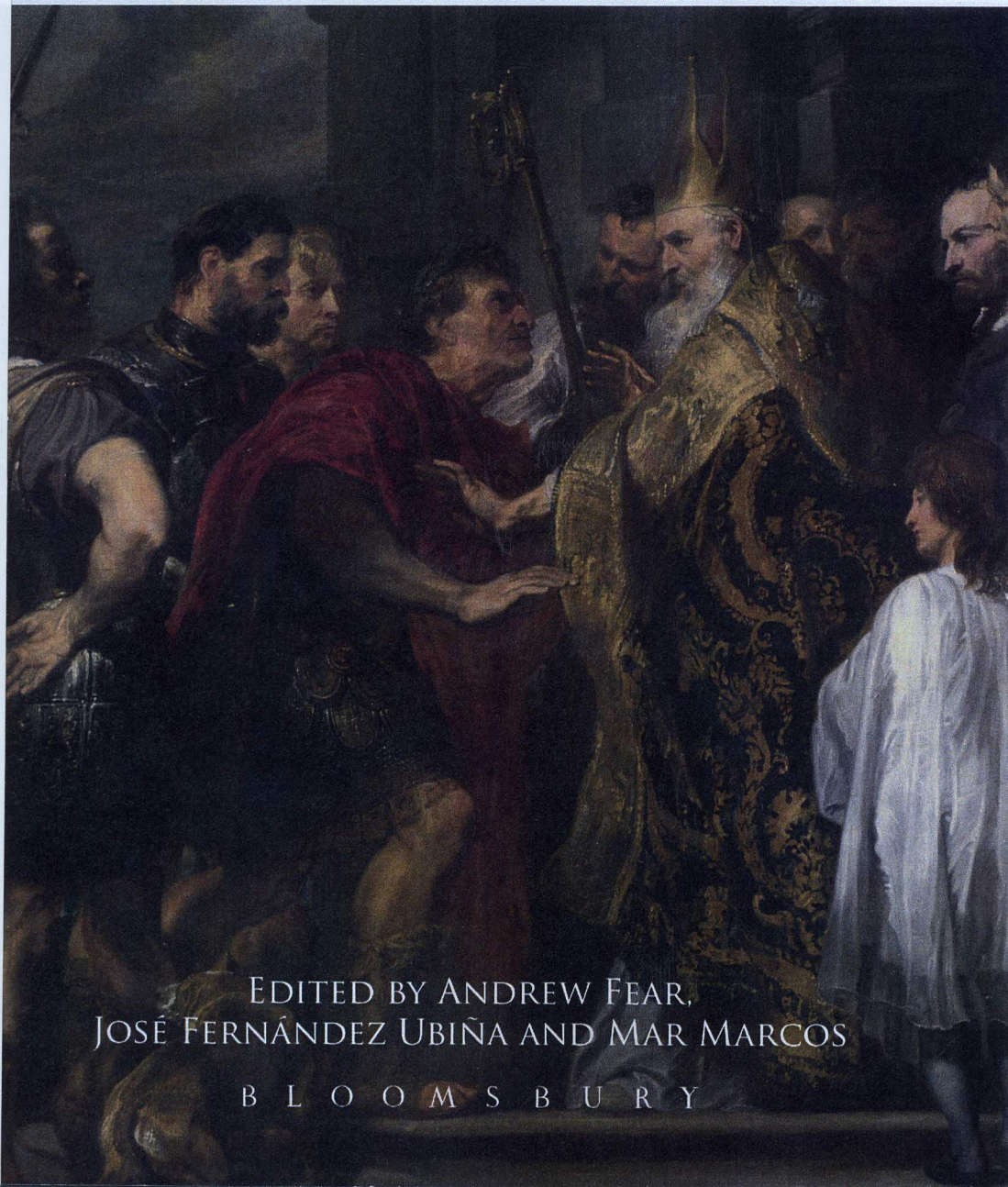


THE ROLE OF THE BISHOP IN LATE ANTIQUITY

CONFLICT AND COMPROMISE



EDITED BY ANDREW FEAR,
JOSÉ FERNÁNDEZ UBIÑA AND MAR MARCOS

B L O O M S B U R Y

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A Dispute of Episcopal Legitimacy: Gregory Nazianzen and Maximus in Constantinople*

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When once again in the peace and quiet of his family farm in Arianzum, Gregory remembered his turbulent stay in Constantinople: the struggles, conflicts and accusations that the old bishop had to face before taking the decision to resign from his post at the episcopal see in the city in June AD 381, during the Synod that he himself was chairing. With the perspective of distance and as a kind of balance for the events he had undergone in Constantinople, he wrote about these experiences in several poems and letters, as he combined literary activity with asceticism – his ideal way of life since he had been a boy. At last, after his retirement, the *secessus in villam*,¹ he was able to devote himself to his true vocation, philosophical *otium*, and he had decided to remain silent during Lent 382. This was a gesture of ascetic sacrifice and at the same time a kind of penitence for the mistake of publicly expressing his support for a false philosopher, one who would later try to usurp his own see.² The most interesting of these literary works is the long autobiographical poem, written in iambic trimeters, usually known as *Carmen de vita sua*, which tells of the ups and downs in the author's life, from his birth to the time he left Constantinople. It is a very useful historical source for this period and, above all, some significant events for Gregory, such as his dispute with the false philosopher, Maximus the Cynic. The section of the poem about that unfortunate experience, 385 lines out of a total of 1949, gives an idea of the enormous importance he attached to it. However, we should bear in mind that

Gregory's main intention in writing this autobiography was to rehabilitate his reputation and his authority in the church, and he therefore is giving us his own personal view of these occurrences.³

Consequently the information we can extract from it is biased and provides a distorted portrait of his adversary. In any case, the aim of the present study goes beyond a mere description of events to attempt an understanding of the importance that the See of Constantinople was beginning to acquire at that time.

