

Multis enim notissima est sanctitas loci: *Paulinus and the Gradual Rise of Nola as a Center of Christian Hospitality*¹

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Thanks to the network of hospitality created by Paulinus, Nola was transformed from a rural sanctuary to a prominent cultural and ascetic center in Italy, becoming a major stop on the route from East to West and from South to North, as well as to the imperial court. This paper, offered as a supplement to the recent works on Paulinus, presents the first prosopographical analysis and chronological list of the visitors. Previously ignored sources not only provide an insight into the different social classes and aims of Paulinus' guests, but also illuminate the role the monastery played in religious politics under Honorius.

1. THE SILENCE OF AN AUTHOR

When Paulinus and his wife settled at Nola to "renounce" the world, the place didn't remain as lonely as it had been. Recently much time and

1. I am grateful to E. A. Clark (Duke Univ., Durham) and D. E. Trout (Columbia, Missouri), to whom we owe the pioneering works on Melania and Paulinus, for including this contribution in this volume. It is based on my forthcoming book *Der Briefwechsel des Paulinus von Nola. Kommunikation und soziale Kontakte zwischen christlichen Intellektuellen*, manuscript, Frankfurt am Main, 1998, 676 pp., 18 ill., Hypomnemata 134 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht); cited here as *Briefwechsel*. The letters and poems of Paulinus of Nola are quoted from the 2nd edition of W. von Hartel and M. Kampfner, CSEL 29 and 30 (*Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, 2nd ed., 202–3). The English translation of individual passages from the poems and letters are—with a few minor corrections—taken from P. G. Walsh, *Letters of Saint Paulinus of Nola* 1–2, ACW 35–36 (New York: Ramsey, 1966–67), *The Poems of Paulinus of Nola*, ACW 40 (New York: Ramsey, 1975) and W. Parsons, *Saint Augustine, Letters*, 1, 4; NPNF 12, 30. I am indebted to D. G. Wigg for textual improvements, to H. Sivan and JECSS's anonymous referees for their supportive suggestions.

effort has been spent (e.g. by D. E. Trout, M. Skeb, J. Desmulliez, C. Conybeare, and recently published by R. Kirstein) in showing how Nola rose to become a famous religious and cultural center, as well as showing the web of spiritual ideas which was hidden behind this external change. Nevertheless the picture remains incomplete and strangely blurred, if it is based solely or even mainly on the protagonist's own description of the ascetic center he created, found in his letters and poems.

Much like Ambrose and Basil of Caesarea, the one-time senator saw no contradiction in combining ascetic ideals with active participation in public and ecclesiastical affairs. But the fact that he remains stubbornly silent on the matter has led many contemporary and modern scholars to assume the opposite. This paper presents the first prosopographical analysis of more than forty visitors whose names are known to us, as well as of the numerous groups of travellers. It widens our horizon and gives examples of the role the monastery played in religious politics under Honorius, and the impulses it provided in solving conflicts between state and church. Previously ignored sources from other collections of letters, the minutes of African synods, imperial rescripts and letters illuminate the diplomatic activities that took place in the monastery at Nola, but about which Paulinus himself remains silent.

Paulinus' motive in founding his monastic community—and in his annual pilgrimage to the feast of the Apostles at Rome—was not only rooted in his personal reverence for the saints, but also in a desire to have his ascetic ideals recognised by the elites of the Empire and the Church. The analysis of the visitors to Nola and their individual historical contexts reveals how the ever-changing stream of visitors altered the face of the monastic community. Nola's gradual rise reflects the individual phases of the gradual recognition which Paulinus sought and achieved first in monastic circles, then among the Christian, aristocratic and episcopal elites, and finally at the imperial court. Accordingly special emphasis is placed on exploring and tracing in detail the network of hospitality created by Paulinus around Nola, and on the concomitant rise of Nola from an obscure provincial center to a major stop on the routes from East to West and from South to North, as well as to the imperial court.

2. HOSPITALITY

In order to gain recognition for his aims, the originally contentious leader of the new ascetic movement used the conventional concepts of *amicitia* and *hospitium*, whereas Jerome demanded that monks should live alone

(*solus*) and withdrawn (*secreto*).² Paulinus' claim that his home before the gates of Nola was remote, and that his lifestyle was withdrawn, allowing him only occasional contacts with passersby or holy brothers³ is to be taken as a literary topos designed to excuse his belated reaction to an important event.⁴ Neither did he adhere to the strict schematic separation propagated by Jerome, according to which clergy, priests, and bishops were responsible for the "crowd of people" in their communities "in the towns," while monks chose to withdraw "into solitude" and "to the country."⁵ An ascetic way of life went hand-in-hand with openmindedness. The guest became the embodiment of Christ,⁶ and hospitality, quite apart from its religious value, was a *publica species humanitatis*.⁷ Nobody followed the call to hospitality (*hospitium*) which he had himself issued to

2. Ep. 58.4.2 (CSEL 54:532): *Revera . . . differentias in locis arbitror, si in viciis et frequentia urbium derelicta in agello habites et Christum quaeras in solitudine et oras solus . . .* Ibid., 3 (p. 532 f.): *Sed de monacho et monacho quondam apud saeculum nobili [in contrast to the episcopi, presbyteri and clerici] . . . , ut humiliter et secreto victitans . . .* But note C. Conybeare, *Paulinus Noster: Self and Symbols in the Letters of Paulinus of Nola* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 60–90 on the difference between *amicitia* and *caritas Christi*.

3. Paulinus, ep. 13.2: *Neque videar de negligentia tui serus audisse, cum ipsa me et loci remotio et propositi ratio defendat, quo secretus ac tacitus agens neque videre nisi raros praetereuntium possum neque interrogare de sanctis fratribus ni caros volo.*

4. Misunderstood by F. Lagrange, *Geschichte des heiligen Paulinus von Nola* (Mainz: F. Kirehheim, 1882), 176 f.: "Von vornherein bestand eine vollkommene Trennung von der weltlichen Gesellschaft, eine wirkliche Einsamkeit. Selbst das Geräusch von Nola . . . konnte nicht bis dahin dringen. Außer den Reisenden und Pilgern, die das Grab oder die Einsiedler besuchten, sah Paulinus niemand und lebte nur mit seinen Brüdern und Gott." For the contrary view see P. Fabre, *Saint Paulin et l'amitié chrétienne* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1949), 40–44, esp. 40: "La communauté de Paulin à Nole n'est donc pas un fait isolé." Ibid., 3: "L'isolement de Paulin est très relatif."

5. The contrasting terms are *urbibus et frequentia urbium (in agello . . . et . . . in solitudine* (see n. 2). The correspondents from the three most famous ascetic centers, Paulinus, Augustine, and Jerome, were monks and priests at the same time; see A. de Vogüé, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique dans l'antiquité. Première partie: Le monachisme latin*, 2 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1993), ch. 7 "Népotien et Paulin prêtres moines," 351–92, passim. Augustine (*Sermo 355: Stromata Patristica Mediaevalia* 1:125–26), bishop of Hippo, described his residence categorically as a *monasterium clericorum*.

6. Already in NT, Matt 25.35 and 40; particularly for bishops 1 Tim 3.2. See H. Wehr, "Gastfreundschaft," RAC 8 (1972): 1103 f.

7. Ambrose, *De officiis ministrorum* 2.21.103 (PL 16:131): *Commendat plerosque etiam hospitalitas. Est enim publica species humanitatis, ut peregrinus hospito non egeat, suscipiatur officiose, pateat adveniendi ianua.*

Pammachius better than Paulinus: "Let us also, open our homes to our brothers, . . . as we assist the passage of every stranger with ready kindness."⁸ Hospitality played such an important part in his thoughts that he thought of himself as the guest of the saint whose remains he honoured *in situ*: Felix was the master of the house, the *dominaedius* of Nola.⁹ Paulinus congratulated his friend Sulpicius Severus, because the possession of the relics of Clarus meant that he had the honour of having the saint as a "permanent guest."¹⁰

3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LOCAL PILGRIM CENTER

Paulinus' role as an outsider, and the fact that he felt tied only to his "invisible companion" Felix, guaranteed him a great degree of independence from the mutual rivalry of Christian centers.¹¹ As a result his monastery became a point of contact for the most diverse social, religious and cultural groupings within Roman urban and provincial society. Quite apart from the hordes of pilgrims that streamed to Felix's grave each year, the poor and sick also resided there, and refugees from the aristocracy, delegations of bishops, clerics and monks from other ascetic centers were looked after as guests and shown hospitality.¹² This hospitality alone, with which Paulinus received visitors from quite diverse social backgrounds, shows that he had absolutely no intention of isolating his monastery from the outside world.

Thanks to the building work he had conducted as governor of Campania, Paulinus had already organized the infrastructure necessary for the pilgrim center and his guests. In 380 he had at his own expense built the road that led from Nola to St. Felix's grave.¹³ At the same time he had had the *xenodochium* built, a long columned hall which housed the poor and

8. Ep. 13.21: *Aperiamus et nos domicilia nostra fratribus . . . , dum omnis advenae transitum prompta humanitate suscipimus.*

9. Paulinus, ep. 5.15; 18.3; 28.6; 29.13; 32.10; *carm.* 23.109. See also Wehr, "Gastfreundschaft," 1117 f.

10. Ep. 32.6: . . . *illam non manufactam in domestica tua ecclesia gratiam dei, qua perpetuum tibi hospitem in ea Clarum largitus est, silere non potui.*

11. P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), 55 ff.

12. J. T. Lienhard, *Paulinus of Nola and early Western Monasticism*, *Theophaneia* 28 (Bonn: P. Hanstein, 1977), 30 f. On the topos see D. Gorce, "Die Gastfreundschaft der altchristlichen Einsiedler und Mönche," *JbAC* 15 (1972): 66–91 and D. Gorce, O. Hiltbrunner, H. Wehr, "Gastfreundschaft," 1061–123.

13. Paulinus, *carm.* 21.382 f.: . . . *cum tacita inspirans curam mihi mente iuberis [sc. Felix] muniri sternique viam.*

the sick; and flanked the Basilica Vetus.¹⁴ Some time "later" he had a second story added, where he lived with Therasia and his followers (*nostris . . . cellis*).¹⁵ As he needed accommodation and hoped that the monastic community would expand quickly, its founder had probably already begun with the extension of the hospice by 395.¹⁶ At any rate, soon after his arrival he invited his Gallic friend Sulpicius Severus to visit him, and to live at Felix's grave in his *monasterium*.¹⁷ The monastic building he mentions in his letter is almost certainly the *xenodochium* near Felix's grave.¹⁸

Apart from Paulinus' own room, in the upper story of the living quarters there were sufficient guest rooms (*celluli hospitales*) for Melania the elder to lodge there in 400 with all her senatorial relatives and servants: "But our modest rooms (*tugurium*), which float above the earth in the form of an upper story, and are separated from the guests' cells by a *porticus*, are quite extensive" is how Paulinus¹⁹ explained arrangements

14. *Ibid.*, 21.382–86: *cum . . . mihi . . . iuberis [sc. Felix] . . . adtiguumque tuis longo consurgere tractu culmibus tegimen, sub quo prior usus egentium incoluit.* Cf. 388–91: *Subdita pauperibus famulatur porticus aegris . . . hospitium inopumque salubria praestat vulneribus nostris consortia sede sub una. . .* The church next to the hospice was the old church of St. Felix, not the Basilica Nova, which had not yet even been planned in 380: see R. C. Goldschmidt, *Paulinus' Churches at Nola: Texts, Translations and Commentary* (Amsterdam: Nord-Hollandische Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1940), 174 f.; and T. Lehmann, *Paulinus Nolanus und die Basilica Nova in Cimitile/Nola* (Dissertation, Münster, 1994), 264 f.

15. Paulinus' room was not in the upper story, but in the annexe of the Basilica Vetus, see Paulinus, *carm.* 21.386 f.: *Post haec geminato tegmine crevit structa domus, nostris quae nunc manet hospita cellis.* *Ibid.*, 388 f. and ep. 29.13 (nn. 14 and 19). On this point Lehmann, *Basilica Nova*, 265, contra D. Korol, "Neues zur Geschichte der verehrten Gräber und des zentralen Bezirkes des Pilgerheiligtums in Cimitile/Nola," *JbAC* 35 (1992): 86 f.

16. Discussed in detail by Lehmann, *Basilica Nova*, 267, who suggests that building work commenced before 401–3, in early 400 at the latest.

17. Paulinus, ep. 5.15: *Tum ego te non in monasterio tantum vicini martyris inquilinum . . . locabo.* See the detailed description below, ep. 29.13 (n. 19).

18. For the view that there was only one *xenodochium* in Nola, see O. Hiltbrunner, "Herberge," *RAC* 14 (1988): 619; Lienhard (*Monasticism*, 65) identifies the pilgrims' cells mentioned in *carm.* 27.395 ff. (loc. cit. n. 21) with the *monasterium*. Lehmann's suggestion (*Basilica Nova*, 267) that a new hospice was built beside the old one is unsupported.

19. Ep. 29.13: *Tugurium vero nostrum, quod a terra suspensum gratulo una porticu cellulis hospitalibus interposita longius tenditur, quasi dilatam gratam domum non sanctis <cum> illa plurimus, sed etiam divitum illorum ceteris non incapaces angustias praebeuit, in quo personis puerorum ac virginum choris vicina dominaedii nostri Felicis culmina resultabant.* Commentary by Lehmann, *Basilica Nova*, 266 f.; inaccurate and misleading is Goldschmidt (*Churches*, 175, and following him Walsh, *Poems*, 389, n. 53), who does not interpret the PPP *interposita* as an abl. abs. relating

to his friend Sulpicius Severus in the hope that he would visit him. "God in His kindness seemed to make this bigger, and it afforded modest but not too constricted accommodation not only for the numerous holy ladies who accompanied Melania, but also for the bands of rich people as well. The ringing choirs of boys and maidens in the cottage made the nearby roof of our patron St. Felix resound." Women and men were accommodated separately, and four paintings, of Judith and Esther, Job and Tobit, perhaps denoted the relevant rooms in the guests' quarters.²⁰ Paulinus, his monks and favoured guests (*boni*) resided in the upper story, from where, once the new basilica had been completed, they had a direct view from the window of the altar and its collection of reliquaries, while the ground floor was reserved for the masses of *egentes, pauperes, inopes* and *aegri*.²¹ Paulinus regarded them as forming "the foundations" of the building with their prayers.²²

In contrast to the visitors from the Roman urban aristocracy and the upper echelons of the church, the pilgrims who flocked to the site every year on the day of the saint's feast on 14 January, and the exchanges between monasteries were a "normal" part of everyday life. The pilgrims were generally poor people from the nearby provinces of Campania, Lucania, Calabria and Latium.²³ Many who came to take part in the

to *una porticu*, but links it with *tugurium* and regards *cellulis hospitalibus* as an ablative instead of a dative: "Our modest abode . . . separated from the ground by a cloister with little cells for guests. . . ." On the *cenaculum*, originally a refectory, but meaning upper story, see Goldschmidt, *Churches*, 139, and Lehmann, *Basilica Nova*, 266, contra G. Santaniello, *Paolino di Nola. Le Lettere* 2, Strenae Nolanae 5 (Naples: Istituto Anselmi di Marigliano, 1992), 175.

20. Paulinus, *carm.* 28.24–27. According to A. Weis, "Die Verteilung der Bilderzyklen des Paulin von Nola in den Kirchen von Cimitile (Campanien)," *RQ* 52 (1957): 137 f. and Lienhard, *Monasticism*, 72 the painted cells were part of the pilgrims' hospice. However, this need not be the case: see H. Junod-Ammerbauer, "Les constructions de Nole et l'esthétique de saint Paulin," *REAug* 24 (1978): 30 f., and Lehmann, *Basilica Nova*, 292 f. The latter points out that a depiction of Judith and Tobit is unparalleled in early Christian art.

21. Paulinus, *carm.* 27.395–97; 401: . . . *conspice sursum inpositas longis duplicato tegmine cellas porticibus, metanda bonis habitacula digne . . . spectant de superis altaria tuta fenestris* On the poor and sick, loc. cit. (n. 14). Lienhard, *Monasticism*, 71 f. and Weis, "Bilderzyklen," 135, on the other hand, suggest that the needy and the pilgrims were accommodated together with the "distinguished guests . . . on the ground floor." See Lehmann, *Basilica Nova*, 266, n. 983.

