or the noun *consecratio*. Of these only four refer to episcopal consecration, another one refers to the consecration of Saint Agnes as head of a monastery.[33] Of the remainder, two refer to martyrs, namely, their consecration by fire and their baptism by consecration. Two refer to children's baptism through consecration. The final three refer to consecrated objects, *i.e.* a throne, relics and customary Frankish wands.[34]

Other evidence in book X indicates Gregory preferred to use the term *consecrare* for more contemporary procedures such as his reference to the installation of Pope Gregory the Great. He states that Bishop Gregory was consecrated to his office in the city of Rome.[35] This would have happened in Gregory of Tours' own lifetime, so he would be more certain of the circumstances. This raises the distinct possibility that Gregory otherwise avoids the use of the term for earlier episcopal installations as he was uncertain of the procedures used.

One of the rare examples of episcopal consecration found in other books of Gregory's *Histories* is the case of Cato, a man described as 'filled with self-esteem and self-admiration', when he was first considered for the episcopate. Gregory writes: 'come, we have given our consent and we will bless and consecrate you'.[36] On the same topic of Cato, the king stated to Cato: 'originally

[31] Greg. Tur., *HF* X 31; '… *in qua beatus Martinus vel ceteri sacerdotes Domini ad pontificatus officium* ***consecrati*** *sunt…*'

[32] Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* 5.3. line 11; Frederic Leo (ed), *Venanti Honori Clementiani Fortunati Presbyteri Italici*, MGH AA vol., 4 p. 1 (Berlin, 1961); Michael Roberts, *The Humblest Sparrow* (Anne Arbor, 2009), 110 '… *Quem patris Aegidii domino manus alma sacravit*' ('the blessed hand of Father Egidius consecrated him').

[33] This reference as well as the two found in canon law of the time (see footnotes 29 and 30), indicate that although the consecration of a deaconess was forbidden, it was taking place even in the sixth century. The above evidence for deaconess' consecration is noteworthy because Duchesne has written 'the diaconate of women was no longer in existence in the fifth and sixth century'. L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship* (1904), 343.

[34] Greg. Tur., *HF* I 28: '… *octoginsimo aetatis suae anno velut holocaustum purissimum per ignem Domino* ***consecratur***.' In the same book I 33: '… *credidit Christo, relictisque fanaticis sordibus ac baptismo* ***consecratus****, magnus in virtutum operatione enituit*.' Greg. Tur., *HF* II 29, Clothild, wife of Clovis, wanted her first child to be consecrated in baptism: '*Quem cum mulier baptismo consecrare vellit…*'; Greg. Tur., *HF* II 21 refers to a throne consecrated to the Lord: '… *adhuc et cathedram a Domino* ***consecratam*** *fetida sessionis tuae accessione coinquinas?*'

[35] Greg. Tur., *HF* X 1, 60: '… *ibique ad pontificalis gratiae officium consecratus, papa Urbis datus est*.'

[36] Greg. Tur., *HF* IV 6, where Gregory narrated the story of Cato: '… *veni, consenti nobis, et benedicentes consecremus te ad episcopatum*.'

my decision was to consecrate you bishop of Tours'.[37] These were again events, which occurred within Gregory's lifetime.

An additional example of episcopal consecration occurs in connection with bishop Felix of Nantes, whose dying wish was that his nephew, Burgundio, should succeed him. Canon law permitted a bishop to nominate his successor only if he was a family member.[38] Gregory narrates that Burgundio was twenty five and untrained when he came to Gregory, requesting him 'to come to Nantes to tonsure and consecrate him,' Gregory refused on the canonical grounds first that he must go through all the ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and second that the previous bishop must have died.[39] Like the previous incident it was in a negative episode that Gregory uses the term.

Two points to be made with regard to these passages are that both are reported speech and the episodes are dealt with negatively by Gregory. In the case of Cato he never achieved the episcopate and Gregory devotes several passages to his failure as well as the king's involvement in his nomination; the see eventually was given to Gregory's relative Euphronius and Gregory may have wanted to put Cato in a negative light for this reason.[40] Gregory seems to have a negative attitude towards Bishop Felix of Nantes; one cause may have been an offensive letter Felix sent to Gregory making allegations against his brother Peter.[41]

In the case of Gregory's other works, such as the hagiography *Liber Vitae Patrum*, again the preference is to use 'ordination'.[42] This is the case in his discussion

[37] Greg. Tur., *HF* IV 15: '*Cui rex ait: "Ego primum praecipi, ut Turonus te ad episcopatum consecrarent…"*'

[38] Conc. Orleans (511), *Canon* 4: '*… ita ut filii clericorum, id est patrum, aurorum ac proauorium, quos supradicto ordine parentum constat obseruatione subiunctos, in episcoporum poteste ac districtione consistant*'. *Canon* 4 stipulates only family members may be promoted to the episcopate as successors … nevertheless, this privilege is reserved for the sons of the clerics, his father or ancestor or grandfather, … who shall remain under surveillance and also be subject to the power and strict discipline of the bishops.

[39] Greg. Tur., *HF* VI 15: '*Qui veniens rogat, ut, accedens usque Namnetas, episcopum eum in locum avunculi, qui adhuc superstes erat, tonsoratum consecrare deberem.*' Probably age was also a canonical problem as Burgundio was only twenty-five, most of the bishops who are mentioned in the *Histories*, were certainly older, mature men usually in their seventh or eighth decade seemed to be preferable to younger men. They often had been through all the ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy or had a previous civil career and then moved into the ecclesiastical life.

[40] Greg. Tur., *HF* IV 6-7, 15.

[41] Greg. Tur., *HF* V 4.

[42] Bruno Krusch (ed), *Gregory episcopi Turonensis Liber Vita Patrum*, MGH SRM T 1 P 1, (Hannover, 1885), IV 1: St Quintianus '*… ad episcopatum Rutenae eclesiae elegitur, expetitur, ordinatur…*'; *VP* VI. 3 Gallus '*… in civitatem suscipitur et in sua eclesia episcopus ordinatur.*' Greg. Tur., *VP* VII 2: Gregory of Langres '*… et electus a* populo *Lingonicae urbi episcopus ordinatur*.' This last man was Gregory's great grandfather and no doubt the information came from his mother Armentaria who stayed with Gregory of Langres. Greg. Tur., *VP* VIII 3; In the case of Nicetius of Lyon, there is a *lacuna*; Edward James, *Life of the Fathers* (Liverpool, 1981), 146 footnote 7. James states that in the original 10th c. manuscript a scribe has added the 'here is

of all four bishops. Duchesne notes there is no further reference to episcopal consecration in this period with the sole exception of the *Missal Francorum*.[43]

Procedure in the canons

For the procedure of consecration, the available evidence from the *Concilia Galliae* points to the metropolitan bishop holding the main responsibility for consecration. In the event of his illness or inability to make the journey he was to send his representative and his written permission.[44] The evidence for the procedure, as mentioned in examples from the *Concilia Galliae,* is quite clear. The procedure should take place in the church of the city where he is to hold authority and all provincial bishops are to attend or send their written consent if prevented by ill-health. The metropolitan bishop is to carry out the consecration unless he is indisposed; then he must send a representative with his written consent and all other provincial bishops take part in the ceremony of consecration.[45]

Additional information may be gleaned from a council held in Paris (556-573), canon 8:

'Since in certain ways the ancient customs have been neglected and the canons have been violated, it has been decided according to ancient custom that the canonical decrees be observed. A bishop must not be appointed against the will of the local people, unless he is elected by the fullest wishes of the people and clerics; there should be no interference by the authority of the prince, nor any opposition to the wishes of the metropolitan or his provincial bishops. If anyone by royal designation presumes with excessive audacity to acquire this supreme honour, his provincial bishops are not to have contact with him and they must not give him communion. Of those bishops already dedicated irregularly, their fate should be decided by the metropolitan and the neighbouring bishops through discussion.'[46]

much missing'. A section was inserted. Greg. Tur., *VP* XVII 1; Nicetius of Trier, '… *populo ac decreto regis ad ordinandum a viris arcessi*.'

[43] L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship* (1904), 372, 375. It is here noted the difference in terms used for priests and bishops. In the former the expression *consecrentur manus istae et sanctificentur per istam unctionem et nostram benedictionem* is used whereas in the latter *unguantur manus istae de oleo sanctificato et chrismate sanctificationis* is used. Duchesne notes that for priests the term consecrentur and anointing by hands is referred to rather than the anointing of the head.

[44] Council Nicaea, *Canon* 4; Council of Antioch (341), *Canon* 19. The law was changed to make the metropolitan bishop responsible for this procedure.

[45] See footnote 27, 28.

[46] Council of Paris (556-573), *Canon* 8: '*Et quia in aliquibus rebus consuetudo prisca neglegitur ac decreta canonum uiolantur, placuit iuxta antiquam consuetudinem, ut canonum decreta seruentur. Nullus ciuibus inuitis ordinetur episcopus, nisi quem populi et clericorum electio plenissima quesierit uoluntate; non principes imperio neque per quamlibet conditionem contra metropolis uoluntatem uel episcoporum comprouincialium ingeratur. Quod si per ordinationem regiam honoris iustius culmen peruaderi aliquis nimia temeritate praesumpserit, a comprouincialibus loci ipsius episcopus recepi penitus nullatenus mereatur, quem indebete ordinatum*

From this excerpt it is clear that bishops had been installed contrary to ancient custom. The canon also stresses the importance of the metropolitan bishop and his provincial colleagues who acted in unison with him. Although consecration is not discussed as such, it can be inferred that some bishops had been installed without the correct procedure being followed and the canon highlights the importance of ecclesiastical authority as exercised in episcopal installation.

Narrative evidence for the procedure

Contemporary evidence of the procedure is almost absent in the narratives. There is an example discussing the ceremony of Pope Gregory's consecration. Gregory of Tours writes that after the unanimous election by the Roman people, the Emperor Maurice issued a diploma directing his enthronement. The future papal candidate Gregory was brought to the basilica of St Peter and then consecrated.[47] Also, when the priest, Sylvester was to be installed as bishop of Langres, Gregory mentions he made preparations to travel to Lyon to be consecrated. This example, where the expression used for installation is '*benedictio episcopalis*,' indicates that bishops were not always consecrated in the church of the city where according to canon law they would have authority.[48]

There are a number of examples of non-canonical consecration and much is made of this at councils, where often the persons responsible for the consecration are deposed or forced to financially support the bishop they consecrated.[49]

agnuscunt.' Another council of Paris in 573 contains two letters concerned with a dispute between kings Sigibert and Guntrum. This was caused by a non-canonical episcopal consecration made by Egidius of Reims supported by the assent of Sigibert. The appointment was made without agreement from a provincial metropolitan and occurred in Chateaudun which belonged to Sigibert but remained in the territory of Guntrum. It is stated '… *contra canonicam disciplinam episcopum consecratum*…'

[47] Greg. Tur., *HF* X 1, line 60: '… *ibique ad pontificalis gratiae officium consecratus, papa Urbis datus est*.' See E. Brehaut, *History* (1973), 227; L. Thorpe, *The History* (1974), 547.

[48] Greg. Tur., *HF* V 5: '*Interea transeunte beato Tetrico, hic, tonso capite, presbiter ordinatur, accepta omni potestate de rebus ecclesiae. Qui vero, ut benedictionem episcopalem Lugduno accipiat, iter parat*.' This option of Lyon makes sense, as Langres is high on top of a hill, with some degree of difficulty of access for all provincial bishops to get there. Even today in Langres has a lift to take people from the car park up to the city. The metropolitan city was Lyons so perhaps in some cases where travel was a problem it is understandable that all bishops would meet in the larger city for the ceremony despite canon law prescribing that a bishop must be consecrated in the church he was to serve. Removing a man for his episcopal installation took him away from the local clerics and other Christian population who may or may not have voted for his in the election. A candidate who was acceptable to other bishop but not local clerics may be another reason for out of area consecration. There are a number of references to consecration taking place in metropolitan cities as opposed to consecration in the city where a candidate will hold authority. A detailed discussion on this is not within the scope of this paper.

[49] Greg. Tur., *HF* IV 26; in this case it was a church council of Saintes (562-563), called by Leontius to depose a bishop who was non-canonically appointed. But the terms used are *benedicere-retur* not *consecretur*.

This is shown when a council was convened by Leontius of Bordeaux in order to depose a bishop who was non-canonically appointed. The few examples referred to were all events within the lifetime of the author. As intimated above, where Gregory was certain of the circumstances of an event he chose to use the procedural term 'consecration'.

A more explicit example of both the terminology and the procedure of consecration is seen at the end of the fifth century when Sidonius Apollinaris attended a number of episcopal appointments. He describes the procedure in an episode in Book IV 25:

> 3 … two holy men Patiens and Euphronius (metropolitan bishops) … maintained a strict adherence to the sounder course, … communicating their plan in private to their fellow bishops, before making it public, they then with total contempt of the clamour of the raging crowd suddenly seized a man and clasped him with hands who had not the slightest inkling about, or the desire for, the action that was being taken.
> 4 However, this priest of a second rank they have now consecrated as their colleague…
> 5 Exult for the sake of him whom they appointed, Euphronius by his testimony, Patiens by the laying of the hands.[50]

This last abbreviated example shows clearly all the details of the practice in the fifth century. As it was a difficult episcopal election with many candidates and factions the final stages were left to a group of provincial bishops and the final part of the procedure of consecration was carried out by the metropolitan, Bishop Patiens of Lyons.

Conclusion

To sum up the evidence it is quite clear that the use of the term consecration or its cognate verb was not found in use for episcopal installation in the early church, *i.e.* up to 400. Additionally, references to episcopal consecration are found infrequently between 500 and 680 in Gaul. There were few references

[50] Sidonius Apollinaris, *Sidonius Poems and Letters*, trans., William B. Anderson (London, 1965), vol. II Book IV 25.1-5.: '3 *Quod ubi viderunt sanctus Patiens et sanctus Euphronius qui rigorem firmitatemque sententiae sanioris praetor odium gratiamque primi tenebant, consilio cum coepiscopis prius clam comminicato quam palam prodito strepituque despecto turbae furentis iunctis repente manibus arreptum nihilque tum minus quam quae agebantur optantem suspicantemque…* 4 *… attamen hunc iam secundi ordinis sacerdotem dissonas inter partium voces, quae differebant laudare non ambientem sed nec audebant culpare laudabilem, stupentimus factiosis erubescentibus malis, acclamantibus bonis reclamantibus nullis collegam sibi consecravere*. 5 *… quem creaverunt, Euphronius testimonio, manu Patiens, ambo iudicio, in quo fecit…*'; *Letter to Domnulus* VII 9, 330-5. Sidonius describes an episcopal installation at Bourges where he was responsible for an overseeing the election, but he writes for advice and agreement from the senior bishop, Euphronius of Autun. The example indicates the necessary agreement was required for the procedure of consecration when distances were concerned between the various episcopal participants.

to episcopal consecration found in the *acta* of the *Concilia Galliae* as noted above. Interestingly, however, there are two examples from the period in which all three procedures of ordination, election and consecration were used together. Here it can be explicitly stated to be a reference to a procedure of consecration within a three-stage procedure.[51] Be that as it may, there are at least forty-nine examples of the term ordination for episcopal installation. On the other hand, episcopal consecration is only mentioned four times in the histories. There is also an absence of any real description of the full procedure even utilizing alternative terminology to that of *consecratio* or cognates of the verb *consecro*. Evidence therefore suggests that *ordinatio* or the cognates of the verb *ordinare* were the preferred terms for the installation of bishops and also could indicate both their election and consecration.

The term for episcopal consecration appears in a few negative episodes. In a number of irregular appointments contemporary with Gregory of Tours the term 'consecration' was used for episcopal installation but elsewhere in describing earlier appointments his preference was for the more general term 'ordination'. Was this because there was a lack of knowledge of the procedure and its terminology at this time, or was there a linguistic or procedural change beginning to take place, or does the lack of evidence point to a total absence of interest in this necessary episcopal procedure?

[51] See examples in footnote 28 and 29.

Capitals at War: Images of Rome and Constantinople from the Age of Justinian*

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ABSTRACT

This article investigates how Procopius of Caesarea represented in his *Gothic War* the city of Rome during wartime, as compared with Constantinople. Contrarily to positivistic readings of this work, it is suggested that a strong ideological connotation shaped his portrayal of Rome, because its historical links to the Byzantine Empire also affected Justinian's claims concerning the 'reconquest' of Italy. According to his critical and narrative aims, Procopius offered a filtered image of reality by the interplay of the recalling of the past and silence on other elements. Through the description of individual buildings and monuments in Rome, such as the Forum of Peace, the musealised Aeneas' ship and the copy of the Palladium, Procopius reflects on the relationship between the ancient Greeks and the Romans, and beyond with the Byzantines, casting doubt on the latter as legitimate heirs of the Roman Empire. Besides its strategic importance, Rome is highlighted as a powerful symbol, the key to taking possession of all of Italy and a unique urban reality which is the result of the enterprises of the great Romans together with artistic contributions from all over the world. Moreover, the possession and the loss of Rome during the war is used by Procopius as a sign of the whimsicalness of *tyche*. On the contrary, the historian is almost silent on Rome as *urbs Christiana* and he is very reticent as regards the involvement of Popes Silverius, Vigilius and of the future pontiff Pelagius in the theological disputes of his day, showing the events involving the Papacy and the clergy of Rome only through a political interpretation. Potentially disruptive are then the portrayal of the historical connections between Romans and Byzantines in the reproaches of the Goth Vacis, who claimed that the Byzantines were just Greeks, and in the speech of the starving inhabitants of Rome themselves, appealing to the commanders of the Byzantine garrison not to consider them as relatives but as enslaved enemies because of the better treatment they would expect to receive. On the other hand, Constantinople's role was that of the imperial see where decisions were taken (and plots hatched), the hub of military campaigns, and where the most high-profile refugees from Italy gathered. The image of Rome depicted by Procopius, therefore, is very different and sometimes at odds with the imperial propaganda as it appeared in contemporary literary texts and in monumental buildings such as the mosaics of the Chalke; in any case, the historian is interested in focusing

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on the problems and rifts in Justinian's ideology of the 'reconquest', rather than in offering straightforward and coherent criticism for the war and imperial attitude on the West.

I

It would be invaluable to possess an image of Rome as seen through the eyes of one of the 5,500 Lombards who fought under Narses in the closing stages of the Gothic war. Since his people had become allies of the Byzantine Empire just a couple of decades earlier without ever having been in Italy before,[1] he could have shared the perspective of a late antique Anacharsis – in our imagination, a figure standing between the main character in Lucian's dialogue and the homonymous protagonist created in the late eighteenth century by Jean-Jacques Barthélemy for his historic novel on ancient Greece.[2] But if we were to search the existing sources for such an external (and estranging) glimpse into the reality of the city in the sixth century, our efforts would be in vain. Besides, the Lombard force had been attached to the Byzantine army for only six months, and was discharged just after the battle of Taginae (552) and before the Byzantines headed towards Rome for the last conquest of the city. That brief appearance in Italy during the Gothic war would, however, have been the anticipation of a complex relationship between the new invaders and the old capital of the Roman Empire (often represented by the Papacy) for the next two centuries.[3]

What we do have, instead, is the image of Rome at war handed down by the main historiographic source of the Greek language, famously the four books of Procopius' *Gothic War*, written mostly while the conflict was still ongoing. The modern scholarly tradition since Antonio Nibby (but the long-term trend can be traced back to Renaissance humanists) has regularly used Procopius' information on the city during the various sieges in studies about Rome, with two different approaches: either as a thread for the historical reconstruction of the events of war that overtook the city or as a repertoire of information regarding the appearance of urban buildings and areas in the sixth century. Instances of making use of the books on the Gothic war specifically to investigate how Procopius portrayed various aspects of the city of Rome and its inhabitants are

[1] Walter Pohl, 'The Empire and the Lombards: Treaties and Negotiations in the Sixth Century', in *id.* (ed.), *Kingdoms of the Empire. The Integration of Barbarians in Late Antiquity* (Leiden, New York and Köln, 1997), 75-133, 87-95.

[2] Carlo Ginzburg, 'Anacharsis interroga gli indigeni. Una nuova lettura di un vecchio best-seller', in *id.*, *Il filo e le tracce. Vero, falso, finto* (Milano, 2006), 138-52.

[3] Stefano Gasparri, 'Roma e i Longobardi', in *Roma nell'alto medioevo (27 aprile-1 maggio 2000). XLVIII Settimana di Studio del Centro di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 2001), I 219-47.

more infrequent. Whereas a very recent attempt made by Massimiliano Ghilardi just touches the surface of Procopius' narrative,[4] the most insightful example is Averil Cameron's remarks within the chapter of her monograph devoted to the Procopian view of the war in Italy.[5] In a metaphorical dialogue with this study, we propose to offer here a more systematic survey of the representation of Rome as offered by Procopius.

Unlike that of the conjectural Lombard eyewitness evoked at the beginning, the view shown by Procopius can be defined at once as both 'internal' and 'external'. He belonged to the hellenophone East but was a subject of the Empire that was trying to win back Italy. His centre of gravity was Constantinople but he was bound to Rome by historical and political tradition, writing on Italian events from Constantinople in a perspective of narration, in which Rome was the nearby capital and Constantinople the distant one but always present. In brief, Procopius' observations are an intriguing chapter of the vast subject of Rome as seen from Constantinople spreading over centuries,[6] but with a peculiar perspective which challenges many commonplace beliefs about the Byzantine turn of mind. Moreover, compared with other contemporary writers narrating the conflict and sharing a general 'Eastern' point of view as did Agathias, who continued his work, Procopius was surely in Italy during the first phase of war. Specifically, he was in Rome itself for a considerable time during the first siege of the city, so he eyewitnessed many of the places and episodes he describes.[7]

Because Rome is one of the focal points in the *Gothic War* due to its material and cultural prominence, the present inquiry can turn out to be paradigmatic of the Procopian method of work throughout the *Wars*. We will investigate it elucidating the interaction between two basic and complementary concepts: the recalling of the past to be linked to contemporary events, on the one hand, and, on the other, the silence on alternative virtual connections and aspects of reality. The result of their combined action is a filtered image, steering readers towards judgements about war and the two warring sides Procopius intended to convey. The Byzantine relationship with the past has attracted much attention from recent scholarship. Proceeding from the general to the particular,

[4] Massimiliano Ghilardi, '"Com'essa sia fatta io, che l'ho vista, vengo a riferire". La città di Roma nel *De Bello Gothico* di Procopio di Cesarea', in Eleonora Plebani (ed.), *Società e cultura in età tardoantica e altomedievale. Studi in onore di Ludovico Gatto* (= *Romanobarbarica* 19) (Roma, 2006-2009), 109-35.

[5] Averil Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (London, 1985), 188-206 *passim*.

[6] Antonio Carile, 'Roma vista da Costantinopoli', in *Roma fra Oriente e Occidente (19-24 aprile 2001). XLIX Settimana di Studio del Centro di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 2002), I 49-99.

[7] See A. Cameron, *Procopius* (1985), 188-9; *PLRE* III, 'Procopius 2', 1062. Martine Henry, 'Procope en Italie: les notices sur le Vésuve', *Historia* 57 (2008), 317-26, argues for Procopius' presence in Italy in 552, mainly on the grounds of his second detailed description of Vesuvius.

Anthony Kaldellis has shown the importance of the 'historical sense' in byzantine patterns of thought ranging across literary genres;[8] Averil Cameron has highlighted the relevance of studies devoted to the Roman past in Constantinople during the decades of the Justinianic wars;[9] and, as for Procopius himself, Roberto Nicosia has analysed some instances of Procopian 'strategic' use of the past in the first book of the *Gothic War*.[10] I would suggest in the following pages that the recalling of a selected past strongly shaped Procopius' narration of the Gothic war, offering a multi-faceted and more nuanced view of reality, sometimes at odds with imperial propaganda and opinions of other contemporary writers.

Our investigation of the Procopian image of Rome will focus on four selected topics where the interplay between the recalling of the past and silence clearly appears. Due also to the exigency to reply to the positivistic reading of Procopius put forward by some studies, the latest of which is that by Ghilardi mentioned above, we will firstly discuss at some length the topography of Rome in wartime and the representation of individual monuments. Then, the symbolic importance of the city, mainly expressed through orations and letters included in the narrative, will be taken into account. A scrutiny of the relevant passages on the identity of the citizenry between Goths and Byzantines will follow a brief consideration of how Procopius underrepresented the role of the Popes and the clergy of the city. Within the same perspective drawn from byzantine historiographic works, we shall also examine the city of Constantinople solely as a point of comparison to Rome, highlighting its significance as a geographically distant capital but, being the imperial seat, a constant reference point for military forces and for the populace involved in the war.

II

It is an almost self-evident fact that an author who narrates a war of sieges only puts forward a partial image of the topography of the city, leaving the greater part of the description to its defensive buildings or areas linked to the war. The topography of Procopius' Rome is first and foremost constituted of the perimeter of its walls and its gates which are given great prominence in the

[8] Anthony Kaldellis, 'Historicism in Byzantine Thought and Literature', *DOP* 61 (2007), 1-24.