With a Nicene emperor for the first time after 40 years of Arian dominance, Constantinople was to become the Christian capital in the East, almost equal to Rome. In addition, we believe that the Maximus 'affaire' is perhaps the best expression of the difficulties in consolidating the figure of a bishop in a large Eastern city at a time when, with the rise to power of Theodosius I, it was foreseeable that a Christian empire would be established based on the Nicene dogma. It was surely not by chance that the enthronement of Gregory of Nazianzus in New Rome was contested by two bishops from the main sees at the time, Rome and Alexandria, whom Theodosius himself had shortly before established as guarantors of orthodoxy and possessors of a patent of legitimacy for any bishop.⁴ This is clearly seen in the numerous contradictions and politico-ecclesiastical conflicts involving the bishops at this key moment in the history of Christianity in the late fourth century and early fifth century. These included, *inter alia*, the opposition between East and West; the rivalry between Rome, Alexandria and Constantinople; the contrast between the power of the synods and that of the great episcopal sees; the dichotomy between an ascetic and mystical bishop like Gregory and the mundane Cynic philosopher that Maximus seemed to be; and the involvement of sovereigns and cliques centred around clientela in episcopal elections. In short, we believe that the dispute with Maximus is a faithful reflection of the difficulties involved in the practical application of the ideals of a Christian bishop, as explained by some contemporary theoreticians, including Gregory of Nazianzus himself in his *Oratio* II.⁵

In 378, the Nicene bishop Peter of Alexandria returned from his exile in Rome after the amnesty proclaimed by the Arian emperor Valens. With Theodosius' rise to power the following year, it seemed clear that the situation was going to improve for the Nicenes. This signified the triumph, following

Athanasius' death, of those principles that he had fought for all his life and had caused him to be banished several times. Alexandria was the second largest city in the empire after Rome and its bishop occupied the second place of honour, after the Bishop of Rome. Additionally, both sees had been leaders in Nicene orthodoxy for the previous half century. Theodosius' arrival should have strengthened Alexandria's religious leadership in the East. It was no coincidence that the Thessalonica edict of 28 February 380 designated Damasus of Rome and Peter of Alexandria as guarantors of the faith that other bishops should follow.⁶ This is why Gregory of Nazianzus, on being called to Constantinople in early 379 to take charge of the small Nicene community, sought the support of the powerful patriarch in Alexandria to take up this post. He had already expressed his support by means of a letter when Gregory arrived in the city. As Gregory himself states: 'You who are wise, explain this problem (for I cannot understand it easily unless some clever person explains it): how it was that Peter himself, the leader of the shepherds, not long ago installed me by means of letters so clearly free from ambiguity, (as the wording of his letters to me proves), and honoured me with the insignia of office.'⁷ Clearly, through this recognition, Peter was trying to establish a strategic alliance between the Sees of Alexandria and Constantinople.

In spring 380, the patriarch sent an Egyptian delegation to Constantinople, headed by Maximus, to offer Gregory support against the Arians. This individual presented himself as a Cynic philosopher and he was attired with the typical attributes of that school: a staff, white tunic and long blonde hair.⁸ His undeniable support for the Nicene doctrine of consubstantiality (*homoiousia*) gained him Gregory's unconditional friendship and trust, to the point of him wondering: 'Was there anyone who shared my house, my table, teachings, plans as Maximus did?' (Greg. Naz., *Carm.* II, 1, 11, v. 811). He thus became a valuable defender in such a hostile environment as Constantinople was for him. In recognition of his aid, just before the philosopher left for home in autumn of the same year, Gregory made a public eulogy in the Church of Anastasia, expressing his numerous virtues. It was a true panegyric, which described Maximus as 'the truest defender of the truth, the paladin of the Trinity to the blood, and the persecutor of the persecutors who harm him, bravely bearing the evil he suffers, since nothing defeats the persecutor like the courage of the victim. [. . .] He is the best among the best, the most noble of the noble.'⁹

However, in contrast, Maximus aimed to establish an Egyptian power base, loyal to Peter of Alexandria and not to Gregory, in the capital. He soon returned, this time accompanied by several Egyptian bishops, with precise orders from the patriarch to be consecrated as the Nicene Bishop of Constantinople and thus take Gregory's place. We do not know the course of events in Alexandria, whether Maximus acted from the start as Peter's emissary in Constantinople or whether he contrived to attract him to his cause. In any case, it would not have been a difficult task, considering the resentment that Peter must have felt towards most Eastern bishops, who had previously persecuted his brother Athanasius. In addition, foreseeing the great importance that the See of Constantinople would acquire with Theodosius in power, he would not look kindly on it being occupied by a friend of Basil of Caesarea and Meletius of Antioch, who had never been on good terms with Alexandria.

