Self-Portrait in Three Colors

Gregory of Nazianzus's Epistolary Autobiography

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgments *vii*
Note on Translations *ix*

1. An Epistolary Autobiography *1*
2. The Architecture of the Letter Collection *29*
3. "The Most Eloquent Gregory" *101*
4. "Father of Philosophers" *121*
5. "Basilist" *146*

Epilogue *175*
Abbreviations *181*
Notes *189*
Works Cited *227*
Index of Gregory's Epistulae *249*
Index of Subjects *255*

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This book has been in the making for a decade now and has taken several forms. It began as a dissertation that includes not only a full-length critical analysis of Gregory of Nazianzus's epistolary discourse and late antique epistolary culture writ large but also a translation of all the letters in Gregory's collection. I came to realize near its completion, however, that I had not discussed in any detail the construction of the collection as a cohesive and coherent autobiographical text; indeed, this line of inquiry has been largely untapped in scholarship more broadly. And so, I followed a new research path that has culminated in the production of both this monograph and its partner publication, *Gregory of Nazianzus's Letter Collection: The Complete Translation* (University of California Press, 2019). As with any project with so long a life-span, a host of people have left their mark on these books in one way or another. First and foremost is my doctoral adviser, David Brakke, whose constant support and guidance has been nothing short of exceptional. I also appreciate the early feedback and helpful comments from Constance Furey, Bert Harrill, and Ed Watts, the other members of my dissertation committee. After I completed my graduate studies, Ed and I began to plan a separate volume on letter collections from late antiquity and quickly asked Cristiana Sogno to lend her expertise to the project; the fruits of our work were published as *Late Antique Letter Collections: A Critical Introduction and Reference Guide* (2016), also with University of California Press. Ed and Cristiana proved to be not only terrific conversation partners and drinking companions but also paragons of graciousness and professionalism. In our work on that volume, I came into contact with many scholars whose insights informed my thought on Gregory, especially Susanna Elm, Christopher Jones, Lillian Larsen, Bronwen Neil, Michele Salzman, Dennis Trout, and Lieve Van Hoof. Numerous friends and scholars

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NOTE ON TRANSLATIONS

Unless otherwise indicated, all translations in this monograph are my own. Although considerations of space prevent me from providing the original passages, each translation is accompanied by a note indicating the critical edition, including the relevant page numbers, on which it is based. References to or paraphrases of primary sources simply follow the conventional notation, providing book, chapter, and subsection numbers where appropriate.

All translations of Gregory of Nazianzus's letters are my own, published in a partner volume, *Gregory of Nazianzus's Letter Collection: The Complete Translation* (University of California Press, 2019).

1

An Epistolary Autobiography

MAKING A LETTER COLLECTION

In late 383 or early 384, Gregory of Nazianzus sent a packet of letters to his great-nephew Nicobulus, who had recently begun his studies of rhetoric and classical literature in Caesarea, the capital and metropolitan city of the province Cappadocia Prima. Gregory had recently retired from a long and tumultuous career in the church as a priest and bishop, a career that saw him move from the margins of provincial politics to the center of Roman imperial power and back out again to the social periphery in his later years. Now, it seems, he intended to spend his remaining days at Arianzus, his family's property near his hometown, attending dinner parties and weddings, conversing with his peers, enjoying the *otium* in which he could compose new literary texts and edit old ones, and perhaps even pursuing stints of ascetic renunciation—in other words, living the life of a provincial Christian elite in his waning days. These last years of his life are obscure to modern historians (the year of Gregory's death—390—is known only because of a comment that Jerome makes in his *De viris illustribus*),[1] but there is little reason to suspect that Gregory's quotidian existence then was anything other than calm and easy.

Nicobulus had asked for some of Gregory's letters to use as models for his own epistolary composition, the first subject of study at the start of his advanced education.[2] "You're requesting flowers from the meadow in late autumn," Gregory responded, "and arming the aged Nestor with your current demand for something expedient for eloquence from me, who long ago abandoned the delight of all discourse and society" (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 52.1). Retirement was the goal now, but nevertheless the task that Nicobulus put to his great-uncle was no "struggle of

Eurystheian or Herculean proportions, but one quite gentle and suited to me, collecting for you as many of my epistles as I can" (*Ep.* 52.2). What Gregory sent, it turns out, was a massive collection, likely consisting of more than 240 letters, all selected for their demonstration of eloquence, or elite learning. One even provided Nicobulus with a cheat sheet of sorts, a theoretical overview of what Gregory thought to be the definitive features of his signature style (*Ep.* 51). And yet, upon thumbing through this collection, Nicobulus would have encountered not only letters written by Gregory but also some written by Basil, Gregory's longtime acquaintance and the nearly five-year deceased bishop of Caesarea. Gregory explained the inclusion of Basil's letters thus: "Since I've always preferred the great Basil to myself, even if the opposite would have seemed true to him, still now I prefer him because of the truth no less than because of our friendship. I therefore offer my epistles with his set down first. For I also desire that we be linked with each other in every way while simultaneously providing a model of measure and moderation to others" (*Ep.* 53). Eloquence and friendship with Basil—that's what Nicobulus would find on display in this enormous epistolary anthology, one of Gregory's final literary publications.

In trying to understand why Gregory put together his letter collection, readers might be tempted to stop there, to chalk it up to Nicobulus's request, to see the young student as the sole intended reader of the work. The collection's first two letters, however, indicate that Gregory had a broader audience in mind. *Epistula* 53, quoted in the previous paragraph, notes that the friendship between him and Basil displayed in the collection offers a model not just for Nicobulus but for unnamed and unspecified "others." An additional clue appears in *Epistula* 52: "Each writer, more or less, has a signature style: my words are instructive in maxims and precepts whenever permissible. A father in eloquence always appears in a legitimate child no less than parents do in most of his bodily characteristics. Well, such are my features" (*Ep.* 52.3). Gregory has made Nicobulus a conditional offer: Should he absorb the principles and stylistic intricacies of these epistolary models, he will surely inherit Gregory's eloquence and prestige. The very words with which Gregory holds out this inheritance, though, subtly summon the reader to investigate Gregory's style and to discern his literary ancestry, for which he has provided ample evidence in the collection. A young student without a strong work ethic, as one letter reveals (*Ep.* 175.1), Nicobulus could not have been expected to follow the literary trail. It was his Caesarean educators—men with years of training in eloquence and robust teaching experience—who Gregory hoped would do the work. They must also have been the "others" that Gregory mentioned as those who would benefit from the model of friendship provided by the collection's depiction of him and Basil.

The letter collection itself reveals the identities of these men. Gregory praised Bishop Helladius of Caesarea, Basil's successor, as a "lover of eloquence" (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 167.3) and asked him to introduce the young Nicobulus to "the keenest of teachers" while personally overseeing the “training of his character for virtue” (*Ep.* 167.1). Those teachers, it turns out, were Stagirius and Eustochius, two rival sophists in Caesarea. Nicobulus had sought to enroll in Stagirius’s school at the behest of his father (*Ep.* 190.3) and with a letter of recommendation in hand from Gregory himself (*Ep.* 188). However, the older Eustochius, who had been a classmate of Gregory’s in Athens, took umbrage at being overlooked and sharply accused Gregory of betraying their long friendship; he demanded that Gregory send Nicobulus to his school instead. Gregory capitulated to his old friend (*Ep.* 191) and begged an understandably peeved Stagirius to release the student (*Ep.* 192). As a sophist and the head of a school, Eustochius focused more on administrative matters than on the direct instruction of students; the day-to-day pedagogy fell instead to the young rhetor Eudoxius, who himself had had a long relationship with Gregory, receiving letters of recommendation from him at the beginning of his career (*Ep.* 37–38). Among many other tasks, Eudoxius’s responsibilities included keeping parents and guardians informed about the students’ progress, and indeed a series of letters from Gregory reveals that the two had open lines of communication about Nicobulus’s work (*Ep.* 174–80, 187).[3]

These four men—Helladius, Eustochius, Stagirius, and Eudoxius—were armed with the literary proficiencies and tools needed to suss out Gregory’s literary ancestry, not that it was any well-kept secret, for Gregory had repeatedly told anyone who would listen of his long and storied education in Athens.[4] The point of Gregory’s subtle invitation was not to get them to solve an already-solved mystery but rather to induce them to behold in the letter collection his eloquence and the role that Basil had played in shaping his character and the course of his life. The early 380s saw pro-Nicene Christians making a concerted effort throughout Cappadocia and neighboring provinces to posthumously monumentalize Basil’s life and holiness. After his death in 379, Basil had become a regional saint, for whom the devotional epicenter was naturally Caesarea, the city that he had shepherded for almost a decade. Now, in late 383 or early 384, Gregory not only publicized his claim to have had a special relationship with Basil but also produced a collection featuring texts written by and to the provincial icon, previously unknown to others and endowed with an air of intimacy. The interest of Helladius and Nicobulus’s other Caesarean educators must have been piqued.[5]

Nicobulus, Helladius, Eustochius, Stagirius, and Eudoxius were, in all likelihood, not the collection’s only intended readers. Gregory had already published a series of texts, which will be discussed frequently throughout this book, that engaged audiences in Cappadocia, Asia Minor, and the imperial capital Constantinople. His most famous autobiographical poem, *Carmen* 2.1.11, often referred to as *De vita sua,* explicitly addresses a Constantinopolitan audience, as does his retrospective self-defense *Oratio* 42.[6] Other polemical poems of his took aim, for reasons to be discussed later, at bishops who participated in the Council of Constantinople during the late spring and early summer of 381.[7] His eulogy for

Basil (*Oratio* 43) was delivered in 382, three years after the latter's death, before an audience of civic and provincial elites in Caesarea and subsequently circulated in textual form among broader audiences. By the time when he was producing the letter collection, then, Gregory already had a reading audience for his works that consisted of civic, provincial, and imperial elites. Additionally, as the collection itself shows, he stood at the center of a robust epistolary community whose members exchanged letters on a regular basis, sometimes for no other reason than to keep the lines of communication open. This community also provided the venue for late antique textual publication and circulation.[8] Writers sent either drafts of their work to epistolary correspondents for review, as Gregory of Nyssa did when he sent an early version of *Contra Eunomium I* to his brother Peter,[9] or polished texts to addressees as a way to publicize their writings, as Jerome did when he sent his *Vita Pauli* to an addressee also named Paul (Hier., *Ep.* 10.3) or as Gregory himself did when he sent a copy of his *Philocalia* to Bishop Theodore of Tyana (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 115).[10] Letter writers even passed along texts by contemporaries, with or without the author's permission, and thereby further disseminated them and increased their audience.[11] By sending his letter collection through Nicobulus to Helladius, Eustochius, Stagirius, and Eudoxius, Gregory had, to all intents and purposes, published it.

With this wide-ranging, even open-ended, audience in mind, Gregory's statements about the collection's design and purpose take on a new shine. Here Nicobulus, the Caesarean educators, and any other readers throughout Cappadocia, Asia Minor, Constantinople, and potentially farther afield would encounter a collection showcasing, on the one hand, Gregory's elite education and eloquence and, on the other, the profound level of intimacy that he had shared with Basil of hallowed memory. How the collection performs these self-presentations will be analyzed in later chapters, but the implication of this statement deserves pause. To this broad audience of elite readers, Gregory openly acknowledged that the collection was subjected to an editorial oversight guided by self-presentational concerns. Less explicit but no less important were the techniques that he used to enact his editorial task. What criteria informed his selection of letters or his determination of the roster of addressees who would populate the collection? In what order did he think the letters should be arranged? To what extent did the act of compilation lead to other editorial actions, such as polishing the prose or even revising the content of certain letters? Did he write new, fictional letters to addressees, deceased in late 383 or early 384, as if they were, in fact, old, authentic letters written to people who were then alive? That he designed and published his own letter collection according to explicit self-presentational principles raises a host of questions that the collection itself, as well as its various manuscripts, does not satisfactorily answer. Yet those questions persist and point us to a fundamental reality. This collection, of more than 240 letters addressed to 90 individuals and communities, is not the result of Gregory wistfully riffling through his archives in search of any and all letters of which he might still possess a copy. Rather, it is a carefully curated assemblage of letters chosen for how they portray Gregory both alone and in relation to his addressees. It is a single literary self-portrait, an epistolary autobiography.

GREGORY'S AUTO/BIOGRAPHY

The letter collection was not Gregory's first autobiographical effort—far from it. Several have already been mentioned. *Carmen* 2.1.11 stands as his autobiographical masterpiece, a long and deeply apologetic narration of his life from birth in 329 or 330 until late 381, when the poem was composed, but there are many others too, most written around the same time as *Carmen* 2.1.11.[12] Both his epideictic and his apologetic orations address discrete episodes in his life and situate their praise, blame, conflict resolution, or celebration in the specific autobiographical context set out in the text.[13] The apologetic orations in particular blur the boundary between self-defense and self-writing, something that also occurs in Gregory's panegyric and eulogistic orations,[14] which use biographical narratives of his friends and family members to issue praise or commemoration.[15] Because the lives of author and subject are intertwined in these texts, the author can intimate his own possession of the virtues for which he praises his subject. Credit goes to the praised for their professional accomplishments and personal virtues but also to Gregory for his personal experience of the subjects. That biography could "dissolve into autobiography—always a suspect genre—and eulogy into boasting"[16] held true as much for Gregory as for other ancient and late ancient writers.[17] The refraction of self-writing through biographical praise and commemoration is also at work, albeit more obliquely, in Gregory's epitaphs and epigrams, those succinct and versified tributes to deceased friends, family members, and colleagues. Indeed, autobiography pervades Gregory's corpus, and throughout the whole of his career it appears in every genre that he used.

From a historiographical perspective, we should be thankful that Gregory committed so much of his literary output to autobiography, for it allows us to sketch the broad strokes of his life and contextualize them in his geographical, social, and political milieu. He was born in 329 or 330[18] in a region far removed from provincial hubs of culture and politics,[19] yet his family was wealthy enough[20] to fund a long and fruitful educational tour of the eastern Mediterranean that took him from Nazianzus to Cappadocian Caesarea, Caesarea Maritima in Palestine, Alexandria in Egypt, and finally Athens in Achaia.[21] There he met Basil, several of the men who would occupy the roster of addressees in the letter collection, and even perhaps Julian, the empire's future autocrat.[22] After quite a few years of training in Athens, Gregory returned home in the late 350s and was eventually ordained as a priest in his father-bishop's church.[23] He initially refused the job and moved to

Basil's ascetic community in Pontus but eventually acquiesced, just before Easter 362. Because he frames the ordination as a "beautiful tyranny" from which he fled, scholars have assumed that Gregory did not want the position.[24] Susanna Elm, however, has persuasively argued that the ordination should be seen in the context of patria potestas, a Roman legal construct that set educational funding within a contractual exchange: in return for his father funding tuition, travels, room, and board (the peculium), a son promised to return home when his schooling was done and help manage his father's estates and concerns.[25] In Gregory's case, that meant applying his learning and eloquence to the benefit of his father-bishop's congregation in Nazianzus. His orations that date to the 360s, which contain several autobiographical episodes, tell of the kind of work he did as a priest. He set up a cult of veneration for the Maccabean martyrs as a response to Emperor Julian's attempt at forging an alliance between Jews and pagans by planning to rebuild the Jerusalem Temple, which had been destroyed in 70 CE.[26] In 364 Gregory purported to resolve a conflict between his father-bishop and a pro-Nicene opposition group, who took umbrage at the bishop's signing of the Homoian creed of Constantinople in 360; Gregory's resolution led him to proclaim his father-bishop's—and his own—unwavering devotion to the pro-Nicene cause.[27] Finally, after famine overtook Caesarea and its environs in 368–69, Gregory helped fund-raise for Basil's relief effort by using his eloquence to chastise the rich for their stinginess.[28]

Basil's election as bishop of Caesarea in 370 proved to be one of the most consequential events for Gregory's career. For his part, Gregory supported Basil's candidacy and wrote letters on his behalf, and his aged father-bishop trekked up to Caesarea to participate in the election proceedings despite a poor bodily condition.[29] Basil's victory was hard fought and narrowly won, yet as Philip Rousseau has noted, he displayed a smug apathy toward those in his flock. He kept company with quick-tempered partisans, whose presence fostered ill will and opposition among Caesarea's populace.[30] Basil's transformation into a political animal had profound and unforeseeable effects on the trajectory of Gregory's life, for in 372 he surprised Gregory by appointing him as bishop of Sasima, a town much like Nazianzus in population, rural location, and stature.[31] This directly followed Emperor Valens's division of Cappadocia into two provinces, each with its own metropolitan city (Caesarea in Cappadocia Prima and Tyana in Cappadocia Secunda), which functionally deprived Caesarea of half its jurisdiction and damaged its economic condition.[32] The split led to a conflict between Bishop Anthimus of Tyana and Basil, with each striving to increase the status of his city by increasing the number of bishops in marginal towns and little cities who would be dependent on him as metropolitan. For his part, Basil appointed his brother Gregory to Nyssa, a certain Eulalius to Doara, and Gregory to Sasima.[33] The appointment to Sasima clearly shocked and disappointed Gregory, but his autobiographical writings that comment on the event express various, even conflicting, feelings toward Basil.[34] Gregory ultimately rejected the posting on the grounds that it would have prevented him from fulfilling his obligations to his father-bishop under the law of patria potestas, and so he took a different one, coadjutor in Nazianzus. At least one of his later autobiographical writings looks back on the tense atmosphere created by Basil's episcopacy and charges Basil's election with ending, or at the very least transforming, their friendship.[35]

Gregory's obligations to patria potestas came to an end with the death of his father in 374, which was soon followed by the death of his mother. [36] According to his later autobiography, shortly thereafter he fled Cappadocia altogether and went to Isaurian

> Seleucia as a runaway,
> to the house for virgins of the song-worthy maiden,
> Thecla, . . .
> . . .
> and I spent no short period of time there.[37]

The city indeed housed a shrine dedicated to St. Thecla (the Hagia Thekla), where Gregory probably lived for several years; his writings reveal nothing else about the place or his activity there,[38] although other literary evidence intimates what he might have been doing. The Gallic pilgrim Egeria described her visit to the shrine a few years after Gregory left: within the campus's walls were a martyrium, church, and monastery, while beyond the walls male and female ascetics lived in cells and contributed to the devotional life and daily administration of the cult.[39] Inconveniently, the shrine had no relics, but hagiographical traditions explained this anomaly with stories of Thecla's "disappearance," with one narrating her absorption into the rock that sat in the middle of the shrine.[40] The shrine was renowned for its powers of protecting and healing visitors, which contributed to an upsurge in pilgrimage activity and architectural expansion at the end of the fifth century, when Emperor Zeno showered the site with imperial largesse.[41] How Gregory spent his time at the shrine is unknown. Perhaps he committed himself to poetic composition,[42] or, being close to Tarsus, perhaps he met Bishop Diodore, from whom he learned details of Apollinaris of Laodicaea's heterodox Christology;[43] it is not inconceivable that Gregory used conversations with Diodore to hone the ideas that he later articulated in *Orationes* 27–31 and *Epistulae* 101–2. In any case, he probably moved to Seleucia to start a new life devoted to ascetic practice, contemplation, and cultic service, one previously impossible for him because of the obligations of patria potestas. It was here that he likely intended to live for the rest of his life.

And yet he didn't. In the fall of 379 he arrived in Constantinople as a priest armed with tremendous learning and some experience in church politics at the provincial level but, unlike the recently deceased Basil, none in negotiating the frequently competing interests of the metropolitan bishops, imperial officials, and members of the emperor's entourage who would all eventually come to Constantinople to hash out an update to the Nicene Creed. Gregory's arrival in the city was a consequence of the sea change in ecclesiastical politics—one of several during the fourth century—that the Spanish general Theodosius inaugurated in January 379 when he became the first pro-Nicene emperor in almost two decades.[44] His elevation inspired pro-Nicene bishops in the eastern Mediterranean basin to coordinate their efforts in preparation for possible shifts in imperial policy. At Antioch, for example, Bishop Meletius convened 152 bishops to publish a pro-Nicene Homoousian creedal statement (and to bolster his claim to the Antiochene episcopacy against his rival Paulinus) with the presumed support of the new emperor.[45] According to one of Gregory's later autobiographical poems, "one of the good ones, someone whom I cannot say," invited him to this episcopal meeting, perhaps as an adviser or simply as an observer.[46] With the council being held in August and Gregory arriving in Constantinople in October of the same year, it seems likely that he attended. It was with "many oaths and entreaties" that the bishops at the council of Antioch asked him to move to the capital,[47] perhaps because his cousin Theodosia lived there on an estate that could host the small pro-Nicene community (the Anastasia, as Gregory termed it),[48] or because his theological record was demonstrably consistent, in contradistinction to many of his colleagues, whose past statements had been muddied by compromise and negotiation amid the theological politics of the fourth century.[49] Whatever the reason, Gregory went to Constantinople as a pro-Nicene placeholder, someone to lead the fledgling community until Theodosius arrived in November 380 and a more expansive council could be called in the summer of 381.

That he would be appointed the city's bishop was hardly a foregone conclusion, most obviously because that position was already filled by the popular Demophilus, whom, years earlier, Basil had described as having a reputation for "rectitude and piety" that united the city's theological factions.[50] Despite his being a Homoian leader, there is no reason to suspect that Demophilus's downfall became inevitable upon Gregory's arrival in the city. Even the infamous attack on the Anastasia on Easter Day 380, during which a mob of Demophilus's supporters threw rocks at Gregory's congregation while they met for worship, constituted a popular protest to Gregory's perceived infiltration.[51] In the summer of 380, though, more pro-Nicene representatives arrived in the city to bolster Gregory's position, including an Egyptian ascetic known as Maximus the Cynic, whom Gregory's later autobiographical writings cast as a villain.[52] Whatever headaches and embarrassment Maximus caused, however, hardly affected Gregory's standing in Constantinople: in November 380, Emperor Theodosius selected him as the imperial preacher and the city's bishop-in-waiting after Demophilus refused to proclaim pro-Nicene orthodoxy.[53] Once Gregory took the helm of Constantinople's ecclesiastical life, it fell to him to gather a council of eastern bishops to reenact on a grander stage the one convened at Antioch in 379, complete with Bishop Meletius as its president.[54]

The Council of Constantinople's sessions began in May 381 with the arrival of Meletius's supporters. Meletius arranged for Gregory's formal consecration as bishop but died shortly thereafter.[55] Episcopal vacancies were usually filled at the local or provincial level, but the bishops gathered in Constantinople took it upon themselves to appoint Meletius's successor. The issue was particularly delicate because the Antiochene episcopacy had been a subject of conflict for decades. In 361, Meletius, then a Homoian Christian, had been transferred from Syrian Beroea to assume this episcopacy, but after making a nebulous theological statement in front of Emperor Constantius that satisfied none of the competing groups (Heteroousians, Homoiousians, Homoians, and pro-Nicene Homoousians), he went into exile, at which time Lucifer of Cagliari consecrated Paulinus with the support of Homoousian westerners.[56] Neither Meletius nor Paulinus recognized the other's authority, and each developed a cohort of followers: bishops from Cappadocia, Armenia, Palestine, and Syria supported Meletius, while those from Egypt and Italy backed Paulinus.[57] The two reached a deal at the council of Antioch in 379 (the same one that sent Gregory to Constantinople), according to which they would remain cobishops until one died, when the other would assume sole authority. After Meletius died, Gregory acknowledged the existing deal by recognizing Paulinus's claim, but none of the other clergy already present at the Council of Constantinople did. Instead, they backed Flavian, one of Meletius's priests, as the bishop of Antioch and regarded Gregory's support for Paulinus as an act of betrayal. Perhaps Gregory felt that he could rely on Paulinus's supporters—Timothy of Alexandria, Dorotheus of Oxyrhynchus, and Ascholius of Thessalonica—once they finally arrived in the city after being delayed by bad weather or otherwise unfortunate circumstances. Yet his backing of Paulinus did little to ease their suspicion of him as a provincial outsider who had quickly risen to the throne as Meletius's puppet. With a letter of support from Bishop Damasus of Rome that broadly advised against transferring bishops from one see to another on the grounds that it violated the fifteenth canon of the Council of Nicaea,[58] they challenged the legitimacy of Gregory's appointment to Constantinople, noting that he had previously been appointed as bishop of Sasima. Basil's appointment of Gregory nine years earlier—whether or not he ever accepted it—had finally come back to haunt him. Flavian's supporters refused to defend him, and Paulinus's supporters rejected his episcopal authority on canonical grounds, a political knot from which he could not escape.[59] In June 381, before the Council had finished its business, Gregory tendered his resignation to Emperor Theodosius and returned to Cappadocia.[60]

Whereas Gregory had engaged in self-writing occasionally in various orations earlier in his career, his departure from Constantinople sparked a massive reorientation in his literary focus. Now autobiographical narrative and perspective would dominate his work. In *Oratio* 42, a retrospective valedictory-cum-apologia,[61] he contrasts his own philosophical virtue, orthodoxy, and pacifism with the vicious tendencies of the bishops gathered at the Council of Constantinople and their penchant for theological compromise (in a different work, Gregory frames this Council's work as mixing "filth with incense").[62] In *Oratio* 43, his eulogy for Basil, he delivers a narrative of his friendship with the saint, rife with previously unknown details, and erases any friction caused by the Sasima appointment in 372, which of course made so much difficulty for him in 381; similarly, *Oratio* 10 a fictional rewriting of his response to that event, blots out any trace of animosity.[63] All his autobiographical writing after the summer of 381 reveals a consistent effort to influence the tenor and shape of the collective memory of his time in Constantinople and to exert his personal authority.

More than any other genre, though, Gregory found his autobiographical voice in poetry, producing thousands of verses that repeatedly contrast himself as the biblical, even Christlike, servant of God with the corrupt and worldly culture of church leadership.[64] For example, one poem bemoans the plague of troubles that he had known throughout his whole life:

> King Christ, why have you laid waste to me with such terrible evils
> from the time when I fell out of my mother on to mother earth?
> If you did not confine me in the dark womb,
> tell me, why I was assaulted by such great anguish,
> both on the sea and across the land,
> by foes and friends and the most vicious leaders,
> by foreigners and compatriots, openly and in ambush,
> with detestable stories and stony blizzards?
> . . .
> I am a new, second Job.[65]

Autobiography afforded him a chance to revise his political loss in Constantinople as a personal and moral victory. Whereas his demonic opponents were "disastrous and abominable laughing stocks"[66] who never hesitated to "pour out the blood of faultless souls,"[67] Gregory "endured a wretched life to the end" while

> groaning, going without sleep, dissolving his bodily members with tears,
> living a life confined to sleeping on the ground, bare sustenance,
> and intellectual anxieties in the divinely inspired writings,
> and always mangling myself with internal scourges.[68]

Chief among these poems stands *Carmen* 2.1.11, likely written a few months after he left Constantinople. This text narrates the course of his life from birth till composition, ending with a bittersweet reversal of defeat as victory:

> Treat me badly, take your delight, jump up and down, o Sages.
> Put down my misfortunes as an ode
> at your assemblies, parties, and bemas.
> Crow like the rooster as though you were victorious,
> clapping your sides with your arms, as birds,
> strutting in the midst of idiots.
> You all have conquered the one person who wanted it.[69]

Gregory's autobiographical work creates stinging caricatures of actual people with whom he dealt in Constantinople and lionizes him as a virtuous but maligned hero. For example, he defined himself as the photographic negative of Nectarius, his successor to the Constantinopolitan episcopate.[70] The latter was a "dung beetle running straight up to heaven,"[71] having filched the episcopal throne from Gregory and being constantly distracted by marriage, fatherhood, possessions, lawsuits, worldly anxieties, and all the social delights that inevitably enslaved him to lust, gluttony, and the rest of the passions; he even had the gall to believe that his recent baptism had suddenly transformed his character.[72] Other post-Constantinople autobiographical poems either characterize Nectarius as the undeserving holder of Gregory's rightful position or treat him as a symptom of the widespread putridity of all episcopal culture.[73] Any of Nectarius's idiosyncrasies were, in the end, irrelevant to Gregory's objections, for any successor, regardless of experience or perceived piety, would have been chosen by a conference of bishops for which Gregory had nothing but contempt. In his new autobiographical push, Gregory began to define himself against the clergy, as someone whose cultural importance, authority, and influence stemmed from his unique prophetic or philosophical identity.

This textual self-presentation even crossed over into bodily practice, specifically during the Lenten season of 382, when he subjected himself to prolonged silence, a sacrifice of speech meant to purify, and thereby prepare, his soul for a return to public life as Nazianzus's bishop on Easter Day.[74] As the town's main church was on his family's property, it is likely that Nazianzus had been without direct episcopal supervision since the death of Gregory's father in 374, but in the early 380s a group of Christologically heterodox Christians—the Apollinarians—secured support within the community. If Gregory took up his father's old position, he would have a bully pulpit from which to publicize his Christology and demonize theirs, as well as steadier lines of communication with government officials and clergy members throughout the province.[75] For Gregory, this forty-day silence constituted a reactive prophylaxis against the slanders of his previous Constantinopolitan and his current Apollinarian adversaries,[76] which allowed him to stymie the soul's passions and subject them to the authority of the intellect. By harmonizing his outward expression (speech) with his internal disposition (soul), he would be spiritually ready to undertake the episcopal obligations of frequent discourse on divine topics and the performance of Eucharistic sacrifices.[77] In the end, he would make a most fitting offering to God by imprinting pure divine thoughts onto both his own intellect and those of his congregation.[78] Gregory's silence and, perhaps more important, its timing also drew him closer to Christ: just as the incarnate Word died during Lent, so too did Gregory's words, and just as the incarnate Word resurrected from the dead on Easter Day in triumph and purity, so too did Gregory's words when he took up the governance of his home church. However, given his autobiographical disdain for the institutions of church leadership and for bishops in particular, it should not be surprising that his letter collection frames his resumption of the Nazianzan episcopacy as a temporary measure. That his cousin Eulalius succeeded him to the position may indicate that Gregory viewed this church and its governance as part of his family's legacy. After all, his father had paid for it to be built, and when Gregory found it still vacant upon his return from Constantinople, he may have seen an opportunity to keep it in the family. At any rate, he held the post only until the autumn of 383, when he finally retired from public life altogether.

Who was the intended target of this autobiographical upsurge? No doubt Gregory felt that his late-in-life vantage gave him a better view of his life's trajectory, thereby making himself his own audience—but the texts indicate that others were part of it too. *Oratio* 42 and several poems explicitly identify Constantinopolitan elites as his readers, presumably his Anastasia congregation, court officials, and any clergy members remaining in the city after the council,[79] while some scholars have even pinpointed Nectarius as the target, an identification that beggars belief.[80] In fact, whether Gregory's autobiographical writings ever made it to Constantinople and, if so, whether they garnered enough interest among readers there so as to warrant preservation are open questions: Socrates Scholasticus and Sozomen, two prominent church historians in Constantinople who included accounts of Gregory in their sweeping works written only a few decades after his death, either opted to not use his autobiographies as a source or were unaware of their existence.[81] In fact, all of Gregory's references to Nectarius, the other bishops, and the Council in these later writings presuppose not a Constantinopolitan audience but a Cappadocian one. When he became the bishop of Nazianzus on Easter Day 382, it had been roughly seven years since he was last involved in public life in his hometown, and members of his congregation and provincial elites in church and government certainly had questions. Why was he not in Constantinople? Why had he come back before the Council finished its business? Why was he returning to his hometown only under the strain of difficulty rather than in the glory of success? What had been his impact on the determination of imperial orthodoxy? The autobiographical writings offer a comprehensive response: the Council was a watered-down settlement that someone with his integrity would never have brokered; his genius was now being applied to issues more relevant to a Cappadocian audience—namely, Christological responses to the newly emerging community of Apollinarians; he had rejected the corrupt Council and its bishops, not vice versa; his actions were not political stumbles but irenic gestures of a Christlike leader.

And so, by the time he began to put together his letter collection in late 383 or early 384, autobiography was old hat for Gregory. Indeed, he had already dabbled in the self-fashioning colors with which he would paint his epistolary self-portrait: Gregory the eloquent, the philosophically pure, the uncompromising proponent of orthodoxy, the purveyor of divinity to the populace, the truest friend of Saint Basil. However, the letter collection offered opportunities that other texts could not. His earlier autobiographies pin their persuasive credibility on the reader's trust in Gregory's first-person, apologetic perspective, whereas the collection shuns revisionary narratives altogether in favor of something akin to historical documentation through an act of recontextualization. Here letters are read not individually and separately but together and in light of the others in the collection. The success of this autobiographical project turns on a unique feature of the late antique epistolary genre. Letters were frequently praised for their ability to convey an authentic image of the writer's soul and to generate an impression of the writer's personal presence despite physical absence; they could be just as revelatory of a writer's soul as speech, actions, or personal disposition.[82] Gregory's self-curated collection, then, amplifies this trope to an extreme degree by fostering the impression that who he was (in late 383 or early 384) remained the same as who he always had been (between the late 350s and early 380s), in the deluge of one revelation of soul after another. Despite its differences of structure and literary-rhetorical strategies, the letter collection's thematic interests and subject matter correspond in large measure to those of his other autobiographical texts. Like them, the collection takes a post-Constantinople perspective and distances Gregory from the imperial capital; like them, it portrays him as adverse to the conflicts and ambitions of bishops and divorces him from competitive synods and councils. The natural consequence of pulling himself away from the institutions that facilitated professional success for so many of his friends and colleagues was that whatever authority he wished to claim could not be linked to a professional position within the church; it must be self-devised. And so, like his other autobiographical texts, the letter collection crafts a signature cocktail of prestige made from the cultural ingredients already embedded within late antique elite society—learning, virtue, sanctity—but combined in a personal and idiosyncratic way. While Constantinople and its bishops may have rejected him, Cappadocia left Gregory enough room to assert himself, to document his past as he remembered it and wanted others to remember it.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL TRADITION IN ANTIQUITY AND LATE ANTIQUITY

By writing autobiography, Gregory was participating in a loose and ill-defined tradition that existed for centuries before him and has continued up to the present day. On a general level, across time and cultures, autobiography has proved terrifically resistant to the constraints and boundaries that govern many literary genres and modes. It has traditionally been defined as a literary genre that abides by a normative taxonomy of features including, among other things, narrative coherence, circularity, and closure, as well as a focus on psychological development and personal transformation. Philippe Lejeune's classic definition insists that autobiography is a "retrospective narrative in prose that a real person makes about their own existence, so long as it accentuates the individual life, and in particular the history of their personality."[83] Such prescriptive limitations on what counts as true autobiography, though, are as unnecessary as they are unreflective of the diversity of self-writings. Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson have identified sixty subgenres under the umbrella of autobiography, among which are autoethnography, conversion narrative, diary, meditation, memoir, and travel narrative.[84] With Robert Folkenflik, we should give self-writing leeway and even allow for definitional contradiction: autobiography "has norms but not rules"; it is often (but not exclusively) composed in the first person; it can be "prose or verse"; it can be "truthful or mendacious," even "ostensibly fiction"; it is typically written "in old age, or at least in mid-life . . . but it may be written by the young," and often showcases a narrative "about the past of the writer."[85] Laura Marcus has shown that the very act of limiting a definition of autobiography as Lejeune and others have done participates in a politics of exclusion. Works deemed "autobiographical" have frequently been regarded as "authentic and autonomous expression[s] of an essentially private self"—whom contemporary or later readers regard as having achieved the status of genius—highlighting "supposedly universal themes of childhood, loss, conversion and quest," while those that fail to meet such culturally determined criteria, especially those crafted by writers whose authorial identity is marked by disenfranchisement, marginalization, or subjugation to colonizing powers, were simply not considered true autobiography.[86] Autobiography is perhaps best conceived as a mode of authorship based on a conceit that the "autobiographical 'I'" reflexively refers to the historical person of the author, in any literary form, genre, or situation. No deep dive into the author's psyche need be featured here, and no individuality in relation to the broader world need be tracked; rather, all that is necessary is a dynamic, installed by the author into any text or portion of text, according to which the reader believes she is engaging with the textualized identity, experience, and perspective of an actual, historical person. Of course, readers ought not assume the historical veracity or reliability of any autobiographical account, since each element of the text—for instance, the identities of the author-subject and other characters; the narrative's chronology, geography, voice, and discourse—contributes one piece to a larger literary construction that directly and intentionally corresponds to the author's interests, concerns, and goals at the time of composition. Self-writers are always and inevitably "justifying their own perceptions, upholding their reputations, disputing the accounts of others, settling scores, conveying cultural information, and inventing desirable futures," and readers must therefore leave aside any questions of facticity and focus instead on ones pertaining to the use of tropes and rhetoric, sociocultural and historical contextualization, and techniques of textual self-fashioning.[87] After all, autobiographical acts are expressions of personalized experience, interpretations "of the past and of place in a culturally and historically specific present."[88]

Writers from antiquity and late antiquity were aware of just how much a construction authorial identity was when it came to self-writing. In truth, full narratives or literary reflections dedicated to recounting an author's life or achievements were quite rare in that period, because writing about oneself without condition or caveat was taken as boasting. However, apologia was one condition that made self-writing acceptable. While Smith and Watson note that autobiography often provides cover for apologetic discourse, ancient writers did away with the veil altogether and identified apologia as the very reason to engage in autobiography. In that sense, first-person narration became a literary device to be employed in the service of distinct rhetorical goals,[89] as the ancient Athenian statesman Isocrates reveals in his *Antidosis:* "I realized that, if I were to try my hand at self-praise, I wouldn't be able to include all the details that I wanted to recount or speak elegantly without inspiring envy. If, however, I were to contrive a trial that threatened me and a prosecutor who brought an indictment and legal charges against me, who assailed me with accusations uttered during cross-examination, and then craft my eloquence under the cover of apologia, that's how I could discuss to my best advantage whatever I wanted."[90] One potential effect of self-writing, Isocrates fears, is the engendering of envy in the reader, which, unsurprisingly, blocks a sympathetic reception. So, he invented a fictitious lawsuit, brought by a fictitious sycophant, Lysimachus, as the motivation for his fictitious but apologetic speech in which he offers an autobiographical account of his character, accomplishments, and occupation. Other ancient writers expressed similar concerns about the potentially hostile response that self-writing might engender in its readers: Cicero remarked on the quickness with which readers dismiss the credibility and significance of self-writing; Tacitus implied that by the late first century, previous writers' engagement with it notwithstanding, autobiography wafted of arrogance; Plutarch advised caution toward *periautologia*—speech about oneself—and relegated its acceptable use to apologetic contexts and accounts of one's civic beneficence. [91] In antiquity and late antiquity, we find evidence for a widespread conviction that writing, or even speaking, about oneself was tacky unless it occurred under the aegis of apologia.

Yet in practice, as Glenn Most has shown, ancient autobiographers felt compelled to endow their narratives not just with apologia but with details of perils, misfortunes, hardships, and heartaches, intended to demonstrate the author's self-sufficiency and the narrative's consistency and credibility.[92] The autobiographical sections in the corpus of Pauline letters, for example, mix personal identity claims with accounts of his travels, defensive narrations of his conflicts, and detailed lists of all the hardships Paul faced as a devoted servant of God—"For his sake I have suffered the loss of all things, and I regard them as rubbish, in order that I may gain Christ."[93] What author, the logic goes, would engage in such public self-deprecation were the autobiographical account not true? Indeed, this trope not only justifies the account but also authenticates it. The Jewish historian Josephus embedded his own deeply apologetic autobiography within an account of the horrors he witnessed in the siege of Jotapata during the Jewish War, and in the third century Gregory Thaumaturgus told of how he met the renowned Origen of Alexandria only after the tragic death of his parents.[94] Even the first-person sections of the *Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas* are situated within a text whose very purpose is to communicate the magnitude and intensity of the suffering its subjects experienced because they professed a Christian identity.[95] Authors from antiquity and late antiquity performed quite the dance to rationalize the project of self-writing, one that guides the reader's gaze away from any indications of self-aggrandizement and toward the socially acceptable practice of defending one's actions, even toward the misery that accompanied being who they were and doing what they did.

Gregory's many autobiographical writings respond to the widespread contemporary expectations of how self-writing should be performed, and in which literary contexts. As noted above, his autobiographical poetry is rife with personal laments about his sorry plight and the tragedy of his dealings with wickedness, and all his autobiographical writings forcefully defend his identity and actions against perceived criticism. He was also exposed to autobiography in practice, not just the socioliterary expectations for its execution, and used the work of other writers as models for his own. In particular, *Carmen* 2.1.11, his most famous autobiographical poem, bears a literary connection to Libanius of Antioch's *Oratio* 1, which appeared seven or eight years before. The renowned sophist had circulated this substantial oration on himself and his life as early as 374, and Gregory may have been a part of his literary network.[96] Structural and thematic parallels abound.[97] Consider Libanius's opening paragraph:

> There are some who believe unseemly things about my fortune. Some say that I am the happiest of all people specifically because of the applause I get for my eloquence; others say that I am the most miserable person alive because of my interminable pains and toils. Well, each of these has departed from the decree of truth, and I must try to correct them with a narration of my past and present affairs. That way, everyone may realize that the gods have mixed the affairs of Fortune in with mine, that I am neither the happiest nor the most miserable person alive. Please don't let Nemesis strike vengeance on me![98]

Now look at these lines from the prologue of Gregory's autobiographical poem:

> The purpose of this discourse is to explain the course
> of my troubles or, if you like, my good luck.
> Some would indeed describe it in the latter way, others in the former way,
> depending on whichever way they incline, I suppose.
> But preference is no sure standard of judgment.
> . . .
> Therefore, I come to give these words in my discourse,

> for I don't like a useless recitation of many verses
> —let all hear, generations present and future!
> My situation a bit further back
> I must relate, even if I must speak at great length,
> so that false reports do not prevail against me.[99]

Each writer frames the subsequent narrative as an attempt to set the record straight for a misinformed audience—that is, as an apologetic venture. Of course, Gregory's explicitly counters slanderous rumors, while Libanius's seeks to correct flatterers and detractors alike. Episodic parallels abound too: each writer discusses his family and upbringing, with particular focus on his mother;[100] early devotion to literature and eloquence;[101] third-party praise for the author-subject's rhetorical excellence;[102] prodigious events like sea storms and lightning strikes, which produce permanent and important changes in the author-subject's body or character;[103] frequent bouts with illness;[104] and stonings by opponents.[105] Each writer presents himself as an embodiment of civic and rhetorical virtue who withstands the slanders of and troubles caused by opponents.[106]

Gregory understood how to engage in autobiographical writing, including how to circumnavigate its pitfalls. He realized that late antique literary circles, with their rarefied culture, regarded autobiography as a biased genre that rarely, if ever, conveyed "the truth" of any event, but he also knew that the genre was acceptable within the context of a publicly defending oneself and submitting alternative versions of events. He was aware of autobiographical credibility's reliance on the author's identity and integrity, which were always put at risk by supercilious accounts of happiness, wealth, influence, and status, and he knew how to mitigate that risk by infusing anguish and affliction into autobiographical narratives of success. Indeed, his autobiographical poems and orations and even the letter collection are chock-full of reports of seemingly endless torment, sorrow, and suffering imposed on him by vicious figures. Such claims, of course, ought to be read in the literary context in which they are presented, both as justifications that granted Gregory the license to self-write and as a series of self-deprecations that corroborate his account. Put differently, apology and suffering were the tropes with which Gregory verified his autobiographical description of the events, people, and culture in Constantinople.

READING GREGORY'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

The thoroughgoing apologetic interests of Gregory's self-writing, not to mention his navigation of late antique anxieties around the practice and his engagement with its rhetorical tropes and habits, have gone largely unnoticed by readers over the past sixteen centuries.[107] Hagiographers, panegyrists, biographers, and theologians have typically approached his autobiography through the lens of a tradition that venerates him as a saint and therefore privileges his perspective. Classicists and historians, on the other hand, have demonstrated less an urge to extol Gregory than a desire to trace the contours of his personality, revealed, unsurprisingly, through his discursive alternation between affection and hostility, righteous triumphalism and disappointment, glory and suffering. The vast majority of readers have treated Gregory's autobiographies as transparent texts through which one can behold the author at his most emotionally raw and brutally honest. At the same time, however, scholars and biographers have been guilty of "automimesis," an inscription of their own sense of self, family dynamics, personal motivations, or animating emotions into their portrayal of their biographical subject.[108] Later readers have gawked at Gregory's soul, personality, or self—the "true" Gregory—with little regard for the literary and rhetorical tools that he used to put it on display, and as they stared at it, they discovered the most paradoxical of things: themselves. Consequently, the lines between subject and author, autobiography and biography, and hagiography and scholarly investigation are blurry.

The tradition of writing Gregory's life goes back to the earliest hagiography, composed sometime between 543 and 638 by Gregory the Presbyter.[109] Hagiographers drew on a well-established tradition of biographical writing in the ancient world but adapted it by situating the subject-saint's virtue, piety, miracles, prayerfulness, and philanthropy within a Christian cultural and theological framework.[110] Byzantine hagiographies afforded their authors special opportunities to exploit the genre's structure and tropes with an eye toward spiritual edification: writing the *vita* of a saint was as much a devotional practice for the author as a way to engender piety in the reader.[111] Few saintly subjects, though, had written as many autobiographical texts as Gregory did, and in them the Presbyter found the perspective, narrative, and characterological material with which he would craft his work.[112] Moreover, they provided fodder for the excessive praise so characteristic of the hagiographical genre. No one comes close to Gregory's blessedness, "because of the inaccessibility of his virtue" and because "he is perfect in every respect."[113] In Athens he predicted and denounced the impiety and faithlessness of the future emperor Julian.[114] In Constantinople he "cleared souls of their impiety as a plough does with thorns" and "planted the seeds of divine speech" in the hearts of his hearers.[115] He left the Council of Constantinople not because he had been defeated by his enemies but because his episcopal position had become the ground on which a political fight was taking place and, blessed saint that he was, he chose to sacrifice his own glory for the peace of the community.[116] Gregory personified the union of contemplative virtue, godliness, and eloquence to which the Presbyter himself aspired.