22. *Carm.* 21.392–94: . . . *commoda praestemus nobis ut amica vicissim, fundamenta illi confirmant nostra precantes, nos fraternum inopium foveamus corpora tecto*.

23. Paulinus, *carm.* 14.65–70, cf. 20.117 f.: *Praeterea multi, sua quos devotio sanctis aedibus attulerat diversis oris* On Nola as the goal of pilgrimages see

celebrations were all too pleased to find cheap accommodation in nearby farms,²⁴ as not everybody could be lodged in the cramped monastic buildings and houses around the martyr's grave.²⁵ Paulinus tried out new avenues for a pilgrimage which did not extend beyond the local region and the boundary of the province of Campania, whereas in his letters he issued invitations to the various communities of monks in the Western Empire scattered around the Mediterranean—a situation which reveals that for him the Eastern Empire was already remote.

4. LOOKING OUT FOR CONTACTS

Paulinus' new foundation had to cope with setbacks in its first years.²⁶ As early as the spring of 395, even before he had arrived in Nola, he urged his best friend Sulpicius Severus²⁷ to leave Gaul and to embark on a *peregrinatio pro Christo* for Easter to Barcelona, or to Italy to the grave of the martyr Felix in Nola—without success.²⁸ In spring 396 he expressed the desire to get to know Augustine personally:²⁹ "I love you, and feel the desire to see you,"³⁰ he wrote, and sent his regards to his followers. Augustine, who soon afterwards in summer assumed the office of bishop of Hippo, never came. Severus twice became sick when he planned

V. Saxer, "Pilgerwesen in Italien und Rom," in *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie*, Bonn, 22.–28. Sept. 1991, *JbAC Erg. Bd.* 20.1–2 (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1995), 1: 46–51.

24. Paulinus, *carm.* 20.341–44: *Propterea procul hinc secreto in rure remotam contenti subiere casam, qua mane parabant ad reditum proferre pedem, cum prima ruberet parturiens aurora diem*. Ibid., 124 f.

25. Paulinus, *carm.* 20.337–40: *Ergo sacrum huc venere locum votisque patris hospitium rediere suum non communis istinc. Nam tum forte domos, quae circa martyris aulam, implebat solitis densata frequentia turbis*.

26. Jerome's categorical warning (*ep.* 58.6.2–4; CSEL 54:535 f.) to Paulinus to spend the money exclusively on the poor, rather than on expensive church buildings, subsequently proved to be unfounded.

27. Paulinus (*ep.* 11.6) said of him: *Vere ergo tu nobis et parens et frater et proximus es*. On the *vitae amicitia* and religious *caritas* which united them (*ep.* 11.5), see Fabre, *Amitié*, ch. 3. on the "theory of friendship."

28. Paulinus, *ep.* 1.10: . . . *exi de terra tua et de cognatione tua . . . Festina venire ad nos, in commune compendium accepturus et daturus fidei supplementa*.

29. Ibid., 6.3: . . . *ut etiam in carne faciem tuam videremus*.

30. Paraphrase of Paulinus, *ep.* 6.2–3. On the characterisation of friendship see the expressions (*ep.* 6.2): *amorem in te nostrum—non . . . affectu rudes—inditam dilectionem tuam . . . quasi veterem caritatem resumere videremus*. Ibid., 6.3: *Quare utinam hoc quoque nobis munus admeret gratia dei . . . , ut etiam in carne faciem tuam videremus. Non solum desiderii nostris magnum conferretur gaudium . . .*

to set off on the journey.³¹ Thereafter for a while there is no further mention of the Campanian monks, clergy, and laymen who had paid their respects to Paulinus after his arrival.³²

The situation changed gradually. One year after Paulinus and his wife Therasia had settled at Nola the monastic community was enlarged. In summer 396 Proforus, a converted Jew, arrived, as well as a devout Christian called Restitutus.³³ Paulinus intensified his efforts; he wrote to Sulpicius Severus that these two also sent their greetings, felt drawn to him and longed to see him.³⁴ Quite apart from other altruistic reasons, Paulinus' real desire that Severus visit him was motivated by the prospect that he and his fellow monks might add to the community at Nola, which at this early stage was still small: "I confess, however, that though nothing could give me greater pleasure than your presence here, my longing for your coming has been more ardently fired because you have promised to bring here many spiritual brothers with you."³⁵ Paulinus planned to receive his friend "in the monastery not merely as a lodger of the martyr, who lies close by," but also to involve him in running it.³⁶ In his fantasies he described the arrival in Nola of Severus' company of *domini mercennarii*

et cooperantes, and imagined how he rushes to meet him and greets him with a brotherly kiss.³⁷

Paulinus' disappointment was that much greater when his repeated invitations to Severus fell on deaf ears.³⁸ "Come to us," he urged him, "and if you can, fly to us,"³⁹ and felt deeply insulted when three years later the latter had still not made the effort to leave Gaul. He attributed this to the rivalry between the saints, Martin and Felix. Quite apart from his disappointment over his longtime friend's continued absence, we can detect a degree of jealousy, for Sulpicius Severus was a frequent guest of the bishop of Tours, a *frequentator Martini*.⁴⁰ "I grow tired of inviting and awaiting you . . . How you can plead sickness rather than laziness or exclusiveness, I do not know," he complained. "For you could have visited me and hastened back within a year. The effort would have been only the same as you have repeatedly expended on travelling in Gaul all these years, visiting Tours and more distant places, often more than once, within the same summer."⁴¹ In his biography Sulpicius Severus described in detail how Martin had received him in Marmoutier: "He deigned to admit me to fellowship with him. He went so far as in person to present me with water to wash my hands, and at eventide he himself washed my feet."⁴²

31. Paulinus, *ep.* 5.8: . . . *qui* [i.e., Severus] *bis geminas, ut indicasti, aegritudines pertulisti* . . .

32. On the *fratrum monachorum, antistitum clericorum atque etiam ipsorum saepe saecularum officia* (Paulinus, *ep.* 5.14), see Mratschek, *Briefwechsel*, 501 f.

33. Not the "beiden hebräischen Proselyten" or "deux Juifs convertis," as suggested by A. Buse, *Paulin. Bischof von Nola und seine Zeit, 350–450* (Regensburg: G. J. Manz, 1856), 1:233 and Fabre, *Amitié*, 49, but two persons. See J. Desmulliez, *La Campanie chrétienne. Recherches de prosopographie et d'histoire sociale* (Thesis, Paris, Sorbonne, 1982), 373 and 384 s.v. Proforus and Restitutus, cf. n. 34.

34. *Ep.* 5.19. on Sulpicius Severus' *fraternitas: Salutant vos omnes, qui in domino nobiscum sunt, ut ex Hebraeis Proforus et Restitutus amans dominum et te in Christo conpertum diligens et multum desiderans*. P. G. Walsh's (*Letters*, 1:223, n. 84) conjecture based on the argument that "the participles suggest that only one person is mentioned" is incorrect. According to the rules of congruency the participial attributes (*et . . . diligens et . . . desiderans*) agree with the nearest substantive, in this case Restitutus, even when there are two people, see H. Menge, *Repetitorium der lateinischen Syntax und Stilistik* (Munich¹: M. Hueber Verlag, 1961), 2:9. §11. The chiasmus of the names, and the parallelism which follows, are further indications that the original reading of the MSS as accepted by W. von Hartel is by no means corrupt.

35. *Ep.* 5.15: *Fateor autem, licet mihi nihil praesentia tua gratius dari posset, accensum esse desiderium meum flagrantius in praesentiam tuam, quod multos fratres spirituales tecum nobis adfore spondidisti*. Cf. 5.13 (other reasons for accepting the invitation) and 5.15 (*fraternitatem tuam comite electorum dei cohorte venientem*).

36. Being in charge of the cult center is clothed in the metaphor of caring for the "Garden of Paradise," see Paulinus, *ep.* 5.15: *Tum ego te non in monasterio tantum vicini martyris inquilinum, sed etiam in horto eiusdem colonum locabo* . . .

37. In the style of the elegiac fantasy (e.g., Tib. 1.5). Cf. Paulinus, *ep.* 5.16: *Videre ergo iam mihi videor hortulum meum adventantibus tecum domini mercennariis et cooperantibus cultiorem . . . Iam et domestica mihi post osculum sanctum gaudia mente et cogitatione propono* . . .

38. Paulinus, *ep.* 1 (to Barcino); 5; 11; 17 (to Nola).

39. *Ep.* 11.14; see N. K. Chadwick, *Poetry and Letters in Early Christian Gaul* (London: Bowes & Bowes, 1955), 72.

40. Paulinus, *ep.* 11.13 (397). Paulinus and the young lawyer Sulpicius Severus had been friends at Gaul, see *ibid.* 5.5: Severus being a *fidelis amicus* and in *saeculari prius amicitia dilectissimus*. Martin of Tours probably died as late as 401, thus recency T. D. Barnes, "The *Historia Augusta* and Christian Hagiography," in *Atti dei Convegno sulla Historia Augusta VII: Historiae Augustae Colloquium Genevense*, ed. F. Paschoud (Bari: Edipuglia, 1999): 33–41, esp. 37; cf. S. Mratschek, "Der Tod des Martin von Tours und die späte Ankunft des Mönches Victor in Nola" (in preparation). It is not impossible that the *HA* cannot be more closely dated than about 400 (395 or 410) and the exact date remains contentious. Fabre's date of 397 for Paulinus, *ep.* 11 only means that Severus' *Vita* was written during the saint's lifetime, without telling us anything about the date of his death, see *Essai sur la chronologie de l'oeuvre de Saint Paulin de Nole* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1948), 25 f.

41. Paulinus, *ep.* 17.1, 4 written in 398: (1) *Et invitando te et expectando defessi sumus . . .* (4) *Causari infirmitatem magis quam pigritiam vel exceptionem personarum qui possis, nescio, cum intra annum eadem opera ad nos potueris pervenire ac recurrere, qua Gallicanas peregrinationes tot annis frequentas et iteratis saepe intra unam aetatem excursibus Turonos et remotiora visitas*.

42. Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini* 25.3 (SC 133:310): . . . *cum me sancto convivio suo dignatus esset adhibere, aquam manibus nostris ipse obtulit. Ad vesperum autem*

Paulinus found the frequent letters no substitute for Severus' visit. Rather they only served to deepen his desire for the *praesentia* of his friend.⁴³ After their alienation and reconciliation the two restricted their contacts to exchanging letters. They followed with great interest each other's everyday life, and exchanged sketches of plans to make their churches greater and more beautiful. The relationship with Victricius, whom Paulinus had met as a young senator in 386 in Vienne, was no different. When the bishop of Rouen stayed in Rome in the winter of 403/4,⁴⁴ Paulinus regretted that he had departed without visiting him: "The source of my bitterness and grief was your failure to make the short journey from Rome to Nola as I had hoped after you had covered such tracts of territory to reach the capital."⁴⁵

Once again Paulinus analyzed the reasons for the bishop's premature return to northern Gaul. "Would not God's hand, which had guided you so far, have been sufficient to bring you here?" he contemplated in his letter to Victricius.⁴⁶ "But my sins threw up a great wall before my longings and kept us apart . . . Even if you had come at all, I should still have been equally distant from your holy person, since the great inequality of our virtues and the gap between our merits could not have been bridged or joined by travel."⁴⁷ The monk's *humilitas* in the face of a superior voices the accusation that Victricius had shunned him, but had nevertheless taken advantage of the chance of an audience with the influential bishop of Rome, Innocent I.

pedes nobis ipse abluit . . . See Fontaine's commentary (SC 135:1052–56) and Gorce, "Gastfreundlichkeit," 84 f. Victor, a monk from Martin's community, carried out the ritual washing of his host Paulinus' feet, in accordance with the *sacri Martini actus* (ep. 23.4).

43. Paulinus, ep. 23.1 (early 400): *Desideris tamen modum nullum ponimus. Qui enim existimas satisfacere te nobis assiduitate ista honorificentiae ac pietatis tuae, qua praesentiam tuam nobis tam frequentibus epistolis compensare conaris* . . .

44. Innocent I, ep. 2.12.14 (PL 20:478), *Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, ed. P. Jaffé, et al., (1885; reprinted Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1956), 286: *Sit certe in exemplum sollicitudinis et tristitia fratrum, quam saepe pertulimus imperatore praesente cum pro his saepius rogarem, quam ipse nobiscum positus agnovisti*.

45. Ep. 37.1 (403/4): *Nam et inde tristati amaritudinem duxeramus, quod ex urbe ad nos, sicut sperabamus, brevis itinere, non veneras, qui ad urbem per tanta terrarum spatia perveneras*.

46. Paulinus, ep. 37.1: *Numquid enim dei manus, quae tam longe te perduxerat, prope non valuisse adducere?*

47. Ep. 37.1: *Sed peccata nostra grandi muro desideris nostris opposita inter nos et te separaverunt . . . etiam si ad nos usque venisses, aequae tamen a sanctitate tua longe fuissent; neque enim locus potuisset aequari aut coniungi tanta virtutum distantia et longinquitas meritorum*.

But Paulinus knew that Victricius had not embarked on his journey just for the fun of it, and that the inequality of virtue was in fact not as great as he liked to imply. The reason for Victricius' journey was that he had been accused of Apollinarianism, and sought to justify himself against the charge in Rome.⁴⁸ After his return in February he received—at his own request—a *Liber Regularum* for the Gallic bishops from Pope Innocent.⁴⁹ Paulinus ended his complaint about the visit to Nola which never took place by gently pointing out to Victricius that he could have added to his "Holiness" fame, had he taken the trouble of including the detour to Felix's grave as a *pious labor* in his itinerary.⁵⁰

Ambrose, in whose house consuls and prefects were guests,⁵¹ had explicitly advised clerics to turn down invitations from elsewhere, so that they could be available for strangers,⁵² and Augustine followed his advice.⁵³ But this meant that although the bishops and abbots of the monastic centers avoided leaving their domains for even a short time, they were extremely generous when it came to exchanges between their charges. Whole groups of Sulpicius Severus' young monks, novices, and slaves (*pueri*) travelled back and forth between the monasteries near Primuliacum

48. Paulinus, ep. 37.4–6; see J. L. Maier, *Le dossier du donatisme II. De Julien l'Apostat à Saint Jean Damascène*, 361–750 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1989), 127, no. 73. On his refutation, *ibid.*, 4, cit. Ps 26.12: *Tua vero sanctitas . . . Christianae paupertatis divitem gloriam tenet, . . . sicut conperi, etiam de multitudine adversantium et tolerantia temptationum, quoniam insurrexerunt in te testes iniqui, et mentita est iniquitas sibi. Sed nodus in scirpo et naevus in lumine non potuit inveniri*.

49. Innocent I, ep. 2.1 (PL 20:469. f.), Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, 286 of 15 Feb. 404: . . . *qui Romanae ecclesiae normam atque auctoritatem magnopere postulasti, voluntati tuae morem admodum gerens, digestas vitae et morum probabilitium disciplinas annexas litteris meis misi . . . Erat dilectionis tuae, per plebes finitimas et consacerdotes nostros . . . regularum hunc librum quasi didascalicum atque monitorem sedulo insinuare. On the decretale put in the form of a responsum, see E. Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums von den Anfängen bis zur Höhe der Weltherrschaft*, 1: *Römische Kirche und Imperium Romanum* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1930), 304–8.*

50. Ep. 37.2: Victricius' visit to Paulinus as *opus* . . . *pietatis and pious labor* with the prospect of increasing his *sanctitas* and gaining a correspondingly greater reward in heaven.

51. Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogus* 1.25.6 (CSEL 1:178): . . . *exemplum beati Ambrosii episcopi praeferebat, qui eo tempore consules et praefectos subinde ferebatur* . . .

52. Ambrose, *De officio ministrorum* 1.20.86 (PL 16:49): *Unda quam prudenter factis convenire ecclesiasticas, et maxime ministrorum officis arbitrio, declinare extraneorum convivium: vel ut ipsi hospitales sitis peregrinantibus* . . .