Peter saw in Maximus the chance to possess a firm ally and docile instrument in the see of the new capital, and he did not hesitate to resort to the most scandalous and least diplomatic methods to achieve his aim. It is easy to imagine the naive Gregory's reaction when he discovered this stratagem, and he even considered resigning his post. He withdrew to the solitude of the countryside for a while, carried away by an innate tendency to flee that was a constant throughout his career from when his father ordained him a priest in 362, again in 370 when Basil of Caesarea named him Bishop of Sasima and in 380 when he fled out of the shame of being usurped from his see. As Nicanor Gómez Villegas says, 'the pattern of runaway-return is one of the leitmotiv characterising Gregory's biography and career'.¹⁰ On his return, he had to face up to the criticism aimed at him, not from the Arians but from his own clergy and the faithful of the Church of Anastasia, and defend his reputation as they reproached him for his ingenuity and timidity (*deilita*), his excessive circumspection (*periesskemménia*), his inaction (*rathumía*) and his lack of leadership. With that aim, once he had overcome the profound crisis the Maximus episode had caused in him, he composed *Address 26*. In it he expresses ideas that are often repeated in his works, such as his displeasure with everything around him: society, the ambition of the people, the city, the plebs, urban tumult, etc. He also makes some disparaging comments about the Cynic philosopher, resorting for the first time to the play on words offered by Maximus' situation as a 'Cynic', a word whose etymology is connected with the

word 'dog'. To give an example, 'I am wary of dogs that have been accepted as sheep dogs and for which, paradoxically, they have no other merit than that of having cut off their hair, to which they have shamelessly given all their care'.¹¹ The later descriptions of Maximus are totally different from the eulogies in *Address 25*, and especially those in his autobiographical poem: 'There was amongst us in the city at that time an effeminate creature, a phantom from Egypt, a pestilential fanatic, a dog, a puppy, a street-walker, a disaster with no sense of smell, no bark, a great hulking monster, a raven-haired blond, his hair both straight and curled (the one his original state, the other recently acquired, for art is a second creator)'.¹² In reality, the reason why Gregory returned from his brief retirement in the country and took charge of the Nicene community again was the fear that the Arians would make up lost ground and that Maximus would take advantage of his absence to return to the city. The speech he made on his reappearance, acknowledging his error and asking the faithful for their pardon, must have had the desired result, and he regained their support.¹³

The events that culminated with Maximus' consecration as bishop are well known thanks to Gregory's account of them. The setting was the small church of Anastasia, where the philosopher arrived one night, accompanied by the Egyptian bishops who were to ordain him. Acting as his supporters were the sailors from the merchant fleet from Egypt, anchored in the port of Constantinople and who had previously been bribed. He had also attracted a presbyter from Thasos to his side; he was in the capital to buy Proconnesian marble¹⁴ for a church in his town and he used the money that he had brought for this purpose to support Maximus' cause, perhaps to bribe the sailors. Maximus took advantage that Gregory was confined by illness to carry out his plan, but an unforeseen complication arose. Ecclesiastical canons laid down that the bishop should have his hair tonsured before his consecration. Maximus' lengthy hair meant that this operation took longer than usual and dawn began to break before it was finished. One of the bishops who lived next to the church realized what was happening and sounded the alarm. The public went there and the ceremony had to be halted, and continued later at a piper's house. Maximus was thus consecrated a bishop, with the aspiration of being recognized as the legitimate head of the orthodox community in Constantinople. However, nobody in the city took his consecration seriously, and it was rejected as if it had been a joke. When he was expelled from the city by Gregory's followers,

he went to Thessalonica in the hope of gaining the emperor's support, but Theodosius sent him away abruptly: 'he had been cast out like a dog, in terrible rage and with oaths which made one shudder' (Greg. Naz., *Carm.* II, 1, 11, vv. 1009–10). Later, Maximus went to Milan and there won over Bishop Ambrose, who, with Acholius,¹⁵ the Bishop of Thessalonica, and a group of Macedonian bishops, agreed to listen to Maximus at a council held in Aquileia in 381 and chaired by Ambrose of Milan. They then wrote to the Bishop of Rome, asking him to ratify the legitimacy of the Cynic philosopher's consecration in the See of Constantinople. Damasus replied and denied its validity because it contravened church rules and stated that it should not be tolerated because it would be a source of ecclesiastical strife. He also questioned the presence in the see of a bishop transferred from another see: a clear allusion to Gregory of Nazianzus and his post in Sasima.¹⁶ However, in the end, Ambrose obtained Pope Damasus' agreement with the decisions taken at the council. He also asked the Emperor Theodosius to readmit Maximus, reasoning that he had shown that he was in communion with Peter of Alexandria and that, although his ordination had been held in secret because of the presence of Arians in the churches, it was valid.¹⁷ He also questioned the legitimacy first of Gregory of Nazianzus' ordination and then that of Nectarius.¹⁸ It is an indication of Maximus' rhetorical skill that to win over the Western bishops who met at Aquileia, he adduced as proof of the legitimacy of his episcopal consecration the fact that 'he had been forced to accept it by the people and the clergy against his will'.¹⁹ Nonetheless, the council that met in Constantinople was not convinced and their reply is given in Canon 4, which clearly rejects the validity of his ordination.