The next thousand years saw no major developments in Gregory's biographical tradition,[117] but at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century, amid a spree of activity and sectarianism that sprang up in the wake of the Reformation, Gregory's legacy became a club with which Jansenists and Remonstrants could bludgeon Jesuits who tried to lay claim to a patristic inheritance. The Jansenists consisted of French anti-royalists whose cohesion solidified in the 1640s after the publication of a book by Bishop Cornelius Jansen of Ypres. Against the Jesuits' worldliness, allegiance to papal authority, and theology of divine leniency, free choice, and human goodness, the Jansenists constructed an idealized vision of the primitive church in which conciliar (nonpapal) authority was supported by moral rigor, strict penance, sacramental purity, and theological austerity.[118] In direct competition with the Jesuits, Jansenists also established academic centers, which rejected secular education and embraced a more traditional curriculum, throughout France. It was in this context that a Jansenist professor at the University of Paris, Godefroy Hermant, published his biography of Gregory, in which he polemically notes that the simple but honest telling of the church's history refutes any Jesuitical claim to a patristic inheritance.[119] Clarity and accuracy are essential: "Just as it can well serve us to defend our religion, [the church's history] must be written in a truly realistic manner so that its enemies can be convinced, or at least so that we do not give them ground to say that we want to make facts come off as incontestable, facts that could still seem doubtful and uncertain after a long discussion."[120] Yet Hermant permits Gregory's autobiographical perspective to determine the biographical dynamic. For example, he uncritically reproduces Gregory's claim of intimacy with Basil of Caesarea not only within the text of his work but also in the image of the two haloed men embracing each other that graces the biography's first page.[121] A second Jansenist biographer, Louis-Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont, embeds his biography within a monumental church history[122] and avoids the overt polemic employed by Hermant, opting instead to highlight the ease with which early modern biography could cross over into hagiography by saluting the Presbyter: "We claim only to follow in [the Presbyter's] footsteps."[123] Thus Le Nain de Tillemont inherits the autobiographical perspective filtered through a hagiographical lens. In a different polemical context (but with the same anti-Jesuit invective as Hermant), the Remonstrant Jean Leclerc conscripts Gregory to refute Jesuitical arguments pertaining to how patristic texts authorize the Society's learning, way of life, and proximity to the pope: that theology changes over time (as Gregory's thought on baptism, for example, shows Leclerc's readers) reveals that "today's Society of Christians [i.e., the Jesuits], with absolutely no exception, are ignorant in their boast of following the doctrine of the Fathers in every respect."[124] In post-Reformation sectarian conflicts, the fourth-century Gregory was a conduit through which seventeenth-century biographers expressed their ideological commitments.

In the nineteenth century, biographies of Gregory followed new trends that tracked broader cultural and literary currents in Europe. Whereas biographers in classical antiquity had focused mainly on constructing portraits of their subjects' public and professional lives for didactic purposes,[125] biographers of the Romantic period drew on early modern theorists like Walter Raleigh (ca. 1554–1618) and

Samuel Johnson (1709–84), who championed investigating the private life of a subject in search of good and bad, the complete composite of a personality. Raleigh believed that because "there being nothing wherein Nature so much triumpheth, as its dissimilitude," the biographer's job was to sift through a person's external actions to identify the "forme internall."[126] More than a century later, Johnson held up biography as a genre that directed the reader's gaze to the very idiosyncrasies, eccentricities, and personal blemishes of real human life "as it really was" that encomia and hagiography sought to paper over.[127] Changes in biography's subject and tone (no longer external actions, but internal character; no longer praise, but sympathetic regard for individuality) corresponded with the broader aesthetic mandate of Romanticism, which valued introspection and imagination, as well as internal struggle and torment. Indeed, Romanticism endowed autobiography with the ability to successfully mediate personal experience in such a way that the likes of Johnson could claim that "the most truthful life-writing is when 'the writer tells his own story,' since only he knows the whole truth about himself."[128]

It is easy to see why Gregory, whose autobiographical writings are so rife with affective discourse of struggle, betrayal, dejection, anguish, and intimacy, would become an attractive subject for biography in such a cultural climate. These were not interpreted as the necessary rhetorical tropes that enabled the project of self-writing, as a late antique writer would have understood them; rather, they were read as authentic expressions of psychological trauma and signs of a delicate sensibility. The German Pietist Carl Ullmann (1796–1865) focused his biography on the contours of Gregory's soul and aimed to show the good with the bad, "to portray him as he was, to give a living and true reproduction of his inner self, and to draw his intellectual portrait from the noble and the beautiful, as well as the less attractive features of his nature."[129] For Ullmann, Gregory was an individualist who had opposed the spiritual decay of his fractious era and, consequently, struggled with the flux of his emotional life. Corresponding to his Romantic aesthetic, Ullmann made his subject into a fourth-century Pietist: Gregory subordinated dogmatic disputes to personal religiosity and living the Christian life, and cared only to guide his flock into "the spirit of active Christianity, so that their faith might be especially preserved and commended through their own lives."[130] Gregory's foibles and weaknesses, like those of every other human being, precluded him from being designated a saint, but he was still "a venerable man . . . a warm friend to active Christianity."[131] Even his bodily appearance testified to this underlying truth. His thin white hair, his short, thick beard, his prominent eyebrows, and the scar above his right eye worked in harmony to produce a simple, unaffected demeanor which showed that his soul was ardent and devoted to God, while "the fundamental tone of his inner nature was piety."[132]

By linking psychological conflicts with social struggles, Ullmann set a new standard: every subsequent biography of Gregory more or less aimed at depicting its subject's soul. For the late nineteenth-century Catholic abbots Alphonse Benoit and Louis Montaut, the contours of that soul were smooth and polished, those of a saint committed to the vitality of the orthodox church. Benoit's work in particular is little more than hagiography, which corresponds to a broader contemporary trend that Nigel Hamilton has termed "life-laundering," the construction of biographical subjects' reputations from the building blocks of idealized Christian piety, education, nationalism, and viceless zeal.[133] With miracles to confirm its soundness,[134] Gregory's preaching defended the Catholic Church and betrayed no trace of compromise or heresy, according to Benoit.[135] His individuality comes through not in the tortured combination of good and bad features, as asserted by Ullmann—whom, along with other Protestants, Benoit characterizes as "generally hostile to St. Gregory" because he made such faithless portrait[136]—but in "his noble character and his great virtue, joined to his rare genius."[137] Two years after Benoit published his biography in Marseille, Montaut published his in Paris. Montaut would not garner, as Benoit did, a bishop's praise for "using a truly priestly manner,"[138] but he did vouch for Gregory's orthodox soul, untouched by heresy or paganism.[139] The biographical task for these two Catholic writers was to trace Gregory's personal sanctity (as had Le Nain de Tillemont and the Presbyter before him) and frame it in terms of nineteenth-century ideas of Catholic patriotism, so to speak.

The twentieth century ushered in the new hermeneutic of "psychography," through which writers looked afresh at Gregory's life.[140] Psychoanalysis and character study became the driving motivations behind the very project of biographical composition. From a literary perspective, this "new biography," as Virginia Woolf called it, expanded the genre's conventions while subverting the old, propagandistic designs of Victorian biography.[141] The pendulum had swung back from the polished portraits of the late nineteenth century, and now biography joined the "authentic" depiction of "real" and messy lives with Freudian concepts and categories. Again, one can imagine how the discourse of fragility and world-weariness in Gregory's autobiographies would have made him an attractive figure to writers in such a context. The earliest was Eugène Fleury, who, like all the others before him, used his subject as a vehicle for his own values: Gregory was now a humanistic writer, a gentle man of letters, much like this biographer.[142] Fleury explicitly avoids the hagiographical tendency of Montaut and Benoit, opting instead for an application of Ullmann's "strictly objective method" in the service of composing a "psychological essay."[143] Gregory must be treated in the same way as any other writer from antiquity, and what emerges is an accessible protagonist who stands "at our side."[144] Many of his particular qualities, Fleury approvingly concludes, "quite curiously make him resemble" the Romantics, specifically "his morbid emotionality, his effeminate flightiness, his revulsion toward the active life, his love of solitude, his taste for [personal] confidences, and the indescribable overdevelopment of his emotional self."[145] With this first biography of the modern era, Gregory is no longer the church's theologian or saint but a Romantic soul whose "feminine nature—delicately nuanced, emotive and quivering, friend to solitude more than to action, made for intimacy's affections more than for the fight's clashes—shunned the mountaintops that, with a manly leap, the likes of a Basil or Chrysostom would attain."[146]

Over a decade later, Paul Gallay politely dismissed Fleury's work as more a "literary study than a historical one" and published the first nonapologetic and historiographically transparent biography.[147] Here the focus is still on Gregory's individuality, but now identified as the product of various external influences (social relationships, provincial and civic culture, contemporary events, etc.).[148] Gallay was far more interested than previous biographers in determining the chronology and events of Gregory's life without letting dogmatic concerns affect his historical conclusions. However, like Benoit and Montaut, he identifies the mark of Gregory's individuality as his "saintly interior, drawn from the contemplation of divine realities and forcibly obtained out of fights against the flesh,"[149] while, in line with more contemporary developments, he searches for Gregory's authentic personality and devotes his final chapter to sketching "the principal feature of [Gregory's] physiognomy, . . . the nobility of his soul," built on the foundation of a "delicate and tender nature."[150] (Fifty years later, in a biography written for a popular but pious audience, Gallay identified Gregory's "simplicity, his high-mindedness, his sensitivity" as "the principle traits of his moral physiognomy," features that a reader can know because "he easily opens up his soul to us" in his autobiographies.)[151] Gallay settles on a portrait of his subject as an underdog, someone whose anguish the "most refined souls" would understand but "men of a less nuanced nature could hardly have a fair idea" because "they would be tempted to laugh at him, or at least smile at him and chalk up [his anguishes] to a sickly condition, to a certain nervous imbalance."[152] The very qualities that others might find risible are for Gallay the marks of beatification.

The psychography of Gregory hit its high-water mark at the end of the twentieth century in the work of Jean Bernardi, whose self-proclaimed task was to chart the travails of the "hypersensitive soul" of a "simultaneously seducing and irritating man."[153] Bernardi subjects this "romantic, displaced in the middle of the fourth century," to the methods of unspecified "specialists in characterology"[154] and concludes that Gregory's laments were "a major feature of his sensibility," along with an inalienable "egocentrism, an exaggerated sense of being a victim of some sort, [and] tears" cried for himself.[155] From Gregory's emotionality to his self-centeredness, Fleury's influence on Bernardi is clear, yet the latter goes even further than his predecessor, unequivocally diagnosing his subject with chronic and long-lasting depression, caused by "the sudden awareness of a deep gap between his aspirations and reality."[156] But Bernardi also embraces and makes explicit biographers' long-standing habit of discovering their own interests and values in their subject: he confesses that "we generally love to transmit to others what sits near our own heart" (that is, he embraces automimesis) and attributes to Gregory his own pedagogical vocation.[157]

John McGuckin's biography of Gregory—the first in English and the most recent in any language—follows and surpasses Gallay's move toward contextualization, presenting Gregory's life and thought against a sweeping backdrop of imperial politics, provincial society, literary culture, and theological conflicts. Yet despite being tuned into the rhetorical key and literary register of Gregory's orations, even McGuckin cannot escape the tendency to psychologize his subject: Gregory's distinctive feature remains his wavering sensitivity and world-weariness in a fast-moving era that valued hard resolution and confrontational readiness from its public figures. Portraying Gregory as a well-intentioned idealist fighting above his political weight is perhaps what draws McGuckin into an imagined friendship with his subject, as the poem that McGuckin composed for Gregory, which serves as his book's epigraph, proclaims. That Gregory lost so many of the fights into which he stumbled shows that he was, unlike nearly all his contemporaries, constitutionally incapable of lowering himself into the seedy muck of ecclesiastical politics. Consider the concluding lines of McGuckin's poem:

> Your heart was like a spider's silk
> swinging wildly at the slightest breeze,
> too tender for this tumbling world
> of mountebanks, and quacks and gobs,
> but tuned to hear the distant voices
> of the singing stars
> and marvel at the mercy of it all.[158]

Whereas Bernardi kept analytical distance from the mental struggles of his patient, McGuckin takes Gregory's elevated sensitivity, showcased in his autobiographies, as the endearing feature of his true personality. Of course, psychoanalysis does not drive his biography, as it does Fleury's, Bernardi's, and to a lesser extent Gallay's, but McGuckin nonetheless indulges himself at various points: Gregory's major contributions to Nicene Trinitarian thought were motivated by a simmering desire to erase the errors of his father's "theological monism"; his obsequious remarks about Basil in 372 ooze sarcasm that thinly veils a seething disdain for his old friend; his return to Cappadocia after the tumultuous months in Constantinople was marked by a need to "vent his feelings" about the poor behavior of bishops.[159] By reading between the lines with little interpretive justification other than his own sense of things, McGuckin tries to discern the authentic but stifled feelings that lay behind Gregory's ornate discourse.

Even outside the biographical tradition, certain sectors of Gregorian scholarship are still rife with praise for his seemingly honest self-depictions. Herbert Musurillo, for example, has noted that within Gregory's autobiographical poems we find "a warm human expression of his love for men and women, the friends of his loneliness and of his retirement. With the exception of Augustine, no other Father of the Church reveals so much of his own interior longings, his doubts, and his anxieties. Thus the greatest value of Gregory's poetry is the view it offers into the heart of one of the most brilliant of early Greek theologians."[160] Such piercing psychological investigation even serves literary history, allowing Adrian Hollis, for instance, to track "how deeply [the Hellenistic poet] Callimachus had entered Gregory's mind" (a literary interest that Christos Simelidis has declared "an obsession").[161] In a social history, Raymond Van Dam asserts that Gregory's "personal sensitivity and introspection" have made him "a wonderful guide to relationships between friends, ideas about classical culture, and attempts to find a consistent self."[162] More than sixteen centuries later, the Gregory in various scholarly traditions, like the Gregory in the biographical tradition, is still not too far from the self-presentation found in his autobiographical writings, which are taken as genuine windows onto the inner life of a man beset by struggle and anguish.

Beyond his explicitly autobiographical writings, however, scholars have also mined Gregory's letters for any trace of his tormented soul. This owes partially to the epistolary rhetoric popular in late antiquity, which, as mentioned earlier, held up letters as able to textually represent and even convey an author's soul. But as with all late antique literary tropes, this rhetoric served its genre: it countered the chronological and geographical space that separated writer from addressee by constructing a socioliterary space (the act of letter exchange) where otherwise impossible social actions could be performed and relationships maintained. Scholars have failed to take this epistolary discourse seriously and have instead treated these texts as permitting access to the writer's soul—especially Gregory's.[163] There are two problems, however, with reading Gregory's letters like this. First, it assumes that textuality itself imposes no barrier between reader and author, that a letter presents Gregory as he truly and authentically existed at the moment of composition. Readers of late antique letters must acknowledge that the twin rhetorics of intimacy and of a letter's ability to convey its writer's soul functioned as ubiquitous features of the epistolary genre and thereby covered individuality under generic convention. Second, such readings fail to take seriously the editorial act of authorship. When Gregory designed his collection in the early 380s, he imposed an autobiographical veneer on his letters, repurposing them in a new authorial context. Now letters would be read in relation to other letters, and dossiers of letters addressed to one individual in relation to dossiers of letters addressed to other individuals. Such recontextualization effectively places the author's psyche, or "authentic self," beyond the reader's purview, veiled behind multiple layers of textuality.[164] Now we must focus on Gregory's editorial authorship and on situating the collection within its immediate publication context, and understand the collection in its entirety as the literary and autobiographical production of a retired provincial bishop intent on securing his social status with contemporaries and later generations.

LETTER COLLECTION AS AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Scholars have long been drawn to Gregory for a variety of reasons. For intellectual historians, what stand out are his advancement of Nicene Trinitarianism in a time of theological change and uncertainty and his Christological statements in the early stages of a controversy that would come to dominate fifth-century Christian politics and discourse.[165] Indeed, it is Gregory the Theologian, as the Council of Chalcedon and later Byzantine writers would call him,[166] who appears in courses on early Christian history and thought. But for literary historians and classicists, what stands out is Gregory's enthusiastic immersion in Hellenism. His rhetorical expertise and facility with Greek literature remain incontrovertible, and scholars have consequently used his engagement with traditional styles and genres to track the legacy of classical culture in late antiquity and the Byzantine period.[167] Social historians have found the writings of Gregory, as well as other Cappadocian Christian leaders, to be a rich source of information about contemporary provincial governance, education, structures of friendship and kinship, health care, socioeconomic status, monasticism, and veneration of saints.[168] Over the past two decades, though, especially in the works of Susanna Elm and Neil McLynn cited throughout this chapter's notes, Gregory's rhetoric has been analyzed for the role it played in defining him with and against broader political, intellectual, and ecclesiastical developments. This book continues in this latter vein by focusing on a text that is, on the one hand, not usually treated as a single text and, on the other, rarely seen as something deserving of its own study: Gregory's letter collection.

Let me state the argument of this book plainly. I contend that Gregory of Nazianzus's letter collection is an autobiographical text in which the crucial act of authorship emerges in the editorial selection and arrangement of previously written letters. Acknowledging the import and impact of editorial authorship on the way that we read the collection's contents ought to draw our focus to the political, social, and cultural forces that influenced Gregory at the moment of collecting. Indeed, the collection constituted one part of a broader autobiographical project that dominated Gregory's literary activity in the early 380s, in which he defended his time in Constantinople and tried to exercise control over his reputation and legacy. This is not to say that his letters cannot be meaningfully read in other ways, such as to track his engagement with the ancient epistolary genre or to analyze his epistolary discourse with certain addressees. Rather, my argument highlights how Gregory's conscription of already existing texts (the letters) in the service of a new, later, consciously self-presentational text (the collection) affects the former's meaning and function.[169] Whereas the letters were originally written as discrete, one-off textual communiqués, now Gregory's late-in-life concerns would govern his editorial decisions vis-à-vis their inclusion (which letters?) and arrangement (in what order?). Now his letters would be read in light of and in partnership with other letters; now they would constitute the component parts of his epistolary autobiography, a thematically unified text that shines a light on Gregory's consistency of character and identity over the decades to which the letters bear witness. In other words, the collection gives old letters a new voice before a new audience.

This book proceeds in the following way: Chapter 2 offers a new view of the collection by highlighting the connective threads (principally, prosopographical ones) that run through it. Whereas previous editors arranged Gregory's letters in what they believed to be chronological order, the manuscripts reveal that "chronological" arrangement was on the mind of neither medieval scribes nor Gregory himself. Rather, the collection was structured around the letters' addressees. Looking at it as an anthology of addressee-based dossiers casts it in an entirely new light, which puts into stark relief the unitive coherence of the whole text. This also facilitates an investigation into the collection's self-presentational content, provided by the subsequent chapters.

The three colors with which Gregory paints his epistolary self-portrait are eloquence, philosophy, and friendship with Basil. What will become clear throughout the book is the degree to which the corresponding identities—Gregory the Eloquent, Gregory the Philosopher, Gregory the Basilist—are not entirely distinct. Each builds on norms, conventions, and values that are particular to it, but Gregory makes each identity crucial to the others: a philosopher is no philosopher unless he possesses eloquence, and his friendship with Basil is based on their shared devotion to the practice of philosophy and their shared love of the literary culture in which their eloquence had its roots. Put differently, the collection is not a triband with three crisply distinguished colors but a wheel comprising three hues, with one gently fading into the next so that the particular properties of each can be identified but none can be fully conceptualized apart from the others. It is precisely this pigmentary overlap, however, that gives the collection its cohesion and overarching unity. Chapter 3 focuses on the first color by highlighting Gregory's self-proclaimed mastery of eloquence, a late antique cultural commodity that defined elite identity and social relevance. In essence, the collection's claim of Gregory's eloquence amounts to an assertion of personalized authority: when Gregory published it, he occupied no clerical position on which he could rely to assert his authority, and so, in its place, he shows the degree to which he embodied the cultural marker that made someone elite. Chapter 4 turns to the second color, his identity as a philosopher. Likewise, whereas orations written before his departure from Constantinople in 381 linked Gregory's philosophical authority to his position in the Christian clergy, the collection, along with other post-Constantinople autobiographical writings of his, alters the valence of this identity and relocates its authority into his person. Finally, chapter 5 tracks yet another claim to relevance, standing, and influence: Gregory's friendship with Basil, whose memory took on spectacular eminence after his death in 379 within the community memory of pro-Nicene Christians in Cappadocia and neighboring provinces. By the early 380s, and in the wake of the Council of Constantinople, where it became clear that Emperor Theodosius intended to support pro-Nicene Christianity, bishops who had known Basil personally claimed that their work was an extension of his, thereby authorizing their own position and status. For his part, Gregory too believed he had a claim on that legacy, in the form of the unique friendship that they had shared, a claim documented by a spate of carefully selected letters that endowed their relationship with intimacy, depth, and frank honesty.

Accompanying this monograph is a separate volume that contains the first full English translation of Gregory's collection: *Gregory of Nazianzus's Letter Collection: The Complete Translation* (University of California Press, 2019). It builds on the argument of chapter 2 and arranges the letters in an order that approximates Gregory's original more than the now-standard arrangement imposed by the Benedictine editors in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Readers of the translation can now experience, for the first time, the collection as an autobiography, as a composite but unified text that casts Gregory among his peers and reveals with piercing clarity the cultural colors with which he wanted to represent himself.

Gregory's resignation from Constantinople all but guaranteed that he would miss out on the prestige conferred to those friends and colleagues who stayed behind and contributed to the council's settlement. Had he remained, no doubt he would have been listed first among the standard-bearers of orthodoxy in the *Codex Theodosianus,* where his successor Nectarius can be found, along with other notable bishops from Cappadocia and neighboring provinces.[170] His standing within the ecclesiastical community diminished in proportion to the increase in influence of his compatriots, friends, and family members. While resuming the Nazianzan episcopacy on Easter Day 382 may have mildly assuaged him, he turned to textual production in order to shape his legacy. Part of this effort was the publication of the letter collection, in which he fashioned himself as "the most eloquent Gregory," "the father of philosophers," and an authentic "Basilist," using these indisputably desirable identities to construct a highly personalized authority. With them, he asserted his true self as he understood it and amplified his importance to the provincial church and broader community of elites.

Social identities do not operate in the world on their own, as if they had an objective existence independent of the people who assert, define, and contest them. Individuals fashion identity for themselves using, among other things, social practice, material artifacts, bodily performance, and textual discourse, often if not always contrasting that construction with other idealized and equally constructed identities. Many scholars have charted the late antique self-differentiation of

Christians from Jews, pagans, and other "heterodox" Christians in order to determine their own religious identity and communal boundaries. The same pattern works at the individual level. To fashion a self is to construct an identity, to present to the social world a version of oneself built in a dialectic of differentiation and similitude. Individuals identify bad actors and good actors in the world, using the former as foils with which to contrast themselves and the latter as models to which they liken themselves. Personal and communal ideology, values, tastes, and preferences inform individual determinations of good and bad actors, but nevertheless it is the individual who exercises agency and authority in constructing their own identity. This is especially true of someone who relies on textual interchange as the primary medium of self-presentation or identity construction. For Gregory, who maintained a social presence in Constantinople and Cappadocia at large throughout the 380s (despite permanently residing at his family's property just outside Nazianzus), written discourse offered a means by which he could defend and define himself. Here he could present his life as he perceived it and wanted it to be perceived by others, using the literary tools that late antiquity afforded autobiographers. Perhaps it shouldn't be surprising that it is indeed Gregory who is the earliest known Greek writer to compile his own letter collection. To more risk-averse writers, the task may have too closely approached the dreaded autobiographical vaunt, but Gregory steered around any pitfalls by documenting the hardship of his life and the misery of his soul and then using those tales of woe as fuel for his epistolary apologia. With this newfangled mode of self-writing, with this new socioliterary technology, he could reframe and refashion himself as the distillation of all the premier features that Cappadocian society attributed to its elites.

2

The Architecture of the Letter Collection

Gregory's letter collection came to exist because his great-nephew Nicobulus asked for it. In the early 380s the young man had just entered the advanced stages of his education, in which he would study rhetoric, literature, and epistolary composition. Seeking to exploit a family connection, he asked his great-uncle for some exemplary letters to guide him. The response must have overwhelmed him: Gregory agreed to the project in one letter (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 52) but placed it within a batch of others (*Ep.* 51, 53–54), each of which touch on epistolary style generally or the collection's epistolary content. To those four letters he appended over 230 more, most written by himself but some written by Basil. This rare instance of late antique literary meta-reference may have caused an onset of vertigo for Nicobulus, because not only did he encounter letters whose subject was both letter writing and letter collecting but also because he, as reader, now confronted himself among the collection's silent cast of addressees and couriers. More confounding still was Gregory's inclusion of letters written by Basil, which he mentions in a letter within that introductory batch but without specifying how many or which ones (*Ep.* 53). A simple request for guidance in epistolary composition led to a complicated, layered, and self-referencing literary construction that includes hundreds of letters, written by two authors and addressed to at least eighty men and women in Cappadocia, Asia Minor, Armenia, the Caucasus region, Constantinople, and Antioch.

Several considerations suggest that Gregory envisioned a broader audience for the collection than just Nicobulus. First, the sheer immensity goes well beyond the length or size of a typical pedagogical aide, if other late antique epistolary handbooks are any guide. Second, its artistry and design betray a series of thoughtful choices pertaining to content (which letters should be included and excluded?), structure (in what order?), and character presentation of both addressees and author (who should feature in the collection, and to what degree of prominence? what does their presence in the collection contribute to the overarching portrayal of Gregory?) that certainly would have proved too sophisticated for the unenthusiastic, maybe even daft, Nicobulus.[1] Third, within the collection's opening letter, Gregory telegraphs muted signals to other readers by declaring that a student bears a teacher's characteristics as a child does a parent's. As the previous chapter notes, this statement amounts to both a promise of literary inheritance to Nicobulus and an open invitation for readers to use the collection to identify Gregory's rhetorical teachers (spoiler alert: they were the famous Athenian sophists Himerius and Prohaeresius). Nicobulus was only at the beginning of his training in rhetoric and could not be expected to solve such an advanced literary puzzle, but no doubt Eudoxius the rhetor, Bishop Helladius, and the Athens-trained sophists Stagirius and Eustochius (the four men involved in Nicobulus's education in Caesarea) could have.[2]

While the following three chapters address what precisely Gregory wanted to advertise about himself to his readers—his authorial self-presentation—this one wrestles with preliminary questions about the collection's basic architecture. What did that original collection look like? Which letters would the Caesarean cohort and any broader audience have read, and in what order? Which addressees would they have encountered in the collection? Unfortunately, we cannot answer these questions with certainty. No autograph copy of Gregory's collection survives; the earliest manuscripts of the collection as such (that is, not manuscripts preserving individual letters) date to between the tenth and fourteenth centuries, a great distance from the fourth-century original. Moreover, the modern critical editions used by scholars for the past two centuries have jumbled the earlier manuscripts' contents and structures, rearranging the letters according to supposed chronology and inserting spurious letters.[3] Rather than a single, artfully designed literary text, these editions have treated the collection as an archive into which any letter believed to be Gregory's could be deposited in its proper chronological position. Consequently, even if the manuscripts managed to preserve some trace of the original content and structure despite their late dates, the early modern printed editions and modern critical editions have entirely obscured it.

Despite the gulf of several centuries that separates them from the original, the manuscripts afford the best vantage from which we might discern the content and principles of organization with which Gregory structured his letter collection. The six manuscript families (designated as the u-, v-, d-, f-, g-, and h-families) show little concern for chronology; instead, they organize the letters into dossiers centered on the addressees. For instance, the letters addressed to Nectarius form one dossier, while those addressed to Gregory's friend Philagrius form another, and those to Gregory of Nyssa another. The manuscript families sometimes correspond vis-à-vis the sequence of dossiers, and occasionally vis-à-vis the order of letters within each dossier. That Gregory may have arranged his collection as the manuscripts do is intimated by *Epistula* 53, to Nicobulus, where he writes that rather than interspersing Basil's letters among his own in chronological order or even in discernible epistolary exchanges, he has placed them as a batch in front of his own letters. If the author's identity proved a fruitful means of arranging the collection, perhaps the identities of addressees proved equally fruitful for the next layer of organization. The manuscripts are certainly structured as if this were so.

This chapter argues that readers should approach the collection from the vantage provided by the manuscripts rather than that of the printed editions. While the view from the manuscripts, so to speak, is not perfect, it better allows us to see the collection's unity and coherence, to see it as a single literary text shaped by authorial design. To do so, this chapter tracks the printed editions—from Vincentius Opsopoeus, who made the editio princeps in the sixteenth century, to Paul Gallay, who published the most recent and comprehensive critical edition, in 1969—and pinpoints the moment when chronological arrangement first appeared within the collection. Then it works through the six manuscript families, noting their differences while drawing attention to the centrality of addressee-based epistolary batches as a principle of arrangement. Finally, the chapter applies the manuscripts' organizational logic to the collection as we now know it, with the result that a series of prosopographical and thematic interconnections emerge, ones previously impossible to notice. While we cannot perfectly ascertain the original sequence of the dossiers, or the sequence of the letters within each dossier, following the manuscripts' configuration puts us in a better position to read the collection as a single text, replete with consistent and pervasive thematic currents, produced in the context of Gregory's far-reaching autobiographical campaign during the early and mid-380s.

THE PRINTED EDITIONS

Before Gallay's two critical editions, published in the 1960s, Gregory's letter collection appeared in varying forms and with varying content in the early modern period.[4] The Benedictine text, published in the early nineteenth century, was the most important and comprehensive edition, but before it, four editors produced different versions of the collection: Vincentius Opsopoeus, Johannes Hervagius, Jacobus Billius, and Fédéric Morel—each of whom built upon their predecessors and added letters from newly encountered manuscripts.

The German humanist Opsopoeus (Vinzenz Heidecker) published the editio princeps of Gregory's letters in 1528. Opsopoeus's edition contains sixty-one letters written by Basil interspersed with fifty-seven written by Gregory (see table 1). Twenty-two years later, Johannes Hervagius (Johann Herwagen), a printer from Basel, came across a book with the hilariously bizarre and verbose title *En, amice*

TABLE 1 Vincentius Opsopoeus

Title	*Basilii Magni et Gregorii Nazanzeni* [sic] *Theologorum, epistolae graecae, nunquam antea editae, opus plane sanctum et theologicum, Haganoae per Iohan. Sec. MDXXVIII*
Place of publication	Saxony
Date	1528
Content and order	11 letters by Bas. (including *Ep.* 47 [Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 42]) + Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 53, 54, 114, 91, 186, 172, 120 + Bas., *Ep.* 14 + Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 60, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 46, 8, 19, 16, 41, 43, 58 + Bas., *Ep.* 71 + Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 59, 48, 49, 50, 45, 47, 40 + 47 letters by Bas. + Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 79, 80, 30, 92, 81, 72, 73, 76, 182, 11, 195, 196, 141, 154, 130, 90, 193, 194, 25, 26, 138, 153, 20, 7, 29, 93, 135, 190, 191, 61 + Bas., *Ep.* 8

lector, thesaurum damus inaestimabilem, D. Basilium vere magnum sua lingua disertissime loquentem, quem hacienus habuisti latine balbutientem. Unum hunc dedit nobis Graecia numeris omnibus absolutum, sive pietatem animi spectes, sive sacrae pariter ac prophanae peritiam, sive divinitus afflatam eloquentiam. Mihi crede, reddet te tibi meliorem, quisquis hunc familiarem habere voles (Basel, 1532). Here Hervagius encountered not only the fifty-seven letters by Gregory and the collection of Basil's letters among which they were peppered in Opsopoeus's editio princeps but also twenty-three additional letters of Gregory's that he had not heretofore known, which came from the manuscript Oxoniensis Corpus Christi College 284. Hervagius extracted the eighty letters that he recognized as Gregory's and published them in a separate volume in 1550 (see table 2).

Why Opsopoeus and Hervagius organized their editions of the collection like this is unclear, but Jacobus Billius (Jacques de Billy) introduced chronology to Gregory's letters. Within the epistolary section of his *Omnia opera Gregorii Nazianzeni,* Billius translated Hervagius's eighty-letter collection into Latin and arranged it in what he believed to be chronological order (see table 3). Billius later came across a manuscript

TABLE 2 Johannes Hervagius

Title	*Grēgoriou tou Nazianzēnou, tou Theologou hapanta ta mechri nun . . . heuriskomena . . . en Basileiai hanalōmasi Ioannou tou Herōagiou*
Place of publication	Basel
Date	1550
Content and order	56 letters from Opsopoeus (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 53, 54, 114, 91, 186, 172, 120, 60, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 46, 8, 19, 16, 41, 43, 58, 59, 48, 49, 50, 45, 47, 40, 79, 80, 30, 92, 81, 72, 73, 76, 182, 11, 195, 196, 141, 154, 130, 90, 193, 194, 25, 26, 138, 153, 20, 7, 29, 93, 135, 190, 191; see table 1) + 23 letters of *Oxoniensis Corpus Christi College 284* (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 64, 44, 65, 225, 147, 148, 178, 32, 87, 34, 33, 35, 36, 31, 173, 132, 94, 112, 113, 131, 125, 140, 199) + 1 letter from Opsopoeus (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 61; see table 1)

TABLE 3 Jacobus Billius I

Title	*D. Gregorii Nazianzeni, cognomento Theologi, opera omnia quae quidem exstant nova translatione donata*
Place of publication	Paris
Date	1569
Content and order	Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 114, 53, 54, 60, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 46, 8, 25, 26, 138, 153, 20, 7, 29, 19, 16, 40, 41, 43, 45, 47, 58, 59, 64, 44, 65, 48, 49, 50, 82, 72, 73, 76, 79, 80, 30, 92, 182, 11, 195, 196, 224, 147, 148, 141, 154, 91, 186, 172, 120, 130, 90, 193, 194, 93, 135, 190, 191, 178, 32, 87, 34, 33, 35, 36, 31, 173, 132, 94, 112, 113, 131, 125, 140, 199, 61

of 127 previously unknown letters (perhaps Berolinensis 66), which he also translated into Latin. These appeared in the posthumously published *Omnia opera Gregorii Nazianzeni* of 1583, which also revised the 80 letters of the earlier edition (see table 4).

Billius had concerned himself only with the Latin translation, so it fell to editors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to publish the Greek original. First, Fédéric Morel published the Greek text alongside Billius's Latin translation in his edition of *Omnia opera Gregorii Nazianzeni* and added 25 letters, probably from Parisinus graecus 2998, for a total of 226 (see table 5). In 1630 Morel published another edition, adding ten letters from Bodleianus Miscellaneus 38, arranged in what he believed to be chronological order (see table 6). Second, the famous

TABLE 4 Jacobus Billius II

Title	*D. Gregorii Nazianzeni, cognomento Theologi, opera omnia quae exstant nunc primum propter novam plurimorum librorum accessionem in duos tomos distincta*
Place of publication	Paris
Date	1583
Content and order	80 letters by Gr. Naz. from Opsopoeus and Herwagius, previously translated in 1569 (see table 3) + 124 letters, perhaps from *Berolinensis 66* (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 77, 159, 157, 124, 160, 161, 115, 152, 162, 122, 168, 169, 209, 210, 197, 107, 109, 108, 116, 117, 118, 111, 95, 239, 14, 23, 21, 37, 39, 22, 189, 228, 229, 230, 174, 175, 176, 187, 177, 179, 180, 227, 225, 237, 155, 150, 156, 204, 205, 206, 233, 181, 133, 134, 136, 137, 70, 71, 38, 24, 89, 74, 240, 226, 75, 207, 208, 82, 83, 86, 84, 85, 3, 55, 12, 97, 128, 129, 9, 13, 63, 62, 27, 184, 234, 67, 69, 68, 17, 18, 231, 142, 105, 104, 143, 144, 106, 126, 146, 238, 145, 149, 198, 200, 201, 242, 164, 188, 165, 166, 192, 96, 232, 10, 15, 203, 98, 78, 235, 56, 223, 222, 236, 66) + Bas., *Ep.* 169, 171, 170 (perhaps also from *Berolinensis 66*)

TABLE 5 Fédéric Morel I

Title	*Gregorii Nazianzeni, cognomento theologi, opera. Nunc primùm Graecè & Latinè coniunctim, edita, subsidio & liberalitate Reverendifs. Episcoporum, & Cleri universi Franciae Reni . . . Aucta est haec editio aliquanmultis ejusdem Gregorii epistolis nunquam antea editis ex interpretatione Fed. Morelli Professoris & Interpretis Regii*
Place of publication	Paris
Date	1609–11
Content and order	Billius II (see table 4) + 25 letters, probably from *Parisinus graecus 2998* (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 52, 51; Bas., *Ep.* 208; Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 144, 212, 215, 213, 214, 219, 220, 167, 163, 121, 123, 139, 204, 217, 183, 151, 185, 103, 170, 119, 110, 158

Benedictine monks of the Congregation of St. Maur produced another Greek edition with Latin translation and added still more letters (see table 7): Gregory's *Epistulae* 42 and 57, which had been in Basil's letter collection; 101, 102, 202, and 243, the so-called theological letters, which had been transmitted among the manuscripts of Gregory's orations; and 88 and 244, which they found among manuscripts that had attributed them to other authors. Four successive monks—Jacobus

TABLE 6 Fédéric Morel II

Title	*Tou en hagiois patros hēmōn Grēgoriou Nazianzēnou tou theologou ta heuriskomena . . . Sancti Patris Nostri Gregorii Nazianzeni Theologi opera . . . Aucta est haec editio aliquanmultis ejusdem Gregorii epistolis nunquam antea editis ex interpretatione Fed. Morelli Professoris & Interpretis Regii*
Place of publication	Paris
Date	1630
Content and order	Morel I (see table 5) + 10 letters from *Bodleianus Miscellaneus 38* (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 211, 127, 126, 218, 221, 99, 100, 171, 28, 241)

TABLE 7 Maurist Edition

Editors	Jacobus du Frische (1640–93) Franciscus Louvard (1661–1739) Prudentius Maran (1683–1762) Charles Clémencet (1703–78) Abbé Armand-Benjamin Caillau (1794–1850)
Title	*Sanctis patris nostri Gregorii Theologi, vulgo Nazianzeni, archepiscopi Constantinopolitani, opera quae exstant omnia*
Place of publication	Paris
Date	1842
Content and order	Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 1–244

du Frische (1640–93), Franciscus Louvard (1661–1739), Prudentius Maran (1683–1762), and Charles Clémencet (1703–78)—oversaw the work through interruptions and loss of manuscripts, but it was Abbé Armand-Benjamin Caillau of Saint Denis who shepherded the project to its publication in the mid-nineteenth century.[5] The Maurist edition arranged Gregory's *Epistulae* 1–244 according to supposed chronology and assigned to the letters the numbers by which they are currently known.

Paul Gallay (1906–2001), the former *doyen de Faculté libre des lettres* at the Université de Lyon, is the most recent editor of Gregory's letter collection. He produced two critical editions for two series. The first was published in two volumes (in 1964 and 1967, respectively) in the Collection des Universités de France of the Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres"; it includes a French translation and a thorough apparatus. The second was published in 1969, with a fuller apparatus, in Akademie-Verlag's Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der Ersten Jahrhunderte (GCS) series (see table 8). The text of the second edition occasionally

TABLE 8 Paul Gallay

Editions	*Saint Grégoire de Nazianze: Lettres,* 2 vols., Collection des Universités de France, publiée sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1964, 1967) *Gregor von Nazianz: Briefe,* GCS 53 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1969)
Content and order	Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 1–100, 103–201, 203–242, 244 (Maurist edition with "theological letters" extracted) + Gr. Naz., *Ep*. 245[a] + Bas., *Ep.* 169–71 (which Gallay attributes to Gregory and renumbers as Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 246–48) + Gr. Nyss., *Ep.* 1, attributed to Gr. Naz. (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 249)

[a] This letter has weak attestation and a strange history, for which see Paul Gallay, *Les manuscrits des lettres de Saint Grégoire de Nazianze* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1957), 17, 20–21, 25–29. However, in all likelihood it is Gregory's.

differs from that of the first, due to either typographical error or Gallay's later preference for a different reading. Indeed, the GCS edition claims to be the "*editio maior.*"[6] Both of Gallay's editions follow the Maurist numeration and order but exclude Gregory's *Epistulae* 101, 102, and 202 (the "theological letters") because Gallay believed that their transmission among the manuscripts of the orations indicated their absence from Gregory's original letter collection.[7] Also, Gallay regarded *Epistula* 243, omitted from both critical editions, as inauthentic, primarily because it is not present in any of the main letter manuscripts. Moreover, he included four more letters: one that features in one of the main manuscript families yet was excluded from the Maurist edition, and three that had previously been attributed to Basil. In total, then, Gallay counts 245 letters in the letter collection, despite evidence suggesting that Gregory did not write *Epistulae* 88, 241, and 249.[8]

The various printed editions reveal how early modern editors used chronology to make sense of a collection to which they had limited access. Only with Morel in the seventeenth century—followed by the Maurists in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and Gallay in the twentieth century—do editors begin to have a robust view of the collection's contents, but by that point chronology was already firmly embedded within its architecture. Early modern and modern editors subjected the collection to the dictates of a broad trend in biographical and historiographical writing during the Enlightenment and in its wake that treated letters as documents that could shed light on an ancient or late antique author's life: the letters' sequence should correspond to the linear chronology of the lived life.[9] This not only altered the fundamental architecture of the original but also introduced a new organizational dilemma. Many of the letters are impossible to date and therefore impossible to order chronologically. Such letters are naturally difficult to contextualize and therefore unhelpful in establishing a narrative of their author's life and career. Their value within later scholarship on and biographies about Gregory has been minimal, quarantined as they are in a blurry and out-of-the-way group marked "date uncertain."[10] However, much of the confusion created by the printed editions and their insistence on chronology can be dispelled, at least partially, by turning directly to the manuscripts. Whereas early modern editors favored chronology, medieval and Byzantine scribes preferred to arrange the collection by grouping letters into dossiers centered on addressees, couriers, and even particular episodes within Gregory's life.

THE MANUSCRIPT FAMILIES

The manuscripts of Gregory's letter collection date to the tenth and eleventh centuries (except for one from the twelfth century and another from the thirteenth or fourteenth century) and have been divided into six main families.[11] Outside these families, and dating to earlier than the tenth century, only a handful of witnesses to Gregory's letters survive: the fifth-century Papyrus Graecus Vindobonensis contains *Epistulae* 80 and 90; the acts of the Council of Constantinople 553 quote *Epistulae* 77, 152, 162, and 163; and the sixth-century Londinensis British Museum Additional 17144 (folios 108v–110v) provides Syriac translations of *Epistulae* 4 and 5. Each family's representative manuscripts showcase between 231 and 239 letters, with no single family containing all the letters now attributed to Gregory. The tradition provides major attestation of 228 letters and minor attestation of only 13 letters—5 are transmitted within three manuscript families, 2 within two families, and 6 within one family.[12] (We must remember that Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 101–2, 202, and 243 were transmitted among the orations, not the letters.) Based on the witness of the manuscripts, Gregory likely sent Nicobulus something close to the total number of letters (approximately 230 to 242) currently included in the collection.

