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Episcopal Networks in Late Antiquity



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Crossing the Boundaries: Networks and Manifestations of Christian Hospitality

1 Hospitality and globalisation

Hospitality, irrespective of its religious value, was for Ambrose of Milan a globally recognised *publica species humanitatis*.¹ It was a duty for every bishop,² but was also practised among those running monastic centres, and in cooperation with patrons from high society. Ambrose – who at home entertained consuls and prefects – had advised clergy specifically that they should decline invitations to go out, as that would render them unavailable at home to prospective guests; and Augustine had followed his example.³ Augustine for his part consid-

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1 Ambrose (*off.* 2.21.103) picks up Cicero’s definition (*off.* 1.139; 2.64): *Commendat plerosque etiam hospitalitas. Est enim publica species humanitatis, ut peregrinus hospitio non egeat, suscipiatur officiose, pateat adveniendi ianua. Valde id decorum totius est orbis existimationi, peregrinos cum honore suscipi, non desse hospitalis gratia, occurrere officiis liberalitatis, explorari adventus hospitum.*

2 For bishops specifically 1 *Tim* 3:2; *Herm. mand.* 8.10; *Sim.* 9.27.2; *Aug. s.* 355.2; *Hier. in Tit.*; *Isid. eccl. off.* 2.5.17, and in canon 9 of the Council of Aachen in 814. See Michaela Puzicha, *Christus peregrinus. Die Fremdenaufnahme (Mt 25,35) als Werk der privaten Wohltätigkeit im Urteil der Alten Kirche* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1990), 38–39 and Andrew Arterbury, *Entertaining Angels. Early Christian Hospitality in its Mediterranean Setting* (Sheffield: Phoenix Press, 2005), 129.

3 *Ambr. off.* 1.20.86: *Unde prudenter facitis convenire ecclesiasticis, et maxime ministrorum officiis arbitror, declinare extraneorum convivia vel ut ipsi hospitales sitis peregrinantibus ... Sulp. Sev. dial.* 1.25.6: *exemplum beati Ambrosii episcopi ..., qui eo tempore consules et praefectos subinde pascere ferebatur.* See Neil B. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan. Church and Court in a Christian Capital* (Berkeley *et al.*: University of California Press, 1994), 257. Cf. *Possid. vita Aug.* 27.2 on visiting: *Servandum quoque in vita et moribus hominis dei referebat, quo instituto sanctae memoriae Ambrosii compererat ...*

ered it a mark of high favour to enjoy unrestricted access to the bishop of Milan.⁴ Sozomenus praised Acacius, bishop of Beroea (present-day Aleppo), for his *philoxenia*, as he “let his episcopal quarters stand open at all hours so that strangers and citizens might see him without misgivings, even at the times for eating and sleeping”.⁵

Much-cited models were Abraham, Lot and the widow of Sarepta,⁶ but a theory of Christian hospitality is nowhere in evidence. All that can be said is that Greek hospitality (*ξενία*), whose behavioural code, in Homer, upheld even for enemies, was replaced by religiously and ethically motivated Christian hospitality.⁷ The constitutive quality for the Christian centres was neither a vow nor obedience but spiritual unity (*unanimitas*); and the preferred medium for generating and demonstrating solidarity was the letter.⁸ A remarkably large number of pagan and Christian discourses reflect differing perspectives, values and expectations, while the tangible living realities of guests known by their name, their visits and their interactions with the host have hitherto been almost totally disregarded.⁹

4 Aug. *conf.* 6.3.3: *Saepe cum adessemus – non enim vetabatur quisquam ingredi aut ei venientem nuntiari mos est – sic eum (sc. Ambrosium) legentem vidimus tacite ...*

5 Soz. *h.e.* 7.28.2: τεκμήριον δὲ μεγίστης ἔδωκεν ἀρετῆς παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον τὸ ἐπισκοπικὸν καταγώγιον ἠνεψωγμένον ἔχων, ὡς καὶ τροφῆς ὥρα καὶ ὕπνου ἀδεῶς οἷς ἐδόκει ξένοις τε καὶ ἀστοῖς αὐτὸν ὁρᾶν.

6 See Gard Granerød and Andrew Arterbury, “Hospitality”, *EBR* 12 (Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter, 2016), 449 and 453–54; Otto Hiltbrunner, Denys Gorce and Hans Wehr, “Gastfreundschaft”, *RAC* 8 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1972), 1071–73.

7 David Konstan, *Friendship in the Classical World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 33–37, Arterbury, *Entertaining Angels*, 130–31, and Paul Viard, “Hospitalité”, *DSp* 7 (Paris: Bauchesne, 1969), 808–31. – In the real Christian world, friendship contacts in practice extended, as with Augustine, from intense juvenile friendships to Christian philosophy circles to meetings with fellow bishops and politicians.

8 On visions of cooperation between all the members of a unified church cf. e.g. the appeal at Paul. *Nol. ep.* 2.3 (*unitas spiritus*); 13.1: *per ipsum [sc. Christum] ut unius corporis membra conec-timur*. On this and on the “literary networks” see Sigrid Mratschek, *Der Briefwechsel des Paulinus von Nola. Kommunikation und soziale Kontrakte zwischen christlichen Intellektuellen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002), 600, *passim* and Peter Gemeinhardt, *Das lateinische Christentum und die antike pagane Bildung* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), esp. 230. In *Did.* 11.13 Christian faith was a criterion for acceptability of guests, but reference to targeted denial of hospitality to “heretical” groups is found only in the polemics of Jerome (*adv. Ruf.* 3.17).

9 Networks in the Holy Land have been systematically researched by David Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford: OUP, 1982), church networks by Claire Sotinel, “La circulation de l’information dans les Églises,” in *La circulation de l’information dans les États antiques*, eds. Laurent Capdetrey and Jocelyne Nelis-Clément (Bordeaux: Ausonius, 2006): 177–94, literary and social networks by Sigrid Mratschek, *Briefwechsel* and “Paulinus

Members of the educated Christian elite, whose hospitality networks progressively ramified across the whole Mediterranean area, were innovative in that they remade the past.¹⁰ As so often happens with processes of cultural change, the reception of spatial concepts saw the new added to the old but not replacing it: the transformation of topography and the creation of sacred spaces was additive, not substitutive.¹¹ Travellers' contrasting accounts of pilgrimages to the Holy Land – now increasingly undertaken – bring the Mediterranean geography of the sacred into sharp focus. While the Bordeaux pilgrim setting out from his home in 333 as a private citizen journeyed for some 14 months and 2200 Roman miles along the Roman Empire's highways to reach Constantinople, yielding precedence in overnight lodgings to privileged senators on imperial business, Egeria's pilgrimage of 381–84 from the Atlantic to the Euphrates would have been impossible, for all her curiosity and enthusiasm for the holy places, without the hospitality and local knowledge of monks and bishops along the way.¹²

Spatial concepts are considered today to reflect power relationships, social practices, and attributions by others and self. For Egeria, Paula and Melania the Younger – who was said never to have put her copy down – the new Christian travel guide was the Bible.¹³ During the fourth century, as David Hunt has shown, an alternative to the established system of privileged government mail and transportation (*cursus publicus*) was introduced in the form of a Christian hospitality system and incorporated into the church's organisational structures.¹⁴ Outwardly it amounted to a meticulous reproduction of the contempo-

and the Gradual Rise of Nola as a Center of Hospitality”, *J ECS* 9 (2001) 511–553, travel and hospitality by Denys Gorce, *Les voyages, l'hospitalité et le port du lettre dans le monde chrétien des IV et V siècles* (Paris: Auguste Picard, 1925).

10 Averil Cameron, “Remaking the Past,” in *Late Antiquity. A Guide to the Postclassical World*, eds. Glen W. Bowersock, Peter Brown and Oleg Grabar (Cambridge [Mass.] and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard UP, 1999): 1–20; Averil Cameron, “Education and Literary Culture. Conclusion,” in *The Late Empire A.D. 337–425*, eds. Averil Cameron and Peter Garnsey, *CAH* 13 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998): 706–7.

11 Cf. Peter Burke: *Die Renaissance in Italien. Sozialgeschichte einer Kultur zwischen Tradition und Erfindung* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1972, trans. Rainhard Kaiser, Berlin: Klaus Wagenbach, 1996), 29 in a different context.

12 *It. Eg.* 19.5 (*de extremis porro terris venires*); Valerius, *ep.* 5: SC 296, 346 (*extremo occidui maris oceani litore*).

13 *It. Eg.* 4.3; 10.7; Hier. *ep.* 108.8.1 and *v. Mel.* 21.