53. Possidius, *Vita Augustini* 27 (PL 32:56): *In visitationibus vero modum tenebat ab apostolo definitum, ut non nisi pupillos et viduas in tribulationibus constitutas visitaret . . . Servandum quoque in vita et moribus hominis dei referebat, quo instituto sanctae memoriae Ambrosii compererat* . . . For his own views see below.

in southern Gaul and Nola in Campania.⁵⁴ It was because of these exchanges, and not just because most of the new arrivals and guests travelled as ambassadors between the Christian centers, that Paulinus described them as *fratres* and *conservi communes*.⁵⁵

Amachius, one of the clergy in the entourage of Delphinus of Bordeaux, visited Felix's grave near Nola in the summer of 398, apparently after a pilgrimage to the Apostles' graves in Rome. Paulinus used the opportunity to give him a letter for Sulpicius Severus, and remarked that Severus could have come himself. Amachius was a close acquaintance of Severus—Paulinus called him *notissimus tibi*.⁵⁶ The monk Victor, originally one of Clarus' companions,⁵⁷ joined Sulpicius Severus' entourage after the death of Martin of Tours, and spent his time alternately with Severus and with Paulinus.⁵⁸ When they spent a lengthy spell in another monastic community they were integrated into it, and joined in the daily labours and duties (*opera manuum*).⁵⁹ It was contrary to the most elementary rules of politeness and hospitality which had already been laid out in the *Didache* in the late second century, to stay longer than two or three days.⁶⁰

Paulinus had more luck with his invitation to members of Victricius' clergy than with the bishop himself. Paulinus encountered the deacon Paschasius, a pupil of Victricius of Rouen,⁶¹ and his companions on his pilgrimage to the Apostles' graves in Rome.⁶² They then accompanied him to Nola in early 397 or 398 and accepted his hospitality. This provided him with the opportunity of resuming his contacts with Victricius, which had lapsed after their meeting in Vienne:

54. E.g., Paulinus, *ep.* 11.4. Cf. Mratschek, *Briefwechsel*, Prosopographischer Anhang der Boten IIa, no. 2; 4 (social composition); IIb, no. 5 (provenance).

55. Messengers and monks are not always clearly distinguishable: see Mratschek, *Briefwechsel*, 316. Cf. also Paulinus, *ep.* 27.1 (Theridius and Posthuvianus), 51.1 (on Honoratus' monks), and 33.1, where Severus' messenger Victor is described as *communis unanims* in a letter to Alethius.

56. Paulinus, *ep.* 17.3: . . . *quia ipsius [sc. Amachi] occasio praesto erat* . . . Cf. 1: . . . *occasionibus nos requirens* . . . The subdeacon whom Paulinus addressed as *frater carissimus* was, as presbyter, below him in the church hierarchy.

57. Paulinus (*ep.* 23.3) called Victor *unius . . . progenies, alterius in via comes*: son of Martin, and companion of Clarus.

58. Mratschek, *Briefwechsel*, 283.

59. An old farmer, a *senex* and *ex rusticanis homo*, was nursed back to health and received a job as cook. On him, and the *opera manuum* of monks from elsewhere, see Paulinus, *ep.* 23.9, as well as Mratschek, *Briefwechsel*, 307 f.

60. *Didache* 12; see H. Wehr, "Gastfreundschaft," 1107.

61. Paulinus, *ep.* 18.1 (*discipulus*) and 3 (Victricius as *magister*).

62. *Ibid.*, 18.1.

Apart from the pleasure of our brotherly comradeship in the sacred ministry, I received him all the more respectfully and lovingly because I discovered that he belonged, body and spirit, to the clergy under your holy protection. But I must confess that I put pressure on him. He was eager to return from Rome to your sacred person. And although I approved the dutiful haste, . . . I embraced him out of love for you and bore him off to Nola. I hoped that through his visit my humble hospice (*hospitium*) there would be blessed by a breath of your spirit.⁶³

Their stay in Nola had to be extended when first of all Paulinus himself, then Paschasius' companion Ursus, fell ill. Paschasius tended to both, and saved Ursus from death. In thanks Paulinus gave Victricius' *carissimus frater et fidelis minister* the name Τυχικός, the "bringer of fate," a reference to the apostle Paul's servant, for he had saved a life.⁶⁴ As "new Tychicus" he had taken the opportunity to comfort Paulinus on his sick-bed⁶⁵ with the story of the mission to the Morini, as well as with tales of the deeds of the young Victricius before his conversion.⁶⁶ Thus Paschasius was not just a secondary, but in fact the main source of information for Paulinus about the life and works of the bishop of Rouen.⁶⁷

63. Paulinus, *ep.* 18.1: . . . *nostrum Paschasium quem praeter gratiam fraterni in sacro ministerio contubernii hoc venerabilius amabiliusque suscepimus, quod de sanctitatis tuae clero et corpore et spiritu esse cognovimus. Sed fatemur violentiam nostram, qua illum de urbe ad sanctitatem tuam redire cupientem, quamquam festinationem piam . . . probaremus, tamen in tuo amore complexi Nolam perduximus, ut et hospitium illic humilitatis nostrae quaedam per illius ingressum tui spiritus aura benediceret* . . .

64. The name is an intellectual play on words. For the connection with Paul's messenger (Acts 20.4; Eph 6.21; Col 4.7; 2 Tim 4.12; Tit 3.12) see M.-Y. Perrin, "Ad implendum caritatis ministerium. La place des courtiers dans la correspondance de Paulin de Nole," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité* 104 (1992): 1057 with n. 70. Tychicus, the most common of the male slave names derived from τυχή (H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen, ein Namenbuch* [Berlin: De Gruyter, 1982], 446 f.; 1369), also suggests industriousness. It was a common cognomen or sole name in Gaul and Italy, cf. A. Mócsy, R. Feldmann et al., *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpinae cum indice inverso*. Dissertationes Pannonicae, ser. 3 (Budapest: ELTE Régészeti Tanszék, 1983), 1:298.

65. Paulinus, *ep.* 18.2: . . . *in praesentia nostri benedicti Paschasi, de qua dum refrigeramus in spiritu, etiam corpore reficiebamur*. The passage refers to the hagiographic stories about Victricius that follow (18.4–7, see n. 66).

66. The stories are introduced in Paulinus, *ep.* 18.4: *Notum enim nobis fecit Tychicus tuus, carissimus frater et fidelis minister in domino, non quidem te magis quam in deum praedicans* . . .

67. W. Ensslin, "Tychicus," *RE* 8A.2 (1948): 1697 and Walsh, *Letters*, 1:248, n. 2 are mistaken.

From the beginning Augustine showed particular respect for Paulinus and sent his hopeless cases to Nola for improvement. A year after Paulinus' arrival in Nola he sent his patron, a rich citizen from Tagaste, to him to forge contacts with the new monastic center. In summer 396 Romanianus visited Paulinus personally, and witnessed the latter's impatient wait for the return of his messenger from Africa,⁶⁸ before he carried on to Rome. The high-ranking messenger hadn't returned to Nola empty-handed, but brought a letter, several *commendationes*, and the first revised writings of his friend Augustine with him.⁶⁹ One of the recommendations was for a young man whose misfortune was enough to attract the pity of the "irreligious," and who had decided to serve God.⁷⁰ He was to explain to his host the reason for his coming himself, and Augustine was so discreet as to remain silent on the matter.⁷¹ The newly appointed bishop of Hippo sent him with Romanianus to Paulinus' *fraternitas monacha*, to give him a chance to reconsider his decision once he had recovered from the shock and grown up.⁷²

The other recommendations concerned Romanianus himself and his son Licentius.⁷³ Cassiciacum, where Augustine retired for inner contemplation, had failed to impress the young man, who intended to follow a career in the senate. Much to Augustine's distress to him it was no more than a place to take the fresh summer air in the country. While Augustine tried—in vain—to persuade Licentius to visit Paulinus in Campania and to get to know him better, Romanianus set out for Rome, where Licentius lived, for a lawsuit. His main worry was his son's future way of life. When Paulinus wrote to Romanianus in Rome in the winter of 396/7, he included a letter for his son Licentius.⁷⁴ Romanianus had visited Paulinus in Nola during the summer in order to ask him to write to his son.

68. Paulinus, *ep.* 7.1 (to Romanianus): . . . *reversis ex Africa fratribus nostris, quorum expectatione nos pendere vidisti* . . .

69. Mratschek, *Briefwechsel*, 477–79.

70. Augustine, *ep.* 31.7 (CSEL 34.2:6–7): *Vetustimum, impiis quoque miserabilem puerum, vestrae benignitati caritatisque commendo. Causas calamitatis et peregrinationis eius audietis ex ipso. Nam et propositum eius, quo servitutum se esse pollicetur deo, tempus prolixius et aetas robustior et transactus timor certius indicabunt.*

71. Augustine, *ep.* 31.7. (CSEL 34.2:6): *Causas calamitatis et peregrinationis eius audietis ex ipso.*

72. Loc. cit. (n. 70): *et tempus prolixius et aetas robustior et transactus timor.*

73. Augustine, *ep.* 31.7 (CSEL 34.2:7): *Unde humanitati et caritati tuae tam ipsum [sc. Romanianum] quam filium eius legisti, ut spero, qua sollicitudine commendaverim et quanta mihi necessitudine copulati sunt. Aedificet eos per te dominus.*

74. Paulinus, *ep.* 7 (to Romanianus); 8 (to Licentius); esp. 7.3: *Paucis tamen et ad ipsam [sc. Licentium] loquamur.* See Fabre, *Chronologie*, 15.

5. THE INCREASING HOLINESS OF THE SITE

In 404 when a scandal in Augustine's own household rocked Hippo,⁷⁵ an inquiry before the curia and the clergy, which the bishop had instigated, had to be suspended without any results.⁷⁶ During the course of a lawsuit two holy men, the priest Boniface and a monk called Spes, who was on the verge of his *promotio in clericatu*, accused each other of lack of chastity and contempt of court.⁷⁷ The saint's grave near Nola was by then already so famous that Augustine decided to send the two there immediately, so that Felix might find out the truth in the manner of a "verdict of God."⁷⁸

The saint had already proved his worth in this way: in 371 Pope Damasus had already applied to Felix for intercession in this way, and had been acquitted of "slandorous accusations."⁷⁹ Five years before the lawsuit in Hippo, Nola had been the scene of an exorcism at the martyr's

75. Augustine, *ep.* 78.2 (CSEL 34.2:333): *Proinde, carissimi, in isto scandalo, quo de Bonifatio presbytero nonnulli perturbantur* . . . Ibid.: . . . *quia duo de domo nostra talem habent causam* . . . See F. Van der Meer, *Augustinus der Seelsorger. Leben und Wirken eines Kirchenwärters* (1946; reprinted Cologne: J. P. Bachem, 1951), 275 and F. Morgenstern, *Die Briefpartner des Augustinus von Hippo. Prosopographische, sozial- und ideologiegeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Bochum: N. Brockmeyer, 1993), 65.

76. Augustine, *ep.* 78.3 (CSEL 34.2:334 f.): *Cum enim me causa ista diu cruciasset nec invenirem, quo modo unus e duobus convinceretur* . . . Cf. 78.2: . . . *ut, quod homines inveniri non possunt, de quolibet eorum divino iudicio propaleatur.* The letter's *subscriptio* addresses the monks (*fratribus*), the clergy (*clero*), the elders (*senioribus*) and the entire congregation of Hippo (*universae plebi ecclesiae Hipponensis*). Two high-ranking catholic laymen, Felix and Hilarinus, a *principalis* and the municipal doctor (*archiater*) from Hippo, were the addressees of the 77th letter, which dealt with the same subject. On Hilarinus' status see Augustine, *ep.* 41.2 (CSEL 34.2:83), cf. C. Lepelley, *Les cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas-Empire*, 2: *Notices d'histoire municipales* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1981), 122 f., 125.

77. Augustine, *ep.* 78.3 (CSEL 34.2:334): . . . *turbulentius agere coepit [sc. alter], ut, si ipse in clericatu non promoveretur, nec presbyter Bonifatius in suo gradu esse permitteretur.* On the nature of the crime, see the terms *pueritiam contaminare* and *de suae vitae dubitatione scandalum* in *ep.* 78.2–3. For the names of the parties, 77.2 (p. 330).

78. Augustine, *ep.* 78.3 (CSEL 34.2:335): . . . *elegi aliquid medium, ut certo placito se ambo constringeret ad locum sanctum se pergituros, ubi terribiliora opera dei non sanam cuiusque conscientiam nullo facilius aperirent et ad confessuam vel poena vel timore compellerent.*

79. T. Lehmann, "Eine spätantike Inschriftensammlung und der Besuch des Papstes Damasus an der Pilgerstätte des hl. Felix in Cimitile/Nola," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 91 (1992): 252, 266 f., 271.

grave which had attracted a great deal of attention.⁸⁰ In September of the same year, 404, or one year earlier⁸¹ a thief had been caught in Nola as he attempted to steal the cross-lamp with its precious stones from the new basilica. Paulinus presented this as a further miracle to a large gathering at the festival of the saint in the next year (405).⁸² Apparently Augustine knew of both *Natalicia*.⁸³

Augustine based his unusual decision on the "holiness of the site,"⁸⁴ with which no martyr's grave in his African home could compete.⁸⁵ He put Nola before Milan,⁸⁶ not just because of Alaric's invasions of northern Italy in 401 and 403.⁸⁷ His main reason was the ease of communication with Paulinus' monastery: "This is the place," Augustine explained to his congregation in Hippo, "which I wished them to visit, because, if any divine revelation should be made about either of them, a trustworthy account could more easily be written to us from there."⁸⁸ Until then he was not prepared to remove Boniface's name from the list of priests in Hippo.⁸⁹ Nola had established itself as a recognized center of ascetism.

80. Paulinus, *carm.* 23 (=Nat. 7) of 14 January 401.

81. Paulinus, *carm.* 19 (=Nat. 11). 381–83 written in January 405: *Non peregrina locis neque tempore prisca profabor; fimbis in nostris et in ista sede patrum nuper opus referam . . .* The thief was arrested on 1 September, the feast (*natalis*) of St. Priscus of Capua (19.515 f.), whose *vita* was written at the end of the fourth century (BHL 6927 ff.), and whose popularity seems to have enjoyed a boom at the time of Paulinus. On "Priscus," see U. M. Fasola, *LTK* 8 (1963): 771.

82. *Carm.* 19.229–82 (Felix's power over demons); 283–86 (healing powers); 378 ff., esp. 546 (thwarting of the theft by *ultor* . . . *Felix*); 674–89 (on the cross-lamp). The *Natalicium* was overseen by P. Courcelle, "Les lacunes de la correspondance entre Saint Augustin et Paulin de Nole," *REA* 53 (1951): 266: "Nulle part . . . on découvre chez Paulin mention d'un tel jugement de Dieu."

83. This view is particularly supported by Paulinus, *carm.* 19.385–87: *Credo ex hoc numero vestrum prope nullus in isto sit novus auditu, quia per longinqua remotis fama volans ierit.*

84. Augustine, *ep.* 78.3 (CSEL 34.2:335 f.): *Multis enim notissima est sanctitas loci, ubi beati Felicis Nolensis corpus conditum est . . .*

85. *Ibid.*, 78.3 (CSEL 34.2:336): *Numquid non et Africa sanctorum martyrum corporibus plena est? Et tamen nusquam hic scimus talia fieri.*

86. Thanks to the miracles at the graves of Gervasius and Protasius, Milan was no less famous for its exorcisms and the capture of a thief (Augustine, *ep.* 78.3: CSEL 34.2:335).