But what about arrangement within the manuscripts? Table 9 shows a list of the letters, ordered by the Maurists' numeration (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 1–100, 102–201, 203–42, 244) plus Gallay's additions (*Ep.* 245–49), with the addressee of each and its position in each of the six families. What is striking is that some patterns are discernible despite the fluctuation of these positions. The u-family, for example, clumps Gregory's letters to Basil together: *Epistulae* 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, and 8 remain proximate, in the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth positions, respectively. In fact, Gregory's letters to Basil form a discrete dossier in all the manuscript families (except the g-family, which likewise groups them together, but divvied up into smaller batches). Additionally, all the manuscript families position the (or a) Basil dossier near, if not at, the front of the collection, although four families position the Nicobulus dossier (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 51–54) before it, as a fitting opening to the

TABLE 9 Positions of Letters within the Manuscript Families

Maurist #	Addressee	u-family	v-family	d-family	f-family	g-family	h-family
1	Basil	6	5	6	6	6	9
2	Basil	7	1	9	19	5	15
3	Evagrius	167	160	75	76	105	113
4	Basil	8	—	7	17	2	12
5	Basil	9	—	8	18	4	13
6	Basil	11	2	10	7	3	14
7	Caesarius	87	80	89	44	40	179
8	Basil	13	7	17	8	25	10
9	Amphilochius	174	171	153	188	96	167
10	Candidianus	222	219	141	102	10	201
11	Gregory	75	68	101	171	73	166
12	Nicobulus (the Elder)	169	162	199	—	—	—
13	Amphilochius	175	172	147	110	217	217
14	Caesarius	88	81	90	45	41	41
15	Lollianus	223	220	142	103	11	202
16	Eusebius (of Caesarea)	186	183	159	192	—	142
17	Eusebius (of Caesarea)	187	184	160	193	44	143
18	Eusebius (of Caesarea)	188	185	161	194	45	144
19	Basil	14	6	18	20	31	16
20	Caesarius	86	79	88	43	43	26
21	Sophronius	90	83	92	46	58	31
22	Sophronius	96	89	98	198	195	148
23	Caesarius	88	82	91	199	196	149
24	Themistius	146	139	176	197	194	147
25	Amphilochius	177	174	149	180	88	208
26	Amphilochius	179	176	150	181	90	209
27	Amphilochius	180	177	152	183	91	140
28	Amphilochius	—	—	145	104	—	—
29	Sophronius	94	87	93	98	92	174
30	Philagrius	120	113	114	94	82	203
31	Philagrius	119	112	112	92	81	173
32	Philagrius	112	105	106	50	101	177
33	Philagrius	115	108	108	52	145	54
34	Philagrius	116	109	109	87	133	171
35	Philagrius	117	110	110	88	134	138
36	Philagrius	118	111	111	89	135	139
37	Sophronius	93	86	95	132	147	56
38	Themistius	145	138	175	131	146	55
39	Sophronius	95	88	97	185	93	211
40	Basil	22	10	13	13	26	8
41	“The Church of Caesarea”	24	17	25	9	28	6
42	Eusebius (of Samosata)	—	—	—	—	27	—
43	“The Bishops”	25	18	26	10	29	7
44	Eusebius (of Samosata)	190	187	46	195	46	145
45	Basil	20	8	11	11	32	17

46	Basil	12	3	21	121	14	33
47	Basil	21	9	12	12	30	11
48	Basil	17	14	16	16	35	20
49	Basil	18	15	20	22	36	21
50	Basil	19	16	15	—	33	24
51	Nicobulus	3	164	2	3	52	2
52	Nicobulus	1	163	1	1	51	1
53	Nicobulus	2	166	3	2	54	4
54	Nicobulus	4	165	4	4	53	3
55	Nicobulus	168	161	198	148	106	114
56	Thecla	228	225	181	141	157	64
57	Thecla	—	—	—	207	—	—
58	Basil	15	11	19	21	38	18
59	Basil	16	13	14	15	34	19
60	Basil	5	4	5	5	39	22
61	Aerius and Alypius	166	159	195	178	85	205
62	Amphilochius	178	175	151	182	89	—
63	Amphilochius (the Elder)	176	173	148	179	87	207
64	Eusebius (of Samosata)	189	186	48	238	47	—
65	Eusebius (of Samosata)	191	188	45	37	50	—
66	Eusebius (of Samosata)	234	—	47	237	48	165
67	Julian	183	180	143	190	98	223
68	Julian	185	182	204	152	110	228
69	Julian	184	181	144	191	99	141
70	Eutropius	142	135	139	140	142	51
71	Eutropius	143	136	140	101	132	199
72	Gregory	70	63	104	210	232	78
73	Gregory	71	64	105	211	233	79
74	Gregory	152	145	—	—	168	—
75	Vitalianus	158	151	231	232	177	103
76	Gregory	72	65	99	47	60	66
77	Theodore	55	48	60	40	220	28
78	Theotecnus	226	223	135	96	84	204
79	Simplicia	231	228	216	186	94	212
80	Philagrius	121	114	113	93	83	187
81	Gregory	69	62	103	209	231	77
82	Alypius	161	154	187	146	122	107
83	Alypius	162	155	188	147	123	108
84	Alypius	164	157	189	156	115	230
85	Alypius	165	158	190	163	125	122
86	Alypius	163	156	191	184	124	210
87	Philagrius	113	106	115	95	100	45
88[a]	Nectarius	—	—	—	—	—	—
89	Bosporius	151	144	227	226	169	93
90	Anysius	155	148	184	143	188	100
91	Nectarius	31	24	116	54	151	59
92	Philagrius	114	107	107	51	144	53
93	Sophronius	91	84	96	159	118	40

TABLE 9 *(continued)*

Maurist #	Addressee	u-family	v-family	d-family	f-family	g-family	h-family
94	Amazonius	144	137	174	130	143	52
95	Leontius	84	77	224	223	234	91
96	Hypatius	220	217	213	168	129	130
97	Heraclianus	170	167	200	149	107	115
98	"The Decurions"	225	222	215	177	13	172
99	Sacerdos	48	41	52	62	160	69
100	Gigantius	100	93	168	122	102	34
101	Cledonius	—	—	—	—	—	—
102	Cledonius	—	—	—	—	—	—
103	Palladius	26	19	122	53	149	181
104	Olympius	196	193	36	33	200	153
105	Olympius	195	192	34	31	199	152
106	Olympius	202	199	35	32	205	159
107	Cledonius	77	70	217	212	15	80
108	Cledonius	79	72	219	214	17	82
109	Cledonius	78	71	218	213	16	81
110	Palladius	29	22	125	216	19	84
111	Eugenius	83	76	221	220	23	88
112	Celeusius	147	141	222	221	—	89
113	Celeusius	148	140	223	222	7	90
114	Celeusius	10	—	—	—	8	5
115	Theodore	61	54	70	75	226	110
116	Eulalius	80	116	210	217	20	85
117	Eulalius	81	117	211	218	21	86
118	Eugenius	82	75	220	219	22	87
119	Palladius	28	21	124	215	18	83
120	Helladius	41	34	56	90	136	200
121	Theodore	52	45	63	66	223	71
122	Theodore	64	57	73	165	127	125
123	Theodore	53	46	64	67	—	72
124	Theodore	58	51	67	72	165	92
125	Olympius	200	197	192	202	203	157
126	Olympius	203	200	39	114	211	221
127	Helladius	37	30	59	39	—	27
128	Procopius	171	168	201	150	108	116
129	Procopius	172	169	202	187	95	213
130	Procopius	173	170	203	200	202	155
131	Olympius	199	196	37	34	201	154
132	Saturninus	136	129	171	126	138	47
133	Victor	138	131	138	128	140	49
134	Victor	139	132	137	100	131	198
135	Sophronius	92	85	94	127	139	48
136	Modarius	140	133	172	129	141	50
137	Modarius	141	134	173	151	109	117
138	Bosporius	149	142	225	224	170	190

139	Theodore	54	47	65	70	163	188
140	Olympius	201	198	193	203	204	158
141	Olympius	193	190	32	29	197	150
142	Olympius	194	191	33	30	198	151
143	Olympius	197	194	194	204	206	160
144	Olympius	198	195	41	116	210	220
145	Verianus	208	205	167	117	209	162
146	Olympius	204	201	40	115	212	222
147	Asterius	127	120	154	106	213	163
148	Asterius	128	121	155	107	214	164
149	George	209	206	205	153	111	229
150	Asterius	129	122	157	205	208	161
151	Nectarius	34	27	118	56	128	126
152	Theodore	62	55	74	201	228	156
153	Bosporius	150	143	226	225	166	183
154	Olympius	205	202	38	108	215	182
155	Asterius	126	119	156	109	216	185
156	Asterius	130	123	158	206	207	216
157	Theodore	57	50	66	71	164	189
158	Eulalius	40	33	209	164	126	124
159	Theodore	56	49	61	41	221	29
160	Theodore	59	52	68	73	227	227
161	Theodore	60	53	69	74	225	109
162	Theodore	63	56	72	162	121	231
163	Theodore	51	44	62	42	222	226
164	Timothy	215	212	212	166	190	127
165	Stagirius	217	214	132	91	79	134
166	Stagirius	218	215	133	170	80	135
167	Helladius	38	31	57	161	120	95
168	Photius	65	58	42	35	186	73
169	Strategius	66	59	130	68	187	74
170	Palladius	27	20	123	69	—	76
171	Amphilochius	—	—	—	105	—	—
172	Helladius	39	32	58	233	179	111
173	Postumianus	135	128	170	125	137	46
174	Eudoxius	104	97	85	84	62	36
175	Eudoxius	105	98	84	83	65	44
176	Eudoxius	106	99	83	82	63	106
177	Eudoxius	108	101	79	78	69	136
178	Eudoxius	109	102	80	79	70	137
179	Eudoxius	110	103	81	80	71	192
180	Eudoxius	111	104	82	81	72	193
181	Saturninus	137	130	177	133	148	57
182	Gregory	74	67	100	113	230	170
183	Theodore	50	43	235	—	229	—
184	Amphilochius	181	178	146	—	—	—
185	Nectarius	33	26	119	—	167	—
186	Nectarius	32	25	117	55	—	30

TABLE 9 *(continued)*

Maurist #	Addressee	u-family	v-family	d-family	f-family	g-family	h-family
187	Eudoxius	107	100	86	85	67	129
188	Stagirius	216	213	131	167	66	128
189	Eustochius	97	90	162	139	9	32
190	Eustochius	98	91	163	172	74	194
191	Eustochius	99	92	164	173	75	175
192	Stagirius	219	216	134	174	76	195
193	Vitalianus	156	149	229	230	175	101
194	Vitalianus	157	150	230	231	176	102
195	Gregory the governor	76	69	166	112	219	219
196	Hecebolius	206	203	165	111	218	169
197	Gregory	73	66	102	196	191	146
198	Nemesius	211	208	30	169	68	131
199	Nemesius	210	207	29	154	112	119
200	Nemesius	212	209	28	175	78	132
201	Nemesius	213	210	31	28	182	133
202	Nectarius	—	—	—	—	—	—
203	Valentinianus	224	221	214	176	12	180
204	Adelphius	131	124	77	120	57	42
205	Adelphius	132	125	78	234	180	118
206	Adelphius	133	126	76	77	113	120
207	Jacob	159	152	185	144	189	104
208	Jacob	160	153	186	145	178	105
209	Castor	67	60	43	36	—	75
210	Castor	68	61	44	99	130	197
211	Cyriacus	30	23	178	134	150	58
212	Sacerdos	—	—	49	38	55	23
213	Sacerdos	47	40	51	61	159	68
214	Sacerdos	49	42	53	63	161	70
215	Sacerdos	46	39	50	60	158	176
216	Eudocius	42	35	126	57	154	62
217	Eudocius	43	36	127	58	162	65
218	Eudocius	44	37	128	142	155	97
219	Helladius	35	28	54	64	152	60
220	Helladius	36	29	55	65	153	61
221	Homophronius	45	38	129	59	156	63
222	Thecla	230	227	180	136	193	215
223	Thecla	229	226	179	135	192	214
224	Africanus	122	115	169	124	64	37
225	Hellebichus	124	117	208	158	117	39
226	Anysius	154	147	228	229	174	99
227	Ursus	123	116	207	157	116	38
228	Pansophius	101	94	120	48	103	67
229	Pansophius	102	95	121	49	104	112
230	Theodosius	103	96	71	123	61	35
231	Eusebius	192	189	206	155	114	121

232	Diocles	221	218	87	86	77	196
233	Ablabius	134	127	183	138	59	43
234	Olympianus	182	179	196	189	97	168
235	Adamantius	227	224	136	97	86	206
236	Libanius the sophist	233	230	—	—	—	—
237	Macedonius	125	118	197	160	119	178
238	"The Brotherhood at Sannabodae"	207	204	234	239	49	218
239	Epiphanius	85	78	182	137	56	25
240	Meletius	153	146	233	236	183	98
241[a]	Aburgius	—	—	—	27	—	—
242	Peter	214	211	232	235	181	123
243[a]	Evagrius	—	—	—	—	—	—
244	Basilissa	—	—	—	—	—	186
245	Basil	23	—	—	—	—	—
246	Basil (= Bas., *Ep*. 169)	235	—	22	23	172	191
247	Glycerius (= Bas., *Ep*. 170)	237	—	24	227	171	96
248	Basil (= Bas., *Ep*. 171)	236	—	23	228	173	94
249[a]	Flavian (= Gr. Nyss., *Ep*. 1)	232	229	—	—	—	—

[a] Not written by Gregory. See Bradley K. Storin, trans., *Gregory of Nazianzus's Letter Collection: The Complete Translation,* Christianity in Late Antiquity 7 (Oakland: University of California Press, 2019).

collection as a whole: *Epistula* 51 provides Nicobulus with an overview of Gregory's epistolary style; *Epistula* 52 announces the collection's formation and dissemination; *Epistula* 53 addresses its content and the focus on Gregory's friendship with Basil; *Epistula* 54 acts as an example of the learned and playful laconicism that Gregory considered his epistolary hallmark. These are merely two examples of noteworthy dissimilarities between the letter order of the manuscripts and that of the Maurists. It is evident that different organizational principles governed the collection in the different manuscripts. Below I present the details of the six manuscript families, accompanied by some observations on the arrangement and content of each one.

u-Family

The u-family has two chief representatives: the eleventh-century Marcianus graecus 79, housed in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice, and the eleventh-century Mutinensis α-0-4-15, housed in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena. It contains 233 letters attributed to Gregory, plus Basil's *Epistulae* 169–71 (numbered by Gallay as Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 246–48) and Gregory of Nyssa's *Epistula* 1 (numbered by Gallay as Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 249); it omits Gregory of Nazianzus's *Epistulae* 28, 42, 57, 171, 212, and 244 (see table 10). Some of the addressees have been misidentified, a consideration that accounts for why letters written to one addressee are positioned within dossiers of letters written to someone else. Additionally, the dossiers of identically named but

TABLE 10 Arrangement of u-family

Order	Maurist #	Addressee
1[a]	52	Nicobulus
2	53	Nicobulus
3	51	Nicobulus
4	54	Nicobulus
5	60	Basil
6	1	Basil
7	2	Basil
8	4	Basil
9	5	Basil
10	114	Celeusius[b]
11	6	Basil
12	46	Basil
13	8	Basil
14	19	Basil
15	58	Basil
16	59	Basil
17	48	Basil
18	49	Basil
19	50	Basil
20	45	Basil
21	47	Basil
22	40	Basil
23	245	Basil[c]
24	41	"The Church of Caesarea"
25	43	"The Bishops"
26	103	Palladius
27	170	Palladius
28	119	Palladius
29	110	Palladius
30	211	Cyriacus
31	91	Nectarius
32	186	Nectarius
33	185	Nectarius
34	151	Nectarius
35	219	Helladius
36	220	Helladius
37	127	Helladius
38	167	Helladius
39	172	Helladius
40	158	Eulalius[d]
41	120	Helladius
42	216	Eudocius
43	217	Eudocius
44	218	Eudocius
45	221	Homophronius

46	215	Sacerdos
47	213	Sacerdos
48	99	Sacerdos
49	214	Sacerdos
50	183	Theodore
51	163	Theodore
52	121	Theodore
53	123	Theodore
54	139	Theodore
55	77	Theodore
56	159	Theodore
57	157	Theodore
58	124	Theodore
59	160	Theodore
60	161	Theodore
61	115	Theodore
62	152	Theodore
63	162	Theodore
64	122	Theodore
65	168	Photius
66	169	Strategius
67	209	Castor
68	210	Castor
69	81	Gregory
70	72	Gregory
71	73	Gregory
72	76	Gregory
73	197	Gregory
74	182	Gregory
75	11	Gregory
76	195	Gregory the governor
77	107	Cledonius
78	109	Cledonius
79	108	Cledonius
80	116	Eulalius
81	117	Eulalius
82	118	Eugenius[e]
83	111	Eugenius[e]
84	95	Leontius
85	239	Epiphanius
86	20	Caesarius
87	7	Caesarius
88	14	Caesarius
89	23	Caesarius
90	21	Sophronius
91	93	Sophronius
92	135	Sophronius
93	37	Sophronius

TABLE 10 *(continued)*

Order	Maurist #	Addressee
94	29	Sophronius
95	39	Sophronius
96	22	Sophronius
97	189	Eustochius
98	190	Eustochius
99	191	Eustochius
100	100	Gigantius
101	228	Pansophius
102	229	Pansophius
103	230	Theodosius[f]
104	174	Eudoxius
105	175	Eudoxius
106	176	Eudoxius
107	187	Eudoxius
108	177	Eudoxius
109	178	Eudoxius
110	179	Eudoxius
111	180	Eudoxius
112	32	Philagrius
113	87	Philagrius
114	92	Philagrius
115	33	Philagrius
116	34	Philagrius
117	35	Philagrius
118	36	Philagrius
119	31	Philagrius
120	30	Philagrius
121	80	Philagrius
122	224	Africanus
123	227	Ursus
124	225	Hellebichus
125	237	Macedonius
126	155	Asterius
127	147	Asterius
128	148	Asterius
129	150	Asterius
130	156	Asterius
131	204	Adelphius
132	205	Adelphius
133	206	Adelphius
134	233	Ablabius
135	173	Postumianus
136	132	Saturninus
137	181	Saturninus
138	133	Victor

139	134	Victor
140	136	Modarius
141	137	Modarius
142	70	Eutropius
143	71	Eutropius
144	94	Amazonius
145	38	Themistius
146	24	Themistius
147	112	Celeusius
148	113	Celeusius
149	138	Bosporius
150	153	Bosporius
151	89	Bosporius
152	74	Gregory[g]
153	240	Meletius
154	226	Anysius
155	90	Anysius
156	193	Vitalianus
157	194	Vitalianus
158	75	Vitalianus
159	207	Jacob
160	208	Jacob
161	82	Alypius
162	83	Alypius
163	86	Alypius
164	84	Alypius
165	85	Alypius
166	61	Aerius and Alypius
167	3	Evagrius
168	55	Nicobulus
169	12	Nicobulus (the Elder)
170	97	Heraclianus
171	128	Procopius
172	129	Procopius
173	130	Procopius
174	9	Amphilochius
175	13	Amphilochius
176	63	Amphilochius (the Elder)
177	25	Amphilochius
178	62	Amphilochius
179	26	Amphilochius
180	27	Amphilochius
181	184	Amphilochius
182	234	Olympianus
183	67	Julian
184	69	Julian
185	68	Julian
186	16	Eusebius (of Caesarea)

TABLE 10 *(continued)*

Order	Maurist #	Addressee
187	17	Eusebius (of Caesarea)
188	18	Eusebius (of Caesarea)
189	64	Eusebius (of Samosata)
190	44	Eusebius (of Samosata)
191	65	Eusebius (of Samosata)
192	231	Eusebius
193	141	Olympius
194	142	Olympius
195	105	Olympius
196	104	Olympius
197	143	Olympius
198	144	Olympius
199	131	Olympius
200	125	Olympius
201	140	Olympius
202	106	Olympius
203	126	Olympius
204	146	Olympius
205	154	Olympius
206	196	Hecebolius
207	238	"The Brotherhood at Sannabodae"
208	145	Verianus
209	149	George
210	199	Nemesius
211	198	Nemesius
212	200	Nemesius
213	201	Nemesius
214	242	Peter
215	164	Timothy
216	188	Stagirius
217	165	Stagirius[h]
218	166	Stagirius[h]
219	192	Stagirius[h]
220	96	Hypatius
221	232	Diocles
222	10	Candidianus[i]
223	15	Lollianus
224	203	Valentinianus
225	98	"The Decurions"
226	78	Theotecnus
227	235	Adamantius
228	56	Thecla
229	223	Thecla
230	222	Thecla
231	79	Simplicia

232	249	Flavian (= Gr. Nyss., *Ep.* 1)
233	236	Libanius the sophist
234	66	Eusebius (of Samosata)
235	246	Basil (= Bas., *Ep.* 169)
236	248	Basil (= Bas., *Ep.* 171)
237	247	Glycerius (= Bas., *Ep.* 170)
Omitted Letters		
	28	Amphilochius
	42	Eusebius (of Samosata)
	57	Thecla
	171	Amphilochius
	212	Sacerdos
	244	Basilissa

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[a] With the first letter comes the title of the collection: "Assorted letters of our father, Saint Gregory the Theologian."

[b] The u-family identifies the addressee as Basil.

[c] The u-family identifies the writer as Basil and the addressee as Gregory of Nazianzus.

[d] The u-family identifies the addressee as Helladius.

[e] The u-family identifies the addressee as Eulalius.

[f] The u-family has this title: "To Theodosius or Theodore."

[g] Why this letter is floating so far from the other letters to Gregory of Nyssa is unclear.

[h] The u-family identifies the addressee as Timothy.

[i] The u-family identifies the addressee as Candianus.

different addressees are often combined. For instance, *Epistula* 195, to "Gregory" (a provincial magistrate or governor), is located in the 76th position, after the Gregory of Nyssa dossier; *Epistulae* 14 and 23, to the magistrate Caesarius, are in the 88th and 89th spots, following two letters addressed to Gregory's brother, also named Caesarius; *Epistula* 63, which I take to be addressed to Amphilochius the Elder, is buried in the 176th position, within the dossier of letters addressed to Amphilochius the Younger, who would become bishop of Iconium in 374; *Epistulae* 16–18, to Eusebius of Caesarea, are placed 186th to 188th, before *Epistulae* 64, 44, and 65, to Eusebius of Samosata, which come before *Epistula* 231, to yet another Eusebius, in the 192nd position. In two cases, a letter to a correctly identified addressee floats away from its dossier for unclear reasons: *Epistula* 74, to Gregory of Nyssa, appears in the 152nd position, after the dossier of letters addressed to Bosporius, and *Epistula* 66, to Eusebius of Samosata, appears in the 234th position. On the whole, the letters in the u-family are neatly divided into addressee-based dossiers and tightly arranged.

v-Family

The v-family has two chief representatives: the tenth-century Laurentianus 4-14, housed in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence, and the eleventh-century Londinensis British Museum Additional 36.749, housed in the British Museum in

London. It contains 228 letters attributed to Gregory, plus Basil's *Epistulae* 71 and 115 and Gregory of Nyssa's *Epistula* 1 (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 249); it omits Gregory of Nazianzus's *Epistulae* 4, 5, 28, 42, 57, 66, 114, 171, 212, 244, 245, and 246–248 (Bas., *Ep.* 169–171; see table 11). The first point to notice is the new location of the Nicobulus dossier. Whereas the u-family positions it at the front of the collection, the v-family puts it in the 163rd to 166th spots, rejoining it with the rest of the Nicobulus dossier. Additionally, the v-family includes Basil's *Epistula* 71, in the 12th spot. Although the order of the letters within the Basil dossier is different, the v-family otherwise follows the u-family quite closely: after its sixteenth letter, the order corresponds almost precisely to that of the u-family. In spite of their similarity, however, the v-family's absence of Gregory's *Epistulae* 4, 5, 66, 114, and 245, relocation of the Nicobulus dossier, addition of Basil's *Epistulae* 71 and 115, and different arrangement of the letters within the Basil dossier confirm that each manuscript family was independently copied.[13]

d-Family

The d-family has two chief representatives: the tenth-century Parisinus graecus 506 and the eleventh-century Parisinus suppl. gr. 763, both housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. It contains 235 letters attributed to Gregory, plus Basil's *Epistulae* 169–71 (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 246–48) and 208; it omits Gregory's *Epistulae* 42, 57, 74, 114, 171, 236, 244, and 245 (see table 12). Like the u-family, the d-family begins with the Nicobulus dossier and then moves on to the Basil dossier. Also, several addressees have been misidentified, resulting in letters written to one addressee being positioned within a batch of letters written to another (for instance, the d-family understands Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 125, 140, and 143, to Olympius, as addressed to Alypius and positions them accordingly, in the 192th to 194th positions, after Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 82–86, to Alypius, far from the Olympius dossier). The arrangement is tight, but a few letters float away from their dossiers: *Epistula* 68, to Julian, appears in the 204th position, just after *Epistula* 130, to Procopius, and before *Epistula* 149, to George (all of these letters share a common pretext: Gregory's illness prevents him from meeting with the addressee, thereby providing an occasion for the letter); *Epistula* 90, to Anysius, inexplicably appears in the 184th position, far removed from *Epistula* 226, also to Anysius, in the 228th position. As with the other families, the organizational logic that determines both the order of letters within each addressee-based batch and the order of the batches themselves is difficult to track.

f-Family

The f-family has one chief representative: Patmiacus 57, which dates to between the tenth and fourteenth centuries, housed in the Monastery of St. John the Evangelist on Patmos. It contains 229 letters attributed to Gregory, plus Basil's *Epistulae* 1, 71, 164, 169–71 (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 246–48), 174, 208, 213, and 282; it omits Gregory's *Epistulae* 12, 42, 50, 74, 114, 183–85, 236, 244, and 245 (see table 13). Like the u- and

TABLE 11 Arrangement of v-family

Order	Maurist #	Addressee
1	2	Basil
2	6	Basil
3	46	Basil
4	60	Basil
5	1	Basil
6	19	Basil
7	8	Basil
8	45	Basil
9	47	Basil
10	40	Basil
11	58	Basil
12	—	Hesychius (= Bas., *Ep.* 72)
13	59	Basil
14	48	Basil
15	49	Basil
16	50	Basil
17	41	“The Church of Caesarea”
18	43	“The Bishops”
19	103	Palladius
20	170	Palladius
21	119	Palladius
22	110	Palladius
23	211	Cyriacus
24	91	Nectarius
25	186	Nectarius
26	185	Nectarius
27	151	Nectarius
28	219	Helladius
29	220	Helladius
30	127	Helladius
31	167	Helladius
32	172	Helladius
33	158	Eulalius[a]
34	120	Helladius
35	216	Eudocius[b]
36	217	Eudocius[c]
37	218	Eudocius[b]
38	221	Homophronius
39	215	Sacerdos
40	213	Sacerdos
41	99	Sacerdos
42	214	Sacerdos
43	183	Theodore
44	163	Theodore
45	121	Theodore

TABLE 11 *(continued)*

Order	Maurist #	Addressee
46	123	Theodore
47	139	Theodore
48	77	Theodore
49	159	Theodore
50	157	Theodore
51	124	Theodore
52	160	Theodore
53	161	Theodore
54	115	Theodore
55	152	Theodore
56	162	Theodore
57	122	Theodore
58	168	Photius[d]
59	169	Strategius
60	209	Castor
61	210	Castor
62	81	Gregory
63	72	Gregory
64	73	Gregory
65	76	Gregory
66	197	Gregory
67	182	Gregory
68	11	Gregory
69	195	Gregory the governor
70	107	Cledonius
71	109	Cledonius
72	108	Cledonius
73	118	Eugenius[e]
74	111	Eugenius[e]
75	95	Leontius
76	239	Epiphanius
77	20	Caesarius
78	7	Caesarius
79	14	Caesarius
80	23	Caesarius
81	21	Sophronius
82	93	Sophronius
83	135	Sophronius
84	37	Sophronius
85	29	Sophronius
86	39	Sophronius
87	22	Sophronius
88	189	Eustochius
89	190	Eustochius
90	191	Eustochius

91	100	Gigantius
92	228	Pansophius
93	229	Pansophius
94	230	Theodosius
95	174	Eudoxius
96	175	Eudoxius
97	176	Eudoxius
98	187	Eudoxius
99	177	Eudoxius
100	178	Eudoxius
101	179	Eudoxius
102	180	Eudoxius
103	32	Philagrius
104	87	Philagrius
105	92	Philagrius
106	33	Philagrius
107	34	Philagrius
108	35	Philagrius
109	36	Philagrius
110	31	Philagrius
111	30	Philagrius
112	80	Philagrius
113	224	Africanus
114	116	Eulalius
115	227	Ursus
116	117	Eulalius
117	225	Hellebichus
118	237	Macedonius
119	155	Asterius
120	147	Asterius
121	148	Asterius
122	150	Asterius
123	156	Asterius
124	204	Adelphius
125	205	Adelphius
126	206	Adelphius
127	233	Ablabius
128	173	Postumianus
129	132	Saturninus
130	181	Saturninus
131	133	Victor
132	134	Victor
133	136	Modarius[f]
134	137	Modarius
135	70	Eutropius
136	71	Eutropius
137	94	Amazonius
138	38	Themistius

TABLE 11 *(continued)*

Order	Maurist #	Addressee
139	24	Themistius
140	113	Celeusius
141	112	Celeusius
142	138	Bosporius
143	153	Bosporius
144	89	Bosporius
145	74	Gregory[g]
146	240	Meletius
147	226	Anysius
148	90	Anysius
149	193	Vitalianus
150	194	Vitalianus
151	75	Vitalianus
152	207	Jacob
153	208	Jacob
154	82	Alypius
155	83	Alypius
156	86	Alypius
157	84	Alypius
158	85	Alypius
159	61	Aerius and Alypius
160	3	Evagrius
161	55	Nicobulus
162	12	Nicobulus (the Elder)
163	52	Nicobulus
164	51	Nicobulus
165	54	Nicobulus
166	53	Nicobulus
167	97	Heraclianus
168	128	Procopius
169	129	Procopius
170	130	Procopius
171	9	Amphilochius
172	13	Amphilochius
173	63	Amphilochius (the Elder)
174	25	Amphilochius
175	62	Amphilochius
176	26	Amphilochius
177	27	Amphilochius
178	184	Amphilochius
179	234	Olympianus[h]
180	67	Julian
181	69	Julian
182	68	Julian
183	16	Eusebius (of Caesarea)

184	17	Eusebius (of Caesarea)
185	18	Eusebius (of Caesarea)
186	64	Eusebius (of Samosata)
187	44	Eusebius (of Samosata)
188	65	Eusebius (of Samosata)
189	231	Eusebius
190	141	Olympius
191	142	Olympius
192	105	Olympius
193	104	Olympius
194	143	Olympius
195	144	Olympius
196	131	Olympius
197	125	Olympius
198	140	Olympius
199	106	Olympius
200	126	Olympius
201	146	Olympius
202	154	Olympius
203	196	Hecebolius
204	238	"The Brotherhood at Sannabodae"
205	145	Verianus[i]
206	149	George
207	199	Nemesius
208	198	Nemesius
209	200	Nemesius
210	201	Nemesius
211	242	Peter
212	164	Timothy
213	188	Stagirius
214	165	Stagirius[j]
215	166	Stagirius[j]
216	192	Stagirius[j]
217	96	Hypatius
218	232	Diocles
219	10	Candidianus
220	15	Lollianus
221	203	Valentinianus
222	98	"The Decurions"
223	78	Theotecnus
224	235	Adamantius
225	56	Thecla
226	223	Thecla
227	222	Thecla
228	79	Simplicia
229	249	Flavian (= Gr. Nyss., *Ep.* 1)
230	236	Libanius the sophist
231	—	Simplicia the heretic (= Bas., *Ep.* 115)

TABLE 11 *(continued)*

Order	Maurist #	Addressee
	Omitted Letters	
	4	Basil
	5	Basil
	28	Amphilochius
	42	Eusebius (of Samosata)
	57	Thecla
	66	Eusebius (of Samosata)
	114	Celeusius
	171	Amphilochius
	212	Sacerdos
	244	Basilissa
	245	Basil
	246	Basil (= Bas., *Ep*. 169)
	247	Glycerius (= Bas., *Ep*. 170)
	248	Basil (= Bas., *Ep*. 171)

[a] The v-family identifies the addressee as Helladius.
[b] The v-family identifies the addressee as Eidicius.
[c] The v-family identifies the addressee as Eudicius.
[d] The v-family identifies the addressee as Photinus (likely a misspelling).
[e] The v-family identifies the addressee as Eulalius.
[f] The v-family misspells the addressee's name as Modearius.
[g] Why this letter is floating this far back is unclear.
[h] The v-family identifies the addressee as Ulpianus.
[i] The v-family identifies this addressee as Ouranios or Verinianus, depending on the manuscript.
[j] The v-family identifies the addressee as Timothy.

d-families, the f-family preserves the Nicobulus dossier at the front and follows it with the Basil dossier. Some of the addressee-based batches maintain their structural integrity, but this family sees a good deal of fracturing. For example, *Epistulae* 105, 106, and 104 (whose addressee the f-family misidentifies as Alypius) are positioned between *Epistulae* 142 and 131, to Olympius; *Epistulae* 32, 92, and 33, to Philagrius, appear in the 50th through 52nd positions, far removed from the other letters to Philagrius, which are in the 87th through 89th and 92nd through 94th positions. The organizational logic is especially unclear after the 96th letter (some addressee-based dossiers remain intact, while others are split), as is the rationale for why some letters float away from their addressee's dossier. This family also misidentifies a substantial number of addressees, as indicated in table 13's notes.

g-Family

The g-family has three chief representatives: the tenth-century Athous tēs hiera monēs Ibērōn 335, *nunc* 2413, housed at Iviron Monastery Library on Mount Athos,

TABLE 12 Arrangement of d-family

Order	Maurist #	Addressee
1	52	Nicobulus
2	51	Nicobulus
3	53	Nicobulus
4	54	Nicobulus
5	60	Basil
6	1	Basil
7	4	Basil
8	5	Basil
9	2	Basil
10	6	Basil
11	45	Basil
12	47	Basil
13	40	Basil
14	59	Basil
15	50	Basil
16	48	Basil
17	8	Basil
18	19	Basil
19	58	Basil
20	49	Basil
21	46	Basil
22	246	Basil (= Bas., *Ep.* 169)
23	248	Basil (= Bas., *Ep.* 171)
24	247	Glycerius (= Bas., *Ep.* 170)
25	41	"The Church of Caesarea"
26	43	"The Bishops"
27	—	Eulancius (= Bas., *Ep.* 208)
28	200	Nemesius
29	199	Nemesius
30	198	Nemesius
31	201	Nemesius
32	141	Olympius
33	142	Olympius
34	105	Olympius
35	106	Olympius
36	104	Olympius
37	131	Olympius
38	154	Olympius
39	126	Olympius
40	146	Olympius
41	144	Olympius
42	168	Photius
43	209	Castor
44	210	Castor
45	65	Eusebius (of Samosata)

TABLE 12 *(continued)*

Order	Maurist #	Addressee
46	44	Eusebius (of Samosata)
47	66	Eusebius (of Samosata)
48	64	Eusebius (of Samosata)
49	212	Sacerdos
50	215	Sacerdos
51	213	Sacerdos
52	99	Sacerdos
53	214	Sacerdos
54	219	Helladius
55	220	Helladius
56	120	Helladius
57	167	Helladius
58	172	Helladius
59	127	Helladius
60	77	Theodore
61	159	Theodore
62	163	Theodore
63	121	Theodore
64	123	Theodore
65	139	Theodore
66	157	Theodore
67	124	Theodore
68	160	Theodore
69	161	Theodore
70	115	Theodore
71	230	Theodosius[a]
72	162	Theodore
73	122	Theodore
74	152	Theodore
75	3	Evagrius
76	206	Adelphius
77	204	Adelphius
78	205	Adelphius
79	177	Eudoxius
80	178	Eudoxius
81	179	Eudoxius
82	180	Eudoxius
83	176	Eudoxius
84	175	Eudoxius
85	174	Eudoxius
86	187	Eudoxius
87	232	Diocles
88	20	Caesarius
89	7	Caesarius
90	14	Caesarius[b]

91	23	Caesarius[b]
92	21	Sophronius
93	29	Sophronius
94	135	Sophronius
95	37	Sophronius
96	93	Sophronius
97	39	Sophronius
98	22	Sophronius
99	76	Gregory
100	182	Gregory
101	11	Gregory
102	197	Gregory
103	81	Gregory
104	72	Gregory
105	73	Gregory
106	32	Philagrius
107	92	Philagrius
108	33	Philagrius
109	34	Philagrius
110	35	Philagrius
111	36	Philagrius
112	31	Philagrius
113	80	Philagrius
114	30	Philagrius
115	87	Philagrius
116	91	Nectarius
117	186	Nectarius
118	151	Nectarius
119	185	Nectarius
120	228	Pansophius
121	229	Pansophius
122	103	Palladius
123	170	Palladius
124	119	Palladius
125	110	Palladius
126	216	Eudocius
127	217	Eudocius
128	218	Eudocius
129	221	Homophronius
130	169	Strategius
131	188	Stagirius[c]
132	165	Stagirius
133	166	Stagirius
134	192	Stagirius
135	78	Theotecnus
136	235	Adamantius
137	134	Victor
138	133	Victor

TABLE 12 *(continued)*

Order	Maurist #	Addressee
139	70	Eutropius
140	71	Eutropius
141	10	Candidianus
142	15	Lollianus[d]
143	67	Julian
144	69	Julian
145	28	Amphilochius
146	184	Amphilochius
147	13	Amphilochius
148	63	Amphilochius (the Elder)
149	25	Amphilochius
150	26	Amphilochius
151	62	Amphilochius
152	27	Amphilochius
153	9	Amphilochius
154	147	Asterius
155	148	Asterius
156	155	Asterius
157	150	Asterius
158	156	Asterius
159	16	Eusebius (of Caesarea)
160	17	Eusebius (of Caesarea)
161	18	Eusebius (of Caesarea)
162	189	Eustochius
163	190	Eustochius
164	191	Eustochius
165	196	Hecebolius
166	195	Gregory the governor
167	145	Verianus
168	100	Gigantius
169	224	Africanus
170	173	Postumianus
171	132	Saturninus
172	136	Modarius
173	137	Modarius
174	94	Amazonius
175	38	Themistius
176	24	Themistius
177	181	Saturninus
178	211	Cyriacus
179	223	Thecla
180	222	Thecla
181	56	Thecla
182	239	Epiphanius
183	233	Ablabius

184	90	Anysius
185	207	Jacob
186	208	Jacob
187	82	Alypius
188	83	Alypius
189	84	Alypius
190	85	Alypius
191	86	Alypius
192	125	Olympius[e]
193	140	Olympius[e]
194	143	Olympius[e]
195	61	Aerius and Alypius
196	234	Olympianus
197	237	Macedonius
198	55	Nicobulus
199	12	Nicobulus (the Elder)
200	97	Heraclianus
201	128	Procopius
202	129	Procopius
203	130	Procopius
204	68	Julian
205	149	George
206	231	Eusebius
207	227	Ursus
208	225	Hellebichus
209	158	Eulalius
210	116	Eulalius
211	117	Eulalius
212	164	Timothy
213	96	Hypatius
214	203	Valentinianus
215	98	"The Decurions"
216	79	Simplicia
217	107	Cledonius
218	109	Cledonius
219	108	Cledonius
220	118	Eugenius
221	111	Eugenius
222	112	Celeusius
223	113	Celeusius
224	95	Leontius
225	138	Bosporius
226	153	Bosporius
227	89	Bosporius
228	226	Anysius
229	193	Vitalianus[f]
230	194	Vitalianus[f]
231	75	Vitalianus[f]

TABLE 12 *(continued)*

Order	Maurist #	Addressee
232	242	Peter
233	240	Meletius
234	238	"The Brotherhood at Sannabodae"
235	183	Theodore
	Omitted Letters	
	42	Eusebius (of Samosata)
	57	Thecla
	74	Gregory
	114	Celeusius
	171	Amphilochius
	236	Libanius the sophist
	244	Basilissa
	245	Basil

[a] The d-family identifies the addressee as Theodore of Tyana.
[b] The d-family identifies the addressee as "brother Caesarius."
[c] The d-family identifies the addressee as Strategius.
[d] The d-family identifies the addressee as Julian.
[e] The d-family identifies the addressee as Alypius.
[f] The d-family identifies the addressee as Vitalius.

the tenth-century Athous tēs megistēs Lauras G 59, housed in the Monastery of the Great Lavra Library on Mount Athos, and the eleventh-century Laurentianus 57, 7, housed in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence. It contains 233 letters attributed to Gregory, plus Basil's *Epistulae* 14, 26, 71, 169–71 (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 246–48), 279, and 280; it omits Gregory's *Epistulae* 12, 16, 28, 57, 127, 170, 171, 184, 186, 209, 236, 244, and 245 (see table 14). Like the v-family, the g-family has removed the Nicobulus dossier from the collection's premier position, locating it instead in the 51st to 54th positions (but in a different order than the Maurist numeration would suggest). The order of this family, as well as the next, is apparently chaotic. Some semblance of the addressee-based dossiers remains, as it does in the f-family, but there is little apparent consistency across the collection. Addressee-based dossiers are split apart and relocated in a seemingly random fashion.

h-Family

The h-family has two chief representatives: the twelfth-century Athous tēs hieras monēs Batopediou 114, housed in the Monastery of Vatopdei Library on Mount Athos, and the thirteenth- or fourteenth-century Marcianus graecus 81, housed in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice. It contains 231 letters attributed to Gregory, plus Basil's *Epistulae* 1, 112, 169–71 (= Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 246–48), and 341; it omits Gregory's *Epistulae* 12, 28, 42, 57, 62, 64, 65, 74, 171, 183–85, 236, and 245 (see table 15). Like the

TABLE 13 Arrangement of f-family

Order	Maurist #	Addressee
1	52	Nicobulus
2	53	Nicobulus
3	51	Nicobulus
4	54	Nicobulus
5	60	Basil
6	1	Basil
7	6	Basil
8	8	Basil
9	41	"The Church of Caesarea"
10	43	"The Bishops"
11	45	Basil
12	47	Basil
13	40	Basil
14	—	Gregory of Nazianzus (= Bas., *Ep.* 71)
15	59	Basil
16	48	Basil
17	4	Basil
18	5	Basil
19	2	Basil
20	19	Basil
21	58	Basil
22	49	Basil
23	246	Basil (= Bas., *Ep.* 169)
24	—	None (= Bas., *Ep.* 213)
25	—	"A bishop" (= Bas., *Ep.* 282)
26	—	Eulancius (= Bas., *Ep.* 208)
27	241	Aburgius
28	201	Nemesius
29	141	Olympius
30	142	Olympius
31	105	Olympius[a]
32	106	Olympius[a]
33	104	Olympius[a]
34	131	Olympius
35	168	Photius
36	209	Castor
37	65	Eusebius (of Samosata)
38	212	Sacerdos
39	127	Helladius
40	77	Theodore
41	159	Theodore
42	163	Theodore
43	20	Caesarius
44	7	Caesarius
45	14	Caesarius[b]

TABLE 13 *(continued)*

Order	Maurist #	Addressee
46	21	Sophronius
47	76	Gregory
48	228	Pansophius
49	229	Pansophius
50	32	Philagrius
51	92	Philagrius
52	33	Philagrius
53	103	Palladius
54	91	Nectarius
55	186	Nectarius
56	151	Nectarius
57	216	Eudocius
58	217	Eudocius
59	221	Homophronius
60	215	Sacerdos
61	213	Sacerdos
62	99	Sacerdos
63	214	Sacerdos
64	219	Helladius
65	220	Helladius
66	121	Theodore
67	123	Theodore
68	169	Strategius
69	170	Palladius
70	139	Theodore
71	157	Theodore
72	124	Theodore
73	160	Theodore
74	161	Theodore
75	115	Theodore
76	3	Evagrius
77	206	Adelphius
78	177	Eudoxius
79	178	Eudoxius
80	179	Eudoxius
81	180	Eudoxius
82	176	Eudoxius
83	175	Eudoxius
84	174	Eudoxius
85	187	Eudoxius
86	232	Diocles
87	34	Philagrius
88	35	Philagrius
89	36	Philagrius
90	120	Helladius

91	165	Stagirius
92	31	Philagrius
93	80	Philagrius
94	30	Philagrius
95	87	Philagrius
96	78	Theotecnus
97	235	Adamantius
98	29	Sophronius
99	210	Castor
100	134	Victor
101	71	Eutropius
102	10	Candidianus[c]
103	15	Lollianus[d]
104	28	Amphilochius
105	171	Amphilochius
106	147	Asterius
107	148	Asterius
108	154	Olympius
109	155	Asterius
110	13	Amphilochius
111	196	Hecebolius
112	195	Gregory the governor
113	182	Gregory
114	126	Olympius
115	146	Olympius
116	144	Olympius
117	145	Verianus
118	—	Bishop Ascholius of Thessalonica (= Bas., *Ep.* 164)
119	—	Eustathius the philosopher (= Bas., *Ep.* 1)
120	204	Adelphius
121	46	Basil
122	100	Gigantius
123	230	Theodosius[e]
124	224	Africanus[f]
125	173	Postumianus
126	132	Saturninus
127	135	Sophronius
128	133	Victor
129	136	Modarius
130	94	Amazonius
131	38	Themistius
132	37	Sophronius
133	181	Saturninus
134	211	Cyriacus
135	223	Thecla
136	222	Thecla
137	239	Epiphanius
138	233	Ablabius

TABLE 13 *(continued)*

Order	Maurist #	Addressee
139	189	Eustochius
140	70	Eutropius
141	56	Thecla
142	218	Eudocius
143	90	Anysius
144	207	Jacob
145	208	Jacob
146	82	Alypius
147	83	Alypius
148	55	Nicobulus
149	97	Heraclianus
150	128	Procopius
151	137	Modarius
152	68	Julian
153	149	George
154	199	Nemesius
155	231	Eusebius
156	84	Alypius
157	227	Ursus
158	225	Hellebichus
159	93	Sophronius
160	237	Macedonius
161	167	Helladius
162	162	Theodore
163	85	Alypius
164	158	Eulalius
165	122	Theodore
166	164	Timothy
167	188	Stagirius[g]
168	96	Hypatius
169	198	Nemesius
170	166	Stagirius
171	11	Gregory
172	190	Eustochius
173	191	Eustochius
174	192	Stagirius
175	200	Nemesius
176	203	Valentinianus
177	98	"The Decurions"
178	61	Aerius and Alypius
179	63	Amphilochius (the Elder)
180	25	Amphilochius
181	26	Amphilochius
182	62	Amphilochius
183	27	Amphilochius

184	86	Alypius
185	39	Sophronius
186	79	Simplicia
187	129	Procopius
188	9	Amphilochius
189	234	Olympianus
190	67	Julian
191	69	Julian
192	16	Eusebius (of Caesarea)
193	17	Eusebius (of Caesarea)
194	18	Eusebius (of Caesarea)
195	44	Eusebius (of Samosata)
196	197	Gregory
197	24	Themistius
198	22	Sophronius
199	23	Caesarius
200	130	Procopius
201	152	Theodore
202	125	Olympius[a]
203	140	Olympius[a]
204	143	Olympius[a]
205	150	Asterius
206	156	Asterius
207	57	Thecla
208	—	Eleuthera (= Bas., *Ep.* 174)
209	81	Gregory
210	72	Gregory
211	73	Gregory
212	107	Cledonius
213	109	Cledonius
214	108	Cledonius
215	119	Palladius
216	110	Palladius
217	116	Eulalius
218	117	Eulalius
219	118	Eugenius
220	111	Eugenius
221	112	Celeusius
222	113	Celeusius
223	95	Leontius
224	138	Bosporius
225	153	Bosporius
226	89	Bosporius
227	247	Glycerius (= Bas., *Ep.* 170)
228	248	Basil (= Bas., *Ep.* 171)
229	226	Anysius
230	193	Vitalianus[h]
231	194	Vitalianus[h]

TABLE 13 *(continued)*

Order	Maurist #	Addressee
232	75	Vitalianus[h]
233	172	Helladius
234	205	Adelphius
235	242	Peter
236	240	Meletius
237	66	Eusebius (of Samosata)
238	64	Eusebius (of Samosata)
239	238	"The Brotherhood at Sannabodae"
	Omitted Letters	
	12	Nicobulus (the Elder)
	42	Eusebius (of Samosata)
	50	Basil
	74	Gregory
	114	Celeusius
	183	Theodore
	184	Amphilochius
	185	Nectarius
	236	Libanius the sophist
	244	Basilissa
	245	Basil

[a] The f-family identifies the addressee as Alypius.
[b] The f-family identifies the addressee as "brother Caesarius."
[c] The f-family identifies the addressee as Candianus.
[d] The f-family identifies the addressee as Julian.
[e] The f-family identifies the addressee as Theodosius or Theodore.
[f] The f-family identifies the addressee as Africanus or Alypius.
[g] The f-family identifies the addressee as Strategius.
[h] The f-family identifies the addressee as Vitalius.

u-, d-, and f-families, the h-family begins with the Nicobulus dossier and then moves on to the Basil dossier. Some letters appear to gravitate toward others written to the same addressee, but not in a consistent way. The h-family's most notable organizational quality is its apparent lack of organization. Perhaps the copyists had indeed begun to view the collection as an epistolary archive, but without any particular method of arrangement.