[9] Averil Cameron, 'Old and New Rome: Roman Studies in Sixth-Century Constantinople', in Philip Rousseau and Manolis Papoutsakis (eds), *Transformations of Late Antiquity. Essays for Peter Brown* (Aldershot, 2009), 15-36.

[10] Roberto Nicosia, 'Dietro la memoria del passato. La riconquista delle città italiane in Procopio e il buon uso della storia nel libro I della Guerra Gotica', in Massimo Ghilardi, Christophe J. Goddard and Pierfrancesco Porena (eds), *Les cités de l'Italie tardo-antique (IV^e-VI^e siècle). Institutions, économie, société, culture et religion*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 369 (Rome, 2006), 101-10.

narration. Because substantial archaeological evidence of transformations in the Aurelian wall during the period of the Gothic war is missing, Procopius' account becomes extremely relevant but also poses serious questions on its verifiability. Just a few brief observations will suffice to point out the main role played by the walls of Rome in the *Gothic War*: they were reinforced by Belisarius, repeatedly assaulted, partially demolished by Totila and again hurriedly rebuilt by Belisarius. The city gates are also protagonists in Procopius' account: through them the Byzantine and Gothic armies entered Rome by treason, went out for surprise attacks, or they fled when all was lost. Among the many gates whose names repeatedly occur in the Procopian narrative, the Pincian gate stands out for being personally defended by Belisarius during the first Gothic siege, while the Asinarian gate is the point where some Isaurian watchmen let Gothic troops enter the city twice.[11]

In the *Gothic war* non-military buildings also appear that had previously been included in the city's defence system or which had been adapted or used extemporarily for defence purposes during wartime. To quote just some examples, the *Vivarium* near the Prenestine gate, which became a defensive rampart when the Aurelian wall was built (although Procopius does not recognize the priority);[12] the intersection between the Claudius Aqueduct and the *Aqua Marcia* which the Goths fortified during the siege of 537, in a place that from the late seventh century would be called *campus Barbaricus*;[13] and above all the Tomb of Hadrian, already connected to the city wall in a previous age and which now plays a key role in more than one episode in the defence of Rome.[14] The latter category of buildings also included certain supply infrastructures including bridges and roads, the harbours of Portus and Ostia, as well as public storehouses that Belisarius filled in anticipation of the siege. Aqueducts are mentioned, first cut off by the besieging Goths and then blocked from within by Belisarius in order to prevent secret entry by enemies, as they in fact tried to do. As a consequence of this, mills on the Janiculum became unusable, and the Byzantine general devised a system to make millstones work.[15]

Then, mention is made of individual buildings and places in Rome within the city walls that have no strong ties to the military operations but which are

[11] For an archaeological study, see Hendrik W. Dey, *The Aurelian Wall and the Refashioning of Imperial Rome, AD 271-855* (Cambridge, 2011), 49-61.

[12] Adriano La Regina, 'Vivarium', in Eva Margareta Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* 5 (Roma, 1999), 208-9.

[13] Lorenzo Quilici, 'Il campo barbarico nell'assedio gotico di Roma', in Raffaella Farioli Campanati (ed.), *XLII Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina (Ravenna 14-19 maggio 1995)* (Ravenna, 1995), 795-815; Maria Gabriella Zanotti, 'Barbaricus campus', in Adriano La Regina (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae. Suburbium* 1 (Roma, 2001), 206-7.

[14] Paolo Liverani and Maria Antonietta Tomei, 'Aeliorum sepulcrum', in A. La Regina (ed.), *LTUR. Suburbium* 1 (2001), 18-22.

[15] Andrew Wilson, 'The Water-Mills on the Janiculum', *MAAR* 45 (2000), 219-46, 232-3, 239-44; H.W. Dey, *The Aurelian Wall* (2011), 186.

fresh in Procopius' mind for other reasons. Among them, the Forum where Belisarius on horseback was halted by a Roman asking for justice; the Palatium, the place of a bitter quarrel between Byzantine officers; the temple of Janus, whose doors were unsuccessfully attempted to be opened at the beginning of the war. In the suburban area, Procopius also notices the large ancient stadium in the place he calls the 'Plain of Nero'.[16] From these rapid references it is clear that he has a marked interest in the city's monumental wealth[17] even though some scholars have been all too ready to read a 'tourism' slant into his remarks. There is more contained in the narration of the *Gothic War*.

In fact, Procopius is far from being interested in offering a catalogue of *mirabilia* of Rome as that included in the Syriac *Chronicle* attributed to Zachariah the Rhetor, who in all likelihood grounded that work on the need to innumerate what there was in the city before it was captured and sacked during the reign of Justinian.[18] Firstly, if the Rome emerging from the peculiar evidence of the *laetaniae* organised by Gregory the Great is a city basically made up of churches,[19] the overall framework of the topography of Rome under repeated sieges as shown by Procopius is by and large that of an 'empty' city composed of a perimeter under constant threat of attack and an urban area in which the skyline is made up not of residential buildings but of exclusively public and religious ones, both pagan and Christian (we will deal with the latter below). Moreover, the Procopian description of individual buildings, which is anything but the detached view of a neutral observer, is an integral part of the political reflection the historian undertakes throughout his work. The scrutiny of how Procopius portrays three monuments he saw in Rome shows the accentuation placed by the writer on the historical relationship between the Greek, Roman and Byzantine worlds.

In the last stages of the war as narrated by Procopius, an omen heard by a senator is mentioned: during the reign of Athalaric, a wether covered a statue of a bull in the Forum of Peace, and it was interpreted as a future victory of an evirated man over the king of Rome. The prophecy was first derided, but it

[16] Paolo Liverani, 'ΝΕΡΟΝΟΣ ΠΕΔΙΟΝ/Neronis campus', in Adriano La Regina (ed.), *LTUR. Suburbium* 4 (Roma, 2006), 92.

[17] A. Cameron, *Procopius* (1985), 191-2; again, *ead*., 'Old and New Rome' (2009), 33-4.

[18] Ps.-Zach. 10.16; Geoffrey Greatrex (ed.), *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor. Church and War in Late Antiquity*, Translated Texts for Historians 55 (Liverpool, 2011), 419-24. On the connection with the capture by barbarians (probably the troops of Totila in 546), ps.-Zach. 10.15 (partially reconstructed from Mich. Syr.), with Ignazio Guidi, 'Il testo siriaco della descrizione di Roma, nella storia attribuita a Zaccaria Retore', *BCAR* 12 (1884), 218-39, 234-5 and note 1, 237 note 2; G. Greatrex (ed.), *The Chronicle* (2011), 418 and notes 145-6, 424 note 186.

[19] Letizia Ermini Pani, 'La Roma di Gregorio Magno', in *ead*. (ed.), *L'orbis christianus antiquus di Gregorio Magno*, 2 vols., Miscellanea della Società Romana di Storia Patria 51 (Roma, 2007), I 19-47, 44-7.

rightly alluded to the future victories of Narses.[20] This fit in Procopius' opinion on the inscrutability of the future, shown with other prophecies such as the Sibylline oracles.[21] Following recent excavations in the area of the Fori, it has already been noticed that the Procopian description of the Forum of Peace is not fully accurate:[22] he ignores the existence of the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian, founded by Pope Felix IV in an apse of the Forum just before the outbreak of the war; he does not take into consideration the new cemetery created around the church of the healing saints (if it was already there when Procopius was in Rome);[23] and finally he does not point out the presence of late antique commercial buildings in the square.[24] It is quite obvious that Procopius does not aim to present a detailed description of the Forum in the sixth century; even if struck by the place, his remarks are embedded within an historical narrative focused on the fight between the Goths and the Byzantines.

I would suggest that he offers a filtered image of the monumental reality, consistent with his own concerns. He stresses the presence of the statues that reproduce the great works of art of ancient Greece: the brazen bull made by Phidias or Lysippus (the statue of the omen), another statue by Phidias, as Procopius inferred from the inscription on the base, and the calf of Myron. Two of the bases of the statues in the Forum are extant, and some fragments of three others were found in the excavations of the last few years.[25] Of course, what Procopius has to say about Greek pieces of art is understandable as an introduction to the episode involving the statue of the bull. But there were competing reminiscences of the past to be drawn in the Forum of Peace. For instance,

[20] Procop. *Goth.* 4.21.10-7.

[21] Salvatore Pricoco, 'Due profezie sibilline nella "Guerra gotica" di Procopio di Cesarea', in Ileana Chirassi Colombo and Tullio Seppilli (eds), *Sibille e linguaggi oracolari. Convegno internazionale di studi (Macerata-Norcia settembre 1994)* (Pisa-Roma, 1998), 555-67.

[22] Massimiliano Ghilardi, 'Trasformazioni del paesaggio urbano. Il *Templum Pacis* durante la guerra greco-gotica (a proposito di Procop., *Goth.* IV 21)', in *id.*, C.J. Goddard and P. Porena (eds), *Les cités de l'Italie tardo-antique* (2006), 137-48.

[23] Margherita Capponi and Massimiliano Ghilardi, 'Scoperta, nel *Templum Pacis*, di un'area sepolcrale probabilmente contemporanea alla fondazione dei SS. Cosma e Damiano', in Federico Guidobaldi and Alessandra Guiglia Guidobaldi (eds), *Ecclesiae Urbis. Atti del congresso internazionale di studi sulle chiese di Roma (IV – X secolo)*, 2 vols., Studi di antichità cristiana 59 (Città del Vaticano, 2002), I 733-56. According M. Henry, 'Procope en Italie' (2008), 325, Procopius was in Rome in 552 too; this fact is deduced from the omen of the bronze bull, because otherwise it would have been senseless that someone could have remembered and narrated it to the historian before Narses' victory. This, of course, affects the problem of what stage of the war the state of the urban areas Procopius describes dates back to.

[24] Further details on them in Silvana Rizzo, 'Indagini nei fori imperiali. Oroidrografia, foro di Cesare, foro di Augusto, templum Pacis', *MDAI(R)* 108 (2001), 215-45, 241-3. Such structures would have been razed to the ground during or just after the Gothic war: Massimiliano Ghilardi, 'Trasformazioni' (2006), 142.

[25] Eugenio La Rocca, 'La nuova immagine dei fori Imperiali. Appunti in margine agli scavi', *MDAI(R)* 108 (2001), 171-213, 196-201.

Procopius does not recall the tradition of the past presence of the treasure of the Jewish Temple, that was one of the reasons that induced Pope Felix to choose a building in it to be transformed into a church within the city centre.[26] And we are sure that Procopius clearly knew about the translation of the treasure from Jerusalem to Rome, because he remembers it when he narrates that it was carried in Belisarius' triumph in Constantinople after the Byzantine general recovered it from the Vandals.[27]

Even though he could not see and understand fully the ideological programme of the array as conceived by Vespasian,[28] Procopius stresses instead the admiration of the Romans for Greek art. Actually, he explains the presence of the statues in the Forum of Peace with these words: 'For the ancient Romans took great pains to make all the finest things of Greece adornments of Rome'.[29] A statement evoking the acculturation process of Rome after the conquest of Greece, and the interconnection between the two cultures that was at the core of reflections involving Greek speaking writers during the previous centuries. And, as a parallel to Rome ready to be remembered by Procopius' readers, the gathering of ancient Greek statues and pieces of art in public spaces of Constantinople from the very beginning was typical of actions by Constantine, Theodosians and, to a lesser extent and with a different agenda, by Justinian as well.[30] On such a basis Procopius alludes to the historical making of Roman (and Byzantine) identity, which can be detected in other descriptions of buildings about which we have less or no archaeological evidence.

A similar accentuation is in fact comparable to the 'antiquarian' description of Aeneas' ship along the Tiber.[31] It was probably Augustus who created a musealised space to show an ancient ship identified as that of Aeneas and, despite the lack of archaeological remains, the building referred to by Procopius has been recognized as the tetrastyle one drawn in ancient plans of Rome

[26] John Osborne, 'The Jerusalem Temple Treasure and the Church of Santi Cosma e Damiano in Rome', *PBSR* 76 (2008), 173-81.

[27] *Vand.* 2.9.5. However, Procopius does not explicitly mention the place in Rome where the treasure was preserved until Gizeric's raid. Ra'anan S. Boustan, 'The Spoils of the Jerusalem Temple at Rome and Constantinople. Jewish Counter-Geography in a Christianizing Empire', in Gregg Gardner and Kevin L. Osterloh (eds), *Antiquity in Antiquity. Jewish and Christian Pasts in the Greco-Roman World*, Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum 123 (Tübingen, 2008), 327-72, 357-62, argues against historical reality of the Procopian account of the recovery, and considers it a literary device to point out the focusing in Constantinople of Jewish and Roman traditions embodied in the Temple's implements.

[28] Alessandra Bravi, 'Immagini adeguate: opere d'arte greche nel *Templum pacis*', in Filippo Coarelli (ed.), *Divus Vespasianus. Il bimillenario dei Flavi* (Roma, 2009), 176-83.

[29] *Goth.* 4.21.14. The text of Procopius is that of Jacob Haury and Gerhard Wirth (eds.), *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, 4 vols. (Lipsiae, 1962-1964); the English translation is by Henry B. Dewing (trans.), *Procopius*, 7 vols. (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1914-1940).

[30] Sarah Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge, 2004), 121-36 for Justinian's age.

[31] *Goth.* 4.22.7-16.

in the area of the Circus Flaminius. This area was devoted by the first Emperor to extol *gens Iulia* and, indirectly, the victory at Actium; so Aeneas' ship could have fallen within the same project[32]. The amount of details on the ship's structure reveals a genuine interest in it as one of the 'memorials of the Roman people' (μνημεῖα τοῦ γένους), but if we put the description into context, Procopius' message appears manifest. He put before it praise deserved to the Romans for their care of ancient remains, even during 'barbaric' (*i.e.* Ostrogothic) rule:[33]

> The Romans love their city (φιλοπόλιδες) above all the men we know, and they are eager to protect all their ancestral treasures (τὰ πάτρια) and to preserve them, so that nothing of the ancient glory (τοῦ παλαιοῦ κόσμου) of Rome may be obliterated. For even though they were for a long period under barbarian sway (βεβαρβαρωμένοι), they preserved the buildings of the city and the most of its adornments, such as could through the excellence of their workmanship withstand so long a lapse of time and such neglect.

Procopius stresses the past glory of Romans and their efforts in preserving their monuments are placed in the past, even though an immediate past. This traditional love for the city clashes with Totila's undertakings regarding Rome, possibly implicitly compared to Theoderic's politics towards the ancient capital (even though the entire credit for its preservation is attributed to Romans *despite* the Ostrogoths).[34] The chapter begins with Totila's repentance for his attempts to destroy areas of the city and its wall; the Gothic king transferred some Romans, including members of the senate, to Rome, charging them with the task of taking care of the city. But, Procopius notices, since they were reduced to the condition of slaves and lacking money, the meagre situation prevented them from doing anything. The historian states that all the Roman memorials are still standing, but the overall impression is that they would not be standing much longer.[35]

The description aims therefore to eulogize the ancient glory of Rome which will be part of the Byzantine identity, on one hand, and to underline the poor state of contemporary Romans, oppressed by a king who could not accomplish his own duties of caring for the city. Beside the negative framework where the

[32] Pier Luigi Tucci, 'Dov'erano il tempio di Nettuno e la nave di Enea?', *BCAR* 98 (1997), 15-42, 37-42; *id.*, 'Nave di Enea', in *LTUR* 5 (Roma, 1999), 278-9. A conjecture on the historical identity of the ship is put forward by Lorenzo Quilici, 'La "nave di Enea" vista da Procopio negli arsenali di Roma', in Raffaella Farioli Campanati (ed.), *XLIII Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina (Ravenna, 22-26 marzo 1997)* (Ravenna, 1998), 741-53.

[33] *Goth.* 4.22.5-6.

[34] On Theoderic and Rome, Massimiliano Vitiello, *Momenti di Roma ostrogota:* adventus*, feste, politica*, Historia Einzelschriften 188 (Stuttgart, 2005), 39-82. I discuss Totila's behaviour towards Rome (in relation with the recalling of Alaric's sack of the city) in more detail in a separate study: Rocco Borgognoni, 'Respectful Arsonists', forthcoming.

[35] *Goth.* 4.22.2-4.

description is placed, if we look at the cultural and historical connections, the mention of Aeneas creates a link between the Trojan world and Rome (and beyond to Byzantium). The figure of Aeneas, famously at the centre of the Augustean ideological program, was remarkably promoted in Justinianic Constantinople: John Lydus refers to him as 'the eldest and the most honourable of all men', starting his treatise on Roman magistracies from him, and the preface of a *Novel* of Justinian dating to 537 calls him a political progenitor of the Byzantine state.[36]

Just as a sculptural series linked to the Trojan epic chosen by Constantine to decorate the Baths of Zeuxippos in Constantinople evoked the relationship between Troy, Rome and the newly founded city; among them a statue of Aeneas could be seen until the early 530s, when the monumental decoration was destroyed by the fire of the Nika riot.[37] In Procopius Aeneas' imprint on Roman origins (as had already happened in the early and middle Roman Republic) can be also seen more generally as a connection with the Homeric world, working for common ground with Greek culture itself. It is worth remembering that the Procopian description is included in a 'naval' narrative core, coming before the discussion of other mythical ships in Greece such as those of Odysseus and Agamemnon, and is linked to the following account of the last great sea battle near Senogallia, one of the Goths' major defeats.[38]

Both descriptions are from the fourth book of the *Gothic War*, published later and separately from the main body of the *Wars*, and envisaging a different and more pessimistic view of reality, although the historical links we detect do not have a negative connotation in themselves. The third description of a monument to be considered pertains anyway to the first book of the *Gothic War* and it throws a shadow on Procopius' optimism of the early years.[39] It is the essay on the fate of the Palladium, a copy of which he sees in the Temple of Fortune.[40] This remark is at the end of a digression on Beneventus and its foundation by Diomedes. Procopius narrates a version of the traditional account in which the Greek warrior fell ill and according to the oracle gave the Palladium

[36] Lyd., *Mag.* 1.1 (Ioannes Lydus, *On Powers or the Magistracies of the Roman State*, ed. Anastasius C. Bandy [Philadelphia, 1983], 10.3-7; trans. *ibid.* 11); Just., *Nov.* 47 *pr.* (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*, ed. Rudolfus Schoell and Guilelmus Kroll, 3 [Berolini, 1959], 283.21-5); see Anthony Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium. The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge, 2007), 62.

[37] S. Bassett, *The Urban Image* (2004), 53-5, 160 no. 27.

[38] *Goth.* 4.22.17-32; 23.

[39] Already Anthony Kaldellis, *Procopius of Caesarea. Tyranny, History, and Philosophy at the End of Antiquity* (Philadelphia, 2004), 165-6, cautiously suggested that, with the doors of the temple of Janus in Rome forced and then left open as narrated in *Goth.* 1.25.24, Procopius hinted at an endless war.

[40] As Samuel Ball Platner and Thomas Ashby (eds), *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Oxford, 1929), 216 indicate, in the past it was assumed to be the temple of *Fortuna huiusce diei*, but without solid reason.

to Aeneas in order for him to recover his health. 'And', he continues, 'as to where in the world the statue itself is, the Romans say they do not know, but even up to my time they shew a copy of it chiselled on a certain stone in the temple of Fortune', and it is in a style similar to the Egyptian one. Procopius concludes: 'The Byzantines, however, say that the Emperor Constantine dug up this statue in the forum which bears his name and set it there'.[41] The latter statement hints at the relationship between Rome and Constantinople: in no place in his work does Procopius state clearly the replacement of Rome by the capital on the Bosporus and the tension it produced in the fourth and the fifth centuries.

Contemporary and later Byzantine writers (including Malalas) report that the Palladium was among those sacred images Constantine brought from Rome to his city to sacralise the new urban space;[42] and according to a tradition highlighted by late antique pagan antiquarianism, the Palladium was one of the *pignora* preserved in Rome that assured the maintenance of the Roman Empire.[43] A few years ago, Nicosia asked the right questions about this Procopian passage, but he did not answer them with enough confidence.[44] Procopius' words, that in our opinion purposely do not take a stand, declare the unsure presence of it in Rome, so deprived of its protection, and a not persuasive rumour of its presence underground in Constantinople, which is therefore not directly seen as the New Rome. The historian is not voicing here the polemical opinion of his Roman guides against the rival city,[45] but within the narration of the Gothic war it specifically questions the filiation of Constantinople from Rome, and then the right of the former to the possession of the latter. Dagron labelled as *pessimisme* the Byzantine sources reporting the burial of the Palladium as an antidote to the fear about Constantinople's future.[46] We would apply this pessimism to the Procopian view of the bases of the conflict in the *Gothic War*. As we will see below, the context of Procopius' narration at the beginning of the war supports this interpretation.

From the description of the selected topography of Rome examined so far, it can be deduced that the filtered image of individual buildings, when compared and put into context, carries crucial implications for understanding the Byzantine identity and the legitimacy of their claims on Italy against the

[41] *Goth*. 1.15.11-4.

[42] S. Bassett, *The Urban Image* (2004), 205-6 no. 114.

[43] Clifford Ando, *The Matter of the Gods. Religion and the Roman Empire*, The Transformation of the Classical Heritage 44 (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 2008), 182, 186-95.

[44] R. Nicosia, 'Dietro la memoria del passato' (2006), 106-7.

[45] As assumed by Andrea Pellizzari, *Servio. Storia, cultura e istituzioni nell'opera di un grammatico tardoantico*, Fondo di studi Parini-Chirio n.s. 7 (Firenze, 2003), 59.

[46] Gilbert Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Paris, 1974), 39, developing an intuition of Charles Diehl, 'De quelques croyances byzantines sur la fin de Constantinople', *BZ* 30 (1929-30), 193-4.

Ostrogothic kingdom. Some vagueness in Procopian sentences must not be considered as a superficial reflection on these themes; even though Procopius had no deep antiquarian knowledge of the Roman past as John Lydus had, they probably moved in the same cultural circles in Constantinople.[47] The three descriptions of monuments show an overlapping of temporalities, linking the present through different chronological levels to the depths of mythistory. It suggests that Procopius' intention was to implicitly turn readers' attention to the historic relationship between Ancient Greece and Rome and thence to the relationship between Rome and the new capital Constantinople without suggesting any marked ideological vision. The historical-mythological episodes could be merely hinted at by describing the supposed relative extant material 'exhibits' for the reader to make the cultural connection with the past which, in the narrative framework of the *Gothic War*, necessarily interacts with the contemporary events of the conflict that the Byzantines had brought to Italy. The importance of Rome, however, went well beyond its buildings, and Procopius found different forms to display reflection on what the city meant for the belligerents.

III

With the first Gothic siege not far off, Procopius conveys an image of Rome situated in a position that was anything but strategic. Set in the hinterland and surrounded by a perimeter wall that if anything was too vast, it lay in a relatively flat area and was easy to reach. The words were put in the mouths of the inhabitants of the city, unable to understand why Belisarius had decided to enter the city and hold it despite the objective difficulties. Procopius clearly reports such scepticism to stress the military skills of Belisarius, as he does in the first two books: the Romans do not fail to express admiration for the defensive improvements devised by the Byzantine general, and Belisarius himself is not worried about these rumours, as he carries on the reinforcement of the wall and the storage of food supplies for the next siege.[48] Its course, as narrated by Procopius, proved that Belisarius was right as a farsighted and valiant commander-in-chief. One ideal answer to the question asked by the inhabitants of Rome emerges from the Procopian account of the entire Gothic war – namely that Rome was a focal point in the thought of Byzantines and Goths.

[47] Yet I would not portrait Procopius and Lydus as friends, above all on the grounds of alleged political affinity, as does Anthony Kaldellis, 'Identifying Dissident Circles in Sixth-Century Byzantium: The Friendship of Prokopios and Ioannes Lydos', *Florilegium* 21 (2004), 1-17.

[48] *Goth.* 1.14.16-7. On the portrait of Belisarius' virtue related to *tyche* during the first phase of the war, A. Kaldellis, *Procopius* (2004), 190-7.

This is seen firstly by the two armies exchanging possession of the city six times between themselves. Later Byzantine writers grasped the space given to Rome by Procopius in the economy of his work. Evagrius Scholasticus, recapitulating Procopius' narration of the Gothic war in his fourth book with propensity to show God's favour during the reconquest of the West by Justinian, summarises the entire conflict as a fight for Rome:[49]

> When Belisarius reached the land of Italy Vitigis had abandoned Rome while Belisarius approached Rome with his army. The Romans most joyfully opened their gates and welcomed him […]. And Rome again came under Roman control after 60 years […]. The same Procopius records that, when the Goths were besieging Rome, Belisarius, having a suspicion of treachery against the city's archbishop Silverius, transported him to Greece […] Then he relates Belisarius' return to Byzantium, and how he brought back Vitigis along with the spoils of Rome, Totila's acquisition of the Roman realm and how Rome again came under the Goths, that Belisarius after twice landing in Italy recovered Rome again […] He also relates the campaign of Narses, who was sent by Justinian to the country of Italy, how he overcame Totila and after him Teias, and how Rome was captured for the fifth time.