87. Courcelle, "Lacunes," 266.

88. Augustine, *ep.* 78.3 (CSEL 34.2:336): . . . *quo [i.e. Nola] volui ut pergerent, quia inde nobis facilius fideliusque scribi potest, quicquid in eorum aliquo divinitus fuerit pro palatum.*

89. *Ibid.*, 77.2 (CSEL 34.2: 330); 78.4 (p. 336 f.). The lists were recorded on diptychs, from which the names of the priests were read out in the churches: see Parsons, *Augustine, Letters*, 1:374 n. 4 *ad loc.*

In the early fifth century, when the building program was complete, and its founder had been appointed bishop, monks, clergy, and holy laymen undertook pilgrimages to Nola, not letting the numerous hurdles prevent them from reaching their goal. For example Martinianus, who came from a rich *dominus* in southern Gaul,⁹⁰ or Sorianus, whom Paulinus very much wanted to meet, having heard about him from Sulpicius Severus.⁹¹ So too the presbyter Uranius, who recorded the final hours of Paulinus, may have been a messenger in the service of Delphinus of Bordeaux.⁹²

Augustine, who was the moving force behind the intensive exchanges between the North African bishops and Nola, was openly supportive of members of his clergy who wished to travel to Paulinus. But he was less happy when one of them wanted to move permanently to the Campanian *monasterium*,⁹³ and missed no opportunity to remind all ministers in his diocese that they were obliged to reside there:

Still, if anyone of us crossed the sea for no other reason than to enjoy being with you, what better or more laudable excuse could he have? But our duty, which keeps us here in the service of the weak, would not allow that, nor could we go away and leave them, unless the same duty should impel us to it, by reason of a more threatening and more dangerous emergency. It would be hard to say whether I hold myself back in these matters or am bowed down by them. . . .⁹⁴

90. Paulinus, *carm.* 24.1–2: *Martinianum spiritu fratrem mihi unaque germanum fide, quem tu disertis prosecutus litteris ad nos venire miseris . . .* Martinianus was *compos voti* (24.419). See J. Rougé, "Un drame maritime à la fin du IV^e siècle: Le voyage de Martinien de Narbonne à Nole (Paulin de Nole, Poème 24)," in *Mélanges à M. Labrousse*, ed. J. M. Paillet (Toulouse: Université de Toulouse–Le Mirail, 1986): 93.

91. Paulinus, *ep.* 22.1: . . . *qui nos de tuis visceribus inbuto affectu desideraverat . . .* He would seem to have remained in the monastic community in Nola, as Paulinus later sent him to Gaul as a messenger.

92. Paulinus, *ep.* 19.1 (*inrita non venientis Urani expectatione*), cf. Mratschek, *Briefwechsel*, 318 f.

93. Paulinus' guests in Nola were: the bishops Evodius, Theasius, and Possidius; Quintus and Rufinus, deacons from Augustine's household; the presbyters Paulinus, Boniface from Hippo, Celsus and Fortunatianus from nearby Tagaste, who planned to travel to Rome (Augustine, *ep.* 80.1: CSEL 34.2:347).

94. Augustine, *ep.* 95.1 (CSEL 34.2:506): *Et tamen si quisquam nostrum propter hoc solum iret trans mare, ut vestra praesentia frueretur, quid hac causa iustus, quid posset dignus inveniri? Sed id vincula nostra non ferrent, quibus religati sumus infirmorum servire languoribus nec eos praesentia corporali relinquere, nisi cum hoc cogunt tanto imperiosius quanto periculosius aegrotando. Utrum exerceamur his, an potius plectamur, nescio . . .*

The criticism was aimed at Augustine's *conpresbyter* Paulinus, who "after a most violent storm" in the early years of his ecclesiastical career moved to his namesake at Nola.⁹⁵

Paulinus regretted deeply that the deacon Quintus, one of Augustine's most reliable people, did not stay longer, but only visited Nola briefly, like a tax collector (*exactor*),⁹⁶ in order to collect the post for Augustine prior to his return to Hippo. He stayed from 14 May to midday of 15 May 408.⁹⁷ "Our most dear and sweet brother Quintus shows as much haste to return to you from here as he was tardy in coming to me from you," his host for one night complained.⁹⁸ Paulinus was more generous on such occasions. He understood how useful contacts with a famous teacher could be, and sent the monk Cerealis back to Rufinus of Aquileia, before the latter left Italy.⁹⁹

A genuine rivalry arose between the ascetic centers of Primuliacum and Nola over Posthumbianus and Theridius, two Gallic monks, probably from Aquitania. Paulinus had even sent the two men, who before 400 had neither met their compatriot and his best friend Sulpicius Severus, nor made friends with him, as messengers to Primuliacum. He also charged them with taking the opportunity of making Severus' acquaintance, which was more valuable than all their property and business in their homeland.¹⁰⁰ Pressed by Sulpicius Severus to remain in Primuliacum, they chose to return to Nola, and excused themselves with existing obligations to Paulinus. He denied this firmly: *neque ullum tecum* [i.e. with Severus] *habui de eorum usurpatione certamen*, and at the same time emphasized

95. Augustine, *ep.* 149.34 (CSEL 44:379–80) written in 414: . . . [sc. Dominus] *qui sciens dare auxilium de tribulatione eum turbulentissima tempestate nussit in portum, quo tu pelago tranquilliore permeasti . . . et qui eius [i.e. Paulini presbyteri] rudimentis excipiendis atque nutriendis te dedit Conpresbyterum Paulinum et omnes, qui tua praesentia perficiuntur, germano salutamus affectu.*

96. Quintus remained loyal to Augustine, followed his instructions and was elected presbyter (Augustine, *ep.* 149.1: CSEL 44:348).

97. Paulinus, *ep.* 45.8: *Nam pridie idus Maias venit ad nos, ut rescripta peteret, et idibus ante sextam dimitti obtinuit.* On the *exactoris nimia festinatio*, *ibid.*; Paulinus had met Quintus in Rome (45.1).

98. Paulinus, *ep.* 45.8: *Frater noster carissimus et dulcissimus Quintus quam tarde ad nos remeat a vobis, tam cito a nobis ad vos redire festinat.*

99. Paulinus called Rufinus *pater ac magister*, as did Ausonius; cf. also the words *et perveniet ad te et tecum manebit* (*ep.* 47.1).

100. Paulinus, *ep.* 27.2: . . . *praesentes [sc. Theridium et Posthumbianum] increpui, quod se familiaritatis ac notitiae tuae expertes faterentur. neque quocquam studiosius mandavi proficiscentibus, quam ad conspectum tuum complexumque properarent teque cognoscere omnibus in patria rebus et curis suis anteferrent*

that he would of course have acceded to Severus' rights, had his claims been older, *si prius tua fuisset possessio*.¹⁰¹

Both messengers were described as "holy men"; both had left their Gallic home¹⁰² in order to settle in Italy and lead an ascetic life. Posthumbianus spent much time at Nola, and Theridius had entrusted his house in Rome to a man called Paulinus so that he could join the community in Nola.¹⁰³ Whether Posthumbianus was the crank in Sulpicius Severus' dialogues who described the wonders of the hermit's life in Egypt, is open to doubt for reasons of both chronology and content;¹⁰⁴ as a close friend to whom Severus dedicated his dialogues, he would almost certainly not have turned down his offer.¹⁰⁵ Theridius' decision to stay at Nola will quite definitely have been influenced by the fact that he was the object of one of St. Felix's miracles during the nighttime vigil on 13 January 400. A year later Paulinus recounted¹⁰⁶ to a large audience of pilgrims how during the celebrations Theridius was disturbed by the smoke from the wax candles. He ran out into the night, and because he was so tall poked out an eye on an iron hook supporting a candelabrum which had gone out. However, his cries were heard by the saint, who healed him.

The close cooperation and exchange of fellow monks set a precedent and was copied. Other monastic colonies sought contacts with Nola. Between 420 and 427, more or less a decade after he had founded Lérins, the presbyter Honoratus sent to Paulinus at Nola three young monks from the monasteries on the rocky Mediterranean islands off the coast at

101. Paulinus, *ep.* 27.2.

102. Paulinus, *ep.* 16.1 and 27.1.

103. Paulinus, *ep.* 27.2; cf. *carm.* 24.381–86, esp. 385 f.: *huius [sc. Theridi] cohospes mente Paulinus pia in urbe servabat domum.*

104. Y.-M. Duval, "Sulpice Sévère entre Rufin d'Aquilée et Jérôme dans les Dialogues, 1,1–9," in *Mémorial Dom J. Gribomont, Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum* 27 (Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1988): 199–222, esp. 200 n. 6; and Perrin, "Courriers," 1058 n. 76.

105. The Posthumbianus of the *Dialogues* was a close friend of Severus, while the monk of the same name hardly knew him: . . . *quod se [Theridium et Posthumbianum] familiaritatis ac notitiae tuae [Severi] expertes faterentur . . .* (Paulinus, *ep.* 27.2). See P. Reinelt, *Studien über die Briefe des hl. Paulinus von Nola* (Breslau: G. P. Aderholz, 1904), 26 n. 2 and Fabre, *Chronologie*, 45 n. 5.

106. Paulinus, *carm.* 23 (*Nat.* 7):106–335 of 14 January 401. On the date, see Walsh, *Poems*, 6, 393, and M. Skeb, *Christo vivere. Studien zum literarischen Christusbild des Paulinus von Nola*, *Hereditas* 11 (Bonn: Borengässer, 1997), 13; on the satirical exaggeration, J. Fontaine, *Naissance de la poésie dans l'Occident chrétien. Esquisse d'une histoire de la poésie latine chrétienne du III^e au IV^e siècle* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1981), 174.

Cannes.¹⁰⁷ They were the *religiosi iuvenes* Augendus, Gelasius and Tigridius from Lerinum (Saint-Honorat).¹⁰⁸ A year earlier, monks had already arrived in Nola from the neighbouring island of Lerum (Sainte-Marguerite), in order to report on the new locality and the devotions of the ex-senators Honoratus and Eucherius.¹⁰⁹ Eucherius had retired to the island together with his entire family, including his wife and his two sons Salonius und Veranius.¹¹⁰

The monks from the *iles Lérins* stayed in the monastic community at Sr. Felix's grave for a long time, enjoying new experiences and furthering Paulinus' reputation. Eucherius praised him as a "model for Gaul and the world."¹¹¹ This exchange was reflected in a spirituality which was typical for Lérins.¹¹² Although the openness of monastic life at Nola was very

107. Lérins was founded in 410. The *terminus ante quem* for the visit is the ordination of Honoratus as bishop of Arles in late 427. See M. Heinzelmann, "Gallische Prosopographie 260–527," *Francia* 10 (1982), 626. Cf. K. F. Stroheker, *Der senatorische Adel im spätantiken Gallien* (1948; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1970), no. 196 and S. Pricoco, *L'isola dei santi. Il cenobio di Lerino e le origini del monachesimo gallico*, *Filologia e critica* 23 (Rome: Ed. dell'Ateneo & Bizzarri, 1978), 42–44.

108. Paulinus, *ep.* 51.1: . . . [*sc. deus noster*] *qui insperanti mihi tam opportunam quam exoptatam occasionem praebere dignatus est per religiosos iuvenes, filios meos, conservos vero communes in domino, Gelasium et Augendum et Tigridium, quos de sancto et castissimo congregationis suae numero vir laudabilis et praeclarus in Christo, frater noster et compresbyter meus, Honoratus ad humilitatem meam vestrae dilectionis exemplo refouendam domino inspirante direxit* . . .

109. *Ibid.*, 51.2 on the *fili* from Lerum who are not named: *Memineram enim quia filii mei, quos ante annum ad humilitatem meam mei gratia visitandum miseratis, locum habitationis vestrae, simul et domui venerabilis Honorati nobis innotuerunt* . . . Cf. 52.1: Eucherius and Galla appeared as *venerandi propositi opera curantes ac studia exercentes*. On the differentiation between the two groups of monks on the *iles Lérins*, see Fabre, *Amitié*, 180. and J. Desmulliez in *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire* (=PCBE 2), *Prosopographie de l'Italie chrétienne*, ed. Ch. and L. Pietri (Rome: École française de Rome, 2000), 2:1644, Paulinus 1.

110. On the individuals, see Pricoco, *Isola dei santi*, 44–48; cf. Stroheker, *Adel*, nos. 120 (Eucherius), 170 (Galla), 341 (Salonius) and 406 (Veranius).

111. Eucherius, *ep. paraenetica ad Valerianum* (PL 50:718) in 432: *Paulinus quoque, Nolanus episcopus, peculiare et beatum Galliae nostrae exemplum, ingenti quondam divitiarum censu uberrimo eloquentiae fonte; ita in sententiam nostram propositumque migravit, ut etiam cunctas admodum mundi partes eloquio operibusque resperserit*.

112. For details on the spirituality of Lérins, see R. Nurnberg, *Askese als sozialer Impuls. Monastisch-asketische Spiritualität als Wurzel und Triebfeder sozialer Ideen und Aktivitäten der Kirche in Südgallien im 5. Jb.*, *Hereditas* 2 (Bonn: Borengässer, 1988), 97 ff. and E. Prinz, *Mönchtum und Gesellschaft im Frühmittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976), 278–82.

different from the hermits' existence on the islands, both centers provided an attractive refuge for the aristocracy, renounced worldly goods and family ties, and radically abhorred the abusive power of the state's authority.¹¹³ It was also for educational reasons that Augustine of Hippo had recommended his presbyter Paulinus a lengthy "period of study" with his namesake in Nola. In 414 he thanked God that Paulinus had received his charge and healed him of his doubts. "For," he added, "he will draw no richer fruit from reading or hearing my teachings and discussions or my ardent exhortations than by looking upon your manner of life."¹¹⁴ Honoratus, later bishop of Arles, and Eucherius, bishop of Lyons, felt the same way.

6. THE STOPOVER TO THE COURT: DELEGATIONS TO HONORIUS

Otherwise Nola was a remote stopping place for guests from the provinces, offering them comfortable lodging on the journey to Milan, Ravenna, or Rome. But in contrast to the local inhabitants, the visitors from more distant places who landed at Naples, Portus, and Brindisi, or came to Nola via road from northern Italy, often had other less religious reasons for visiting the place of pilgrimage. During the political crises overshadowing Africa, such as the usurpation of Gildo, which occurred one year after Romanianus' visit and led to a never-ending conflict between Donatists, pagans, and heretics, Nola rapidly developed into a stopping place for the diplomatic missions of bishops from Numidia and Africa proconsularis to the imperial court and their colleagues in Italy.¹¹⁵ It is significant, though perhaps not surprising, that these visitors are never mentioned by Paulinus, and that Augustine only hints at them. But the visits of the African bishops to Paulinus' monastery take on a whole new perspective when the religious and political dimension of their journeys is taken into consideration.

The earliest diplomatic activities took place in autumn 397 or early

113. Eucherius and his successors used the idea of the "white martyrdom" above all to condemn the militarization of the world of late antiquity. See Pricoco, *Isola dei santi*, 169–86 (*'Martyrium sine cruore'* e *'militia Christi'*) and 204–44 (on the "ideologia dell'impegno civile"). Cf. 133 on the rejection of wealth, 154 ff. on hermits as *pars aliqua paradisi*, and 59 ff. on the aristocrats.

114. Augustine, *ep.* 149.34 (CSEL 44:380): *Non enim uberiore fructu legit vel audit me docentem ac disserentem vel quibuslibet exhortationibus accedentem, quam inspiciat te viventem*.

115. Mratschek, *Briefwechsel*, 362 f.

398, when the Mediterranean was blockaded by Gildo. Augustine attempted to send an anonymous messenger to Paulinus, to establish contacts with his rival Mascezel and the Italian bishops.¹¹⁶ A little earlier, in August 397, the synod of Carthage, at which Augustine had participated for the first time as bishop of Hippo, decided to turn to the bishops of Rome and Milan, Sicrius and Simplicianus, for a solution in the Donatist conflict.¹¹⁷

In another letter written in March 405, Augustine merely mentions that two of his fellow bishops, Theasius and Evodius, had visited Paulinus and his wife in Nola.¹¹⁸ No mention is made of the fact that they had been sent by the general synod of Carthage on 16 June of the previous year to the court of the emperor Honorius.¹¹⁹ Apart from a letter of recommendation, they were to deliver to the emperor a *commonitorium*,¹²⁰ informing him of the attacks of the Circumcellions and demanding the application against the Donatists of the laws of Theodosius, which imposed a fine of ten pounds of gold for acts of violence.¹²¹ On their arrival in Rome, however, they had learned that in the aftermath of the attempt on the life of the catholic bishop of Bagai the emperor had already taken action on 12 February 405, and thus met some of the demands of the synod.¹²²

Just at what point on their journey to Italy the ambassadors Theasius

and Evodius stopped over at Nola is unknown.¹²³ A passing comment by Augustine merely mentions that he dictated a few "fleeting thoughts" before a ship left for Italy, and promised to write him a longer letter later: "just as soon as the return of our venerable brothers, my colleagues Theasius and Evodius, has at least partly satisfied my curiosity about you."¹²⁴ "We hope more and more in the name and by the help of Christ that you will come to us in their hearts and words," he wrote to explain his unusual brevity.¹²⁵ In the face of the Gothic threat Augustine tried once again in the same letter to persuade his friend to contemplate evacuating his monastic community to Africa. Apparently Augustine assumed that the bishop Evodius and his companion Theasius would still be in Nola when his letter arrived, and hoped to hear upon their return about both the reaction of Paulinus to his suggestion, as well as the details of the success of their embassy to the emperor.