In any case, the Maximus affair in Constantinople was well prepared and arranged, and we might wonder whether Peter of Alexandria worked alone in all this plot. Some of the allusions made by Gregory at the end of his farewell address, given in Constantinople in 381 to the Council Fathers, seem to refer to a large-scale conspiracy in which Peter succeeded in involving Pope Damasus and Ambrose of Milan. Alexandria and Rome intuited that the See of Constantinople was going to acquire great importance with the presence of an orthodox emperor in the city and they needed to keep it under control or, if that was not possible, smear it. Otherwise its bishop could become the leader of the *pars Orientis*, and threaten the primacy of Alexandria, a close ally of Rome since the start of Athanasius' bishopric. Gregory refers to the unease caused

by the possible primacy of Constantinople and the problems it was causing, and exclaims: 'If only there were no prelation, no regional pre-eminence, nor monarchic prerogative, so that we would be known only for our virtue'.²⁰ It was clear that if Alexandria succeeded in placing one of their own candidates in Constantinople, he would allow them to hold on to their primacy. Gregory's words sound like a prophetic prediction, as they are the earliest written evidence that has reached us about the schisms and conflicts that the pre-eminence of the Constantinopolitan See would provoke between that city and Alexandria. In reality the dispute between Gregory and Maximus goes beyond the rivalry of the two bishops and prefigures the religious and political rivalry between Alexandria and Constantinople that was to last two centuries.

Neil McLynn has highlighted, based particularly on Socrates, that when the emperor Julian triumphantly entered Constantinople in 361, there were at least five different Christian communities in the city, and that a series of schisms increased that number to nine during Theodosius' reign. However, they lived together quite peacefully, until 397 and the arrival of John Chrysostom to the city's bishopric. His policy of opposition to Arian processions led to the first known case of violence.²¹ This can possibly be explained by the permanent presence of the emperor in the city, as seems to be shown by the Arians' attack on Nectarius' residence in 388, when there was a rumour that Theodosius had been defeated by the usurper Maximus.²² When Theodosius arrived in Constantinople in November 380, he gave the Arian bishop Demophilus the chance of holding on to the bishopric in the city if he subscribed to the formula of orthodox faith, but the bishop rejected the offer and was banished.²³ This coherence and dignity shown by the bishop is striking, in comparison with the usual behaviour of changing sides whenever imperial power demanded it. Gregory was then acknowledged as orthodox Bishop of Constantinople with the emperor's support and consecrated shortly afterwards in the Church of the Holy Apostles. The emperor seemed to have in mind a definitive solution for the problem caused by the Cynic Maximus, since he did not cease trying to achieve his goals, despite seeing that he had no support in the East. Thus, before his *ingressus* in Constantinople, Theodosius had already decided to convene a council in the city and must have informed Pope Damasus of his decision. In summer 380, in a letter to Acholius of Thessalonica, the Pope referred to the imminence of that synod and asked him to help in the choice of a stainless, upright bishop for Constantinople

in order to avoid dissensions in the church and restore peace.²⁴ However, the obstinacy of Ambrose, Damasus and Peter of Alexandria in questioning the choices first of Gregory and then of Nectarius, both ratified by Theodosius, undermined the emperor's authority. This motivated the approval of Canon 3 at the council in Constantinople which established the primacy of honour of the See of the city, after that of Rome.²⁵ Here we find 'the root cause of the later rivalry between Rome and Constantinople in one hand, and between Catholic West and Orthodox East on the other hand', as all scholars accept.²⁶ The council recognized Constantinople's second prerogative of honour to thwart Alexandria's ambitions, but despite this, the Egyptian city continued to exercise its power over the See of the Bosphorus. Although the episcopal assembly in 381 originally consisted of Eastern bishops, the arrival of Timothy of Alexandria, Peter's successor, and Acholius of Thessalonica, was the determining factor in Gregory's decision to retire, since the latter bishop had brought orders from Pope Damasus to impugn the legitimacy of his election. The charges against him were solely that he had contravened Canon 15 of the council of Nicaea by his migration from the See of Sasima to that of Constantinople, although he had never taken possession of the former see. He describes the situation very graphically in the poem *De vita sua*: 'For they came, they came, hastily summoned to contribute to the process of reconciliation, Egyptians and Macedonians, experts in the laws and mysteries of God, blowing upon us a harsh wind from the west' (Greg. Naz., *Carm.* II, 1, 11, vv. 1798–1802). Harsh winds were indeed blowing for Gregory, as his stance was being questioned by the Western Church and he was being stripped of his authority by the Eastern Church which had never forgiven him for his support of Paulinus, instead of backing their own candidate Flavianus. In consequence, he offered his resignation before the council and emperor, and made a farewell speech.