14 Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, 56–63. Cf. Anne Kolb, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer im Römischen Reich*, (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000), 206–26 on the infrastructure of the *cursus publicus*, Sotinel, “Circulation”, 194, which focuses on the circulation of information among councils and churches, and Mratschek, *Briefwechsel*, 274–394 on communication and mail systems.

rary secular communications system and its hostels (*mansiones*). Sulpicius Severus describes the widely observed hospitality ritual, found even among the desert-dwelling monks, with which Martin of Tours had welcomed him in Marmoutier: “He honoured me by inviting me to his table, poured water himself over my hands, and in the evening washed my feet”.¹⁵ To choose to stay more than two or three days was to violate the most basic rules of politeness, and those who did so would be swiftly enrolled in the roster of daily tasks (*opera manuum*) required by the hostel.¹⁶ By 394/96 the social practice of Christian hospitality had gained recognition to the point that a canon promulgated by the council of the *Septem Provinciae* in Gaul prohibited as an abuse the soliciting of food and drink “on the pretext of a pilgrimage” (*sub specie peregrinationis*).¹⁷ By about the 6th century the network of Christians was so extensive that hostels for men and for women (*xenodochia*) lined the most important sites along the pilgrim routes, offering “to strangers acceptance, many well-laden tables, and beds for more than 3000 sick”.¹⁸

It was bishops and the leaders of ascetic movements that developed and promoted spatial concepts of this kind and created transregional structural spaces. Egeria tells of *ospitia* at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (*Anastasis*), where she lodged alongside Jerusalem pilgrims following their blessing by the bishop.¹⁹ She reports on the monks of the ascetic community Der-el-Arbein situated in Wadi-el-Leja, who allowed her to lodge there before her ascent of Jebel Musa (Mount Sinai), and indulged her party with every possible form of hospitality (*omnem humanitatem*).²⁰ The bishop of Carrhae (Haran) advised her that the Per-

15 Sulp. Sev. *Mart.* 25.3: *cum me sancto convivio suo dignatus esset adhibere, aquam manibus nostris ipse obtulit. Ad vesperum autem pedes nobis ipse abluit.* See Jacques Fontaine’s commentary in SC 135, 1052–56.

16 *Did.* 12.1–5 with Hiltbrunner, “Gastfreundschaft,” 1107. Up to one week with the monks of Nitria, cf. Pall. *h. Laus.* 74. On services rendered by monks from elsewhere in garden or bakery work or in kitchens as cook, see above and Mratschek, *Briefwechsel*, 308, 580.

17 Conc. Galliae, *Conc. Nemausense a. 394*, can. 5: *Additum aetiam est ut, quia multi, sub specie peregrinationis, de ecclesiarum conlatione luxoriant, victura non omnibus detur ...*

18 *It. Anton. Placent.* 23: *xenodochia virorum ac mulierum, susceptio peregrinorum, mensas innumerabiles, lecta aegrotorum amplius tria milia.* See Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, 64.

19 *It. Eg.* 25.7 (Jerusalem, at the Holy Sepulchre): *Recepit se episcopus et vadent se unusquisque ad ospitium suum ut se resument.*

20 *It. Eg.* 3.1: *ingressi sumus montem, et pervenientes ad monasteria quedam susceperunt nos ibi satis humane monachi, qui ibi commorabantur, perbentes nobis omnem humanitatem.* According to Egeria *terras Saracenorum*, Saracene country (*It. Eg.* 7.6), see David Caner, “Sinai Pilgrimage and the Ascetic Romance: Pseudo-Nilus’ Narrationes in Context”, in *Travel, Communication and Geography in Late Antiquity. Sacred and Profane*, ed. Linda Ellis and Frank L. Kidner (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2004): 135–47, esp. 142–43.

sian frontier was only 5 *mansiones* journey beyond Nisibis, and that Abraham's homeland in Ur, being on Persian territory, was now out of reach for Roman travellers.²¹

According to Martina Löw's spatial sociology, spaces are constituted in perception, memory and imagination by the linking of places (*spacing*) and the actors and social assets located at such places (*synthesising*).²² And the formation of the sacred in the Christian cultures of Late Antiquity and the linking up of Christian centres in the Roman Empire were indeed both associated with the emergence of a new form of hospitality: Peter Brown²³ has pointed out that late antique society was held together by "intense networks of reciprocal gifts", while unreciprocated beneficence to the poor was considered provocative behaviour. Contrary to the view upheld by earlier scholarship from Gorce to Hiltbrunner and Pohl, however, which insisted on a dichotomy between the pagan tradition of reciprocity and the non-reciprocated Christian act of altruism,²⁴ the socio-anthropological hospitality concept specific to Classical Antiquity (*philoxenia, hospitalitas*), with its obligation to reciprocity, lived on in Late Antiquity.

The seminal text was Mt 25:35. Here the guest is the incarnation of Christ: "For when I was hungry, you gave me food; when thirsty, you gave me drink; when I was a stranger, you took me into your home ... Anything you did for one of my brothers here, however humble, you did for me."²⁵ Christian intellectuals such as Ambrose, Paulinus of Nola, Augustine and John Chrysostom made this the basis of a competing model that transcended the pagan tradition of gift exchange with the anticipated everlasting "treasure in Heaven", and accorded to

21 *It. Eg.* 20.12. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, 62, n.55 accordingly infers the *terminus post quem* of her journey as being 363, after the armistice between Jovian and Sassanides.

22 Martina Löw, *Raumsoziologie* (Frankfurt a. Main: Suhrkamp, 2001).

23 Peter Brown, *Through the Eyes of the Needle. Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350–550 AD* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012), 76–77.

24 Christine Dorothy Pohl, *Making Room: Recovering Hospitality as a Christian Tradition* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999) and Otto Hiltbrunner, *Gastfreundschaft in der Antike und im frühen Christentum* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005), 175: "Christen erwarten keine Gegenleistung". Different readings only in Arterbury, *Entertaining Angels*, 132, Granerød, Arterbury et al., "Hospitality," 449–59, and Brown, *Eyes of the Needle*, 232, as "fruitful reciprocity" in Paulinus of Nola.

25 Gorce, "Gastfreundschaft," 1103–4, and on the Incarnation of Christ, Catherine Conybeare, *Paulinus Noster. Self and Symbols in the Letters of Paulinus of Nola* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 127–28.

the poor, as owners of spiritual wealth, their own role in Christian discourse:²⁶ reciprocation of beneficence might take place later and in non-material form, as has been persuasively demonstrated by Marcel Mauss and Pierre Bourdieu.²⁷ Even a Christian author like Lactantius, who would shudder when speaking of “one-sided” hospitality to beggars, confirmed that the deed’s reward would be conferred by God.²⁸

Innovative ideas such as these could claim to be integrating not the elites only but all of human society (including seemingly “useless people” like the poor), up to its furthest, darkest margins of the earth, into the “global” network of Christians; the social practices of Christian hospitality launched the “communications revolution” of the fourth century. Exchange of letters was the medium that implemented and expanded it into a worldwide web of Christian intellectuals, of exemplary value for the Latin-speaking West in the form of the social and personal relationships linking Augustine, Paulinus, Jerome, Sulpicius Severus

26 Paul. Nol. ep. 13.11: *Itaque patronos animarum nostrarum pauperes ...* See Mratschek, *Briefwechsel*, 129–30; “Geben und Nehmen in den Briefen des Paulinus von Nola: der himmlische Bankier und der Wohltäter der Armen,” in *Zwischen Alltagskommunikation und literarischer Identitätsbildung: Studien zur lateinischen Epistolographie in Spätantike und Frühmittelalter*, ed. Gernot M. Müller (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2018): 109–129, Richard Finn, *Almsgiving in the Later Roman Empire. Christian Promotion and Practice 313–450* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 182–88, 205 on “The Redescription of the Poor”, and Lucy Grig, “Throwing Parties for the Poor: Poverty and Splendour in the Late Antique Church,” in *Poverty in the Roman World*, eds. Margaret Atkins and Robert Osborne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006): 154. On “recompense for hospitality” cf. Ambr. Abr. 1.5.34: *Bona est hospitalitas, habet mercedem suam, primum humanae gratiae, deinde quod maius est remunerationis divinae*. Paul. Nol. ep. 1.1: *fragilis substantiae pretio caelum Christumque mercatus*. Aug. s. 173.3–4 (etc.). See Brown, *Eyes of the Needle*, 230–232, and Jill Harries, “Treasure in Heaven: Property and Inheritance among Senators in Late Rome,” in *Marriage and Property – Women and Marital Customs in History*, ed. Elizabeth M. Craik (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1984): 54–70.

27 Marcel Mauss, *Essai sur le don* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1950), trans. Eva Moltenhauer, *Die Gabe. Form und Funktion des Austauschs in archaischen Gesellschaften* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 2009), 157; Pierre Bourdieu, *Le sens pratique* (Paris: Les éditions de Minuit, 1980), trans. Günter Seib, *Sozialer Sinn. Kritik der theoretischen Vernunft* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 2009), 180–81, 192–93, cf. Michael L. Satlow’s “Introduction” in *The Gift in Antiquity*, ed. Michael L. Satlow (Malden, MA and Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013): 4–11.

28 Lact. inst. 6.12.2: *tenendum est igitur omni modo, ut ab officio misericordiae spes recipiendi absit omnino; huius enim operis et officii merces a deo est expectanda solo ...* (Hope of return must be absolutely missing). Cf. 6.11.28: *unum igitur certum et verum liberalitatis officium est egentes atque inutiles alere*. (The only true and certain obligation is to feed the needy and use-less); 6.11.18: *inutiles sunt hominibus, sed utiles deo* (Men have no use for them, but God has). The apodosis is ignored in Hiltbrunner, *Gastfreundschaft*, 175 and Brown, *Eyes of the Needle*, 76.

and Rufinus, for the Greek East between the Cappadocians.²⁹ As Umberto Eco has pointed out, “The distinguishing characteristic of a network is that each point can be linked to any other such point, and where the connections have not yet been created they can still be envisaged and created. A network is a territory without limits.”³⁰ It is in this sense that the fourth-century world described here was a networked world, criss-crossed as it was by visitors, ambassadors, messengers, refugees and guests. Social science theory and network and globalisation analysis can be used to show that peer-polity interaction³¹ in the form of vigorous competition for primacy and prominence among Christian centres of mutually distinct character – episcopal sees, monasteries, pilgrimage places – and intercultural impacts played a key role not only in the formation of religious groups, but also in the rise of Christianity itself.³²

2 Mobility: Sites of memory in the Holy Land and the Orient

Drive, faith in human perfectibility and an advanced state of competitiveness among the new religious and intellectual centres were the distinctive features characterising the creative Christian elite. Aristocratic women from Rome and

29 Mratschek, *Briefwechsel* (2002) for the west, Raymond Van Dam, *Becoming Christian. The Conversion of Roman Cappadocia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003) for the east.