Evodius, bishop of Uzalis, had been a member of the imperial secret police. His duties had led him to turn his back on the world, before he joined the entourage of Augustine and Alypius in Milan.¹²⁶ Ten years before the meeting in 405, when he was still one of the *servi dei* of Augustine, Paulinus had asked him and a man called Comes¹²⁷ personally to look after the copying of Eusebius' *Chronicle* in the bishop of Carthage's *scriptorium*, and then to send the original back to Rome.¹²⁸ The fact that

116. Augustine (*Ep.* 45.2: CSEL 34.2:122) calls him simply *perlator*. On the historical background, see Mratschek, *Briefwechsel*, 362.

117. *Concilia Africae a. 345-525, Registri ecclesiae Carthaginensis excerpta* 47 (CCL 149:186): *De donatistis placuit ut consulamus fratres et sacerdotes nostros Sicrium et Simplicianum* . . . See Maier, *Dossier du donatisme*, 2:101 f., no. 62.

118. Augustine, *ep.* 80.1 (CSEL 34.2:347), see below. Mentioned with other African clerics by D. E. Trout, *Paulinus of Nola. Life, Letters, and Poems* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 205 f.

119. Maier, *Dossier du donatisme*, 2:129-34, esp. 130, no. 74.

120. *Concilia Africae, Reg. Carth.* 93 (CCL 149:211): *Commonitorium fratribus Theasio et Evodio legatis ex Carthaginensi concilio ad gloriosissimos religiosissimosque principes missis* . . . Recommendations were addressed to the emperor and the bishop of Rome: *litterae ad episcopum Romanae ecclesiae de commendatione legatorum . . . vel ad alios ubi fuerit imperator* (ibid., p. 213).

121. *Concilia Africae, Reg. Carth.* 93 (CCL 149:212): *Nota est enim et saepe legibus conclamata circumcellionum qua furunt detestabilis manus . . . Simul etiam petendum est, ut illam legem quae a religiosae memoriae eorum patre Theodosio de auri libris decem in ordinatos haereticos seu etiam in possessores, ubi eorum congregatio deprehenditur, promulgata est, ita deinceps confirmari praecipiant.*

122. Augustine, *ep.* 88.7 (CSEL 34.2:414); 185.7 (CSEL 57:25), see A. Mandouze, *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire* 1 (=PCBE 1), *Prosopographie de l'Afrique chrétienne*, 303-533 (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1982): 369, Evodius 2, and 1105, Theasius.

123. Similar occasions such as the usurpation of Gildo, or Possidius' visit, suggest they did so before (or before and after) the official part of the journey.

124. Augustine, *ep.* 80.1 (CSEL 34.2:347): *Proinde pauca haec ilico arripui dictanda atque mittenda prolixioris epistolae me confitens debitorum, cum post reditum venerabilium fratrum nostrorum collegarum meorum Theasi Evodi primum vestri ex parte satiatus fuero*. Goldbacher's *lectio difficilior vestri ex parte* is preferable to the reading *vestra* in P1—it is also incorrectly translated as "from your part of the world" by Parsons (Augustine, *Letters*, 1:386, *ad loc.*), cf. OLD, 1693. s.v. *satio* no. 3 (with genitive); there is no genitive attribute if *pars* means "region." *Primum* is a conjunction with *cum*, and not a prepositional phrase as in Parsons' translation "after the early return" (*post reditum . . . primum*); at best the superlative could be translated with the phrase "immediately after the return."

125. Augustine, *ep.* 80.1 (CSEL 34.2:347): *Uberius enim ad nos in eorum pectoribus et oribus vos esse venturos iam iamque in Christi nomine atque adiutorio speramus*.

126. Augustine, *Confessiones* 9.8.17 (CCL 27:142-43): . . . *consociasti nobis et Evodium iuvenem ex nostro municipio. Qui cum agens in rebus militaret, prior nobis ad te conversus est et baptizatus et relicta militia saeculari accinctus in tua*. Cf. Possidius, *Vita Augustini* 3.3-5 (PL 32:36). See PCBE 1:366-67, Evodius 1.

127. He later rose to become Augustine's deacon. See PCBE 1:216, Comes.

128. Paulinus, *ep.* 3.3: *Quod et sanctos viros, quos indice caritatis ipsorum tuo sermone cognovimus. Comitem et Evodium rogavimus, ut scribere ipsi curarent, ne vel parenti Dominioni codex suus diutius deforet . . .* For *curare* with *inf. act.*

Alypius, bishop of Tagaste, had drawn Paulinus' attention to the two Africans suggests that Evodius and the new leader of the ascetic movement had met each other during his first visit to Rome in the summer of 395, and that Paulinus had handed over the codex to him and his companions.¹²⁹

Four years after Theasius and Evodius, another delegation led by Possidius of Calama travelled to Italy in the summer of 408. We know very little about their stay at Nola, but are better informed as to the background and result of their embassy. At Nola the bishop of Calama gave his host Paulinus a letter of recommendation from Augustine, before going on to deliver an oral report of the troubles in his diocese: "Therefore, when you hear from brother Possidius of the sad reason which drove him to the joy of your company," Augustine wrote, "you will realize that I speak the absolute truth."¹³⁰

Possidius had tried to make use of the new imperial laws to enforce his authority to break up a public pagan procession, which had been banned, on the kalends of June 408.¹³¹ His actions led to riots, in the course of which stones hailed down on the bishop's basilica, the church was set on fire, and a monk was killed.¹³² Possidius barely escaped with his life when the mob tried to lynch him, and the local *curiales* made no attempt to

meaning "take care of, see to it that something is done," see OLD 475. f. s.v. *curo* 6c and 8f. *Scribere* refers to the production of the copy, not to Comes and Evodius writing a second letter to Aurelius. Mandouze (PCBE 1:216, 368), Desmulliez (PCBE 2.2:1633, Paulinus 1), and H. Rosweyde (PL 61:164) are right on this point with their conjecture *exscribere*. The translations by Walsh (*Letters* 1:35: "to be sure to write to the same effect") and Skeb, *Paulinus von Nola. Epistulae, Briefe I-III* (lat.-dt.), *Fontes Christiani* 25.1-3 (Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1998), 1:151, *ad loc.* ("sie sollten selbst dafür Sorge tragen, an Aurelius zu schreiben") are incorrect, as *scribere* clearly has no object.

129. Plausibly suggested by S. Rebenich, *Hieronymus und sein Kreis. Prosopographische und sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, *Historia-Einzelschrift* 72 (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1992), 226. The alternative, that Paulinus merely formulated his request in writing, and that both were in Carthage, is less likely. In this case Alypius would have done better to have asked himself.

130. Augustine, *ep.* 95.1 (CSEL 34.2:506): *Proinde ad istam laetitiam, qua vobiscum est frater Possidius, cum ex ipso audieritis, quam tristis eum causa compulerit, hoc me verissime dicere cognoscetis.*

131. Augustine, *ep.* 91.8 (CSEL 34.2:432): *Contra recentissimas leges Kalendis Iunius festo paganorum sacrilega sollemnitas agitata est . . .* The edict in question (CTh 16.5.43 and 16.10.19=ConstSirm 12) was promulgated on 15 Nov. 407 in Rome; see Maier, *Le dossier du donatisme*, 2:153-57, no. 85.

132. On the *ecclesia lapidata*, the *incendium* and *sanguis*, Augustine, *ep.* 91.8 (CSEL, 34.2:432-33); 104.5 (p. 585). For details, see Van der Meer, *Augustinus*, 1:65 f.

prevent them.¹³³ "And all that just because of the production of silver statues of their gods," commented Augustine, who took in Possidius in Hippo.¹³⁴ The bishop of Hippo also told the frightened *curiales* of Calama that it was not his decision as to how they should be punished, but that it was a matter for the imperial court,¹³⁵ and sent Possidius to Ravenna via Nola to ask for the emperor's support.

Although Augustine appears so cold-blooded in appealing to the emperor in order to protect his fellow bishops from his compatriots, he was in fact no friend of such restrictive measures. In a long, depressing letter which he gave to Possidius, he reveals to Paulinus of Nola how he was torn apart: "Naturally, we do not like the reasons and necessities which force them [i.e. the embassy] to go overseas," he emphasizes, "we hate them, and we try to avoid them as much as we can . . . What shall I say about punishment or nonpunishment, since this is something we intend for the good of those who are to be punished or not punished according to our judgment? [...] What trembling in all this, my dear Paulinus, holy man of God! What trembling, what darkness!"¹³⁶

Perhaps the ex-senator Paulinus gave advice to the delegations from Africa before their audience at the imperial court. Possidius of Calama's next stop, where he sought the support of friends, was more than twenty miles (30 km) from Nola. He took the opportunity of breaking his journey

133. They thought that their bishop and his clergy had gone too far; cf. Augustine, *ep.* 91.8 (CSEL 34.2:433): . . . *cum interea contrusus atque coartatus quodam loco se occultaret episcopus, ubi se ad mortem quaerentium voces audiebat sibi que increpantium . . . Nemo compescere, nemo subvenire temptavit illorum, quorum esse gravis posset auctoritas . . . clarum factum est, quam facile illa vel omnino non fierent vel coepta desisterent, si cives maximeque primates ea fieri perfici vetuissent.*

134. Augustine, *ep.* 104.5 (CSEL 34.2:585): *Tertium vero, quod habent, unde male vivunt, id est, ut nihil aliud dicam, certe unde falsorum deorum argentea fabricavere simulacra, pro quibus vel servandis vel adorandis vel sacrilego ritu adhuc colendis usque ad ecclesiae dei prosiliatur incendium . . .* Cf. 91.8 (p. 433). Van der Meer, *Augustinus*, 1:66 f. saw the sale of *devotionalia* as the main source of income for the city.

135. Augustine, *ep.* 91 (CSEL 34.2:427-35) *passim*, esp. 9. (p. 434): *Quid eos, qui restant, nullane censes disciplina coerendos et proponendum aestimas impunitum tam immanis furoris exemplum? . . . a nobis curam officiumque oportet impendi, quousque videre conceditur . . .*

136. Augustine, *ep.* 95.1 (CSEL 34.2:506): *Nam ipsas causas et necessitates, quibus petere transmarina coguntur, non amamus, immo etiam odimus et, quantum valemus, devitare conamur . . .* Ibid., 3 (p. 508-9): *Quid dicam de vindicando vel non vindicando, quando quidem hoc totum ad eorum salutem proficere volumus, in quos vindicandum vel non vindicandum esse arbitramur? [. . .] Quis in his omnibus tremor, mi Pauline, sancte homo dei! Quis tremor, quae tenebrae!*

to Ravenna in Capua, the capital of the province Campania, to give bishop Memor a letter from Augustine, together with the long-awaited book six of *De musica*,¹³⁷ a work about metre rather than music.¹³⁸ Memor, who was one of Paulinus's circle, had pestered Augustine for a copy,¹³⁹ as he had to look after his gifted son Julianus' education, and was looking for a Christian book on classical poetry.¹⁴⁰ However, Augustine, who was involved in a bitter struggle with the Donatists, Circumcellions, and pagans, had mislaid his manuscript and had to look for it first.¹⁴¹ To him the request seemed like an amusement from times long gone by, when Christians had the leisure to spend their time with liberal studies.¹⁴² He thought it would be better to invite the bright young deacon and son of a bishop, whose views on forgiveness he was to oppose so bitterly later on, to come to Africa to support him.¹⁴³

137. Augustine, *ep.* 101.1 (CSEL 34.2:539–40): *Nimis autem ingratum ac ferreum fuit, ut te, qui nos sic amas, hic sanctus frater et collega noster Possidius, in quo nostram non parvam praesentiam reperies, vel non disceret vel sine nostris litteris disceret.* See n. 138, for the present of the book.

138. *Ibid.*, 101.3 (CSEL 34.2:542): . . . *conscripti de solo rhythmico sex libros et de melo scribere alios forsitan sex, fateor, disponebam, cum mihi otium futurum sperabam.*

139. *Ibid.*, 101.1 (CSEL 34.2:539): *Nullas debui iam reddere litteras sanctae caritati tuae sine his libris, quos a me sancti amoris iure violentissimo flagitasti, ut hac saltem oboedientia responderem epistulis tuis, quibus me magis onerare quam honorare dignatus es.*

140. Augustine, *ep.* 101.4 (CSEL 34.2:542): *Sextum sane librum, quem emendatum repperi, ubi est omnis fructus ceterorum, non distuli mittere caritati tuae . . . Nam superiores quinque vix filio nostro et condiacono Iuliano, quoniam et ipse iam nobiscum committat, digni lectione vel cognitione videbuntur.* See P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography* (London: Faber & Faber, 1967), 381; new edition *Augustinus von Hippo. Eine Biographie* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 2000), enlarged by an "Epilog 1999."

141. Augustine, *ep.* 101.3 (CSEL 34.2:542): *Sed postea quam mihi curarum ecclesiasticarum sarcina imposita est, omnes illae deliciae fugere de manibus, ita ut vix meum ipsum codicem inveniam, quoniam tuam voluntatem nec petitionem sed iussionem contemnere nequeo.*

142. *Ibid.*, 101.3 (CSEL 34.2:541 f.): . . . *mitto nostri otii, cum a curis maioribus magisque necessariis vacabat animus, volui per ista, quae a nobis desiderasti, scripta proludere . . .* On the superiority of a Christian education over the *litterae liberales*. 101.1–2 (p. 540).

143. *Ibid.*, 101.4 (CSEL 34.2:543): . . . *sed hoc mihi facit spes amplior videndi eum [i.e. Julianus]; puto enim, quod, si ad nos te iubente vel mittente venerit, et hoc faciet, quod adolescentem decet, maxime quia nondum curis maioribus detinetur, et te ipsum mihi expeditius adportabit.* Julianus was a *vir acer ingenio, in divinis scripturis doctus*; see Gennadius, *Vir. ill.* 46 (ed. Richardson, 78).

Possidius was not the only bishop to travel to Italy in 408;¹⁴⁴ Fortunatianus also travelled to the imperial court on a mission from the synod of Carthage,¹⁴⁵ and in the following year an official delegation led by Restitutus and Florentius sailed for Italy to ask for help. The Donatists and Circumcellions had formed an alliance, and the troubles had gotten worse.¹⁴⁶ In the middle of winter 408/9 Severus of Milevis also sent a presbyter to represent his interests to Hippo, and then on to Ravenna.¹⁴⁷ His job was to give a letter from Augustine to the *homo novus* and *magister officiorum* Olympius, in which Augustine asked for the government to intercede and insisted that the old laws against pagan cults and heretics should be strictly applied.¹⁴⁸ Paulinus was a friend of one Olympius,

144. Augustine, *ep.* 97.3 (CSEL 34.2:518–20) to Olympius: . . . *commodius episcopi, qui propterea navigaverunt, cum tanta benignitate tui cordis acturi sunt, qui potuerunt communi consilio diligentius deliberatum aliquid ferre, quantum temporis permittebat angustia.*

145. *Concilia Africae, Reg. Carth.* 13 (CCL 149:219) on the embassies of the synod of Carthage written on 16 June 408: *In hoc concilio legationem iterum suscepit Fortunatianus episcopus contra paganos et haereticos.* See Maier, *Dossier du donatisme*, 2:157 f., no. 86. Fortunatianus, who was probably bishop of Sicca Veneria (Le Kef), cannot be easily distinguished from the bishop of Neapolis of the same name; see PCBE 1:485, Fortunatianus 4 and J.-L. Maier, *L'épiscopat de l'Afrique romaine et byzantine* (Rome: Institut Suisse; Bern: Franke in Kommission, 1973), 322.

146. *Concilia Africae, Reg. Carth.* 14 (CCL 149:219), resolution of the synod of Carthage of 13 Oct. 408 with the same wording: *In hoc concilio susceperunt legationem Restitutus et Florentius episcopi contra paganos et haereticos . . .* PCBE 1:472, Florentius 4; 1:971, Restitutus 4. See also Maier, *Dossier du donatisme*, 2:158 f., no. 87; Van der Meer, *Augustinus*, 1:67. The reaction in the imperial constitutions covers the period from November 408 to June 409, cf. Maier, *Dossier du donatisme*, 2:161–69, no. 89–91.