Although understanding one of the main features of the *Gothic War*, Evagrius completely overlooks Procopius' remarks on why Rome was so important. This basic concept is expressed by Procopius through the voices and the pens of various leaders as the narration develops.

Notwithstanding its position, Rome had strategic significance for the belligerents. By contrast to what Belisarius was to do later, Vittigis decided against a strong defence of Rome in order to better organize himself in Ravenna. Totila himself declared his intention to raze the walls of Rome to the ground to prevent the conflict from turning into a siege war instead of one short, sharp, decisive battle.[50] In a broader perspective, the possession of Rome was crucial in order to control the rest of Italy and this emerges in the words of the ambassador of Naples Stephanus at the beginning of the war. Speaking to Belisarius, Stephanus urged him not to persevere in besieging his city: 'For if you capture Rome, Naples will be subject to you without any further trouble, whereas if you are repulsed from there, it is probable that you will not be able to hold even this city securely'.[51] The reason for this was that, in addition to being a large

[49] Evagrius, *Hist.* 4.19; 21; 24; Evagrius Scholasticus, *Historia ecclesiastica. Kirchengeschichte*, ed. Adelheid Hübner, 2 vols., Fontes Christiani 57 (Turnhout, 2007), II 488.22-4; 490.1-2, 6-9, 17-22; 492.25-8; trans. Michael Whitby (ed.), *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholastichus*, Translated Texts for Historians 33 (Liverpool, 2000), 219-22. Also the Souda identifies the campaigns of the Gothic war with military events which occurred in and around Rome: *Suid.* Π 2479: '[Procopius] wrote a Roman History, *i.e.* the wars of Belisarius the patrician, the actions performed in Rome and in Libya' (*Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, 5 vols. [Stuttgart 1928-1938], IV 211.1-2).

[50] *Goth.* 1.11.11-25; 3.16.22-4.

[51] *Goth.* 1.8.10.

fortified city with access to the sea and arterial roads, Rome also had a great symbolic value.

This can be clearly observed in the famous Belisarius' letter written at the beginning of 547 to Totila whose intention was to destroy Rome. Without denying the historical reality of Totila's menace and Belisarius' message, the reworking of its content as appears in the *Gothic War* is due to Procopius; rather, it has been demonstrated that he exploits with strong independence the themes of the *laudes urbium* as formalized by rhetorical tradition.[52] Here the historical and cultural allusions we detected in the Procopian description of Roman buildings are concentrated and represented in explicit form. Belisarius insists that the city is the mightiest urban product in history: it had grown through time, constructed by the most illustrious of persons and emperors, and contained a wealth of artistic works, having managed to attract the best talents from the entire world. It was therefore the concerted embodiment of the achievements of all men (μνημεῖα τῆς πάντων ἀρετῆς) and the idea of destroying the city ran counter to civilization and offended the men of the past who created the city's monumental heritage, and those of the future who would see it.

Rome was therefore an *unicum*, the expression in concrete terms of the history of a people (or of its ruling classes), even though the political greatness of Rome belongs to the past and its relationship with Constantinople is not hinted at. But Belisarius' letter, as we have from the Procopian account, also exploits the themes of Theoderic's propaganda, who made the word *civilitas* a key-theme of his rule,[53] to throw them back against Totila: so is the opening contrast between the artistic creativity of men φρόνιμοι and πολιτικῶς βιοτεύειν ἐπιστάμενοι, on the one hand, and the destructive activity of men ἀξύνετοι, on the other. Totila's threatened enterprise would disavow that of the Gothic kings (and Totila's too) recalling the time and the figure of Theoderic as an age of collaboration with the Byzantine empire. Belisarius' stance was further bolstered when, according to Procopius, the Frankish king rejected the request of Totila for his daughter's hand in marriage on the reasoning that the sovereign of the Goths had not only failed to hold Rome but had advocated its destruction.[54]

To lose Rome was a sure blight in the career prospects of any military commander. When Bessas, after he had left Rome to Totila in 546, was appointed commander for the Persian war by Justinian, he received a great amount of

[52] *Goth.* 3.22.8-16; Pia Carolla, 'Roma vista da Bisanzio e dai Goti: l'epistola di Belisario a Totila in Procopio. Una *laus urbis* nel contesto storico-politico', *Quaderni medievali* 46 (1998), 6-18, 8-13.

[53] Massimiliano Vitiello, *Il principe, il filosofo, il guerriero*, Hermes Einzelschriften 97 (Stuttgart, 2006), 45-63; on the figure of Theoderic in Procopius' *Wars*, Andreas Goltz, *Barbar-König-Tyrann. Das Bild Theoderichs des Großen in der Überlieferung des 5. bis 9. Jahrhunderts*, Millennium Studien 12 (Berlin and New York, 2008), 215-32.

[54] *Goth.* 3.37.1-2.

criticism in Constantinople. But when Procopius drew a parallel between Rome and one of the most important cities on the eastern *limes*, he also ventured remarks on the whimsicalness of human destiny: 'seeing that Bessas, the man who had previously lost Rome, not long afterward recovered Petra in Lazica for the Romans, and that Dagisthaeus, on the contrary, who had let Petra go to the enemy, won back Rome for the emperor in a moment of time'. The conquest and loss of Rome was a metaphor coined to represent the swing of *tyche*, the real master of human actions after the conclusion of the first phase of the war.[55]

IV

Writing his *Secret History* in the early 550s, Procopius promises to dedicate a specific book to the ecclesiastical history of his day, apparently a polemical work that was never completed (if it was begun at all).[56] That is why he omits matters of Justinian's religious policy in his critical account. Moreover, talking about the relationship between the Empress Theodora and Antonina and recalling among the services provided by the latter her role in the fall of Pope Silverius, he announces in advance that he will be even more explicit elsewhere about the issue of the papal deposition.[57] If Procopius only just hints at Silverius' fate in the *Secret history*, he is almost silent in the *Gothic War* when he deals with the papacy and the clergy of Rome. Not only popes and priests appear only marginally there, but Procopius is extremely reticent to the point of incomprehensibility regarding the main theological dispute of the time, namely the Three Chapters. In particular, the pontiffs who are mentioned in the work are the first to suffer the effects of the war.

We find Pope (ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερεύς or ἱερεύς according to Procopian vocabulary) Silverius in the company of the senators and the people of Rome before the Gothic king Vittigis who demanded loyalty from all. In open contrast to this course of action, Procopius soon after points to Silverius as the person who had been most active in bringing the Byzantines into the city. This notwithstanding, and without Procopius providing any further information, we find Belisarius banishing the Pope from Rome on the grounds of an alleged sympathy towards the Goths and replacing him with Vigilius as new Pope.[58] Despite being party to a more complex story of the deposition of Silverius and the relationship with Vigilius as he alludes in the *Secret History*, Procopius deals with this

[55] *Goth*. 4.33.24; see A. Cameron, *Procopius* (1985), 140; A. Kaldellis, *Procopius* (2004), 203. For the careers of these military commanders, see respectively *PLRE* II, 'Bessas', 226-9, and III, 'Dagisthaeus 2', 380-3.

[56] Anthony Kaldellis, 'The Date and Structure of Prokopios' *Secret History* and His Projected Work on Church History', *GRBS* 49 (2009), 585-616, 606-15.

[57] *Anec*. 1.14.

[58] *Goth*. 1.11.26; 14.4; 25.13.

occurrence very simplistically. In fact, he clings to a univocal, exclusively political interpretation of the events. Evagrius, particularly interested in ecclesiastical events, of course included the fate of Silverius in the summary of the Procopian narration, maintaining the same interpretation.[59] As a candidate of the Gothic king Theodatus, Silverius had strong links with the Goths, and he therefore fully fell within the contrast between them and the Byzantines. But in the *Gothic War* Procopius completely leaves out the broader framework of Justinian's religious policy concerning simultaneously the Western and Eastern Mediterranean,[60] and specifically the relationship with the anti-Monophysite decisions passed by the council of Constantinople in 536 and the consequent contrariety of Theodora. Moreover, his deposition is briefly mentioned, after which Silverius disappears from the work, to be mentioned no more, not even when he returned to Rome and was banished to the island of Ponza by the new Pope Vigilius.[61]

As regards the successive fate of Vigilius, Procopius' contribution, taken from the *Gothic War*, is no less enigmatic. After the election to the Roman see in 537, about which Procopius does not give any active role to Vigilius himself or indicate his previous crucial link to the imperial court and chiefly to Theodora, the Pope happened to be in Sicily busy organizing a shipment of wheat to Rome that fell into the hands of the Goths. Then he was recalled to Constantinople only to reappear many years later in the imperial court among the Italians vociferously calling for a swift end to the war.[62] The link between Vigilius and Belisarius in Rome is completely obliterated, but above all Procopius makes no effort to explain that Vigilius' leaving the city in November 545 was far from voluntary, and he is silent concerning tribulations suffered by the Pope during his stay in Constantinople, due to theological controversies.[63] On the contrary, to Vigilius, appealing to the emperor about the war, is ascribed concern in secular matters (we may perceive in the Procopian account also a glimpse of pastoral care, but his association with other Italian refugees turns our attention towards more general interests); whereas Justinian is represented as engaged in solving theological disputes, which took his mind off the conflict in Italy.[64]

The clergyman who played a much more important role in Rome was the deacon Pelagius (the future Pope), who is portrayed above all as invested with

[59] Evagr., *Hist.* 4.19 (490.6-10 Hübner).

[60] Fergus Millar, 'Rome, Constantinople and the Near Eastern Church under Justinian: Two Synods of C.E. 536', *JRS* 98 (2008), 62-82.

[61] See Claire Sotinel, 'Silverio', in *Enciclopedia dei papi*, 3 vols. (Roma, 2000), I 508-11; more briefly, *ead.*, 'Emperors and Popes in the Sixth Century. The Western View', in Michael Maas (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge, 2005), 267-90, 279-80.

[62] *Goth.* 1.25.13; 3.15.9-16.1; 35.9.

[63] Claire Sotinel, 'Vigilio', in *Enciclopedia dei papi* (2000), I 519-20 (Sicily), 521-7 (Constantinople); *ead.*, 'Emperors and Popes' (2005), 281-4.

[64] *Goth.* 3.35.9-11.

a political and diplomatic role. Simply labelled as φίλος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα to Justinian and having arrived from Constantinople with a substantial amount of money, he rapidly became very popular in Rome. Indeed his first assignment, carried out without any noteworthy results, is as ambassador to Totila. When the king of the Goths entered the city in 546, Pelagius, wearing his sacred vestments, met Totila who was on his way to St Peter's to pray, to persuade him to be magnanimous in victory. Pelagius acts in this way as the substitute of the absent Pope and his appeal is part of the tradition of the imperial and royal *adventus* ceremony in Rome.[65] However, the dialogue between the two in the episode is unequivocally connected to the previous diplomatic meeting through the vocabulary used (the occurrence of ἱκεσίαι/ἱκετέυω and the underlining of God's intervention), stressing again the political dimension of Pelagius' action. The last mention of him in the *Wars* is when he was despatched on a diplomatic mission to Justinian in Constantinople on behalf of the Goths.[66] For him too, his engagement in the Three Chapter controversy is fully passed over in silence.[67]

Without probing into the question of Procopius' religious views again, it suffices to note that in the *Gothic War* there is very little about Christianity, Christian clergy and churches in association with Rome. Apart from a mention of the expulsion of the Arian clergy in Rome on allegations of having been actively involved in the nocturnal posting of a proclamation by Totila, there is not a single reference in the whole narration of the Gothic war to any non-Orthodox clergy in Italy despite the Byzantines' frequent ideological invocation of the Goths' Arian faith. The Christian buildings saw their normal function replaced by the necessities of war: by and large, the city's churches are mentioned when they became sanctuaries for Byzantine garrison troops and for citizens fleeing from the Goths who had broken into Rome. St Peter's and St Paul's are exceptions, as Procopius stresses when he explains that the Goths left them untouched. In any case, near the basilica of Saint Paul Outside the Walls, an entrenched camp was built by Huns attached to the Byzantine army, and the colonnade leading to St Peter's was used by Goths as cover to reach Hadrian's tomb.[68]

But what is really missing in the Procopian account is the image of Rome as *urbs Christiana*. Apart from a reference to the belief of a supernatural protection of the portion of the city wall known as *Murus ruptus* by the Apostle Peter, Rome never appears as the city of the Apostles and of the martyrs, with its relics and its holy past that had been celebrated through monuments erected by Pope Damasus in the late fourth century and partially restored by Vigilius

[65] M. Vitiello, *Momenti di Roma ostrogota* (2005), 134-6.
[66] *Goth*. 3.16.5-17.1; 20.22-5; 21.18.
[67] Claire Sotinel, 'Pelagio', in *Enciclopedia dei papi* (2000), I 530-2.
[68] *Goth*. 3.9.21 (Arian clergy); 2.4.9-12; 3.20.19; 1.22.21 (churches).

himself after the damages of the war.[69] Nor is Rome fully recognized as the papal see with its complex traditional relation with the patriarchate and the imperial power of Constantinople. In Procopius, therefore, the ecclesiastical politics and theological debate of these decades are null or voided of content, and the political view often turns them into a dispute between the faction favouring the Goths and the one favouring the Byzantines. Lastly, no mention is made of any direct interaction between the clergy of Rome and the populace of the city: nothing similar to the people of Rome asking for benediction and then throwing stones, staffs and pots and crying 'Male fecisti Romanis' to Vigilius seated in the ship leading him away, as narrated in the partisan account of the *Liber Pontificalis*.[70]

V

In the *Gothic War* not only the clergy, but also the senatorial class and the people of Rome found themselves squeezed between two warring sides: gradually they were starved to death or deported, and senators taken away as hostages were killed on many occasions by the Goths. We have already seen how Procopius makes use in his work of mentions of the past to clarify the places of Rome and its inhabitants in a chronological and cultural dimension closely related to contemporary military and political events. These evaluations will be corroborated through an analysis of how the Goths and the Byzantines respectively are historically connected to the Romans of Rome according to the Procopian narration.

The answer as regards the Ostrogoths is simpler, and Massimiliano Vitiello's studies can allow to be brief. They were different from the Romans, but not radically antithetical in their essence. Before leaving Rome, Vittigis evoked the benefits bequeathed by his illustrious predecessor as a reason for remaining loyal. It has been noted that this mirrors the general politics of Vittigis, a king who was not a member of the Amal dynasty and who wanted to acquire legitimacy through the recall of Theodoric, whose monogram even appeared on coinage minted under Vittigis' reign.[71] Likewise, Totila's political message recalls the figure of the first Ostrogothic king in Italy, both in his letter to the Roman senators and, after he took possession of the city, when he criticised them accusing them of ingratitude by the light of benefits received from

[69] *Goth.* 1.23.3-8. Marianne Sághy, '*Scinditur in partes populos*: Pope Damasus and the Martyrs of Rome', *Early Medieval Europe* 9 (2000), 273-87; C. Sotinel, 'Vigilio' (2000), 518.

[70] *Liber Pontificalis*, *Vigil.* 4 (*Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Louis Duchesne, 2 vols. [Paris, 1886-1892], 297.10-4). On the meaning of the episode, C. Sotinel, 'Vigilio' (2000), 519; *ead.*, 'Vigilius in the *Liber Pontificalis*: A Memory Lost, or Manipulated?', in *ead.*, *Church and Society in Late Antique Italy and Beyond*, Variorum CS 948 (Aldershot, 2010), 1-21 (no. 3), 13-5.

[71] *Goth.* 1.11.26; M. Vitiello, *Momenti di Roma ostrogota* (2005), 131-2.

Theoderic.[72] But also the consequences of Boethius' execution ordered by him would last during the conflict and would also involve the descendants of the philosopher.[73]

Procopius' description of how the forces sent by Justinian were perceived by the Roman populace and, in a broader perspective, by the population of Italy as a whole, is less straightforward and it is closely related to the legitimacy of the Byzantine claim on the Italian peninsula and Rome itself. Agathias had no misgivings about it and summed up Procopius' narration thus: 'how Sicily, Rome and Italy cast off the yoke of foreign domination (τοὺς ἐπήλυδας … βαρβάρους) and were restored to their ancient way of life (ἤθεσι πατρίοις)'.[74] Lexicon could speak in favour of this view: after all, the term 'Byzantine' is used in these pages according to modern historiography and diverging from Procopius' terminology, whose extensive category of Ῥωμαῖοι covers both Eastern Romans and the contemporary inhabitants of Rome, as well as ancient Romans and even the non-Gothic people living in Italy. Beyond labels, the problem that emerges from Procopius' narrative, however, is in practice more complex. Here we shall limit our scope to considering two passages that are specifically about Rome, even more so since they are of particular significance in the overall presentation of the theme within *Gothic War*.

Highly noteworthy were the words that the Goth Vacis hurled at the inhabitants of Rome who in 537 were under the protection of the Byzantine army against the besieging Goths: he 'upbraided them for the treason which he said they had committed against both their fatherland (ἐπί … τῇ πατρίδι) and themselves, for they had exchanged the power of the Goths for Greeks (Γραικούς) who were not able to defend them, although they had never before seen any men of the Greek race come to Italy except actors of tragedy and mimes and thieving sailors'.[75] The name Γραικός could of course be used as an insulting address for hellenophone Romans, and in Procopius' work it repeatedly appears, especially in Gothic kings' speeches and letters: for instance, in Totila's reproach to the Roman senators after the conquest of Rome in 546, the same terminological couple of Roman πατρίς and the reception of foreign Γραικοί is at work.[76] Although rare, *Graecus* wasn't unknown to high-level political vocabulary in the Ostrogothic kingdom in labelling Byzantine people,

[72] *Goth.* 3.9.10-1; 21.12; M. Vitiello, *Momenti di Roma ostrogota* (2005), 136-7.

[73] Massimiliano Vitiello, '*Accusarentur saecula, si talis potuisset latere familia*: il fantasma di Severino Boezio nell'Italia dei Goti', *Historia* 60 (2011), 343-82, 358-80.

[74] Agath., *Praef.* 30; *Agathiae Myrinaei historiarum libri quinque*, ed. Rudolf Keydell, CFHB 2 (Berolini, 1967), 9.6-7; trans. Agathias, *The Histories*, ed. Joseph D. Frendo, CFHB 2A (Berlin and New York, 1975), 8.

[75] *Goth.* 1.18.39-40.

[76] *Goth.* 3.21.12-4. Further examples: 1.29.11 (Vittigis); 3.9.12; 21.4 (Totila); 4.23.25 (commanders of the Gothic fleet). A. Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium* (2007), 115-6.

as a *Varia* of Theoderic to his pretorian prefect Abundantius dating to mid-520s shows; but the fact that it stems from the refined pen of Cassiodorus strengthens the suggestion that in this work, too, it brought with it literary echoes to be ideologically exploited.[77]

In a similar way, Procopius' Γραικοί has a deeper meaning, involving the roots of Byzantine identity between hellenicity and romanness. Kaldellis has rightly stressed the conscious Roman essence of the Byzantines and a parallel fading of interest for ancient Greeks, and it is against this grain that Vacis' insulting words have to be considered:[78] in fact, if the Byzantines were just Greeks and not Romans, then not only Belisarius' troops can be considered on a level with members of the disgraceful professions mentioned, but the claim of ancestral possession on Italian territory often put forward by the Byzantines and clearly expressed by Agathias is baseless. Identifying those who are native and those who are foreigners towards the inhabitants of Rome on historical ground is a variable that can make a belligerant slide from the right to the wrong side. After Vacis finished his insults, Procopius narrates, there was no reply from within the city. And in the following sentence the historian relates how Belisarius was an object of scorn by the Romans because he, barely escaping from death, showed contempt towards the Goths and was too self-confident. Apart from a temporary negative impression on readers, it is misleading to think that such a narrative framework is conceived to confirm the reality of Vacis' bias.[79] In fact Procopius, resorting to the much exploited literary device of delayed explanation to give more prominence to Belisarius, promises to be more explicit further on concerning the reasons behind the general's boldness; and they would prove well-grounded in the following account.[80]

Not endorsing the extraneousness of Romans and Byzantines does not mean, however, that any trouble from the imperial forces was averted, as the second passage shows. In the first book of the *Vandalic War* Procopius offers an image of being considered Roman in the Byzantine troops that was determined by self-control and respect towards the Libyans, who, Belisarius reminds the reader, are 'the Romans of old' (Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ ἀνέκαθεν). This does not prevent the historian from later reversing the behavioural qualities between the Byzantines and the barbarians, to emphasize the negative conduct of the former after Belisarius' leaving and to criticize Justinian.[81] In the third book of the *Gothic*

[77] Cass., *Var*. 5.17.3; *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori Variarum libri XII*, ed. Åke Josefsson Fridh, CChr.SL 96 (Turnhout, 1973), I 196.22-3; note that *Graecus* occurs along with *Afer*, that here indicates the Vandals. For the context, Salvatore Cosentino, 'Re Teoderico costruttore di flotte', *AnTard* 12 (2004), 347-56.

[78] A. Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium* (2007), 42-74, 114-8.

[79] *Goth.* 1.18.41-2, instead interpreted in this way by R. Nicosia, 'Dietro la memoria del passato' (2006), 107-8.

[80] A. Kaldellis, *Procopius* (2004), 192-3.

[81] Philip J. Wood, 'Being Roman in Procopius' Vandal *Wars*', *Byzantion* 81 (2011), 424-47.

War the question is put forth more explicitly, but with a similar turn. Before Totila's capture of Rome, the people of the city, exhausted by famine, ask the officers of the Byzantine garrison to ignore ethnic affinity but to consider them enemy prisoners of war:[82]

> Do not consider us to be either Romans or fellow-countrymen of yours, or even to have assimilated our ways of government to yours (μήτε Ῥωμαίους μήτε ξυγγενεῖς ὑμῖν … μήτε ὁμοτρόπους τοῖς τῆς πολιτείας ἤθεσι), and do not suppose that in the beginning we received the emperor's army into the city willingly, but regard us as enemies from the first and as men who have taken up arms against you, and later, when defeated in battle, have become your captive slaves simply in accordance with the customs of war.

The Romans, in their quality of slaves (οἰκέται), appealed to them to be fed accordingly, or manumitted or, as a last resort, even killed.

In this case, the inhabitants of the city were the first to recognize that the Byzantines were Romans as themselves; there was not only a common historical past within the same imperial organism but also a (metaphorical?) genetic contiguity between those who lived in Rome and those who came from Constantinople. This could be taken as an explicit acknowledgement of the identity of the Byzantines; anyway, it is set within a context in which the latter were not only unable to defeat the enemy but starved the populace of Rome keeping them blocked within the city walls. So the inhabitants prefer to be regarded as conquered slaves rather than as freed fellow-countrymen of the Byzantines. Not long after, the Romans' proposal is fulfilled by force by Totila when he seizes the city, and this is mirrored in the use of the same terminology. Whereas Pelagius in front of the Gothic king declared that God made him to be his slave (δοῦλος), Totila in his often mentioned speech to the Roman senators is said to behave as a master (δεσπότης) towards enslaved people (τοὺς δεδουλωμένους): for their conduct the senators from comrades (ξύντροφοι) of the Goths have become as slaves (ἐν οἰκετῶν λόγῳ) and the new φίλοι and ξυγγενεῖς of the Goths are instead the Isaurian betrayers of Rome.[83] The Romans' difficult choice was between two kinds of allegiance, both rooted in the past, that of a kingdom which had ruled over them for several decades and that of a strong and aggressive empire which was part of the Roman Empire created by Augustus and his successors. Their decision for the Byzantines appeared as imposed by strategic contingency and not by ideology, and then their own voice faded along with their strength and their physical numbers until they were reduced to the condition of slaves, it does not matter on which side.

[82] *Goth.* 3.17.5-6.
[83] *Goth.* 3.20.24; 21.14-6.