30 Translated from Umberto Eco, “Die Enzyklopädie als Labyrinth”, in *Kulturwissenschaft*, ed. Uwe Wirth (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 2008): 263.

31 Peer-polity interaction, a concept first used in modern archaeology, is defined by Colin Renfrew, “Introduction” in *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change*, eds. Colin Renfrew and John F. Cherry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986: 1–18) as embracing the entire spectrum of forms of interaction. For the Graeco-Roman world, see e.g. Irad Malkin, *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) and Martin Pitts and Miguel J. Versluys, eds. *Globalisation and the Roman World. World, Connectivity and Material Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

32 Sotinel, “Circulation”, 194, points out “que la transmission des nouvelles occupe une place stratégique dans l’histoire du christianisme”, but the interaction is not confined to the institutional level. On the competition between pilgrim groups and the multiplicity of sites in the Holy Land, see Jaś Elsner, “Piety and Passion: Contest and Consensus in the Audiences for Early Christian Pilgrimage in Pilgrimage”, in *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman & Early Christian Antiquity*, eds. Jaś Elsner and Ian Rutherford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005): 411–434; on diversity and the dynamics of religious groups also Éric Rebillard, “Late Antique Limits of Christianity,” in *Group Identity and Religious Individuality in Late Antiquity*, eds. Éric Rebillard and Jörg Rüpke (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2015): 293–317.

Constantinople, wealthy and prestigious, established themselves in the Holy Land by founding monasteries and running households in their own right: Melania the Elder in Jerusalem, Olympias in Constantinople, and Paula in Bethlehem. The hospitality offered by Melania the Elder and Rufinus, lent worldwide fame by jeering allusions in Jerome to *exempla* of extravagance like Croesus and Sardanapalus,³³ made the Mount of Olives the focal point of Theodosian Jerusalem. For 23 years, Melania ran a convent for 50 nuns and supported bishops, monks and pilgrims throughout the Roman world by means of regular cash payments.³⁴ Her dispute with Proculus, governor of Palestine, over her activism in the cause of expelled monks,³⁵ had not prevented her from opening her monasteries on the Mount of Olives: visitors from the imperial court, Silvia, sister-in-law of the praetorian prefect Fl. Rufinus, and his wife and daughter, were welcome, and shared in East-West exchanges of relics of martyrs.³⁶ The hospitality networks leading from Olympias, the widow of the urban prefect Nebridius, far from a mere palace system in Constantinople, were “omnipresent on land and at sea”, as John Chrysostom was to comment in retrospect.³⁷ He himself may well have benefited from them when the bishop suffered a bout of fever on his journey into exile and was given temporary shelter in Seleucia’s country villa in Caesarea in spite of the hostility of the local bishop, and again when he had reached his place of exile in Cucusus (modern Göksun), where Dioscorus placed a country abode at his disposal, to spare him the worst rigours of winter.³⁸

The episode in Jerome dealing with the arrival in Palestine in 385 of his patroness Paula clearly illustrates how competing pagan and Christian perceptions

33 Hier. *ep.* 57.12.5: *inter Croesi opes et Sardanapalli delicias*. Palladius (*h. Laus.* 54.2; 46) offers a more sympathetic assessment of Melania’s 37 years providing hospitality.

34 Pall. *h. Laus.* 46.5–6 c.377–400 AD. See Peter Brown: *The Body and Society. Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988, London: Faber and Faber, 1991), 280.

35 Sigrīd Mratschek, “Melania and the Unknown Governor of Palestine,” *Journal of Late Antiquity* 5 (2012): 250–68.

36 On Silvia’s pilgrimage (Pall. *h. Laus.* 55), see Paul Devos, “Silvie la sainte pèlerine”, *AB* 91 (1973): 105–20, on taking in wife and daughter after Rufinus was murdered 395 (Zos. 5.8.2–3), see *PLRE* I. 778–91 s.v. Flavius Rufinus 18, on the members of the Theodosian court Mratschek, *Briefwechsel*, 438–43. Sulpicius Severus in Primuliacum und Gaudentius in Brixia enjoyed the use of Silvia’s relics, cf. Paul. Nol. *ep.* 31.1 (*multorum ex Oriente martyrum reliquiis*) and Gaud. *Tract.* 17.14 on the 40 martyrs of Sebaste.

37 Joh. Chrys. *ep.* 8.10a: Οὐ γὰρ ἡ οἰκία σου παντὶ ἐλθόντι ἀνέφεκτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πανταχοῦ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης πολλοὶ ταύτης ἀπήλαυσαν τῆς φιλοτιμίας διὰ τῆς φιλοξενίας. For John Chrysostom’s letters to Olympias see also the contribution of Peter Gemeinhardt to the present volume (pp. 117–147).

38 On Seleucia’s hospitality see Joh. Chrys. *ep.* 9.2a–3b, on that of Dioscorus *ep.* 9.4a.

of hospitality might meet head-on. Flavius Florentius, the proconsul, sent *apparitores* to offer her a lodging in the praetorium of Caesarea Maritima, but Paula preferred a *humilis cellula* and *angustum hospitium* in Bethlehem to the governor's palace.³⁹ For a retreat to Bethlehem, the Bible provided the narrative framework in which Christians of Late Antiquity interpreted the world and represented their identity as a collective drama and continuation within the context of the salvation story.⁴⁰ In practice the new foundation in Bethlehem competed against its counterpart in Jerusalem.⁴¹ Whereas Jerusalem owed its paradigmatic status to Golgotha and the Mount of Olives as the historic sites associated with the Passion and Resurrection, Bethlehem as the *villula Christi* acquired a status of its own as an appropriate memorial site sufficiently remote from the seat of the governor and also not in Jerusalem's shadow. Jerome's allusions to the Nativity enable him to stylise his patroness in the mould of Mary while simultaneously justifying the religious foundations and roadside pilgrim hostel that she was funding: if the Holy Family had sought lodging in Bethlehem and been turned away, now Paula's foundations would guarantee a brisk turnover of pilgrims from East and West sojourning a while at the birthplace of Christ and finding a welcome and shelter in this *diversorium peregrinorum*.⁴² Jerome himself became a "lover of the inn at Bethlehem and of the Crib of Our Lord".⁴³

39 Hier. ep. 108.9.2: *proconsule Palaestinae qui familiam eius optime noverat, praemissis apparitoribus iussisset parari praetorium, elegit humilem cellulam*. See PLRE II. 396 s.v. Fl. Florentius 11 and Joseph Patrich, *Studies in the Archaeology and History of Caesarea Maritima. Caput Iudaeae, Metropolis Palaestinae* (Leiden, 2011: Brill) 105–6, 211–18 on the governor's residence. In view of the large accompanying group of clients and slaves it is questionable whether Paula spent the first three years in "cramped accommodation". See Stefan Rebenich, *Hieronymus und sein Kreis. Prosopographische und sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, Hist.E 72 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner), 193–95; dissenting, Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, 22, 172, who points to the monastic cells alongside the Sepulchre.

40 1 Cor 15:23–28, cf. Paul M. Blowers, "Interpreting Scripture," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 2: *Constantine to c. 600*, eds. Augustine Casiday and Frederick W. Norris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 633–34.

41 Both were western foundations, with twin monasteries for men and women. See Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, 174.

42 Hier. ep. 14.4: *nec multo post in sancta Betleem mansura perpetuo angusto per triennium mansit hospitio, donec extrueret cellulas ac monasteria et diversorium peregrinorum iuxta viam conderet, quia Maria et Ioseph hospitium non invenerant*. Cf. Jerome's laments (ep. 71.5) over the flood of visitors: *frequentia commeantium et peregrinorum turbis*. See Andrew Cain, *The Letters of Jerome. Asceticism, Biblical Exegesis, and the Construction of Christian Authority in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 173, n. 31.

Under Theodosius too, the Mount of Olives monastery in Jerusalem proved to be a counterpart in terms of visitor reception to Jerome's institution in Bethlehem, which was developing into a "pivot in the religious and intellectual relations of Christendom".⁴⁴ The visitor profile in Bethlehem, where Jerome's personality and epistolary contacts dominated, proved to be more disparate socially than the relatively homogeneous body of pilgrims from Theodosius' entourage in Jerusalem. Jerome's invitations crossed the Mediterranean on their way to aristocrats such as the senator Paulinus of Nola, Fabiola or Eusebius of Cremona, to provincials like the wealthy Spaniard Lucinus or a soldier Exsuperantius, to whom Jerome wrote: "I have knocked at the door of friendship; if you open it, you will find ready hosts".⁴⁵ A Gaul, Postumianus, who fled the Egyptian church's dissents c. 400 and sought refuge in Bethlehem's hospitality, remained there for six months.⁴⁶

The hospitality networks of Central Asia Minor were further boosted by the influence and example of Bishop Basil in Caesarea, both of which found imitators among the bishops of Sasima, Podanos and Ancyra.⁴⁷ The most conspicuous sign of the bishops' growing prestige in the cities was the new skyline of churches and hostels. Gregory of Nazianzus is full of admiration as he describes the large complex of buildings constructed by Basil outside Caesarea, a church, a residence for the bishop and clergy, a hostel for travellers, a hospital for the sick, and a poorhouse: "A good thing is the love for man, the feeding of the poor, and help rendered to human weakness," he wrote. "Go out of the city a little way and contemplate the new city, the administration of piety, the stores com-

43 Hier. *ep.* 77.2.3: *diversorii Bethlehemitici et praesepeis dominici amator ...* See Jerome's *Epitaph on Paula: A Commentary on the Epitaphium Sanctae Paulae*, ed. and trans. Andrew Cain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) 17–18.