147. Augustine, *ep.* 97.2 (CSEL 34.2:517): *Et fratres quidem multi sancti collegae mei graviter ecclesia perturbata profecti sunt paene fugientes ad gloriosissimum comitatum, quos sive iam videris sive litteras eorum ab urbe Roma opportunitate cuiusquam occasionis acceperis, ego tamen . . . non potui praetermittere per hunc fratrem et conpresbyterum meum, qui urgenti necessitate pro salute civis sui etiam media hieme quomodocumque ad illas partes venire compulsus est, et salutare et admonere caritatem tuam . . .* Cf. 97.3 (p. 518): *Propterea quippe memoratus presbyter harum perlorum, cum de regione sit Milevitana, ab episcopo suo venerabili fratre meo Severo . . . transire iussus est . . .* See Van der Meer, *Augustinus*, 1:67. On Olympius, whom Van der Meer mistakenly calls Olympiodorus in *Philost.* 12.1 (GCS:140.8) see Bidez-Winkelmann *ad loc.*; cf. *PLRE* 2: Olympius 2, and M. Clauss, *Der Magister officiorum in der Spätantike (4.–6. Jh.)*, *Vestigia* 32 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1980), 174 f.

148. Augustine, *ep.* 97.2 (CSEL 34.2:517): . . . [*sc. non potui praetermittere . . . admonere caritatem tuam*], *ut opus tuum bonum diligentissima acceleretur instantia, quo noverint inimici ecclesiae leges illas, quae de idolis confringendis et haereticis*

who mixed with senatorial circles,¹⁴⁹ and eleven years previously, in the autumn of 397, had welcomed the courier's patron, the bishop of Milevis, in Nola.¹⁵⁰ Severus had the tricky task of personally settling the differences between Augustine and his host,¹⁵¹ and was to bring back to Africa Paulinus' book *Against demon worshippers* which had just been published.

It was not without a degree of worry that Augustine expressed his thanks that the monastery at Felix's grave was visited by numerous embassies from African dioceses in 408 and 409 during the struggles with the Donatists: "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 increase of good fortune for us as an assuagement of ill fortune."¹⁵²

Augustine's words seem to imply that after Theasius and Evodius, not just Possidius, and probably the presbyter of the bishop of Milevis, but also many other delegations of bishops and priests stopped over at Nola. Here they sought Paulinus' advice before moving on to the imperial court, or reported on the results of their audiences before returning to Africa. In spite of the scarcity of evidence in the sources, the long series of diplomatic activities suggests that the cooperation between the African bishops and the monastic center at Nola was fruitful. But there is no further reference for such a cooperation after Januarius, a friend of both Augus-

tine and Alypius, was sent in early 417.¹⁵³ Apart from delivering an official letter of protest from the synod of Carthage, he had informed Paulinus that the bishop of Rome's intention of rehabilitating Pelagius was totally unacceptable to his patrons, and tried in vain to persuade him to support them actively in the conflict.¹⁵⁴

7. A FASHIONABLE RESORT OF THE CHRISTIAN ELITE

It was a great boost for the reputation of the shrine and its protector when the elder Melania, the granddaughter of the consul Antonius Marcellinus,¹⁵⁵ who was already a legend in her own lifetime,¹⁵⁶ chose Paulinus' monastery as her first stop in Italy upon returning home to Rome from her twenty-seven-year pilgrimage to the Orient. After this highlight in the beginning of 400, a series of illustrious guests, including holders of high ecclesiastical office, such as Nicetas of Remesiana, Aemilius of Beneventum and Julianus of Eclanum,¹⁵⁷ as well as friends of Paulinus who had connection with the Theodosian court, turned the monastery at Nola into a meeting place for the Western Christian aristocracy.

Paulinus was an eyewitness to the arrival of the elder Melania's ship in Naples.¹⁵⁸ A whole hoard of influential and dear relatives from Rome (*magna et potentissimorum et carorum propinquorum Romae copia*)¹⁵⁹ had collected her from the harbour. Paulinus described the scene: "There she was met in welcome by her children and grandchildren, and then she

corrigendis vivo Stilichone in Africam missae sunt, voluntate imperatoris piissimi et fidelissimi constitutas.

149. Paulinus, *ep.* 13.1, 3. See S. Mratschek, "Te velimus . . . consilii participem. Augustine of Hippo and Olympius—a case study of religious-political cooperation in the 5th century," Thirteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford, 16–21 August 1999, *Studia Patristica* 38 (2000): 224–32.

150. Augustine, *ep.* 42 (CSEL 34.2:84) after summer 397: . . . *ut per fratrem Severum rescripta flagitaremus . . .* The date (PCBE 1:1072–3, Severus 1; and Fabre, *Chronologie*, 70 f., contra Courcelle, "Lacunes," 259: "Autumn 398"; T. Piscitelli Carpino, *Paolino di Nola. Epistole ad Agostino*, Srenae Nolanae 2 (Naples: Istituto Anselmi di Marigliani, 1989), Carteggio Paoliniano, is too early: "the beginning of summer 397" suggests that Severus visited Paulinus in Nola, rather than met him at the feast of the Apostles in Rome. The scholars quoted are unanimous on the identity of the Severus mentioned in the letter.

151. Augustine's argument with Megalium of Calama had a negative effect on his friendship with Paulinus. See Brown, *Augustine*, 204. Cf. Augustine, *ep.* 45.1 (CSEL 34.2:122): *Nequaquam nos nescio qua vestra cessatio, qua ecce totum biennium . . . nullas a vobis literas sumpsimus, pigros ad scribendum fecit . . .*

152. Augustine, *ep.* 95.1 (CSEL 34.2:506): *Cum vos [i.e. Paulinum] fratres nostri comunctissimi nobis, quos nobiscum desiderati desiderare et salutati resalutare consuestis, assidue vident, non tam augentur bona nostra quam consolantur mala.*

153. Loc. cit. (n. 154), cf. PCBE 1:591, Januarius 25.

154. Augustine, *ep.* 186.12.41 (CSEL 57:80): *Quae autem et de quibus audierimus, quae multum dolemus et faciles credere nolimus, audiet a communi amico sanctitas tua, quo . . . cum salute remeante speramus nos de omnibus fieri posse certissimos.* On the request for a letter of recommendation, see 186.1 (p. 45).

155. Paulinus, *ep.* 29.8: *Marcellino consule avo.* He was *cos.* 341, see PLRE 1: Marcellinus 16.

156. So many books had been written about her that Paulinus "nearly" gave up the project. See Paulinus, *ep.* 29.6: *Verat fastidii intolerabilis metus voluminibus adhuc addere; sed personae dignitas, immo dei gratia postulare videtur . . .*

157. On Melania's departure in the last weeks of 399, or at the beginning of 400, see N. Moine, "Melaniana," *RecAug* 15 (1980): 27; on Julianus of Eclanum, P. Brown, "The Patrons of Pelagius: The Roman Aristocracy between East and West," in *Religion and Society in the Age of Saint Augustine* (London: Faber & Faber, 1972): 211 f.; on his father-in-law Aemilius and on their friendship with Paulinus, see below.

158. Paulinus, *ep.* 29.12: . . . *quo citius sermonem meum in eius ad nos adventu exponendo determinem, in quo magis dei gratiae spectator fui.*

159. Paulinus, *ep.* 29.9.

hastened to Nola to enjoy my humble hospitality."¹⁶⁰ Dressed in a black robe, riding on a donkey, and reading her books deep into the night, she made quite an impression on her elegant relatives, and on Paulinus.¹⁶¹ The contrast to the rich members of her entourage could not have been greater. According to the eyewitness the latter "had all the pomp of this world with which honored and wealthy senators could be invested. The Appian Way¹⁶² groaned and gleamed with swaying coaches, horses decorated with *phalerae*, ladies' carriages all gilded, and numerous smaller vehicles."¹⁶³ Melania's poverty could not have been in greater contrast to the superfluous wealth of her sons and grandchildren, who owned land in Spain, Gaul, Campania, Sicily, Africa, and Britain.¹⁶⁴

The guests at the monastery included Melania's *fili et nepotes*, her son Publicola, a *consularis Campaniae* and patron of Beneventum,¹⁶⁵ his wife Albina, the sister of Volusianus, who later became Prefect of the City,¹⁶⁶ and her sixteen-year-old granddaughter who had, a year or two earlier,

160. Paulinus, *ep.* 29.12: *Neapolim urbem brevi spatio a Nolana qua degimus civitate distinctam advecta est, ubi filiorum nepotumque occursum excepta mox Nolam ad humilitatis nostrae hospitium festinavit . . .*

161. *Ibid.*: *Vidimus gloriam domini in illo matris et filiorum itinere, <qui> quidem in eo, sed longe dispari cultu, macro illam et viliore asellis burico sedentem . . .* See P. Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 281.

162. Not the Via Appia from Rome to Capua and Beneventum (so Waish, *Letters*, 2:325 n. 54), but a smaller connecting road of the same name from Naples to Nola, twenty miles to the east.

163. Paulinus, *ep.* 29.12: . . . [*sc. Melaniam*] *tota huius saeculi pompa qua honorati et opulenti poterant circumflui senatores prosequerantur, carrucis nutantibus, phaleratis equis, auratis pilentis et carpentis pluribus gemente Appia atque fulgente. Cf. 13 on the divitum illorum catervae. See D. E. Trout, Secular Renunciation and Social Action: Paulinus of Nola and Late Roman Society* (Dissertation, Duke University, Durham 1989; Ann Arbor, 1990, microfilm), 257–60; *Paulinus* 207; and Gorce, "Gastfreundlichkeit," 77.

164. Melania the elder was characterized as *pauperato dives* by Paulinus (*ep.* 29.9), although she retained control over the greater part of her estate until her death (Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 54.6; ed. Butler, 2:147), Valerius Publicola as *filius . . . qui et opibus saeculi utatur et honoribus*. On the possessions of her granddaughter, see Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* 61 (ed. Butler, 2:156) and *Vita S. Melaniae Iunioris* 11; 20 (ed. Gorce, SC 90:146, 168).

165. Around 374 he held the office of *praetor urbanus*, which was reserved for a high-ranking western family (mistakenly c. 377. in *PLRE* 1: Publicola 1), see Jerome, *Chronicon s.a.* 374 p. Chr.n. (GCS 47:247ⁿ); identical with the *ab atavis patronus* Valerius Publicola of *CIL* 9.1591; see *PLRE* 1: Publicola 2.

166. Rufus Antonius Agrypnius Volusianus was *PUR* in 417–18, and *PPO Italiae* in 428–29, see *PLRE* 2: Volusianus 6; and Mratschek, *Briefwechsel*, Prosopographischer Anhang der Briefpartner III, no. 30.

been married to her cousin, the heir Valerius Pinianus. It was to this group of wealthy relatives that Paulinus presented Sulpicius Severus' *Life of Martin*, which had appeared three years ago, for the first time. The experiment was such a success, and Melania in her hunger for knowledge so enjoyed "such stories," that Paulinus repeated it with the same positive result a while later, when Nicetas of Remesiana visited him for the first time.¹⁶⁷ The reading took place in the *cenaculum* of the guest house, while the poetry recitals at the *Natalicia* could be held in the open air in a specially constructed forum, if the weather allowed.¹⁶⁸

Nicetas had already made a detour via Nola in the winter of 400, on his way back to Dacia from his first trip to Italy and an audience with the bishop of Rome. Paulinus thanked him with a *propemptikon*.¹⁶⁹ When he returned three years later,¹⁷⁰ just before the new basilica was consecrated, Paulinus cried out in joy: "Who could fail to observe this clear evidence that your prayer, Felix, has brought me a blessing which I could scarcely pray for or even dream of attaining, namely, that I should look on and embrace Nicetas again in the flesh on Felix's very birthday, and that he should once more be listening as I sing, Felix, the hymn I owe to you?"¹⁷¹ This means that both of the bishop of Dacia's visits took place in the winter, about 14 January.¹⁷² Paulinus did not neglect to point out that Nicetas' presence made the feast of St. Felix a particularly splendid affair,¹⁷³ and that during the sermon he sat so close to Nicetas that the latter

167. Paulinus, *ep.* 29.14. Paulinus compared Melania with Martin (29.6). She need not have stayed at the same time as Nicetas, but just before or after him instead.

168. According to K. Kohlweh, *Christliche Dichtung und stilistische Form bei Paulinus von Nola* (Bonn: Habelt, 1979), 214, *tugurium* could also have been the site of the recitals of the *Natalicia*. However, see also the assembly ground in Paulinus, *carm.* 28.59: . . . *conciliisque forum late spatiable pandit*.

169. Paulinus, *carm.* 17. He did not depart for Dacia before the shipping season had ended in late summer or autumn 399 (so Lehmann, *Basilica Nova*, 244 n. 925), but rather in the following year. On the circumstances of the sudden departure, see H. Sivan, "Nicetas' (of Remesiana) Mission and Stilicho's Illyrican Ambition: Notes on Paulinus of Nola *Carmen* XVII (*Propemptikon*)," *REAug* 41 (1995): 81.

170. Paulinus, *carm.* 27.333: *Venisti tandem, quarto mihi redditus anno!*

171. On Nicetas as Paulinus' *auditor*, see Paulinus, *carm.* 27.187–92.

172. Therefore their first meeting did not take place at the feast of the Apostles at the end of June in Rome, as assumed by J. Brochet, *La correspondance de Saint Paulin de Nole et de Sulpice Sévère* (Dissertation, Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1906), 37, and Lehmann, *Basilica Nova*, 224 n. 925, but later. See Fabre, *Chronologie*, 37, Lienhard, *Monasticism*, 162–65, esp. 163 and A. Ruggiero, *Paolino di Nola, I Carmi* 1–11, *Strenae Nolanae* 6–7 (Naples: Istituto Anselmi di Marigliano, 1996), 1:377–78, 383 n. 4.

173. Paulinus, *carm.* 27.150–52: *sed in hoc mihi clarior anno orta refulsisti [sc. dies], quia cum Felicis honore Nicetam revehis . . .*

could touch him.¹⁷⁴ "That is why the winter wears the face of spring, and the animating air breathes fragrant warmth on us," he greeted his friend.¹⁷⁵

The intellectual from Bordeaux and the Dacian bishop shared a common desire, to contrast an Italy and an Illyricum threatened by barbarians with the cultivated aesthetics of Christian literature and buildings. Nicetas had such a high opinion of his educated host's understanding of art that on his second visit to Italy he travelled directly to Nola,¹⁷⁶ in order to see how Paulinus' building program was coming along, and it is doubtful if he ever really planned to continue on to Rome.¹⁷⁷ When Nicetas visited the monastery at Felix's grave in the winter of 403, it was nearly completed. Its builder showed his friend from Remesiana around, and explained not just the overall concept, but pointed out individual architectural features and technical innovations, including the impressive collection of relics. He then recorded the construction of the pilgrim center for eternity with a *Natalicium* to Felix.¹⁷⁸ Finally he asked the knowledgeable bishop for a critical appraisal of the building program, which by then in winter 403 was nearing completion, and for suggestions as to how the final works could be improved.¹⁷⁹ The new cult center was consecrated just a few months later in summer or autumn 403.¹⁸⁰

In the summer of 406 Paulinus invited Rufinus of Aquileia, who had translated the Greek ecclesiastical authors, and his aristocratic friends the younger Melania and Pinianus¹⁸¹ to come and visit him in Nola. The reason was the invasion of northern Italy by the Gothic hordes under

174. Paulinus, *carm.* 27.315 f.: *Sentio Nicetam, dum proximus adsidet et me tangit et adiuncto lateri vicinus anhelat.* 27.243 f.: *Sed quoniam lateri meus adsidet ipse magister, comminus e regione situm venerante frequenter lumine conspiciam.*

175. *Ibid.*, 27.163–65: *Iunctus adest domini Christi comitatus amicus Nicetas; hinc vernat hiems, hunc undique nobis spirat odoratos vegetabilis aura vapores.* On Nicetas as Paulinus' *amicus*, see also v. 199.