VI

Compared to Rome, Constantinople has a minor place in the *Gothic War*; so our survey will be very rapid, only to notice how different the two capitals appear in the historical work. Constantinople during Justinian's reign was a large, lively capital of an extended empire engaged on many fronts. Procopius, who always calls it 'Byzantium' (Βυζάντιον), represents only a few definite features. As we are told, it appears as the far-off capital of the empire whose troops fought in Italy and who felt the effects of the war. In *Gothic War* it seems to have no story, and it is portrayed only when linked to the war in Italy. It was first and foremost the seat of the Emperor and of his court and in certain ways drew its identity from him. The Emperor's wish was made felt and was often ruling on questions in Italy. For this reason it was the departure point for imperial armies and new military commanders for Italy.[84] New armies coming from Constantinople was an existing fear for the Goths, as appears in Totila's speech; or was a desire shown by Byzantine commanders to reassure the people of Rome.[85] It was also the place where the money came from (and for a long time did not) to pay the troops in battle or to enrol fresh ones.[86]

It was the hub of diplomatic activity; throngs of diplomatic envoys of Goths and Franks went to Byzantium or 'to the Emperor' (in Procopius' words).[87] It was the seat of political decisions and conspiracies like the failed plot against Justinian hatched by the Persarmenians Artabanes and Arsaces, one of whom was later freed from imprisonment and sent to command a military contingent in Italy.[88] It was the destination of Gothic prisoners and firstly of King Vittigis; and thus the setting of the failed second triumph of Belisarius whom the emperor prevented from repeating what had happened with Gelimer, but at the same time making known the admiration of the citizens for Belisarius as a victorious general.[89] Constantinople was equally the refuge of many Italian exiles, some of whom were sent back as army commanders or ambassadors, and it was the city to which, as has been noted, Pope Vigilius was called.[90] In Procopius' history, Constantinople appears in many aspects the opposite of Rome, the hub of political and military decision-making, the point of assembly for those who managed to flee from the war, a city not built by a people through time but the city of the emperor *par excellence*.

[84] *E.g.*, *Goth.* 2.5.1; 4.26.10.
[85] *Goth.* 3.4.11; 3.17.8.
[86] *Goth.* 2.2.1-24; 3.12.1-10.
[87] *Goth.* 2.22.22; 4.20.10; 4.25.9.
[88] *Goth.* 3.32.
[89] *Goth.* 2.30.1-3; 3.1.1-5; 2.22.4-5; 3.30.25.
[90] *Goth.* 2.22.23-4; 3.35.9-11; 3.39.6-7; 4.24.1.

VII

If, as with reference to Rome, Constantinople is not a vague 'elsewhere' as Schytia could be, the analysis undertaken above clearly shows that Procopius is not just a curious foreigner either, as is Anacharsis. The Procopian image of Rome in the *Gothic War* is strongly conditioned by ideological coordinates which highlight some historical links, while ignoring others. One of Procopius' main concerns is the historical relationship between the ancient Romans and the Byzantines because it is fundamental in evaluating the grounds of the Justinianic war in Italy against the Ostrogoths. If we consider the main passages of the work according to the narrative order, it can be noticed that in the first book the historian almost immediately raises doubts about the *translatio imperii* and the more general relationship of the Byzantines with the ancient Romans which is not taken for granted: this is the reason for the remarks on the uncertain place where the Palladium was preserved. In the meantime Procopius skilfully introduces, through the insulting words of the Goth Vacis, an alternative link asserting that the Byzantines were only Greeks, and thence extraneous to Rome and its heritage. Even when the connection with the Byzantines is accepted, as in the starving inhabitants of Rome's speech of the third book, it is paralleled with the lazy and greedy behaviour of the Eastern garrison in the city at the Romans' expense, at odds with what could be expected as a consequence of such a recognition. The overall portrayal of Rome from the first three books of the *Gothic War* becomes increasingly dismal as the narrative develops.

In the fourth book, instead, a turn in the Procopian interpretation of the past can be registered. Actually it is already disclosed in his insistence on the artistic contributions from all parts of the world in the development of the heritage of Rome, included in Belisarius' letter to Totila from the previous book. Two consecutive chapters from the fourth book let a peculiar solution on the problem of Byzantine identity appear through the descriptions of the Forum of Peace and Aeneas' ship. Unlike many contemporary and later Byzantine writers, Procopius stressed links between ancient Greeks and Romans, firstly at a cultural level. The historian is assured of the greatness of Rome and ancient Romans, whose essence involved Greeks as an integral part well before the foundation of Constantinople and the end of antiquity; with Aeneas and the Trojan myth the latter were indeed at the roots of the Roman civilisation. This partially thwarts Vacis' charge about shameful Greek figures being the only contribution of Greece to Rome and that Greeks were foreigners to the Romans, but it leaves open the problem of the historical connection between the Romans and Byzantines. Doubt is therefore cast on Justinian's claim to recover Rome and Italy as legitimate heirs of that civilisation.

A straightforward and coherent view of Procopius on the war and Justinian's attitude towards the West is in any case difficult to define. As is well known, the neat claim of working in the wake of ancient Roman tradition, and modifying

the existing layout to restore original rules, is evident in Justinian's policy, above all in the legal sphere.[91] Also within the broader Justinianic idea of military 'reconquest', Rome is in the forefront. The rejoicing of Lydus because, along with Libya, 'Rome itself, too, the mother of the empire, has been liberated by the sweat of the emperor from bondage and the authority of the barbarian'[92], appears settled into the imperial propaganda, in striking contrast with the general image we draw from Procopius. Whereas not fitting to Justinian's ideology, the recollection of the past and silence in the *Gothic War* are not aimed at proposing a strong, cryptic argument to be countered to it. Procopius focuses instead on its problems and rifts, without entirely resolving them in any clear direction. In other words, Procopius offers an image of Rome with a number of question marks about its conquest by Byzantine troops, as well as its being kept inside the Gothic reign. His unquestionable criticism of Justinian's policy and of the war ideology in Italy therefore reveals itself in different forms and through different means than those identified up to now.[93] Also favouring a connection with the classical past and relegating Christianity and its representatives to the background both as common ground between Rome and Constantinople, and as an important variable in the equilibrium of the war, could be seen as a Procopian device to remove another essential ideological tool from Justinian, who was engaged in shaping Constantinople as New Jerusalem and in extolling his role as the supreme authority in theological disputes. This interpretation of course raises the problem of the level of criticism of imperial policy allowed in 'public' (*i.e.* not secret) history in the late antique empire; the possibility of telling the truth in historiography[94] is, after all, the other side of the coin of the relation between eulogy and adherence to reality in panegyrics involving the imperial figure.[95]

It would be easy to conclude our survey by quoting Gregory the Great's famous lamentation on the vanished greatness of Rome, but it is again Procopius himself who offers another fresh and attractive outlook on how emperors wanted the city to appear in Constantinople. In fact, the image of a Rome at

[91] Michael Maas, 'Roman History and Christian Ideology in Justinianic Reform Legislation', *DOP* 40 (1986), 17-31; Charles Pazdernik, 'Justinianic Ideology and the Power of the Past', in M. Maas (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion* (2005), 185-212.

[92] Lyd., *Mag.* 3.1 (132.13-5 Bandy; transl. *ibid.* 133). Jacques Schamp (ed.), Jean le Lydien, *Des magistratures de l'état romain*, 2 vols. (Paris, 2006), II 155 note 2, thinks that there is a hint towards the precise events of the battle of Taginae and Totila's death in this passage.

[93] Dariusz Brodka, 'Prokopios von Kaisareia und Justinians Idee "der Reconquista"', *Eos* 86 (1999), 243-55.

[94] On Procopian concept of truth in the *Wars*, Dariusz Brodka, 'Zum Wahrheitsbegriff in den *Bella* des Prokopios von Kaisareia', *Klio* 89 (2007), 465-76.

[95] See Rocco Borgognoni, 'Parlare alle istituzioni, parlare delle istituzioni: retorica, verità e persuasione nell'Oriente tardoantico', in Giorgio Bonamente and Rita Lizzi Testa (eds), *Istituzioni, carismi ed esercizio del potere (IV-VI secolo d.C.). Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi (Perugia, 25-27 giugno 2008)* (Bari, 2010), 77-93.

war seen from the banks of the Bosporus, according to Justinian's ideological programme, is emblematically provided by a piece of iconography now lost but well-known precisely by means of the *Buildings*. The writer describes the mosaic that adorned the vaulted ceiling of one of the entrance-ways to the imperial palace of Constantinople, known as the Chalke, as rebuilt by Justinian after the destruction during the Nika riot. Justinian and Theodora are set in the centre surrounded by the senate shown receiving the spoils of war while (in Procopius' words): 'On either side' – probably in lateral vaults – 'is war and battle, and many cities are being captured, some in Italy, some in Libya'.[96] It is not known how the conquered territories were depicted but it is highly likely that Rome itself may have been included; Rome was, in any case, the first city with which the repossession of Italy was identified.

The Procopian reference to ἰσόθεοι τιμαί given by senators to the emperors in the image, far from being an hyperbolic expression through which the writer betrays his dislike for Justinian,[97] has indeed been recognized as further evidence of a change in the relationship between the emperor and his subjects, now conceived as mastery over slaves.[98] But the mosaic also shows the centrality of the emperor within the expanding empire and the imbalance between his city and the ancient capital of the Romans: the imperial couple, set at the centre of the scene, is ideally at Constantinople, and they thus personify the city; the mosaic, in turn, is materially in the imperial palace in the capital on the Bosporus.

Kings Gelimer and Vittigis are not the only exceptional captives portrayed in the mosaic. The probable representation of the Byzantines taking possession of Rome has an equivalent in the personified *antiqua Roma* which is embroidered along with Africa, according to Corippus' panegyric for Justin II, on the vestment spread out on Justinian's coffin. Rome's naked breast makes her appear as a nourishing mother; however, her image is also that of an irremediably conquered city.[99] Corippus and presumably the mosaic of the Chalke as described in Procopius' *Buildings* testify to a Rome which is in fact on the periphery of the Empire. At that time, as the author of a recent book on late

[96] Procop., *Aed*. 1.10.16. On the possible arrangement of iconography, Cyril Mango, *The Brazen House. A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople* (København, 1959), 30-4.

[97] See Michael Whitby, 'Pride and Prejudice in Procopius' Buildings: Imperial Images in Constantinople', *AnTard* 8 (2000), 59-66, 64.

[98] Charles Pazdernik, 'Paying Attention to the Man Behind the Curtain: Disclosing and Withholding the Imperial Presence in Justinianic Constantinople', in Thorsten Fögen and Mireille M. Lee (eds), *Bodies and Boundaries in Graeco-Roman Antiquity* (Berlin, 2009), 63-85, 68-70.

[99] Coripp., *Iust*. 1.288-90. A. Carile, 'Roma vista da Costantinopoli' (2002), 67; A. Cameron, 'Old and New Rome' (2009), 18. On this ekphrasis, recently Chiara O. Tommasi Moreschini, 'The Role and Function of Ekphrasis in Latin North African Poetry (5th–6th Century)', in Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl and Dorothea Weber (eds), *Text und Bild*, SBph 813 (Wien, 2010), 255-87, 276-7 (I am indebited to Chiara Tommasi for the latter reference).

antique Rome and Constantinople states, "even as Rome needed a new narrative that could accommodate its unanticipated senility and possible demise, Constantinople needed a new narrative about its birth and formative adolescence".[100] But it is Procopius' *Gothic War* that points out exposed nerves of coping with the past for people living in and fighting for the ancient capital of the Roman Empire.

[100] Raymond Van Dam, *Rome and Constantinople: Rewriting Roman History during Late Antiquity*, Edmondson Historical Lectures 30 (Waco and Texas, 2010), 3.

Prolegomena to a Study of the Letter-Bearer in Christian Antiquity[1]

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ABSTRACT

One scholar has recently written of 'an apparent explosion of epistolary practice' in late antiquity; another states that 'our most substantial evidence for Greek and Latin letter-writing and collection practices is late antique'. Yet although in the last decade considerable attention has been paid to travel and information-transfer in late antiquity, there is no book on early Christian letter-writing in general, and the role of the private letter-bearer has gone almost unnoticed.

In this paper I begin to redress the imbalance between the avid scholarly attention paid to the *cursus publicus* and the role of the letter-bearer in Pauline literature and Christian papyrological letter-material on the one hand, and on the other the scant cognizance of the many hundreds of people, often named, who delivered bishops' private letters in Christian antiquity. Although originally only certain ranks of the clergy were engaged as couriers for bishops, in fact we find a large range of private and lay individuals, female and male, Christian and non-Christian, slave and free, carrying letters and gifts to and from their bishops and performing other favours at their destinations. Chiefly on the basis of edited Greek and Latin episcopal letters from the fifth and sixth centuries I examine the identity of the bearers, and the role of their verbal communication with regard to the public/private nature of letter-writing and the place of *philia*/*amicitia* in epistolary exchange. The paper concludes with a short appendix devoted to the nomenclature of the late-antique letter-bearer.

1. Importance of late antiquity for letter-writing

Andrew Gillett writes of 'an apparent explosion of epistolary practice' in late antiquity;[2] Jennifer Ebbeler states that 'our most substantial evidence for Greek and Latin letter-writing and collection practices is late antique'.[3] Sigrid Mratschek remarks that this epistolary activity is all the more surprising given

[1] The research on which this paper is based is funded by the Australian Research Council and supported by Australian Catholic University and the University of Pretoria. I am grateful to Sigrid Mratschek for several electronic epistolary conversations about letter-bearers.

[2] 'Communication in Late Antiquity: Use and Reuse', in *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*, forthcoming.

[3] 'Tradition, Innovation, and Epistolary *mores*', in Philip Rousseau (ed.), *A Companion to Late Antiquity*. Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World (Chichester, 2009), 270-84, 271.

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that in the Classical period only eminent and politically active people like Cicero, Seneca, and Pliny the Younger could afford a private postal service.[4] Yet there is no general book on the subject of letter-writing in this period, although a great deal of attention has recently been paid to travel and information-transfer in late antiquity.[5] For the carriage of literary letters we still rely largely on the 1925 work of Denys Gorce.[6] It stands to reason that if epistolary practice flourished there must have been a corresponding increase in the role of the letter-bearer, and indeed they are mentioned prolifically in surviving letters, often by name.[7] The best example here is Paulinus of Nola, about two-thirds of whose letters contain references to the bearer.[8]

In this paper I begin to redress the imbalance between the avid scholarly attention paid to the *cursus publicus*[9] and the role of the letter-bearer in Pauline literature[10] and Christian papyrological letter-material on the one hand,[11] and on the other the scant cognizance of the many hundreds of people, often named and or identifiable, who delivered bishops' private letters in Christian antiquity. For reasons of time/space, as far as possible I shall exclude bishops'

[4] *Der Briefwechsel des Paulinus von Nola. Kommunikation und soziale Kontakte zwischen christlichen Intellektuellen*, Hypomnemata 134 (Göttingen, 2002), 286.

[5] See *e.g.* Lionel Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World* (Baltimore, 1994); Sigrid Mratschek, 'Einblicke in einen Postsack. Zur Struktur und Edition der "Natalicia" des Paulinus von Nola', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 114 (1996), 165-72; Lucietta Di Paola, *Viaggi, trasporti e istituzioni: studi sul cursus publicus*, Pelorias 5 (Messina, 1999); Anne Kolb, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer im Römischen Reich*, Klio. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Beihefte, NF Bd. 2 (Berlin, 2000); Linda Ellis and Frank L. Kidner (eds), *Travel, Communication and Geography in Late Antiquity. Sacred and Profane* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT, 2004); Blake Leyerle, 'Mobility and the Traces of Empire', in Ph. Rousseau (ed.), *A Companion to Late Antiquity* (2009), 110-23; Claire Sotinel, 'How Were Bishops Informed? Information Transmission across the Adriatic Sea in Late Antiquity', in L. Ellis and F.L. Kidner (eds), *Travel, Communication and Geography* (2004), 63-71; Claire Sotinel, 'Information and Political Power', in Ph. Rousseau (ed.), *A Companion to Late Antiquity* (2009), 125-38, 125-6.

[6] *Les voyages, l'hospitalité et le port des lettres dans le monde chrétien des IV^e^ et V^e^ siècles* (Wépion-sur-Meuse and Paris, 1925), esp. 191-247.

[7] The majority of these, mostly excepting the clergy, are picked up in *PLRE*.

[8] See Michel-Yves Perrin, '*Ad implendum caritatis ministerium*. La place des courriers dans la correspondance de Paulin de Nole', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité* 104 (1992), 1025-68, 1026-7.

[9] See M.-Y. Perrin, '*Ad implendum caritatis ministerium*' (1992), 1028; C. Sotinel, 'How Were Bishops Informed?' (2004), 64, remarks that 'Studies of the *cursus publicus* remain concerned with its primarily institutional basis'.

[10] See Hans-Josef Klauck, *Die antike Briefliteratur und das Neue Testament: ein Lehr- und Arbeitsbuch* (Paderborn, 1998); English trans. *Ancient Letters and the New Testament: A Guide to Context and Exegesis* (Waco, TX, 2006), 60-5.

[11] A good example is Peter M. Head, 'Named Letter-Carriers among the Oxyrhynchus Papyri', *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 31 (2009), 279-99.

formal or official letters,[12] and thus bearers such as papal envoys.[13] Although originally only certain ranks of the clergy were engaged as couriers for bishops, in fact we find a large range of private and lay individuals, female and male, Christian and non-Christian, slave and free, carrying letters and gifts to and from their bishops and performing other favours at their destinations.

2. Desideratum for a study of late-antique letter-bearers, esp. private episcopal letter-bearers

Up to the present there is no work dedicated to letters and bearers in late antiquity.[14] There is a survey of fifth- and sixth-century letter-writing[15] and collections of individual writers have been studied. In particular Paulinus of Nola has fared well because of the high frequency with which he mentions his couriers compared with other late-antique writers, whether Christian or pagan.[16]

[12] Although it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the public and private spheres, as pointed out by Élisabeth Paoli-Lafaye, 'Messagers et messages. La diffusion des nouvelles de l'Afrique d'Augustin vers les régions d'au-delà des mers', *L'Information et la mer dans le monde antique*, sous la direction de Jean Andreau et de Catherine Virlouvet (Rome, 2002), 233-59, 235.

[13] On papal envoys in general see Andrew Gillett, *Envoys and Political Communication in the Late Antique West, 411-533* (Cambridge, 2003), esp. 227-58.

[14] Martin R.P. McGuire, 'Letters and Letter Carriers in Christian Antiquity', *The Classical World* 53/5 (Feb. 1960), 148-53, 184-5, 199-200 (very general); Mathilde Caltobiano, 'I latori della corrispondenza di Agostino: tra idealizzazione e realtà', *Augustinianum* 41 (2001), 113-48; *ead*., '"Perlator fidelissimus"; i latori nelle epistole di Sant'Agostino (edizione Divjak)', *Acme: Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Università degli studi di Milano* 54 (2001), 11-32; S. Mratschek, *Der Briefwechsel des Paulinus von Nola* (2002), 302-24; É. Paoli-Lafaye, 'Messagers et messages' (2002); L. De Salvo, 'Mare, commercio e informazione privata nella tarda antichità', in Jean Andreau and Catherine Virlouvet (eds), *L'Information et la mer dans le monde antique* (Rome, 2002), 299-319; Pauline Allen, 'It's in the Post: Techniques and Difficulties of Letter-Writing in Antiquity with Regard to Augustine of Hippo', Trendall Lecture 2005, in *Proceedings of the Australian Academy of the Humanities* 30 (Canberra, 2006), 111-29; Sigrid Mratschek, 'Die ungeschriebenen Briefe des Augustinus von Hippo', in Jacob A. van den Berg, Annemaré Kotzé, Tobias Niklas, and Madeleine Scopello (eds), *'In Search of Truth': Augustine, Manichaeism and Other Gnosticism. Studies for Johannes van Oort at Sixty* (Leiden and Boston, 2011), 109-22.

[15] See Pauline Allen, 'How to Study Episcopal Letter-Writing in Late Antiquity: An Overview of Published Work on the Fifth and Sixth Centuries', in Vladimir Baranov, Basil Lourié, and Kazuhiko Demura (eds), *Scrinium. Revue de patrologie, d'hagiographie critique et d'histoire ecclésiastique* 6: Patrologia Pacifica: Selected Papers Presented to the Asia Pacific Early Christian Studies Society (Piscataway, NJ, 2010), 130-42 (letter-collections).

[16] Observed by M.-Y. Perrin, '*Ad implendum caritatis ministerium*' (1992), 1026-7. See Dennis E. Trout, *Paulinus of Nola. Life, Letters, and Poems* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1999); Catherine Conybeare, *Paulinus Noster. Self and Symbols in the Letters of Paulinus of Nola*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford, 2001); S. Mratschek, *Der Briefwechsel des Paulinus von Nola* (2002).

3. The identity of the carrier of private episcopal post

Ignatius of Antioch, who was martyred probably in the reign of Trajan (98-117 CE), writes to the community of Philadelphia that they should send a deacon on an embassy to the church of Antioch. This has been interpreted as normative for letter-carrying by deacons,[17] but Ignatius continues with the observation that other churches have sent bishops, and still others presbyters and deacons on the same mission.[18] In the correspondence of Cyprian of Carthage we find sub-deacons and acolytes as letter-carriers in exceptional circumstances and an insistence that church correspondence be conveyed by clerics.[19] From the fourth century onwards there is an increasing number of deacons as bearers, which may be attributed to the development of the diaconate.[20] With regard to lay letter-bearers, some people were not allowed to carry certain types of letters. For example, Canon 11 of the Council of Chalcedon (451 CE) stipulated:

> subject to examination, all paupers and needy persons are to travel with ecclesiastical letters or letters of peace only, and not of commendation, since it befits only reputable persons to be provided with letters of commendation.[21]

Mathilde Caltobiano suggests that a bishop first tried to recruit a bearer from the ranks of his clergy and only if that was unsuccessful did he look to other possibilities.[22] She also observes that, generally speaking, when the name of the bearer is given it is accompanied by a description of his or her rank or qualifications for the task.[23] Among the ranks of the clergy we find predominantly priests and deacons carrying letters, but there is also evidence of acolytes.[24] Readers and sub-deacons, on the other hand, are just about non-existent

[17] *E.g.* by J.G. Davies, 'Deacons, Deaconesses and the Minor Orders in the Patristic Period', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 14 (1963), 1-15, 7; followed by Graeme W. Clarke, *The Letters of St. Cyprian of Carthage I. Letters 1-27,* Ancient Christian Writers 43 (New York and Ramsey NJ, 1984), 205.

[18] See *Ad Phil.* 10; Michael W. Holmes (ed. and trans.), *The Apostolic Fathers. Greek Texts and English Translations*, 3rd ed., after the earlier work of J.B. Lightfoot and J.R. Harmer (Grand Rapids, MI, 2007), 244f.

[19] See further G.W. Clarke, *The Letters of St. Cyprian* (1984), I 205, 225.

[20] This is suggested by D. Gorce, *Les voyages* (1925), 211f. Disappointingly there is nothing on clerics as letter-bearers in Lewis J. Patsavos, *A Noble Task: Entry into the Clergy in the First Five Centuries*, trans. Norman Russell, foreword by Kallistos Ware (Brookline, Mass., 2007).

[21] Norman P. Tanner (text and trans.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 1, *Nicaea to Lateran V* (London and Washington DC, 1990), 92: '*Omnes pauperes et indigentes auxilio, cum profiscuntur, sub probatione epistolis ecclesiasticis pacificis tantummodo commendari decrevimus, et non commendaticiis letteris, propterea quod commendaticiae litterae personis honoratioribus solummodo conceduntur.*'

[22] M. Caltobiano, 'I latori' (2001), 114.

[23] *Ibid.* 116.

[24] Augustine, *epp.* 191, 193, and 194 writes of the Roman acolyte, Albinus, as a repeat bearer. See D. Gorce, *Les voyages* (1925), 211, and É. Paoli-Lafaye, 'Messagers et messages' (2002), 242f. on repeat bearers (the latter on Augustine's carriers Innocentius and Firmus).

as letter-bearers.[25] There are many mentions of monks carrying letters: as just one example we could cite the unnamed monk who carried his own letter of recommendation from Severus, patriarch of Antioch, to Simeon, bishop of Chalcis.[26] In fact the letters of Paulinus of Nola and Sulpicius inform us that there were dedicated monk-couriers.[27] Paulinus' repeat bearer, the monk Victor, stayed with in Nola for months at a time, performing various services from cooking, giving a haircut and a massage, to nursing Paulinus back to health.[28] Sometimes coincidentally the bearer was a member of the elite on official business on the *cursus publicus*:[29] Basil of Caesarea speaks of giving his letter to the revenue-collector of the office of prefects, who was going to travel on the *cursus publicus*;[30] the bearer of one of Synesius' letters was a fellow *curialis* travelling on the *cursus publicus* to distribute gold;[31] Severus of Antioch uses the governor of Syria Secunda as his carrier.[32] Further down the social ladder we find business people as letter-bearers, such as the bookseller and the dealer in writing-tablets employed by Sidonius Apollinaris.[33] Two women served Augustine as bearers as they carried their own letter of recommendation together with relics of the protomartyr Stephen to the recipient,[34] while Theodoret sends a letter to a fellow bishop recommending the bearer, a young girl called Maria, who has sought asylum in Syria from the Vandal invasion in Libya and now requires safe passage on her return.[35] Sometimes the letter-writer was obliged to use somebody of lowly status as the carrier of his own private letter of recommendation, as a letter of Sidonius to his kinsman Simplicius illustrates:

[25] As observed by D. Gorce, *Les voyages* (1925), 211.