In this address he refers to both *partes Imperii*, aware that the disagreements between them had forced his resignation and precipitated the conclusion: 'I would like to say farewell to you, East and West, who are at once the reasons and the actors in the war that you have declared on us' (Greg. Naz., *Or.* 42, 27). Indeed, he was a victim of the alliance between Damasus, Ambrose of Milan and the Alexandrians; he was caught in the middle of the disputes between Western and Eastern bishops, which shook the structure of the empire.²⁷

As for Maximus, we have described above the distorted portrait that has reached us, owing to the bias towards Gregory of our available sources. When fifth-century church historians reconstructed the events using the documents at their disposal, they inevitably reproduced the version that Gregory of Nazianzus, their main source of information, had given. Thus, the characterization of his rival is profoundly negative, since that is the way Gregory presents him, whether or not this reflects reality, after being the victim of the usurpation of his see, however, we should also recall that before this betrayal, Gregory had looked on Maximus as 'the best among the best, the most noble of the noble.'²⁸ Maximus for his part knew that he was supported, if not impelled, by the powerful Bishop of Alexandria and was therefore very likely to receive the support of other religious institutions and of Theodosius himself. Therefore, what the Cynic philosopher did was fight for something that he could obtain legitimately, although not honourably, as he had abused Gregory's friendship. In turn, Gregory had been over-ingenuous in trusting his adversary, although perhaps anyone would have acted in the same way, as it is sometimes difficult to see through a false friend. As he said in his autobiography, in his defence:

My failure to recognise my lack of perception was detestable. Like Adam I was deceived by a sinful tasting: beautiful to behold was the bitter tree. The appearance of faith deceived me since I could not see behind his face and words. For no one is easier to persuade than a trusting man who is readily attracted to piety whether real or apparent – what a worthy weakness! For each person believes what he wants to believe. What should I have done? Tell me, you who are so wise. (Greg. Naz., *Carm.* II, 1, 11, vv. 959–68: 83)

Throughout his life, Gregory never tired of denouncing and insulting the numerous *arrivistes*, like Maximus, who filled the church at the time. However, as a final irony, both Ambrose of Milan and Pope Damasus firmly believed that when Gregory occupied the See of Constantinople, it had fallen into the hands of an ambitious upstart coming from the obscure village of Sasima, whereas in Constantinople they accused him as behaving more like a monk than as an aristocrat and leader of the people. Hence the outburst that accompanied his resignation: 'Choose another bishop who knows how to please the masses; leave me to the peace and quiet of the countryside.'²⁹ From his retirement on his property in his native Arianzum, he did not cease expressing his displeasure

with the unworthy bishops who occupied most of the episcopal sees at the time, including most of the participants at the council of Constantinople of 381 where he had resigned. His poem titled 'Concerning his own and the bishops' suffices as a sample of his diatribes against his fellow bishops:

Now that the whole inhabited world has obtained the salvation of God – and what a salvation! – what unworthy bishops we have been given! I am ashamed to speak the truth, but I shall do so anyway. We quickly place them in the sees, so that they can be the protectors (*prostátai*) of everyone, simply because they wish for it, without verifying their recent or past behaviour, their way of behaving, their preparation or the company they keep, not even what the sound of the coin tells us.³⁰ We do not place in the cathedra someone who has been pure for some time, but someone who, on the spur of the moment, seems to be worthy. And, if we well know that power usually corrupts the person who has been chosen, what sensible person would ever propose someone they know nothing of?³¹

Some scholars have seen in these words, and in the whole poem in general, a veiled allusion to senator Nectarius, who was chosen as his successor in the Constantinopolitan See on Theodosius' proposal, even though he had not even been baptized.³² In fact, in Gregory's numerous diatribes against his fellow bishops, he never mentions any of them by name, except Maximus, whom he openly insults in *Poem* II, 1, 41, dedicated to him. However, it must have felt especially cruel to him that both the Imperial Court and the bishops in the council forced him to resign, while accepting an senator. Therefore, the Cappadocian consoled himself by dwelling on the advantages of leaving the 'glorious see of great Constantinople, the young Rome', as it allowed him to return to the land that had nurtured him. 'I, in contrast, when I leave here, I shall enjoy a quiet life, getting away from everything at the same time: court, city and bishops, as I have wished for a long time [. . .] and I shall make a sacrifice of silence, just as before I did of words.'³³