44 On "holy Bethlehem" as the Christian *omphalos* (Greg. Naz. *or.* 18.17), see Jerome's *Epitaph*, ed. Cain, 18–19, and Yves-Marie Duval, "Les premiers rapports de Paulin avec Jérôme: Moine et philosophe", *Studi tardoantichi* 7 (1989): 216.

45 Hier. *ep.* 71.4.1–2 (Lucinus' *abundantia*); *ep.* 64.8, 77.7–9 (Fabiola's return from Palestine); 53.10–11 (Paulinus of Nola); 57.2.2 (Eusebius Cremonensis, *vir apud suos haut ignobilis*); *ep.* 145.5 (Exuperantius): *pulsavi amicitiarum fores; ... non crebro habebis hospites*. On contacts to Rome *ep.* 47.3.1 (to Desiderius): *quodsi exemplaria libuerit mutari, vel a sancta Marcella, quae manet in Aventino, vel a Loth temporis nostri, Domnione, viro sanctissimo accipere poteris*. The Roman circle kept in close touch with ascetic circles in Upper Italy and Aquitania, see Rebenich, *Hieronymus*, 195–97 and Mratschek, *Briefwechsel*, 468–72.

46 Sulp. Sev. *dial.* 1.8–9, esp. 1.7.6: *non fuit animus ibi consistere, ubi recens fraternae cladis fervebat invidia*. 1.8.1: *Igitur inde digressus Betleem oppidum petii, quod ab Hierosolymis sex milibus separatur, ab Alexandria autem sedecim mansionibus abest*. See Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, 179.

47 On hospitality in Caesarea, Sasima and Podanos see Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, 66, on the hospitality of the deaconess Magna at Ancyra Pall. *h. Laus.* 66–68 also.

munally gathered together by the owners where the surfeit of wealth is piled high.”⁴⁸ No wonder this “new city” was called *Basileias* after its founder.

3 Overcoming social barriers: Xenodochia in Italy

In the Roman West, affluent senators would indicate their Christian sympathies by establishing a *xenodochium* in *Portus Traiani*, the port of Rome and first landfall for foreigners arriving from every part of the world, and a *nosocomium* in the city proper.⁴⁹ In the “performative space” of letter exchange and in the dialogue between preacher and audience, those who practised hospitality metamorphosed into heroes and heroines in the eschatologically advancing history of salvation.⁵⁰ An exhilarated Jerome writes that Pammachius had “transplanted a twig from Abraham’s tree to the Ausonian shore”, at the point where Aeneas had landed after his odysseys.⁵¹ Jerome differed from Vergil and Gregory of Nazianzus in entertaining no dream of a newly founded city; fusing pagan imagery from Rome’s mythical past – depictions of the Trojans devouring their “tables” – with diminutives expressive of Christian humility, he sketches his own personal imagining of Pammachius’ hostel for strangers: “a small village such as his”, Bethlehem, a new “House of Bread”.⁵² Given appropriate conduct, he holds out to the new ascetic, Pammachius, (and to himself) the prospect of a similar destiny to that of their shared role model Abraham: “After dispensing hospitality

48 Greg. Naz. *or.* 43.63: Καλὸν φιλανθρωπία καὶ πτωχοτροφία καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀσθενείας βοήθημα. Μικρὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως πόελλε καὶ θέασαι τὴν καινὴν πόλιν, τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας ταμείον, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐχόντων θησαύρισμα, εἰς ὃ τὰ περιττὰ τοῦ πλούτου ... Cf. Basil *ep.* 94, on the name Soz. *h.e.* 6.34.9. See Van Dam, *Becoming Christians*, 95.

49 Hier. *ep.* 66.11 (to Pammachius), and *ep.* 77.6 (to Fabiola). See Cain’s suggestion (*Letters of Jerome*, 177) that the two letters should be read “in tandem”.

50 Jennifer V. Ebbeler, *Pedants in the Apparel of Heroes? Cultures of Latin Letter-Writing from Cicero to Ennodius*. (Ph.D. diss. University of Pennsylvania, 2001), 163–68 on strategies of letter exchange through which the writer of a letter can manipulate his own identity and that of his correspondent.

51 Hier. *ep.* 66.11.1: *Audio te xenodochium in portu fecisse Romae et virgam de arbore Abraham in Ausonio plantasse litore, quasi Aeneas nova castra metaris et super undam Thybridis, ubi ille cogente quondam penuria crustis fatalibus et quadris patulis non pepercit ...* On Abraham Ambr. *Gen.* 18.8, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 7.115.

52 Hier. *ep.* 66.11.1: ... *tu viculum nostrum, id est domum panis, aedificas et diuturnam famem repentina saturitate compensas.* “House of Bread” is the translation of Bethlehem, see Eusebius *Hieronymus*, trans. Ludwig Schade, BKV 1 (Kempten, München: Josef Kösel, 1914), 161, n. 4.

on so many occasions ..., he was deemed worthy to offer it to God as his guest”.⁵³ All the world had heard about Pammachius’ hostel for foreigners in the port of Rome, Jerome affirms;⁵⁴ but his charity competed with that of Fabiola, whose endowments reached far beyond the imperial capital to the islands and monastic communities of the Tyrrhenian Sea: “Rome was too small for her charity”, Jerome declared with reference to the high point of her life:⁵⁵ “Her pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where she was received by a great crowd of people and had briefly enjoyed *his* hospitality”.⁵⁶

In Nola, at the centre of the crisis-hit Roman empire, by the tomb of Felix the martyr, Paulinus erected heavenly dwellings, *caelestes mansiones* (*Ep.* 32.18), the *Basilica Nova*, a poorhouse, a monastery and pilgrim hostel. Paulinus and his monks lived in close contact with the destitute, whose physical presence and prayers constituted “the foundations” in the lower storey,⁵⁷ while he himself, Therasia, the monks and favoured guests (*boni*) occupied cells in the monastery’s upper storey.⁵⁸ As with Basil, the ascetic centre was by c. 400 coming to look increasingly like a “large city”, in the end outstripping Nola’s old city centre, Cimitile.⁵⁹ The hospitality concept dominated Paulinus’ thinking to the point where he felt himself to be the guest of the saint whose bones he revered here: Felix was the master of the house where he lived, the *dominaedius* of Nola.⁶⁰

53 Hier. *ep.* 66.11: *Et tamen, postquam crebro hospitalitatis officio, dum homines non refutat, suscipere meruit deum* (sc. Abraham).

54 Hier. *ep.* 77.10.3: *xenodochium in portu Romano situm totus pariter mundus audivit.*

55 Hier. *ep.* 77.6.5: *Angusta misericordiae Roma fuit.* A catalogue of innumerable sufferings combined with a Virgilian litotes (*Aen.* 6.625–27) enhances the statement’s impact.

56 Hier. *ep.* 77.7.1: *Unde repente et contra opinionem Hierosolymam navigavit, ubi multorum excepta concursu nostro parumper usa est hospitio.*

57 Paul. Nol. *carm.* 21.389–94: *Subdita pauperibus famulatur porticus aegris / ... hospitii inopumque salubria praestat / vulneribus nostris consortia sede sub una, / commoda praestemus nobis ut amica vicissim, / fundamenta illi confirmet nostra precantes, / nos fraterna inopum foveamus corpora tecto.*

58 Paul. Nol. *carm.* 21.386–87 (in the annexe of the Basilica Vetus): *Post haec geminato tegmine crevit / structa domus, nostris quae nunc manet hospita cellis.* *carm.* 27.397 (Lodgings for the *boni* in the upper storey); *ep.* 29.13 (*celluli hospitales*). See Tomas Lehmann, *Paulinus Nolanus und die Basilica Nova in Cimitile/Nola* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), 205–7 and Mratschek, *Briefwechsel*, 60, 550–52.