[26] *Ep*. 1.37; ed. Ernest W. Brooks (ed. and trans.), *The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus Patriarch of Antioch in the Syriac Version of Athanasius of Nisibis*, 2 vols (London and Oxford, 1902 and 1903; repr. Farnborough, 1969), I 117f. (text), II 104-6 (trans.).

[27] See further M.-Y. Perrin, '*Ad implendum caritatis ministerium*' (1992), 1030, 1032, 1034, 1036.

[28] *Ep*. 23.6-9 (cooking), 5 (masssage), 10 (haircut); *Ep*. 28.3 (nursing). Ed. CSEL 29, 162-7; 161f.; 167f.; 263f.

[29] L. De Salvo, 'Mare, commercio e informazione privata' (2002), 317f., stresses the sometimes *ad hoc* arrangements for procuring bearers of private letters and the fact that official and private bearers occasionally overlapped, as in the following examples here.

[30] *Ep*. 215; ed. and trans. Yves Courtonne, *Saint Basile. Correspondance, Tome II. Lettres CXI-CCXVIII* (Paris, 2003), 206f.

[31] *Ep*. 19; ed. and trans. Antonio Garzya and Denis Roques, *Synésios de Cyrène. Tome II. Correspondance. Lettres I-LXIII* (Paris, 2000), 28f.

[32] *Ep*. 8.1; ed. and trans. E.W. Brooks, *Select Letters*, I 440 (text); II 391f. (trans.).

[33] *Ep*. 5.15; ed. and trans. André Loyen, *Sidoine Apollinaire. Tome II. Lettres (Livres I-V)* (Paris, 1970), 198; and *Ep*. 9.14.4.; ed. and trans. A. Loyen, *Sidoine Apollinaire. Tome III. Lettres (Livres VI-IX)* (Paris, 1970), 171.

[34] *Ep*. 212; *Nuova Biblioteca Agostiniana* (henceforth NBA) 23, 530f.

[35] *Ep*. 70; ed. and trans. Yvan Azéma, *Théodoret de Cyr. Correspondance*, vol. 2, SC 98 (Paris, 1964). 152-5. See further Bronwen Neil and Pauline Allen, 'Displaced Peoples: Reflections from Late Antiquity on a Contemporary Crisis', *Pacifica* 24 (2011), 29-42.

The bearer of this letter [*gerulus*] earnestly begs me to let him take a note from me to you … I picture to myself how novel everything will be to this fellow, who is scarcely an enviable paragon of gentility, when you bid the stranger welcome in your home, the nervous messenger to a talk with you, the bumpkin to your gaiety, the poor man to your table … And after all, although persons of that sort are generally insignificant creatures, yet in the matter of paying regard to our friends by letters affection loses much if it is deterred from indulging in more frequent correspondence by the lowliness of the bearers.[36]

From this example and others, however, it appears that a bearer of lower rank was the exception rather than the rule, and that bishops mostly recruited from a 'better' class or person, if only for the important verbal and social role that the carriers had to perform when they arrived at their destinations.[37]

The bearers of episcopal letters were not confined to members of the Christian community: again it is Sidonius who furnishes us with the nice example of a Jew who carried two letters for him.[38] It was also not uncommon for slaves to act as letter-bearers, although in Latin letters the word *puer* is ambiguous, referring both to household boys and slaves.[39]

One kind of letter-carrier I have not yet addressed is the winged variety, the carrier-pigeon, which was used for civil and military purposes in Graeco-Roman antiquity.[40] Although I have found no references to these birds carrying letters in the material under examination, there are nevertheless abundant metaphorical references to *Psalm* 54 verse 7a ('like the wings of a dove') in the episcopal correspondence of late antiquity. The image is used to express the desire of the writer to be with the addressee of the letter and to bridge the

[36] *Ep*. 4.7.1-3; ed. and trans. A. Loyen, *Sidoine* II 126; Eng. trans. W.B. Anderson, *Sidonius. Letters III-IX*, LCL 420 (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1997), 89: '*Baiulus apicum sedulo precatur, ut ad vos a me litteras ferat … Videre mihi videor, ut homini non usque ad invidiam perfaceto nova erunt omnia, cum invitabitur peregrinus ad domicilium, trepidus ad conloquium, rusticus ad laetitiam, pauper ad mensam … Sed quamquam huiusmodi saepe personae despicabiles ferme sunt, in sodalibus tamen per litteras excolendis dispendii multum caritas sustinet, si ab usu frequentioris alloquii portitorum vilitate revocetur*.' See *Ep*. 6.10 on a deacon-bearer of low status.

[37] See further M. Caltobiano, 'I latori' (2001), 140-2, who writes of 'un buon livello culturale' among Augustine's bearers.

[38] *Ep*. 2.4; ed. and trans. A. Loyen, *Sidoine* II 55f., and *Ep*. 4.5; *ibid*. 123 (see *Ep*. 6.11). *Ep*. 8.13 is delivered by a Jewish convert.

[39] For examples of a slave as a carrier see Synesius, *Ep*. 98; A. Garzya and D. Roques, III 221f.; Augustine, *Ep*. 24.1 (NBA 21/1, 130f.; a letter from Paulinus of Nola and Tharasia). On the ambiguous term *puer* see D. Gorce, *Les voyages* (1925), 208; M.-Y. Perrin, '*Ad implendum caritatis ministerium*' (1992), 1030[19]; A. Kolb, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer* (2000), 270; M. Caltobiano, 'I latori'(2001), 118. In the case of the correspondence of Paulinus of Nola, S. Mratschek, *Der Briefwechsel des Paulinus von Nola* (2002), 616, notes that 'pueri' were mostly slaves under the age of seventeen or in exceptional cases were monks.

[40] See Daniel Haag-Wackernagel, *Die Taube. Vom heiligen Vogel der Liebesgöttin zur Strassentaube* (Basel, 1998), 65, on pigeon post in Greek antiquity; 70-80 on the use of the birds for Roman civil and military purposes.

distance between them.[41] In other words, we are dealing with a Christianisation of the *topos* of separation between letter-writer and addressee.

We know that letter-bearing could be an anonymous and thankless occupation. Augustine states that he did not see the bearer of his letter, nor could he even remember who the bearer was.[42] It could also be a hazardous occupation: sometimes bearers were unable to deliver the letter because they died *en route*.[43] When they arrived at their destination, their reception was not always guaranteed. Perhaps they met with one or other of the fates that Libanius outlined for the recipient of one of his letters: 'It is right and proper for you, if you are pleased with this letter, to show your gratitude to the bearer and, if you are annoyed, to punish him'.[44] However, it is the delicacy involved in the occupation of letter-bearing that is perhaps its most intriguing aspect, and here I am going to turn to how verbal information from the letter-writer to the recipient was conveyed through the intermediary of the bearer.

4. Verbal communication by bearer

Gillett points to the 'oratorical nature of diplomatic missions' in Classical Greece and Rome, where envoys were given something written to deliver, but also gave an oral report, for the function of the envoy was negotiation and advocacy, a practice that extended into private episcopal correspondence in late antiquity.[45]

The correspondence of Bishop Ruricius of Limoges contains at least two mentions of bearers setting out with only verbal messages. In one case he mentions a messenger to delivered a communication to him orally rather than bringing a letter; and in a second case he receives a bearer who conveys information orally. [46] In tricky matters of ecclesiastical politics Leo I of Rome entrusted confidential information to his bearers which they were to convey verbally.[47]

Sometimes the oral information was the product of caution or familiarity; on other occasions it was a short-cut on the part of the letter-writer, particularly in letters of recommendation carried by the person recommended. The carriage of non-written information was thus common enough and it was not

[41] See in detail Klaus Thraede, *Grundzüge griechisch-römischer Brieftopik*, Zetemata. Monographien zur Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft Heft 48 (Munich, 1970), 174-8.

[42] *Ep*. 149.1.2; NBA 22, 456-9.

[43] Basil, *Ep*. 95; ed. Y. Courtonne I 207-8, and Augustine, *Ep*. 71.1.2; NBA 21/2, 564f.

[44] *Ep*. 40; ed. and trans. A.F. Norman I 495.

[45] A. Gillett, *Envoys* (2003), 11-26, esp. 26.

[46] *Epp*. 2.40 and 2.64; MGA AA 8, 341 and 350, respectively.

[47] *Epp*. 67 and 85. *Ep*. 67, ed. Carolus Silva-Tarouca, *Epistulae contra Eutychis haeresim S. Leonis Magni*, Textus et documenta. Series theologica, vol. 20 (Rome, 1935), 157f.; *Ep*. 85, ed. C. Silva-Tarouca, vol. 15 (Rome, 1934), 71.

without its dangers to the bearer, as Sidonius Apollinaris reports. He is referring in the following extract to the procedures of the thought-police, particularly in Visigothic-occupied Gaul:

> … a courier [*tabellarius*] can by no means pass the guards of the public highroads without a strict scrutiny; he may indeed incur no danger, being free from guilt, but he usually experiences a great deal of difficulty, as the watchful searcher pries into every secret of the letter-carriers [*gerulorum*], and if their answers to their questions should happen to show the least nervousness, they are believed to carry verbally in their heads the messages not committed to writing; thus the man sent often suffers ill-treatment and the sender acquires an ill name, more particularly in these days when the established treaties of kingdoms long jealous of one another are made unstable by fresh conditions tending to produce discord.[48]

Various factors influenced the carriage of verbal rather than epistolary information.

Public/private nature of letters

Cicero's remark that few can carry a letter without lightening the weight by perusing it,[49] or Libanius' assertion that 'any letter you get is immediately known to people here',[50] holds true for late antiquity too.

In one letter Synesius of Cyrene, writing to his friend Pylamenes, explains that he has hired a theatre to have a public reading of Pylamenes' letter,[51] and refers to letters being read out in the Panhellenion in Constantinople.[52] In another letter, written to his brother in Alexandria, Synesius assumes that his work will be read aloud before the patriarch of that city and his staff.[53] Small wonder, then, that Synesius says that he cannot believe it is good thing to confide secrets to paper, because of the function of a letter is not to keep quiet but to speak to the first comer.[54]

[48] *Ep*. 9.3.2 to Bishop Fastus of Riez; ed. and trans. A. Loyen, *Sidoine* III 134f.; Eng. trans. W.B. Anderson, *Sidonius* II 509f.: '… *custodias aggerum publicorum nequaquam tabellarius transit inrequisitus, qui etsi periculi nihil, utpote crimine vacans, plurimum sane perpeti solet difficultatis, dum secretum omne gerulorum pervigil explorator indagat. Quorum si forte responsio quantulumcumque ad interrogata trepidaverit, quae non inveniuntur scripta mandata creduntur; ac per hoc sustinet iniuriam plerumque qui mittitur, qui mittit invidiam, plusque in hoc tempore, quo aemulantum invicem sese pridem foedera statuta regnorum denuo per condiciones discordiosas ancipitia redduntur*.'

[49] *Ep*. 13 to Atticus; ed. and trans. David R. Shackelton Baily, *Cicero. Letters to Atticus*, 1, LCL 7 (Cambridge, Mass and London, 1999), 60.

[50] *Ep*. 16; ed. and trans. A.F. Norman I 401.

[51] *Ep*. 101; ed. A. Garzya and D. Roques II 224.

[52] *Ep*. 101; ed. A. Garzya and D. Roques II 227.

[53] *Ep*. 105; ed. A. Garzya and D. Roques II 238.

[54] *Ep*. 137 to Herculian; ed. A. Garzya and D. Roques II 277. See Christian Tornau, *Zwischen Rhetorik und Philosophie: Augustins Argumentationstechnik in De Civitate Dei und ihr bildungsgeschichtlicher Hintergrund* (Berlin, 2006), 35, on the absence of copyright or confidentiality in late antiquity.

Relationship to amicitia[55]

Although Synesius may be talking tongue-in-cheek when he says that a long letter speaks against the familiarity of the bearer with the letter-writer,[56] this sentiment sums up a great deal of late-antique letter-writing. The preferred scenario is a bearer who is deliberately chosen, trusted, and familiar to the letter-writer;[57] otherwise it is simply someone who is around and available at the right time. In the first case the bearer is the purveyor of *philia/amicitia*; in the second case, the product of a hit-and-miss process that could go wrong (We need only think of the correspondence of Augustine and Jerome).

In terms of *philia/amicitia* we have to ask if the bearers accompanied gifts. With regard to knitted caps, socks, or other items of clothing they probably did, because the items were lightweight. Even books and relics, wine, grapes, fish, and honey could easily be carried if the bearer did not have to travel long distances. We have to ask, however, about Synesius' gift of a horse to his correspondent. Did the bearer ride it to its new destination?[58] Also what are we to assume, for example, about the gifts to Firmus, bishop of Caesarea Cappadocia, of four partridges, two young horses, half a large ham, and a flask of wine, and, at a later stage, the loan of a hunting dog from a friend?[59] Or the occasion when Firmus received as a gift a large fish from the Euphrates, of the species that can weigh up to approximately 150 kilos. The delicacy was served at a banquet, he tells us, and the leftovers distributed to the poor.[60] Did the bearers travel with all these gifts or were the gifts conveyed separately on wagons with an entourage (in a tank, perhaps, in the case of the fish, because we are told that it was fresh on arrival, having travelled some 260 kilometres)? While Avitus of Vienne says explicitly that a gift of food was delivered by the bearer,[61] it is unclear whether the gift to him of a sedan chair received the same treatment.[62]

[55] K. Thraede, *Grundzüge* (1970), 125-46. David Konstan, 'Problems in the History of Christian Friendship', *JECS* 4 (1996), 87-113; *id*., *Friendship in the Classical World* (Cambridge, 1997); Carolinne White, *Christian Friendship in the Fourth Century* (Cambridge, 1992); John T. Fitzgerald, *Graeco-Roman Perspectives on Friendship*, Resources for Biblical Study 34 (Atlanta, Ga., 1997); Luigi F. Pizzolato, *L'idea di amicizia nel mondo antico classico e cristiano* (Turin, 1993) (mostly Classical).

[56] *Ep*. 55; ed. A. Garzya and D. Roques I 73. Same idea in *Ep*. 84; ed. A. Garzya and D. Roques I 209.

[57] M. Caltobiano, 'Perlator fidelissimus', esp. 140-2 on Augustine's choices of bearers.

[58] *Ep*. 37 to Ouranius; ed. A. Garzya and D. Roques I 37.

[59] *Ep*. 10 to Gerontius, priest (Easter 432?); ed. Marie-Ange Calvet-Sebasti and Pierre-Louis Gatier, SC 350 (Paris, 1989), 92-3; *Ep*. 35 to Acacius, bishop of Melitene (before 439); ed. M.-A. Calvet-Sebasti and P.-L. Gatier, 150f. Firmus acknowledges receipt of *eulogiae* (biscuits/bread) and a fish, which was served at a banquet, accompanied only by different sauces. The leftovers were distributed to the poor. *Ep*. 45 to Eugenius, bishop; before 439; M.-A. Calvet-Sebasti and P.-L. Gatier, 172-5.

[60] *Ep*. 35. On the dimensions of the fish see the editors' note, 116f.

[61] *Ep*. 74; ed. MGH AA 6, 2, 91.

[62] *Ep*. 19: MGH AA 6.2, 51-3.

Concluding observations

Also to be included in a study of the late-antique private episcopal letter-bearer are considerations such as recommendation/intervention, hospitality, confidentiality, authenticity, effects of the delay of the bearer, and missing or lost letters. Episcopal bearers were important in maintaining the social fabric and communication networks in Christian antiquity. A useful comparison could be made between bearers of bishops' private letters (and what they carried verbally or did and did not accompany) on the one hand, and bishops' official bearers or legates/*apocrisiarii*, where politics, protocol, confidentiality, censorship, and secrecy were paramount. In any case, what I have been suggesting in this paper is that the bearers of private episcopal correspondence deserve a dedicated study.

Appendix
Nomenclature

Particularly in Latin the terms for letter-bearers were numerous.

(i) *gerulus* and *viator* were used from Augustan times for official bearers, who originally worked for magistrates. The *viatores* were more specialised and perhaps for that reason we do not find the term used of private letter-bearers in late antiquity.[63]
(ii) *tabellarius*/ταβελλάριος/γραμματοφόρος is used as a blanket term by Thraede, Kolb, *et al*. Originally the *tabellarii* were slaves or manumitted carriers of the Roman official post,[64] but the term came to be a general one in Christian antiquity, used for private letter-bearers as well.
(iii) *baiuli*/*baioli* is a late Latin variant for *tabellarii*.[65]
(iv) *perlatores* is also a late Latin expression, first used by Symmachus.[66] *Perlatrix* seems to have been used first by Ennodius.
(v) *portitores* (a very general term for somebody who carried something; it is clear from the context when a letter-bearer is in question; Faustus of Riez, *Ep*. 1, has 'domestici portitoris', presumably a bearer from his household).
(vi) *veredarius*, originally a bearer on a horse, is a term used of both official and private bearers,[67] but in a playful passage in Paulinus, *Ep*. 28.1, it seems that the *veredarius* in question, Paulinus' bearer, barber, and nurse Victor, was not mounted on a horse.[68]

[63] A. Kolb, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer* (2000), 270 and 273f.
[64] Werner Erdt, *Christentum und heidnisch-antike Bildung bei Paulin von Nola mit Kommentar und Übersetzung des 16. Briefes*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 82 (Meisenheim am Glan, 1976), 37f.
[65] See W. Erdt, *Christentum und heidnisch-antike Bildung* (1976), 39.
[66] W. Erdt, *Christentum und heidnisch-antike Bildung* (1976), 39.
[67] A. Kolb, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer* (2000), 270f., who points out that the term was transliterated variously by authors such as Procopius of Caesarea.
[68] 28.1; ed. CSEL 29, 241.2: 'veredarius bipes'.

(vii) *nuntius*: the Latin can mean both a messenger and a message. More often than not the messenger probably conveyed only a verbal message. In rare cases *nuntius* is used as synonym for *tabellarius*.[69]
(viii) *puer*: slave, young man, or monk.[70]
(ix) *frater* and *filius* usually refer to someone who belongs to the bishop's spiritual community.[71]
(x) *servus Dei* in Augustine = monk.[72]

Greek terms for letter-bearer are *cursor*, transliterated as κουρσῶρ, and its Greek equivalents ἡμεροδρόμος and ταχυδρόμος, although to my knowledge these are not found in surviving episcopal correspondence from the fifth and sixth centuries.

σύμμαχος and ἐπιστολαφόρος are recorded in Egyptian papyri, especially from the fourth century onwards.

The translations of these terms in modern languages tend to be minimalistic and rarely preserve the distinctions noted here.

[69] A. Kolb, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer* (2000), 269.
[70] See n. 39 above.
[71] M. Caltobiano, 'I latori' (2001), 117. S. Mratschek, *Der Briefwechsel des Paulinus von Nola* (2002), 618f., notes that in Paulinus *filii sancti* can refer to monks or clerics.
[72] M. Caltobiano, 'I latori' (2001), 118.

The Outward Appearance of Clerics in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries in Italy, Gaul and Africa: Representation and Reality

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ABSTRACT

Clement III (1130-1191 AD) (or more likely Innocent III [1160-1216 AD]) used to say that the clothes did not make the man, only the job did. The issues raised by this straightforward assertion should be analyzed since there is a great disjunction between the standards prescribed by the Church fathers (such as Ambrose of Milan, Augustine of Hippo and Jerome of Stridon) concerning the everyday life of clerics, and reality. During Late Antiquity, it would have been hard to distinguish clerics from laymen at a glance, since there were no strict clothing rules abided by the overall community of clerics. Besides, one must not forget that the aforementioned Church Fathers had converted to asceticism and their views were very rigid. Generally speaking, they managed to impose their regulations upon their clerics but their success was limited to their own dioceses. As far as these discrepancies are concerned, the key is to bear in mind that what they wrote does not actually reflect what clerics wore during the fourth and the fifth centuries.

Pope Clement III (1130-1191 AD) or more likely Pope Innocent III (1160-1216 AD) is supposed to have said *l'habit ne fait pas le moine*, *i.e.* the garb does not make the man.[1] This maxim suggests a strict standardization of outward appearance that should not be taken for granted when it comes to the fourth and fifth centuries. The Church fathers wrote at length about the appropriate dress for clerics, claiming that the question was no longer open to debate. But Jerome of Stridon (347-420 AD), Ambrose of Milan (340-397 AD) and Augustine of Hippo (354-430 AD) were all clerics who converted to asceticism. They devoted their time laying down their rules about the appearance of clerics, as they deemed that each and every cleric should be converted to asceticism. However they failed to systematically impose these rigid demands on their own dioceses, and their rhetorical speech scarcely prevailed upon clerics, unable to change their way of dressing outside their territories. There is a huge discrepancy between the idealized representation of clerical dress provided by the

[1] *Decretalium D. Gregorii Papae IX*, ed. A. Friedberg, *Corpus Iuris Canonici* (Union, 2000), III, XXXI, 13, 574: '*Valet professio facta sine susceptione habitus religionis*'.

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Church Fathers and the practical reality of clerical dress as described by the same authors in other texts. This gap between rules and actual practice, between representation and reality, reveals that there was no standard clerical dress during the fourth and fifth centuries, because the distinction between ecclesiastical and civil dress did not exist.[2] I will begin by mentioning how clerics used their outward appearance to differentiate themselves from laymen. I will then analyze the specific clothes worn by the clerics who converted to asceticism.

Clerics' clothing: from looking like *honestiores* to carrying relics

Some clerics boasted the extent of their wealth by adorning themselves with luxurious items. These worldly clerics used their offices to gain a better social status. Sabianus (383-419 AD) was first ordained as a deacon but he quickly decided to become a monk. For Jerome he could not have claimed to be an ascetic because he wore perfume, earrings and rich garments.[3] We can assume that this man was using his office to distinguish himself from laymen. In Pierre Bourdieu's words, Sabianus used his new status as a springboard to wealth.[4] Indeed, he looks like a *honestior*. Given the way he dressed it seems unlikely that he ever got his hands dirty as other monks did. As a Roman deacon, he probably also wore the dalmatic, which was the equivalent of the senator's *colobium*.[5] Jerome would have condemned the dalmatic as an ostentatious sign

[2] R.E. Reynolds, 'Clerical Liturgical Vestments and Liturgical Colors in the Middle Ages', in *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages. Hierarchy and Image* (Aldershot a.o., 1999), VI, 1-16, 1. Indeed, Louis Duchesne stated that the garb of clergymen and *honestiores* was mostly the same in Late Antiquity: L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien. Étude sur la liturgie latine avant Charlemagne* (Paris, 1925), 400.

[3] Jerome, *Ep.* 147, ed. J. Labourt, *Correspondance* vol. 8 (Paris, 1963), 8, 128: '*Amiciris linteis, digitos anulis oneras, dentes pulvere teris, raros in rubenti calvaria digeris capillos, taurina cervix toris adipeis intumescens, nec, quia fracta est, inclinatur. Super haec, unguentis fragras, mutas balneas, et contra renascentes pilos pugnas; per forum ac plateas, nitidus et politus amator incedis*'.

[4] P. Bourdieu, *La distinction. Critique sociale du jugement* (Paris, 1979), 278.

[5] A.G. Martimort, *L'Église en prière. I. Principe de la liturgie* (Paris, 1983), 197. The deacons's wearing of the dalmatic was confirmed by Ambrosiaster: see *Ambrosiaster. Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (PL 35, XLVI, 2246): '*[…] Quasi non hodie diaconi dalmaticis induantur, sicut episcopi*'. Whenever clerics fulfilled a liturgical function, we have some clues about their appearance: we can assume that the dalmatic was worn by deacons and bishops in Rome and, by bishops and archbishops in Milan. The dalmatic is a garment with long sleeves that they wore above the tunic. It could be made of wool, silk or linen. But it quickly appeared as being a privilege for clerics because only the pope and the Roman deacons were authorized to wear it: L. Trichet, *Le costume du clergé. Ses origines et son évolution en France d'après les règlements de l'Église* (Paris, 1986), 22. In 382 AD, a law enacted that all Roman Senators must wear the *colobium* and the *paenula* outdoors, see: *Theodosian Code* XIV 10.1: '*Sine exceptione temporis matutini, dumtaxat intra moenia constitutus, nullus senatorum habitum sibi vindicet militarem, sed chlamydis terrore deposito quieta coloborum ac paenularum induat vestimenta*'. The *colobium*

of privilege and power. It is also possible that Sabianus wanted to become a bishop. Unlike Peter Brown's *holy man*, who rejected social norms and conventions,[6] Sabianus strove to find his place among the social elite. He wore the clothes and played the part of someone he was not: his way of dressing was subversive.[7] According to Jerome, Sabianus failed to be a true servant of God because he was too focused on his own social status. Like most clerics who did not convert to asceticism, he dressed like an aristocrat. Ascetic clerics, on the other hand, sometimes wore bejeweled reliquaries that cost next to nothing but provided them with spiritual protection. Yet the charms and jewels worn by clerics could have other purposes besides demonstrating one's fear of God. Constantius of Lyon (418-448 AD) stated that Germanus of Auxerre wore the relics of some anonymous saints around his neck, which he used to cure a blind girl.[8] Such phylacteries were very common throughout the Empire. They looked like little reliquaries hanging around the neck and could have Jewish, Pagan or Christian meanings.[9] Their varied uses may explain why the Greek term φυλακτήριον and the Latin term '*phylacterium*' did not appear in the *vita* and why, beginning in the second half of the fourth century, a large number of texts condemned carrying of amulets.[10] Constantius of Lyon did not want Germanius to be accused of pagan habits. The example of Martin of Tours suggests that

was a sleeveless tunic: L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien* (1925), 399. We do not have any information concerning the garments worn by bishops on a daily basis during the fourth and fifth century. A mosaic of the basilica of Saint Ambrose in Milan depicted Ambrose with a dalmatic and a *paenula*: P. Courcelle, *Recherches sur Saint Ambroise. "Vies" anciennes, culture, iconographie* (Paris, 1973), 156. This *paenula* was a chasuble worn by *sacerdotes* in Late Antiquity, and only by bishops in Rome: R.E. Reynolds, 'Clerical Liturgical Vestments and Liturgical Colors in the Middle Ages' (1999), VI, 1-16, 4-5. The *paenula* was worn above a tunic with or without sleeves [about the tunic, see: H.-I. Marrou, *Décadence romaine ou antiquité tardive? III^e^-VI^e^ siècle* (Paris, 1977), 19]. We also know that the *pallium* was worn in Rome by bishops and deacons: L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien* (1925), 399-410.