Notes

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- 1 For this literary *topos* and the contradiction between active life and *anachoresis*, see R. Ruether (1969) *Gregory of Nazianzus. Rhetor and Philosopher* (Oxford); S. Roda (1994) 'Fuga nel privato e nostalgia del potere nel IV sec. d. C.: nuovi accenti di un'antica ideologia', in *Idem* (ed.), *La parte migliore del genere humano. Aristocrazie, potere e ideologia nell'Occidente tardoantico*, (Turin): 250–70; N. Gómez Villegas (2000) *Gregorio de Nacianzo en Constantinopla. Ortodoxia, heterodoxia y régimen teodosiano en una capital cristiana* (Madrid): 32–3; and 91–2, n. 44.
- 2 Thus he tells us in *Carmen* II, 1, 34, vv. 10–12: 'I followed the advice of holy men and placed a door on my lips. The reason was that I should learn to set a limit on my words and be in control of everything'; and in *Carmen* II, 1, 11, vv. 984–9: 'I am sticking out this troublesome and talkative tongue of mine: whoever wishes to may mercilessly cut it out. Why has it not been silent and will be silent even longer, paying the penalty, perhaps, for its vexatiousness, that it might learn not to be friendly to everybody?' However, at the same time he maintained intense literary activity, a point that several scholars have noted, like M. Oberhaus (1991) *Gregor von Nazianz: Gegen den Zorn* (*Carmen* 1, 2, 25), *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, Neue Folge* 2.8 (Munich: Ferdinand Schöningh): 4–10; F. Gautier (2001) 'Le carême de silence de Grégoire de Nazianze: une conversion à la littérature?', *REAug* 47: 97–143; *Idem* (2002) *Le retraite et le sacerdoce chez Grégoire de Nazianze*, *Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études sciences religieuses* 114 (Turnhout: Brepols): 169–213, esp. 195–210; S. A. Rebillard (2003) *Speaking for Salvation: Gregory of Nazianzus as Poet and Priest in his Autobiographical Poems* (PhD dissertation, Brown University), esp. chap. 3; B. K. Storin (2011) 'In a Silent Way: Asceticism and Literature in the Rehabilitation of Gregory of Nazianzus', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 19, 2: 225–57.
- 3 R. Van Dam (1995) 'Self-Representation in the Will of Gregory of Nazianzus', *Journal of Theological Studies* NS 46: 118–48; N. McLynn (1997) 'The Voice of Conscience: Gregory Nazianzen in Retirement', in *Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum* 58. *Vescovi e pastori in epoca Teodosiana*, vol. 2 (Rome): 299–308; *Idem* (1998) 'A Self-Made Holy Man: The Case of Gregory Nazianzen', *J ECS* 6: 463–83, esp. 476–81; S. Elm (1999) 'Inventing the "Father of the Church": Gregory of Nazianzus' "Farewell to the Bishops" (Or. 42) in its Historical Context', in F. J. Feltenand and N. Jaspert (eds), *Vita Religiosa im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Kaspar Elm zum 70. Geburtstag* (Berlin): 3–20; J. McGuckin (2001) 'Autobiography as Apologia in St. Gregory Nazianzen', *SP* 37: 160–77; S. Efthymiadis (2006) 'Two Gregories and Three Genres: Autobiography, Autohagiography and Hagiography', in J. Bortnes and T. Hägg (eds), *Gregory of Nazianzus. Images and Reflections* (University of Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press.): 239–56. Most of the extant sources were written by Gregory of Nazianzus: *Orationes* 25 y 26; *Carmina* II, 1, 11; II, 1, 40; y II, 1, 41. Further information is provided by Canon 4 at the council of Constantinople in 381; *Ep.* 13 by Ambrose of

- Milan and the *Epp.* 5 and 6 by Pope Damasus. A detailed study of Maximus' career is to be found in R. E. Snee (1981) *The Gregory Nazianzen's Constantinopolitan Career* (PhD, University of Washington).
- 4 G. Rauschen ((1897) *Jahrbücher der christlichen Kirche unter dem Kaiser Theodosius* (Freibourg in Br.): esp. 74), had already showed that the Thessalonica edict explained Maximus' arrival in Constantinople, and his view has been accepted by most scholars, even as a *terminus post quem* to fix the date of Maximus' first journey to Constantinople; cf. F. Fatti (2008) 'Il cane e il poeta: Gregorio Nazianzeno e Massimo il Cinico (su Greg. Naz., *Carm.* II, 1, 39 e II, 1, 41)', in *Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum* 108: *Motivi e forme della poesia cristiana antica tra scrittura e tradizione classica* (Rome): esp. 303–6.
 - 5 Cf. R. Lizzi (1987) *Il potere episcopale nell'Oriente romano. Rappresentazione ideologica e realtà politica (IV-V sec. d. C.)*, Rome: esp. 57. . . ; R. Teja (1999b) 'La cristianización de los ideales del mundo clásico: el obispo', in *Id., Emperadores, obispos, monjes y mujeres. Protagonistas del cristianismo antiguo* (Madrid: Trotta): 75–107.
 - 6 Cod. Theod. XVI, 1–2: *Imppp. Gratianus, Valentinianus et Theodosius aaa. edictum ad populum urbis Constantinopolitanae. Cunctos populos quos clementiae nostrae regit temperamentum, in tali volumus religione versari, quam divinum Petrum apostolum tradidisse Romanis religio usque ad nunc ab ipso insinuata declarat quamque pontificem Damasum sequi claret et Petrum Alexandriae episcopum virum apostolicae sanctitatis, hoc est, ut secundum apostolicam disciplinam evangelicamque doctrinam patris et filii et spiritus sancti unam deitatem sub parili maiestate et sub pia trinitate credamus* (380 febr. 27).
 - 7 Greg. Naz., *Carm.* II, 1, 11, vv. 858–62: *Sapientes, quaestionem explanate. Non enim id mihi facile perspicuum, nisi quis sapientium explicat: quomodo Petrus ipse, pastorum arbiter, primo quidem me litteris tam manifeste a versutia alienis, ut ipsae suadebunt missae ad nos litterae, in sede constituit, ac signis sedis confirmatae decoravit* (C. White (1996) ed. and tr. Eng., *Gregory of Nazianzus. Autobiographical Poems* (Cambridge University Press): 75). This is the only extant record of that hypothetical letter of support from Peter of Alexandria to Gregory of Nazianzus.
 - 8 Greg. Naz., *Or.* 25, 2 (G. Lafontaine and J. Mossay (1981) (eds), *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 24–26* (SC 284, Paris): 160–2).
 - 9 Greg. Naz., *Or.* 25,3 (PG XXXV, 1202): *Hic est veritatis athlete verissimus, et Trinitatis ad sanguinem usque propugnator, atque eorum, qui ipsum, iniuriae inferendae causa, persequerentur, per patiendi alacritatem persecutor. Nihil enim persecutorem ita superat, ut patientis alacritas [. . .] Hic ex optimis optimus, ex nobilibus nobilissimus.*
 - 10 N. Gómez Villegas (2000) *Gregorio de Nacianzo en Constantinopla. . . op. cit.*, 33.
 - 11 Greg. Naz., *Or.* 26, 3 (PG XXXV, 1231): *Iam mihi quoque timorem injiciunt canes, per vim in pastorum classem irrumpentes, idque, quod absurdum valde est, cum ad*