59 Paul. Nol. *carm.* 18.180: *magna ... urbs.* See Mratschek, *Briefwechsel*, 250–52.

60 On concepts of *amicitia* and *hospitium*, see Paulinus’ (*ep.* 13.21 to Pammachius) appeal for hospitality: *Aperiamus et nos domicilia nostra fratribus ..., dum omnis advenae transitum prompta humanitate suscipimus.* Felix as *communis patronus dominaedius meus/noster* (*ep.* 5.15; 32.10); *dilectissimus dominaedius noster* (*ep.* 18.3); *dominaedius meus/noster* (*ep.* 28.6; 29.13; *carm.* 23.109);

It was a great boost for the reputation of the shrine and its guardian – on this Paulinus and Cicero⁶¹ agree – when Melania the Elder, grand-daughter of the consul Antonius Marcellinus,⁶² chose Paulinus’ monastery for her first night’s rest in Italy upon returning home to Rome from her twenty-seven-year pilgrimage to the Orient.⁶³ The presence of prominent visitors from Theodosian court circles such as Flora, related to the proconsul Aemilius Florus Paternus, and the wife of the ex-consul Baebianus illustrates the extent to which court establishment had found its way into the most fashionable resort of ascetic Christianity in Italy.⁶⁴ Paulinus, who saw his own life as a journey (*peregrinatio*) in quest of Felix, recorded their respective *adventus* in his letters and poems. He described the seven aristocrats (*proceres*) from the clan of Melania the Younger, who sat among his audience in 407, on the feast day of Felix, to listen to their host’s poetic autobiography, as *munera*, gifts prepared for him by the saint.⁶⁵ He hoped that they would settle as permanent guests (*sempiterni hospites*) in Nola.⁶⁶ Thanks to the network of Christian hospitality created by Paulinus, the monastery, after initial set-

Clarus as Sulpicius Severus’ permanent guest (*perpetuus hospes*) thanks to the relics at Primuliacum (*ep.* 32.6). See Mratschek, “Hospitality,” 512–14 and “Friendship,” 724.

61 Cic. *off.* 2.64: *Est enim ... valde decorum patere domos hominum inlustrium hospitibus inlustribus ...*

62 Paul. *Nol. ep.* 29.8: *Marcellino consule avo*. He was *cos.* 341, see *PLRE* I. 548–49 s.v. Marcellinus 16.

63 Paul. *Nol. ep.* 29.9 on Melania’s reception by the *magna et potentissimorum et carorum propinquorum Romae copia* early in the year 400.

64 Aug. *cura mort.* 1.1: *scripsisti per homines filiae nostrae religiosissimae Florae ...* She had settled in Nola with her household. See John Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court A.D. 364–425* (Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1990), 144, and Dennis E. Trout, *Paulinus of Nola. Life, Letters, and Poems* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1999), 42.

65 Paul. *Nol. carm.* 21.203–6: *videtis omnes munera hoc anno data / vobis in uno iuncta Felicis sinu, / mancipia Christi, nobiles terrae prius / nunc vero caelo destinatos incolas*. See Anika L. Kleinschmidt: *Ich-Entwürfe in spätantiker Dichtung. Ausonius, Paulinus von Nola und Paulinus von Pella* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2013), 205–7. On Paulinus’ *peregrinatio(nes)* to Nola, cf. Paul. *Nol. ep.* 5.4: *... denique ut a calumniis et peregrinationibus requiem capere visus sum ...*; *carm.* 21.398–99: *Inde propinquos trans iuga Pyrenes adii peregrinus Hiberos*. Paulinus’ perception of *peregrinus* as one coming home to God (or Felix) and pilgrim does not in my view conflict with Augustine’s perception, cf. Mratschek, *Briefwechsel*, 210–11, 569, different view in Gillian Clark, “Pilgrims and Foreigners: Augustine on Travelling Home,” in *Travel, Communication and Geography in Late Antiquity. Sacred and Profane*, eds. Linda Ellis and Frank L. Kidner (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2004): 155.

66 Paul. *Nol. carm.* 21. 266–69: *Hos ergo Felix in suo sinu abditos / mandante Christo condidit tectis suis / mecum sumpsit sempiternos hospites*.

backs,⁶⁷ was transformed into a meeting-place for rich and poor and an interface of communication between church and state. In addition to streams of pilgrims from southern and central Italy year after year coming to the tomb of Felix, the shrine at Nola received more than 40 named individual guests and journeying groups from Palestine, Egypt, Asia Minor, North Africa, Dacia and Gaul.⁶⁸

4 Hospitality culture and global connectivity

Networks of hospitality and cooperation linking places far apart brought the Christian world of Late Antiquity closer together. An exchange agreement (*foedus*) would be sealed with guest gifts, eulogies and relics, or through the ritual of the joined hands.⁶⁹ The means of implementation were the organisation and transfer of knowledge, which turned the Mediterranean into a circulating library.⁷⁰ Recited at Nola before Melania the Elder and Nicetas of Remesiana, Sulpicius Severus' *Life of Martin* had made its way from Gaul to Italy, Egypt and Illyricum,⁷¹ and his *Dialogues* had been transmitted as far as Palestine, where they were read by Jerome in Bethlehem in 412.⁷² After Nicetas, in 403, had come directly from Dacia for a second time to see Paulinus, who gave him a guided tour of his monastery and a *Natalicium* (9), the ascetic centres of Augustine in

67 Instead of Sulpicius Severus, the *pueri* of Severus came to Nola in early summer 396 and Victor c. 400, and, instead of Victricius, his deacon Paschasius and the latter's travel companion Ursus in July 397/98.

68 See the list of visitors and guests, Mratschek, *Briefwechsel*, 640–42 and “Hospitality,” 552–53.

69 On exchanges of eulogies and relics, see Mratschek, *Briefwechsel*, 427–43. On the gesture between Nicetas of Remesiana and Paulinus of Nola, cf. Paul. Nol. *carm.* 27.346–48: *Nodemus socias in vincula mutua palmas / inque vicem nexis alterno foedere dextris / sermones varios gressu spatiantem seramus.*

70 On the desire for “worldwide dissemination” see Uran. *ep. de obitu* 3: *Martinus ... cuius vita ab omnibus legitur*. Likewise Sulpicius Severus on Jerome's works (*dial.* 1.8.4): *cum per totum orbem legatur* (sc. *Hieronymus*). See Mratschek, *Briefwechsel*, 463–64, and “Zirkulierende Bibliotheken. Medien der Wissensvermittlung & christliche Netzwerke,” in *L'étude des correspondances dans le monde romain*, ed. Jean-Christophe Jolivet et al. (Lille: Halma, 2011): 325–50.

71 Sulp. Sev. *dial.* 2 (3).17.4: *... ut mox per illum nostrum libellum non per Italiam tantum, sed per totum etiam diffudit Illyricum. dial.* 2 (3) 17.5–7: *Ad Africam ... Carthagini* (5), *ad laevam Achaiae sinum ... Corinthus, ... Athenae* (6), *ad Aegyptum ... universae Asiae* (7).

72 Hier. in Ezech. 11.36.1.5: *... et nuper Severus noster in dialogo cui 'Gallo' nomen imposuit ...*

Africa, of Severus in Gaul, and in Dacia also knew about the new buildings at Nola.⁷³

It is the points where the boundaries between East and West were overcome through the practice of hospitality that best illustrate the closely-knit nature of the networks already linking the Christian centres in the fourth century. Hospitality shown by the aristocrat Paula at Rome in her urban palace to two bishops, Epiphanius of Salamis (Constantia), and Paulinus of Antioch, during the synod of 382 under Pope Damasus, provided the impetus for her pilgrimage – and her hospitality was duly returned on Cyprus and at Antioch in compliance with the established norms.⁷⁴ Friendships made in the Holy Land would be renewed in the West. Palladius and Melania the Elder were neighbours on the Mount of Olives; Melania the Younger and Pinianus generously hosted Palladius and his companions in their palace in 405, when he came to Rome, following the deposition of John Chrysostom as bishop of Constantinople, with a mission to seek diplomatic backing. “They entertained us with hospitality and abundant provisions for the journey”, the bishop of Helenopolis recalled, “gaining for themselves with great joy only the fruit of eternal life by their god-given works of the best way of life”.⁷⁵

We encounter the younger Melania’s senatorial relations again after the fall of Rome, in Africa, staying with Paulinus’ correspondents Augustine and Alypius. Augustine accompanies his apology for not having immediately visited those “who have fled (Alaric) across the sea and have come from a great distance

73 On the second visit to Italy see Paul. Nol. *carm.* 27.233–34: ... *longinqua tellure mihi modo missus* (sc. *Nicetas*) *ad istum / ecce diem venit* ... Augustine quotes Paul. Nol. *carm.* 23 (*nat.* 7), *carm.* 18 (*nat.* 6); Nicetas receives Paul. Nol. *carm.* 27 (*nat.* 9), Severus a *natalicium*, see Mratschek, *Briefwechsel*, 224, 413–14.

74 Hier. *ep.* 108.6.1: ... *quorum Epiphanium etiam hospitem habuit, Paulinum in aliena manentem domo, quasi proprium, humanitate possedit.* 108.7.2–3: ... *tandem vidit Cyprum, ubi sancti et venerabilis Epiphanii pedibus provoluta decem ab diebus retenta est...* *Inde brevi cursu transfretavit Seleuciam, de qua ascendens Antiochiam, sancti confessoris Paulini modicum caritate detenta* ... See Cain, *Letters of Jerome*, 131–32.

75 Pall. *h. Laus.* 61.7: ... ἀναπαύσαντες ἡμᾶς καὶ ξενδοχείᾳ καὶ ἐφοδίῳ δαψιλεστάτοις, μετὰ πολλῆς χαρᾶς καρπούμενοι τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν τοῖς θεοδωρήτοις ἔργοις τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας. On Palladius and Melania the Elder see Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage* 184–85, on support for John Chrysostom Peter Brown, “The Patrons of Pelagius”, in *Religion and Society in the Age of Saint Augustine*, ed. Peter Brown (London: Wipf and Stock, 1972): 210–15 and Wolfgang Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops. Army, Church and State in the Age of Arcadius and Chrysostom* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 225–26.

to see him” with an indirect invitation to Hippo.⁷⁶ Putting an embarrassing episode during the visit there behind them – Augustine had difficulty in rescuing the enormously rich Pinianus from enforced ordination as a priest⁷⁷ – the family lived for seven years on their extensive estates near Thagaste and built two autonomous monasteries before deciding about 417 to move permanently to Palestine.⁷⁸ In the East, Melania’s itineraries crossed with those of members from the Theodosian court.