[6] P. Brown, 'The rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity', *JRS* 61 (1971), 81-101, 92.

[7] F. Baratte, 'Le vêtement dans l'Antiquité tardive: rupture ou continuité?', *AnTard* 12 *[Tissus et vêtements dans l'Antiquité tardive]* (2004), 121-35, 130.

[8] Constantius of Lyon, *Vie de saint Germain d'Auxerre*, ed. R. Borius, SC 112 (Paris, 1965), III, 15, 150-2: '*Cum subito vir tribuniciae potestatis cum coniuge procedit in medium, decem annorum filiam caecam sinibus ingerens sacerdotum; quam illi offerri adversariis praeceperunt. Sed conscientia puniente deterriti iungunt cum parentibus preces et curationem parvulae a sacerdotibus deprecantur; qui expectationem populi et inclinatos adversarios intuentes, orationem breviter fundunt. Ac deinde Germanus plenus Spiritu sancto invocat Trinitatem et protinus adhaerentem lateri suo capsulam cum sanctorum reliquiis collo avulsam manibus comprehendit eamque in conspectu omnium puellae oculis adplicavit; quos statim evacutatos tenebris lumine veritatis implevit. Exultant parentes miraculo, populus contremiscit. Post quam diem ita ex animis hominum persuasio iniqua deleta est ut sacerdotum doctrinam, sitientibus desideriis, sectarentur.'*

[9] A. Rousselle, *Croire et guérir. La foi en Gaule dans l'Antiquité tardive* (Paris, 1990), 177.

[10] S. Kauffmann, 'Obtenir son salut: quel objet choisir? La réponse du christianisme', in C. Delattre (ed.), *Objets sacrés, objets magiques de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2007), 117-40, 118.

other holy men probably wore charms, even if little documentation about this survives. Sulpicius Severus did not disclose that Martin carried relics because he wanted to create the image of an almighty saint who was able to cure people or bring them back from the dead without the intervention of other martyrs.[11]

Although it is not possible to generalize about the outward appearance of secular clerics based on the single example of Sabianus it is safe to say that the *holy men*, like other Christians, were closely connected to the martyrdom's cult, relying on their relics to cure.

Clerics who converted to asceticism: «the 'making' of the early Christian ascetic ideal»[12]

Clerics who converted to asceticism used the simplicity of their clothes to create a highly visible marker of identity.[13] Martin of Tours (316-396 AD) and more than a century later Fulgentius of Ruspe (462/7-533 AD) refused to dress in the ceremonial *regalia* of bishops and wore the hood and belt so as to highlight their humility. Martin dressed like a monk, with a simple tunic, and when he isolated himself from others to pray, he used a hair shirt.[14] Martin's rich companions in Marmoutiers wore clothes made of camel's hair[15] but Martin

[11] A. Rousselle, *Croire et guérir* (1990), 137.

[12] T.M. Shaw, 'Askesis and the Appearance of Holiness', *JECS* 6 (1998), 485-99. On page 486, Shaw reexamined the texts on virginity written by male-authors, so as 'to show how the rhetoric of appearance and lifestyle might be integrated into a social analysis of the "making" of the early Christian ascetic ideal'.

[13] Re-examining his article concerning the *holy men*, Peter Brown makes a pun stating: 'He was not, alas, a Christian Dior, creating the New Look for a new age of Roman society'. See P. Brown, 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity, 1971-1997', *JECS* 6 (1998), 353-76, 365.

[14] Sulpicius Severus, *Vie de Saint Martin,* ed J. Fontaine, SC 133 (Paris, 1967), XIV, 4, 284: '*Itaque secessit ad proxima loca. Ibi per triduum cilicio tectus et cinere, ieiunans semper atque orans, precabatur ad Dominum, ut, quia templum illud evertere humana manus non potuisset, virtus illud divina dirueret*'. S. Labarre supposed it was made of goat's hair: S. Labarre, 'Le vêtement dans la vie de saint Martin (IV^{e} s.). Signe social et valeur symbolique', in F. Chausson and H. Inglebert (eds), *Costume et société dans l'Antiquité et le haut Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2003), 143-51, 147. As a convert to asceticism, Melania the Younger was also known to wear a hair shirt: Gerontius, *The Life of Melania the Younger,* ed. E. Clark (New York, 1984), 31, 48.

[15] Sulpicius Severus, *Vie de saint Martin* (1967), X, 8, 274: '*Plerique camelorum saetis vestiebantur*'. These clothes recall those worn by John the Baptist, who embodied the ascetic way of life (*Matthew* 3:4). What is most striking is that this kind of fabric should have demonstrated the humility of these people, whereas camel's hair had to be imported which must have been quite costly! The men living in Marmoutiers came from aristocratic families and wearing this kind of clothes was obviously a sign of their wealth. They probably bought it from Egyptian or Syrian merchants, who certainly did not live in Marmoutiers. Another theory has been proposed by Jacques Fontaine by supposing that these clothes had been brought back by pilgrims returning from the Holy Land: Sulpicius Severus, *Vie de saint Martin. Commentaires,* II, ed. J. Fontaine, SC 134 (Paris, 1968), X, 8, 681-4.

might have seen this as snobbery and thus refused to follow their example.[16] Martin of Tours and Fulgentius of Ruspe also wore the *pallium*, which could be black or white.[17] When Martin met a poor, naked man in front of the Tours Cathedral, the *holy man* was wearing a tunic under his cloak, which – according to Jacques Fontaine – was probably lined with wool.[18] Jerome seems to have worn a similar coat during harsh winters, since he received from Theodora a coat made of wool.[19] Moreover, Henri-Irénée Marrou vouched for the fact that despite the tendency to represent Augustine of Hippo as a modern bishop, we have to imagine that he wore sandals and a wool tunic with sleeves, which resembled a shirt rather than a long tunic such as those worn by Cicero.[20] We have very few sources that deal with this aspect. Augustine reports that when Timotheus, a deacon of Hippo, died in 395 AD, his sister Sapidia had sewn clothes for him but that he passed away before wearing them. Sapidia decided to offer the garments to Augustine who accepted the present but was uneasy with this gift.[21] He did not want people to believe that he was taking advantage of his status. According to Claude Lepelley: 'Augustine's family belonged to

[16] J. Biarne, 'Martin, témoin du premier monachisme occidental', in *XVI^e centenaire de la mort de saint Martin. Colloque universitaire (22-25 octobre 1997)*, Société archéologique de Touraine 63 (Tours, 1997), 217-27, 226.

[17] Ferrandus of Carthage, *Vita beati Fulgentii Pontificis*, ed. P.G.-G. Lapeyre (Paris, 1929), XV, 79-81: '*Orario quidem, sicut omnes episcopi, nullatenus utebatur; pellicio cingulo tanquam monachus utebatur […] Casulam pretiosam, vel superbi coloris, nec ipse habuit, nec monachos suos habere permisit. Subtus casulam, nigello vel lactinio pallio circumdatus, incessit. Quando temperies aeris invitabat, solo pallio intra monasterium est coopertus*'. S. Labarre considers the eschatological dimension of the white colour which is also that of Christ, see S. Labarre, 'Le vêtement dans la vie de saint Martin' (2003), 149. We must be more cautious with the *pallium* when dealing with Fulgentius of Ruspe because during his time it was commonly thought that the *paenula* was slightly more honorary even if the *pallium* was obsolete at that moment. That is why it is conceivable to suppose that Fulgentius of Ruspe continued to wear the old-fashioned *pallium*. It is also true that in those days if all clerics wore the *paenula*, only the bishop of Rome retained this garment when entering the church for liturgical functions: R.E. Reynolds, 'Clerical Liturgical Vestments and Liturgical Colors in the Middle Ages' (1999), VI, 1-16, 5. See also: G. Lobrichon, 'Le vêtement liturgique des évêques au IX^e siècle', in *Costume et société dans l'Antiquité et le haut Moyen Âge* (2003), 129-41, 136.

[18] Sulpicius Severus, *Gallus. Dialogues sur les 'vertus' de saint Martin,* ed. J. Fontaine, SC 510 (Paris, 2006), II, 1, 5, 218: '*intra amphibalum sibi tunicam*'. See also footnote 5, 218f.

[19] Jerome, *Ep.* 71, ed. J. Labourt, *Correspondance*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1954), 7, 14: '*Duo palliola et amphimallum de tuis usibus, vel utenda vel sanctis danda suscepi*'.

[20] H.-I. Marrou, *Saint Augustin et l'Augustinisme* (Paris, 1969), 5.

[21] Augustine, *Ep.* 263, ed. A. Goldbacher, CSEL 57 (Vienna, 1911), I, 631f.: '*Accepi quod de iustis et piis laboribus manuum tuarum me accipere voluisti, ne te gravius contristarem, quam potius consolandam viderem: praesertim quia hoc ipsum tuum non parvum deputasti esse solatium, si eam, quam germano tuo sancto Dei ministro feceras tunicam, ego induerer; cum iam a terra morientium recedens nullis rebus corruptibilibus indigeret. Feci ergo quod desiderasti, et qualecumque hoc existima veris, vel quantulumcumque solatium, tuo erga fratrem pectori non negavi. Missam abs te tunicam accepi, et quando haec ad te scripsi, ea me vestire iam coeperam. Bono animo esto*'.

the middle class, since his father was a small landowner and counselor in his city'[22] of Thagaste, *i.e. decurio*. Augustine was perfectly aware that his origin could be pointed out if he became any richer. We also find out that the rule of Augustine did not make any difference between the outward dress of a bishop and a deacon.[23] They wore a tunic and a hood with a short cloak. Two kinds of fabrics were offered by the laymen to the clerics of Hippo: the *burrus* and the linen.[24] We also know that they used the linen indoors and the wool outdoors.[25] We can also probably assume that it was a dark cloak since the converts to asceticism wore plain clothes.[26] If most clerics wore shoes like Augustine of Hippo,[27] the behavior of Fulgentius of Ruspe and Alypius of Thagaste must have raised some eyebrows.

Most clerics came from aristocratic families who brought them up with a firm awareness of their nobility. *Patientia* and *humilitas* were qualities scorned by the nobility, but to become clerics they would have had to learn and practice these virtues.[28] Like his famous friend Augustine, Alypius (354-428 AD) converted simultaneously to Christianity and to asceticism in 386 AD at Cassiciacum. Profoundly changed by his conversion, Alypius decided to go to Milan to be christened by Ambrose, walking barefoot on the icy earth,[29] bearing in mind that Cassiciacum and Milan are forty kilometers apart (24.8 miles). This may have been a conscious display of humility to show that he was forsaking a sinful past to be reborn through his christening. Walking forty kilometers barefoot

[22] C. Lepelley, 'Facing Wealth and Poverty: Defining Augustine's Social Doctrine', *Augustinian Studies* 31 (2007), 1-17, 5.

[23] L. Verheijen, *La Règle de saint Augustin. I. Tradition manuscrite* (Paris, 1967), I, 3, 418: '*Et non dicatis aliquid proprium, sed sint vobis omnia communia, et distribuatur unicuique vestrum a praeposito vestro victus et tegumentum, non aequaliter omnibus, quia non aequaliter valetis omnes, sed potius unicuique sicut cuique opus fuerit*'.

[24] Augustine, *S.* 356, ed. D.C. Lambot O.S.B., *Stromata Patristica et Mediaevalia I. Sermones selecti* (Bruxelles, 1950), 13, 140: '*Nemo det birrum, lineam tunicam, nisi in commune*'.

[25] Augustine, *S.* 37, ed. C. Lambot, CChr.SL 51 (Turnhout, 1961), 6, 452: '*Interiora sunt enim linea vestimenta, lanea exteriora*'.

[26] P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo. A Biography* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2000), 193. A monk like Jerome thought there was a link between clothes and moral behaviour, see Jerome, *Ep.* 54, ed. J. Labourt, *Correspondance*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1953), 7, 31: '*Lingua personat castitatem et totum corpus praefert impudicitiam*'. But the main reason that could explain the humility of the garments worn by those converted to asceticism lies in the implications of their conversion. The ascetic way of life involved a strict renunciation to all worldly concerns, therefore this social death was represented through clothing: since the *honestiores* dressed in silk, those converted to asceticism wore rustic clothes. Moreover, this simple way of dressing helped differentiate themselves from the rest of their community.

[27] Possidius of Calama, *Vita Augustini* (PL 32, XXII, 51): '*calceamenta*'.

[28] Beat Näf, *Senatorisches Standesbewusstsein in Spätrömischer Zeit*, Paradosis 40 (Freiburg, 1995), 88.

[29] Augustine, *Les Confessions*, ed. M. Skutella, B.A. 14 (Paris, 1962), IX, VI, 14, 94: '*Placuit et Alypio renasci in te mecum iam induto humilitate sacramentis tuis congrua et fortissimo domitori corporis, usque ad Italicum solum glaciale nudo pede obterendum insolito ausu*'.

on frozen ground to Milan to inaugurate his Christian life recalls the way Jesus entered Jerusalem to meet his fate. As a bishop of Thagaste, Alypius wore shoes. His case is thoroughly different from Fulgentius of Ruspe. He came from Africa, just like Alypius, and was born from a Catholic mother. He adopted the ascetic way of life and settled in a monastery. He rejected sandals and went mostly barefoot indoors.[30] But if Alypius inflicted mortifications upon himself, Fulgentius did things differently by advertizing his humility walking around barefoot. His behavior cannot be understood as an *imitatio Christi* since *Mark's Gospel* tells us that Christ wore sandals.[31] Nevertheless, *Luke* mentions that Jesus recommended to his disciples to travel without money, bag or sandals.[32] Therefore, Fulgentius may have been imitating Christ's disciples.[33] We have to bear in mind that Jerome was strictly opposed to walking barefoot, which he saw as characteristic of the devil.[34] But the presence and absence of garments is not the only way of marking clerical identity: the second conversion confers a new connection to the neophyte with both his hair and beard.

Paulinus of Nola (354-431 AD) had his hair cut by a Gallic messenger.[35] The haircut was obviously inspired by Paul, since the Apostle stated that men should not have too much hair.[36] One must not forget that the tonsure was not compulsory: what mattered was adopting a proper religious attitude.[37] Furthermore, Martin of Tours was ostracized by other clerics who thought he did not take proper care of his appearance. They found his clothing mean and his hair unkempt and denounced him as unworthy of the episcopate.[38] Sylvie Labarre

[30] Ferrandus of Carthage, *Vita beati Fulgentii Pontificis* (1929), IV, 25: '*Audit hoc mater, referentibus multis, ad consortia monachorum fugisse Fulgentium, totiusque domus regendae atque gubernandae curam penitus dimisisse, nec omnino jam posse de tali proposito revocari*', and XV, 79: '*Intra monasterium sane interdum soleas accipiebat, frequenter nudis pedibus ambulabat*'.

[31] *Mark* 6:9.

[32] *Luke* 10:4.

[33] We have to bear in mind that holy ascetic males are always compared to biblical characters, which can explain the implicit comparison between some holy men and the apostles: G. Frank, *The Memory of the Eyes. Pilgrims in Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity* (Berkeley a.o., 2000), 168.

[34] Jerome, *Ep.* 22, ed. J. Labourt, *Correspondance*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1949), 28, 141: '*et nudi in patientiam frigoris pedes*'.

[35] Paulinus of Nola, *Ep.* 23, ed. G. de Hartel, CSEL 39 (Vienna, 1894), 10, 157-201, 167f.: '*Venio nunc ad maiorem fratris erga me victoris operam, qua me suis manibus tondere dignatus est: quod ipsum tamen beneficium tibi debere me voluit, mandato tuo dicens se mihi artem suam prodere*'.

[36] 1*Cor.* 11:14.

[37] H. Leclercq, 'Tonsure', in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* XV, (2) (Paris, 1953), 2430-43, 2436.

[38] Sulpicius Severus, *Vie de saint Martin* (1967), IX, 3, 272: '*[…] dicentes scilicet contemptibilem esse personam, indignum esse episcopatu hominem vultu despicabilem, veste sordidum, crine deformem*'.

understands this presentation of Martin as revealing the perfect ascetic who rejects the worldly concerns of his fellow clergymen.[39] As for the beard, Paulinus of Nola decided to offer it to Felix, the Nola's saint, by shaving it off just above his gravestone, when he was still governor. According to Aline Rousselle, this act may be the continuation of the *depositio barbae*, a traditional celebration in which the pagans offered their beards to the gods.[40] However, it is difficult to interpret Paulinus's act: it could have been an informal celebration of his conversion to asceticism. This kind of private ceremony became widespread and gave rise to liturgical celebrations in Late Antique monasteries.[41] A Roman deacon called Arsenius (384-450 AD) decided to become a monk and live in the Egyptian desert. Eventually his beard reached his belly, giving him the appearance of a wild animal.[42] When it came to mortification Arsenius was a leading figure. As far as apostolic representations are concerned, Paulinus' short beard recalls Peter, and Arsenius' long beard can be compared to that of Paul of Tarsus.[43]

Although there were no explicit rules governing the appearance of ascetic clerics, some implicit norms existed nonetheless. Ascetic monks shared some garments with regular bishops but they found ways to emphasize their simplicity and humility. The standardization of the monks' appearance helped differentiate them from the secular world.[44] Yet clothing standards were clearly established by those who had converted to asceticism. This explains the problem posed by Sabianus, a cleric who did not convert to asceticism. As a deacon, he was supposed to obey his bishop, whose name is not known, but who clearly had not converted to asceticism. This division between ascetic and non-ascetic

[39] S. Labarre, 'Le vêtement dans la vie de saint Martin (IV^{e} s.)' (2003), 146.

[40] A. Rousselle, 'Paulin de Nole et Sulpice Sévère, Hagiographes, et la culture populaire', in J.-C. Schmitt (ed.), *Les saints et les stars. Le texte hagiographique dans la culture populaire* (Paris, 1983), 27-40, 35.

[41] H. Leclercq, 'Barbe', in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* II, (1 B) (Paris, 1910), 478-93, 489.

[42] *Apophthegmata Patrum* (PG 65, 42, 107): '*fuit autem aridus; gestavit barbam longam quae ad ventrem pertingeret*'.

[43] Saint Peter is sometimes depicted as beardless – like in the detail of the Arcosolium of the catacomb of San Gennero in Naples (pl. 82) – and sometimes as bearded, as in Saint Catherine's Monastery in the Mount Sinaï (pl. 170): M. Zibawi, 'Fidélité et créativité', in M.A. Crippa and M. Zibawi (eds), *L'art Paléochrétien des origines à Byzance* (Paris, 1998), 217-308, 220 and M. Zibawi, 'La synthèse byzantine', in *ibid*. 363-428, 368. Moreover, the oldest depiction of Paul of Tarsus rediscovered in 2009 inside the catacombs of the Church of Saint Thecla in Rome, not far from the Basilica of Saint Paul Outside the Walls, presents the Apostle with a long pointed beard. A small bronze statue rediscovered in the Christian cemetery of Cornus in Sardinia, dating from the late fourth century, represents him also with a long pointed beard, a tunic and a cloak, conjuring up the ascetic clothes: J. Spier, *Picturing the Bible. The earliest Christian Art* (New Heaven and London, 2007), pl. 62, 240.

[44] A.T. Crislip, *From Monastery to Hospital. Christian Monasticism and the Transformation of Health Care in Late Antiquity* (Ann Arbor, 2005), 60.

clergy helps to explain the stereotypes of clerical appearance found throughout the texts. The issue of clothing in these texts also reveals the use of amulets to ward off evil spirits and heal the sick. But such descriptions of clerical jewelry remained rare because their inclusion in the narrative would have undermined the reputation of living saints.

The Man and the Myth: Did Heraclius Know the Legend of the Last Roman Emperor?

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ABSTRACT

The legend of the Last Roman Emperor is one of the most persistent themes in Medieval European apocalypticism. And yet its origin remains uncertain. In the late nineteenth century Ernst Sackur, while editing an eleventh-century *Sibylline Oracle* that contained this legend, proposed an original fourth-century source. Paul Alexander, perhaps the twentieth century's foremost expert on Byzantine eschatology, dated the legend to the time of Theodosius I, until later changing his mind. Recent scholars place the date of the legend later, to around the time of Roman Emperor Heraclius (r. 610-641 AD). And yet, Heraclius' triumphal entry into Jerusalem with the True Cross bore striking resemblance to the actions attributed to the mythical Last Roman Emperor.

Thus the question of the date of the Legend of the Last Roman Emperor is crucial in understanding the return of the True Cross to Jerusalem by Heraclius, one of the most significant events in early Byzantine history. It has not been clear whether Heraclius was inspired by, or inspired, the apocalyptic legend of the Last Emperor. The first securely datable text to mention the Last Roman Emperor is the *Syriac Apocalypse* of Pseudo-Methodius, which dates from just after Heraclius' reign. But is it possible that Pseudo-Methodius drew on an earlier source, one that, as Sackur believed, also inspired the post-Ottonian *Tiburtine Sibyls*? By exploring these eleventh-century western sources, and comparing them to Eastern apocalyptic literature, this thesis will explore the influence and interaction of the historical Roman Emperor Heraclius with the legendary story of the Last Roman Emperor.

The Legend of the Last Roman Emperor permeates medieval apocalyptic literature, especially in the Latin West, from the writings of Adso of Montier-en-Der in the tenth century to Christopher Columbus' *Book of Prophecies* at the end of the fifteenth.[1] It exists in many variations, but very generally the legend predicts that at the end of the world, a great Christian ruler will emerge who will vanquish the enemies of the faith and finally travel to Jerusalem. There,

[1] For Adso's description of the Last Emperor, see *Adso Dervensis De ortu et tempore antichristi: necnon et tractatus qui ab eo dependun*, ed. Daniel Verhelst (Turnhout, 1976), 26; for Columbus, see Roberto Rusconi, *The Book of Prophecies Edited by Christopher Columbus* (Berkeley, 1997), 171-5.

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according to the version in the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, he will go up on Golgotha and place his crown on the True Cross. This event heralds the end of earthly kingship, as the crown of the Roman Empire will be taken up by Christ, ushering in the Last Judgment.[2]

The theme of a victorious Roman emperor journeying to Jerusalem and surmounting Golgotha has an obvious parallel in historical events. The similarity between this eschatological scenario and the very real return of the True Cross by Emperor Heraclius in the year 630 AD has not gone unnoticed and scholars have frequently implied, though few are willing to out rightly state, that there is a connection between the eschatological prediction and the historical return of the True Cross by Heraclius. For example, Jan Willem Drijvers, in an important article on the return of the True Cross by Heraclius, cites the similarity between the Last Roman Emperor Legend and the return of the True Cross as proof of apocalyptic undertones in Heraclius' act.[3] Virtually no scholar, however, has been willing to scrutinize which came first, the Last Emperor legend or the return of the True Cross in 630 AD, though this is a vital question in understanding the relationship between the legend and historical event. Paul Magdalino has been one of the few scholars to even address the issue, but concluded only that 'it is not entirely clear whether [Heraclius] was inspired by, or inspired, the apocalyptic legend of the Last Emperor.'[4]

The earliest source to mention the legendary Last Roman Emperor which can be firmly dated is the above-mentioned *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*. As a Syriac text inveighing against Islamic rule, this work is clearly from a later time than the return of the True Cross by Heraclius in 630 AD. The *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* was almost certainly written in Northern Mesopotamia in the last decade of the seventh century. Thus, it would seem

[2] This scene can be found in Pseudo-Methodius, 14.2-3; *Die Syrische Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius*, ed. G.J. Reinink, CSCO 540 (Leuven, 1993), 44. For an English translation, see Francisco Javier Martinez, *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic in the Early Muslim Period: Pseudo-Methodius and Pseudo-Athanasius*, Ph.D dissertation (Catholic University of America, 1985), 152; for a more recent German translation, see *Die Syrische Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius,* transl. G.J. Reinink, CSCO 541 (Leuven, 1993), 71-2. For further citations of Pseudo-Methodius, I will give the chapter and section, followed in parentheses by the page in Reinink's critical edition, then the page in Martinez' English translation, and finally the page in Reinink's German translation.