- pastoralis muneris administrationem nihil omnino aliud contulerint, quam quod comam, cui ornandae et alendae turpiter studuerant, raserunt.* The name 'cynic' came from the Greek word *kýnes* (dogs) and the philosophers of that school called themselves in that way in allusion to the gymnasium where Antisthenes, Socrates' disciple, had taught the doctrine. Cf. G. Lafontaine and J. Mossay (1981) *Grégoire de Nazianze. . . op. cit.*, 230–1, n. 1.
- 12 Greg. Naz., *Carm.* II, 1.11.750–3: *thelydrías, / Aigyption phántasma, lyssodes kakón / kýon, kynískos, amphódon hyperétes / aris, aphonon pema, ketódes téras.*
 - 13 Greg. Naz., *Carm.* II, 1, 11, vv. 1062–70 (C. White (1996) ed. and tr. Eng., *Gregory of Nazianzus. . . op. cit.*): 'When the people heard these words, and someone who could not be restrained shouted out, they immediately erupted like a swarm of bees driven out by smoke, and began to shout wildly. Men, women, young girls and boys, children, old men, nobly born and commoners, officials, ordinary citizens, some soldiers: they all seethed with anger and desire alike, anger at my enemies and desire for their shepherd'.
 - 14 A small island in the Sea of Marmara, famous in Antiquity for the marble that was reason for the sea's name.
 - 15 This Bishop of Thessalonica enjoyed great prestige as he had baptized Emperor Theodosius in 380, when he fell seriously ill. He played a major role as a mediator in all the disputes between East and West at that time.
 - 16 Dam., *Ep.* 5, *Ad Acholium* (PL 13: 365–8): *Decursis litteris dilectionis vestrae, fratres charissimi, satis sum constrictatus; eo tempore, quo Deo praestante haeretici iverant abjecti, nescio quos ex Aegypto venientes in postulatione contra regulam ecclesiasticae disciplinae alienum a nostra professione in Constantinopolitana civitate Cynicum ad sacerdotium vocare voluisse [. . .]. Illud propterea commoneo dilectionem vestram ne patiamini aliquem contra statuta maiorum nostrorum de civitate alia ad aliam transducí, et deserere plebem sibi commissam, et ad alium populum per ambitionem transire. Tunc enim contentiones oriuntur, tunc schismata graviora accipiunt.* Cf. *Ep.* 6 (PL 13: 369–70).
 - 17 Ambr., *Ep.* 9 (13) 3 (M. Zelzer and G. Banterle (1988) (ed. and tr.), *Sant'Ambrogio. Discorsi e lettere*, t. 3 (Milan-Rome): *Ad Theodosium: Namque in concilio nuper cum Maximus episcopus Alexandrinae ecclesiae communionem manere secum lectis Petri sanctae memoriae viri litteris prodidisset eiusque se creatum esse mandato intra privates aedes, quia Arriani ecclesiae basilicas adhuc tenebant, tribus episcopis ordinantibus dilucida testificatione docuisset, nihil habuimus, beatissime principum, in quo de episcopatu eius dubitare possemus, cum vim sibi repugnant a plerisque etiam de populo et clero testatus esset illatam.*
 - 18 Ambr., *Ep.* 9 (13), 3 (M. Zelzer and G. Banterle (1988) (ed. and tr.), *Sant'Ambrogio. . . op. cit.*): *Atque hoc factum allegatur consensione et consilio Nectarii, cuius ordinatio quem ordinem habuerit non videmus. 4: [. . .] revera advertabamus*