176. Brochet, *Correspondance*, 36 f. with examples, e.g. Paulinus, *carm.* 27.233–34: *... longinqua tellure mihi modo missus [sc. Nicetas], ad istum ecce diem venit . . .*

177. See R. KIRSTEIN's commentary, *Paulinus Nolanus, Carmen 17* (Dissertation, Münster, 1997), 20; CHRËSIS 8 (Basel: Schwabe, 2000), 48.

178. Paulinus, *carm.* 27 (=Nat. 9) of 14 January 403, esp. v. 360–61: *Ergo veni, pater, et socio mihi iungere passu, dum te circumagens operum per singula duco.*

179. Paulinus, *carm.* 27.354–57: *Gemino qui iure magistri et patris ut bene gesta probet, sic improba damnet [sc. Niceta], corrugat errata et placidus disponat agenda; imperfecta iuuet precibus, perfecta sacerdos deditet.*

180. Lehmann, *Basilica Nova*, 243; cf. Fabre, *Amitié*, 221–31.

181. They were the *communes filii*, whose slaves brought the letters, and the companions whom Paulinus addressed with *vos* and invited to Nola together with Rufinus (Paulinus, *ep.* 46.1), see n. 184. Rufinus lived in their town house.

Radagaisus. Paulinus was afraid "they now pressed the very entrance to the city [Rome]."¹⁸² Contemporary witnesses confirm that panic broke out in Rome.¹⁸³ Paulinus was worried, because Rufinus had sent a brief note, in which he indicated that he and his host intended to remain in Rome "in spite of the heat of anxiety and the uncertainty of remaining there."¹⁸⁴ "In spite of this," he wrote, "I may still begin to hope for the reward of your presence here once you begin to be definite on your decision or on God's will as it affects yourselves."¹⁸⁵ "I was most pleased to receive your kindly advice, . . . that I should attend to Greek studies more closely," he continued, and informed the famous philologist that he intended to resume his reading of Greek literature. "But I cannot do this unless the Lord chances to consent to my desire to enjoy your companionship over a reasonably long period. How can I improve in a language, which I do not know, if I am deprived of the means of learning it?"¹⁸⁶

In winter, at the beginning of the new year 407,¹⁸⁷ when the immediate danger had long been banished and Paulinus wrote a poem celebrating

182. See the review of the year 406 in Paulinus, *carm.* 21.10: *instantesque Getas ipsis iam faucibus urbis.* On this, Courcelle, "Lacunes," 268–69 n. 6.

183. Augustine, *De civitate dei* 5.23 (CCL 47:159): *Cum Rhadagaisus rex Gothorum agmine ingenti et immam iam in urbis vicina constitutus Romanis cervicibus immineret . . .* Orosius 7.37.9 (CSEL 5:540): *. . . Romam e proximo tremementem terrore quassabat.*

184. Paulinus, *ep.* 46.1: *. . . quia nunc vos in aestu sollicitudinis et incerto morarum Romam pati indicastis . . .* Rufinus and his companions (*vos*) were in Rome when the letter was written. The plural *vos*, which contrasts with the *tu* and *tuus* in other passages of the letter, probably refers to the younger Melania and Pinianus, who later accompanied Rufinus to Sicily. See Walsh, *Letters*, 2:355 nn. 2–3, and C. P. HAMMOND, "The Last Ten Years of Rufinus' Life and the Date of His Move South from Aquileia," *JTS*, n.s. 28 (1977): 414.

185. Paulinus, *ep.* 46.1 (Rufinus, Pinianus, and Melania the younger): *. . . sicut anxii compatimur, ita congaudeamus hilaratis et incipiamus tamen sperare fructum praesentiae vestrae, si vos certi esse de vestra sententia vel domini circa vos placito coeperitis.*

186. Paulinus, *ep.* 46.2: *sed implere non valeo, nisi forte desideriiis meis adnuat dominus, ut distius consortio tuo perfruar. Nam quomodo profectum capere potero sermonis ignoti, si desit a quo ignorata condiscam?*

187. Paulinus, *carm.* 21.61 (*novi flores*), 203 (*munera hoc anno data*) and 838 (*tuis modo fruibis ortos*). The abl. temporis *hoc anno* and the temporal adverb *modo* ("just recently") indicate that they had arrived just before 14 Jan. 407, and, contrary to the view of Trout, *Renunciation*, 263 f., had fled prior to the threat from Alaric in autumn 408; however cf. Radagaisus as "a factor in their movements" (261 n. 45) and now the suspicion of two different visits (Paulinus, 208 and 226), see below with n. 211. Nor was Albina born in Nola, as PLRE 1: Albina 2 mistakenly concludes from v. 838.

Rome's liberation,¹⁸⁸ Valerius Pinianus and the younger Melania took up his offer. In their entourage they brought their entire family, as well as other *proceres* who are not named:¹⁸⁹ the *clarissima femina* Albina, the elder Melania's daughter-in-law, Avita, her niece with her husband Apronianus and their two children Eunomia and Asterius. The younger generation bore the same strange mixture of ascetic aspirations and class awareness, which was based on wealth while at the same time denying it.¹⁹⁰ The younger Melania and Pinianus each had an annual income of some 1700 pounds of gold, a sum which put them on a par with the richest senators in the Empire, whose annual income could be about 4000 pounds of gold.¹⁹¹ With the exception of Publicola, who compensated for his lack of religious conviction with generous gifts, all her relatives had converted to ascetic Christianity no later than after their first visit, and promised their children to the church.¹⁹² The old lady herself¹⁹³ had been involved in the conversion of the long-serving senator Turcius Apronianus, while Paulinus himself had been responsible for that of the *puer* Valerius Pinianus.¹⁹⁴ Albina, the younger Melania's mother, had retired to Campania after the death of her husband Publicola in 406, and joined the others

188. Radagaisus was executed in the last week of August 406 (*Addit. Prosp. Hann. chron. s.a.* 405: *Chronica minora* 1, MGH AA 9:299); for the correct date cf. O. Seeck, "Radagaisus," *RE* 1A.1 (1914): 31. See Paulinus, *car.* 21 on the *candida pax* (v. 1), the Goths before the gates of Rome (v. 10–12), and the victory of the young emperor over the tyrants (v. 20–24).

189. Her companions formed a choir conducted by Melania: cf. Paulinus, *car.* 21.77–78: *procerum numerosa cohors et . . . virgineae . . . sacra turba catervae*.

190. Paulinus (*car.* 21.205) characterized the group as *mancia Christi, nobiles terrae prius*. See Trout, *Renunciation*, 261, and Paulinus, 207–9.

191. Postulated by E. A. Clark, "Piety, Propaganda, and Politics in the Life of Melania the Younger," *Studia Patristica* 18.2 (1989): 170. For the details of the fortune of Melania the younger, see *Vita Melanae* 15 (SC 90:156). On the largest fortunes in late antiquity, cf. Olympiodorus, *Fr.* 44, in Photius, *Bibl.* 80 (PG 103:280). 72 *solidi* are one pound of gold.

192. Paulinus, *car.* 21.60–63: *Nam quasi secundo sancti Felicis in agro emersere novi flores, duo gemina Christi, Turcius ore pio, florente Severius aevo . . . Sever(i)us* was a second cognomen of Valerius Pinianus. Asterius was meant to become a priest (v. 313–17), Eunomia a nun (v. 166–68). Publicola, *his operibus locupletatus*, was famous for his benefactions to the *humiles* (ep. 45.3).

193. *Ibid.*, 21.115: *. . . vetus est senator curiae, Christo novus*. Melania the elder gave Apronianus and his son Asterius their first religious instruction (Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* 54; ed. Butler 2:146–47).

194. *Ibid.*, 21.312: *Emmet hic proprio mihi filius in grege primus*. Cf. 217 (*aevo minore* as Apronianus) and 308 (*puer*) on Pinianus' youth. It was because he possessed estates in Campania (see nn. 164, 195) that he felt drawn to Nola.

there.¹⁹⁵ The death of the head of the family may have been the reason for their gathering in Nola on St. Felix's day.

As a result seven aristocrats from the elder Melania's family were among the audience to which on the day of the feast in 407 Paulinus told of his *peregrinatio* to Nola in a variety of hexameters, iambic trimeters, and elegiac distichs.¹⁹⁶ Only Melania herself and Rufinus did not participate in the festival.¹⁹⁷ A year earlier she had left for Sicily with Publicola's youngest grandchild in order to return to the Holy Land,¹⁹⁸ and received the news of the death in Africa.¹⁹⁹ Rufinus stayed with the monks at Tarracina, not far from Nola, so that he could continue his studies in peace.²⁰⁰ Only one of the family's friends was missing: "Aemilius must join us as the tenth, and then at last the mystical law will sound in us with full complement," was how the invitation to the bishop of nearby Beneventum was put.²⁰¹ Delmaire has suggested that he may have been related to Paulinus.²⁰²

195. In Paulinus, *car.* 21.281 Albina the younger is mentioned together with Therasia and Avita. Palladius (*Hist. Laus.* 61; ed. Butler 2:157) describes the life of Melania the younger, Pinianus, and Albina ἐν ἀγροῖς, κατὰ μὲν Σικελίας κατὰ δὲ Καμπανίας. Moine, "Melaniana," 52–64, argues convincingly for 405, or more likely 406, as the date of the death of Publicola; cf. Courcelle, "Lacunes," 275 f., and Hammond, "Last Ten Years," 416, who argues for the year 407.

196. Paulinus himself on the matter in *car.* 21.100–104.

197. Neither Rufinus nor Melania the elder were mentioned by Paulinus as guests in *car.* 21. For a contrary view Gorce, "Gastfreundlichkeit," 83, who confused the elder Melania with her niece and daughter.

198. Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 54 (ed. Butler 2:147): Καὶ τὸν Πουπλικουλᾶ δὲ υἱὸν τὸν νεώτερον Κατηγήσσα ἤγαγεν εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν. Irrespective of the disagreements on the year of Publicola's death, it is unanimously assumed that Melania had already left Italy in the second half of 406, i.e., before the celebrations of 14 Jan. 407. See Moine, "Melaniana," 52–64, and Hammond, "Last Ten Years," 416.

199. Augustine saw with his own eyes how she received the message: see Paulinus, *ep.* 45.2: *. . . illam beatam matrem et aviam Melaniam fleuisse carnalem obitum amici filii taciturno luctu, non tamen sicco a maternis lacrimis dolore vidisti*.

200. Rufinus, *De benedictionibus patriarcharum* 2. Praef. 2. (CCL 20:204): *Quia autem Quadregesimae diebus, in monasterio Pineti positus, haec rescripsi ad te . . .*

201. Paulinus, *car.* 21.330: *Aemilius veniat decimus. Tunc demum pleno conueniet in nobis mystica lex numero*.

202. R. Delmaire, *Les responsables des finances impériales au Bas-Empire romain (IV–VI s.)*. *Études prosopographiques*, Coll. Latomus 203 (Brussels: Latomus, 1989), 146. He suggests that perhaps a mistake was made when copying CIL 8.18328 (ILS 5520), *L. Aemilius Meropius Flavianus* instead of *L. Aemilius Metopius Flavianus*.

The group of aristocrats from the city of Rome with Pinianus and Melania, who had been so worried by Radagaisus' incursion in 406,²⁰³ settled down to a lengthy stay.²⁰⁴ Paulinus welcomed them as *sempiternos hostes* in his *monasterium*.²⁰⁵

The fact that Felix's house is also mine, since he grants me free rein with his possessions, is arrested by my bold conduct, for in my capacity as host I have received my comrades into this dwelling . . . You are oblivious of the exalted roofs of your ancient houses, and rejecting ambition you can reside more securely in the narrow compass of the tiny cells which have the martyr close by.²⁰⁶

New buildings were erected in the cult center to provide more comfortable accommodation for the families and their children.²⁰⁷ Paulinus hoped that they wouldn't just be "long-term guests," but would settle permanently in Nola.²⁰⁸

It would seem that Melania's relatives and the *proceres* in her retinue²⁰⁹ in fact stayed at least one year in Nola—from winter 406/407 to winter 407/408—some of them perhaps nearby in their villas in Campania,²¹⁰

203. As far as Etruria. Their panic was further fueled by the news of the German invasion of Gaul on New Year's eve 406.

204. The fact that Paulinus (*car.* 21.838) calls Albina the younger, Pinianus, and Melania the younger *famulos Christi loquor istos . . . tuis modo finibus ortos*, could mean that they stayed for longer than just the feast in January, see Trout, *Renunciation*, 261 n. 45 with doubts, modified in *Paulinus*, 208 n. 62.

205. Paulinus, *car.* 21.266–69: *Hos ergo Felix in suo sinu abditos mandante Christo condidit tectis suis mecumque sumpsit sempiternos hospites*. This was not just a "dream," as is suggested by Gorce, "Gastfreundlichkeit," 83, for Melania the younger in fact remained in Nola for almost a year.

206. *Ibid.*, 21.474–77: *Nam quod Felicis domus et mea sit domus, ipso permittente sui licitas mihi iuris habenas, his etiam probat officii audacia nostra, hospita quod socios in tecta recepimus . . . 21.481–83: . . . oblitos veterum praecelsa domorum cubina et angustus vicino martyre cellis tutius in parvo spreta ambitone mauentes*.

207. *Ibid.*, 21.90–93: . . . *Felicique patri denso simul agmine natis pignoribus, subito ut totis habitacula cellis per fines crevisse suos . . . [sc. gaudeat]*.

208. This bears up the controversial point of whether the aristocrats intended to settle permanently at Nola (as Courcelle, "Lacunes," 268 f.) or not (A. Ruggiero, "Carne 21: Nola crocevia dello spirito," in *Atti del Convegno. XXXI Cinquantenario della morte di S. Paolino di Nola (431–1981)*, Nola, 20–21 marzo 1982 [Rome: Herder, 1983], 188 f., and Trout, *Renunciation*, 261 n. 45; *Paulinus*, 208 n. 62; 11 n. 86 with reference to E. A. Clark, *The Life of Melania the Younger*, *Studies in Women and Religion* 14 [New York: Mellen, 1984], 101–9).

209. They could trace their ancestry back to the foundation of Rome: Apronianus appears, for example, as *Turciae gentis decus* (Paulinus, *car.* 21.210), Pinianus from the family of the Valeri as *prisco sanguine illustis puer, in principe urbe consulis primi genus* (v. 218 f.).

210. *Loc. cit.* (n. 195).

and only returned to Rome to visit Serena, just before Alaric set up his headquarters at Emona in the diocese of Italy in the first months of 408.²¹¹ Their presence must have enhanced Paulinus' reputation to such an extent that his promotion to bishop one year later was a mere formality.

During the winter of 407/8 Rufinus' plans became more definite—his messenger Cerealis arrived in Nola for the feast of Felix in 408²¹²—and Paulinus repeated his invitation with the words: "When you journey back to the East you will not to be so hardhearted as to depart without visiting me,"²¹³ but again without success. All that remained in Nola were two books for Paulinus. He received no reply to his letter because in summer 408, just a few months after he had finished the books, Rufinus joined Pinianus on his travels (*religiosus coetus*).²¹⁴ The empty palace of the family on the Caelius was never sold, and was burned down when Alaric sacked Rome.²¹⁵ In the face of the Gothic threat the group of urban Roman aristocrats once again fled south, this time to their villas in Sicily near Messina. Here, shortly before he died in 410, Rufinus could see Rhegium Iulii burning across the straits.²¹⁶ From there Melania's senatorial relatives crossed to North Africa and spent seven years with Augustine and Alypius near Tagaste. Here they owned estates which were larger than the city itself, and built two monasteries,²¹⁷ before they decided about 417 to move permanently to Palestine.²¹⁸

211. Contrary to the view of D. E. Trout (*Paulinus*, 119 n. 86, 208 and 226), I suppose they didn't visit Paulinus twice, in 407 and 408. On Alaric, see W. Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops: Army, Church and State in the Age of Arcadius and Chrysostom* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 66 f. and J. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court A.D. 364–425* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975, reprinted 1990), 275.

212. Suggested by Hammond, "Last Ten Years," 420.

213. Paulinus, *ep.* 47.1: . . . *quia remeaturus ad orientem non feres invisitatus nobis abire . . . ?*

214. Rufinus, *Prologus in omelias Origenis super Numeros* 1.33–35 (CCL 20:285): . . . *amantissimus filius noster Pinianus, cuius religiosum coetum pro amore pudicitiae profugum comitatur . . .* Rufinus ended his work during Lent (i.e. late March) 408, cf. Hammond, "Last Ten Years," 419 f.