[3] J.W. Drijvers, 'Heraclius and the *Restitutio Crucis*: Notes on symbolism and ideology', in G. J. Reinink, Bernard H. Stolte (eds), *The Reign of Heraclius (610-641): Crisis and Confrontation* (Leuven, 2002), 175-90, 186-7.

[4] Paul Magdalino, 'The history of the future and its uses: prophesy, policy, and propaganda', in *The Making of Byzantine History. Studies dedicated to Donald M. Nicol* (Aldershot, 1993), 3-34, 19. Another scholar to mention the connection is Günter Stemberger, who in 'Jerusalem in the Early Seventh Century', in Lee I. Levine (ed.), *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (New York, 1999), 260-72, 265, writes that in Pseudo-Methodius 'the restoration of the Holy Cross to Jerusalem by Heraclius is not explicitly mentioned, but it is to be understood as central to the scene when all earthly rule comes to its end.'

that the problem is instantly solved, that the legend could not have influenced Heraclius. Indeed, among Syriac scholars, it is generally accepted that the Last Emperor legend originated in Pseudo-Methodius, and therefore did not exist before the last decade of the seventh century.[5]

The issue is not that easily resolved, however, and such confidence about the origin of the legend does not extend beyond disciplinary boundaries. Among scholars of Latin Christendom it is often assumed that the Last Emperor legend is much older, dating to the fourth century. Recently, in his influential book *Muhammad and the Believers*, Fred Donner has brought similar assumptions to Islamic studies. In explaining the importance of Jerusalem to the early Islamic *umma*, Donner theorizes that the early Islamic leaders holding the position of Commander of the Faithful (*amir al-Mu'minin*) believed that they would 'fulfill the role of that expected "last emperor" who would, on the Last Day, hand earthly power over to God.' Donner is assuming that the Last Roman Emperor legend must have existed before the Pseudo-Methodius.[6]

The prospect of an earlier, perhaps fourth-century version of Last Roman Emperor is based on the presence of the story in several Latin manuscripts of a work known as the *Tiburtine Sibyl*. This text purports to be a sibylline interpretation of a dream shared by a hundred Roman senators, a dream in which they all saw nine different suns in the sky, which the Sibyl explains, represents the nine ages of the world which will culminate in the apocalypse and the reign of the Last Emperor.

There are four different early versions of the *Tiburtine Sibyl*.[7] The earliest manuscripts of all of these date to the eleventh century. The manuscripts, however, could possibly be copies of a work originating much earlier. Indeed, the editor of the earliest surviving version (version 2 of the *Tiburtine Sibyl*), Ernst Sackur, believed that the text, including the Last Emperor legend, dated to the fourth century, with only some minor interpolations added by later copyists. It was Sackur's contention that the original text was written in Greek, and was soon after translated into Latin (manuscript w^a).[8] This Latin text was lost but provided the basis for an eleventh-century reworking (w^b, aka, version 1), also

[5] F.J. Martinez, a scholar of Syriac and Coptic literature, writes in 'The King of Rūm and the King of Ethiopia in Medieval Apocalyptic Texts from Egypt', in Włodzimierz Godlewski (ed.), *Coptic Studies: Acts of the Third International Congress of Coptic Studies* (Warsow, 1990), 247-59, 256, that the idea that 'this legend, involving the abdication of the last Roman emperor in Jerusalem, originates in [Pseudo-Methodius] is today an established fact.'

[6] Fred Donner, *Muhammad and the Believers: At the Origins of Islam* (Cambridge, 2010), 144.

[7] For a detailed description of each of the four versions and the dates of their manuscripts, see Anke Holdenried, *The Sibyl and Her Scribes: Manuscripts and Interpretation of the Latin Sibylla Tiburtina c. 1050-1500* (Aldershot, 2006), 4-5.

[8] Ernst Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen: Pseudomethodius Adso und die tiburtinische Sibylle* (Halle, 1898), 164.

lost, from which was derived w^1 (version 2 – the text edited by Sackur)[9], w^2 (version 3),[10] and w^c (the latter of which was also lost, but from which there derived several later variations of the work, including version 4).[11]

Since the Last Roman Emperor in the *Tiburtine Sibyl* is named Constans, Sackur believed that this was a relic from the civil strife that broke out after the death of Constantine the Great in 337. Of Constantine's two primary successors, Constans was a supporter of the council of Nicaea, while his brother Constantius opposed it. In 350, Constans was killed and Constantius II took control over the entire empire and attempted to moderate the definition of the faith formulated at Nicaea. According to Sackur, Nicene Christians, outraged at having an 'Arian heretic' as their emperor, must have seen this as a sign of the end of times. Thus, he believed the *Tiburtine Sibyl* was written in this period by Nicene Christians who anxiously awaited the messianic return of their orthodox emperor.[12]

Sackur's views were adopted and updated decades later by Paul Alexander, who discovered and edited a Greek version of the *Tiburtine Sibyl*, which he dubbed the 'Oracle of Baalbek', and which is remarkably similar to the Latin *Tiburtine Sibyl* except that it places the apocalypse in the reign of Emperor Anastasius I, obviously implying that it dates to the beginning of the sixth century.[13] Notably, while this Greek version of the sibylline text mentions kings who will rule at the end of the world, none of them bear any similarity to the Last Emperor in the *Tiburtine Sibyl*. There is simple no reference to a messianic Last Roman Emperor in the Oracle of Baalbek. So, if the version of the Last Emperor in the *Tiburtine Sibyls* dates from the fourth century, why is it not present in the early sixth-century Greek version?

Since the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* was quickly translated into Latin, as early as the beginning of the eighth century, and became widely available in the Latin West,[14] so long as the *Tiburtine Sibyl* was written after the seventh century it could have picked up the Last Emperor legend from this translation

[9] The *Tiburtine Sibyl* has been edited by E. Sackur, in *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* (1898), 177-87.

[10] Edited by Rudolf Usinger, 'Eine Sibylle des Mittelalters', *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* 10 (1870), 621-31; for an updated edition of this *Cumean Sibyl*, see Carl Erdmann, 'Endkaiserglaube und Kreuzzugsgedanke im 11. Jahrhundert', *ZKG* 51 (1932), 384-414, 396-98.

[11] Edited by Bernard McGinn, 'Oracular Transformations. The *Sibylla Tiburtina* in the Middle Ages', in *Sibille e linguaggi oracolari: mito, storia, tradizione*, ed. Ileana Chirassi Colombo and Tullio Seppilli (Pisa, 1998), 601-44, 642-4.

[12] For Sackur's commentary on the date of the text, see E. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* (1898), 163-70.

[13] For the Greek text of the Oracle of Baalbek, see Paul Alexander, *The Oracle of Baalbek: The Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress* (Washington, 1967), 9-22; for an English translation, see *ibid.* 23-9; for the date of the text and its relationship with the *Latin Tiburtine Sibyl*, see *ibid.* 41-65.

[14] The manuscript is codex Bern, Bürgerbibliothek, no. 611, dated to the 720s; for a discussion of the early translation of Pseudo-Methodius into Latin, see G.J. Reinink, 'Pseudo-Methodius: A Concept

of the Syriac work. Indeed, versions 3 and 4 of the *Tiburtine Sibyl* seem to have relied extensively on Pseudo-Methodius, borrowing word-for-word from the Latin translation, and therefore could not have predated it. But the earliest version of the *Tiburtine Sibyl* that survives, version 2 (Sackur's text), shows little evidence of direct borrowing from Pseudo-Methodius, in contrast to those later versions. If this text originated earlier than Pseudo-Methodius, in the fourth century, the Last Emperor legend would have existed long before the reign of Heraclius.

For this reason version 2 of the *Tiburtine Sibyl* will be my focus. If there is an earlier fourth-century Last Emperor tradition, it is preserved in version 2, because it is the oldest surviving version and it does not betray any obvious borrowing from Pseudo-Methodius. Indeed, Sackur and many more recent scholars following him, such as Paul Alexander, have argued that this version of the Last Emperor predated Pseudo-Methodius and represents, with a few minor interpolations, an original fourth-century tradition.[15]

Nonetheless, I see no evidence of such a tradition, and I believe a look at the arguments of Sackur and other scholars who have argued for a fourth-century origin for the Last Roman Emperor legend will reveal that their position is untenable. The only possible conclusion is that the *Tiburtine Sibyl* took the Last Emperor theme from Pseudo-Methodius, and therefore must post-date that seventh-century text.

The Name Constans

In order to demonstrate the late origin of the *Tiburtine Sibyl*, it will be necessary to assess the arguments about the date of the Last Emperor tradition in Sackur's text one-by-one. The first such argument is the fact that the Last Emperor's name is Constans in the *Tiburtine Sibyl*. It has been used to lend weight to the idea that the Last Roman Emperor story developed in the wake of the religious and political conflict after the death of Constantine the Great, as already mentioned.

However, the name Constans certainly need not suggest a fourth-century provenance at all; Constans is the diminutive form of Constantine. And there

of History in Response to the Rise of Islam', in Averil Cameron and Lawrence Conrad (eds), *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East* (Princeton, 1992), 149-87, 155.

[15] Paul Alexander later changed his mind on the origin of the Last roman Emperor myth, as suggested in his article 'Byzantium and the Migration of Literary Works and Motifs: The Legend of the Last Roman Emperor', *Medievalia et Humanistica* n.s. 2 (1971), 47-68. His influential, posthumous monograph, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley, 1985), still argues from the assumption that the *Tiburtine Sibyl*, and thus the Last Roman Empire legend, originate in the fourth century; only a short footnote by the editor acknowledges his change in opinion, see *ibid*. 163.

was another ruler who went by that name, but this one ruled in the seventh century: Heraclius' own grandson was named Constantine, but since he ascended the throne at age ten, and because his short-lived father was Emperor Constantine III, the name Constans, 'little Constantine', stuck. Taking the throne the same year Heraclius died, Constans II ruled in a period of heightened eschatological expectations, in the period when, according to McGinn, the connectivity between Eastern and Western apocalyptic was beginning to reach its height,[16] and a time when the end of the world seemed far nearer than in the fourth century.[17] Heraclius' war against the Persians sparked apocalyptic speculations, and Heraclius and Constans II were often conflated in apocalyptic texts.[18] Also, Contans II had strong connections with the West, and even visited Rome in AD 663, which accounts for why his name might appear in a Latin text.

Thus, the name Constans does not necessarily point to a fourth-century date, but could instead be a reference to the seventh-century ruler of the same name; or it could mean a little (*i.e.* second) Constantine, that is, a generic Christian emperor. Finally, there is another alternative. Even though Wilhelm Bousset, the noted nineteenth-century historian of apocalypticism, believed that the *Tiburtine Sibyl* originated in the fourth century, he dismissed the name Constans as support for this assertion because, he suggested, Constans was not supposed to be the emperor's name at all. *Constans* was supposed to be an adjective describing him, that is, the Last Emperor will be steadfast.[19]

The Diadem

Next, Sackur and scholars following him such as Robert Konrad,[20] have asserted that the use of the word *diadem*, as opposed to *corona*, in the Latin translation of Pseudo-Methodius points to a fourth century origin of the *Tiburtine Sibyl*

[16] B. McGinn, 'Oracular Transformations' (1998), 613.

[17] Indeed, the main western source for the reign of Constans II, Fredegar, 4.66, incorrectly claimed that the eschatologically significant loss of Jerusalem by the Christians to the Saracens took place during his reign.

[18] Walter Kaegi, 'The Early Muslim Raids into Anatolia and Byzantine Reactions under Emperor Constans II', in Emmanouela Grypeou, Mark Swanson, and David Thomas (eds), *The Encounter of Eastern Christianity with Early Islam* (Leiden and Boston, 2006), 73-93, 78. The conflation, however, is almost always in the other direction, *i.e.*, attributing acts of Constans to the more well-known Heraclius.

[19] Wilhelm Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend: A Chapter in Christian and Jewish Folklore,* translated into English by A.H. Keane (London, 1896), 62-3. Although Sackur's edited text reads, '*Et tunc surget rex Grecorum, cuius nomen Constans*', he notes in his apparatus that a variant manuscript reading is '*Et tunc surget rex Grecorum nomine et animo Constans*'.

[20] E. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* (1898), 167-8; Robert Konrad, *De Ortu et tempore Antichristi: Antichristvorstellung und Geschichtsbild des Abtes Adso von Montier-en-Der* (Kallmünz, Opf., 1964), 45-8.

because the diadem was reintroduced by Constantine I and was worn by his successors. By the time of Pseudo-Methodius however, Konrad surmises that the diadem was falling out of use.[21] This argument makes little sense since the words are used interchangeably in Latin, and the word *diadem* is found in many later texts. One example of this should suffice. Two seventh- or eighth-century Latin texts, roughly contemporary to the translation of Pseudo-Methodius into Latin, describe the return of the True Cross to Jerusalem by Heraclius. In both texts, the crown Heraclius removes from his head as he enters Jerusalem is specifically called a *diadem*.[22]

Sackur also pointed to the fact that Constantine and his successors hung crowns from above the altar in Hagia Sophia, and he recognized a late antique custom of votive crowns. This, he believed, was the inspiration for the surrender of the crown by the Last Emperor on Golgotha. Sackur asserted that the reference to crowns in Jerusalem can also be found in the Syriac *Alexander Legend*, which describes Alexander the Great in terms reminiscent of the Last Roman Emperor Legend.[23]

Sackur, however, mistakenly believed that the *Alexander Legend* was from the sixth century, and thus reflected a tradition existing before Pseudo-Methodius. In reality the *Alexander Legend* was written later. G.J. Reinink has convincingly argued that it was written during the reign of Heraclius.[24] Thus, the references to Jerusalem which Sackur saw as part of the same tradition as the *Tiburtine Sibyl*, and originating earlier than Heraclius, were actually based on Heraclius.

As for the claim of Sackur, and others after him, that consecration of crowns dated back to Constantine, this cannot be disputed. Votive crowns were well known in the late antique and early medieval world.[25] However, was this the tradition to which the Last Roman Emperor legend refers? The idea of hanging a crown over an altar is different from surrendering it upon the Cross. Once again, the work of G.J. Reinink on the Syriac roots of Pseudo-Methodius can solve this problem.

Reinink has pointed to the fact that the laying down of a crown on the Cross is part of a Syriac literary theme that originates in the Syriac *Julian Romance*.

[21] Robert Konrad, *De Ortu et tempore Antichristi* (1064), 47: 'Zur Zeit der Abfassung des Pseudo-Methodius war daneben wahrscheinlich noch die Stirnbinde gebräuchlich.'

[22] Stephan Borgehammar, 'Heraclius Learns Humility: Two Early Latin Accounts Composed for the Celebration of Exaltatio Crucis', Wolfram Brandes *et al*. (eds), *Millennium – Jahrbuch (2009)* (Berlin and New York, 2009), 145-202, 186-7 and 198-99; for the date of the text, see *ibid.* 148-60.

[23] E. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* (1898), 166.

[24] G.J. Reinink, 'Alexander the Great in Seventh-Century Syriac "Apocalyptic" Texts', *Byzantinorossica* 2 (2003), 150-78, 176.

[25] For the most famous example, see the votive crown of the Visigothic king Recceswinth in the Treasure of Guarraza.

In the *Julian Romance*, after Julian the Apostate is struck down by God, he is succeeded by his pious Christian general, Jovian. Jovian at first refuses to become emperor, as he has no interest in power, but instead places the imperial diadem upon a large cross, and then proceeds to pray for guidance before the cross. The cross miraculously lifts into the heavens and the crown comes back down to rest upon Jovians's head.[26] Reinink has shown that this text seems to be the direct inspiration for the laying down of the crown on the cross in Pseudo-Methodius.[27] Thus, the surrender of the diadem on the Cross in Jerusalem comes from a tradition that postdates the fourth century and is deeply rooted in Syriac literature, drawing on the Syriac Alexander and Julian Romances. More and more of what scholars such as Sackur have assumed to be a fourth-century Latin tradition now seems like a product of later Syirac themes.

The Psalm

Perhaps the most decisive piece of evidence that the legend in the *Tiburtine Sibyl* is derived from Pseudo-Methodius, and was not created earlier, is the presence of *Psalms* 68:31 (32 in Hebrew) in both texts. This verse: 'Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God', appears in both the Latin *Tiburtine Sibyl* and all the versions of Pseudo-Methodius. It is referenced as a Biblical prophecy that the Last Roman Emperor will fulfill. Paul Alexander believed that Egypt and Ethiopia represented paganism, the logical enemies of a fourth century emperor, but a relic of the past by the time of Pseudo-Methodius.[28] Alexander's contention could make sense. In the fourth century, at a time when the Serapeum still operated in Alexandria and Ethiopia had yet to be visited by Christian missionaries, these two places might have served as synecdoche for paganism.

There are, however, major problems with the idea that this concept derives from the fourth century. The *Psalm* verse fits much better in Pseudo-Methodius. It is here that Ethiopia has a special significance. Pseudo-Methodius goes to great lengths to prove that the Greeks and Romans are descended from the Ethiopians, and thus the Last Emperor will be part Ethiopian. This was necessary because Pseudo-Methodius, taking a uniquely Syriac interpretation of

[26] Hermann Gollancz, *Julian the Apostate, Now Translated for the First-Time from the Syriac Original – the Only Known Ms. in the British Museum* (London, 1928), 216-8. Compare to Pseudo-Methodius: 'The Holy Cross on which the Christ was crucified will be taken up to heaven, and the royal, crown with it' (Martinez, 152).

[27] G.J. Reinink, 'The Romance of Julian the Apostate as a Source for Seventh-Century Syriac Apocalypses', in P. Canivet and J.P. Rey Coquas (eds), *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam, VII-VIII siècles* (Damascus, 1992), 75-86.

[28] *Ibid*. 167-9.

Psalm 68:31, interpreted the verse to mean that Kush (Ethiopia) would not only stretch its hands, but hand over the kingdom to God. He seems to believe this because when the verse was translated in the Syriac *Peshitta* (as *kūš tašlem 'īdā l-'alâhā)*, the Syriac phrase 'to extend one's hands' (*Ašlem 'īdā*) takes on a new meaning. It is a Syriac idiom which means 'to hand over the power, to yield, to surrender.'[29] Pseudo-Methodius, believing that the prophesy about Kush would be fulfilled by the Last Roman Emperor, is interpreting the *Psalm* in a way unique to a Syriac speaker.[30]

Since Pseudo-Methodius' use of it comes from a very real mistranslation in the *Peshitta*, it seems that the Latin *Tiburtine Sibyl* must have taken the reference from Pseudo-Methodius. The author of the *Tiburtine Sibyl* probably believed the verse important to the description of the Last Roman Emperor, and so forced it to fit rather artificially into the text, by changing the wording. Although the *Latin Vulgate* translates *Psalm* 68:31 as '*Venient legati ex Aegypto, Aethiopia praevenient manus eius Deo*', and the Latin translation of Pseudo-Methodius uses the exact same wording, in the *Tiburtine Sibyl* it is rendered as '*Tunc namque preveniet Egiptus et Etiopia manus eius dare Dei*'.[31] The author of the *Tiburtine Sibyl*, clearly confused about the meaning of this verse (which he did not understand because he did not know Syriac), had to change it around for it to make sense as a prophecy that the Last Emperor could fulfill. Clearly, then, this could not have been a tradition earlier than Pseudo-Methodius, but instead it derives from Pseudo-Methodius. There is

[29] F.J. Martinez, *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic* (1985), 181. Martinez concludes that Pseudo-Methodius was further encouraged in his mistaken interpretation of the version because 'in 1 Cor. 15:24, we are told that the end will take place when Christ "hands over the kingdom to God the Father" (*mašlem malkūtā l-'alâhā 'abbā*), it was perfectly natural for a Syrian exegete to bring together the two texts and to read Ps 68:31 in light of 1 Cor. 15:24.'

[30] Pseudo-Methodius was likely arguing that the prophesy would not be fulfilled not by the Christian kingdoms of Axum or Makuria, but by the Roman Empire. Many of the areas conquered by the Arabs, like Egypt and Syria, had very high populations of Miaphysite Christians. No doubt some of them looked to Ethiopia for liberation instead of the Melkite Romans. *Psalms* 68:31 may well have been used to give scriptural weight to this hope, arguing that Miaphysite Ethiopia would liberate the Christians of the Levant. However, Pseudo-Methodius seems to be arguing that liberation, and the final consummation, will come at the hands of the Romans, who he shows to the true Kush. Pseudo-Methodius' doctrinal affiliation is uncertain. Paul Alexander believed he was a Jacobite, see P. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (1985), 29; while Sebastian Brock, in 'Syriac Views of Emergent Islam', in G.H.A. Juynboll (ed.), *Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, 1982), 9-21, 19-20, claims that he was a Chalcedonian trying to appeal to Miaphysites, but he seems overall to be preaching the unity of all Christian denominations in the face of Islam, as pointed out by F.J. Martinez, *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic* (1985), 28; also by G.J. Reinink, 'Pseudo-Methodius und die Legende vom romischen Endkaiser', in *The Use and abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, ed. Werner Verbeke, Daniel Verhelst and Andries Welkenhuysen (Leuven, 1988), 82-111, 107-8, and *id*., 'Ps.-Methodius: A Concept of History' (1992), 167-8.

[31] For the Psalm in the Latin translation of Pseudo-Methodius, see E. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* (1898), 94; for the line in the *Tiburtine Sibyl*, see *ibid*. 185.

little foundation left for a version of the Last Roman Emperor that could have predated Pseudo-Methodius.

Solutions

As we have seen, the arguments for a fourth century date for the Last Roman Emperor legend in the *Tiburtine Sibyl* do not hold up to scrutiny. And arguments that seemed strong in Sackur's time are no longer so compelling in light of more recent research. Indeed, while new scholarly interest in Syriac literature has led to major breakthroughs in recent decades, scholars of the Latin west have been slow to engage with these, resulting in persisting outdated views on questions like the Last Emperor tradition.

Now, it is certainly possible that the author of the *Tiburtine Sibyl* was drawing on a separate tradition,[32] but there is no reason to believe that this tradition predated Pseudo-Methodius, or even originated in the fourth century. Indeed, no theory can explain how, if the *Tiburtine* version of the Last Emperor existed before the seventh century, Pseudo-Methodius could have picked up on it. It is not in the Greek version of the Sibyl. In addition, the sibylline legend of the 'dream of nine suns' continued to circulate in the East, in languages such as Arabic, Ethiopian, Old Church Slavonic, Romanian, and others.[33] But none of these later sibylline texts included the Last Roman Emperor legend. They give the Sibyl's interpretation of the dream without a mention of the Last Roman Emperor. It seems that the combination of the Last Emperor with the sibylline tradition was a distinctly Latin phenomenon, and one which cannot be accounted for before the year 1000.

Since the first known version of the *Tiburtine Sibyl* in Latin comes from the year 1000, the simplest and best explanation is that it derived from the eleventh and not the fourth century. Indeed, with the heightened fears that the turn of the millennium would bring usher in the end of the world, it is not hard to imagine a contemporary author trying to synthesize eschatological prophecies. Combining the Sibylline explanation of the 'dream of nine suns' with the Last Roman Emperor of Pseudo-Methodius, and perhaps sprinkling in other traditions about the Last Roman Emperor that had developed later in the Latin West, this author produced the first Latin *Tiburtine Sibyl* which continued to evolve with each copying.

[32] Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1998), 294-5[7].

[33] For the Slavonic and Romanian texts, see M. Gaster, 'The Sibyl and the Dream of One Hundred Suns: An Old Apocryphon', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (July, 1910), 609-23. For the Ethiopian version, see René Basset, *Les apocryphes éthiopiens X: La sagesse de Sibylle* (Paris, 1900). For the Arabic version, see E.Y. Ebied and M.J.L. Young, 'An Unrecorded Arabic Version of a Sibylline Prophecy', *OCP* 43 (1977), 279-307.

Although it is impossible to prove a negative, that is, to prove that the Last Roman Emperor did not originate in the fourth century, none of the evidence for such a date of origin holds up. Thus, neither Heraclius nor the early Arab conquerors could have been inspired by it. Thus, in order to get an accurate understanding of seventh-century eschatological thinking, we must accept that the Last Emperor legend is a product of contemporary reactions to the arrival of Islam among Syriac speakers, and cannot be applied as a motive or inspiration for people who could have had no knowledge of Last Emperor tradition.