Lausus, formerly *praepositus sacri cubiculi* to Theodosius II, dedicatee of Palladius’ *Historia Lausiaca*, received Melania in 436 at his palace, which was renowned for its unique collection of pagan statues in fifth-century Constantinople.⁷⁹ The Empress Aelia Eudocia, meeting Melania three years later on her way to Palestine, honoured her by attending in person at the consecration of the martyr’s shrine for Stephen in Jerusalem, which she had had constructed alongside the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives.⁸⁰ Such encounters and rituals contributed to the transformation of Palestine into a “Utopian” sacred world,⁸¹ now defined anew by its visitors – for whom it boosted perceived prestige and thus influence more powerfully than anything they could achieve in the real world.

Africa, “suffering under its notorious dryness” and by “the spiritual aridity of its nobility”, is thirsting for men like Paulinus:⁸² it was with such emotive appeals that Augustine implored the champion of the ascetic movement, barely ar-

76 Aug. *ep.* 124.1–2: ... *ad quos volatu maria transeunda fuerant, tam in proximo constitutos, tam de longinquo visendi nos gratia venientes ...* (2) ... *si haec civitas, in qua laboramus, digna non est, quia nec ego audeo dignam putare, quae nobiscum de vestra praesentia conlaetatur.*

77 Aug. *ep.* 125–26.

78 Aug. *ep.* 124–26; v. *Mel.* 34–35, esp. 22: “Ἐκτισαν δὲ καὶ μοναστήρια μεγάλα δύο ἐκεῖσε, παρασχόντες αὐτοῖς αὐτάρκη πρόσσοδον. See Elizabeth A. Clark, “Piety, Propaganda, and Politics in the Life of Melania the Younger”, *StudPatr* 18.2 (1989): 167 and 175.

79 Pall. *h. Laus.* Praef. (*ad Lausum bonae memoriae*) and 61 (Melania the Younger); v. *Mel.* 53: Καὶ ὑπεδέξατο ὁ κύριος Λαῦσος ὁ πρεπόσιτος ... See Cyril Mango, Michael Vickers, and E.D. Francis, “The Palace of Lausus at Constantinople and its Collection of Ancient Statues”, *Journal of the History of Collections* 4 (1992): 89–98.

80 v. *Mel.* 57–58, esp. 58, where the Empress requested that the ceremony be held in her presence. See Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage* 232–33 and Noel Lenski, “Empresses in the Holy Land: The Creation of a Christian Utopia in Late Antique Palestine”, in *Travel*, ed. Ellis and Kidner: 117.

81 Brilliantly observed by Lenski, “Empresses,” 122.

82 Aug. *ep.* 31.4 to Paulinus and Therasia: *Qua re non inprudenter rogo vos et flagito, ut in Africam maiore talium hominum siti quam siccitatis nobilitate laborantem venire dignemini.* This metaphor was an echo of an earlier Paulinus letter (Aug. *ep.* 25.2 = Paul. Nol. *ep.* 4.2): *Cuius desiderio sitivit in te anima mea, et ubertate tui fluminis inebriari terra mea concupivit.* On the invitations, see also Aug. *ep.* 27.6 and Mratschek, *Briefwechsel* 95–96.

rived in Nola (395/96), to come to Hippo in person. In March 405, reacting to news of the first invasion of northern Italy by Goths under Alaric, Augustine renewed his invitation to his friend to consider evacuating his monastery at Nola and bring his entire monastic community over to join him in Africa.⁸³ Both appeals failed. For readers trained in philosophy like Augustine and Cicero, all human beings were foreigners (*peregrinantes*) in their own earthly city wandering around like visitors (*hospites*) and seeking for their true home.⁸⁴ Paulinus for his part was firmly resolved “to stand fast at the place (i. e. Nola) where he was happier (*felicior*, i. e. closer to Felix)”.⁸⁵ He believed the bones of the saint to be the best protection against the barbarians, and on the eve of the battle of Pollentia had reaffirmed his heroic stance in a poem to Felix.⁸⁶ Augustine’s word-play on the name Felix can be seen to respond subtly to Paulinus’ style and argumentation.⁸⁷

The return of hospitality offered by Paulinus to the envoys from the African synods and from Augustine reminds us of the importance that Cicero ascribed to interactions with eminent guests from abroad in his treaty *On Obligations* (*off.* 2.64): “For those wishing to achieve a great deal in an honourable way it is exceedingly useful to have high standing among foreign peoples through one’s guests by means of wealth and favour”.⁸⁸ During the decade between

83 Aug. *Ep.* 80 with the new interpretation by Sigrid Mratschek, “Augustine, Paulinus, and the question of moving the monastery,” in *Inter cives necnon peregrinos. Essays in honour of Boudewijn Sirks*, eds. Jan Hallebeek et al. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014): 545–61.

84 Clark, “Pilgrims and Foreigners”, 149–58, esp. 156, compares Aug. *civ.* 1.1 with reference to *civitas peregrina*, seeking its home in the *stabilitas sedis aeternae*, with Cic. *acad.* 1.3.9: *Nam nos in nostra urbe peregrinantis errantisque tamquam hospites ...* Ambrose too (*Abr.* 1.5.34) asserts that as temporary sojourners on earth we are strangers, with only limited-duration hospitality rights, and will shortly depart hence: *omnes in hoc incolatu hospites sumus; ad tempus enim habitandi habemus hospitium: emigremus propere*. On the metaphor of life as a journey, see Marion Giebel, *Reisen in der Antike* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1999), 207–11, with different examples.

85 See discussion of the little question (*quaestiuncula*) in Aug. *ep.* 80.2: *... cum dixisses ita de illo, quo felicior uteris, loco perseverare decrevisse, ut, si quid de te aliud domino placuerit, eius voluntatem praeferas tuae*.

86 Paulinus had reaffirmed his heroic stance on 14 January 402, the eve of the battle of Pollentia, in a festal poem to Felix (*carm.* 26.22–25): *Hunc (sc. Felicis sanctum diem) ego, si Getis agerem male subditus armis, / inter et inmites celebrarem laetus Alanos, / et si multiugae premerent mea colla catenae, / captivis animum membris non iungeret hostis ...*

87 On the wordplay with the name, e. g. Paul. *Nol. carm.* 21.414–15: *tu Felix semper felix mihi ... / perpetua pater et custos pietate fuisti*.

88 Cic. *off.* 2.64 (on *hospites illustres* and *homines externi*): *Est enim vehementer utile iis, qui honeste posse multum volunt, per hospites apud externos populos valere opibus et gratia*.

398 and 408, with Nola already recognised as Italy's prime hub for church politics, and before Paulinus was ordained bishop, diplomatic activity increased rapidly. Augustine noted with mixed feelings that sojourns at Nola by delegations of African bishops were becoming a permanent phenomenon: "When the brethren, our most intimate friends, see you constantly", he wrote to Paulinus, "and you frequently return their greetings, mutually desirous of each other's company, it is not so much an enhancement of my happiness as an assuagement of misfortune".⁸⁹

Analysis of Augustine's "unwritten letters", salutations and allusions together with minutes of African synods and imperial constitutions permits us to infer how many delegations travelling on secret business and led by bishops and other clergy (including Theasius, Evodius of Uzalis, Possidius of Calama, Fortunatianus, Severus of Mileve, Restitutus and Florentius) stopped over at the Nola monastery in order to seek advice from Paulinus before continuing their journey to the imperial court or to meet the bishop in Rome.⁹⁰ Networking beyond the confines of the Mediterranean proved a successful strategy for interventions against circumcellions and pagans in North Africa, for agitation against the usurper Gildo or against the rehabilitation of the monk Pelagius – and also for the transfer of knowledge. Effects and counter-effects stemming from the hospitality it afforded led to Nola becoming involved in internal church conflicts and gaining fresh political influence, while the human mix of the monastic community varied constantly in the ever-changing stream of visitors.⁹¹

5 Conflicts and hospitality: Asylum

No subject is as explosive as asylum for victims of political persecution, and nothing more illuminating with regard to the ethics of hospitality. During Late Antiquity, asylum was granted in cases of barbarian invasion, ecclesiastical dis-

⁸⁹ Aug. ep. 95.1: *Cum vos (i.e. Paulinum) fratres nostri coniunctissimi nobis, quos nobiscum desiderati desiderare et salutati resalutare consuestis, assidue vident, non tam augentur bona nostra quam consolantur mala.*

⁹⁰ Sigrd Mratschek, "The unwritten Letters of Augustine of Hippo", in *Scrinium Augustini. The World of Augustine's Letters*, eds. Przemysław Nehring et al., IPM 76 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017): 57–77 = expanded English version of "Die ungeschriebenen Briefe des Augustinus von Hippo," in *'In Search of Truth': Augustine, Manichaeism and other Gnosticism. Studies for Johannes van Oort at Sixty*, eds. Jacob A. van den Berg et al. (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011): 109–22.