Summary Observations

Several observations can be made about the families. First, chronology played no part in any manuscript's arrangement of the collection, and almost certainly no role in the arrangement of Gregory's original. This would be par for the course in a late antique context: other self-made letter collections from the period, such as

TABLE 14 Arrangement of g-family

Order	Maurist #	Addressee
1	—	Gregory (of Nazianzus) (= Bas., *Ep.* 14)
2	4	Basil
3	6	Basil[a]
4	5	Basil
5	2	Basil
6	1	Basil
7	113	Celeusius
8	114	Celeusius
9	189	Eustochius
10	10	Candidianus
11	15	Lollianus
12	203	Valentinianus
13	98	"The Decurions"
14	46	Basil
15	107	Cledonius
16	109	Cledonius
17	108	Cledonius
18	119	Palladius
19	110	Palladius
20	116	Eulalius
21	117	Eulalius
22	118	Eugenius
23	111	Eugenius
25	8	Basil
26	40	Basil
27	42	Eusebius (of Samosata)
28	41	"The Church of Caesarea"
29	43	"The Bishops"
30	47	Basil
31	19	Basil
32	45	Basil
33	50	Basil
34	59	Basil
35	48	Basil
36	49	Basil
37	—	Gregory (of Nazianzus) (= Bas., *Ep.* 71)
38	58	Basil
39	60	Basil
40	7	Caesarius
41	14	Caesarius
42	—	Caesarius (brother of Gregory of Nazianzus) (= Bas., *Ep.* 26)
43	20	Caesarius
44	17	Eusebius (of Caesarea)
45	18	Eusebius (of Caesarea)
46	44	Eusebius (of Samosata)

TABLE 14 *(continued)*

Order	Maurist #	Addressee
47	64	Eusebius (of Samosata)
48	66	Eusebius (of Samosata)
49	238	“The Brotherhood at Sannabodae”
50	65	Eusebius (of Samosata)
51	52	Nicobulus
52	51	Nicobulus
53	54	Nicobulus
54	53	Nicobulus
55	212	Sacerdos
56	239	Epiphanius
57	204	Adelphius
58	21	Sophronius
59	233	Ablabius
60	76	Gregory
61	230	Theodosius
62	174	Eudoxius
63	176	Eudoxius
64	224	Africanus
65	175	Eudoxius
66	188	Stagirius
67	187	Eudoxius
68	198	Nemesius
69	177	Eudoxius
70	178	Eudoxius
71	179	Eudoxius
72	180	Eudoxius
73	11	Gregory
74	190	Eustochius
75	191	Eustochius
76	192	Stagirius
77	232	Diocles
78	200	Nemesius
79	165	Stagirius
80	166	Stagirius
81	31	Philagrius
82	30	Philagrius
83	80	Philagrius
84	78	Theotecnus
85	61	Aerius and Alypius
86	235	Adamantius
87	63	Amphilochius (the Elder)
88	25	Amphilochius
89	62	Amphilochius
90	26	Amphilochius
91	27	Amphilochius

92	29	Sophronius
93	39	Sophronius
94	79	Simplicia
95	129	Procopius
96	9	Amphilochius
97	234	Olympianus
98	67	Julian
99	69	Julian
100	87	Philagrius
101	32	Philagrius
102	100	Gigantius
103	228	Pansophius
104	229	Pansophius
105	3	Evagrius
106	55	Nicobulus
107	97	Heraclianus
108	128	Procopius
109	137	Modarius
110	68	Julian
111	149	George
112	199	Nemesius
113	206	Adelphius
114	231	Eusebius
115	84	Alypius
116	227	Ursus
117	225	Hellebichus
118	93	Sophronius
119	237	Macedonius
120	167	Helladius
121	162	Theodore
122	82	Alypius
123	83	Alypius
124	86	Alypius
125	85	Alypius
126	158	Eulalius
127	122	Theodore
128	151	Nectarius
129	96	Hypatius
130	210	Castor
131	134	Victor
132	71	Eutropius
133	34	Philagrius
134	35	Philagrius
135	36	Philagrius
136	120	Helladius
137	173	Postumianus
138	132	Saturninus
139	135	Sophronius

TABLE 14 *(continued)*

Order	Maurist #	Addressee
140	133	Victor
141	136	Modarius
142	70	Eutropius
143	94	Amazonius
144	92	Philagrius
145	33	Philagrius
146	38	Themistius
147	37	Sophronius
148	181	Saturninus
149	103	Palladius
150	211	Cyriacus
151	91	Nectarius
152	219	Helladius
153	220	Helladius
154	216	Eudocius
155	218	Eudocius
156	221	Homophronius
157	56	Thecla
158	215	Sacerdos
159	213	Sacerdos
160	99	Sacerdos
161	214	Sacerdos
162	217	Eudocius
163	139	Theodore
164	157	Theodore
165	124	Theodore
166	153	Bosporius
167	185	Nectarius
168	74	Gregory[b]
169	89	Bosporius
170	138	Bosporius
171	247	Glycerius (= Bas., *Ep.* 170)
172	246	Basil (= Bas., *Ep.* 169)
173	248	Basil (= Bas., *Ep.* 171)
174	226	Anysius
175	193	Vitalianus
176	194	Vitalianus[c]
177	75	Vitalianus[c]
178	208	Jacob
179	172	Helladius
180	205	Adelphius
181	242	Peter
182	201	Nemesius
183	240	Meletius
184	—	Modestus the prefect (= Bas., *Ep.* 279)

185	—	Modestus the prefect (= Bas., *Ep.* 280)
186	168	Photius
187	169	Strategius
188	90	Anysius
189	207	Jacob
190	164	Timothy
191	197	Gregory
192	223	Thecla
193	222	Thecla
194	24	Themistius
195	22	Sophronius
196	23	Caesarius
197	141	Olympius
198	142	Olympius
199	105	Olympius
200	104	Olympius
201	131	Olympius
202	130	Procopius
203	125	Olympius[d]
204	140	Olympius[d]
205	106	Olympius[d]
206	143	Olympius[d]
207	156	Asterius
208	150	Asterius
209	145	Verianus
210	144	Olympius
211	126	Olympius
212	146	Olympius
213	147	Asterius
214	148	Asterius
215	154	Olympius
216	155	Asterius
217	13	Amphilochius
218	196	Hecebolius
219	195	Gregory the governor
220	77	Theodore
221	159	Theodore
222	163	Theodore
223	121	Theodore
224	123	Theodore
225	161	Theodore
226	115	Theodore
227	160	Theodore
228	152	Theodore
229	183	Theodore
230	182	Gregory
231	81	Gregory
232	72	Gregory

TABLE 14 *(continued)*

Order	Maurist #	Addressee
233	73	Gregory
234	95	Leontius
	Omitted Letters	
	12	Nicobulus (the Elder)
	16	Eusebius (of Caesarea)
	28	Amphilochius
	57	Thecla
	127	Helladius
	170	Palladius
	171	Amphilochius
	184	Amphilochius
	186	Nectarius
	209	Castor
	236	Libanius the sophist
	244	Basilissa
	245	Basil

[a] The g-family identifies Basil as the author and Gregory as the addressee.
[b] The g-family identifies the addressees as “Bosporius, Amphilochius, Gregory of Nyssa.”
[c] The g-family identifies the addressee as Vitalius.
[d] The g-family identifies the addressee as Alypius.

those of Libanius, Ambrose of Milan, and even John Chrysostom, are structured according to self-presentational instead of chronological concerns.[14] Several organizing principles were available to late antique compilers of letter collections, but chronology was not one of them. Second, although its internal order differs, the integrity of the Nicobulus dossier (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 51–54) remains strikingly stable throughout all six families. Four of them even situate it at the front of the collection, which, following manuscript attestation and thematic logic, probably reflects Gregory’s original:[15] these letters introduce the rationale for the collection’s publication and alert readers to the structural and self-presentational currents running through it. Third, all six manuscript families reveal the fundamental importance of the Basil dossier to the collection as a whole by situating it at or near the beginning. As with the epistolary dossier, the integrity of the Basil dossier is robust and endures through all of the families. Only one letter to Basil has weak attestation (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 245, surviving only in the u-family), and only three other letters to Basil lack complete corroboration in all six families (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 4 and 5 are not present in the v-family, and *Ep.* 50 is not present in the f-family). Not only is the Basil dossier’s position within the collection’s architecture secure, but even were that not the case it would make sense for the dossier containing *Epistula* 53, in which Gregory tells Nicobulus how the collection will showcase his intimate

TABLE 15 Arrangement of h-family

Order	Maurist #	Addressee
1	52	Nicobulus
2	51	Nicobulus
3	54	Nicobulus
4	53	Nicobulus
5	114	Celeusius[a]
6	41	"The Church of Caesarea"
7	43	"The Bishops"
8	40	Basil
9	1	Basil
10	8	Basil
11	47	Basil
12	4	Basil
13	5	Basil
14	6	Basil
15	2	Basil
16	19	Basil
17	45	Basil
18	58	Basil
19	59	Basil
20	48	Basil
21	49	Basil
22	60	Basil
23	212	Sacerdos
24	50	Basil
25	239	Epiphanius
26	20	Caesarius
27	127	Helladius
28	77	Theodore
29	159	Theodore
30	186	Nectarius
31	21	Sophronius
32	189	Eustochius
33	46	Basil
34	100	Gigantius
35	230	Theodosius[b]
36	174	Eudoxius
37	224	Africanus
38	227	Ursus
39	225	Hellebichus
40	93	Sophronius
41	14	Caesarius
42	204	Adelphius
43	233	Ablabius
44	175	Eudoxius
45	87	Philagrius

TABLE 15 *(continued)*

Order	Maurist #	Addressee
46	173	Postumianus
47	132	Saturninus
48	135	Sophronius
49	133	Victor
50	136	Modarius
51	70	Eutropius
52	94	Amazonius
53	92	Philagrius
54	33	Philagrius
55	38	Themistius
56	37	Sophronius
57	181	Saturninus
58	211	Cyriacus
59	91	Nectarius
60	219	Helladius
61	220	Helladius
62	216	Eudocius
63	221	Homophronius
64	56	Thecla
65	217	Eudocius
66	76	Gregory
67	228	Pansophius
68	213	Sacerdos
69	99	Sacerdos
70	214	Sacerdos
71	121	Theodore
72	123	Theodore
73	168	Photius
74	169	Strategius
75	209	Castor
76	170	Palladius
77	81	Gregory
78	72	Gregory
79	73	Gregory
80	107	Cledonius
81	109	Cledonius
82	108	Cledonius
83	119	Palladius
84	110	Palladius
85	116	Eulalius
86	117	Eulalius
87	118	Eugenius
88	111	Eugenius
89	112	Celeusius
90	113	Celeusius

91	95	Leontius
92	124	Theodore
93	89	Bosporius[c]
94	248	Basil (= Bas., *Ep.* 171)
95	167	Helladius
96	247	Glycerius (= Bas., *Ep.* 170)
97	218	Eudocius
98	240	Meletius
99	226	Anysius
100	90	Anysius
101	193	Vitalianus
102	194	Vitalianus[d]
103	75	Vitalianus[b]
104	207	Jacob
105	208	Jacob
106	176	Eudoxius
107	82	Alypius
108	83	Alypius
109	161	Theodore
110	115	Theodore
111	172	Helladius
112	229	Pansophius
113	3	Evagrius
114	55	Nicobulus
115	97	Heraclianus
116	128	Procopius
117	137	Modarius[e]
118	205	Adelphius
119	199	Nemesius
120	206	Adelphius
121	231	Eusebius
122	85	Alypius[c]
123	242	Peter
124	158	Eulalius[f]
125	122	Theodore
126	151	Nectarius
127	164	Timothy
128	188	Stagirius
129	187	Eudoxius
130	96	Hypatius
131	198	Nemesius
132	200	Nemesius
133	201	Nemesius
134	165	Stagirius
135	166	Stagirius
136	177	Eudoxius
137	178	Eudoxius
138	35	Philagrius

TABLE 15 *(continued)*

Order	Maurist #	Addressee
139	36	Philagrius
140	27	Amphilochius
141	69	Julian
142	16	Eusebius (of Caesarea)
143	17	Eusebius (of Caesarea)
144	18	Eusebius (of Caesarea)
145	44	Eusebius (of Samosata)
146	197	Gregory
147	24	Themistius
148	22	Sophronius
149	23	Caesarius
150	141	Olympius
151	142	Olympius
152	105	Olympius
153	104	Olympius
154	131	Olympius
155	130	Procopius
156	152	Theodore
157	125	Olympius
158	140	Olympius
159	106	Olympius
160	143	Olympius
161	150	Asterius
162	145	Verianus
163	147	Asterius
164	148	Asterius
165	66	Eusebius (of Samosata)
166	11	Gregory
167	9	Amphilochius
168	234	Olympianus
169	196	Hecebolius
170	182	Gregory
171	34	Philagrius
172	98	"The Decurions"
173	31	Philagrius
174	29	Sophronius
175	191	Eustochius
176	215	Sacerdos
177	32	Philagrius
178	237	Macedonius
179	7	Caesarius
180	203	Valentinianus
181	103	Palladius[g]
182	154	Olympius
183	153	Bosporius

184	—	Basil (= Bas., *Ep.* 341, written by Libanius)
185	155	Asterius
186	244	Basilissa
187	80	Philagrius[h]
188	139	Theodore
189	157	Theodore
190	138	Bosporius
191	246	Basil (= Bas., *Ep.* 169)
192	179	Eudoxius
193	180	Eudoxius
194	190	Eustochius
195	192	Stagirius
196	232	Diocles
197	210	Castor
198	134	Victor
199	71	Eutropius
200	120	Helladius
201	10	Candidianus
202	15	Lollianus
203	30	Philagrius
204	78	Theotecnus
205	61	Aerius and Alypius[i]
206	235	Adamantius
207	63	Amphilochius (the Elder)
208	25	Amphilochius
209	26	Amphilochius
210	86	Alypius[j]
211	39	Sophronius
212	79	Simplicia
213	129	Procopius
214	223	Thecla
215	222	Thecla
216	156	Asterius
217	13	Amphilochius
218	238	"The Brotherhood at Sannabodae"
219	195	Gregory the governor
220	144	Olympius
221	126	Olympius
222	146	Olympius
223	67	Julian
224	—	Eustathius the philosopher (= Bas., *Ep.* 1)
225	—	Andronicus the commander (= Bas., *Ep.* 112)
226	163	Theodore
227	160	Theodore
228	68	Julian
229	149	George
230	84	Alypius
231	162	Theodore

TABLE 15 *(continued)*

Order	Maurist #	Addressee
	Omitted Letters	
	12	Nicobulus (the Elder)
	28	Amphilochius
	42	Eusebius (of Samosata)
	57	Thecla
	62	Amphilochius
	64	Eusebius (of Samosata)
	65	Eusebius (of Samosata)
	74	Gregory
	171	Amphilochius
	183	Theodore
	184	Amphilochius
	185	Nectarius
	236	Libanius the sophist
	245	Basil

[a] The h-family identifies the addressee as Basil.
[b] The h-family identifies the addressee as Theodore.
[c] The h-family identifies the addressee as Eusebius.
[d] The h-family identifies the addressee as Vitalius.
[e] The h-family identifies the addressee as Domearius (likely a late antique spoonerism).
[f] The h-family identifies the addressee as Helladius.
[g] The h-family has the title as simply "without inscription."
[h] The h-family identifies the addressee as Gregory.
[i] The h-family identifies the addressee as Aerius.
[j] The h-family identifies the addressee as Olympius.

friendship with Basil, to immediately precede the letters that do precisely that. Put differently, based on manuscript evidence and thematic rationale, it is likely that Gregory's original collection situated the Basil dossier after the Nicobulus dossier.

A crucial part of the Basil dossier, of course, is the group of letters written by Basil, which Gregory notes in *Epistula* 53 and the manuscripts confirm. However, which letters and how many are harder to pin down. Five manuscript families preserve one or more of Basil's letters and place them next to letters of Gregory's to which they correspond in thematic content. For instance, the v-family situates Basil's *Epistula* 71 between Gregory's *Epistulae* 58 and 59, and reasonably so, because the three letters constitute a historical exchange: Gregory wrote *Epistula* 58, to which Basil responded with his *Epistula* 71, which Gregory answered with *Epistula* 59.[16] (The f-family and g-family also include Bas., *Ep.* 71 but distance it from Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 58–59.) The v-family pegs Basil's *Epistula* 115, to Simplicia, at the end of the collection, two letters removed from Gregory's *Epistula* 79 to her. The d-family situates Basil's *Epistula* 208, to Lancius, after Gregory's *Epistula* 43, to "The Bishops," perhaps on the assumption that Basil's addressee was among Gregory's group of addressees (even though Lancius was from Neocaesarea in Pontus). The f-family tacks Basil's *Epistulae* 169, 213, 282, and 208 (in that order) on to the end of Gregory's letters to Basil; Basil's *Epistula* 174, to "a widow," follows Gregory's *Epistula* 57, to Thecla, perhaps identifying Basil's addressee with Gregory's; and Basil's *Epistulae* 164 and 1 (in that order) appear near the end of Gregory's collection, between *Epistulae* 145, to Verianus, and 204, to Adelphius. The g-family situates Basils' *Epistula* 14, to Gregory, at the front of the collection and places Gregory's *Epistula* 4 after it, making another exchange (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 4 is the response to Bas., *Ep.* 14); Basil's *Epistula* 26, to Gregory's brother Caesarius, among Gregory's letters to addressees named Caesarius (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 7, 14, 20); and Basil's *Epistulae* 279 and 280, to Modestus, between Gregory's *Epistulae* 240, to Meletius, and 168, to Photius. Finally, the h-family scatters Basil's *Epistulae* 1, 112, and 341 among Gregory's letters with little discernible pattern.

In the aggregate, the manuscripts structure the collection quite differently than the early modern and modern printed editions do. There is strong attestation for the primary position of the Nicobulus dossier, followed by the Basil dossier in a secondary position (which should, at least conceptually, include the letters written by Basil, although in practice they have been scattered throughout the entire collection) and then the remaining two-hundred-plus letters. The manuscript families order these remaining letters according to at least two principles: the identity of the addressee and discrete episodes in Gregory's life. On the one hand, there is strong attestation for the grouping of letters into clusters centered on different addressees, with ancillary letters that were addressed to other individuals but nevertheless concerned the dossier's primary addressee occasionally attached. For example, the manuscript families agree that the Basil dossier contains the twenty letters addressed to Basil as well as Gregory's *Epistulae* 41, to "The Church of Caesarea," and 43, to "The Bishops," because the latter pertain to Basil's election as bishop of Caesarea. There are two instances where ancillary letters perform double duty, holding a position both within the Basil dossier and in their own addressee-based dossier: Gregory's *Epistulae* 42 (whose author some manuscripts hold to be Basil) and 44, to Eusebius of Samosata, pertaining to Basil's election. These are grouped with three letters from Gregory that have nothing to do with Basil to form Eusebius's dossier.

On the other hand, a particular episode can constitute the thematic center of an epistolary cluster. For example, *Epistulae* 107–14 and 116–19 constitute a discrete cluster of letters that Gregory wrote while undertaking his Lenten silence in 382. The manuscript families, for the most part, keep these twelve letters together, despite their multitude of addressees.[17] Again, a letter might do double duty in such cases, like *Epistulae* 110 and 119, about the Lenten silence, which are addressed to Palladius, whose dossier also includes *Epistulae* 103 and 170. Because the manuscripts have such consistent content (228 letters have strong attestation, appearing in four or more families, and only 13 letters have weak attestation, appearing in three or fewer families) and architectural structure (addressee- or episode-based dossiers), we might posit that, by and large, they reflect an approximate version of Gregory's original.

As illuminating as the manuscript families are with respect to the collection's primitive structure, they ultimately shed little light on the rationale behind the specific content. That is, why did Gregory include letters to these eighty-plus addressees and not others?[18] We might begin to answer this question by retaining the manuscripts' basic organizational principle of addressee-based dossiers while looking for textual cohesion elsewhere, among the social connections of friendship, intercession, recommendation, consolation, instruction, and so on between Gregory and the roster of addressees and couriers for which the collection itself provides evidence. For instance, the Nicobulus dossier (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 51–54) links with the Helladius dossier (120, 127, 167, 172, 219–20) because, in *Epistulae* 127 and 167, Gregory recommends the student to the bishop. Similarly, the Sacerdos dossier (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 99, 212–15) links with the Helladius dossier because Gregory intercedes with Helladius on Sacerdos's behalf in *Epistulae* 219 and 220. There are other figures to whom Gregory wrote on Sacerdos's behalf: Castor (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 209–10), Cyriacus (211), Eudocius (216–18), Homophronius (221), Palladius (103, 110, 119, 170), Photius (168), and Strategius (169). Of course, Gregory also wrote four letters to Sacerdos's sister Thecla (*Ep.* 56–57, 222–23). All of this amounts to a continuous thread that joins the dossier of Nicobulus to the dossiers of Castor, Cyriacus, Eudocius, Homophronius, Palladius, Photius, Strategius, and Thecla through the dossiers of Helladius and Sacerdos.

Looking for epistolary links reveals an organizational web that centers on two primary clusters of dossiers, those pertaining to Gregory's friendship with Basil (as proclaimed in Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 53) and those pertaining to Nicobulus's education (as proclaimed in *Ep.* 52). These two clusters, however, are hardly distinct: they converge in ways both obvious and subtle, as is discussed below, and it is at precisely those points of convergence where the collection's fundamental cohesion shines through most clearly. Such analysis firmly establishes the collection's overarching unity to a great enough extent that we can then move on, in the following chapters, to consider how Gregory's self-presentational efforts shaped the collection.

THE CLUSTERS

The Basil Cluster

The Basil cluster consists of three layers, so to speak (see table 16). At the top is the Basil dossier as we have already discussed it: the twenty letters addressed directly to him, along with the six letters bearing different addressees but pertaining to Basil's career (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 16–18, to Basil's episcopal predecessor, Eusebius,

TABLE 16 Addressees in the Basil Cluster

NAME	LOCATION	OCCUPATION	RELATIONSHIP TO GREGORY	APPEARS IN GR. NAZ., *EP.* #	ADDRESSEE OF BAS., *EP.* #
Basil[a]	Pontus Caesarea	Priest (362–70) Bishop (370–79)	Friend Athenian classmate Metropolitan bishop	As addressee: 1, 2, 4–6, 8, 19, 40, 45–50, 58–60, 245–46, 248 Mentioned: 16–18, 41, 43, 247	—
Amphilochius[b]	Nazianzus Iconium	Lawyer (360–73) Bishop (373–94) Standard-bearer of orthodoxy at the Council of Constantinople[c] (381)	Cousin	9, 13, 25–28, 62, 171, 184	150, 161, 176, 188, 190–91, 199–202, 217–18, 231–36, 248
Eusebius[d]	Armenian Samosata	Bishop (360–78)	Partisan ally	42, 44, 64–66	27, 30, 48, 85, 98, 100, 127, 136, 138, 141, 145, 162, 166–67, 198, 237, 241, 268, 271
Gregory[e]	Pontus Nyssa	Bishop (371/2–94) Standard-bearer of orthodoxy at the Council of Constantinople[c] (381)	Friend	11, 72–74, 76, 81, 182, 197	38, 58
Philagrius[f]	Mataza	?	Friend Athenian classmate	30–36, 80, 87, 92	323
Theodore[g]	Tyana	Bishop	Metropolitan bishop (after 382)	115, 121–24, 139, 152, 157, 159–63, 183?	—
Bosporius[h]	Colonia	Bishop	Provincial associate	89, 138, 153	51

TABLE 16 *(continued)*

NAME	LOCATION	OCCUPATION	RELATIONSHIP TO GREGORY	APPEARS IN GR. NAZ., *EP.* #	ADDRESSEE OF BAS., *EP.* #
Caesarius[i]	Nazianzus Constantinople Bithynia	Imperial physician *Comes thesaurorum*?	Brother	7, 20	26
Candidianus[j]	Cappadocia? Ibora? Pontus Polemoniacus	Provincial governor (361–362)	?	10	3
Cyriacus[k]	Cappadocia?	Provincial governor? *Peraequator*? *Inspector*?	?	211	114
Epiphanius	?	Bishop?	?	239	258?
Julian[l]	Cappadocia	*Peraequator*	Friend Athenian classmate	67–69	293?
Leontius	Constantinople	?	Friend	95	20, 21?
Meletius[m]	?	?	Friend Student	240	193
Nectarius[n]	Tarsus Constantinople	*Praetor urbanus* Bishop (381–97) Standard-bearer of orthodoxy at the Council of Constantinople[c] (381)	Episcopal successor	91, 151, 185–86	4, 290?
Nicobulus	*See table 17*				
Olympius[o]	Cappadocia	Provincial governor	Provincial associate	As addressee: 104–6, 125–26, 131, 140–44, 146, 154 Mentioned: 145	4, 12–13, 131, 211?
Palladius[p]	Athens Rome Constantinople	Rhetor *Comes sacrarum largitionum* *Magister officiorum*	Acquaintance at Constantinople?	103, 110?, 119?, 170	292?
Simplicia[q]	Cappadocia	Provincial notable	?	79	115

Sophronius[r]	Cappadocia Constantinople	*Notarius* *Magister officiorum* *Praefectus urbi Constantinopolitanae* Retired at Caesarea by 390	Friend Athenian classmate	21–22, 29, 37, 39, 93, 135	32, 76, 96, 177, 180, 192, 272
Timothy	Constantinople?	Presbyter?[s]	Acquaintance at Constantinople?	164	291
Victor[t]	Constantinople	*Comes rei militaris*? *Consul posterior* *Magister equitum* Retired at Constantinople by 381	Acquaintance at Constantinople?	133–34	152–53

[a] See Philip Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea,* Transformation of the Classical Heritage 20 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Paul Jonathan Fedwick, ed., *Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic—A Sixteen-Hundredth Anniversary Symposium,* 2 vols. (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1981). He was also the subject of Gr. Naz., *Or.* 43 and *Epig.* 2–11.

[b] See *PLRE* 1:58 ("Amphilochius 4"). He is also the subject of Gr. Naz., *Epig.* 121 and *Epit.* 118–21 and the addressee of Lib., *Ep.* 634, 671.

[c] *C. Th.* 16.1.3.

[d] See Marie-Madeleine Hauser-Meury, *Prosopographie zu den Schriften Gregors von Nazianz* (Bonn: Hanstein, 1960), 73–74 ("Eusebius von Samosata").

[e] See Anna M. Silvas, *Gregory of Nyssa: The Letters—Introduction, Translation, and Commentary,* Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 83 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 1–57. He was Basil's brother.

[f] See Hauser-Meury, *Prosopographie,* 145–46 ("Philagrius II"). He is also the subject of Gr. Naz., *Epig.* 100.

[g] Hauser-Meury, *Prosopographie,* 161–67, discerns twelve Theodores in Gregory's collection, including a soldier on whose behalf Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 137 was written, and another bishop (the addressee of Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 183). The other ten should, in all likelihood, be seen as Theodore of Tyana.

[h] See Hauser-Meury, *Prosopographie,* 45–47 ("Bosporius").

[i] See *PLRE* 1:169–70 ("Caesarius 2"). He is also the subject of Gr. Naz., *Or.* 6 and *Epig.* 85–86, 88–100.

[j] See *PLRE* 1:178 ("Candidianus 2").

[k] Hauser-Meury, *Prosopographie,* 58–59 ("Cyriacus"), posits that Cyriacus was a *peraequator* or *inspector*. *PLRE* 1:237 ("Cyriacus 2") identifies him as a potential governor, although both Paul Gallay, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze: Lettres,* Collection Budé (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1967), 2:103 n. 2, and Raymond Van Dam, "Governors of Cappadocia during the Fourth Century," *Medieval Prosopography* 17 (1996): 47 ("Cyriacus"), are suspicious of that designation.

[l] See *PLRE* 1:472 ("Iulianus 17"). Gr. Naz., *Or.* 19 and *Carm.* 2.2.2 were also written for him.

[m] Perhaps mentioned in Gr. Naz., *Test.*

[n] See *PLRE* 1:621 ("Nectarius 2"). He is a frequent target of Gregory's invective in other autobiographical writings.

[o] See Van Dam, "Governors of Cappadocia," 64–66 ("Olympius").

[p] See *PLRE* 1:660 ("Palladius 12"). Gallay, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze,* 2:1 n. 1, states that Gregory addressed the four Palladius letters to the same man, but Hauser-Meury, *Prosopographie,* 140–41, sees three different addressees among them. Palladius is also the addressee of Symm., *Ep.* 9.1. He knew Eutropius, to whom Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 70–71 are addressed.

[q] The wife of Alypius, to whom Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 82–86 are addressed.

[r] See *PLRE* 1:847–48 ("Sophronius 3"). He is also the addressee of Lib., *Ep.* 883, 924.

[s] See Louis-Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles, Vol. 9: Les vies de Saint Basile, de Saint Grégoire de Nazianze, de Saint Grégoire de Nysse, et de Saint Amphiloque* (Paris, 1732), 514.

[t] See *PLRE* 1:957–59 ("Victor 4"). He may be the addressee of Lib., *Ep.* 1525.

attempting to resolve an unspecified conflict between the bishop and Basil; *Ep.* 41, to "The Church of Caesarea" at the time of Basil's episcopal election; *Ep.* 43, to "The Bishops" at the same time; *Ep.* 247, to the renegade deacon Glycerius, who is the subject of *Ep.* 246 and 248, to Basil). Basil's letters to Gregory can be included so long as we acknowledge our ignorance of which letters and how many made their way into Gregory's collection.

The second layer in the Basil cluster comprises a series of dossiers featuring letters to a small cast of Christian professionals: Amphilochius of Iconium, Eusebius of Samosata, Gregory of Nyssa, Philagrius, and Theodore of Tyana. These are addressees to whom Gregory epistolarily revealed his relationship with Basil before the publication of the entire collection. To Amphilochius, he playfully referred to a visit that Basil would soon pay him (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 25). To Eusebius, he sent letters on the subject of Basil's episcopal election (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 42, 44). He wrote Gregory of Nyssa a touching consolation letter after Basil died that simultaneously laments the loss of this friend who was near to him (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 76); similarly, a letter of lamentation to Philagrius lists Basil's death as one of the recent misfortunes plaguing its author (*Ep.* 80). Years after Basil passed away and shortly before the letter collection was published, he sent Theodore of Tyana a copy of the *Philocalia,* which he claimed to have compiled in partnership with Basil (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 115).[19] The letters to these five addressees go beyond what the Basil dossier does for the collection, corroborating Gregory's broad self-presentational assertion of intimacy with Basil; whereas he makes that claim at the beginning of the collection, in *Epistula* 53, to Nicobulus, the letters to these well-known addressees "prove" it, so to speak, by providing the epistolary documentation. Additionally, four of these five addressees also appear as addressees in Basil's letter collection (the exception is Theodore of Tyana, whose episcopacy started after Basil's death). To Amphilochius, Basil addressed nineteen letters; to Eusebius of Samosata, another nineteen; to his brother Gregory of Nyssa, two; to Philagrius, one. Whether or not Gregory had access to Basil's letter collection, or whether it even existed by 383 or 384, when he published his own, is beside the point: he strategically enlisted addressees who also had secure places within Basil's social network and to whom he had himself addressed letters that aver his relationship with Basil.

The third layer in the Basil cluster works in a similar way. It comprises a series of dossiers featuring letters to a roster of fifteen addressees (in addition to Nicobulus) who also appear as addressees in Basil's letter collection. While these letters do not explicitly discuss or mention Basil, the appearance of their addressees in both collections cannot be coincidental. To further enact the collection's thematic imperative of proving his stated intimacy with Basil (Gr. Naz, *Ep.* 53.2), Gregory selected addressees that would demonstrate the two men's participation in the same socioepistolary network. Of course, it cannot be known if Gregory accessed Basil's collection to identify common addressees, since which collection was published first remains uncertain, but the former's knowledge of the latter's social network would likely have been robust; in any case, either Basil's collection was published first, thereby allowing Gregory to identify individuals with whom he too had exchanged letters, or Gregory simply selected those addressees of his whom he reasonably suspected of having had an epistolary relationship with Basil.[20]

As a unit, the Basil cluster demonstrates that Gregory and Basil were "linked with each other in every way" (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 53.2). First, the Basil dossier and Basil's letters establish their relationship and their intimate discourse; second, the letters written to third parties prior to the formation of the collection document the fact that their relationship was a known quantity in Gregory's social circles during Basil's life and immediately after his death; third, the cluster shows that their friendship included shared participation in a wide network of provincial dignitaries within church and government. The firm prosopographical connections among the individuals, including their appearance in Basil's letter collection, reveal not a happy coincidence but a strategic architecture in Gregory's collection: he expected Nicobulus and his Caesarean educational cohort to read it and see not only that, but also how, he and Basil conducted a friendship epistolarily. Indeed, that letters could facilitate and enable social relationships between physically separated people (for which training in literary style and eloquence was necessary) is one of the collection's main pedagogical points, but Gregory exploited that focus to present his friendship with Basil, which he molded into a dynamic meaningful only in the early 380s, after Gregory had returned from Constantinople, after he had retired from his family's episcopacy, and after he had influenced the education of the young student.

The Nicobulus Cluster

The second cluster, which centers on Nicobulus's education, exemplifies the social utility of epistolography more generally. After all, *Epistula* 52 announces the collection's pedagogical thrust, and late antique epistolography always bore a social component. Within the collection are not only epistolary models of good and effective style but also a host of uncomplicated, even mundane, letters of recommendation, intercession, praise, rebuke, friendship, and lament, all of which enact the social benefits awaiting anyone who masterfully deploys good epistolary style. These benefits include the ability to grant and request favors, to recommend one person to another, to intercede with one person on behalf of another, to exercise influence in matters of state and law, and simply to preserve, or even increase, one's status within elite society. The lesson to be learned from this cluster of letters is that epistolary mastery leads to cultural prestige and personal empowerment through social participation.

To that end, the Nicobulus cluster consists of several layers (see table 17). The first features those letters addressed directly to him (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 51–54): the

TABLE 17 Addressees in the Nicobulus Cluster

NAME	LOCATION	OCCUPATION	RELATIONSHIP TO GREGORY	ADDRESSEE OF GR. NAZ., *EP.* #	MENTIONED IN GR. NAZ., *EP.* #
Nicobulus	Caesarea	Student	Great-nephew	51–54	127, 167, to Helladius 174–77, to Eudoxius 188, 192, to Stagirius 189–91, to Eustochius 195, to Gregory the governor 196, to Hecebolius
Nicobulus the Elder	Cappadocia	Soldier Government official *Praefectus manionis*	Nephew-in-law	12, 55	13, to Amphilochius 21, to Sophronius 67, to Julian 126, 146, to Olympius 147–48, to Asterius 224, to Africanus
Amphilochius	*See table 16*				
Africanus[a]	Cappadocia?	Provincial governor? Imperial magistrate? *Praefectus urbi Constantinopolitanae*?	Provincial associate	224	—
Asterius[b]	Caesarea	*Assessor*? Provincial governor?	Provincial associate	147–50, 155–56	—
Basilissa	Cappadocia	Ascetic	Sister of Gregory's acquaintance George	244	—
Eudoxius[c]	Caesarea	Rhetor	Son of an Athenian classmate?	174–80, 187	37, to Sophronius 38, to Themistius 181, to Saturninus
Eustochius[d]	Caesarea	Sophist	Athenian classmate	189–91	—
Gregory[e]	Cappadocia?	Governor?	Provincial associate	195	—

Hecebolius[f]	Cappadocia?	Provincial governor? Provincial official?	Provincial associate	196	—
Helladius[g]	Caesarea	Bishop Standard-bearer of orthodoxy at the Council of Constantinople[h] (381)	Metropolitan bishop	120, 127, 167, 219–20	—
Julian	*See table 16*				
Olympius	*See table 16*				
Sophronius	*See table 16*				
Stagirius[i]	Caesarea	Sophist	Acquaintance	165–66, 188, 192	—
Amazonius[j]	Constantinople	?	Friend	94	39, to Sophronius
Castor	Cappadocia?	?	Donated to the monastery of Gregory's friend Sacerdos	209–10	211, to Cyriacus
Eudocius	Cappadocia?	Monk?	Adversary of Gregory's friend Sacerdos	216–18	—
George[k]	Nazianzus	Deacon?	?	149	150, to Asterius 151, to Nectarius
Homophronius	Cappadocia	Monk	Lived with Gregory's friend Sacerdos	221	—
Lollianus	Cappadocia	Magistrate	?	15	—
Photius[l]	?	?	?	168	—
Sacerdos[m]	Cappadocia	Priest Monk	Friend	99, 212–15	168, to Photius 169, to Strategius 170, to Palladius 209, to Castor 211, to Cyriacus 216, 217?, 218, to Eudocius

TABLE 17 *(continued)*

NAME	LOCATION	OCCUPATION	RELATIONSHIP TO GREGORY	ADDRESSEE OF GR. NAZ., *EP.* #	MENTIONED IN GR. NAZ., *EP.* #
					219–20, to Helladius 221, to Homophronius 222, to Thecla
Saturninus[n]	Constantinople	*Cura palatii* *Comes rei militaris* *Magister equitum* *Magister militum* *Consul posterior*	Acquaintance	132, 181	—
Strategius[o]	Caesarea	Sophist	?	169	—
Thecla[p]	Cappadocia	?	Sister of Gregory's friend Sacerdos	56–57, 222–23	—
Themistius[q]	Constantinople	Philosopher *Proconsul* *Praefectus urbis Constantinopolitae*	?	24, 38	—

[a] *PLRE* 1:27 ("Africanus 4") assumes, without justification, that he was a provincial governor in Cappadocia. See Raymond Van Dam, "Governors of Cappadocia during the Fourth Century," *Medieval Prosopography* 17 (1996): 22–23 ("Africanus"). He may also be the addressee of Lib., *Ep.* 49.

[b] See *PLRE* 1:119 ("Asterius 4").

[c] Marie-Madeleine Hauser-Meury, *Prosopographie zu den Schriften Gregors von Nazianz* (Bonn: Hanstein, 1960), 66–69, sees two Eudoxii, but I see no reason to make a distinction. He may also be the addressee of Symm., *Ep.* 8.31.

[d] See Hauser-Meury, *Prosopographie,* 78–79 ("Eustochius"); *PLRE* 1:313 ("Eustochius 5").

[e] Little in the sole letter addressed to this Gregory indicates his province, position, or date: see Van Dam, "Governors of Cappadocia," 51–52 ("Gregorius"). Louis-Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles, Vol. 9: Les vies de Saint Basile, de Saint Grégoire de Nazianze, de Saint Grégoire de Nysse, et de Saint Amphiloque* (Paris, 1732), 545, and Otto Seeck, *Die Briefe des Libanius zeitlich geordnet* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrich'sche Buchhandlung, 1906), 166 ("Gregorius III"), identify him as the governor of Cappadocia in 385. Hauser-Meury, *Prosopographie,* 92–93 ("Gregorius IV"), identifies him as a governor circa 385 but does not specify the province. Paul Gallay, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze: Lettres,* Collection Budé (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1967), 2:163, "Page 85," n. 3, is altogether unsure about the recipient's position, and *PLRE* 1:403 ("Gregorius 6") identifies him as the governor of Cappadocia Secunda circa 385.

[f] See Van Dam, "Governors of Cappadocia," 52–53 ("Hecebolius"). Le Nain de Tillemont, *Mémoires,* 545, claims that he was the assessor for Gregory the governor (the recipient of Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 195), while Hauser-Meury, *Prosopographie,* 94 ("Hecebolius"), and Gallay, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze*, 2:87 n. 1, 88 n. 1, suggest that he served as governor either before or after this Gregory.

[g] See Hauser-Meury, *Prosopographie,* 94–95 ("Helladius I").

[h] *C. Th.* 16.1.3.

[i] See Hauser-Meury, *Prosopographie,* 157–58 ("Stagirius"); *PLRE* 1:851 ("Stagirius"). He also appears in Gregory of Nyssa's letter collection: see Gr. Nyss., *Ep.* 9, 26 (Stagirius's sole surviving letter), 27.

[j] Hauser-Meury, *Prosopographie,* 29, discerns two Amazonii; I see no reason for the distinction.

[k] Hauser-Meury, *Prosopographie,* 83–84, discerns three Georges; I see no reason for the distinction.

[l] Perhaps the same as the Photius discussed in *PLRE* 1:700–701 ("Photius").

[m] See Hauser-Meury, *Prosopographie,* 152 ("Sacerdos").

[n] See *PLRE* 1:807–8 ("Flavius Saturninus 10"). Also the addressee of Bas., *Ep.* 132; Lib., *Ep.* 857, 897.

[o] Perhaps the same as the Strategius discussed in *PLRE* 1:858 ("Strategius 3").

[p] Hauser-Meury, *Prosopographie,* 158–60, discerns three Theclas; I see no reason for the distinction.

[q] On his illustrious career, see Peter Heather and David Moncur, ed. and trans., *Politics, Philosophy, and Empire in the Fourth Century: Select Orations of Themistius,* Translated Texts for Historians 36 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001), 43–68, 137–48, 199–217, 285–97; Robert J. Panella, trans., *The Private Orations of Themistius,* Transformation of the Classical Heritage 29 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 1–45.

collection's inaugural dossier and a letter, likely an epistolary model, that affably nudges him to write back. Just as the Basil dossier includes dossiers to other individuals (e.g., Eusebius of Caesarea, Eusebius of Samosata) because they pertained directly to Basil's career, so too the Nicobulus cluster includes two learned but friendly letters addressed to his father (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 12, 55), also named Nicobulus. Indeed, at several points in the collection, familial or spousal relationships link dossiers of letters.[21]

The second layer comprises a series of addressee-based dossiers whose common feature is that each addressee was the target of one or more recommendations by Gregory on behalf of Nicobulus (Eudoxius, Eustochius, Gregory the governor, Hecebolius, Helladius, and Stagirius) or his father (Africanus, Amphilochius of Iconium, Asterius, Julian, Olympius, and Sophronius). Some are ecclesiastical professionals, others literary professionals, and still others government officials, but their participation in the elite culture of eloquence unites them and makes it possible for Gregory to write recommendations to them. The addressees Amphilochius, Julian, Olympius, and Sophronius are additionally noteworthy because they also occupy positions within the Basil cluster and thereby work as important points of convergence between the Basil and Nicobulus clusters.

The third layer comprises another series of dossiers, whose addressees bear an epistolary connection of one sort or another to the addressees in the cluster's second layer. One association can be that the addressee was himself recommended to a third party by Gregory, as was the case with Eudoxius, to whom Gregory addressed letters of recommendation for Nicobulus and on whose behalf he wrote to Saturninus, Sophronius, and Themistius; it was also the case with Amphilochius, to whom Gregory addressed a letter of recommendation for Nicobulus's father and on whose behalf he wrote letters to Caesarius, Sophronius, and

TABLE 18 Epistolary Exemplars

ADDRESSEE	ADDRESSEE'S OCCUPATION	ADDRESSEE'S RELATIONSHIP TO GREGORY	GR. NAZ., EP. #	LETTER TYPE
Ablabius[a]	Sophist Novatianist bishop of Nicaea? (ca. early fifth c.)	Friend	233	Friendly
Adamantius	?	Friend	235	Friendly
"The Brotherhood at Sannabodae" (double monastic community)[b]	Monks	?	238	Consoling
"The Decurions"	Decurions	?	98	Admonishing
Diocles	?	?	232	Advisory
Epiphanius	Bishop of Salamis?	Friend	239	Friendly
Eusebius	?	?	231	Congratulatory + praying
Eutropius	Proconsul of Asia? (370–72)	Friend	70–71	Encomiastic
	Praefectus praetorio Orientis? (380)			
Evagrius	?	Father of one of his students	3	Reporting
Hellebichus	*Magister militum per Orientem* (383–88)	?	225	Commending + interceding
Libanius[c]	Sophist	?	236	Commending
Macedonius	?	Friend	237	Friendly + commending
Meletius	?	Friend	240	Friendly
Nemesius	Provincial official	?	198–201	Friendly + commending
Olympianus[d]	Judge	Friend	234	Friendly
Pansophius	?	Friend	229	Friendly + commending
Peter	?	?	242	Friendly
Theodosius	?	Relative by marriage	230	Friendly

Valentinianus	?	Relative	203	Friendly
Vitalianus[e]	Cappadocian notable	Friend	193–94	Replying + congratulatory

[a] See Marie-Madeleine Hauser-Meury, *Prosopographie zu den Schriften Gregors von Nazianz* (Bonn: Hanstein, 1960), 21 (“Ablabius”).

[b] See Daniel F. Stramara Jr., “᾿ΑΔΕΛΦΟΤΗΣ: Two Frequently Overlooked Meanings,” *VC* 51 (1997): 316–20.

[c] See now the collected essays in Lieve Van Hoof, ed., *Libanius: A Critical Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); also Scott Bradbury, *Selected Letters of Libanius from the Age of Constantius and Julian*, Translated Texts for Historians 41 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004), 2–12; for his school and pedagogy, see Raffaella Cribiore, *The School of Libanius in Late Antique Antioch* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), esp. chs. 1, 4, 5.

[d] Hauser-Meury, *Prosopographie,* 136 (“Olympianus”), suggests that he was perhaps a governor, as do Paul Gallay, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze: Lettres,* Collection Budé (Paris: Société d’Édition “Les Belles Lettres,” 1967), 2:125 n. 1, and *PLRE* 1:642 (“Olympianus 2”). However, Raymond Van Dam, “Governors of Cappadocia during the Fourth Century,” *Medieval Prosopography* 17 (1996): 63–64 (“Olympianus”), rightly casts doubt on such an identification, pointing to a lack of evidence. *PLRE* suggests that he should possibly be identified with the Cappadocian governor Olympius, but as Hauser-Meury, Gallay, and Van Dam note, Gregory never praised Olympius’s oratorical abilities or his love for paideia; therefore, the two should not be identified with each other.

[e] On Gregory’s relationship with Vitalianus’s family, see Neil McLynn, “The Other Olympias: Gregory Nazianzen and the Family of Vitalianus,” *ZAC* 2 (1998): 227–48, esp. 239–45, which successfully argues for a local, provincial context for Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 193–94 and *Carm.* 2.2.3, 2.2.6, against the Constantinopolitan context proposed by Jean Bernardi, “Nouvelles perspectives sur la famille de Grégoire de Nazianze,” *VC* 38 (1984): 352–59.

Themistius. A thread, then, links several addressee-based dossiers: the four letters to Nicobulus are connected to the eight to Eudoxius, which are connected to the two to Saturninus, the seven to Sophronius, and the two to Themistius; the letter to Nicobulus’s father is connected to the eight letters to Amphilochius (and the letter to Amphilochius’s father, *Ep.* 63), which are connected to the one letter to Caesarius, the seven to Sophronius, and the two to Themistius. Another type of connection works similarly. Several of the collection’s letters address one of the men to whom Gregory recommended either Nicobulus or his father with recommendations on behalf of other people. Already mentioned above is the interconnection among the dossiers of Nicobulus, Helladius, Sacerdos, Castor, Cyriacus, Eudocius, Homophronius, Palladius, Photius, Strategius, and Thecla. Similarly, Asterius, to whom Gregory recommended Nicobulus’s father, also received a letter of recommendation for a certain George, on whose behalf Gregory also wrote letters to Nectarius and Theodore of Tyana, and whose sister, Basilissa, was the addressee of another letter. Again, Sophronius, to whom Gregory recommended Nicobulus’s father, also received a letter of recommendation for a certain Amazonius, to whom Gregory wrote one letter.