- Gregorium nequaquam secundum traditionem patrum Constantinopolitanae ecclesiae sibi sacerdotium vindicare. 5: Nectarius autem cum nuper nostra mediocritas Constantinopoli cognoverit ordinatum, cohaerere communionem nostrum cum orientalibus partibus non videmus [. . .].* For the conflictive relationship between Ambrose and Emperor Theodosius, cf. Ch. Pietri (1976) *Roma christiana. Recherches sur l'Eglise de Rome, son organization, sa politique, son idéologie de Miltiade à Sixte III (311–440)* (Paris-Rome), 856–72.
- 19 Ambr. (*Ep.* 9 (13), 3) (M. Zelzer and G. Banterle (1988) (ed. and tr.), *Sant'Ambrogio . . . op. cit.*): *Nihil habuimus, beatissime principum, in quo de episcopatu eius dubitare possemus, cum vim sibi repugnanti a plerisque etiam de populo et clero testatus esset illatam.* For the origin of the *topos*, which goes back to Emperor Augustus, and the rejection of power as the best proof of the appropriateness of a candidate, cf. J. Beranger, 'Le refus du pouvoir', *Museum Helveticum* 5 (1948): 169–97; applied to ecclesiastical positions, cf. I. Cougar, (1966), 'Ordinationes invitus, coactus de l'Église Antique au canon 214', *RSPHTh* 5: 169–97; R. Lizzi (1987, *Il potere episcopale nell'Oriente romano . . . op. cit.*), devotes a dense chapter to the topic, that is 'Il rifiuto dell'episcopato e la sua elaborazione ideologica': 33–56; and also R. Teja (1999a), *Emperadores, obispos, mujeres. Protagonistas del cristianismo antiguo* (Madrid: Trotta): 77–81.
- 20 Greg. Naz., *Or.* 26, 15 (PG XXXV, 1247): *Utinam potius ne ullus quidem sedis principatus esset, nec ulla loci praelatio, et tyrannica praerogativa!, ut ex sola virtute cognosceremur.*
- 21 N. McLynn (1992) 'Christian Controversy and Violence in the Fourth Century', *Kodai* 3: 20: 'These congregations were not in the least furtive, even when most of them fell under increasing stridency during the reign of Theodosius.'
- 22 N. McLynn (1992) 'Christian Controversy', *op. cit.*: 21–2.
- 23 Socr. *HE* V, 7, 1–3. Cf. F. Trisoglio (1985) 'La figura dell'eretico in Gregorio di Nazianzo', *Augustinianum* 25: 793–832; *Idem* (1987), *Ibidem* 27: 185–217; N. Gómez Villegas (2000) *Gregorio de Nacianzo en Constantinopla . . . op. cit.*: 125–6.
- 24 Dam., *Ep.* 5, *Ad Acholium: De caetero commoneo sanctitatem vestram, ut quia cognovi dispositum esse Constantinopoli concilium fieri debere, sinceritas vestra det operam, quemadmodum praedictae civitatis episcopus eligatur, qui nullam habeat reprehensionem: ut Deo propitio cum integra pax catholicorum sacerdotum fuerit confirmata, nullae deinceps dissensiones in Ecclesia oriantur: ut praestante Deo, quod iam dudum optavimus, cum Catholicis sacerdotis posit pax perpetua perdurare.*
- 25 'Because it is new Rome, the bishop of Constantinople is to enjoy the privileges of honour after the bishop of Rome' (Norman P. Tanner (ed.) (1990), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols).
- 26 Cf. A. Tuilier (1997) 'La politique de Theodose le Grand et les évêques de la fin du IV^{ème} siècle', *Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum* 58. *Vescovi e pastori in epoca theodosiana* (Rome): 45–71, esp. 50, n. 17.

- 27 Cf. J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz (1990) *Barbarians and Bishops. Army, Church and State in the Age of Arcadius and Chrysostom* (Oxford: Clarendon Press): 160–3.
- 28 Greg. Naz., *Or.* 25,3: *Hutos áristos mèn ex ariston, kai ex eugenón eugenéstatos.* We agree with Stephanos Efthymiadis who says that '[. . .] the physical description of a perverse Maximus introduced in the same poem (*Carm.* II, 1, 11, 750–754) is passed over in silence by the hagiographer (Gregory the Presbyter) [. . .]. Above all, the hagiographer's moderate stance towards Maximus was dictated by his desire to redress the balance between reality and Gregory's (of Nazianzus) excessively hostile tone' (2006), 'Two Gregories and Three Genres', *op. cit.*: 250.
- 29 Greg. Naz., *Or.* 42, 24 (PG XXXVI, 487): *Antistitem alium, qui multitudini placeat, create: mihi autem date solitudinem et rusticitatem, et Deum, cui soli etiam per tenuem victum cultumque placebimus.*
- 30 Meaning, as a way to know whether a coin is real or a forgery. Perhaps it is an allusion to the possible orthodoxy or heterodoxy of the candidates.
- 31 Greg. Naz., *Carm.* II, 1, 12, vv. 355–7; vv. 375–84 (PG XXXVII, 1191–4): *Quamvis iam fere per totum orbem terrarum miram a Domino salute acceperimus, quam valde indignis utimur episcopis! [. . .] Nos autem facile quoslibet constituimus, si tantum voluerint, populi antistites; nihil considerantes, non recentia, non antiqua, non actionem, non sermonem ullum, non conversationem, nec tantum morantes, quantum oporteat ad dignoscendum numismatis sonum, eos qui non fuerunt tempore et igni probati, subito iudicamus esse dignos thronis. Quod si id sciremus eum, qui electus est, potentia plerumque deteriorem fieri, quis cordatus eum, quem non novit, eligeret?*
- 32 Thus, recently, Bradley K. Storin (2011), 'In a Silent Way . . . op. cit.': 255) states: 'Gregory turns his literary skill against Nectarius presenting him as the photographic negative of himself.'
- 33 Greg. Naz., *Carm.* II, 1, 10, vv. 25–34 (PG XXXVII, 1028–129): *Ego autem illinc profectus, tranquilla vita laetabor. Cunctis simul, aula et urbibus, et sacerdotibus sponte relictis, ut olim optabam [. . .] Etiam silentium, instar victimae, ut antea sermonem, offeram.* For the titles that Gregory gives the new capital of the East in this poem, cf. R. Teja (2010) 'La ananeosis-renovatio de Constantinopla: una evocación de Salvatore Calderone', in V. Aiello and L. De Salvo (eds), *Salvatore Calderone (1915–2000). La personalità científica.* Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Messina-Taormina, 19–21 febbraio, 2002) (Messina: Di.Sc.A.M.): 449–54.

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