⁹¹ E.g. during the papal election of 419, see Mratschek, *Briefwechsel*, 512–17, 643, for aristocrats see "Hospitality," 539–45.

pute, and of the state exceeding its power encroachment on individual rights. The German Republic's Basic Law (Art. 16a) provides that there must be intentional violation of human rights on the part of the state, calculated by its intensity to exclude the victim from the community, and grave enough to violate the victim's human dignity. But what is the nature of the "hospitality" appropriate to those seeking asylum? Ambrose answers: "Such is the grace inherent in hospitality that we joyfully accept all associated perils along with it".⁹² In his first sermon as a young priest in Antioch, John Chrysostom had praised Bishop Flavianus with an allusion to Cicero, because "he opened" the house of his forefathers "at all times to those from any part of the world who were suffering persecution for the sake of the truth", so that it seemed less "his house" than a "house of strangers".⁹³ As a combative bishop of Constantinople he granted asylum ("a place to rest") to the monks banished from Egypt by Bishop Theophilus, while his own fellow-bishop Acacius of Beroea complained bitterly of having failed to find any comfortable lodging⁹⁴ – and so made enemies of Acacius and Theophilus, who both urged that John be deposed and sent into exile.⁹⁵

Anecdotes that stylise John, the court bishop, as the bishop of the poor and oppressed,⁹⁶ the bishop who breached traditional norms of church law and Christian hospitality, tend to conceal deeper political motivations and disappointed expectations. Support for the Egyptian monks had to do with the power struggle that smouldered for years between Alexandria and Constantinople, and the right of appeal direct to the bishop attached to the imperial court.⁹⁷

⁹² Ambr. in *Luc.* 5.35: *Tanta hospitalitatis gratia, ut libenter in nos aliena pericula transferam.*

⁹³ Joh. Chrys. *serm.* 8 in *Gen.* 1.4. Cf. Cic. *off.* 1.139: *nec domo dominus, sed domino domus honestanda est, et, ut in ceteris habenda ratio non sua solum, sed etiam aliorum ...* Sidon. *ep.* 4.1.1 (on Consentius' villa): *qui ... hospites epulis, te pascit hospitibus ...*

⁹⁴ On the expulsion of the Egyptian monks and an asylum for them in the Anastasis in Constantinople, see Pall. *dial.* 6–7, esp. 7,87–89: *καὶ δοῦς αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀναστασίᾳ καλουμένη ἐκκλησίᾳ μονὰς τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν ...* On Acacius' guest-room Pall. *dial.* 6,8–10: *Συνέβη δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ ἐπιστάντα Ἀκάκιον, τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Βεροίας, ἀστοχῆσαι, ὡς ἔλεγεν, καταγωγίου καλοῦ.*

⁹⁵ Arrian in Photius, *Bibl.* 59 (ed. Henri, vol. 1, 52) on the accusers at the Synod of the Oak in July 403: *ἐν ἧ ὑπῆρχον κατάρχοντες Θεόφιλος τε ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας, Ἀκάκιος ὁ Βεροίας ...*

⁹⁶ On his way into exile, John Chrysostom wrote to his rich patroness Olympias, perhaps inspired by personal experience, that "it was the peasants and manual workers who took in and in every way supported those who had been driven from their homes by the mighty" (*ep.* 75b,18–20): *τοὺς δὲ ἀγοραῖοι καὶ χειροτέχνηαι ὑποδεχόμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐν δυναστείας ἐλαυρομένους πάντα ἐθεράπευσον τρόπον ...*

⁹⁷ But cf. the ordinance forbidding bishops any involvement in the affairs of other dioceses, Conc. Nicaenum a. 325, *can.* 5: *Conciliengeschichte. Nach den Quellen bearbeitet von Carl Joseph Hefele, vol. I² (Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1873), 386–88; Conc. Constantinopolitanum a. 381, can. 2,*

The inferior quality of Acacius' guest suite takes on new meaning when seen in its political context. From an early date (381) Acacius had been one of the most forceful advocates of the election of Flavianus, and had been placed by John in 398 at the head of a delegation sent to the bishop of Rome to plead for the re-admission of Flavianus to the church and to end the Antiochene schism. The issue, therefore, was not simply a breach of etiquette arising because the ascetic John Chrysostom (in contrast to Ambrose) had done away with the practice of holding guest banquets in the episcopal palace,⁹⁸ but John's failure, as a bishop of Constantinople, to bestow on Acacius the privileged treatment and the supportive patronage that his loyalty merited.

In addition to Greek temple asylum, a further possibility in Classical Antiquity was to flee to the sacrosanct statues of the emperor or seek asylum in churches – alternatives that were taken up as early as 343 and were enshrined in the laws of the Theodosian Code (9.45.1–4) from 392 to 431.⁹⁹ Where John Chrysostom by hosting Egyptian monks breached the church's traditional legal norms forbidding the export of a diocesan matter beyond that diocese's frontiers, Augustine exploited every possible legal remedy whenever state security forces, by breaching church asylum rights, trespassed literally on church ground. As bishop of Hippo he sent off three terse and forceful protest letters to the competent authorities (*ep.* 114–16) – to Florentinus, an officer of Boniface, Count (*comes*) of Africa, to the bishop of Cirta Fortunatus, and to Generosus, governor (*consularis*) of Numidia – in which he intervened against the arrest, by the commander of the coastguards, of a tenant farmer named Faventius whom fear of his rich landlord had driven to seek refuge in the church at Hippo. In the letters, the bishop argued in favour of applying the exceptional law (*CTh* 9.2.6)¹⁰⁰ conceding to any detained person, on request, the right to moderate mu-

vol. II² (Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1875), 15–17. Claudia Tiersch, *Johannes Chrysostomus in Konstantinopel (398–404)* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 331–34.

98 Guests were rare at his episcopal table, cf. Pall. *dial.* 12.17: Ὁμολόγηται μὲν ὅτι μόνος ἦσθιεν. But cf. the praise of Theodoret in Photius, *Bibl.* 508a (ed. Henry, vol. 8, 108): Καὶ τίς Ἰωάννου φιλοξενώτερος; on this, see Tiersch, *Johannes Chrysostomus*, 165–66, and on the difference between Ambrose and John entertaining guests at meals, cf. McLynn, *Ambrose*, 247.

99 On how the canonical legislation was being applied in practice in 343, see Conc. Serdicense, *can.* 5, ed. Cuthbert H. Turner, *Ecclesiae occidentalis monumenta iuris antiquissima*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899), 462: ... *saepe contigit ut ad misericordiam ecclesiae confugiant* ... See Harald Siems, “Asyl in der Kirche? Wechsellagen des Kirchenasyls im Mittelalter”, in *Das antike Asyl. Kulturelle Grundlagen, rechtliche Ausgestaltung und politische Funktion*, ed. Martin Dreher (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna, 2003: Böhlau): 266–68.

100 Aug. *ep.* 113 (CSEL 34/2 659): ... *non solum eximietas tua sed etiam ipse, quisquis ille est, in cuius causa Faventius sic raptus est, merito me culpabit et recte reprehendet iudicans utique, si*

nicipal custody for 30 days in the town of his arrest, to enable him to put his affairs in order. When a tax evader, Fascius, was unable to pay off his tax debt of 17 *solidi* in a single sum and fled to church refuge rather than be handed over to the tax-collectors,¹⁰¹ the bishop personally borrowed the requisite sum from a certain Macedonicus and paid it over.¹⁰² On expiry of the asylum right and the loan term with no solution yet in sight, Augustine directed that the necessary sum should be raised from a collection and if necessary the church funds.¹⁰³

The notably broad interpretation of Christian right-of-asylum, without regard to rank, religious denomination or political sympathies of the individuals concerned, is reflected by the cases of two top officials – Eutropius, consul and grand chamberlain at the imperial court in Constantinople, and Marinus, *comes rei militaris* of Italy and Africa.¹⁰⁴ Eutropius who had stripped the churches of their right to grant asylum, after his fall from favour in 399, sought asylum himself at the altar of the first church of St. Sophia;¹⁰⁵ and John Chrysostom, in his celebrated sermon on the “vanity of earthly glory”, seized the opportunity to

etiam ipse ad auxilium ecclesiae confugisset, ... rogo itaque benignitatem ... hoc interim apud apparitorem, qui eum tenet, petitionem meam adiuuare digneris ut faciat, quod imperatoris lege praecipitur (CTh 9.2.6), ut eum apud acta municipalia interrogari faciat, utrum sibi velit dies triginta concedi, quibus agat sub moderata custodia in ea civitate, in qua detentus est, ut sua ordinet sumptusque provideat. See Stanisław Adamiak, “Asking für Human Mercy. Augustine’s Intercession with the Men in Power”, in *Scrinium Augustini. The World of Augustine’s Letters*, eds. Przemysław Nehring et al., IPM 76 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017): 19–40, esp. 35–36. – CTh 9.2.6 was promulgated by Caecilianus on 21 Jan. 409, *PPO Italiae et Illyrici* (PLRE II. 244–46, s.v. Caecilianus 1) under Honorius and Theodosius.