Charting these associations within the Nicobulus cluster brings into relief the various connections it has with the Basil cluster and, consequently, reveals the basic architecture of the collection as a whole. Amphilochius, Cyriacus, Julian, Olympius, Palladius, and Sophronius are addressees who figure in Basil’s letter collection, and so are included in the Basil cluster, but also received letters of recommendation from Gregory for Nicobulus, his father, or Sacerdos (linked to Nicobulus through Helladius). Additionally, one of Nicobulus's Caesarean educators was Stagirius, a correspondent of Basil's brother Gregory of Nyssa. Finally and most obviously, Gregory links the clusters personally by announcing Basil's importance within the collection to its primary recipient, Nicobulus.

To the Nicobulus cluster should be appended a small dossier whose letters have no social or epistolary connections to the other addressees in the cluster (see table 18). Instead, they bear directly on the collection's proposed pedagogical purpose: they are models of Gregory's composition in different epistolary types. Elite and professional letter writers in late antiquity were trained to select the right type of letter for the right occasion.[22] One fourth- or fifth-century epistolary training manual—Pseudo-Libanius's *Epistolimaioi Charaktēres*—lists forty-one types, often distinct from one another in subtle ways. For instance, it distinguishes between letters of blame and letters of censure, between letters of sympathy and letters of consolation, between letters of praise and letters of encomium.[23] Far from being prescriptive, however, Pseudo-Libanius and other handbook authors from late antiquity offered a menu of templates that demonstrated the adept alignment of content, occasion, and writer-addressee relationship within a single epistolary text. Indeed, a writer's selection of letter type mattered. On the one hand, choosing the correct type would contribute to the success of the social action that the letter was intended to accomplish, but on the other, choosing an inappropriate type could derail an entire act of letter exchange by fostering misinterpretation and altering the dynamic between the writer and the addressee.

For these reasons, the inclusion of epistolary exemplars within Gregory's collection makes sense: he provides seemingly generic letters of recommendation to Libanius (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 236), Macedonius (237), Nemesius (198–99), and Pansophius (228); of intercession to Hellebichus (225); of rebuke to unspecified decurions (98); of consolation to the monks at Sannabodae (238); and of reporting on a student's progress to a parent (3, to Evagrius). Most of the exemplars, however, are friendly and model the performance of epistolary friendship when Gregory had had little to no face-to-face interaction with the addressee (*Ep.* 233, to Ablabius; 235, to Adamantius; 239, to Epiphanius; 70–71, to Eutropius; 240, to Meletius; 234, to Olympianus; 242, to Peter). Even a series of letters connected merely by the fact that they show Gregory celebrating marriage epistolarily (*Ep.* 232, to Diocles; 231, to Eusebius; 230, to Theodosius; 194, to Vitalianus) should be grouped with this dossier: while they do not correspond to traditional epistolary types, Gregory does deploy eloquence in the service of social participation in them. These letters have no connection with the Basil or Nicobulus clusters from the perspective of social relationship, but they make sense under the pedagogical umbrella of the Nicobulus cluster.

Other Clusters

Two final clusters that appear in the collection owe their cohesion less to the socioepistolary connections between addressee and courier and more to the shared thematic focus of their letters. However, each still bears prosopographical links to the two primary clusters, centered on Basil and Nicobulus. The first contains letters that "document" Gregory's personal separation from the toxic episcopal culture which, from Gregory's perspective, polluted Constantinople (see table 19). This cluster is firmly rooted in Gregory's apologetic agenda and self-presentational efforts,[24] but its importance to the collection's structural architecture should also be noted. It contains letters from two regional bishops—Bosporius of Colonia and Theodore of Tyana—who, after his return from Constantinople, pestered Gregory to take up leadership of the Nazianzan church immediately, presumably vacant since he had fled in the mid-370s for Seleucia. His responses (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 90, 138–39, 153, 157) woefully insist that he was not yet ready to return to church leadership by describing how his bodily sufferings stemmed from his time in Constantinople. Other letters in this ancillary cluster address friends in Constantinople—Amazonius (*Ep.* 94), Anysius (90) Gigantius (100), Heraclianus (97), Hypatius (96), and Leontius (95)—and wax more whimsical and even valedictory, although with no less conviction in the soundness of his decision to leave the capital. In letters to Modarius (*Ep.* 136), Postumianus (173), Procopius (130), Saturninus (132), Sophronius (135), and Victor (133–34), Gregory turns down invitations to attend another council of Constantinople in the summer of 382, asking each addressee to safeguard the common good since he could not, or would not, be there. Even *Epistula* 78, to Theotecnus, one of only two letters that the collection preserves from Gregory's time in Constantinople, shows how he distanced his personal and professional identities from the normal way of doing things in the capital. And *Epistula* 205, to Adelphius, shows his commitment to avoiding church councils altogether, excusing himself from a local synod in the town of Navila. The inclusion of this thematically assembled cluster is not random, as it has connections with the more expansive Basil and Nicobulus clusters: Bosporius, Leontius, Sophronius (to whom Gregory also addressed a letter of recommendation on behalf of Nicobulus's father), and Victor all feature in Basil's collection as addressees.

The manuscripts also bear witness to a second thematic cluster, pertaining to a vow of silence that Gregory took during Lent of 382 and containing twelve letters to five addressees with diverse careers (Celeusius, Cledonius, Eugenius, Eulalius, and Palladius; see table 20). In fact, the integrity of the silence cluster is preserved within the manuscripts. As I have noted elsewhere, Gregory framed this ascetic practice as a way to purge the remnants of envy and ambition that his time in Constantinople had left lingering in his soul, and advertised it as a prerequisite purification for his assumption of Nazianzus's episcopacy.[25] There is no reason not

TABLE 19 The “Anti-Constantinople” Cluster

ADDRESSEE	ADDRESSEE’S LOCATION	ADDRESSEE’S OCCUPATION	GR. NAZ., *EP.* #	APOLOGETIC SUBJECT OF LETTER
Adelphius	Navila?	?	205	Absence from synod
Amazonius	Constantinople	?	94	Departure from Constantinople
Anysius	Constantinople	?	90	Departure from Constantinople
Basil	Pontus	Priest (362–70)	40	Absence from synod
	Caesarea	Bishop (370–79)		
Bosporius	Colonia	Bishop	89	Departure from Constantinople
Gigantius[a]	Cappadocia?	Monk?	100	Departure from Constantinople
Heraclianus	?	?	98	Departure from Constantinople
Homophronius	?	?	221	Absence from synod
Hypatius[b]	Constantinople	*Consul posterior* (359) *Vicarius urbis Romae* (363) *Praefectus urbis Romae* (379) *Praefectus praetorio Italiae et Illyrici* (382–83)	96	Departure from Constantinople
Leontius	Constantinople	?	95	Departure from Constantinople
Modarius	Constantinople	*Magister militum* in Thrace (382–83)	136	Absence from synod
Postumianus	Constantinople	*Praefectus praetorio Orientis* (383)	173	Absence from synod
Procopius[c]	Constantinople?	Magistrate	130	Absence from synod
Sacerdos	Cappadocia	Priest Monk	99	Departure from Constantinople
Saturninus	Constantinople	*Cura palatii* *Comes rei militaris* *Magister equitum* *Magister militum* *Consul posterior*	132	Absence from synod
Sophronius	Cappadocia Constantinople	*Notarius* *Magister officiorum* *Praefectus urbi Constantinopolitanae* Retired at Caesarea by 390	93	Departure from Constantinople

Theodore	Tyana	Bishop	77, 157	Opposition to Constantinopolitan culture; departure from Constantinople
Theotecnus	?	?	78	Opposition to Constantinopolitan culture
Victor	Constantinople	*Comes rei militaris*? *Consul posterior* *Magister equitum* Retired at Constantinople by 381	133–34	Absence from synod

[a] Perhaps identical with the dedicatee of Gr. Naz., *Epig.* 1 and "Sigantius," the dedicatee of Gr. Naz., *Epig.* 2. If so, he was a solitary monk. Marie-Madeleine Hauser-Meury, *Prosopographie zu den Schriften Gregors von Nazianz* (Bonn: Hanstein, 1960), 85–86, understands them as separate people; Paul Gallay, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze: Lettres,* Collection Budé (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1964), 1:131, "Page 117," n. 4, understands them as the same person, Sigantius, to whom Gregory gave the nickname "Gigantius" because of his "gigantic hand" (Gr. Naz., *Epig.* 1.6 [LCL 68:400]).

[b] See *PLRE* 1:448-49 ("Flavius Hypatius 4").

[c] Hauser-Meury, *Prosopographie,* 149 ("Procopius I"), with Otto Seeck, *Die Briefe des Libanius zeitlich geordnet* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrich'sche Buchhandlung, 1906), 247 ("Procopius I"), mistakenly identifies him as the recipient of Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 90, 193–94. Gallay, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze* (1967), 2:18 n. 1, is unsure of his position, as is Raymond Van Dam, "Governors of Cappadocia during the Fourth Century," *Medieval Prosopography* 17 (1996): 66–67 ("Procopius").

to see this cluster as thematically connected to the "anti-Constantinople" cluster. The collection preserves the silence cluster as a witness to not merely one idiosyncratic ascetic achievement but also an episode that involved several addressees who feature among the list of addressees in the Basil and Nicobulus clusters. Of its five addressees, four link to other dossiers in the collection. Palladius, who enjoyed an illustrious career in the imperial government and likely knew Gregory during his time in the capital, received two silence letters (*Ep.* 110, 119) and a recommendation for Sacerdos (*Ep.* 170); he was also likely the addressee of Basil's *Epistula* 292. Eulalius, a monk when Gregory addressed him two letters on silence (*Ep.* 116–17) but the man who would succeed Gregory as the bishop of Nazianzus, was recommended by Gregory to Bishop Theodore of Tyana (*Ep.* 152) and to the magistrate Lollianus (*Ep.* 15). Gregory addressed two silence letters to the monk Eugenius (*Ep.* 111, 118) and recommended him to the Cappadocian magistrate Procopius (*Ep.* 129). Celeusius, likely a civic official in Cappadocia, was the addressee of three letters on silence (*Ep.* 112–14) and was recommended to Theodore of Tyana by Gregory (*Ep.* 152). This minor cluster reveals how a discrete episode in Gregory's career could also fit into the collection's conceptual design.

TABLE 20 Addressees of the Silence Cluster

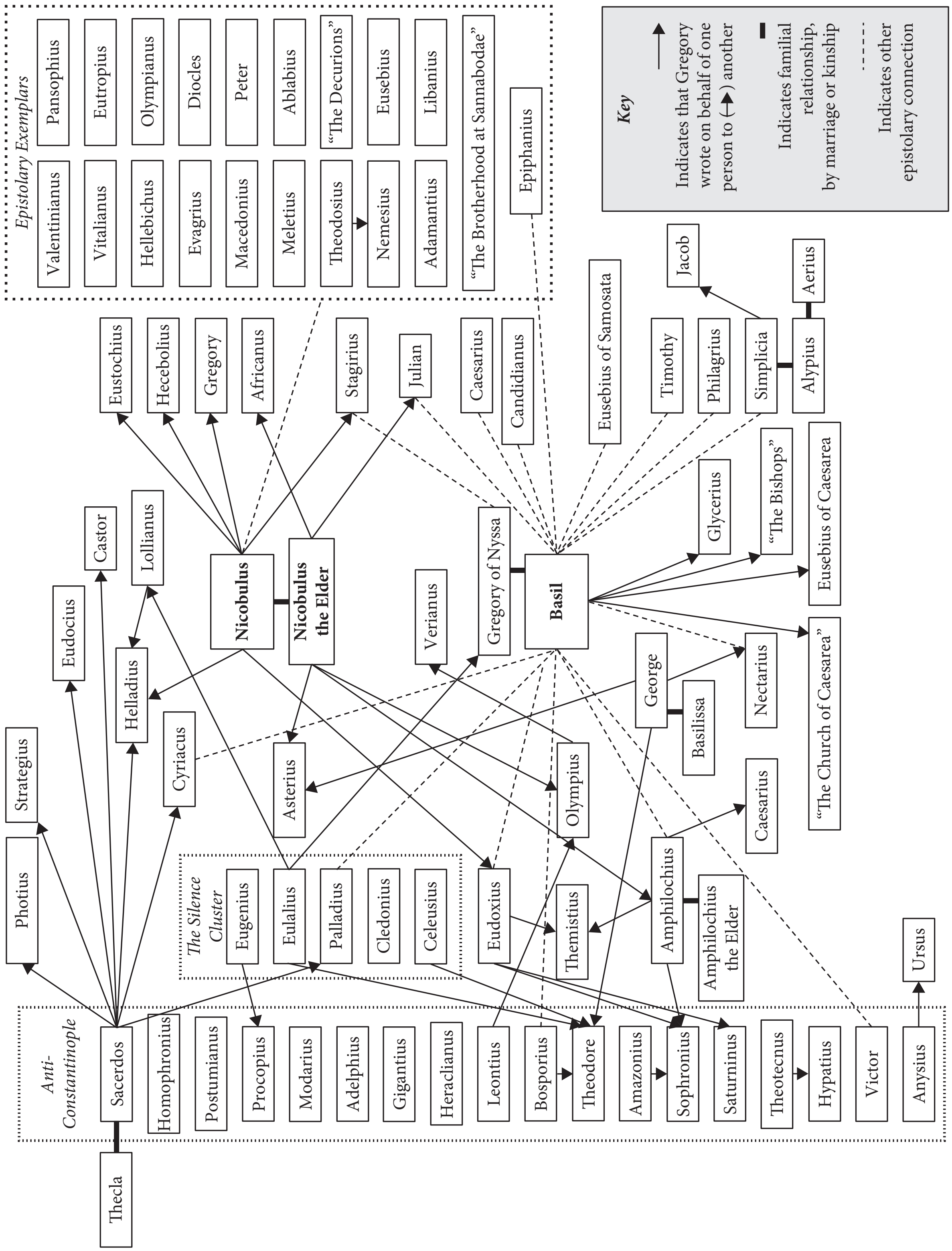
NAME	LOCATION	OCCUPATION	ADDRESSEE OF SILENCE LETTER #	ADDRESSEE OF OTHER GR. NAZ., *EP.* #	MENTIONED ELSEWHERE IN THE COLLECTION (GR. NAZ., *EP.* #)
Celeusius	Cappadocia?	Judge? Magistrate?	112–14	—	Recommended to Theodore of Tyana (152)
Cledonius	Cappadocia?	Priest	107–9	101–2[a]	—
Eugenius	Cappadocia?	Monk	111, 118	—	Recommended to Procopius (129)
Eulalius	Nazianzus	Monk Bishop of Nazianzus (383–?)	116–17	158	Recommended to Lollianus (15), Theodore of Tyana (152), Gregory of Nyssa (182)
Palladius	Athens Rome Constantinople	Rhetor *Comes sacrarum largitionum* *Magister officiorum*	110, 119	103, 170 (recommendation of Sacerdos)	—

[a] These two theological letters were not included in the letter collection but were transmitted in Gregory's orations.

CONCLUSION

This chapter began by asking what Gregory's original collection looked like: Which letters did he include? To which addressees? In what order? Coming up with answers is as necessary as it is frustrating. Analyzing why Gregory presented himself in the way that he did requires us to know what that textual self-portrait looks like, yet in the end we can only speculate as to the content and arrangement of his original collection. This chapter, though, has mitigated that frustration by investigating the content, organization, and arrangement of the manuscripts. The manuscripts families provide strong attestation that the original collection likely included more than 230 letters, quite close to the number currently attributed to Gregory in Gallay's most recent edition. The families also provide important testimony against a chronological organization and in support of addressee-based dossiers, and bear witness to the premier positions of the Nicobulus dossier and the Basil dossier. In other words, analysis of the manuscript families has afforded us confidence in the content of what Gallay presented and impelled us to think about the organization in ways that attend not to chronology but to prosopographical information and the social connections between Gregory, his addressees, and his couriers. Consequently, clusters of overlapping personal, thematic, and episodic dossiers have become clear, revealing the collection's underlying structural soundness and coherence (see figure 1). And so, while we can never know in what sequential order Gregory arranged the collection, this chapter's establishment of its pervasive unity permits next-level questions, the most prominent of which must surely be: what authorial identity or identities did Gregory craft in his letter collection?

FIGURE 1. The dossier-based architecture of the collection.


Epistolary Exemplars
Valentinianus
Pansophius
Vitalianus
Eutropius
Hellebichus
Olympianus
Evagrius
Diocles
Macedonius
Peter
Meletius
Ablabius
Theodosius
"The Decurions"
Nemesius
Eusebius
Adamantius
Libanius
"The Brotherhood at Sannabodae"
Epiphanius
Key
Indicates that Gregory wrote on behalf of one person to (→) another
Indicates familial relationship, by marriage or kinship
Indicates other epistolary connection
Eustochius
Hecebolius
Gregory
Africanus
Stagirius
Julian
Caesarius
Candidianus
Eusebius of Samosata
Timothy
Philagrius
Simplicia
Alypius
Jacob
Aerius
Castor
Lollianus
Eudocius
Nicobulus
Nicobulus the Elder
Verianus
Gregory of Nyssa
Basil
Glycerius
"The Bishops"
Eusebius of Caesarea
"The Church of Caesarea"
Nectarius
George
Basilissa
Helladius
Cyriacus
Strategius
Asterius
Olympius
Caesarius
Photius
The Silence Cluster
Eugenius
Eulalius
Palladius
Cledonius
Celeusius
Eudoxius
Themistius
Amphilochius
Amphilochius the Elder
Ursus
Anti-Constantinople
Sacerdos
Homophronius
Postumianus
Procopius
Modarius
Adelphius
Gigantius
Heraclianus
Leontius
Bosporius
Theodore
Amazonius
Sophronius
Saturninus
Theotecnus
Hypatius
Victor
Anysius
Thecla

3

“The Most Eloquent Gregory”

Sometime in 369, Gregory wrote to Themistius on behalf of Eudoxius, who would later become the rhetor charged with educating Gregory’s great-nephew Nicobulus. At the time of the letter, though, Eudoxius was just beginning his career, while Gregory had nearly a decade of experience in his priestly position. For his part, Themistius was in his professional prime, which would last for approximately two more decades; he was in the imperial court of Valens, having already served under Constantius II, and was destined to fill the role of tutor to Theodosius I’s son, among many other illustrious positions. There is something remarkable in this epistolary dynamic: Gregory, a provincial priest, epistolarily cold-calls one of the most consistently influential men of his generation, if not the entire fourth century. Yet Gregory approaches Themistius with a swagger and admits the reason for it: eloquence, which “has joined us together from the start . . . and has now convinced me to take confidence” (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 38.2). It must strike a modern reader as strange that an aesthetic abstraction like eloquence could bring two men of vastly different social stations, who had most likely never met in person, into a relationship. But that is exactly what it did—and its productivity continued as Gregory touted Eudoxius’s eloquence and put the following request to Themistius: “Please guide [Eudoxius] onward, then, since you’ll be doing a good deed for me and honoring our eloquence by providing the man this service. He needs to be distinguished for his eloquence, and to get himself a career based on his eloquence. He’ll present what it should be and how it should happen in person, and Your Eloquence and Intelligence will determine what it should be and how it should happen” (38.4). All the aspects of this letter highlight the importance of each man’s possession of eloquence.

To modern historians, the chasm that separates Themistius's professional achievement from Gregory's is tremendous and obvious; the former had a long résumé of direct service to several emperors at the nexus of political life and policy making, while the latter certainly had a good education but remained a small-town subordinate to his father-bishop with few professional triumphs worth noting. Indeed, even his major theological contributions to Trinitarian and Christological orthodoxies would not come for another eleven or twelve years. However, to Gregory, his eloquence bridged any chasm separating him from "the great Themistius" (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 38.1). He believed that, thanks to eloquence, he had accumulated clout within the same governing class of elites to which Themistius belonged. Remarkably, Gregory's contemporaries, evidently including Themistius himself,[1] agreed. In the fourth century, eloquence was a symbol of education, sound oratorical abilities, skill in writing, access to wealth, and sophisticated refinement. More than that, though, it amounted to a claim of moral, intellectual, and cultural superiority over the masses, whose lack of education and eloquence was evident in their boorish viciousness. Eloquence endowed its possessor with cultural authority and defined political leadership at all levels of governance, regardless of age, background, or geographical location. To claim eloquence was to claim elite status.

This chapter tracks the diverse strategies that Gregory used to claim and demonstrate eloquence within the collection and argues that this cultural construct informs the text's self-presentational agenda. As chapter 2 discussed, the context for the collection's publication was provincial and its goal apologetic: it inserts distance between Gregory and the clergy, the councils, and the conflict he faced in Constantinople in 380–81, no doubt because he had a strong distaste for the ecclesiastical culture of the late fourth century, but also because of his negative experience. Without an office, formal position, or membership in a monastery, Gregory felt obliged to construct, exert, and defend his authority. Such a task must have been exhilarating and daunting, for whatever he chose to base his authority on would be as personalized and idiosyncratic as it was fragile, resting exclusively on his ability to continuously exercise that authority in a way that others found compelling. Gregory chose eloquence as the source of that authority, and he used the collection to showcase his possession of it. His epistolary relationship with Themistius was not the only one based on eloquence: he wrote dozens of friendly letters, recommendations, and petitions for intercession to a host of addressees that worked in similar fashion.

All the displays of learning and sophisticated discourse in the letters together constitute a comprehensive and united self-fashioning claim about who Gregory was at the time of the collection's publication, in late 383 or early 384, and who he had been from the start of his career, in the late 350s or early 360s. The collection portrays him as an embodiment of that late antique ideal of elite status throughout his whole life and to so great a degree that he did not need any official position to buttress his authority. Indeed, the collection rarely mentions Gregory's position as a priest or bishop, and when it does, it is often to acknowledge the addressee's occupation. While he may have held a position within the provincial clergy, served in the entourage of the most vigorously pro-Nicene emperor since Constantine, and presided over a convention of bishops from all over the eastern Mediterranean, none of that mattered from the perspective of Gregory's epistolary self-portrait. Bureaucratic positions, the collection intones, are not targets at which one should aim one's career but the natural by-products of an excellent character possessing virtuous qualities, deep learning, and mastery of eloquence. Operating under that logic, Gregory indefatigably infuses the letters—to Christian and non-Christian addressees alike—with his eloquence as a textualized effort to maintain social relevance in a provincial context and ultimately to construct a legacy for himself.

EDUCATION, ELITISM, AND EPISTOLARY EXCHANGE IN LATE ANTIQUITY

Eloquence was the product of an advanced education, something that a writer would demonstrate to advertise his or her place within elite society.[2] It was, ultimately, a claim to cultural authority and high social status. At the very least, the eloquent person had passed through a typical three-year course of study, beginning at around the age of thirteen or fourteen, under the tutelage of a sophist.[3] Building on the curriculum of the more elementary grammarian, sophists trained students in advanced grammar, composition, public speaking, and literary appreciation,[4] as well as how to control their bodies and modulate their voices so that their behavior, bearing, and personal disposition, in addition to their knowledge, would indicate their training in eloquence. As W. Martin Bloomer has described it, the process of rhetorical education amounted to "the acculturation and socialization of the schoolboy, from whatever province or status (nearly), into a Roman imperial culture."[5] Some eloquent men and women, after finishing with rhetoric, moved on to advanced study of law, medicine, or philosophy, likely completing the curriculum in their late twenties or early thirties. This rarefied level of education was, unsurprisingly, reserved for only a fraction of the empire's inhabitants by virtue of the extreme wealth and leisure required to pursue it.

Such an educational culture fostered a tremendous sense of exclusivity, with factors like financial strain and familial obligation keeping most students from completing the typical course in rhetoric, let alone any specialized study of law, medicine, or philosophy.[6] Those who completed these studies felt themselves to be distinct from, even morally superior to, the masses—hoi polloi—thereby creating a tautology of social elitism: education fostered and confirmed an individual's high status, but by and large only a high-status individual could afford education. There were exceptions, of course. Students from lower social positions ascended the educational ladder with the help of willing patrons,[7] but those exceptions prove the rule that advanced education required time and money—abundant resources for high-status families but scarce commodities for low-status ones. Alongside the sense of cultural superiority resulting from elite solidarity and unity, the physical layout of instructional space and even the way that pedagogy was conducted, their variation from school to school and city to city notwithstanding, worked to separate students and teachers from the outside world so dominated by hoi polloi.[8] Additionally, the curriculum enforced the distinction between educated and uneducated by teaching not only a specialized knowledge of literature, composition, and oratory but also techniques of self-control over body and voice. Students learned how to organize their thoughts, how to express themselves in writing and speech, and how to behave among their peers.[9] The sophist's curriculum, in other words, prepared students to be active participants in elite society.

As counterintuitive as it might seem to modern readers, late Roman elites regarded a rhetorical education as job training and grounds for professional promotion, a view reflected in a mid-fourth century imperial rescript that disallowed, at least in the city of Rome, anyone from becoming a member of the curia unless it could be established that "he excels in the practice and training of the liberal studies and that he is so polished in the use of letters that the words proceed from him without the offense of imperfections"—that is, unless he possesses eloquence.[10] Eloquent individuals constituted the governing class, whether they held public office at any level of administration, teaching positions that perpetuated the rhetorical culture, or leadership roles in the church as presbyters and bishops.[11] To this last point, by the end of the fourth century a consensus had emerged among eastern Christian leaders that advanced rhetorical and literary education was useful, although not a necessary qualification, for leadership within the church.[12] And while some prominent voices in the Latin West questioned the utility of this education for pastoral work, Christian aristocrats in Italy and Gaul continued to send their children to grammarians and sophists well into the sixth century.[13] For Christians at the end of the fourth century and later, uniting religious identity and classical education was not a puzzle that needed to be solved, as if the two were incompatible cultural artifacts. Quite the opposite: as Edward Watts has written, "The evolution of classical education in late antiquity . . . occurred within a cultural environment typified not by Christian opposition to pagan teaching but by almost constant mainstream Christian support for traditional education."[14] It was commonplace and even expected at the turn of the fifth century for elites to move just as easily within the discursive vernacular of the Christian church as they did within that of classical education.

Demonstrating eloquence throughout one's life was crucial to maintaining one's place within elite society, and it's easy to see why. Late Roman society was competitive, and from both material and symbolic perspectives, participation in the upper echelons was precious, in that power facilitated the accumulation of wealth and prestige. Since, at the end of their curriculum, students did not receive diplomas testifying to the grade of their eloquence (at best, such documentation came in the form of recommendation letters from sophists or assistant teachers), it fell to graduates to prove, with unnerving frequency, their possession of it, through the "physical control of one's voice, carriage, facial expression, and gesture, control of one's emotions under conditions of competitive stress—in a word, all the arts of deportment necessary in a face-to-face society where one's adequacy as a man was always under suspicion and one's performance was constantly being judged."[15] While the sophist himself may have been under the tightest scrutiny, inasmuch as a he was a public performer and the very distillation of eloquent culture, elites as a class subjected themselves to a demanding regimen of social etiquette that advertised their status. Beyond that, situations and events like weddings, funerals, banquets, court cases, and informal but lofty discussions with friends necessitated the performance of eloquent oratory, which further solidified elite status.[16]

It was the composition and exchange of letters, however, that proved indispensable to the performance of eloquence when face-to-face interaction was impossible. Students of rhetoric were trained at an early stage to master the epistolary genre,[17] along with its subgenres (epistolary types), perhaps because of its sheer utility in late Roman social life.[18] Letters offered the best chance at direct communication between people who were separated by any conceivable distance. To help them compose such important texts, students, as well as professional scribes and secretaries, had at their disposal handbooks that defined and modeled the various epistolary types with astonishing specificity.[19] Pseudo-Libanius's *Epistolimaioi Charaktēres,* for example, formally defines forty-one types with such subtlety as to distinguish among letters of blame (*memptikē,* a simple issuance of fault), reproach (*oneidistikē,* a written note of disapproval for forgetting how the writer benefited the addressee), contempt (*paralogistikē,* a declaration of the addressee's worthlessness), anger (*schetliastikē,* an expression of ire toward a third party known by both writer and addressee), reproof (*elenktikē,* a castigation of someone who denies having said or done something), and censure (*epitimētikē,* a remonstration of someone for doing something indecorous).[20] While the handbooks hardly governed the actual practice of late antique epistolography, they provide invaluable evidence for not only the ideals and conventions that can be found in nearly all types of late antique epistolary texts—from the highly stylized letters of elites to the succinct communications that survive among the papyri—but also the kind of social work that elites expected letters to accomplish.[21]

In addition to recognizing the niceties of epistolary subgenres, elite students learned how to craft epistolary eloquence with fine style. Writers incorporated recognized tropes and conventions, such as an expression of longing for the addressee's personal presence or a lament over the distance that separated them. Letters were treated as "images of the soul," textualized depictions of the writer's true self, and writers used histrionic language to report their exuberance at receiving letters.[22] Other conventions include mentioning quotidian details about a writer's body, health, location, or family and developing particular titles based on what virtue or ideal quality a writer thought the addressee personified relative to the letter and the action it was requesting ("Your Excellence," "Your Reverence," "Your Justice," "Your Magnanimity," and so on).[23] Elites also placed a premium on keeping the letter to its appropriate length but rarely, if ever, defined just how long that was.[24] Mentions of acceptable length tend to appear only when writers announce that they are excluding information or express fear that excessive length might induce boredom in their readers,[25] but social grace dictated that writers show exuberance at *receiving* letters that ran on and on, as if a longer letter implied greater affection.[26]

A number of theoretical treatments from late antiquity reveal that good epistolary style went beyond the mere deployment of tropes. The fourth-century literary theorist Julius Victor advised writers to mimic the flow of personal conversation, prioritizing brevity and clarity and keeping social relations in mind:

> If you're writing to a superior, a letter should not be funny; to an equal, not rude; to an inferior, not arrogant; to a learned person, not careless; to an unlearned person, not inattentive; to an intimate, not ordinary; to someone less close, not as if to a friend; use excessive congratulations following [someone's] accomplishment in order to raise his joy. When you come upon a grieving person, console him with just a few words, because an ulcer begins to bleed when touched by an indelicate hand. . . . Quarreling is never appropriate, but especially in a letter. Epistolary openings and closings ought to be calculated by the distinction of friendship or rank, with the calculation taking into account what is customary [between the writer and the addressee].[27]

Elite letters repeatedly highlight efficiency, beauty, clarity, literary grace, lack of vulgarity, and a conversational tone as premier stylistic qualities,[28] but in the end it was the letter's social circumstances (revealed by its epistolary type) and the dynamic of the writer's relationship with the addressee that governed its style. Letters of friendship, for instance, required a loving tone, repeated over the course of many letters, especially in cases where the friends had never met in person.[29] Letters of recommendation heap praise on the virtuous character of the courier and reflect with brimming positivity on the correspondence of character between the courier and the addressee,[30] while letters of intercession typically present a situation with frank plainness in order to frame the writer's desired outcome as the addressee's only and obvious choice.[31] In letters of all types, though, writers flaunt their eloquent style above all, by including allusions to and quotations of mythology, history, philosophy, sayings and traditions, poetry, comedy, and tragedy. Such classical intertextuality proved that the writer, regardless of religious identity, had gone through the requisite training in rhetoric and literature that elites expected of one another, and therefore acted as a skeleton key, so to speak, that granted nearly universal access to the Roman governing classes.

One final aspect of epistolary exchange among late antique elites to which their letters testify is the importance of gifts. While letter writers, couriers, and addressees treated most acts of letter exchange as ritualized events,[32] including a freely donated physical object gave them a brighter ceremonial sheen. Large or small, gifts could take any form: food (sometimes delivered over very long distances), live animals, clothing, gold, bric-a-brac, relics, holy objects, or even living people.[33] Often gifts were textual, either embedded within the body of the letter or appended as a separate written work,[34] and by means of this textual circulation and dissemination, epistolary networks developed into textual communities. (These communities could be editorial in character, but more often than not they were venues in which writers published and publicized either their own works, much as Gregory did with his letter collection, or the works of others.) In general, regardless of what the gift was, writers waxed serious about the significance of such objects in epistolary exchange: they became physical, and in some cases permanent, mementos of an absent friend or colleague.

Familiarity with the routines and expectations of letter composition and exchange was as much a part of the performance of eloquence as were the demonstration of literary knowledge and the ability to maintain control over one's body and voice. Students were trained in such things from a fairly young age and, as they moved from school into their professional careers, these elites used their learning to distinguish themselves from hoi polloi. That group self-identification—we the learned versus they the unlearned—materialized in the kind of long-lasting friendships and other social relationships that only a technology such as letters could nurture and maintain when the parties lived at great distances from each other.[35] But that technology relied on a code that brought elite interactions from physical space into literary space, a code that manifested in the endlessly repeated tropes and conventions of the epistolary genre. Scholars of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries interpreted the frequency of these generic features as evidence of the pervasive artificiality and insincerity of uninteresting and uninspired writers,[36] but the stylistic repetitiveness and consistency of late antique elite letters are better seen as authorial attempts to guide the reader's interpretation of the text, features that facilitate communication and understanding. With the changes to governance that happened over the course of the fourth century (expansion of the senate, growth of the state bureaucracy, and emergence of ecclesiastical institutions), the ability to speak the language of elites in letters became tremendously important, as people across the empire began to communicate with one another with heretofore unseen frequency.[37]

ELOQUENCE IN GREGORY'S LETTER COLLECTION

Gregory was no radical. He embraced elite culture and the means by which one could participate in it, and so did several other members of his family. His brother Caesarius pursued the study of medicine, while his cousin Amphilochius (the future bishop of Iconium) pursued the study of law, and Gregory himself pursued philosophical training. Paideia, the educational curriculum of classical literature and rhetoric that produced learned elites, was something in which he invested a considerable amount of time, money, and energy. He spent more than a decade during the 340s and 350s studying classical literature, philosophy, and rhetoric in cities renowned for their schools: Caesarea in Cappadocia, Caesarea Maritima in Palestine, Alexandria in Egypt, and Athens in Achaia.[38] The last city pops up again and again in his later autobiographical writings as shorthand for his time training as a sophist; indeed, he expresses nothing but fondness for the camaraderie, learning, and exclusivity that he felt there.[39] In his funeral oration for Basil, for instance, Gregory even contrasts Basil's mature disdain for the fraternity-like initiation rituals of Athenian educational culture with his own enthusiasm for it, which had hardly abated more than two decades later.[40] Here Gregory issues a sweeping, even categorical, statement on the value of eloquence and education to Christian leadership:

> I take it as the consensus of everyone with a lick of sense that paideia is the first of benefits for us—not only our noble version, which cleaves to the sole salvation and the beauty of the objects of contemplation while disdaining refinements in eloquence and the pursuit of glory, but also the outside version, which many Christians, incorrectly understanding it, spit upon as insidious, perilous, and something that casts us far from God. . . . Accordingly, we should not disdain paideia because this seems like a good idea to certain people, but we ought to regard those who hold that view as dense and in need of paideia, wanting everyone to be like them so as to cloak themselves in the ordinary and escape reproaches for their lack of paideia.[41]

His position could not be clearer: there are sectarians in the world who oppose eloquence to Christian identity (perhaps because the former is too worldly or elite or pagan), but Gregory is not among them. As he showed over the course of his career, the authority of a Christian priest rests, in large part, on his possession of eloquence.

More than that, though, Gregory understood Christianity itself—rightly practiced and rightly understood—as the purest distillation of classical culture. What permitted the true priest to administer the Word to his congregation was his mastery of graceful, persuasive, and precise words. Whereas some scholars have insisted that Gregory subordinated classical culture to Christianity because, to quote one, "the two were unable to live side by side, for each was a complete creed which demanded the devotion of the whole man,"[42] Susanna Elm has recently shown that Gregory, from the very start of his career in the early 360s, did not view Christianity and classical culture as discreet cultural objects at all.[43] Rather, they were extraordinarily useful mechanisms that allowed him to clarify his knowledge about the divine (i.e., develop orthodoxy) and pass it on to his congregation through an expert preaching, endowed with persuasive eloquence, that enabled all involved to live virtuous lives and achieve the Platonic telos of appropriation to God (*oikeiōsis pros theon*). Without eloquence, the Christian priest placed his orthodoxy at risk, along with his salvation and the salvation of his congregation. In other words, as a prerequisite for leadership, Gregory believed, the true shepherd of Christ's flock must be equipped with the elite literary, discursive, and intellectual tools of paideia.

Carmen 2.1.11 features a long self-presentational excursus, which claims that it was precisely Gregory's possession of eloquence and orthodoxy that authorized him to lead the pro-Nicene community in Constantinople, to combat the falsehoods and verbal trickery of myriad heretics and cultivate virtue in otherwise theologically barren ground.[44] "Those who perhaps liked my eloquence" knew that it was an asset with which he could lure "strangers of the faith" into his congregation—pagans, astrologers, Jews, Valentinians, Marcionites, Manichaeans, Montanists, Novatianists, Sabellians, Macedonians, Arians, Photinians, Docetists, and Apollinarians, all promulgating diverse and contradictory theologies that ultimately sprang from the same historical source, like the "many necks, which grow from impiety, belonging to the one hydra."[45] Their singular origin allowed Gregory to confront them collectively with the singularity of truth, "not with hostility or cruelty" but "with solicitude," elegance, and persuasion:

> I employed my eloquence with gentleness and affability
> as an advocate for the sympathetic
> and mild Word, which berates no one.
> Being conquered by the Word is entirely in keeping with it,
> and it is far more preferable to conquer
> with the force of persuasion when someone procures God [as a result].[46]

The poem additionally notes how he encouraged his hearers in Constantinople to become models of eloquence in their own lives by displaying, on their bodies and in their personal conduct, the virtue that it cultivated. They should

> to the best of their abilities revere the commandments,
> give food to the poor, hospitality to strangers, and relief
> for illnesses; keep steadfast and [offer up] psalmodies,
> prayers, groans, tears, and prostrations;
> constrain the stomach and strangle sense perceptions;
> exert control over anger, laughter, and [their] lips;
> and with the power of the Spirit put the flesh to sleep.[47]

Herein lies the value of eloquence to Gregory’s self-fashioned identity: with it, he made orthodox Christians out of pagans, Jews, and heretics; with it, he was transforming hoi polloi from an amalgamation of vicious deviants into a united and refined collectivity of lovers of God. Eloquence structured Gregory’s thought and conduct so that he could access truth, confront heresy, and transmit virtue to any audience that heard his words.

Without issuing any grand assertion about the interrelation among learning, communication, understanding the divine, and pastoral responsibilities, the letter collection illustrates for Nicobulus how to apply eloquence in the quotidian but not uncomplicated epistolary genre. Here Gregory puts his learning into practice and shows how friendships can be initiated and nurtured, patronage procured, protection secured, and authority exerted, all because of the elite status that eloquence betokens. These epistolary models, though, are not merely didactic, holding out for Nicobulus the key to success in the late Roman world, but also self-presentational proof texts of Gregory’s embodiment of elite values. His mastery of epistolary style and types, the fluency and playfulness that he evinces as he weaves classical quotations and allusions into his discourse, his proficiency in navigating the channels of power and patronage, his seemingly instinctual inclination to draw his discourse toward reflections on virtue and justice—all of this amounts to an autobiographical argument about not only who he was at the time of the collection’s publication but also who he always had been. By exploiting its diachronic nature, Gregory submitted his collection as the documentation of his career-long embodiment of eloquence and the cultural authority that went with it, regardless of whether or not he held an official position among the clergy. Many of those letters were written at times when he did govern a community, with institutional backing—that is, as a priest or as a bishop—but the collection was published after he had retired from both offices. To mitigate any potential loss of involvement or influence, he asserted his eloquence, not to acquire a formal position (as his contemporaries would have used it) but as an end in itself. Gregory’s eloquence, in other words, was the source of, rather than a path to, his legitimacy and standing.

Consider that each member of the collection’s immediate reading audience (Nicobulus and Bishop Helladius, the sophists Stagirius and Eustochius, and the rhetor Eudoxius) appears within the collection as an addressee of several letters and that the epistolary dossier portrays Gregory’s primacy over them. First, the epistolary dossier to Nicobulus (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 51–54) casts Gregory as no mere contributor to his great-nephew’s education but as a literary paterfamilias in search of a scion. By Gregory’s admission, the collection was designed to produce a literary legacy: Nicobulus could be the true heir to Gregory’s eloquence should he adequately learn from the collection’s epistolary models. More than that, though, the premier position of *Epistula* 52 is a subtle dig at the Caesarean educators in that it advertises how Nicobulus brought his request for epistolary models to Gregory and not to them. Immediately, the collection supports Gregory's claim to superior eloquence with the letter on epistolary style (*Ep.* 51). This letter sketches the main features of what he considered his idiosyncratic style, yet it begins with that most universal of elite epistolary conventions, focus on a letter's appropriate length. While his contemporaries rarely specified what that was, Gregory defines it succinctly: the letter ought to be as long as it needs to be—or, put differently, necessity dictates style, thereby begetting concision and preventing the length from becoming excessive (51.1–3).[48] Along with nearly every other ancient and late antique theorist, Gregory championed clarity and conversational tone over ostentatious and highly stylized language, which for him democratized the epistolary text: all readers, "both the commoner and the educated" (51.4), should be able to comprehend a letter.[49] However, letters should be not basic communications but careful compositions infused with beauty, grace, and charm, which, for Gregory, came in the form of allusions to proverbs, other sayings, and literature, as we'll see later. He cautioned Nicobulus, though, against any overindulgence in the practice that might dull the democratic luster of clarity (51.5–6).[50] Finally, Gregory reminded Nicobulus that "we should remain especially unconcerned with beauty in our epistles and be as close as we can to naturalness" (51.7), reiterating the letter's earlier advice while sounding a warning to the "refined men" (51.8)—the Caesarean educators—against teaching Nicobulus an overwrought style. It is precisely this conclusion that brings us back to the letter's broader context and social resonance. While modern readers might take it for granted that Nicobulus would approach someone as educated and illustrious as Gregory for a collection of epistolary models, we ought to keep in mind just how provocative the request was. By agreeing to produce it, Gregory thrust himself into a competitive setting where the only support he had was his own exertion of eloquent authority (the precise point of *Ep.* 51) and not any institutional position.

Asserting superiority in eloquence over a young student was an easy thing to pull off, but doing the same thing with established professionals like Helladius, Stagirius, Eustochius, and Eudoxius was a different challenge. Gregory insisted on status parity with Helladius, even though the metropolitan bishop had a superior ecclesiastical position and was, at least nominally, an important contributor to imperially supported orthodoxy,[51] while Gregory was a temporary small-town bishop when he wrote to Helladius and was retired from all positions at the time of his collection's publication. Nevertheless, he wrote as "one high priest to another" and "as an eloquent person to a lover of eloquence" (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 167.3) and included within the collection two letters that intimate a relationship of spiritual equality, inasmuch as they exchanged gifts at holy festivals (*Ep.* 120, 172). Perhaps we might venture to understand the collection's two letters to Helladius on behalf of Sacerdos (*Ep.* 219–20) as showcases of Gregory's moral superiority to the Caesarean bishop: by defending Sacerdos, he cast himself as a patron of the monastic community to which Sacerdos belonged and a protector of its mission to take care of the poor, while portraying Helladius as a prosecutor of monks. Indeed, elsewhere in the collection (*Ep.* 183.5), Gregory complains to Bishop Theodore of Tyana—the rival metropolis to Caesarea—that Helladius did not have the best interests of the church in mind, subject as he was to anger, obstinacy, and inquisitiveness.[52]

But it was to the true professionals—the sophists and the rhetor—that Gregory most fully flaunted his epistolary eloquence. He opens the Stagirius dossier with a letter in which he engages in a bit of playful one-upmanship—“Are you Attic in your education? I’m Attic too. Do you sit before youths? I do so before people of every age. Do you mold them for speech? I do so for character” (*Ep.* 188.1)—and makes special note of Stagirius’s relative youth, thereby affording Gregory a paternal tone (“if you allow me to admonish you in a fatherly way” [*Ep.* 192.2]). Gregory reminds Eustochius, someone whom he had known for decades and who vied against Stagirius to teach Nicobulus, of their shared origins in eloquence in Athens with the same teachers (*Ep.* 189.2, 190.3) and gently stresses that his professional station “far below the sophistic thrones” (*Ep.* 189.3) does not imply any less eloquence on his part. He then takes an upper hand in the relationship by rebuking Eustochius in a friendly way for engaging in such petty and immature rivalries. His letters to Eudoxius adopt a far more assertive approach: Gregory is “worse than no one . . . in judging eloquence” (*Ep.* 174.5), a boast that other letters to the young rhetor prove through deft classical intertextuality and paternal chastisement (*Ep.* 176), as do letters of recommendation on his behalf to renowned and powerful men (*Ep.* 37–38, 181).

The collection’s portrait of Gregory’s relationship with each Caesarean educator, then, only bolsters Nicobulus’s decision to approach him and not them for the letters. After all, it is Gregory who is the very embodiment of eloquence. But the collection goes further to prove that point in letters to other addressees, where Gregory deploys the tropes and conventions of late antique epistolary style. The collection ultimately shows how eloquence siutates him within elite society and how Nicobulus might achieve a similar status by using the literary, discursive, and social strategies modeled therein.

Stylistic mastery constitutes one such strategy. Almost all of Gregory’s letters feature one or several of the standard tropes, conventions, and habits of late antique epistolography. Like many of his contemporaries, he expresses ambivalence at being separated from his addressee. On the one hand, he textually performs sadness and disappointment that an illness, poor bodily condition, or another unfortunate circumstance has made it so that he cannot enjoy face-to-face conversation with the addressee,[53] but on the other hand, it is that very separation that provides the occasion for the letter, an opportunity for which he performs textual enthusiasm and glee. “Since merely complaining about what I’m suffering isn’t enough,” he writes to the provincial official Hecebolius, “I need a remedy for the wound. I’ve found it in my confidence in this epistle and sketching my presence in the letter" (*Ep.* 196.3).[54] The letter is medicinal and permits Gregory to maintain the relationship in spite of the separation and the supposed illness—possible because letters, by virtue of their idiosyncratic style and personal details, could transmit the writer's authentic self and true personality over any distance.[55] Given that late antique writers viewed letters thus, it is not terribly surprising that Gregory expressed great yearning for letters from addressees and ebullience at receiving them.[56] For instance, one from his friend Philagrius stirred up happy memories of the good old days when they were together: "As soon as I read the opening address of your epistle, the name 'Philagrius' and the very fact that it was actually you were sweet to me, and all the good times of yesteryear came back to me" (*Ep.* 30.2).[57] Philagrius had inserted himself into the letter, and Gregory's engagement with it differed in only superficial respects from conversing with Philagrius in person.