The Cult of the Holy Wisdom in Byzantine Palestine

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ABSTRACT

The present article deals with the cult of the Holy Wisdom (Holy Sophia) in the territory of Palestine in the Byzantine period. The author raises the question of the origins of this cult: imperial Constantinopolitan or local Judaeo-Christian? After a close examination of several written and archaeological sources from Jerusalem and its environs (some examples from the fifth century, up to specific visual developments of the iconography of Sophia, the Holy Wisdom, in eleventh-century Jerusalem), the author is inclined to support the hypothesis of the local Judaeo-Christian origins of this cult, among others due to Jerusalem's creative and multi-cultural environment.

In the present article[1] I wish to pay homage to all predecessors in more than one hundred years of long research on aspects of Sophia, the Holy Wisdom, and especially to Professors Georg Florovsky and John Meyendorff.[2] However, I am not aware of previous scholarship dealing with the origin and earliest stages of the cult which later on led to the various types of iconography of Sophia and their theological interpretations. The issue which I am dealing with in my article is the evidence of the earliest sources of the public cult of the Holy Wisdom from which other sources (patristic exegeses, visual sources, *etc*.) were derived in the Byzantine period. What texts were used by pilgrims in the Church of Holy Sophia on their way to Golgotha? There is also the question of the origins of this cult: imperial Constantinopolitan[3] or local Judaeo-Christian?

[1] This article has been prepared on the basis of the materials collected while an Andrew Mellon Fellow at the Albright Archaeological Institute in Jerusalem and the research done at the Institute for Byzantine and Eastern Christian Studies, o.p.s. (IBYZ, o.p.s.), in Olomouc, the Czech Republic. I wish to thank these institutions, especially the director of the Albright – Professor Seymour Gittin and the IBYZ librarian Manuela E. Gheorghe, D. Phil. (Oxon), for their generous assistance. All errors are, of course, my own.

[2] Georg Florovsky, 'Christ, the Wisdom of God, in Byzantine Theology', *Resumés des Rapports et Communications*. Sixième Congrès International d'Études Byzantines (Paris, 1940), 255-60; John Meyendorff, 'L'iconographie de la Sagesse divine dans la tradition byzantine', *Cahiers archéologiques* 10 (1959), 259-77; John Meyendorff, 'Wisdom-Sophia: Contrasting Approaches to a Complex Theme', in W. Tronzo and I. Lavin (eds), *Studies on Art and Archaeology in Honor of E. Kitzinger on his 75th Birthday*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987), 391-401.

[3] See *e.g*. the entries 'Hagia Sophia' and 'Hagia Sophia in Constantinople', in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 2 (1991), 892-5, 892. There the church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople

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Theological Origins of the Cult of the Holy Wisdom

The theology of the Wisdom has previously been dealt with by the above-mentioned authors and by H. Jaeger, so I would like to avoid repetition.[4] In the New Testament, the Divine Wisdom is linked with God the Father, who is the beginning of Wisdom, as well as with Christ, whom St Paul calls 'Wisdom of God' (1*Cor*. 1:24), in whom are hidden all the treasures of Wisdom (*Col*. 2:3) and who, at the same time, is intimately connected with the Holy Spirit, Wisdom being one of His gifts.

In Byzantine Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem), the parts in the *Book of Proverbs* referring to Wisdom were used as educational and moral instruction for catechumens in the Lenten, pre-paschal liturgical season since the sixth century or even earlier. The texts first used to be read in Jerusalem in relation to the commemoration of the Lord's life and death and His triumphal resurrection; this initiatory reading from the *Proverbs* was followed by the catechumens' baptism.[5] The fact that baptism, as illumination, is related to Wisdom is confirmed by the Lenten readings.[6]

The Christian explanation of *Prov*. 9:1 is that Wisdom's house, the temple, is the symbolic image of the Mother of God. The building of the temple by personified Wisdom is linked to the Incarnation – the Logos dwelling in the flesh; that is why the text in *Proverbs* was used in the readings on Marian feast days.[7]

The Christian paradox of the crucified God was considered by Jerusalem Christians to be an expression of God's Wisdom. 'But we preach Christ crucified … Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God' (1*Cor*. 1:23-4). It was also due to this approach that large numbers of Christians (followers of God's wisdom) who had been martyred during persecutions were rehabilitated and accepted as local heroes. Their martyrdom was taken as an example of Christian life and it is for this reason that the Church of the Holy Wisdom was built on the road on which pilgrims (especially catechumens, of which there

is seen as the most important and probably the oldest place with this dedication. For the emperor's dedication of churches to the Holy Wisdom (Hagia Sophia), to Power or to Peace, see A. von Ivanka, 'Die Trias – Dynamis – Eirene im neuplatonischen Denken (und die Kirchengründungen Konstantins des Grossen)', in *Resumés des rapports et communications*. Sixième Congrès International d'Études Byzantines (Paris, 1940), 102-5.

[4] Hans Jaeger, 'The Patristic Conception of Wisdom in the Light of Biblical and Rabbinical Research', *SP* 4 (1961), 90-106.

[5] Alfred Rahlfs, 'Die alttestamentlichen Lektionen der griechischen Kirche', *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse* (Berlin, 1915), 28-136, 59-67, 90-2, 130.

[6] *The Lenten Triodion,* trans. Mother Mary and Kallistos Ware (London, 1978), 548-64.

[7] See 'The Great Vespers of the Feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God (15 August)', *The Festal Menaion*, trans. Mother Mary and Kallistos Ware (London and Boston, 1984), 508.

were a great number in this time), during their visit of Jerusalem, commemorated the Lord's passion.[8]

The Building of the Church of Hagia Sophia in Jerusalem

In the Byzantine period in Jerusalem, both the Jewish and pagan Greek traditions stayed strong despite the fact that their temples had been destroyed; in this period, the Christians in this city fulfilled what was written in *Proverbs* chapter 8 by building a new Wisdom's temple, a church dedicated to Sophia, in front of the former Solomon's Temple.

According to J. Wilkinson, the Church of Hagia Sophia in Jerusalem was built some time 'before the mid-fifth century' at the place where Christ had formerly been judged by Pilate (*Praetorium* or the so-called Pavement – *Lithostroton*).[9] The church at the time is mentioned as having had various names, such as 'the Church called Pilate's', 'Holy Wisdom', or 'Saint Sophia'. An anonymous pilgrim from Piacenza[10] in about the year 570 mentions the fact that in the church there was the seat of Pilate, the footprint of Christ,[11] and also a large portrait of Christ.

As was emphasized by Florovsky, the dedication of the church in Constantinople to Hagia Sophia was first explicitly mentioned by Socrates Scholasticos (*Hist. eccl.* II 16; II 43) and it chronologically corresponds to the dedication of the church in Jerusalem, that is, around the year 430. Florovsky writes: 'The Great Church in the beginning had no special name, and the name of Sophia came to prominence later, and probably it was rather a current connotation than an intentional dedication'.[12]

However, as Asher Ovadiah shows in his description of the Mabada map, the remains of the church of Saint Sophia in Jerusalem have not been found.[13] Yoram Tsafrir also writes: '… with less certainty the Church of Hagia-Sophia or *Praetorium* (/is/ identified by two columnettes to which Jesus was bound)'.

[8] For the Church of Hagia Sophia in Jerusalem see Jack Finegan, *The Archaeology of the New Testament* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1978), 155-9.

[9] John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warmister, 2002), 339, with translated sources, 61, 121, 141, 160.

[10] J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims* (2002), 141.

[11] See the more recent Sarolta A. Takács, 'Divine and Human Feet: Records of Pilgrims Honouring Isis', in Jaś Elsner and Ian Rutherford (eds), *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity. Seeing the Gods* (Oxford, 2007), 353-69.

[12] G. Florovsky, 'Christ, the Wisdom of God' (1940), 256; see also Cyril Mango, 'Hagia Sophia', in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 2 (New York and Oxford, 1991), 892-5.

[13] Asher Ovadiah, 'The Churches of Jerusalem on the Mabada Mosaic Map', in M. Piccirilo and E. Alliata (eds), *The Mabada Map Centenary. Traveling through the Byzantine Umayyad Period. Proceedings of the International Conference Held in Amman, 7-9 April 1997*, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Collectio Maior 40 (Jerusalem, 1999), 252-4, 252.

The way this church looked can be guessed only on the basis of an interpretation of the Mabada map, which is the only testimony of its visual appearance.[14]

Another early church dedicated to the Divine Wisdom is, according to an inscription in the mosaic found in its place, the one in Rihab (today's Jordan), dating back to the year 604.[15]

Liturgical Celebrations and the Origins of the Jerusalem Cult of Sophia

In a Georgian lectionary from the seventh century there are several feasts celebrating the Divine Sophia in the church of Hagia Sophia in Jerusalem. The Georgian text says that church services were held from Thursday to Friday before Easter – 'in the Hagia Sophia, where Pilates's house was'.[16] The celebration of Sophia appears on Maundy Thursday,[17] as well as on 21st September (the celebration of the 'rebuilding of the New Sophia Church where the house of Pilate used to be').[18] The text of the Georgian lectionary related to the *Praetorium* (the Church of Hagia Sophia) gives the reading on *Maundy Thursday* as being that from the *Gospel According to St John* (18:28-19:2), which describes those moments in Christ's life related to the *Praetorium*.[19]

The editor of the Greek texts in one of the Jerusalem lectionaries from 10th-11th century, A.A. Dmitrievski, explains that the church where these liturgies of the *Lite* and the pre-paschal liturgies were celebrated was the *Lithostroton* (*Praetorium*), where the church dedicated to Hagia Sophia stood.[20] Having had a look at the Greek texts read in the *Hagia Sophia* (*Praetorium*) which

[14] Yoram Tsafrir, 'The Holy City of Jerusalem in the Mabada Map', in *The Mabada Map Centenary* (1999), 155-63, 160.

[15] The mosaic inscription, dated to February 604, is: … ΕΘΜΕΛΙΩΘ(Η) Ο ΝΑΟC ΟΥΤ(ΟC) ΤΗC ΑΓΙΑC CΟΦΙΑC (ΚΑΙ) ΕΤΕ/ΛΙΩΘΗ (ΚΑΙ) ΕΨΕΦΩΘΗ ΕΚ ΠΡΟCΦΟΡ(ΑC)…, in M. Avi-Yonah, 'Greek Christian Inscriptions from Rihab', *QDAP* 13 (1947), 68-72, 69, inscription no. 2. To the term "Wisdom" CΟΦΙΑ the epithet "Holy" ΑΓΙΑ is given.

[16] Protoierey Kornelius S. Kekelidze (1912) mistakenly considers this church to be the Nea Church in Jerusalem, dedicated to the Mother of God, possibly under the influence of Dimitrievski's earlier work (1894) and of nineteenth-century religious philosophy in Russia. Kekelidze writes: 'Apart from Sofia, the church was also called Nea Ekklesia'. He locates the church on the territory of the El-Aksa Mosque. Kornelius S. Kekelidze, *Ierusalimskij kanonar VII veka* (Tiflis, 1912), XXXVI, mainly 214-5. See also Heinrich Goussen, 'Über Georgische Drucke und Handschriften die Festordnung und den Heiligenkalender des altchristlichen Jerusalems betreffend', in *Liturgie und Kunst* (München and Gladbach, 1923), 3-42, 18, 22, 28, 32. Goussen also mistook the Church of the Holy Wisdom with Nea Church (see *e.g.* 22).

[17] K.S. Kekelidze, *Ierusalimskij kanonar* (1912), 78.

[18] K.S. Kekelidze, *Ierusalimskij kanonar* (1912), 134; H. Goussen, 'Über Georgische Drucke' (1923), 33.

[19] K.S. Kekelidze, *Ierusalimskij kanonar* (1912), 78.

[20] Aleksej Afanasievič Dmitrievski, *Bogosluzenie strastnoj i paschalnoj sedmici vo sv. Ierusalim IX-X v.* (Kazan, 1894), 134-8, see also commentary on *ibid.* 351f.

Dmitrievski discusses, I have found that all the readings, hymns and others were exclusively related to the historical event of the judgment of Christ, sometimes symbolically named the Paschal Lamb, and to His way to the place of Crucifixion. Christ's Cross is also mentioned as having life-giving power in connection with His resurrection.[21] The Greek text read in this church was the *Gospel According to St Mark*,[22] a text historically linked with the *Praetorium*, the place where the Hagia Sophia church stood.

This church was probably destroyed in the year 614. Later on, around the year 650, the *Praetorium* was considered to be at a different place, between the tower of David and Holy Sion (north of the courtyard) and it continued to be so during the Crusaders' period.[23] I am not aware of any evidence of the church being rebuilt.

There is evidence that the historical roots of the cult of Sophia in Jerusalem go back to at least mid-fifth-century. At that time, Jerusalem was a city full of theological controversies between the various Christian factions which were trying to clarify their interpretations of Christ's Person. Since around the year 380 the Church of Jerusalem had been divided by the controversy concerning Origenism; later on, at the beginning of the fifth century, by the one concerning Pelagianism and, after the Council of Chalcedon (451), over the results of this council.[24] It seems to me that the cult of Sophia as expressed by the building of the Hagia Sophia Church in Jerusalem connects the pre-Christian Sophia, *i.e*. the pre-existence of the Logos, with the incarnate Logos, *i.e*. the historical person of Jesus Christ and the events of His Passion – such as those at the *Praetorium*, one of the supposed stations on Jesus' way to Golgotha.[25] Thus the theological concept of Sophia as the Holy Wisdom becomes identified with the historical Jesus Christ, most probably as a reaction against Origenism. The *Praetorium*, the place where the Church of Hagia Sophia was standing, had by now become a pilgrims' station on the way to Golgotha.

Iconographic Testimony of Sophia

The first iconographic illustration of *Prov*. 9:5 known to me (but without an inscription) is probably the one in the floor mosaic in the cathedral church in Aquileia (Fig. 1), a local basilica built under bishop Theodore, who died in the

[21] A.A. Dmitrievski, *Bogosluzenie strastnoj* (1894), especially 136-8.

[22] Probably *Mark* 15:16. A.A. Dmitrievski in his edition (*Bogosluzenie strastnoj* [1894], 138) mentioned reading from *Mark* 5th chapter, but the appropriate text is in *Mark* 15:16.

[23] J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims* (2002), 208.

[24] L. Perrone, *La Chiesa di Palestina e le contraversie cristologiche: Dal concilia di Efeso (431) al secondo consilia di Constantinopoli (553)* (Brescia, 1980).

[25] For the Judaeo-Christians and their cult of Sophia see Bellarmino Bagatti, *The Church from the Circumcision*, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum. Collectia Minor 2 (Jerusalem, 1984), 150.

Fig. 1. The illustration of *Proverbs 9*. The fragment of the mosaic floor in the cathedral church in Aquileia, Italy. Author's photo archive.

year 319. Here we can see a winged angel, an image which belongs to what is considered to be the first example of a public Christian pictorial programme after its emergence from the underground cemeteries and the halls of private houses.[26]

One of the oldest images, more private in character, of Sophia was made known by Fernand Cabrol, but it seems to me that it is rather related to Judaeo-Christians or Arians. On the wall painting in the catacomb of Karmouz in Alexandria, Sophia is depicted as a nimbed figure with the inscription SOPHIA

[26] Giovanni Brusin and Paolo Lino Zovatto, *Monumenti paleocristiani di Aquileia e di Grado* (Udine, 1957), 118-9; S. Tavano, *Aquileia. Guida ai monumenti cristiani* (Udine, 1977); Wladimiro Dorigo, *Late Roman Painting. A Study of Pictorial Records 30 BC-AD 500* (London, 1971), 169f., 177, fig. 138.

Fig. 2. The image of Sophia, the catacomb of Karamouz in Alexandria, Egypt. Drawing from H. Leclerq, 'Alexandrie (Archéologie)', in *DACL* 1 (1907), 1133.

IC XC (Fig. 2). Here Sophia is a standing figure with a long sceptre or lance in his or her right hand. Nevertheless, the description Cabrol gives of this image is not quite clear.[27]

It seems to me that both Arius' followers and the Orthodox believers agreed that the Holy Wisdom described in the *Book of Proverbs* was the Son of God, but nothing is known about his depiction. The ninth chapter in *Proverbs* was one of the main topics of dispute throughout the fourth century, and certainly the name Holy Wisdom (Sophia) was known to all and had many connotations.[28]

[27] H. Leclercq, 'Alexandrie (Archéologie)', in *DACL* 1 (1907), 1092-1182, 1133.

[28] See Crawford H. Toy, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Proverbs* (Edinburg, 1959), 181.

The earliest image of the Incarnation of the Logos is known from the Syriac Bible (Paris Syr. 341, BN, Paris), an illustrated manuscript from around 500 A.D., and it was interpreted by John Meyendorff as being the depiction of Sophia. The image has no inscription, though.[29]

The first well-documented iconography of Sophia as in *Prov*. 9:1 – the first one bearing a clear inscription – is the one in the eleventh-century unpublished fresco in the church of the Monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem (Figs 3a, 3b).[30] The person – a woman – is depicted with a crucified nimbus (the first example of this type of indication of Christ); her finger is pointing to the table (*Prov*. 9:1-6). The image contains a Greek inscription: 'Η ΣΟΦΙΑ ΟΙΚΟ-ΔΟΜΗ ΕΝΑΥΤΙ/Η/ ΟΙΚΟΝ' 'Wisdom has built a house for herself' (*Proverbs* 9:1). The building (the temple) is depicted as having seven pillars.[31] In this image there are male servants – in the Greek text of the Septuagint there are also male servants, δοῦλοι. *Proverbs* 9 served not only as a source of wisdom (the iconography was painted on the pillar behind the abbot's throne) but also as the pre-figuration of the Last Supper, due to its mystical table and supper and to the presence of the male servants as a pre-figuration of Christ's apostles.[32]

The second earliest depiction of Sophia known to me, after the one found in Jerusalem, is the late thirteenth-century image in Ohrid.[33]

The Testimony of Personal Names

The frequent usage of the personal name of Sophia in Syro-Palestine is well documented. I shall begin with Saint Sabbas or Mar Sabba the Sanctified (439-532), the well-known hermit who lived in Byzantine Palestine. His mother,

[29] J. Meyendorff, 'L'iconographie de la Sagesse', *Cahiers archéologiques* 10 (1959), 259-77, 263, fig. 1.

[30] For the possibility to publish the photo of the fresco (which is today in an unknown location) I am indebted to the *Israel Antiquities Authority*, where the photo is kept (the Israel Antiquities Authority Archives), British Mandate Record Files: file no. 78, Jerusalem General. I would like to thank Miss Silvia Krapiwko for her help. For general information on the monastery see Vassilios Tzaferis, *The Monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1987); A. Economopoulos, 'Fresh Data Resulting from the Excavation in the Church of the Monastery of the Holy Cross at Jerusalem', *Actes du X^e congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne* 2 (Thessaloniki, 1984), 377-90; Vassilios Tzaferis, *Ancient Churches Revealed* (Jerusalem, 1993), 143-6.

[31] Number seven symbolizes wisdom, see Pseudo-Iamblichus, in Vittorio de Falco (ed.), *Theologumena arithmeticae* VII 53 (Lipsae, 1915), 71.3-12.

[32] See commentary by Philotheos, Patriarch of Constantinople, in J. Meyendorff, 'Wisdom – Sophia' (1987), 393, ft. 8, 15.

[33] Petr Balcárek, 'The Image of Sophia in Medieval Russian Iconography and its Sources', *Byzantinoslavica* 60 (1999), 593-610.

Fig. 3a. The Monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem: pillar with the iconography of Holy Sophia and the abbot's throne, west side of the *katholikon*. Photo no. 18323, *Israel Antiquities Authority*, where the photo is kept (the Israel Antiquities Authority Archives, British Mandate Record Files: file no. 78, Jerusalem General). Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

named Sophia, was, after her death, canonised as Saint Sophia.[34] Her bones were transferred to the small House of St Sophia, in the complex of the Mar Sabba Monastery. The oldest layer of painting on the wall in this house has a depiction of Christ's Crucifixion and Resurrection and of the Dormition of the Mother of God. This iconography has been dated to the 11th-12th century.[35]

[34] Derwas Chity, *The Desert a City: A Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire* (Oxford, 1966), 107.

[35] See Joseph Patrich, 'Chapels and Hermitages of St Sabas' Monastery', in Yoram Tsafrir (ed.), *Ancient Churches Revealed* (Jerusalem, 1993), 233-43, 241.

Fig. 3b. Holy Wisdom, illustration of *Proverbs* 9:1, wall painting from the 11th century, the Monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem. Photo no. 18323, *Israel Antiquities Authority*, were the photo is kept (the Israel Antiquities Authority Archives, British Mandate Record. Files: file no. 78, Jerusalem General). Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

We also know of a tomb stone inscription in Bethphage or Beersheba (Mount of Olives) from approximately the seventh century, dedicated to deaconess Sophia ' +ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΙΤΑΙ Η ΔΟΥΛΗ / ΚΑΙ ΝΥΜΦΗ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ / ΣΟΦΙΑ Η ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ Η ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ ΦΟΙΒΗ.. ' 'the servant / and bride of Christ / Sophia the second Phoebe'.[36] Sophia was therefore a deaconess named after the deaconess Phoebe recommended by Apostle Paul in his letter to the Romans (*Rom*. 16:1). The name Sophia (together with Maximos) has

[36] H. Leclercq, 'Diaconesse', *DACL* 4/1 (1914), 725-33, 732-3, fig. 3727; Albrecht Alt, *Die griechischen Inschriften der Palästina Tertia westlich der Araba* (Berlin und Leipzig, 1921), 18, inscription no. 17; F.M. Abel, O.P., 'Nouvelles inscriptions grecques de Bersabée', *RB NS* 1 (1904), 266-70; Yiannis E. Meimaris, *ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ* 2 (Athens, 1986), 51, no. 289; 177, no. 885.

also been found carved in a rock on the road to ancient Sinai in the Wadi Haggag desert.[37]

These are just a few examples which make it difficult for scholars to identify the person named in the inscriptions found in the territory of Palestine from the fifth century onwards where the name of Sophia appears. Is it a woman's name or does it relate to Christ?

Conclusion

Finally, I would like to attempt an answer to the question of the origins of the cult of Hagia Sophia: are they imperial Constantinopolitan or local, popular Judaeo-Christian? The first obvious answer is that this cult originated in Constantinople, where the well-known church was dedicated by the emperor to Hagia Sophia. The imperial cult may therefore have originated in Constantinople but its origins lie most probably in the popular pilgrims' cult in Jerusalem. The dedication of the fifth-century church in Jerusalem to the Holy Wisdom may well have inspired the Constantinopolitan authorities. This is the conclusion I have reached after a close examination of several written and archaeological sources from Jerusalem and its environs.

The popular Judaeo-Christian origins of this cult are, among others, due to Jerusalem's creative and multi-cultural environment, but also due to its early tradition of pilgrimage and the liturgical expression related to it. A proof of the popularity of the cult of Sophia in Byzantine Palestine may well be the appearance of this name in inscriptions related either to theological matters or to persons bearing it.

Also, the Council of Chalcedon in 451 raised the bishop of Jerusalem to the rank of patriarch, which may well have helped to promote the idea of the imperial cult of Hagia Sophia in the rest of the Byzantine empire. With the prevalence of the Sabbaitic monastic typicon in the Orthodox Christian World, the image and symbol of Sophia spread together with its literary sources (*typika*). The image of Wisdom illustrated in *Proverbs* was transmitted through the Jerusalem church services (related to Christ's life) possibly to Thessaloniki, Mount Athos and hence further away to other areas where Orthodox Christians lived. The eleventh-century iconography of the Holy Wisdom on the wall painting in the Monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, the photographic evidence of which I have found, is a testimony of this fact and it is likely that it was not an isolated example. It certainly served as an iconographic prototype for later illustrations of Sophia in the Balkans and Russia.

[37] Avraham Negev, 'The Inscriptions of Wadi Haggag, Sinai', in Y. Yadin, N. Avigad, J. Aviram, A. Ben-Tov (eds), *Qedem. Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology* 6 (1977), 1-100, 25, no. 65, fig. 53.

It seems that the cult of Hagia Sophia began in Jerusalem, primarily as a reaction against Origenism, and that it replaced the previous Judaeo-Christian sophiological theology, as well as the elements of gnosticism and Arianism in the earlier interpretations of the person of Jesus Christ.

This is a subject which has provoked a good deal of curiosity and debates, mainly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries,[38] and I am aware that there is still much to be done in order to have a clear picture of the early cult and iconography of the divine Sophia – the Holy Wisdom.

[38] See *e.g.* A. Grabar's review of Carlo Cecchelli, *Mater Christi I-IV*, Collection Oriente e Occidente (Rome, 1946-1954), in *Cahiers archéologiques* 8 (1956), 254-61.

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