101 Aug. ep. 268.1–3, esp. ep. 268.1: *Cum enim frater noster Fascius debito decem et septem solidorum ab opinatoribus urgeretur, ut redderet, quod ad praesens, unde explicaret se, non inveniebat, ne corporalem pateretur iniuriam, ad auxilium sanctae ecclesiae convolavit.*

102 Aug. ep. 268.1: *Illi enim exactores ... gravissimis me querelis oneraverunt ita, ut eis illum traderem ... Ita ergo maiore necessitate coartatus a fratre nostro Macedonio decem et septem solidos accepi, quos in causam eius continuo dedi ...*

103 Aug. ep. 268.3 to plebs and presbyters of Hippo: *Scripti etiam presbyteris, ut, si quid minus fuerit post conlationem sanctitatis vestrae, compleant ex eo, quod habet ecclesia ...*

104 PLRE II. 440–44 s.v. Eutropius 1 and *PCBE de l’Afrique* 704 s.v. Marinus 4; PLRE II. 724 s.v. Marinus 1.

105 Joh. Chrys. *Eutrop.* 1 (PG 52, 392): Καὶ ἡ μὲν πολημηθεῖσα Ἐκκλησία παρὰ σοῦ τοὺς κόλπους ἤπλωσε καὶ ἐπεδέξατο (“The church that you had wronged opened her arms and took you in”). Cf. *Eutrop.* 3 (PG 52, 593): “Ὅτι, φησὶν, εἰς ἐκκλησίαν κατέφυγεν ὁ πολεμήσας αὐτὴν διηνεκῶς. The *Great Church* at Constantinople, which according to Socrates (*h.e.* 2.16) was renamed at the end of the fourth century, in his lifetime, as the church of the sacred Wisdom (*Sophia*), was the predecessor of the famed *Hagia Sophia* of Justininian; see Gilbert Dagron, *Naissance d’une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974), 399, 500.

defend his enemy's life, initially against the populace, then the military and finally the emperor himself.¹⁰⁶

Marinus, during the persecution of supporters of Heraclianus, had on 13 September 413 ordered the execution of two of Augustine's friends – Fl. Marcellinus, who had presided over the Carthage conference of 411, and his brother Apringius, proconsul of Africa;¹⁰⁷ yet Marinus too enjoyed the protection of the church. There were more than 14 chapters to the report with which Augustine complained about Marinus to His Excellency Caecilianus,¹⁰⁸ former praetorian prefect of the West, currently successor to the executed Apringius empowered by the court to deal with the 'rebellion of Heraclian':¹⁰⁹ "He who had cruelly thrown the entire Church into mourning", after his own fall from power, "took refuge under the Church's right of asylum (sc. at Carthage) after offending his pa-

106 See the sermon on "Ματαιότης ματαιότητων, καὶ πάντα ματαιότης" (Joh. Chrys. *Eutrop.* 1: PG 52, 391), in which the bishop characterised Eutropius – alluding to *Eccl.* 1.2. – as an example of the "transience of earthly glory". Joh. Chrys. *Eutrop.* 2 (PG 52, 393): Τῆ γὰρ προτεραίᾳ, ὅτε ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἦλθον ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν αὐλῶν πρὸς βίαν ἀφελκῦσαι βουλόμενοι, καὶ τοῖς σκεύεσι προσέδραμε τοῖς ἱεροῖς (The day before, when soldiers came from the imperial palace to take him by force, he fled into the sanctuary and to the altar). *Eutr.* 5 (PG 52, 396): ἐξαρπάσωμεν τοῦ κινδύνου τὸν αἰχμάλωτον, τὸν φυγάδα, τὸν ἰκέτην, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν ἐπιτύχωμεν ... (Let us therefore save the captive, the refugee, the supplicant from peril, that we may ourselves be rewarded in Heaven). Cf. Socr. *h.e.* 6.5 und Soz. *h.e.* 8.74. Eutropius initially got off lightly with confiscation of his possessions and exile on Cyprus, but then in 399 was executed for high treason (*CTh* 9.40.17). See Alan Cameron and Jacqueline Long: *Barbarians and Politics at the Court of Arcadius* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 318 and 325, and Dagron, *Constantinople*, 500.

107 *PLRE* II. 711–12 s.v. Fl. Marcellinus 10 and *PLRE* II. 123 s.v. Apringius 1. See Adamiak, "Asking für Human Mercy," 39 on Augustine's ambiguous stance, and Neil McLynn, "Augustine's Roman Empire," in *Christian Politics and Religious Culture in Late Antiquity*, ed. N. McLynn (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate Variorum, 2009): 40–43 on "the shock of Marcellinus's execution".

108 Cf. the contribution of Gillian Clark to the present volume (61–83).

109 "The most convenient hypothesis" to account for Caecilianus' presence at Carthage, see recently Brent D. Shaw, "Augustine and Men of Imperial Power," *Journal of Late Antiquity* 8 (2015): 46–47, who dates both Augustinian letters (*ep.* 86 and 151) to the year 413, after rejecting all of the long series of earlier reconstructions. In my view, however, an earlier dating for *ep.* 86 in 405 with Caecilianus as a vicar of Africa, probably promoted to proconsul (McLynn, "Augustine's Roman Empire," 37–38 and *PLRE* II. 245–46 s.v. Caecilianus 1, on the problems cf. *PCBE de l'Afrique* 178–79 s.v. Caecilianus 6) cannot be excluded, as "the proconsul of Africa received appeals from the other provinces of the African diocese, thus having in them a jurisdiction concurrent with that of the vicar." See Arnold H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire (LRE) 284–602* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 481, based on *CTh* 11.30.62 (A.D. 405) to Diotimus, the predecessor of Apringius, and Val. III, *Nov.* 13.12 (A.D. 445).

tron (the emperor Honorius). He could not be denied it”.¹¹⁰ Church asylum and the current power-political networks linking Marinus and Caecilianus had here prevailed over older ecclesiastical networks. Augustine, who had praised his old friend (*vetus amicum*) Caecilianus for his “diligence in Christian piety” (*pietatis Christianae diligentia*), who had claimed him as “a spiritual son” (*suscipiens filius*) and who in 409 had invoked the law of the praetorian prefect, now denounced the passivity of the selfsame *vir illustris* in the matter of the Marinus case as the conduct “of a catechumen” rather than that of a believer and dutiful official of his seniority, his past record and his righteousness:¹¹¹ “If you fail to exert yourself on behalf of the common good,” thundered the culminating passage of Augustine’s letter, before it broke off, “it would be better to spend your nights and days in sleep than to keep watch in labours of the state that bring no benefit to people”.¹¹²

110 Aug. ep. 151.11: *Gratuita igitur crudelitate nulla necessitate ... atrociter contristavit ecclesiam* (sc. Marinus), ... *cuius ecclesiae etiam ipse cum patronum offendisset, petiuit auxilium nec ei potuit denegari*. Marinus, zelo stimulatus an auro corruptus, was recalled from Africa and dismissed (Oros. *hist.* 7.42.17).

111 Aug. ep. 151.1: *Nam veterem amicum et ... talem ac tantum virum in peregrinis positum curisque publicis laborantem ... ep. 86: Administrationis tuae castitas et fama virtutum, pietatis quoque Christianae laudanda diligentia et fida sinceritas ... ep. 86: ... dolemus regionem Hipponensem-Regionum et ei vicinas partes confines Numidiae praesidiali edicti tui vigore nondum adiuvari meruisse, domine eximie et in Christi caritate vere meritoque honorabilis ac suscipiende fili*. Despite Shaw’s reservations (“Augustine and Men of Imperial Power,” 44–46) based on the common name and the wording of the edict, Caecilianus, the addressee of ep. 86 and 151, seems to be the same person as the high-ranking official who is styled *excellencia tua* (86; 151.14); on the appellate jurisdiction cf. Jones above, *LRE* 481 (n. 109). Yet it remains uncertain whether Caecilianus was a baptized Christian or a catechumen, as the address “suscipiente fili,” spiritual son, can mean either one. See Gillian Clark, “Letters and the City of God,” in *Scrinium Augustini. The World of Augustine’s Letters*, eds. Przemyslaw Nehring et al., IPM 76 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017): 192–94 citing Aug. ep. 1 A* to Firmus.

112 Aug. ep. 151.14: *Unum est autem ..., quod in te molestissime fero, quod, cum sis aetatis et huius vitae atque probitatis, adhuc vis esse catechumenus, quasi fideles non possint ..., tanto fidelius ac melius administrare rem publicam. ... Si enim hoc (i. e. quod bene sit hominibus) non agitis, vel dormire satius est noctes diesque quam vigilare in laboribus publicis nulli utilitate hominum profuturis*. Augustine’s wording “You still **wish** to be a catechumen” is to be understood as a reproach of passivity in “a beginner in Christian faith,” who should show greater commitment to receiving baptism. See Clark’s illuminating distinction, “Letters and the City of God,” esp. 202: A committed Christian, as opposed to a catechumen, “needed to act, not to discuss” Christian topics. Augustine alludes here to the broken promises to await the emperor’s reply, and to Caecilianus’ oath, likewise broken; cf. 151.5 (*falsae promissiones resp. nobis ita iurasti*). It must be doubted whether Augustine ever received a response to his “hard demands,” see Shaw, “Augustine and Men of Imperial Power,” 47. For a different view see McLynn, “Augustine’s Roman Em-

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pire,” 42–43, who dates Aug. *ep.* 151 too late “in the aftermath of Marcellinus’ rehabilitation” of 30 Aug. 414 (*CTh* 16.5.55 to Julianus, proconsul of Africa) and conjectures that Caecilianus needs Augustine’s endorsement.

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