Even though Gregory insists on its distinctiveness in a letter to Nicobulus (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 51, discussed above), his personal style corresponds in large measure to the epistolary style popular among other late Roman elites. Two particular points are noteworthy. First, on a few occasions in the collection, Gregory refers to the epistolary norm of the *metron,* at one point even equating a "roughness of style" with "unmeasured writers" (*Ep.* 156.4).[58] Knowing the appropriate length for a given letter, based on content, occasion, and addressee, plays into an eloquent person's graceful style, while inappropriate length (too long or too short) signals a crassness characteristic of hoi polloi. Second, Gregory abides by the conventional use of proper honorific titles for addressees. These signaled not so much a particular position or office as the virtue that Gregory's letter hoped to exploit. For example, he addresses the provincial governor Olympius[59] four times and Bishop Helladius once by the honorific "Your Clemency," in each letter trying to gin up sympathy for a courier or intermediary's plight; in Olympius's case, twice that courier was, not coincidentally, Nicobulus's father.[60] He addresses Simplicia, a provincial patron and someone whose slave Gregory had ordained as a priest, by the title "Your Generosity" in the course of a letter that implies she should manumit the slave and renounce any claim of ownership, while chastising her for pettiness in the very act of claiming ownership (*Ep.* 79.3).[61] The most popular title throughout the letter collection is "Your Reverence,"[62] followed by "Your Godliness,"[63] "Your Eloquence,"[64] "Your Perfection,"[65] "Your Dignity,"[66] and "Your Excellence."[67] Less frequent titles include "Your Charity,"[68] "Your Nobility,"[69] "Your Goodness,"[70] "Your Solemnity,"[71] "Your Magnanimity,"[72] and "Your Authority."[73] Such honorifics, of course, perform textualized deference to the addressee, and their thoughtful deployment was an important demonstration of epistolary eloquence, an indication that the writer knew elite discourse and the virtues, values, and ideals that elites professed to cherish.

Perhaps the most important demonstration of epistolary eloquence is the collection's consistent and thoroughgoing engagement with classical literature through direct quotation, allusion, or textual incorporation. Nearly half of the letters feature citations or quotations of an ancient author whom they name or seamless intertextual weaving of a classical text into Gregory's epistolary discourse. Literary, historical, and philosophical texts from the classical past, as well as mythological and proverbial traditions, provided him with a host of characters and scenarios to which he could compare his own situation or relationship with an addressee. The degree to which Gregory played this literary game is breathtaking and shows not only how deep his familiarity with classical literature was but also how deep a familiarity he expected his addressee to have.

Exemplary of the practice is an apologetic letter to Eustochius (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 190), the Caesarean sophist who prevailed against Stagirius in the contest to secure Nicobulus as a student. Before that happened, though, Eustochius accused Gregory of forgetting their friendship after sending Nicobulus to the younger Stagirius. In that nonextant letter, we might imagine that Eustochius, as an established sophist, claimed eloquent authority over Gregory to so great an extent that Gregory felt compelled to respond with his own claims of supreme eloquence in this letter. It begins with an immediate appropriation, without citation, of Agamemnon's words at *Iliad* 14.104: "O Odysseus, how fiercely you strike me down!" (190.1). The quotation's place within the narrative of the *Iliad* informs its appearance in Gregory's letter: Agamemnon had suggested that the Greeks cut their losses and sail home, to which Odysseus replied with a stinging rebuke, and these words were Agamemnon's response to Odysseus. By enlisting this verse in his letter, Gregory cast himself as the peace-seeking Agamemnon and Eustochius as the bellicose Odysseus. Several lines later (190.3), he alludes to *Iliad* 9.108 and takes on the role of another character, the stately Nestor: just as Nestor claimed to have no advance knowledge of Agamemnon's plan to take Briseis from Achilles, so too did Gregory have no advance knowledge of Nicobulus's plan to enroll with Stagirius (an entirely disingenuous claim, because Gregory, by his own admission only a few words later, wrote Nicobulus a letter of recommendation to Stagirius). Later in the letter, Gregory temporarily leaves the *Iliad* behind and begins to "speak to Your Grace a bit like Demosthenes" (190.5), alluding to that Athenian statesman's *Oratio* 21, an invective prosecution of Meidias, who punched Demosthenes at the Athenian theater in the mid-fourth century BCE. As the main indictment against Meidias was not assault but hubris, this allusion might best be read as a way to cast himself as the victim of Eustochius's insolence. He then returns to the *Iliad* (20.250) with a citation of Aeneas's speech during his fight with Achilles, which refers again to the strife between Gregory and Eustochius (*Ep.* 190.5). While it may seem strange that Gregory adopted the words of Aeneas rather than the mightier Achilles, the *Iliad* and later literary traditions make it clear that the former survived the war, unlike the latter, who continued to fight only to die by Paris's arrow, a subtle jibe insinuating that Eustochius is eager for conflict even to his own detriment. Next Gregory quotes a traditional proverb that argues against continuing a conflict and in favor of engaging in mutually beneficial activities (190.5) before winding down the letter with a reference to Plato's *Republic* 3.407a, commanding Eustochius "to honor the ancient exhortation that bids virtue be cultivated whenever someone has a sufficient way of life" (190.8). In other words, Eustochius has devoted himself to eloquence and therefore should strive to nurture virtue (like Gregory!), not instigate vicious squabbles. In sum, this letter illustrates the degree to which classical literature provided Gregory with a host of scenarios, characters, and discourse that he could apply to his own situation and deploy to persuasive ends. He could make himself Agamemnon, Nestor, or Aeneas, depending on which quotation he was using and why, or he could render himself an honest disciple of Plato or a purveyor of traditional wisdom, so long as this helped cast him in a winning light.

This kind of refined and deliberate intertextuality runs throughout the whole of the collection and exposes an expansive range of literature that Gregory had not merely read but appropriated into his discourse. As is evident from the apologia to Eustochius discussed above, Homer's epic poetry provided Gregory with a deep roster of characters to which he could compare himself, an addressee, or a courier. Twice he explicitly likens himself to the elderly and sagacious Nestor in reference to the practice of epistolary production (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 52.1, 239), thereby comparing the character's venerable participation in the Trojan War to his own participation within eloquent culture.[74] Gregory taps the *Iliad* to describe the complete letter collection that he is sending to Nicobulus: "Now here it is! Put this sash [*Il.* 14.219] around your books; it's designed not for love but for eloquence, not for display but for utility even in our own courtyard" (*Ep.* 52.1). The allusion is faint, but one that he plainly expects Nicobulus to recognize. The Homeric sash is the one that Aphrodite, after infusing it with various seductive powers, gave to Hera so that she might lure Zeus to bed, where a postcoital lull would then keep him from noticing her helping the Greeks. Like Aphrodite's sash, Gregory's letter collection was designed to have an inspirational effect, although one geared toward mustering eloquence rather than an amorous disposition.[75] Gregory also tapped into the work of classical playwrights (Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Euripides), orators (Aeschines, Demosthenes, Isocrates), poets (Antimachus, Callimachus, Cleobulus, Hesiod, Pindar, Simonides, Theocritus, Theognis), historians (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Herodotus, Xenophon), and philosophers (Aristotle, Plato, Pythagoras),[76] as well as mythological traditions about Tantalus, Heracles, Abaris, Eunomus, and the Athenian king Pandion,[77] to name a few. Such classical intertextuality amounted to a code employed not solely as a means of beautifying his writing with learned references, charm, and wit (although, by Gregory's own admission, this was certainly part of it)[78] but as an assertion of cultural belonging, of membership within elite society.

In addition to his use of epistolary tropes, stylistic conventions, and intertextuality, Gregory's eloquence manifested in his mastery of all the diverse subgenres—that is, the epistolary types to which the handbooks provide important witness. Consoling letters,[79] congratulatory letters,[80] grieving letters,[81] mocking letters,[82] encouraging letters,[83] didactic letters,[84] reporting letters,[85] praising letters,[86] paraenetic letters,[87] requesting letters,[88] and thankful letters,[89] as well as a provoking letter,[90] a submissive letter,[91] a contemptuous letter,[92] a censorious letter,[93] and an enigmatic letter,[94] all populate the collection and follow the models laid out in the handbooks, with some degree of improvisation on account of the particular occasion and addressee. Despite the generic diversity, it is the friendly, recommending, and interceding types that dominate the collection, and expectedly so, since they perform the most basic social actions that an eloquent person would use letters to do.

Generally, Gregory's letters of friendship are uncomplicated texts that incorporate elements of the thanking and praying types.[95] They hit the expected marks of both genre (brevity, reflection on absence, mention of yearning for personal presence) and subgenre (acknowledging friendship, along with gratitude for gifts, and wishing for general well-being) and fulfill the obligations of epistolary and often gift exchange. In other words, these texts enable the performance of long-distance friendship.[96] Gregory illustrates the practice in a letter to a certain Meletius:

> I haven't received a letter from you at any point in a really long time; how could you know that I'm yearning for one? But neither have I written one, although I'm convinced that you too yearn for one. How negligent, lest I say inconsiderate! I was falling asleep in such a way that even Arganthonius in his slumber was of little account to me. Where is my old fraternity? Where is our shared eloquence, and the assemblies, and the sweet and bounteous spring from which we used to draw water? Well, as for me, I'm rousing myself, shaking off the dust like Achilles's horses [*Il.* 17.457], albeit a bit late, I hesitate to admit, and shaking out my mane. Don't suspect me of writing a comedy. If our friendship matters to you at all, it will be evident in what you write. (*Ep.* 240)

This letter embeds references to Greek mythology and the *Iliad* in the standard discourse of the epistolary genre and the friendly subgenre: explicit acknowledgement of the friendship with the addressee, yearning for a letter, and reflections on a past in which the two were physically present with each other. No other task commands authorial attention aside from composing his contribution to the epistolary friendship and soliciting Meletius's. Friendly letters like this populate Gregory's collection and reveal how he performed friendship and eloquence in the textual space of epistles.

The collection's recommending letters have a more specific task but can remain quite vague so long as they get someone a warm reception from the addressee. We should assume, of course, that recommendations work most effectively when a friendship is already established. These letters can incorporate elements of the friendly type, but they always pointedly mention the courier's outstanding virtue and eloquence as the basis of the recommendation to an addressee who possesses the same excellent qualities.[97] Consider Gregory's letter to Africanus on behalf of Nicobulus's father (also named Nicobulus):

> What is it that most delights horses? Horses, of course. What about eagles? Nothing but eagles. You've also heard the proverb that a jackdaw feels comfortable with a jackdaw. You must certainly conclude that, in the same way, Attic men delight an Attic man, and an adherent and patron of excellence delights someone who lays claim to it. What makes a leader, it seems to me, is being a supporter of virtue and an opponent of vice, whether that leader holds a bloodless office as I do, or one endowed with sword and belt. Indeed, knowing that you are a master in virtue, someone who doesn't compel his subjects with force but chastises vice with fear rather than deed—the very definition of the best governance—I won't offer you blood. In fact, that's why I was eager to meet you—and still am now! However, since I cannot get this, because of an illness, I necessarily come in a letter, and it's best that I'm addressing you through a man of my household, a friend and family member, Nicobulus, by my lights the most honorable in all respects; for me, he will also make a formal defense to you—the man is trustworthy, if he is anything, inasmuch as he knows me—and, through me, he will make himself known to Your Perfection. (*Ep.* 224)

Gregory reflects on Africanus's learning, support for virtue, and concern for justice in good governance and on the natural affinities between himself, the courier, and the addressee. A writer in Gregory's position must remain aware of the peril in letting such praise morph into obsequious flattery, yet also identify the shared fine points of character in the addressee and courier so as to inspire the former to perform acts of patronage for the latter. As a benefit, of course, many of Gregory's recommendations come with a promise that he will use his eloquence to elevate the addressee's reputation further, should the recommendation be accepted.

Finally, the collection's interceding letters go beyond the recommending ones by adding situational specificity (often building on a foundation of friendship): a courier needs assistance with a particular problem. Typically, like the recommending type, the interceding type tries to spur action by appealing to eloquent individuals for help on behalf of a courier.[98] Here Gregory intercedes for Mamas with Hellebichus:

> What punishment the illness inflicts on me! I should run to embrace you and reminisce about our old friendship and intimacy. My body, however, isn't up to it. That's why I'm coming to you by letter and greeting you with a salutation. Since I should also be bearing gifts, this is what I offer: the lector Mamas, whose father is a soldier and who has, because of his disposition, dedicated himself to God. Leave him alone for God and for me, and don't count him among the deserters; write him a note of discharge lest others subject him to abuse. You'll be giving yourself auspicious hopes for your war and command. Yes, I exhort you, show concern for him. Indeed, showing special concern for God and his auxiliary force over there belongs to those who have the greatest power in hand and decide everything. (*Ep.* 225)

This letter begins by noting the shared history between Gregory and Hellebichus and making a standard expression of yearning for his addressee before inserting a frequent excuse for his absence by mentioning his illness. Then he turns to the courier, Mamas, who left his military post, but for understandable, even laudable, reasons. Because of their relationship, Hellebichus ought to warmly receive Gregory's intercession, pardon Mamas, and regard him not as a deserter of the worldly army but as an enlistee in the divine military.

Gregory did not stick strictly to the scripts of the epistolary types, though, and often brought together elements from several for a particular situation and addressee. *Epistula* 165 to Stagirius, one of Nicobulus's Caesarean educators, illustrates how he could play his familiarity with the range of epistolary types to his advantage. It begins as a blaming letter, with Gregory calling Stagirius out for being "unphilosophical in the face of suffering" (165.1), before quickly transitioning into the didactic mode and making a personal attack on Stagirius an opportunity for general philosophical reflection: "I don't praise either excessive passionlessness or extreme emotionality: the former is inhuman, the latter unphilosophical. The one who treads the middle path, however, ought to appear more philosophical than those who cannot control themselves at all but more human than those who practice philosophy without moderation" (165.2). Gregory admits that other epistolary types could have been employed—"Had I written to anyone else, perhaps I would have also needed longer arguments: *sympathy* would be required in some cases, *exhortation* in others, and perhaps *censure* in others still. For grieving together is suitable for *consolation,* and illness requires treatment from a healthy individual" (165.3; my emphasis, of words that correspond to recognized epistolary types)[99]—but ultimately Stagirius's sophistic position keeps Gregory in the didactic mode: "As I am crafting my eloquence for an educated man, it should be enough to say the following: be under your own control and that of the books with which you have daily conversation, where there are many lives, many ways of life, many points of pleasure and smoothness, as well as many points of misery and roughness, as is reasonable" (165.4). The letter then concludes with advice on philosophical living amid adversity. What makes the letter successful is Gregory's awareness of and playfulness with the epistolary types: he softens the blow of his initial blaming of Stagirius, and ultimately gets away with it, by shifting into a subgenre fit for an eloquent addressee—the didactic type—all the while, of course, keeping an authoritative position over Stagirius, which the sympathetic, exhorting, censuring, or consoling modes would not have allowed.

CONCLUSION

While later Christians, especially in the Byzantine East, remembered Gregory as "the Christian Demosthenes," touting his mastery of rhetoric and literary expertise as signs of his eloquence, what indications do we have that his collection's immediate reading audience (Helladius, Eustochius, Stagirius, Eudoxius, and Nicobulus, not to mention others in their provincial and imperial social networks) found his self-portrayal persuasive? No contemporary writings corroborate Gregory's claims about himself, and his exclusion as an addressee from nearly every contemporary letter collection save Basil's—in which he comes off not as the sainted bishop's illustrious and eloquent partner but as a devotee whose alliance proved more difficult than it was worth—certainly points, at the very least, to the precarious fragility of his standing. In the end, any question of the immediate effectiveness of Gregory's eloquent self-presentation has no definitive answer, but perhaps he planted a clue in a single sentence of a single letter. To Asterius, an assessor working within the governor Olympius's provincial administration, he wrote, "I know that I've written often and on many subjects, and, to be sure, I know that I get what I need from you. *If nothing else, my letters bear witness to the host of your favorable reactions*" (150.1; my emphasis). It is as if the monologic and diachronic voice that offers him a structural advantage in this epistolary autobiography also makes him liable to the criticism of shameless and one-sided self-prejudice. His response is elegant in its simplicity: "my letters bear witness to the host of your favorable reactions"—that is, repeatedly recommending couriers to or asking for intercession from the same addressee, over and over again, suggests the effectiveness of his eloquence and thereby his place within elite society. One letter to a particularly renowned person reveals little beyond the fact that a writer sent it and tells nothing of how it was received or what kind of relationship the writer has with the addressee, but a dossier of letters to the same illustrious person indicates a rapport, an association, even a robust relationship, thereby subtly confirming Gregory's eloquent self-presentation.

Revived as component parts of a new literary text, the individual letters of Gregory's collection came together as a public literary performance for the new circumstances of the early 380s. His departure from Constantinople in the summer of 381, Nicobulus's pursuit of rhetorical training in 382 or 383, and Gregory's retirement from the Nazianzan episcopacy in the autumn of 383, as well as the broader social pressures of sophistic competition and the expectation of elites to constantly define and assert their status, all informed the construction of the collection and the self-presentational strategies within. Gregory's letters seem so typical of late antique elite epistolography not by coincidence or as a mere reflection of a widespread literary culture but rather because they are a self-expression of his embodiment of that culture. His training in Athens (a point to which the collection draws attention on several occasions)[100] had thrust, or perhaps kept, him among the elite echelons of provincial and imperial society, something of which he reminds the collection's readers not only through the name-dropping of addressees, inherent to any letter collection, but also through his frequently expressed disdain for hoi polloi, that throng of uneducated rabble.[101] In sum, the collection makes a detailed case that eloquence, as a cultural tool, empowered Gregory to remain relevant and influential among the provincial elites, his lack of institutional position notwithstanding, and an implicit case that Nicobulus, should he mimic Gregory’s epistolary implementation, might be able to do the same.

4

“Father of Philosophers”

In the summer of 382 or 383, Gregory wrote a letter to Eudoxius, one of Nicobulus’s Caesarean educators, who, as a rhetor in Eustochius’s school, administered day-to-day instruction and handled correspondence with students’ guardians. Certainly, this good position owed much to Eudoxius’s talents, but the collection also subtly reminded the rhetor of the role that Gregory played in his professional success by featuring two recommendations for him to Gregory’s well-placed friend Sophronius and the supremely influential Themistius (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 37–38). In spite of Eudoxius’s new role as the recipient rather than the beneficiary of Gregory’s recommending letters, Gregory continued to treat him as a subordinate:

> Let me conquer you with friendly letters. Indeed, I am writing you first. . . . It’s good to consider this, that while you are in your philosophical prime [Isoc., *Dem.* 3], it is I who am the father of philosophers, and virtue should be paraded before me like the most valiant of athletes before their trainers. Should I say something even better than what I just said? You’ve got no small pledges of my philosophy: you’re educating my blood and the blood of my nearest [kin]. You know of whom I speak—the children of Nicobulus [the Elder], my most legitimate and honorable son. Whatever you do for them, think to remember me, who is worse than no one (if I must trust those who say so) in judging eloquence, testing effort, and making decent teachers all the more exalted with plaudits. (*Ep.* 174.1, 3–5)

Noteworthy here is Gregory’s self-description as “the father of philosophers,” an identification that casts his relationship with his addressee in a distinctive light: Eudoxius is a practicing philosopher in the adolescence of his career, so to speak, but Gregory is an old hand at the philosopher’s trade, someone whose experience demands respect in and of itself.

Around the same time, Gregory wrote a letter to his protégé Sacerdos, who was being expelled from his supervisory position in a monastic hospital.[1] It advises him to fear nothing except "unphilosophical suffering" and lists all the philosophical practices that would help him endure the hardship:

> We take care of the poor, show brotherly love, and revel in the singing of psalms as much as possible. Say we're not permitted this; let's practice philosophy another way—grace is not impoverished. Let us be alone, let us contemplate, let us purify the mind with divine expositions, something that's perhaps even more exalted than the aforementioned things. But say we're not like this; should we think that we've fallen short of everything just because we strayed from one thing? Of course not, but let us still keep hold of the favorable hope. Let's see if anything remains for us, and let's not suffer the same way as colts do, who buck their riders when they get spooked by loud noises because they're unaccustomed to frights. (*Ep.* 215.3–4)

While Sacerdos's situation is entirely different from Eudoxius's, Gregory yet again adopts the role of philosophical sage counseling a beleaguered acolyte.[2]

Many letters in the collection show Gregory playing the philosopher to his addressee's student, advisee, or questioner and thereby imputing to himself the cultural authority that accompanied the title. Late antiquity was a boom time for philosophers, regardless of their religious identity. Not merely intellectuals, philosophers were public figures who advised emperors, acted as diplomats, worked on behalf of their native cities, and generally cultivated virtue in young students through instruction and exemplary conduct. In them was distilled all the eloquent learning and behavior that late Roman elites idealized. While philosophers could engage with the formal institutions of schools, government, and church, they outwardly shunned career ambition, social prestige, partisan loyalty, and the exercise of power for its own sake, preferring to cast their lot with only truth and virtue. For that reason, Roman elites believed them to have *parrhēsia,* a special quality that allowed its possessor to speak freely and frankly regardless of context or audience. They personified unflinching objectivity and could therefore provide honest counsel and criticism with no stain of bias. For Gregory, who, in his later years, enlisted his personal endowments in a deeply apologetic legacy project, it's easy to see the appeal of claiming philosophical consistency in the collection, where individual letters act as documentary evidence of his character at various moments in his life. From its autobiographical perspective, Gregory had always been unconcerned with glory, offices, power, popularity, and other such vanities, for he had always kept his focus on orthodoxy, bodily purity, and virtue.

The collection's totalizing claim about Gregory—that he had always been a philosopher, loyal to virtue, boldly speaking truth to power, caring only to shepherd humanity closer to God—is true to a certain extent, but misleading in the end. Orations that date to the years of Gregory's priesthood in Cappadocia do in fact show his enthusiasm for the self-designation of philosopher, but they contextualize that identity squarely within an ecclesiastical structure of governance. In these early orations, the true philosopher is the orthodox Christian priest, who guides a congregation toward divinization (*theōsis*) with his speech and conduct, by communicating the Word with his words—a sacramentalized eloquence—and setting an ethical example to follow. This chapter argues that the letter collection, on the other hand, identifies philosophical authority only outside, and even in opposition to, ecclesiastical institutions, thereby making it conform to the reality that Gregory confronted in his post-Constantinople years.

This chapter begins with a review of the way that ancient and late antique elites idealized philosophers, their roles, and their social contributions before examining Gregory's orations and poems that predate the letter collection. This will help us track the self-fashioning techniques and literary strategies with which he united his priestly occupation with his philosophical identity before his departure from Constantinople in the summer of 381. It will also give us a better view of the self-fashioning shift that occurred after his return to Cappadocia, when he still identified as a philosopher but dissociated that role and its features from priestly service. It is this latter version of the philosopher that we find in the letter collection, a text that downplays Gregory's past connections to ecclesiastical institutions in favor of emphasizing his fiercely independent commitment to justice and love of God as the products of devotion to fostering virtue among his personal network of family, friends, and fellow elites. The collection's letters unfailingly contrast Gregory's philosophical identity with the worldly conceit and vainglory of the church as he knew it after the Council of Constantinople. Here his philosophical authority stands apart from all the envy and vice that inevitably accompanied bishops, priests, councils, and congregations.

THE PHILOSOPHER IN FOURTH-CENTURY PUBLIC LIFE

It is from the pages of Eunapius of Sardis's *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists* that we learn a good deal about philosophers and their activities in the fourth century.[3] Eunapius tells of an illustrious group of men and women who collectively formed the Neoplatonic tradition, from Plotinus through Porphyry and Iamblichus down to the philosophers of the mid- and late fourth century. For example, he describes how Sopater quit conversing with regular people in order to "change Constantine's purpose and direction," a task he accomplished, for "the emperor was riveted by him and publicly kept him as an assessor, seating him at his right hand."[4] He also inscribes for posterity the learning and eloquence of the philosopher Eustathius, whom Emperor Constantius II dispatched as an imperial ambassador to the Persian king Sapor.[5] The story of the extraordinary Sosipatra is one of the more remarkable, if not one of the most uncomfortable: she became a philosopher only because her father let two mysterious strangers take her away when she was five years old, in exchange for a promise of wealth. Fortunately for everyone involved, they turned out to be Chaldean philosophers, who initiated her into arcane mysteries. Upon her return home, her devotion to classical literature and philosophical studies culminated in her acceptance of the chair of philosophy in Pergamum, where she gave lectures to a coterie of students and had a reputation for being omnipresent.[6] Hardly marginalized figures, the philosophers of the fourth century led public lives and influenced the institutions of power at the highest levels of society.

Beyond Eunapius's collection of encomiastic tales, several first-person accounts of self-fashioned philosophers survive from the fourth century. Themistius of Constantinople and the emperor Julian offer particularly rich examples of the heights to which philosophers could ascend. For his part, Themistius directly advised the emperors Constantius II, Jovian, Valens, and Theodosius and performed his philosopher's role according to the script written by Plato (read through an Aristotelian lens), whereby philosophy consorted with state power for the cultivation of virtue far and wide.[7] He even received public commendation from the Christian Constantius II: the pagan Themistius had personally ensured that "all human beings live in accordance with reason and have regard for learning."[8] His certainty in the potential universality of virtue attainment materialized in his advocacy for widespread religious toleration: the world comprises diverse populations and "the Creator of the universe takes pleasure in such diversity."[9] Consequently, Themistius believed that while some religious traditions have a clearer view of truth than others, virtue is not confined to non-Christians, a conviction that (supposedly) compelled him to argue against Julian's prohibition of Christians teaching classical literature.[10] For his part, Julian wasn't buying what Themistius was selling, and didn't need to.[11] By the end of his reign, in 363 CE, Julian had united his philosophical, religious, and political identities into the role of philosopher-king.[12] In one oration, he recounts his mythological origin from the gods and claims for himself the mantle of true philosopher, while in another he extends the title of philosopher to non-Christian priests, figures who guided citizens to God, the source of virtue, and intimates his own embodiment of that ideal.[13] This identity extended to his bodily presentation: coinage reveals that Julian kept the philosopher's signature beard, which also stands at the center of his satirical *Misopogon* (Beard-hater).[14] Whereas Themistius, with perhaps more than a tad of self-interest amid a shifting cultural landscape, took pleasure in religious diversity, Julian saw the prominence of Christianity as a sign of the tragic plight that had befallen Rome. Only by stymieing the processes of Christianization could he restore the empire's connection with the divine.

Ironically, many fourth-century Christians agreed with Julian: the title of true philosopher ultimately depended on religious identity. Of course, it was their God who was the source of virtue, and access to it was determined by piety, orthodoxy, and participation in the life of the Christian community.[15] For those Christian leaders who came out of the culture of paideia, the role of philosopher embodied their ideals just as it did for Julian, Themistius, and Eunapius. Eusebius of Caesarea in one text declares that Constantine's possession of all the virtues makes him the world's only true philosopher[16] and in another praises the emperor's philosophical style of governance: "[Constantine] thought that he ought to rule his subjects with instructive argument, and establish his whole imperial rule as rational. Consequently, when he gave the invitation, countless multitudes rushed to join the audience to hear the Emperor's philosophy. If while speaking he had occasion to mention God, standing quite straight with intense face and subdued voice, he would seem to be initiating the audience with deep awe in the inspired doctrine."[17] Christians, though, brought philosophy beyond the confines of paideia. For example, in the mid-350s, Athanasius of Alexandria weaved into his *Vita Antonii* a series of confrontational episodes in which his protagonist refutes the worldly learning of philosophers from unspecified schools and demonstrates that true philosophy resides in the faithful ascetic, outside paideia.[18] Gregory of Nyssa commended his ascetic sister Macrina for raising "herself through philosophy to the extreme upper limit of human virtue"; indeed, it was she who humbled their brother the great Basil of Caesarea: "When she got a hold of him, he was enormously conceited by his pretention in eloquence and he looked down on all dignified positions, buoyed up by self-importance above the province's illustrious class; so swiftly did she lure him to the goal of philosophy that he renounced worldly notoriety."[19] All across the eastern Mediterranean, the philosopher came to represent the elite Christian at any station of society or church life, from the beneficent emperor and sophisticated theologian to a local clergy member, unrefined monk, and living saint.

In their elevation of philosophers, fourth-century elites were not creating a new social role but tapping into a cultural identity endowed with a long and distinguished history.[20] Throughout the classical and Hellenistic periods, writers invested the philosopher with tremendous prestige and responsibility. While Isocrates encouraged civic leaders to undergo philosophical training as a means of honing their character, communication, and virtue because philosophers attained the truest opinions, others, like Plato, Epicurus, Posidonius, and Musonius Rufus, championed the direct involvement of philosophers in state governance.[21] First- and second-century Jewish and Christian writers also idealized the philosopher as the embodiment of virtue and piety. Philo of Alexandria, for instance, not only self-identified as a philosopher but also held up Moses as a paragon of embodied philosophy, because of his conversation with God, and the Therapeutae too, because of their ability to induce ascetic ecstasy.[22] For the author of 4 Maccabees, Eleazar the martyr, his mother, and his seven brothers were heroic philosophers who welcomed a harsh and brutal death as the cost of keeping loyal to the divine commandments.[23] While avoiding the specific terms *philosopher* and *philosophy,* the apostle Paul attributed to himself the philosophical qualities of courage, endurance of suffering, and *parrhēsia*.[24] Second- and third-century Christians designated those who had reached the pinnacle of piety, devotion to God, and instruction of others as philosophers. For Justin Martyr, Christianity's unobstructed view of truth made it the only authentic philosophy, whereas other schools offered just a partial glimpse.[25] Clement of Alexandria transformed scriptural heroes like John the Baptist into philosophers whom Christians should emulate, while his later compatriot Origen framed the act of scriptural interpretation as the most concentrated form of philosophical study.[26]

By the fourth century, then, philosophers bore as much prestige as assumptions about what they should accomplish. In exchange for carving out a social space where certain individuals could pursue the virtue they zealously championed, late Romans expected their philosophers to disseminate the fruits of their occupation among the populace, placing them in a role oriented more toward than away from the center of political and cultural power.[27] Philosophers were advisers and diplomats, sages and teachers, benefactors of and advocates for their homelands, religious professionals trained to decipher and communicate the will of the divine. In them, fourth-century Romans found the qualities that they associated with virtue and its pursuit: a commitment to telling the truth with frank and brutal honesty before any audience (*parrhēsia*), which signaled the philosopher's deep self-control (*enkrateia*), tremendous endurance of hardship (*karteria*), and avoidance of anger (*aorgēsia*). As part of their role, philosophers displayed the personal conduct and bodily appearance that society expected of them.[28] Their asceticism set them apart from hoi polloi: the endurance of discomfort and hardship betrayed an unflagging commitment to the only thing that actually mattered—truth—as did the avoidance of behaviors deemed irrational and too conducive to passions within the soul, such as overindulgence in sleep, food, drink, sex, or conventional hygiene.[29] Sculptural remains reveal how Romans idealized the philosopher's appearance (long-haired, with a bearded face at ease in thoughtful serenity) and sartorial choices (white robes).[30] These are the very features immortalized in the "Old Philosopher" shield portrait found in Aphrodisias, which portrays a deceased man as bearded and wearing a chiton and himation, looking straight ahead with a focused intensity and furrowed brow to convey intellectual vigor and concentration.[31] Other material representations show the philosopher as disheveled and unbathed, unimpressed by conventional notions of beauty.[32]

Late Roman society commodified philosophers, shaping them as much as they shaped the world,[33] and deployed their particular skill set in matters of statecraft, public conflict, civic intercession, and community leadership. More than that, though, the philosopher proved to be "a 'saint' of classical culture," someone who "summed up in his person ideals shared by the educated classes as a whole."[34]

Through political engagement and unceasing effort on behalf of virtue, philosophers tried to keep the Roman people connected to the divine. Yet beneath the apparent consensus about what the philosopher could offer the public were deep disagreements, even within the same schools and communities, about how the philosopher would do it and on which metaphysical, epistemological, and ethical bases. Nevertheless, elite writers expressed an enduring optimism that the philosopher's goal of individual and political divinization would facilitate military success, political stability, economic prosperity, and widespread happiness for all Romans, thus necessitating the philosopher's contribution to the health and strength of the empire.

A PHILOSOPHER BEFORE THE COUNCIL

To some extent, because he had come out of eloquent culture with advanced philosophical training, it should not be surprising that Gregory of Nazianzus idealized the philosopher as the paragon of Christian leadership, but what's striking is the consistent vigor with which he cast himself in that all-important social role. By the time he succumbed to his father's "beautiful tyranny"[35] and embraced his priestly profession on Easter Day in 362, Gregory had a model for thinking and talking about himself. He would be the true philosopher, the Christian priest, the conduit through which divinity would reach a congregation purified by his words and exemplary conduct. He was a product as much of the classical paideia that lionized the philosopher as of a religious tradition that identified the Christian elite as a true philosopher, the person most attuned to the commands of the invisible and timeless God. And while it may be helpful to conceptualize Christianity and Hellenism as discrete traditions that Gregory strove to combine, their centuries of mutual engagement and overlap render any such distinctions meaningless. Gregory's thought, including his vision of the church, relied on classical texts, scriptural models, and a tradition of framing ascetic practice as philosophical practice. If anything, it was Emperor Julian who drew lines between Christianity and classical culture, which remained invisible to Gregory and the other conservative elites (Christians and non-Christians alike) who identified wealth, birth, education, and family history as the crucial qualifications for leadership. For Gregory, as for those of his ilk, identifying himself as a philosopher was as natural as yoking that designation to his priestly occupation, which Gregory would do for the next nineteen years, from that fateful Easter until his departure from Constantinople in July 381.

His earliest surviving texts outline with precise conviction the philosopher-priest's behavior, character, and goals (Gr. Naz., *Or.* 1–3). The true priest ought to be "an example of virtue," someone whose ministry must be scrutinized and held to account, and Gregory castigates as "no better that the masses" anyone who wants "this position as a way to earn a living."[36] The true priest aims at nothing short of the divinization of humanity through the "dissemination of . . . the divine and exalted Word," a task that calls for the regulation of "the truth of our teachings, those that philosophically discuss worlds or world, matter, soul, mind, intellectual natures, things superior and inferior, and the providence that binds and arranges all things."[37] The priest's discourses on such topics are not intended for "one's sense of hearing" but are "those which the Spirit composes and inscribes on stony, that is, fleshly, tablets, not etched just on the surface or easily wiped away, but deeply embossed with grace and not ink."[38] Only someone who possessed expertise in eloquence, theological accuracy, and devotion to a corporeal and psychological ascetic regimen had the requisite credentials for such a job. It is in this light that we should understand Gregory's flight to Pontus, which he made immediately after his father-bishop ordained him in the winter of 361. Most readers have treated this as a sign that Gregory did not want to be a priest—for he described his response as his "revolt and cowardice"[39]—but given the importance he assigned to the job, his self-deprecating presentation of the flight ought to be seen as a choreographed demonstration of his suitability for the position that he held when he crafted this oration: his professed disinterest surely proved his right to it. Mocking his flight to Pontus as an escape attempt, he insists, reveals only the devious influence of envy. The contemplation, prayer, and ascetic practice that his isolation offered were what every true philosopher-priest should want and exactly what he needed to purify his soul before being "thrust into public turmoil."[40]

Later writings further articulate Gregory's ideas about the philosopher-priest. His blistering indictment of Emperor Julian's prohibition against Christians teaching literature and rhetoric reveals that the classical and scriptural canons constituted the source of a philosopher's divine speech and true opinions (Gr. Naz., *Or.* 4).[41] By conflating language, ethnicity, and religion, Julian had misinterpreted the divine and failed to see that all *logoi*—that is, eloquence itself—flowed from the divine Logos, the Word of God.[42] Gregory later deployed the same argument in reverse against the heterodox bishops Photinus and Eunomius, whose imprecise knowledge of the Logos stemmed from their misunderstanding of logoi; consequently, these so-called philosophers could offer no more access to divinization than Julian could.[43] However, Gregory also emphasized the experiential aspect of the philosopher's job: a routine of ascetic withdrawal empowered the philosopher to purify his soul through undisturbed contemplation of heavenly realities.[44] Temporary retreats put true philosophers on "a middle ground between involvement in society and withdrawal, between educating others and mystically guiding them with the Spirit, and between preserving isolation within society and preserving love of brother and humanity in the unmixed life."[45] Physical distance from contentious situations allowed him to retain spiritual purity. A text that dates to his time in Constantinople and forcefully defends his withdrawal from the city after

Maximus the Cynic's treachery asserts that the philosopher "surges in esteem amid sufferings, makes troubles the stuff of virtue, and glories in hostile circumstances. . . . In fluctuating situations he either remains always the same or is found to be even more glorious, like gold in a furnace."[46] Quite expectedly, Gregory's (unphilosophical) opponents criticized these retreats, often taken at moments of political import, as "indolence,"[47] but from his perspective they were essential in rejuvenating his ability to guide his congregation to *theōsis.*[48]

This host of qualifications converges in Gregory's portrait of the theologian found in his masterworks, *Orationes* 27–31 (the theological orations), which he delivered to a learned and ardent pro-Nicene audience in Constantinople in the summer of 380. For Gregory, the necessary precondition for discussing the triune God is personal purification, achieved through ascetic retreat. He warned that "sophists and monstrous, absurd word jugglers" threatened to make "our great mystery [into] a petty little mechanism" before issuing, with as much earnestness as elitism, a general statement on the pursuit of theology: "Making God the subject of philosophical discussion is not for everyone, no, not for everyone—it's thus not some cheap or lowbrow pursuit. . . . It's not for all people, but only for those who have been scrutinized, and those who have made progress in contemplation, and, before these, those who have been purified in body and soul."[49] He suggests a robust regimen of self-analysis before theological discourse:

> Do we praise hospitality? Do we admire brotherhood, spousal devotion, virginity, feeding the poor? Psalm-singing, all-night standing, and crying? Do we mortify the body with fasting? Do we pay a visit to God through prayer? Do we subjugate the inferior to the superior, I mean, dust to spirit, assuming we've made the right judgment about the mixture? Do we make life practice for death? Do we make ourselves lords over our passions and keep our higher nobility in mind? Do we calm our swollen and irritated temper? Or our downfall, pride, or unreasoning grief, our boorish pleasures, our perverse laughter, our undisciplined eyes, our avaricious ears, our unmeasured speech, our distant thought, or anything within us that the Wicked One can deploy against us, "letting death in through the windows" [Jer 9:21]—that is, the senses—as the scripture has it?[50]

With control over their souls and a handle on their passions, Christian philosophers strive to be like Moses and attain the fullest knowledge of God in order to transmit it to their congregations.[51]

Models for performing the philosopher's role could be found everywhere in the postbiblical and even post-Constantinian world, as a series of eulogistic and panegyric orations show. Gregory attributes philosophical qualities to his brother, sister, father, and mother in their eulogies,[52] and special members of the clergy certainly rose to the status of philosopher in his eyes. For instance, in his resistance to Emperor Decius's war on "philosophy and its doctrines," the martyr-bishop

Cyprian of Carthage summoned "discipline and purification of the body . . . to remove any ignorance of our teachings and beautify the lives of men and restore to original condition the divinity of the sovereign and imperial Trinity."[53] The Alexandrian bishop Athanasius had even embodied the divine: "By praising Athanasius, I will praise virtue. . . . By praising virtue, I will praise God."[54] His ability to resolve conflict and teach orthodoxy was made possible only by his gentle disposition, education, piety, and devotion to the pro-Nicene church.[55]

Ironically, Gregory reserved his most fulsome praise for Maximus the Cynic, whom he initially extolled as a model of philosophical excellence but later denounced as the source of all the calamities that befell him in Constantinople.[56] Before Maximus's betrayal of Gregory (which inspired Gregory's volte face), though, he "treated our matters philosophically in a foreign garb," wearing a white cloak of angels (i.e., the philosopher's cloak), which showed its wearer's dismissal of monastic isolation.[57] His theology had its origin in Athanasius himself, "Christ's second lamp,"[58] and his ascetic endurance, honed in the early 370s through physical torture ordered by the prefect Aelius Palladius, allowed him to disregard "luxury, wealth, or power."[59] Gregory could unequivocally designate Maximus "the truth's most honest contender and the Trinity's defender up to death."[60] However, commending Maximus's philosophical qualities served Gregory's self-interest in the end, as he avers in the oration's prologue: "Therefore, my praise rests on this rationale: if nothing else, at least admiring philosophy will permit me to play the philosopher. . . . Philosophy will not now disparage my praise, because improving our life is its task and pursuit. And first among its benefits is the praise of good things, for praise is the sponsor of ardent devotion, and devotion of virtue, and virtue of blessedness, the pinnacle of our aspirations and the one to which the earnest man directs all his actions."[61] To panegyrize a philosopher is itself a philosophical act. Gregory has placed himself not only at the beginning of this philosophical sequence (praise) but also at its end (blessedness). After the prologue, Gregory—the priest charged with overseeing the liturgical and communal life of the Anastasia—summons Maximus to "come and stand with me, next to the sacred objects and this mystical altar, as I, through them, mystically administer *theōsis;* to them, your word, conduct, and purification through suffering bring you."[62] The choreography here is important: in the middle of administering "the pinnacle of our aspirations"—the blessedness conveyed by the Eucharist—Gregory invites Maximus to join him, thereby gleaning the philosophical qualities for which he praised Maximus while subordinating the Cynic to the altar and Eucharist over which Gregory stood. The panegyric concludes with a similar dynamic. In his praise for Maximus's Trinitarian orthodoxy, Gregory lists a series of arguments and talking points that Maximus should take back to Alexandria and its bishop, Peter, thereby positioning himself as the source of orthodoxy, as the true philosopher.

A PHILOSOPHER AFTER THE COUNCIL

Throughout the orations that predate his resignation from Constantinople in June 381, Gregory links the role of philosopher with that of orthodox priest, repeatedly reminding his readers that true philosophers reside among the clergy, where they have the time and space to read authoritative texts, contemplate divine realities, purify body and soul, and disseminate right belief to congregations that rely on their leadership for salvation. However, after his return to Cappadocia, his optimism about that connection faded. Vicious and self-interested bishops in Constantinople had devised a compromise intended not to reflect the divine truth but to satisfy worldly concerns and consequently had struck a deal that "mixes filth with the sweet fragrance of undefiled myrrh."[63] Impure clergy produced impure theology and failed to offer their congregations the *theōsis* that the church promises. Among such company, the philosopher had no home. Of course, this depiction of the council is Gregory's, and it appears in a deeply polemical context of reputation and legacy management. His post-Constantinople writings—particularly *Orationes* 42–43 and *Carmen* 2.1.11, all likely written in late 381 or early 382—continue to portray him as a philosopher, but one whose authority existed apart from clerical office. Indeed, by repeatedly casting his departure from Constantinople as an expulsion, these writings add weight to his broader insistence that the bishops there created an unsalvageable culture that could only deal with an authentic philosopher like Gregory by victimizing him.[64]

The valedictory oration, addressed to an imagined audience of clergy gathered in Constantinople but composed soon after his return to Cappadocia in the summer of 381, squarely pits Gregory the philosopher against the cohort of worldly bishops (*Or.* 42). "Did I fleece this people?" he asks his imagined audience. "Did I prioritize my own interests, which I see happening among the masses? . . . I've kept my priesthood pure and honest. But if I loved power, an exalted throne, or strolling through the courts of emperors, may I never have any other kind of splendor, or if I do procure it, may I toss it out!"[65] Upon his arrival in Constantinople almost two years before, Gregory's mandate was to cultivate within his hearers "a purified logos and a soul made perfect by the teachings of truth,"[66] a job that pushed him to unify the people into a single "genuine worshipper of the Trinity."[67] However, the bishops disintegrated that unity by "sitting against one another and creating factions of shepherds, and a crowd broken apart and made hostile with them—like neighborhoods and adjacent areas in the chasms of earthquakes, or nurses and family members in pestilential outbreaks, with some prone to spread the illness caught from others."[68] Indeed, Gregory has the bishops in Constantinople admit that "we have become wicked umpires of ambition and ignorant judges of politics. Today, to the extent that our leaders put up with it, we share the throne and we have the same opinion; tomorrow, if the wind blows in the other direction, we'll disagree on who gets the throne and we'll hold different opinions."[69] This apologetic depiction of the council and Gregory's reason for leaving it draws to a close by noting that the supposed weakness and ineffectiveness of his leadership was not a fact but the accusation of corrupt figures; like that of an unnamed Greek philosopher from the distant past, Gregory's "temperance was charged with being insanity because he laughed at all things and saw as jokes the dignities for which hoi polloi strive."[70] In the end, the only philosopher-priest welcome there was the pretender.