215. *Vita Melaniae* 14 (SC 90:156). See E. A. Clark, "Piety, Propaganda, and Politics," 171 and 180 with additional literature.

216. Rufinus, *Prologus in om. Orig. super Numeros* 1.9–13 (CCL 20:285): *In conspectu etenim, ut videbas etiam ipse, nostro barbarus, qui Regni oppidi miscbat incendia, angustissimo a nobis freto, quod Italiae solum Siculo dirimit, arcebat*.

217. *Vita Melaniae* 22. (ed. Gorce, SC 90:173): "Ἐκτίσαν δὲ καὶ μοναστήρια μεγάλα δύο ἐκεῖσε, παρασχόντες αὐτοῖς ἀντάρκτην πρόσδοτον. See Clark, "Piety, Propaganda, and Politics," 167 and 175.

218. On their stay in Africa, see Augustine, *ep.* 124–26 (CSEL 44:1–18). Cf. *Vita Melaniae* 34 f. (SC 90:191): Πούησαντες δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ ἀποθήμενοι πάντα τὸν φόρτον τοῦ πλοῦτου, ἕσπερον ἐπὶ τῷ Ἱεροσόλυμα ὤρμησαν.

The network of personal and social relationships which Paulinus and the representatives of the educated Christian society in North Africa built up on the basis of their renowned hospitality with the blue-blooded aristocrats was widespread, and connections reached as far as the leading figures at the imperial court. A question put by Paulinus to Augustine shows that apart from the family of his relative Melania, other prominent members of the senatorial class also resided in the monastery at Felix's grave. The death of a young man in a wing of the sanctuary,²¹⁹ and his mother's worries, confronted Paulinus for the second time in his life with the theological problems of a *depositio ad sanctos*. Flora, a widow, insisted that Paulinus bury her son Cynegius in a funerary chapel next to the saint's grave.²²⁰ Paulinus wrote her a letter of condolence and acceded to her wishes,²²¹ though not before he gave Flora's messenger a letter for Augustine in which he asked for his advice.²²² Augustine gave his approval,²²³ and answered the inquiry in 421 in a work *On Taking Care of the Dead*,²²⁴ and Paulinus wrote an epitaph for the young man.²²⁵

J. Matthews suggests that Flora, to whom Augustine respectfully refers as *filia nostra religiosissima*, was none other than the young niece of the proconsul Aemilius Florus Paternus, who had proved his loyalty to Theo-

dosius in the conflict with the usurper Gildo.²²⁶ Significantly, the bishop of Beneventum, who was a friend of Paulinus, was also called Aemilius. Like Paternus he was a member of the large family of the Aemilii, and was probably related to him.²²⁷ As *comes sacrarum largitionum* at the court of Milan, in the winter of 396/7 Aemilius Paternus had organized the marriage of his son with his niece, in spite of the bitter opposition of bishop Ambrose.²²⁸ Through the praetorian prefect Maternus Cynegius his family was related to the imperial house, and the young man who died at Nola was named Cynegius after him, and may have been the result of the illegal union.²²⁹ Just as with the frequent stays of the relatives and *proceres* who accompanied the two Melaniae, so too the presence of Flora, her son and her servants in Nola, where they seem to have lived,²³⁰ was an indication of the attraction of ascetic ideals for the senatorial aristocracy and the Theodosian imperial house.

8. THE RISE TO PROMINENCE

Paulinus' correspondence with distant regions led to a cooperation between leading members of the community of educated Christians spanning the entire western Mediterranean. After initial setbacks Nola was soon transformed from a rural sanctuary to a pilgrim center of the greatest importance, like Bethlehem, and became a "pivot in the religious and intellectual relations of Christendom."²³¹ With his hospitality, his public readings in honor of his saint, and the completion of his building program, Paulinus had created a new cultural and ascetic center in the midst

219. For the place of death see the phrase *defuncto in eis partibus* [sc. *apud sancti alicuius memoriam*] *filio suo* in Augustine, *De cura pro mortuis gerenda* 1.1 (BA 1.2:462).

220. Augustine, *Cur. mort.* 1.1 (BA 1.2:462): . . . *mibi scripsisti per homines filiae nostrae religiosissimae Florae, quaerens a me utrum prosit cuique post mortem quod corpus eius apud sancti alicuius Memoriam sepelitur*. On the funerary monuments for the clergy and their friends, *religiosi* and *familiares*, see Paulinus, *ep.* 32.12.

221. Augustine, *Cur. mort.* 1.1 (BA 1.2:462): . . . *rescripseras consolans eam idque ei [sc. Florae] nuntians de cadavere fidelis iuvenis Cynegii, quod materno et pio affectu desideravit esse completum ut scilicet in beatissimi Felicis confessoris basilica poneretur*.

222. *Ibid.*: *Qua occasione factum est ut per eosdem perlatores litterarum tuarum etiam mihi scriberes, ingerens huiuscemodi quaestionem atque, ut responderem quid inde mihi videretur, exposcens nec tacens ipse quid sentias*.

223. *Cur. mort.* 18.22 (BA 1.2:520): *Quod vero quisque apud memorias martyrum sepelitur, hoc tantum mihi videtur prodesse defuncto ut commendans eum etiam martyrum patrocinio affectus pro illo supplicationis augeatur*.

224. *Ibid.*, 18.23 (BA 1.2:520): *Habes ad ea quae a me putasti esse quaerenda, qualem potui reddere, responsum meam* . . . See the dedication of the work to Paulinus, *ibid.*, 1.1 (p. 462).

225. ILCV 3482=CIL 10.1370. The inscription was copied in the seventeenth century, and had already been lost in Mommsen's lifetime. It was not included in W. von Hartel's edition, but is to be found in Walsh, *Poems*, 345, as an appendix among Paulinus' *Carmina*. See Courcelle, "Lacunes," 289 n. 3; Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 144; and Trout, *Paulinus*, 244 n. 279-80.

226. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 144 and 245. On Flora, loc. cit. (n. 220).

227. Delmaire, *Responsables des finances impériales*, 145, cf. above.

228. According to Ambrose both divine (*lex divina*) and imperial law forbade a union between first cousins: cf. *ep.* 8.58.8 (CSEL 82.2:116) to Paternus: *saltem imperatorum praecepta, a quibus amplissimum accepisti honorem, haudquaquam praeterire te debuerunt. Nam Theodosius imperator etiam patruales fratres et consobrinos vetuit inter se coniugii convenire nomine, et severissimam poenam statuit* . . . On his office at court, see Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 259. Delmaire, *Responsables des finances impériales*, 149, doubts whether the marriage actually took place.

229. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 143 f.

230. More likely than in Africa, although not absolutely certain. See Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 144 with n. 3, different from Buse, *Paulin*, 2:264; Y. Duval, "Flora était-elle africaine? (Augustin, *De cura gerenda pro mortuis*, 1.1)," *REAug* 34 (1988): 70-77 and Trout, *Paulinus*, 244.

231. M.-Y. Duval, "Les premiers rapports de Paulin de Nole avec Jérôme: Moine et philosophe? Poète ou exégète?" *Studi tardoantichi* 7 (1989): 216.

of Italy's religious scenery. It attracted visitors from all social classes, and could offer them comfortable accommodation in a purpose-built guest house: a chronological list of the guests shows us, apart from some laymen of different standing, 2-4 delegations of bishops and 3 companies of monks, the senatorial clan of Melania, twice (7-8 members with their entourage), in addition to more than 30 monks and holders of holy office.

Famous guests, whose visits grew more frequent after the much celebrated arrival of the elder Melania, ensured that thanks to its "modern" architecture and its particularly holy atmosphere, the ascetic center grew to become a fashionable refuge for the Western Christian aristocracy. Paulinus recorded the occasions of their *adventus* in his letters and his *Natalicia*. Only on the subject of Augustine's embassies did the foremost spokesman of the ascetic movement in the West remain stubbornly silent. For reasons of secrecy he did not mention them in his letters, which were publicly accessible. Nevertheless he enjoyed the personal friendship of the bishops in the African provinces, and conducted church business with them, as we know from other sources.

These mutual influences involved Nola in internal Church conflicts, and added to its political importance. At the same time, the ever-changing stream of visitors repeatedly transformed the composition of the monastic community. It became a stopover for episcopal embassies, asylum for aristocrats from Rome, pilgrim center for central and southern Italy, or a forum for the exchange of new ascetic ideas. With the removal of the imperial court to Ravenna, the monastery at Felix's grave took over Milan's role, and for a short time it had a leading part to play in the religious politics of Honorius, in the background away from Rome. Paulinus reached the pinnacle of his career and reputation in the spring of 419, when the empress Galla Placidia wanted to appoint him to supervise the outcome of a papal election.²³² In a letter which she wrote to accompany an invitation from the emperor Honorius which has not survived, she asked him to chair the synod of Spolegium on 13 June, which was to decide who should succeed Pope Zosimus.²³³ The first synod, for which

232. *Avellana collectio* 25 (CSEL 35.1:71-72), translation and commentary in Mratschek, *Briefwechsel*, Anhang IV und 512-17 ("Placidias Brief"). For further details, see H. Chantraine, "Das Schisma 418/19 und das Eingreifen der kaiserlichen Gewalt in die römische Bischofswahl," in P. Kneissl and V. Losemann, eds., *Alle Geschichte und Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Festschrift K. Christ (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1988): 79-94, and Trout, *Paulinus*, 254-58.

233. It is generally assumed that Galla Placidia's letter was written on 20 March 419, see O. Gunther in his edition, O. Seeck, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n. Chr.* (Stuttgart: Metzlersche Verlagshandlung, 1919), 340,

Honorius had summoned the factions of Eulalius and Boniface to the court of Ravenna on 8 February, had failed, due to the stubbornness of the two groups and the small number of bishops present.²³⁴ Thanks to his integrity and his moderate views, Paulinus was now accepted by all of the most important groups,²³⁵ the imperial court and the urban Roman aristocracy, as well as—at least since his ordination as bishop—the clergy of Italy and of the provincial churches.

Placidia's letter shows that the imperial court now saw Paulinus as a negotiating partner and regarded him as the most important bishop after the Pope. Many scholars believe that Galla Placidia had made his acquaintance during her period in captivity, when the Goths captured Nola in 410, and that she had previously corresponded with him, as she did with other bishops.²³⁶ But significantly, the new Pope was actually chosen without the help of Paulinus and the bishops. Since the composition of the synod would have been unfavorable to Eulalius, he entered Rome against the explicit orders of the emperor before Easter, and the emperor decided to appoint his rival.²³⁷ Most probably after Placidia's letter, which was full of open propaganda for Boniface, nobody expected any other decision, not even from Paulinus, a sign of how much faith the imperial court had in him.

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and E. Jerg, *Vir venerabilis. Untersuchungen zur Titulatur der Bischöfe in den außerkirchlichen Texten der Spätantike als Beitrag zur Deutung ihrer öffentlichen Stellung*, Wiener Beiträge zur Theologie 26 (Vienna: Herder, 1970), 340. However, a date between 15 and 20 March is more correct, cf. Chantraine, *Schisma*, 92.

234. Honorius' edict of 15 March, *Avell.* 24.2 (CSEL 35.1:70): *Itaque cum in cognitione de episcopis, qui in urbe fuerant, constitui, sub iudicio sacerdotum intentionis haereret ambiguum nec . . . finis certantibus studius posset imponi . . . , <in> futuram cognitionem ad integrum sacerdotum numero pleniore concilium omne negotium constituimus differendum . . .*

235. *Avell.* 25.1 (CSEL 35.1:71): *Et per absentiam sancti viri [i.e. Paulini], non quidem optentura, interim tamen vitia gratulantur* On Paulinus as a saint (*beatitudo tua*) and an example of a *beata vita*, 25.2 (p. 72): *O vere digna causa, quam non nisi coronae tuae beata vita discingat. Dilatum itaque iudicium nuntiamus, ut divina praecepta ex venerationis tuae ore promantur, qui ea secutus implesti.*

236. V. A. Sicago, *Galla Placidia e la trasformazione politica dell' occidente* (Louvain: Bibliothèque de l'Université, 1961), 229, and S. I. Oost, *Galla Placidia Augusta: A Biographical Essay* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), 159.

237. Honorius' rescript to the Prefect of the City Symmachus of 26 March (*Avell.* 31.4; CSEL 35.1:77) ordered him on the pain of death (*salus*) and loss of office (*status*) to ban Eulalius from Rome; see Chantraine, *Schisma*, 89 f.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF VISITORS AND GUESTS
AT THE MONASTERY IN NOLA

From early 395	Repeated invitations to Sulpicius Severus to a <i>peregrinatio pro Christo</i> to Nola
Summer 395 or 396	Campanian bishops pay their respects Monks from Primuliacum arrive at Nola
Summer 396	Romanianus arrives with Augustine's letter 27 and the first revised versions of Augustine's works Proforus, a converted Jew, and Restitutus, a practicing Christian, join the community of monks
Autumn 396 397	Augustine sends Vestinus to Nola for judgement An anonymous ambassador from Augustine breaks his journey to the Italian bishops and to Mascezel to visit P.
Autumn 397 397/8	Severus of Milevis meets P. Paschasius, the deacon of Victricius of Rouen, and his companion Ursus accept P.'s invitation
Summer 398	Amachius, one of Delphinus' deacons, takes up P.'s invitation to come to Nola
After 398	The Manichean Secundinus stays in the library at Nola?
Summer 399	Sorianus, one of Sulpicius Severus' monks, visits P.
Early in 400	Visit of Melania the elder and her family (i.e. her son, Publicola, with Albina, Melania the younger, and Valerius Pinianus) and entourage. Recital of Sulpicius Severus' <i>Life of Martin</i>
About 14 Jan. 400	Nicetas of Remesiana visits Nola on his way back to Dacia from Rome. Recital of the <i>Life of Martin</i> and <i>Propemptikon</i>
About 400	Theridius and Posthumianus join P.'s monastic community
After 11 Nov. 401	Victor, a follower of Martin of Tours and of Sulpicius Severus, and Martinianus, servant of the wealthy Gaul Cytherius, do the same
14 Jan. 403	Nicetas' 2nd visit. Tour of the new basilica
Winter 403/4	Unsuccessful invitation to Victricius of Rouen
Autumn 404?	The traveller Postumianus arrives with the <i>Dialogues</i> of Sulpicius Severus
Winter 404/5 and/or March 405	On their way to Honorius at Rome the ambassadors of the general synod of Carthage, the bishops Theasius and Evodius, meet with P. at Nola

Before March 405	Paulinus, a presbyter of Augustine, joins the community of monks at Nola
405/6	Arrival of the presbyter Boniface and the monk Spes sent to the tomb of Felix at Nola by Augustine in order to ascertain the truth through "God's judgement"
Winter 406/7	Unsuccessful invitation to Rufinus of Aquileia
14 Jan. 407	Cerealis, a pupil of Rufinus, takes part in the feast of St. Felix
14 Jan. 407– winter 407/8	Longer stay of the younger Melania, together with her mother Albina and her husband Pinianus, Avita, Turcius Apronianus and their children, called Asterius and Eunomia. Invitation to Aemilius of Beneventum
14–15 May 408	The deacon Quintus collects correspondence for Augustine
Summer 408	A delegation of African clergy led by Possidius of Calama in Nola; they travel on to Capua and Ravenna
Autumn 408	Fortunatianus (from Sicca or Neapolis in Africa?) at the imperial court (having first visited Nola?)
Winter 408/9	The presbyter of Severus of Milevis travels to the <i>mag. off.</i> Olympius (via Nola?)
Early 409	Embassy of the bishops Restitutus and Florentius to Ravenna (via Nola?)
Summer 411	Valgius from Sardinia (and the shipowner Secundinianus?) receive a letter of recommendation from P. for the vicar of Italia suburbicaria
After March 417	Januarius, <i>amicus communis</i> of Augustine and Alypius, comes to talk to P. about the "rehabilitation of Pelagius"
Before 421	Flora, probably the widow of Aemilius Florus Parenus' son, settles at Nola with her son Cynegius?
420/7	Eucherius sends monks from Lerum to Nola. One year later Honoratus send the monks Augendus, Gelasius und Tigradius from Lerinum to Nola
20 June 431	His fellow bishops Symmachus of Capua and Acindynus visit P. who is mortally ill.