Whereas *Oratio* 42's critique of bishops behaving badly is limited to what he saw in person, *Oratio* 43 inscribes Gregory's post-Constantinople pessimism about ecclesiastical leadership into his presentation of Basil, who had died months before Gregory arrived in the capital. The limitations of eulogy prevent overt self-presentation—the genre compels a writer to remain focused on the deceased and to employ almost exclusively laudatory and commemorative discourse—but Gregory portrays his friendship with Basil in a way that encourages readers to see, on the one hand, the good qualities that he applies to Basil in himself and, on the other, Basil's unphilosophical behavior in the 370s as a foil to his own authentic philosophy in early 382. The praise for Basil's status as a philosopher is robust. He was "venerated like no other among our contemporary philosophers" and was "a universal archetype of virtue for our time."[71] He evinced all the qualities and fulfilled all the roles that late antique elites expected of philosophers: he advocated for humanity before the divine; he was loyal to his city and acted as its patron; he never succumbed to flattery; he was eloquent and able to speak with *parrhēsia* before fellow bishops, government officials, and even the emperor.[72] He transcended human conventions so much that Gregory can state that "his beauty was virtue; his greatness, theology; his course, unceasing advance with ascending steps all the way up to God; his power, the sowing and dissemination of the Word."[73] In line with his post-Constantinople perspective, Gregory intimates that Basil remained a true philosopher *in spite of* his episcopal position: the job of bishop only put him in contentious situations, yet to Basil's credit he kept his composure, by taking the same kind of ascetic retreats that Gregory insisted were a hallmark of a true philosopher like himself.[74]

All of these qualities redounded to Gregory. Among those who had survived Basil, only he could vouch for the bishop's commitment to philosophy, because he was equally committed—it was the very basis of their friendship.[75] In fact, his devotion to cultivating virtue delayed the delivery of Basil's eulogy by three years: Gregory was consumed first with the purification of "both voice and thought" (presumably at the shrine of Thecla in Seleucia in the late 370s), then with the defense "of true doctrine . . . which carried me away from home" (to Constantinople from 379 to 381), and finally with poor health, something that he does not dwell on here (but to which *Oratio* 42, his autobiographical poems, and the letter collection refer[76]), because it was Basil's contention that "the soul's noble qualities shouldn't be impaired by its [bodily] connection."[77] Moreover, one particular episode in *Oratio* 43 stands out, for its portrayal of Basil as succumbing to the pettiness of the episcopate: the jurisdictional fight between him and Anthimus of Tyana, which culminated in Gregory's surprise appointment as bishop of Sasima. From Gregory's authorial perspective, that consecration was consequential because, at the Council of Constantinople in 381, it formed the basis of his opponents' objections to his claim on the Constantinopolitan episcopacy. It was the cause of "all the inconsistency and confusion in my life" and made him unable "to practice, or be thought to practice, philosophy."[78] Although the episode further condemns episcopal culture and draws Basil into that condemnation by presenting him as tarnishing their philosophical friendship with episcopal conflicts, Gregory cautiously keeps his critique from affecting the rest of his eulogy, for he still intended to yoke himself to Basil's legacy.[79] It was Gregory, after all, who persuaded the young Basil not to abandon the Athenian education that would serve as the foundation of his philosophical learning and theological orthodoxy, who supported Basil in his courageous stand against the emperor Valens, who defended Basil's orthodoxy, and who could personally attest to the power of his writings, mien, and character.[80] But Gregory's critique of Basil's unphilosophical behavior in his conflict with Anthimus itself constitutes an act of philosophical *parrhēsia* that does double work. First, Basil's philosophical refusal to countenance flattery and his devotion to the truth allow Gregory to relate the episode in the eulogy and thereby to confirm Basil's philosophical identity; second, and more important for the eulogy's compositional context, narrating this conflict also establishes *Gregory's* consistency and authenticity. He was philosophical enough to speak frankly not only about Basil to the eulogy's audience but also to Basil within the narrative of the eulogy itself. In other words, Gregory was just as much a true philosopher in his dealings with Basil as he was at the Council of Constantinople and in its aftermath.

Gregory's magnum opus, *Carmen* 2.1.11, offers his most comprehensive attempt at defining himself as a philosopher whose authority exists outside the church's clerical offices. According to it, his "first step in becoming a philosopher" occurred not with his ordination into the priesthood,[81] as his earlier orations had it, but with his education in Athens, followed by his learning to alternate between serving others and taking isolated retreats, thereby becoming a "friend of God."[82] Finally, his philosophical career ushered him to Constantinople, a city that desperately needed his orthodox eloquence because it

> lay in the depths of perdition,
> from which the unimportant town, Alexandria,
> filled with all evils, ignorant of its wrath,
> dispatched Arius, the abomination of the desert.[83]

According to the poem's imagined speech, which he attributes to the entire city, Constantinople's unphilosophical culture stridently opposed him:

> We're flatterers, you're not. We pay honor to thrones,
> you piety. We love gourmet food,
> you cheap food, and when you eat the savory flavor of luxury,
> you spit out the bitterness of pride. . . .
> . . .
> Like a chameleon and an octopus,
> we always shift our color with eloquence.
> But to us you, in your scorn, are an unmalleable anvil.
> As if the faith has always been one,
> you tightly confine the doctrine of truth,
> always walking a crooked path in your speech.[84]

In spite of this hostility, Gregory's pious "simplicity" motivated him, but it also caused him to trust priests and bishops far more than he should have.[85] He played the philosopher as best he could through ascetic purification, social service, the practice of *parrhēsia*, and preaching orthodoxy,[86] but ultimately his efforts counted for little: the city had defeated him, with assistance from a personified Envy, whose assaults worked through many people and only intensified over the course of his time there.[87]

Gregory's orations and poems consistently present their author as a philosopher, but his experience in Constantinople pushed him to reconfigure what that identity meant and how it could be presented. After his return to Cappadocia in 381, priestly obligations and clerical affiliation no longer appear in his conception of the philosopher's job description, for the integrity of the church's institutional edifice had been eaten away, he believed, by bad bishops, figures who could not bear a true philosopher like Gregory in their ranks. In the wake of Constantinople, he continued to define the philosopher as an orthodox ascetic who engaged with classical and scriptural texts, but focused on suffering, defeat, and dejection as the markers of this virtuous identity. Now he saw the philosopher as a freelance specialist, unstained by the corruption of ecclesiastical politics and unconnected to priestly service, working on God's behalf to stimulate personal and civic virtue wherever possible.

A PHILOSOPHER IN LETTERS

The revised narrative of his time in Constantinople and the reconfiguration of what it meant for Gregory to be a philosopher inform his philosophical self-presentation in the new literary context of the letter collection. In an almost documentary way, the letters corroborate *Carmen* 2.1.11's claim of lifelong animosity toward and suspicion of the church's institutional edifice, offering epistolary proof, so to speak, of Gregory's incessant frustration with bishops and synods. Like *Carmen* 2.1.11, the collection transforms his complaints into an identity marker: philosophical expertise awaits the one who successfully endures bad episcopal behavior, conciliar conflict, bodily illness, and emotional trauma. But it also repurposes philosophical authority within a local, provincial context: Gregory advocates for his city, his friends, and his family members with a philosopher's trademark *parrhēsia*. The collection, therefore, builds on the foundation laid by other apologetic autobiographical writings by identifying the source of his philosophical authority in his personalized learning, devotion to community, and ability to transcend a politicized episcopal culture, bodily discomfort, and corporeal existence itself. In short, the collection adds ballast to his late-in-life argument that philosophers like him will find their proper home outside church leadership.

When the collection's letters are read in relation to one another, what emerges is a portrait of a man distancing himself from Constantinople and, by association, the unphilosophical group of bishops who gathered there. Whereas *Carmen* 2.1.11 devotes nearly three-quarters of its account to his months in the imperial capital, the collection includes only two letters dating to his time there (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 77–78),[88] both of which showcase Gregory's philosophical endurance of the Easter stoning incident and its legal fallout in 380. Such scarce "documentation" of this crucial period in Gregory's career is itself an indicator that the collection thematically partners with other texts of his written after Constantinople. More striking still is its inclusion of letters that likely date to the months immediately after he returned to Cappadocia, in which he disavows his past association with the city. "I've sustained damage for a long time now," he writes to Hypatius, "since the first among cities does not hold the first among men" (*Ep.* 96.1), a sentiment affirmed in a letter to Leontius that reflects on the biblical catastrophe that the Council of Constantinople turned out to be: "O fortuitous disease and abuse from my enemies! Because of this, it is I who has been liberated from the Sodomic fire [Gen 19:24; Luke 17:29] and episcopal feebleness. How goes your progress to God? Let it be going well, but as for everything else, such as it is, let's put it out of our minds. I'll still see my abusers shortly, whenever our affairs are judged by fire [1 Cor 3:13]. I'm greeting you and, through you, our common friends. Remember my stonings" (*Ep.* 95). References to "stonings" appear with some frequency in Gregory's post-Constantinopolitan writings, both specifically referring to the attack of 380 and as a synecdoche for the sum total of Constantinople's mistreatment of him.[89] The city subjected him to "great tribulations," which he did his best to endure, as "the truth's herald," but ultimately "the sound teaching was rejected and spit out onto the deserted, untrodden, and desiccated earth, as it is written [Ps 62:2; cf. Jer 2:6]" (*Ep.* 100.3). In sum, the anti-Constantinople dossier, discussed in chapter 2, castigates the imperial capital as the place where envy chokes out virtue; Gregory "practices philosophy in tranquility" (*Ep.* 94.1) only after his departure.[90]

The collection documents the city's ongoing devotion to vice in a series of letters that decline invitations to Constantinopolitan synods in 382 and 383, convened to issue responses to, respectively, complaints pertaining to the Antiochene episcopacy from bishops at the Council of Aquileia in the autumn of 381 and the continued theological divisions around Apollinarian Christology and Eunomian Trinitarianism.[91] Having become the temporary bishop of his family's church in Nazianzus while a permanent replacement could be found—the philosopher partaking of episcopal culture out of sheer filial obligation rather than any conviction that clerical office was the proper conduit through which his spiritual authority should flow—Gregory was naturally invited. But these letters proclaim that spiritual purity can be found only in the tranquility that comes with distance from the councils where bishops gather to duke it out. With an almost palpable sense of resignation, he writes to Victor, "There is again a synod, again a fight" (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 133.3), and to Modarius that the bishops "come together often but find no limit to their vices, always compounding troubles with further troubles for an increase in shame, something that even you know" (*Ep.* 136.4). He happily proclaims that he practices "philosophy in tranquility" while beseeching Sophronius to "direct all your effort now, even if you haven't previously, toward creating harmony and bringing the wickedly divided sections of the world into unanimity, especially once you understand that the divisions are over not a point of faith but their own pettiness" (*Ep.* 135.1, 3). Earlier in his career, Gregory would have seen the spiritual rejuvenation offered by temporary retreats as endowing the philosopher with a protective purity, but in the wake of Constantinople, the escape was the end in itself.

Yet even though Gregory temporarily resumed the episcopacy of his hometown in the spring of 382, his experience in Constantinople compelled him to undertake ascetic purification less as a preparatory instrument than as a purgative one. This is the theme running through the silence cluster, discussed in chapter 2. For the forty days immediately preceding his return to church office on Easter Day 382, Gregory abstained from speech. A series of twelve letters to five addressees justify his adoption of the novel practice and elaborate on its spiritual benefits.[92] One letter to Cledonius defines it as "moderation in words and quietude [that] tames the unspeaking but self-consumed heart" (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 107), and another letter presents the overarching goal: "I maintain quietude in my speech while learning to speak what is necessary, and I'm training myself to prevail over the passions. If anyone accepts this, good for them! If not, yet another benefit of quietude is not having to respond to the masses" (*Ep.* 108). To the monk Eugenius, he compared the Lenten silence to fasting: "You practice philosophy with isolation and thus with immoderate fasting, but I do so with quietude. Let's share the gift with each other. Whenever it is that we come together, let's sing to God together and produce just as eloquent a quietude as inspired a word" (*Ep.* 111). The season's significance added further gravity to the ascetic activity: "When I was fasting, I put my tongue to death with Christ, and I raised it up with his resurrection. To me, this is the mystery of quietude, that I may offer the sacrifice of purified speech in the same way that I offered the sacrifice of an unspeaking mind" (*Ep.* 119). Gregory aligned his silence with the holy calendar so that the resurrection of his logoi would occur simultaneously with that of the Logos, on Easter Day. With this flushing out of any toxic remnants that Constantinople had left behind in his soul, the collection presents his divorce from the city as final: he is Gregory of Nazianzus, not Gregory of Constantinople.

The collection now locates his philosophical authority outside clerical office and within himself. No longer must he hold up a clerical position to assert himself, and no longer is a church-attending, sermon-hearing, and Eucharist-partaking congregation the beneficiary of his philosophy. His specialness, the collection implies, lies in his distinct grouping of characteristics. He deploys philosophical *parrhēsia* to correct an addressee's behavior or to make a request of an addressee; he advertises the bravery and self-control with which he endures a litany of hardships for the sake of God and the good; he makes frequent appeal to justice and sympathy, as well as a general sense of virtue and philosophy, to draw addressees into acting on his behalf; he demonstrates technical expertise not through theological exposition but through direct engagement with the Christian scriptures, the very source of knowledge of the divine; he identifies the social trajectory of the philosophical job, ever advocating for others—namely, his city and province and the cast of friends, colleagues, and family members that constitute his addressees and couriers; and finally, he constructs his authority in opposition to hoi polloi, the undisciplined masses who fall prey to passionate whims and impulses. He is a wizened teacher of all (even in letters that date to the beginning of his professional career), whose personal experience with virtue and vice alike permits him to counsel one addressee at a time with eloquence and learning as well as wisdom and compassion.

The telltale marker of the late antique philosopher was *parrhēsia*, often translated as "frankness" or "license" and connoting the ability to speak honest and unvarnished truth to powerful individuals with no regard for the potential fallout. Gregory inscribes it into his collection in letters to fellow bishops, provincial elites, government officials, and of course Nicobulus's Caesarean educators. While doing so, he enlists the epistolary genre's various types into his agenda, those subgenres discussed in the previous chapter that contribute to a broad claim about Gregory's education and eloquence. They also establish an important dynamic between letter writer and addressee and, by extension, between the entire collection's author and its readers: the paraenetic letters and censuring letters, like a virtuous teacher with his students, employ *parrhēsia* to guide addressees to the right course of action, whereas requesting letters employ it to draw their addressees into performing virtuous acts while shoring up Gregory's authority as the person who motivated them to do so. For example, in a paraenetic letter to a young Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus establishes his philosophical *parrhēsia* on the basis that all Christians are friends and thereby argues against the former taking up a career as a professional rhetor: “Why shouldn’t you hear from me with frankness what everyone whispers?” (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 11.2). Similarly, in a letter that mixes elements of the requesting, advising, and exhorting types to Eusebius of Caesarea (Basil’s predecessor), Gregory confronts an episcopal superior, begging him to “accept my frankness, or you’ll no doubt do a disservice to the truth” (*Ep.* 16.2), if he doesn’t follow Gregory’s advice to make amends with Basil. A darker turn comes in a letter to Adelphius, where Gregory demands, in a stinging censure, that his addressee “accept my frankness” in the face of the “moral blindness” that brought about “the defilement and rape of these women, virgins, whom you and your parents consecrated to God . . . detaining some and terrifying others by convincing them of the same fate” (*Ep.* 206.1, 4, 9). He even deploys *parrhēsia* in letters pertaining to the sophistic contest between Eustochius and Stagirius over Nicobulus’s education (*Ep.* 190.1, 192.1). He makes this clever assertion on two counts, first stressing his philosophical authority by claiming *parrhēsia* with each addressee in the letters to them and then publicizing that claim to all the collection’s readers by including these letters.[93]

Late antique elites regarded philosophical *parrhēsia* as a reward for living a life of virtue, earned for exercising *karteria* (endurance) in the face of vice and hardship. As with Gregory’s *parrhēsia*, the collection enlists multiple epistolary types, specifically didactic, consoling, encouraging, and paraenetic, to convey his *karteria*. For example, he pushes Sacerdos to tolerate unspecified hardships with philosophical steadfastness: “If you didn’t expect any difficulty when you began to approach philosophy, your starting point was unphilosophical and I blame those who molded you. But if you did expect difficulty but didn’t encounter any, thanks be to God! If you did encounter it, you should suffer it with endurance or know that you’re failing in your performance” (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 213). Endurance keeps the soul steady in the midst of flux, a theme to which Gregory returns at several points in the collection. He praises Gregory of Nyssa for maintaining “endurance and philosophy that you practice . . . at the passing of our holy and blessed sister” (*Ep.* 197.2), and Eusebius of Samosata for being a “model of endurance in the midst of sufferings” (*Ep.* 66.1). Yet the collection reserves its highest praise for its own author. Gregory casually boasts to his friend Philagrius that “I feel pain in the disease, and I’m glad, not because I feel pain but because I’m a teacher of endurance to others. Since I cannot not suffer, from my suffering I’ve at least sneaked away with this: forbearance and thanksgiving as much in joy as in pain, since I’m convinced that none of my efforts are lacking in reason—even if it might seem so to me—next to Reason” (*Ep.* 36). In a letter to Theodore written after the attack on the Anastasia in 380, Gregory even connects endurance with divinization: “I think that it’s a great thing to exact justice from those who acted unjustly. I say a great thing (for it's even beneficial for the correction of others), but much better than this, and more godlike, is the endurance of sufferings. For while the former curbs vice, the latter persuades people to be kind, which is far better and more wholesome than simply not being vicious" (*Ep.* 77.5).[94]

In addition to epistolary types, the collection conscripts the epistolary convention of relating personal details, particularly of illness and bodily hardship, into Gregory's self-presentational agenda. Related to his claims of being a teacher of endurance to others are a host of lamentations about ill health—often the cause of the suffering to be endured—which partake of a late antique epistolary trope but also surpass their role as generic indicators and offer Gregory opportunities to theorize his own or his addressee's illness for its ascetic possibilities, and thereby to play the philosopher. The Philagrius dossier illustrates this practice. One letter moves from friendly discourse to a focused discussion of the addressee's challenges: "How is your body holding up? Or do you give it too little account, obviously, to know how it holds up? Concerning your soul, I won't ask how it is. For I know that it's also doing quite well, given that you are philosophically bearing your body's sufferings with valiance, welcoming the situation as a test of your virtue and not just an inconsistent movement of material existence, so that suffering is more blessed for you than health is for others" (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 92.1). Illness and hardship bring human temporality and materiality to the forefront of one's thoughts and then, if considered properly, direct the mind to what is truly eternal. In another letter, Gregory advises Philagrius that

> you ought to act philosophically in your suffering, to cleanse your faculty of thought now more than ever, to appear better than your shackles, to regard the disease as an opportunity for training in what's profitable (that is, despising the body and bodily things as well as destroying every flux and tumult), to wholly belong to the upper part, and to live for the future instead of the present, treating life here as practice for death—this is what Plato says [*Phd.* 81a; *Grg.* 493a]—and, as much as possible, releasing the soul from the body, or tomb, to speak like him [Pl., *Cra.* 400c]. (*Ep.* 31.3–4)

Illness is a chance to dramatically contrast the human and divine natures, and should Philagrius need help in realizing this, another letter advises, he ought to look to philosophers like Anaxarchus, Epictetus, and Socrates or perhaps even the biblical Job for models of transforming infirmity into "the stuff of virtue" (*Ep.* 32.8–12, 14). Gregory's advice, of course, comes from personal experience, as other letters in the collection show. The connection that he draws for Adelphius between "illness and spiritual leisure" (*Ep.* 205.1), for instance, or between physical infirmity and "succeeding in godly affairs" and "philosophical practice" (*Ep.* 194.2) intimates that Gregory performs at an elite level during illness. While not unique to the fourth century, the collection's lionization of illness stands in a late antique cultural vanguard in which ascetic writers saw it not as a blight on an otherwise holy body but as a condition to be incorporated into philosophical practice.[95] Still, consistently presenting illness as an unproblematic exercise in divorcing the soul from the vicissitudes of the body makes Gregory stand out from his contemporaries, as does his doing so within the intimate genre of letters rather than within impersonal monastic rules or hagiography.

In letters of consolation, sympathy, encouragement, and exhortation, Gregory pushes his addressees to use any hardship, not just poor health, to their philosophical advantage. Consoling letters frame grief as a philosophical exercise: Gregory of Nyssa is praised for maintaining philosophical composure in the wake of his wife Theosebia's death (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 197.2)[96] and held up, following Basil's death, as "an exemplar of philosophy and something like a spiritual benchmark of self-composure in good times and endurance in grievous ones, since philosophy knows how to manage these two things, success with moderation and misfortune with grace" (*Ep.* 76.4). Gregory also noted to Thecla, after her brother Sacerdos died, that grief offers an especially good opportunity to "juxtapose present distresses to future pleasures" and to "discover that the former aren't even a fraction of the latter"; in fact, philosophical focus on God acts as a "soothing drug" (*Ep.* 223.5, 6).[97] He admonishes Stagirius—one of Nicobulus's educators and among the collection's initial readership—for being "unphilosophical in the face of suffering" (*Ep.* 165.1). Sorrow and humiliation, Gregory advises, should be endured with a noble spirit, "since the Word makes me even more exalted than the present times and convinces me that they're fleeting, like shadows [Col 2:17; Heb 8:5] and riddles [1 Cor 13:12], and that I should consider neither sadness nor glee as truth, but live elsewhere and keep my gaze over there, and know that vice is the only cause of sadness, and virtue, as well as appropriation to God [cf. Pl., *Resp.* 10.631b; *Tht.* 176b], the only cause of gladness" (*Ep.* 165.8). Similarly, in another letter to Thecla, he says that she should regard "the causes of your distress . . . as an opportunity for the highest philosophy" (*Ep.* 56.3). Any difficult situation, really, offers a chance to fight passions, cultivate dissociation from corporeal and social existence, master the practice of endurance, and thereby become godlike.

The collection showcases not only Gregory's *parrhēsia*, earned through the cultivation of *karteria*, as a mark of his philosophical status, but also his virtuous motivation for engaging in society through letters. In the epistolary types that most populate the collection, interceding letters and recommending letters pin their persuasive effectiveness to Gregory's incessant concern for virtue, justice, compassion, and philosophy in general. For instance, to the Cappadocian magistrate Lollianus, Gregory recommended his cousins Helladius and Eulalius on the basis of "the height of their philosophy" (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 15.6), expecting the addressee to guide the couriers wherever they needed to go. Similarly, he recommended his protégé Sacerdos to Palladius "as a genuine practitioner of philosophy and someone united with God through his way of life" (*Ep.* 170.2). Because other letters in the collection reveal Sacerdos to be an ascetic, *philosophy* here is likely an indicator of the courier's religious lifestyle, but this letter depends on Palladius responding properly at the mere mention of Sacerdos's philosophical disposition. Interceding letters, on the other hand, rely on Gregory's ability to spot injustice in the world and to alert those who have the legal power to rectify it. One such letter, on behalf of Amphilochius, addressed to the same Themistius discussed at the beginning of this chapter, appeals to the fact that, as a "philosophical man," Themistius must take offense at Amphilochius's "having legal troubles despite doing nothing wrong." Indeed, Themistius can practice no "better philosophy . . . than now joining us in the fight for a just outcome" (*Ep.* 24.2, 6). Whether or not Gregory identifies his addressees as fellow philosophers so blatantly as he does with Themistius, he frequently encourages many of them to accept his intercession on the basis of mutual respect and shared appreciation for justice.[98] His appeals to virtue operate similarly. For example, Gregory writes on behalf of Nicobulus the Elder to Africanus, stating that, as "a supporter of virtue and an opponent of vice"—indeed, a "master in virtue"!—the addressee will hear "a formal defense" concerning an unspecified problem from "Nicobulus, by my lights the most honorable in all respects" and "trustworthy" (*Ep.* 224.3, 4, 5). Gregory's silence on the particular problem indicates that the details are unimportant, at least from the perspective of the collection. What matters is that Gregory plays the philosopher, propping up virtue in others and stamping out injustice in the world around him.

The collection makes one final push in establishing Gregory's philosophical expertise by showcasing his ability to navigate the Christian scriptures and incorporate them into his epistolary discourse, much as he did with the classical texts discussed in the previous chapter. Gregory's understanding of the divine and his ability to convey the fruits of that knowledge to his addressees sprang from his engagement with the textual sources of that knowledge. Perhaps contrary to expectation, he does not demonstrate his philosophical mastery through theological argumentation or exposition in the collection; consequently, he relegates to a low tier on his philosophical résumé the issues of Christological and Trinitarian orthodoxy for which he became famous thanks to the later popularity of the "theological orations" (the anti-Eunomian Gr. Naz., *Or.* 27–31) and "Christological letters" (the anti-Apollinarian and anti-Diodorean *Ep.* 101–2, 202, which were likely excluded from the collection). Indeed, theological statements and arguments appear only in a social context, such as when Gregory encourages Basil to issue a public statement on the Spirit's divinity (*Ep.* 58) or solicits the help of Governor Olympius (*Ep.* 125) or Bishop Theodore of Tyana in dealing with unspecified misdeeds of Apollinarians (*Ep.* 152). Instead of theological exposition, then, it is engagement with and appropriation of scriptural texts that contribute most fulsomely to his philosophical identity in the collection. Quotations from and allusions to the Old and New Testaments abound in meaningful ways that amount to something like a scripturalization of Gregory's epistolary discourse. Much as late antique hagiographers typologically collapsed the distinction between present and past by positively equating their subjects with biblical figures,[99] Gregory drew on biblical models to provide his addressees with scripted roles to play, particularly in his paraenetic letters. For instance, in one letter he starts with the homonymic similarity of Basil and Bezalel, the wise designer of the tabernacle mentioned at Exodus 31:1–5, and from there builds out a resemblance of character. As "the sage architect of strong arguments and teachings" (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 19.6), Basil was the new Bezalel; as Bezalel was filled with God's spirit, so too was Basil; as Bezalel was charged with crafting a residence for the presence of God with gold, silver, and bronze, so too was Basil, but with the strength of his arguments against the coming Homoians. The comparison need not be explicit. In a letter written in the context of Basil's conflict with Anthimus of Tyana, he likens the latter to the Amalekites, Israel's enemy in Exodus 17:8–13 (*Ep.* 48.7). Of course, this negative portrayal of Anthimus implicitly puts Basil in a positive light, as either Moses, who led the Israelites against the Amalekites, or Joshua, whose efforts were decisive in their defeat.[100]

The collection also shows how scriptural language might be conscripted into the task of persuasion in commanding, paraenetic, and praising letters. This technique is subtler than typological comparison. Consider the opening of a letter to Eusebius of Samosata, whom Gregory praises with a string of scriptural quotations and a typological comparison to Christ in return for his efforts in getting Basil elected to the Caesarean see:

> Where will I begin your encomiums? And what is the proper name by which I should address you? Pillar and bulwark of the church [1 Tim 3:15]? A star in the world [Phil 2:15], to use the same phrases as the apostle? The crown of boasting [1 Thess 2:19] for the portion of Christians that is saved? God's gift [John 4:10]? Your homeland's support? Canon of faith? Ambassador for truth? All of these together and more? Let me also corroborate my excess of praises with things that were seen. What timely rain came like this to a thirsting earth [Ps 146:8; Job 5:10]? What kind of water flowed out of a stone to those in the desert [Exod 17:6–7]? What great bread of angels did a human being eat [Ps 77:25]? As they were being submerged at a critical time, did our common lord Jesus appear to any of his disciples to tame the sea and rescue those in danger [Matt 8:24–26] in the same way that you appeared to us, who were worn out, dejected, already shipwrecked? (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 44.1–3)

The letter further praises Eusebius as a biblical miracle worker, whose beneficiary is Gregory himself (*Ep.* 44.5, referencing Ps 102:5, Matt 9:2–7, and 1 Kgs 2:4). While it does make one vague but explicit allusion to the apostle Paul, this letter predominantly uses scriptural language as Gregory's own, with no citation, attribution, or even alert to the reader of a switch in voice from Gregory's to that of the scriptures (for instance, with the phrase "as it is written" or "as divine scripture says").[101] Certainly, Eusebius would have been expected to pick up on the references, and the effect of Gregory's seamless weaving of the scriptures into his own discourse is the simultaneous sanctification of his praise and exaltation of his addressee.[102]

Scripturalization conflates not only Gregory's language with that of biblical texts but also his authorial identity with important figures in them. Trying to soothe the distress of Amphilochius of Iconium's father (also Gregory's uncle) at his son's appointment to the episcopate, Gregory used Paul's words in a way that frames himself as the apostle to his younger cousin's Titus (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 63.3). With Theotecnus, who wanted to take legal action against the attackers of the Anastasia on Easter Day 380, Gregory positioned himself as Christ by quoting Matt 18:35, again without citation, and advising his friend to hold out forgiveness to their opponents (*Ep.* 78.5). Elsewhere, he compares his refusal to participate in the Council of Constantinople during the summer of 382 to Jonah's self-sacrificial plunge into the sea, suggesting that his presence would only stir up further political difficulties (*Ep.* 135.4). Finally, Gregory learned from the example of the priest Eli, whom God rebuked for not properly chiding his sons for their impiety, that he should object to any evil that he observed in his addressee Adelphius (*Ep.* 206.2). He also compared himself to past holy men like David and Isaiah's "suffering servant" and scripturalized the negative experiences he had to endure to achieve his status as philosopher.[103]

This kind of scriptural intertextuality contributes to the broad portrait that Gregory paints of himself as a philosopher by tapping into a current that runs through many early Christian literary genres. Such intertextuality transcends mere ornamentation and grafts a holy authority onto a writer's words by magnifying the subject matter, be it ethical advice, a character sketch, praise, a request, consolation, or the like.[104] Biblical allusions bridge the textual gulf that lies between the scriptural past and Gregory's epistolary present to such an extent that the reader, without precise and intimate knowledge of both literary sources, cannot tell which words are the Spirit's and which are Gregory's—they are now univocal and constitute a single text. Only the true philosopher is so steeped in the sources of divine knowledge that he can unite the Logos with his epistolary logoi.

CONCLUSION

Gregory's performance of the philosopher's role occurred not in isolation but in a society that, he believed, would glean some advantage from his cultivation of virtue. As noted earlier in this chapter, the beneficiaries of his work before his return to Cappadocia in the summer of 381 were his congregations in Nazianzus and Constantinople. In texts composed after his return, however, he begins to inscribe his identity in new ways. His philosophical authority was his own, but the legitimacy of that claim rested on his ability to personalize the philosopher's obligations as well, for the holder of that role bore social influence and relevance only to the extent that he spread virtue and enabled people to attain *theōsis*. Indeed, the collection makes this precise argument by identifying the recipients of Gregory's expertise as the family members, colleagues, and friends who make up the roster of addressees and couriers. The logic, it turns out, is quite consistent with Gregory's notion of the philosophical middle ground between isolation and action. Whereas earlier in his career he could summon the philosophical purity required to foster virtue and *theōsis* only by physically removing himself from his company and congregation (a much-criticized practice), the collection reveals a more efficient method of virtue cultivation. Gregory's letters were a reliable form of communication, with which, according to the genre's conventions, he could share his authentic soul, despite any amount of physical separation from the addressee. In the abstract, letters have unlimited range; his addressees lived in Cappadocian villages, Caesarea, Antioch, Constantinople, and even Caucasian Iberia. While individual letters had an audience of only the addressee, the courier, and whoever might have been with the addressee at the letter's reception, their aggregation into a unified collection guaranteed a broader readership and consequently further dissemination of virtue.

Late antique Roman society lionized the philosopher as a beacon of virtue and truth-telling, someone who could communicate divine will to the populace. For a person like Gregory, it is perhaps natural that such an identity would be attractive. But at the same time, this identity was malleable and subject to redefinition: its possessor determined its meaning, and its legitimacy rested on the consent of others. The collection shows both of these facets. By placing so many letters that claim philosophical authority in concert, Gregory made an autobiographical assertion about who he believed himself to be at the time of editing them. Moreover, by repeating that claim with so many addressees, he built a case that others had already accepted its legitimacy. The collection argues that Gregory had always been, and was believed by others to be, a freelance advocate for virtue; that the church's leaders had always expelled true philosophers and embraced those motivated by self-interest and partisanship; that deep-seated episcopal corruption had always hampered the widespread divinization of humanity. In late 383 or early 384, as he had been in the 360s and 370s, so the collection claims, Gregory was still the philosopher whose work benefited his immediate social circles, through his teaching of how to endure hardship and cultivate virtue and his fighting for justice at the local level.

We should conclude with a consideration of a didactic letter written to an otherwise unknown woman named Basilissa, the sister of George (another addressee in the collection) and presumably an ascetic living in a community with others. It strings together a long series of "reminders of what I often said and what you continuously practice" (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 244.1), one maxim after another on the philosophical life. Basilissa should, among other things, "separate from your thought everything alien to virtue and unworthy of your judgment," "streamline your thinking," "rule over your thought processes," "practice self-control among delightful things and endurance among distressing ones," and "ask for self-sufficiency" (2–6). In addition to the psychological aspects of being a philosopher, Gregory advises her on the physical aspects of the philosopher's body: "Bring your way of life into rhythm with forbearance, your routine into rhythm with calm detachment, your tongue into rhythm with taciturnity. With these, adorn your head by covering it, your brow by keeping it restrained, your eyes by bowing them down and glancing about with decency, your mouth by not speaking improperly, your ears by listening to only serious matters, and your whole face with the hue of shame" (9). This letter does no rhetorical work to establish Gregory's authority aside from piling up one instruction on top of another, but it does operate in two ways that are important to the collection's self-presentational task. First, it infuses a pedagogical dynamic into the writer-addressee relationship: Gregory is teaching Basilissa how to be a better philosopher and providing her with an arsenal of maxims that she might keep for later reference. Second, this letter, along with the authorial presentation it constructs, gains meaning and substance from its thematic participation with other letters in the collection. Perhaps the letter with which the collection concludes, this one to Basilissa leans on everything that has come before it. Gregory curated and published his collection for particular readers in a distinct social context, using it to construct an individualized version of cultural authority, universally recognized among late antique elites, that manifested in *parrhēsia*, *karteria*, a keen sense of virtue, and proficiency in embedding the Christian scriptures in one's own discourse. With that authority and expertise, Gregory was now begetting more philosophers in his own image, like Basilissa, with such facility that all he had to do was string together philosophical truisms, knowing that each one was backed up by the rest of the collection.

5

“Basilist”

“Who will grant me the whole inhabited world as my stage, a voice louder than a trumpet?”[1] Basil asked this question in the opening lines of a forceful defense of his Trinitarian thought before a synodical audience in Caesarea, but the query was entirely rhetorical. He needed no one to elevate him, for here, near the end of his life, he had already invested tremendous resources into raising himself onto the world stage and amplifying his voice. His letters alone testify to this. He governed the churches of his native Cappadocia and influenced clerical consecrations in neighboring Pontus and Armenia. He corresponded with high-ranking imperial officials, who provided him with direct access to Emperor Valens, no friend to Basil’s pro-Nicene Christianity. He formed a broad coalition of bishops in Cappadocia, Pontus, Armenia, Syria, Egypt, Illyricum, Gaul, and Italy and joined prominent figures like Athanasius and Peter of Alexandria, Ascholius of Thessalonica, Meletius of Antioch, and Damasus of Rome in shaping its theological contours.[2] His predecessors in the Caesarean metropolitanate, Dianius and then Eusebius, had tended to avoid the controversies that defined Christianity in the fourth century, but Basil jumped into the fray, using his very real and self-made prestige to take a leadership role in the pro-Nicene movement in the late 360s and 370s.

The leading lights of the pro-Nicene community reciprocated Basil’s dedication, and after his death in September 378 or January 379,[3] his memory and legacy took on a spectacular eminence, a fact of which his little brother was well aware. Gregory of Nyssa’s relationship with his older brother was uneasy, perhaps even troubled. Basil had upbraided Nyssen’s “simplicity” and castigated him as an “unreliable agent” during a dustup with their uncle in 371 and a year later invited Eusebius of Samosata to Caesarea to help resolve “the actions directed against us by Gregory of Nyssa, who, in his naïveté, is convening synods in Ancyra and in no way desisting from plotting against us."[4] Even as late as the autumn of 375, Basil was still expressing doubts to members of his epistolary network about his brother's political effectiveness and communicative abilities.[5] Yet in the wake of his brother's death, Nyssen distinguished himself within the pro-Nicene community by championing the legacy of the very man who had publicized so many misgivings about him. His first such move came around Easter in 379, when he wrote *De opificio hominis* as a direct continuation of the famous *Hexaemeron,* a treatise authored by "Basil, our common father and teacher."[6] A year or so later, Nyssen told his surviving brother, Peter, that he "had inherited the controversy of Eunomius" from "our father"—that is, Basil—and consequently written his own *Contra Eunomium.*[7] Here he would disseminate in a new polemical context the theological vision of "Basil, that human being from God, the mouth of piety, he who, in his overabundance of spiritual treasures, often poured the grace of his wisdom into maleficent souls," and ensure that "he who simply remembers the great Basil fills his soul full of reverence and wonderment."[8]

Concurrent with this work in January 381 came another effort: Nyssen gave a memorial panegyric for Basil and in it called on Caesarea to inaugurate a feast day in his honor. The text bristles with the impersonal tone of a man always kept at a distance from his subject, but Nyssen nevertheless heaps praise on Basil because "he pursued a difficult and manly task instead of pleasures" and "he took satisfaction in poverty right from the start," which manifested in his virtuous devotion to the poor and unceasing battle against heresy. "He desired to approach God through purity," Nyssen wrote, "and his desire itself was a mountain." Basil's life and spiritual eminence rivaled those of John the Baptist and Paul the Apostle, the prophets Elijah and Samuel, and the great Moses himself, and for that he deserved commemoration in the liturgical calendar.[9] The consistency of these texts and the swiftness with which Nyssen published them betray both a confidence that he was ready to operate in a grander arena of theological conflict than his deceased brother ever allowed him to do and an acknowledgment that the surest way to do so was to align himself as closely as possible with Basil's legacy.

Nyssen's contemporaries made a similar estimation, as subtle but decisive evidence suggests. For his part, Amphilochius had enjoyed a special relationship with Basil,[10] who played an outsized role in getting him appointed to the episcopacy of Iconium in 374.[11] Basil testified to his "fatherly affection" for his "beloved child" Amphilochius[12] and frequently inscribed within their correspondence a father-son, or even teacher-disciple, dynamic. In one of the so-called canonical letters, which he wrote in 374 and 375 in response to a series of questions posed by the younger bishop, Basil praises Amphilochius's "devotion to learning as well as . . . humility" while emphasizing, in his own humble discourse, that it is he from whom Amphilochius will learn.[13] The apex of their spiritual father-son relationship, however, comes in a cluster of four letters written in 376 that condense "in a remarkable and unusual way [Basil's] theological position on almost every fundamental point he ever addressed."[14] These letters and the treatise *De spiritu sancto* constitute a compendium of Basil's theological and ecclesiastical vision, years in the making and bequeathed to the bishop of Iconium.[15] The meager number of Amphilochius's extant writings prevents us from determining whether or not he responded in kind to Basil's fatherly affection, but the *Epistula synodica* of 376 offers one indication that he embraced his role as protégé and tied his authority to Basil's legacy. Written soon after bishops had gathered in Iconium to discuss theological issues, it laments Basil's absence but nevertheless invokes his authority by publicizing Amphilochius's possession of a letter from him that specifically addresses the synod's discussion points. In other words, the letter suggests that Basil had trusted Amphilochius alone with his important response, and in turn, Amphilochius enthusiastically touted his partnership with Basil.[16]

Helladius of Caesarea, who played a role in the education of Gregory's great-nephew Nicobulus, also worked to align his position and authority with Basil's legacy. In September 382, Emperor Theodosius ordered the split of Cappadocia into Cappadocia Prima (with Caesarea as its metropolis) and Cappadocia Secunda (with Tyana as its metropolis), having previously revoked the division that Valens enacted a decade earlier.[17] Before the split, Helladius had enjoyed provincial supremacy as the bishop of the region's sole metropolitanate,[18] but afterward he perceived a threat to his standing, much the same as Basil had a decade earlier, when he vied against Anthimus to maintain the integrity of Caesarea's jurisdiction. Now, in 382, Helladius pitted himself against Theodore of Tyana in a feverish battle that became legendary.[19] Aligning his position with Basil's legacy would have been expected of Helladius, but one of Gregory of Nazianzus's letters reveals that Helladius did not possess exclusive claim over it. On Easter Day 383 (after the provincial split had occurred) Gregory sent Theodore a copy of his *Philocalia,* a volume that he described as "a reminder of me, and also one of the holy Basil" (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 115.3). What Gregory held out was a "symbolic offer of Basil's legacy (insofar as it was in his keeping) to the bishop of Tyana," which amounted to both a prize given to Theodore and an admonition to Helladius that he should avoid any further attempts to pin his provincial authority to that legacy.[20] The irony must have hit Helladius hard; after all, it was he who had tried to establish a Basilian cohort of sorts by inviting Gregory to Caesarea in the first place, to deliver a three-years-late eulogy for Basil, and Gregory had backed Basil as the bishop of that city during the last division.[21]

By the early 380s, Nyssen, Amphilochius, and Helladius were not average bishops but prestigious figures specifically recognized by Emperor Theodosius as orthodox standard-bearers for their work during the Council of Constantinople in 381.[22] That each rallied around the pro-Nicene emblem of Basil's legacy reveals the cultural capital it offered to anyone who could legitimately claim to be an extension of the Cappadocian saint in some capacity. Gregory of Nazianzus, having resigned from the presidency of the very council that brought fame and prestige to these orthodox standard-bearers and having returned to his homeland, where they would exert enormous influence over ecclesiastical life and where his own standing was tenuous at best, knew it well. Beginning in the autumn of 381, Gregory published a series of texts, discussed below, that uphold Basil's unmatched preeminence, reveal an indelible friendship between the two of them, and graft that friendship onto Gregory's self-fashioned relevance, authority, and holiness in order to circulate a simple but adamant assertion: Gregory was the exclusive guardian of Basil's legacy. Thus whatever exaltation of Basil his contemporaries performed had the corollary effect of exalting Gregory—or so he wanted readers to believe. Of course, Nyssen, Amphilochius, and Helladius each had his own claim to Basil's legacy—as brother, protégé, and successor, respectively—all of which Gregory was certainly cognizant.[23] His own claim to Basil's legacy, then, should be understood in a competitive context, as a performance for his compatriots if not one made in opposition to their own.[24] However, Gregory had a far more difficult task, for his intimacy with Basil was unknown to the general public before late 381. Indeed, among Gregory's texts written before his departure from Constantinople, Basil can be found only in a short series of orations pertaining to the Sasima consecration in 372. But as he took stock of the moves made by the orthodox standard-bearers in the early 380s, Gregory began to articulate and publicize his own special, even incontestable, claim on Basil's legacy.

Gregory's self-designed letter collection is just such an articulation. It's one thing to develop a narrative of the past in autobiographical or panegyric discourse, whose apologetic and self-presentational currents his elite contemporaries would have noticed and possibly resisted, but it's another thing to compose a text that avoids narrative altogether and puts on a veneer of documentary historicity by including only previously written texts (letters). This is the genius of Gregory's collection: it offered him a literary tool to let the past speak for the present and purportedly prove his friendship with Basil. Here the reader encounters epistolary testimony of shared philosophical pursuits, equality in eloquence, similar career paths, and ultimately, as he tells Nicobulus at the beginning of the collection, how he and Basil were "linked with each other in every way" (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 52.2). The collection, moreover, expands on the efforts made by Gregory's other post-Constantinople texts to depict his undying friendship with Basil and simultaneously takes aim at other claimants to Basil's mantle. The dossiers of letters to Nyssen, Amphilochius, and Helladius feature prominently, and each highlights qualities in its addressee that Gregory no doubt intended to help diminish the force of their claims on Basil and bolster his own. With the collection, then, Gregory confronted the irrelevance that the new orthodox political order threatened him with by exalting his own status and prestige over and against those of these local luminaries through a spate of autobiographical texts and corroborating letters that exposed the details of a heretofore unknown friendship with Basil.

CONSTRUCTING A FRIENDSHIP

Basil’s importance to Gregory grew over time. The two had a history together in their shared education in Athens and later in provincial church life in Cappadocia, but their friendship became a definitive feature of Gregory’s authorial identity only late in his life, after he left Constantinople and returned to Cappadocia in the summer of 381. Just four texts of Gregory’s from before his departure from Constantinople mention Basil, all pertaining to Gregory’s consecration as the bishop of Sasima in the midst of Basil’s jurisdictional fight with Anthimus of Tyana (*Or.* 11, 12, 9, and 13, written, I believe, in that order). While scholars have traditionally interpreted this series as progressing from outraged rejection to resigned acceptance of Sasima,[25] it should probably be understood as moving from rejecting Sasima to accepting the auxiliary position in Nazianzus. Gregory initially refused to take up any church position at all, and specifically the episcopacy of Sasima, because that would violate the philosophical life he had set out for himself and Basil had abandoned. These orations level a slew of public accusations of bad behavior against Basil, which must be read in the context of Gregory’s feeling pushed into a position he had no obligation to fill. *Oratio* 13 shows the uncomfortable compromise that the two finally reached, whereby Gregory served as the coadjutor in his father’s church in Nazianzus. The series as a whole evinces not an idealized friendship that precipitously smashed against the wall of political reality so much as a subordinate negotiating with his superior, whom he happened to know from their schooling in Athens, over his proper role in the provincial church.

Oratio 11 chastises Basil for “leading [Gregory] from concealment into public life” and acting “unworthily of the Spirit in him.” The context here, of course, is the Sasima appointment, but Gregory’s defense of his “disobedience, as some might call it, or careful consideration, as I’ve convinced myself,” suggests that, in fact, he outright refused the position.[26] In doing so with such verve, though, he had boxed himself in: he would have to either perform a full and public volte-face with Basil, thereby vitiating his own integrity, or persuade Basil to find another, more satisfactory position for him. Fortunately for Gregory, the latter happened, and that position, as *Oratio* 12 relates, was in Nazianzus, where he “act[ed] as co-shepherd” to his father-bishop.[27] Gregory’s preference for Nazianzus over Sasima might be chalked up to his feeling beholden to the legal demands of patria potestas,[28] to his distaste for Sasima, to his saltiness at Basil’s fiat, to a feeling that it was better to serve as the coadjutor of a city than the bishop of a staging house, to a simple desire to be home, or to any combination of these. Whatever the reason, the deal satisfied him enough that he agreed to submit to the tyranny of "a father's old age and, to put it mildly, a friend's kindliness."[29] The flock in Nazianzus proved "more suitable than a strange and foreign one" in Sasima. In accepting the position, though, he drew lines between himself and his metropolitan by contrasting their leadership styles: "it's my custom to guide not by force or in a way that compels but in a way that solicits willing participation."[30] Basil was not present for *Oratio* 12, but he was for *Oratio* 9, when Gregory criticized his behavior in front of the attending congregation with increasing hostility:

> No offense, but you were a nicer person when we partook of the Word-less tradition as sheep than you are now when we partake of the spiritual tradition as shepherds. . . . I've got a bone to pick with my friend. . . . You of all people, Admirable Man, did something unspeakable to me, something truly unspeakable and incredible and, moreover, something previously unheard of in our relationship. We were not persuaded; we were forced [to accept the job]. How strange! How oddly everything has changed! How great the gap that has arisen between us! Would you have me attribute it to the throne or to the magnitude of grace?[31]

In this sole mention of their shared past, Gregory lingers on his denunciation of Basil's misstep after his consecration as coadjutor. Eventually the dust settled, albeit uneasily, as *Oratio* 13 shows, delivered at the consecration of Eulalius as the bishop of Doara.[32] Here Gregory voices support, but not unequivocally, for the increase of bishops in Basil's jurisdiction, which resulted in his own consecration: "I haven't come to dishonor the great shepherd who presides over the illustrious city; I acknowledge that he's honorable, I recognize him as its head, and I call him holy—but I've been wronged by him. May he only be devoted to his children and mindful of the entire church. I have worked toward the addition, not the subtraction, of his priests."[33] This final potshot, Gregory's utterance of a residual resentment while proclaiming his commitment to the political task at hand, signals a tense end to the drama, which itself is the end of Basil's appearance in Gregory's early writings.

The dynamic between Gregory and Basil here deserves a quick assessment, as much for what Gregory includes as for what he omits. As noted above, Basil's minimal presence in Gregory's texts written before 381 is accentuated by the outrage with which Gregory depicts him in these four orations dealing with the appointments to Sasima and Nazianzus. Gregory calls Basil a friend twice in this series,[34] but less to signal a storied relationship than to put into stark relief the injustice of Basil's action. The series neither hammers on the specialness of their friendship nor depicts Gregory's state of mind as crestfallen at its evident decay, as one of his post-Constantinople writings does. The single allusion to their educational past[35] neither signals any crucial aspect of Gregory's authorial identity nor performs any rhetorical heavy lifting aside from providing a brief justification of his shock at Basil's authoritarian turn.

Basil's almost categorical absence from Gregory's pre-381 corpus suggests that he did not become a prestige point for Gregory until after Gregory's return to Cappadocia. Conversations with Gregory of Nyssa, Amphilochius of Iconium, Helladius of Caesarea, and other pro-Nicene bishops in Constantinople would have made Gregory of Nazianzus acutely aware of just how much purchase a legitimate claim to Basil's legacy could offer him within the pro-Nicene community. While he was in Constantinople, though, between late 379 and mid-381, Gregory's standing and prestige came from his position at the center of imperial politics: he had open access to Emperor Theodosius and high-ranking imperial officials. Linking himself with Basil during those twenty months would have been unnecessary. But that prestige and standing vanished with his departure from the city, as did his relevance among the community of clergy who had ingratiated themselves at the upper echelons of church and empire. Gregory now stood on the sidelines, and the slew of autobiographical writings from subsequent months betray his keen sense of this.[36] From that point, as a way to assert his individualized identity and cultural authority—not as a member of the established church, an institution corrupted by badly behaving bishops, which he frequently lamented during this period[37]—he began commodifying his relationship with Basil. He devotes large chunks of his longest autobiographical poem to narrating the outlines of their friendship (*Carm.* 2.1.11), inscribes himself into the most crucial junctures of Basil's life in his three-years-late eulogy (*Or.* 43), memorializes the depth of their friendship in a series of pithy funeral poems (*Epig.* 2–11, 79), rewrites his past reaction to Basil's conflict with Anthimus and the consecration affair of 372 in a fictional retrospective (*Or.* 10), and finally curates the letter collection for Nicobulus to highlight the unflagging intimacy of his relationship with Basil despite the twists and turns of their professional careers. With the rich hues of concord, fidelity, affection, and shared devotion to spiritual ideals, Gregory depicts a friendship that other claimants to Basil's legacy in the early 380s could not match.

The project began with *Carmen* 2.1.11, Gregory's longest autobiographical poem, which addresses a Constantinopolitan audience in the autumn of 381[38] and writes Basil into Gregory's life at three important moments. First, it narrates with emotional detail their educational past, to which *Oratio* 9 alludes. Athens was the place where they fostered their bond to the point that

> in Greece, we became a famous duo.
> Everything was shared and our soul was one,
> bound in a separation of two bodies.[39]

Their solidarity found its basis in "God and our yearning for higher things," and consequently they became each other's closest confidants and spiritual partners.[40] The poem's second mention of Basil comes during the narrative of Gregory's ordination as a priest, which, though brief, further confirms the depth of their intimacy. The ordination was so sudden and unsettling that

I went to Pontus to apply to my pain
a godlike remedy of friends.
For there he was, ascetically training in communion with God,
concealed in a cloud like one of the ancient wise men.
It was Basil, who is now among the angels.
With him I was going to quell the distress in my heart.[41]

The relationship begun in Athens, Gregory suggests, had now taken on a therapeutic power, which could treat the distress of ordination. Basil ducks out of the narrative at this point, only to reemerge in his final scene as "another—far more domineering—father to me."[42] He had undergone a character transformation, it seems, and Gregory blamed him for letting his episcopal position carry him away from spiritual philosophy and toward petty political conflicts. Gregory bemoaned the situation:

What, then, happened to you? How was it that, so suddenly,
you cast me aside? Let it be wiped from this life,
the custom of friendship that reveres friends like this!
Yesterday we were lions, but today
I am a little ape. But even a lion is trivial to you.
At the risk of sounding smug, even if you looked at
all your friends like this, you shouldn't have done so with me,
who you used to celebrate in front of other friends,
before you were thrust over the clouds and held all things as beneath you.[43]

The event to which Gregory refers here is, of course, the Sasima appointment, which, within this poem, marks the end of the friendship:

So much for Athens and our shared toil in eloquence,
our life under the same roof and next to the same hearth;
one mind in both of us, not two—the admiration of Greece!
So much for the pledges to cast the world away
and to live a shared life for God,
donating our eloquence to the only-wise Word!
All has been scattered, thrown to the ground;
the winds carry off our old hopes.[44]

The poem's account of Gregory's consecration touches on the disappointment and outrage conveyed by the pre-Constantinople series of orations but enriches the trajectory of his relationship with Basil so that its tragic end cuts to the quick. The implicit claims about Basil and about Gregory himself are important because of the way that they counter those of Gregory's competitors in the early 380s (Nyssen, Amphilochius, and Helladius): Basil the bishop, with whom those competitors had aligned themselves, was a distortion of Basil the student, the philosopher, the lover of eloquence, and the sharer-of-souls with Gregory—truly the authentic Basil.

Later texts continue to insist that Gregory had unique access to Basil's spiritual life, while softening his criticism of the bishop's political turn in 372. *Oratio* 43 offers a selective biography of Basil that fully intertwines author and subject by inserting the former into every crucial moment of the latter's life, a point shrewdly noted by Neil McLynn.[45] The ascetic mentorship that Basil sought after he left Athens was but a substitute for his friendship with the now absent Gregory; Basil's conflict with his episcopal predecessor, Eusebius, features Gregory as a close adviser; Basil's election to the Caesarean episcopate was made possible only by the decisive vote of Gregory's father; Gregory even had a view of Basil's confrontational exchange with Valens that no contemporary could claim; Gregory helped Basil to maintain the power of Caesarea's see in the jurisdictional conflict with Anthimus, of which his much-maligned appointment to Sasima was merely a by-product.[46] *Oratio* 43 drastically differs from both the early orations and *Carmen* 2.1.11 in its description of this last episode. In the eulogy, Basil's response to Anthimus was "great and admirable," for "he turned discord into an increase for the church . . . by packing his country with more bishops." His behavior upset Gregory, but only because of "his new attitude and doubt toward me," not his sheer effrontery.[47] Like a true friend, Gregory immediately comes to Basil's side: "If anyone would accept my defense of the man, it's this: his thinking existed on a higher plane than human concerns, and because he detached himself from them before he left this life, he did all things for the Spirit; knowing how to respect friendship, he esteemed it lightly only where God's honor had to take precedence and where he held the object of our hopes as more important than what was being let go."[48] The eulogy keeps silent about the cause of Basil's "new attitude and doubt" but nevertheless excuses it as a result of his concern for God's honor. After all, Gregory was the Barnabas to Basil's Paul.[49] Their concord continues as the text moves into other areas, unrelated to Basil's episcopal position. Better than anyone, Gregory knew the illnesses that Basil had endured, the expertise with which he had managed his charity hospital, and most important (especially in light of Nyssen and Amphilochius's efforts to fashion themselves as Basil's intellectual successors) the theological writings through which he expressed his views.[50] Gregory pointedly notes that their relationship did not stop at death: only a few days before he drafted the eulogy, Basil had appeared to him in a dream.[51] The closing lines directly address the now heavenly Basil and, as if an inviolable testimony, confess their equality and intimacy.[52] The audience listening to these claims of unity and affection consisted of Caesarea's civic leaders, among whom stood Helladius, who had invited Gregory to deliver *Oratio* 43 in an effort "to co-opt him, at least by implication, into a united 'Basilian' cohort."[53] Yet the details of a friendship heretofore unknown to this audience, amounting to an offering of "fresh relics of their sainted bishop, material for the hagiography being constructed in their collective imagination," signaled that Gregory intended to hold himself up as the proprietary manager of Basil's legacy.[54]

If *Oratio* 43 represents a shift in the public record, from resentment to defense of Basil's action, Gregory's *Epigrammata,* extant within the *Palatine Anthology,* erases any lingering tension altogether. These funerary laments belong to an arcane but well-defined literary genre from late antiquity,[55] and little is known about their provenance, publication, or intended audience. Eleven of these tightly crafted commemorations are specifically dedicated to Basil, who also appears in one that Gregory wrote for himself, in which he lists ten divine gifts that shaped the course of his life.[56] Each of these epigrams exalts Basil in different language—he is "the herald" and "the bond of glorious peace," the "one worthy high priest" of Gregory's time, the "great glory of Christ, the bulwark of the priestly order," the "great vaunt of Caesarea," the "living temple"[57]—but also treads the same path as *Carmen* 2.1.11 and *Oratio* 43 in its insistence on the two men's union. Basil is the soul to Gregory's body, "the friend . . . whom I loved with all my heart," the one with whom Gregory shared Athens and a "covenant . . . to lead the divine life."[58] Just as he notes at the end of his eulogy, Gregory here insists that his was the "voice that you [Basil] loved."[59] In such a literary context, Gregory should not be expected to comment, let alone dwell, on the provincial division that he earlier identified as the source of friction between the two, but these miniature eulogies construct an ineluctable harmony between them and ensure that Basil is remembered as much for his friendship with Gregory as for his career in the church.

Before he published the letter collection, Gregory wrote *Oratio* 10 in yet another attempt to showcase his union with Basil. While this text has traditionally been treated as a partner to *Oratio* 9 (given that it addresses the same situation), Justin Mossay has compellingly argued that it reads better as a retrospective piece written after Gregory left Constantinople.[60] Not only does Gregory's corpus include a precedent for an after-the-fact retelling of the past,[61] but *Oratio* 10's portrayal of Basil and Gregory's relationship also justifies Mossay's suggestion. *Oratio* 9's strident rebuke of Basil contrasts sharply with the far more conciliatory version of the Anthimus affair in *Oratio* 10. The Gregory of *Oratio* 10 has "a different attitude, with a more realistic outlook than [at] previous times," the result of an utter "change" in perspective. Basil will have his "eloquence as a fellow advocate. Indeed, it's already a pure feature of our friendship, as well as the Spirit within us."[62] Basil's imposition of consecration on Gregory made manifest his spiritual priorities rather than his descent into partisan conflict:

> Even though you hold me in higher regard than others, still, you hold the Spirit to be far more precious than me. . . . You were looking for a Barnabas to stand beside your Paul. You were looking for a Titus to stand beside your Silvanus or Timothy, so that your spiritual gift would run through those genuinely worried about you, and so that you would fulfill "the gospel from Jerusalem as far around as Illyricum" [Rom 15:22]. That's why you led me back to public life and took me, who was shunning it, and sat me next to you. This is the penalty, you might say, for my crime—you're making me a partner in your worries and your crowns.[63]

The self-presentational motifs here echo those of *Oratio* 43 and *Carmen* 2.1.11. Gregory is again the Barnabas to Basil's Paul, and the two shared the same spirit in a friendship built on mutual correction and edification, a point no doubt designed to counterbalance *Oratio* 9's rebuke. *Oratio* 10, then, should be understood as part of a late-in-life literary campaign by Gregory to align his identity with Basil's legacy by rewriting the past to correspond to the compositional present, to the way that Gregory wanted to remember it and wanted it to be remembered by others in the early 380s. The new Cappadocian political reality tempered any grievance Gregory may have held against Basil, leading him to reformulate his response to the Sasima appointment. Now, in 382 and 383, he presented his reaction as a swift capitulation to his friend's pragmatism, leadership, and vision of the church, with no remaining trace of his pre-381 indignation at Basil's tyrannical behavior.

"DOCUMENTING" A FRIENDSHIP

Published in the same tide of self-presentational activity as Gregory's *Oratio* 10, the letter collection uses techniques and strategies particular to its distinct literary structure and character. While his other post-Constantinople writings rely exclusively on Gregory's credibility as a narrator of the past, the letter collection purports to shun the apologetic context of biographical and autobiographical texts and to let the past speak for itself. Its rhetorical and self-presentational credibility rests on the hermeneutic with which late antique elites approached letters, as texts that offer readers a view of the writer's soul. Put differently, since late antique epistolary discourse endowed letters with the power to fully represent authors in absentia, an entire collection would ostensibly portray the author as he was across time. Here Gregory found a special opportunity to showcase his relationship with Basil in a way that his contemporaries could not have, or at least had not yet, done. He admits as much when he explains to Nicobulus why he has included Basil's letters in his own collection: "Since I've always preferred the great Basil to myself, even if the opposite would have seemed true to him, still now I prefer him because of the truth no less than because of our friendship. I therefore offer my epistles with his set down first. For I also desire that we be linked with each other in every way while simultaneously providing a model of measure and moderation to others" (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 53). Which letters of Basil's appeared in the original collection has been the subject of debate,[64] but the important points here are Gregory's acknowledgment of the operative editorial principle (demonstrating a union with Basil) and his gesture toward an intended but unnamed broader audience (the "others" who stand to benefit from the model of this friendship). This book has consistently maintained that Gregory's selecting, organizing, and perhaps even editing the letters within the collection constituted an act of authorship in and of itself. What he created was not a benign anthology but a coherent and unified autobiographical writing that uses a series of interconnected first-person texts to substantiate his claim—made in the early 380s—of unmatched intimacy and frank honesty with Basil. Read in the context of the collection's publication, the portrait of their relationship to which the individual letters bear witness elaborates upon and corroborates the portrait of their relationship found in *Carmen* 2.1.11, *Orationes* 10 and 43, and the *Epigrammata*.

The Basil Dossier

The variation among the manuscript families prevents any certainty as to Gregory's original arrangement of the Basil dossier,[65] and therefore any observation on narrative progression vis-à-vis the relationship between the two men would be off base. Rather, our analysis should focus on the self-presentational content therein. Some letters in the Basil dossier can be interpreted on their own, with no reference to others in the collection, while others are understandable because Basil's initial letters or responses to Gregory survive in his collection. Most of the letters in the Basil dossier—both the twenty addressed to Basil and the six addressed to others—are part of coherent epistolary series, each of which pertains to a particular event, pursuit, or theme.[66] Remarkably, each of these letters develops and fills in the gaps of episodes, pursuits, and the general relationship between the two men described in Gregory's other post-Constantinople writings. One of the collection's most laconic letters, which cryptically declares, "The mime, as you style him, but a reverent man, as I do, asked me to write to you so that he would be clearly heard" (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 245), and is answered by Basil with an equally cryptic "He who in our sight is a mimic actor, but in yours a pious man, having come to us on a propitious and brilliant day, has departed in a manner truly befitting a god,"[67] signals little aside from the fact that they knew each other so well that they could communicate in epistolary code and understand each other flawlessly. Even *Epistula* 8, which provides one of only two witnesses in all of Gregory's corpus to their contemporaneous ordination into the priesthood, should be understood in line with Gregory's other post-Constantinople efforts to intertwine the two men's lives as much as possible.[68] Indeed, whether Gregory wrote this letter as a retrospective fiction when he was putting the collection together remains an open question, for why, if he and Basil had undergone ordination around the same time, would his expansive autobiographical poem and eulogy fail to mention this unique bond? Whatever the answer, *Epistula* 8 stands as a reminder that all the letters in the Basil dossier, regardless of the historical situation they purport to address, testify to the authorial situation of Gregory as editor, not Gregory as epistolographer.

One series discloses the beginning of their friendship as an ascetic partnership outside the structures of church leadership (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 1–2, 4–6). Basil's early days in monastic experimentation were well known in the early 380s, but this series, featuring letters that alternate between mocking the wretched conditions of

Basil's retreat and expressing an earnest appreciation for their partnership, offers a different view and explains Gregory's inability, due to familial exigencies, to join Basil's full-time ascetic retreat. *Epistula* 1 establishes for readers the parameters of their relationship—its origins in eloquent Athens, its relocation to philosophical Pontus, and its continuation in Cappadocia despite the constraints of patria potestas—and touches on the dynamic features of shared honor, friendship, and equality that appear throughout the dossier. *Epistulae* 2, 4, 5, and 6 reveal the freedom that allowed Gregory to make fun of "your [Basil's] Pontus and Pontic burrow" (*Ep.* 4.3). The first offers a tongue-in-cheek mockery of the "luxury and wealth" of Basil's ascetic property (*Ep.* 2.3), while the next two are point-by-point responses to the portrait of idyllic retreat in Basil's *Epistula* 14. Lest the collection's readers think that Gregory regards Basil's solemn retreat too casually, he includes a far more respectful letter, which honors the location for its philosophical benefits and devotional opportunities and ends with a succinct exclamation about the men's intimacy: "Oh, may I breathe you in more than the air! I live only when I'm with you, either in person or, if I'm absent, in my thoughts" (*Ep.* 6.8). Subtler attestations show Basil to have been just as reverent of Gregory as Gregory was of him. It was Gregory who had to assure Basil that the two would live out an ascetic partnership, implying that Basil had yearned for that guarantee (*Ep.* 1.1). Similarly, Basil "summoned [Gregory] from Cappadocia" (*Ep.* 5.2), inviting him to Pontus in an attempt to "draw me to yourself, like those who dam up streams to draw them in a different direction. Your words are always like this to me" (*Ep.* 4.2).

Such affirmations of their early friendship emphasize the mutual attraction and relational equality between the two men and thus flesh out the skeletal accounts of this period in other post-Constantinople writings. The first comes in *Carmen* 2.1.11, likely written in the late summer or autumn of 381, which discusses the beginning of their friendship in Athens in only the briefest of terms, without mentioning their partnership. In fact, the poem lingers on Gregory's ascetic ventures after Athens without making any mention of Basil as part of those pursuits.[69] To be sure, Basil's retreat emerges later in the poem, but only as a haven to which Gregory flees while he mulls the weighty obligations of his ordination, not as a project in which he had made a sizable personal investment. The second comes in *Oratio* 43, written in January 382, which establishes a tighter connection between the two after Athens: "At our return [from Athens] . . . we quickly came into our own and matured from boys into men, progressing manfully in philosophy, no longer with each other [in body], for envy did not allow it, but with each other in yearning."[70] However, this eulogy notes their shared interest in asceticism but does not bring up any attempts to live the philosophical life together; it even injects physical distance between them by commenting on Basil's journeys to faraway regions while Gregory stayed behind in Cappadocia out of obligation to his parents. The letter collection, then, modifies these accounts: whereas *Carmen* 2.1.11 altogether divorces Gregory from Basil's ascetic project and *Oratio* 43 fleetingly highlights their shared ascetic intention, the collection makes Gregory an equal partner in Basil's posthumously famous project, even though familial demands prevented him from spending extensive time with Basil in retreat.

Several epistolary series portray the postordination friendship in a different light, with Gregory elevating himself to the status of Basil's principal adviser and ally. One features a single letter to Basil (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 19), then a priest, and three to Eusebius (*Ep.* 16–18), then the bishop of Caesarea, which pertain to a conflict between these two. The origin, nature, and resolution of the fight are unknown but ultimately irrelevant to the collection's self-presentational efforts.[71] Here Eusebius plays the tyrant to Basil's righteously indignant subordinate, with Gregory as the peace-seeking mediator. In his first letter to Eusebius, Gregory defends his friend: "I cannot abide by the insult that Your Reverence issued, and still issues, against my most honorable brother Basil, whom I have taken from the beginning, and still have now, as a partner in life, word, and the most exalted philosophical practice—and I could hardly fault myself for my judgment of him" (*Ep.* 16.4). Of course, readers of the collection in late 383 or early 384 would know that Gregory's defense of Basil was on point, and so Eusebius's reaction to the letter, evidenced in *Epistulae* 17 and 18, would appear to that audience as petty, focused as he was not on shepherding the illustrious church but on enhancing his own glory. *Epistula* 19, then, signals that Gregory had abandoned his efforts with the small-minded Eusebius and was now advising Basil to take it upon himself to initiate the peace, because "a cohort of heretics is ravaging the church" (*Ep.* 19.5). This triangular relationship permits Gregory to tacitly suggest that Basil's grievance against Eusebius, whatever its nature, was reasonable because of how unreasonably the bishop acted, and positions Gregory, who even volunteered to travel to Caesarea to help out in person, as the agent responsible for extracting his friend from an inconsequential fight with a trifling bishop and rousing him for the more important one against unnamed heretics.

Another series—comprising *Epistulae* 40, 45, and 46, addressed directly to Basil, plus 41 and 43, written in the persona of Gregory's father-bishop and addressed respectively to "The Church of Caesarea" and to "The Bishops"—tracks the friendship as it moved into the worldly politics of Basil's episcopal election. *Epistula* 40 narrates the context: Basil used the pretext of his imminent death to spur Gregory to travel to Caesarea, but upon realizing that this was a cover for securing a vote in the upcoming episcopal election, Gregory turned back and wrote this letter rebuking Basil for behavior unbecoming of "you and me, for whom word, life, and all things are shared, being joined together, as we are, by God from the beginning" (*Ep.* 40.4). That he ended up writing two letters in support of Basil's election (*Ep.* 41, 43) and that the friendship continues in subsequent letters indicates that this protest should be understood not as a sign of friction between the two but as an instance of the frank and honest speech (*parrhēsia*) that characterizes the late antique ideal of authentic friendship.[72] Gregory performs a similar act in *Epistula* 45 to bring back on track a relationship that has strayed from its original purity in ascetic philosophy. In *Epistula* 46, the final letter in the series, he confesses his devotion to the friendship while defending his absence from Basil's consecration:

> How can your affairs be small grapes to me, my divine and sacred captain? What kind of word escapes the fence of your teeth [*Il.* 4.350]? How have you been so bold as to say this (to be a bit bold myself)? How could your mind come up with the idea, or your ink write it, or your paper accept it? Eloquence! Athens! Virtues! The sweat produced by eloquence! Look, you're even turning me into a member of a tragic chorus by what you write! Are you ignorant of me or yourself—the eye of the world, the great voice and bugle [Isa 27:13; Matt 24:31], the palace[73] of eloquence? Are your concerns trivial to Gregory? By what could anyone upon the earth be awestruck if not Gregory by you? (*Ep.* 46.1–3)

A modern audience might be tempted to read this series as the beginning of the end of their friendship, but that is neither how Gregory's contemporaries would have read it nor why he included these letters in his collection. The act of confrontation itself reveals the depth of a friendship in which one equal partner could challenge the other to come to his senses.[74] The above-quoted finale to the series, responding to a nonextant letter from Basil, not only reminds the collection's readers that Gregory's affection for Basil was as strong as ever but also implies that Basil had felt the same way, for why would Gregory need to defend his loyalty if Basil had not first expressed his own and accused Gregory of thinking his affairs to be "small grapes"?

Here again, though, a comparison to the episode's narration in Gregory's eulogy for Basil offers insight into what the collection is trying to accomplish (*Carmen* 2.1.11 omits any mention of Basil's election). *Oratio* 43 depicts the turbulence caused by Eusebius's death and the conflict over the episcopacy without going into detail about the nature of that conflict but leaves out any hesitation Gregory may have felt about supporting Basil, and indeed, he affirms that his father provided the decisive vote for Basil's election.[75] While the epistolary series on this subject unveils a degree of heretofore unknown tension in the relationship, it ultimately inscribes Gregory's steadfast dedication to Basil, both in Gregory's epistolary discourse, which upholds the relationship and its history, and in the two letters written in the persona of Gregory the Elder. While the eulogy pinpoints the importance of Gregory's father-bishop to Basil's election, the letter collection brings the attention back to the younger Gregory by revealing that he not only supported Basil himself but also convinced his father to back him.

In the letter collection, Gregory's relentless advocacy for his friend continues through the conflict between Basil and Anthimus, which resulted in Gregory's surprise appointment as the bishop of Sasima (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 48–50). Like *Orationes* 10 and 43 but in contrast to the early series of orations that pertain to this episode and the initial attempt to construct the friendship in *Carmen* 2.1.11, these letters excuse Basil's actions as by-products of his preference for protecting God's honor over human friendship. The first letter in this series accuses "the throne of suddenly making you more exalted than me" (*Ep.* 48.2) while, in language strikingly similar to that of *Oratio* 10, affirming that "virtue and piety" more than "friendship and intimacy" had motivated Basil (*Ep.* 48.9). *Epistula* 49 continues the discursive similarity with *Oratio* 10 in describing Basil's reaction to Gregory: "You charge me with idleness and lethargy because I haven't taken hold of Sasima or conducted myself like a bishop" (*Ep.* 49.1). Finally, *Epistula* 50 narrates a scene in which Gregory urged Anthimus, who was paying him a visit to discuss "the provinces, Sasima, Limna, my own appointment," to back off his arguments that Gregory side with him and not Basil: "'Why are you including my city within your jurisdiction, since I reckon my church [in Caesarea] as truly and from long ago the mother of the churches?' He finally went away without success, after he huffed and puffed and prosecuted me for being a Basilist, as if it were Philippism [cf. D., *Or.* 18.294]" (*Ep.* 50.4, 5). This letter not only records Gregory's devotion to his friend but also narrates it as so convincing that Anthimus brushed him off as little more than Basil's partisan. Gregory's self-presentation is key to understanding this epistolary sequence: his accusation against Basil in the first letter and his self-defense in the second are acts of *parrhēsia*, not indications of a lasting riff between the two men. As in the series pertaining to Basil's consecration, the final letter confirms that, despite whatever tension might be perceived, Gregory's devotion to Basil was constant, here proved by the account of his confrontation with Anthimus.

Epistulae 58 and 59 are a remarkable pair of letters about Basil's public teaching on the Holy Spirit's divine status, which, more than any others in the dossier, put Gregory's authentic friendship with him on full display. In *Epistula* 58, Gregory fully proclaims the exclusivity of their intimacy: "Even if someone else is a praiser of your qualities, he is so either wholly alongside me or after me—so inferior am I to Your Reverence and so purely am I yours. And it's no surprise: where intimacy is greater, the experience is greater, and where experience is more abundant, the testimony is more complete" (*Ep.* 58.1). He then moves into narrative mode, as in *Epistula* 50, telling a story in which third parties attest to the strength of their friendship. It begins with Gregory attending a symposium where, "as usually happens," a public discussion about their friendship broke out because "everyone admires your qualities, and agrees that we practice philosophy equally, and speaks of our friendship, Athens, and our cooperation and concord in all things" (*Ep.* 58.4). In the midst of this apparently customary small talk, up jumped a monk to call out Basil's undercooked theology; he had "heard the great Basil speaking of the Father and Son as God excellently and perfectly, and as no one else could so easily.

But he brushed off the Spirit" (*Ep.* 58.7). After conspicuously recounting how the monk praised Gregory's own orthodoxy, Gregory launches into a full-fledged defense of Basil's "discretion" on such sensitive theological topics (*Ep.* 58.11), one that other attendees rejected on the grounds "that my discretion was more cowardice than strategic choice" (*Ep.* 58.12). "As the one who knows you and your interests better than everyone" (*Ep.* 58.15), he now comes to Basil in a letter seeking counsel. Basil's response is hardly hostile, but it does express regret that the two did not "live with each other according to our old promise," which would have secured a stronger partnership in the church and enabled them to stop such grumbling before it even started.[76] In the end, Basil encourages Gregory not to worry about petty complainers like the monk, yet Gregory presents his response to this letter as the last word, again inscribing their intimacy as so great that he can perceive Basil's true feelings underneath his epistolary discourse while frankly advising Basil to accept rather than condemn the guidance of trusted counselors. "My letter upset you," he writes, "but, let me say, neither rightly nor fairly but quite unnecessarily. And while you haven't confessed your dismay, you haven't concealed it either; if you did, you did so skillfully by veiling the appearance of dismay as if with a shameful mask" (*Ep.* 59.1–2). For readers of the collection as a unit, which may have included Basil's response to *Epistula* 58, here was another subtle demonstration of their special friendship: what might have come off as standard epistolary writing to most was a discursive veil for Basil's distress, which Gregory alone knew and which Basil felt comfortable communicating because of the unique character of their friendship. More broadly, though, this series casts Gregory as Basil's theological adviser and an advocate for Basil's public evasions on the subject of the Spirit's divinity in much the same way as *Oratio* 43, where Gregory defends Basil's terse statements by avowing that "he made the point more clearly in discussions with me, with whom he kept no secrets when conversing about these topics."[77] Basil even swore, Gregory reports, that he should be "spit out by the Spirit itself if he did not revere the Spirit as same-in-substance and equal-in-honor with the Father and Son."[78] Touching on the same claims about Basil that his recently published texts had made, Gregory used his collection to cast himself in a way that resonated with the concerns of his post-Constantinople literary campaign, as the orthodox rock on which Basil could stand because of their unmatched and exclusive intimacy.

That Basil's episcopal election did not sully the friendship is further testified by the remaining letters in the Basil dossier. *Epistula* 47 is an independent letter with no known compositional context except that Basil as bishop was the target of an unspecified insult, after which Gregory gave counsel and predicted that "my Basil will become especially distinguished, when the philosophy that you've collected for yourself at every stage of life will be put on full display and rise above the abuses like a high wave and remain unshaken while others quiver" (*Ep.* 47.2). At the letter's conclusion, he offers to pay Basil a personal visit so that they might "treat our being insulted together philosophically" (*Ep.* 47.3). Another letter, *Epistula* 60, reveals just how crucial Gregory's physical presence was to Basil personally and professionally. Aside from the reference to Basil as "Your Holiness" (*Ep.* 60.2), suggesting his episcopal status, and the mention of Gregory's mother's illness, which may date this letter to near her death in 374, the context is both unknown and unimportant to what the letter rhetorically performs in the service of the collection's authorial presentation. It divulges that Basil was distressed at Gregory's absence—"for at no time back then was I fleeing from your company; rather I always pursue it, and now I'm really yearning for it" (*Ep.* 60.1)—before mentioning that it was filial commitment to his ailing mother that kept Gregory away from Caesarea. Finally, a three-letter series (*Ep.* 246, 248, to Basil; 247, to Glycerius) dedicates no discourse to pointing out their friendship, as other letters do, but does reveal Gregory's loyal subordination as he tries to reel in a rogue deacon. Here he serves as Basil's eyes and ears in the rural areas far from Caesarea, seeking to impose uniformity on the provincial community and structures of authority. That the dates of these letters cannot be established, aside from a vague assignment to the years after 370, when Basil became bishop, indicates that the events they address were less important for Gregory as collection editor than what they say about him and his relationship with Basil.

The Basil dossier shows not an author clinging to the original spiritual purity of a friendship ultimately lost to the worldliness of church office but rather an author adapting the instruments of friendship—affection, humor, brutal honesty, willingness to be physically present when possible, mournful yearning when absent—to the changes that familial demands, professional success, shifting social dynamics, and new political realities inevitably brought. Gregory uses these letters to depict a friendship marked by constant and mutual devotion and shared dedication to the pursuits on which it was built. As the last chapter discussed, fashioning Gregory as a philosopher is one of the main goals of the collection's authorial agenda, which necessarily informs its presentation of his friendship with Basil. Gregory characterizes their early ascetic partnership as philosophical practice (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 1.1, 8.2) and emphasizes their philosophical friendship throughout the collection (*Ep.* 19.4, 58.4). He touts Basil's philosophical credentials (*Ep.* 16.4, 47.2) and his own (*Ep.* 40.6), to establish the equality of character that defined their friendship. Similarly, a shared devotion to eloquence—another prominent theme in the collection, as chapter 3 discussed—characterized their relationship, not simply at its beginning in Athens but throughout the career trajectories tracked by the collection. Allusions to classical literature and scriptural texts abound in the letters to Basil, especially *Epistulae* 4 and 5, where Gregory mocks his philosophical retreat, and appeals to their eloquent origins and the eloquence that serves as the basis of their shared elite status operate as part of the persuasive strategy of Gregory's *parrhēsia* (*Ep.* 46.2, 50.3). In this way, the collection's primary colors converge in the rosy portrait of the friendship with Basil: Gregory's expertise in eloquence and philosophy found its equal in Basil alone, Cappadocia's shining saint and Gregory's authentic friend.

Corroborating the Friendship within the Collection

Despite the collection's veneer of historicity, one can easily imagine Gregory, as he was designing it, anticipating potential suspicion that he was simply inventing a friendship with the now sainted luminary of Cappadocia out of whole cloth. After all, if *Orationes* 10 and 42 could be composed well after the events they purport to address, why not letters? Perhaps the incredulity of his imagined doubters might stand on less nefarious ground, the idea that their relationship was not as famous, and therefore not as important, as the Basil dossier made it out to be. Whatever the rationale, it cannot be coincidental that within the collection, six letters to five addressees, each with his own substantive dossier and each dossier being an important part of the "Basil cluster" discussed in chapter 2, mention Gregory's friendship with Basil. A letter to Amphilochius of Iconium requests that he send "the largest and finest vegetables," since "I'm welcoming the great Basil," whom Amphilochius has known "as a full-bellied philosopher" but not "hungry and grouchy"—a state that Gregory wishes to ward off, hence the vegetables (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 25.2). This playful letter confirms Gregory's intimacy with Basil to an individual within the collection and perhaps among the collection's readers. Additionally, two letters to Eusebius of Samosata demonstrate Gregory's support for Basil during his episcopal election: one nominates him (*Ep.* 42), and the other expresses gratitude for Eusebius's efforts to make Caesarea "shine even more, now that she has received a shepherd worthy of herself, his predecessors, and your hands" (*Ep.* 44.4). Although brief, these three letters provide crucial documentation of Gregory's loyalty to Basil. While Eusebius of Samosata had died, Amphilochius was very much alive when the collection was published and could therefore corroborate, at least in theory, the authenticity of his cousin's letter.

Three letters written after Basil had died work in a similar way. A consolation letter to Nyssen—probably written shortly after his brother Basil's death in early 379—responds to Gregory's learning the news. From the perspective of the collection's audience, it answers two looming and unresolved questions: why did Gregory not attend Basil's funeral if the two were so close as to share a single soul, and why did it take him three years to deliver a eulogy? Gregory was ill: "But as for me, because my body, still now, is in bad, even utterly critical, shape, I'm also robbed of this, among other things: rolling around in the holy dust, being present with you while you philosophize appropriate things, and consoling our mutual friends" (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 76.2). In this letter, he praises Nyssen for becoming "to everyone else . . . an exemplar of philosophy and something like a spiritual benchmark of self-composure in good times and endurance in grievous ones" (*Ep.* 76.4). While any legacy grab would have been inappropriate in a consoling letter, Gregory gracefully makes one self-presentational move by claiming that he is comforted by "your company and conversation, which, in the place of everything else, the blessed one [Basil] bequeathed to me, in order that I might think that I'm holding him as I observe his qualities in you, as if I were looking into a beautiful, pellucid mirror" (*Ep.* 76.5). Lionizing Nyssen as a reflection of his brother is an elegant compliment, but Gregory constructs an important triangular dynamic here: Basil has bequeathed Nyssen to Gregory, not the other way around. That Gregory was Basil's (spiritual) brother, the first in a line of succession to receive a (spiritual) inheritance from him, is also asserted by the second lament of his death that appears in the collection. Writing to his friend Philagrius soon after leaving Constantinople, Gregory complains of one misfortune after another: "You ask how my affairs are. They're quite bad. I don't have Basil, I don't have Caesarius—my spiritual brother, and my bodily one" (*Ep.* 80.1). The letter takes a morbid turn, concluding with a declaration that death is the only end to all his horrible experiences, but again, this letter, like the one to Nyssen, communicates Gregory's fraternal relationship with Basil to a third party within the collection and to the readers of the collection as a single autobiographical text. Finally, Gregory's letter to Theodore of Tyana written during the Paschal season that followed the split of Cappadocia in 382 accompanied a copy of the *Philocalia,* a volume that Gregory intended to serve as a memento of his union with Basil (*Ep.* 115.3).[79]

In these letters to Nyssen, Philagrius, and Theodore, just as in the three to Amphilochius and Eusebius of Samosata, Gregory performs a remarkable feat, bringing the collection to testify to the accuracy of its own assertions. For its part, the Basil dossier delineates the tenor of Gregory's relationship with his deceased friend, but these six letters offer internal testimony that he did not keep this relationship hidden and that it was not unimportant. In other words, these five men, at the very least, received letters that corroborate the existence and the depth of the friendship, one of whom (Nyssen) would have definitely come into contact with the collection, thanks to his relationship with one of Nicobulus's Caesarean educators (Stagirius), and three of whom (Amphilochius, Philagrius, and Theodore) may have been well enough connected to Gregory's literary network as to receive a copy of it even before it was published.

Prosopographical Links with Addressees in Basil's Letter Collection

Another striking feature of Gregory's plan to link himself with Basil is the degree to which the addressees in his collection correspond to those in Basil's. There are as many as eighteen identical addressees in this portion of the collection's "Basil cluster," who count for almost 20 percent of Gregory's total.[80] Many are luminaries of the church and government in Cappadocia and neighboring provinces, so their appearance in both collections may indicate little more than Gregory and Basil's common geographical context. Additionally, Gregory's consultation of Basil's collection to identify shared addressees cannot be established, since the publication date of Basil's posthumous collection remains unknown. Yet so much overlap between addressees smacks of autobiographical strategy, not coincidence. On the one hand, if Gregory's construction of their friendship had any basis in reality,[81] then he likely would have had a working, if not good, knowledge of Basil's social network, thereby enabling him to include as addressees people in Basil's orbit. In such a case, Gregory would not have needed to see Basil's collection. On the other hand, one of the letters in Gregory's collection offers a subtle clue about the importance he placed on friends sharing friends. Here he recommends Amazonius to Sophronius, a Cappadocian magistrate and his longtime friend:

> Believe you me, as I investigated these things just now as to what was the best possible thing that I could bestow upon my most venerable brother Amazonius (for the conversation I recently had with him made me particularly happy), I concluded that one thing before all ought to be bestowed upon him: your friendship and patronage. For in a short period of time he demonstrated much learning, the kind for which we used to strive when we could barely see clearly and the kind for which we now strive instead of the other, once we began to look to the height of virtue. If I came off as at all virtuous when I was with him, he would know. So, in return, I'm showing him the best of what I possess, friends to a friend. (*Ep.* 39.2–4)

With this letter the collection declares that the very act of holding friends in common is a feature of authentic friendship, and the implication is that one can recognize true friends by their equal participation in broadly overlapping friendship networks. In that respect, then, the correspondence of addressees between their respective letter collections may be the product of another of Gregory's strategies to claim a special friendship with Basil, one portrayed by his letters to Basil, corroborated by letters to third parties, and now proved by the number of epistolary friends and connections they held in common.

COMPETING FOR BASIL'S LEGACY

Gregory's letter collection goes further than making an apologetic assertion about its author—that he was a unique friend to Basil and therefore bore Basil's mantle of spiritual authority and prestige—by polemically chipping away at any legitimacy his competitors might claim. As the beginning of this chapter noted, three bishops in and around Cappadocia moved to align their position and cultural power with Basil's. Gregory of Nyssa, Amphilochius of Iconium, and Helladius of Caesarea each constructed a unique relationship with Basil, although perhaps not to the same extent as Gregory of Nazianzus, which served as a foundation for their ecclesiastical and provincial status. Amphilochius touted his connection with Basil while the latter was alive, and Nyssen did so repeatedly after Basil's death. For his part, Helladius may have waited until the provincial split of 382 placed him in a conflict that mirrored that of his illustrious predecessor. That Gregory began to flaunt his special relationship around the same time, first in *Carmen* 2.1.11 and then more fulsomely in *Orationes* 43 and 10, the *Epigrammata*, and the letter collection, reveals the competitive climate in Cappadocia during the early 380s. In contrast to the other post-Constantinople writings, Gregory's letter collection indirectly attacks the credibility of his competitors' claims to Basil's legacy. A host of letters addressed to or involving these men juxtaposes their shortcomings and weaknesses, their susceptibility to vice and ambition, and their good but inconsistent characters to Gregory's in order to diminish their legacy grabs and enhance his own.

The Nyssen Dossier

The eight letters in the Gregory of Nyssa dossier (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 11, 72–74, 76, 81, 182, 197) walk a fine line between praising him for his virtue, philosophy, and connection to Basil and making slight but unmistakable gestures toward his faults of ambition, willing participation in conflict, misplaced priorities, and wavering commitment to godly labors. For instance, Gregory of Nazianzus marvels at the "endurance and philosophy that you practice" (*Ep.* 197.2) in the wake of the death of Theosebia, Nyssen's wife,[82] but he is not completely surprised, since Nyssen is a "good man, accomplished, someone who stands beside God, who knows things divine and human better than everyone," and thus knows how to behave in such tragic circumstances (*Ep.* 197.3). Similarly, one letter of encouragement praises Nyssen for "your orthodoxy" (*Ep.* 74.1), while another salutes his battles against unnamed heretics who will "hiss for a little while" before they "slink away" (*Ep.* 72), and a third commends him for undertaking travels that led him to do "the right thing for the masses, even if you're not keeping stable in a particular spot" (*Ep.* 81.1).

Gregory's praise relies on a particular dynamic between writer and addressee: he positions himself as the source of reassuring counsel to someone who is letting "your distresses sting you too much" (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 72), thereby offering Nyssen a clear perspective that he would not otherwise have. At one point, Gregory draws an explicit contrast between Nyssen and himself: "As to what you wrote in your epistle, here's how I'm doing: I'm not upset when overlooked, and I'm happy when honored. For I deserve the former, while the latter is fit for your ambition" (*Ep.* 73). While embracing the virtue of humility and declaring that Nyssen deserves honor, Gregory implies that Nyssen is motivated by careerism and a desire for worldly distinctions. Nowhere is his rebuke of this ambition clearer than in the protreptic *Epistula* 11, written before Nyssen took up a career in the church. Here Gregory accuses the young man of trading the "sacred and palatable books" of scripture for the "bitter and unpalatable ones" of a professional rhetor (*Ep.* 11.4). His sophistical career path would inevitably foster vice, so Gregory begs him to change direction: "It will deeply pain me if you don't see for yourself the right course of action, something that belongs to the best of the praiseworthy, or follow the advice of the one who speaks well, something that belongs to the second best" (*Ep.* 11.10). Read from the perspective of the collection's audience, the effect of this letter is unmistakable. It amounts to a double claim: Nyssen had not always been motivated by a concern for orthodoxy or the ecclesiastical community, and whatever authority and success he enjoyed later in life stemmed from Gregory's early intervention. Lest the collection's readers suspect Gregory of the same professional ambition that Nyssen so obviously displayed throughout his career, both before and after he became bishop, *Epistula* 182 demonstrates his willingness to abandon a career for the benefit of his congregation and himself: it begs Nyssen to accept Gregory's cousin Eulalius as Gregory's episcopal replacement in Nazianzus. Even in the prime of Nyssen's career, when he had attained the honor and glory toward which his ambition had always driven him, he still needed Gregory's advice on spiritual matters—this time in filling the episcopacy that Gregory was soon to vacate.

The Amphilochius Dossier

Thirteen letters form the Amphilochius dossier: nine are addressed to him (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 9, 13, 25–28, 62, 171, 184), one is written to his father in defense of his consecration as the bishop of Iconium (*Ep.* 63), and three are letters of intercession written to others on his behalf (*Ep.* 22, to Sophronius, a Cappadocian official in the imperial government; 23, to Caesarius, another imperial official; 24, to Themistius, the statesman and philosopher in Constantinople). Like the Nyssen dossier, these letters parade their subject's honor yet delicately sketch the ways that he relied on Gregory's guidance. Not once does Gregory identify Amphilochius as his cousin, opting instead to frame their relationship as a friendship marked by equality, intimacy, and mutual favor seeking; one letter even couches a petition for, of all people, the father of Nicobulus—the person for whom the collection as a whole was initially designed—within an epistolary inauguration of their formal friendship (*Ep.* 13). The two continued their relationship in a series of pithy letters (*Ep.* 25–28, 62) and textual exchange: as Gregory wrote, "While I'm awake and asleep, your affairs are my concern; you've become for me a good plectrum and you have implanted in my soul a harmonious lyre; with your countless writings, you have thoroughly trained my soul for full knowledge" (*Ep.* 171.2). That same letter reveals that the friendship stood on a strong enough foundation that Gregory did not hesitate to request Amphilochius's prayers during a celebration of the liturgy.

Despite insisting on his equality with Amphilochius, Gregory inserted slight indications of his own preeminence in several places. In the letters to Sophronius, Caesarius, and Themistius, Gregory applies personalized and even paternal language to garner support: Amphilochius—"my most honorable son" (Gr. Naz., *Ep.*

22.2), "my most precious son" (*Ep.* 23.3), "my Amphilochius" (*Ep.* 24.1)—encountered some legal troubles, owing to his apparent naïveté, on at least two occasions, which required these three interceding letters from Gregory. Well after Amphilochius became a bishop, Gregory maintained this posture in a letter that graciously thanks Amphilochius for personally defending Bosporius of Colonia at a synod in Parnassus before asking him to do it again at a second gathering of bishops. It opens with a blunt assertion of their relationship couched in a double wish: "May the Lord fulfill all your petitions [Ps 19:6 (20:5)], and may you not refuse a father's prayer" (*Ep.* 184.1), a prayer that turns out to be a request for Amphilochius to attend the second council. Designating himself as Amphilochius's father, though, shifts Gregory's posture from friendly equality to paternal primacy. A similar, although far less marked, dynamic is at work in a letter dating to the years before Amphilochius's episcopacy. Here Gregory makes a simple petition on behalf of the deacon Euthalius, but in a way that highlights his role in drawing Amphilochius's attention to "caring for God's devotees and ministers of the bema" (*Ep.* 9.2), a concern that, as far as the collection presents it, Amphilochius did not have prior to receiving this letter. In a final display of spiritual paternity, Gregory defends Amphilochius's consecration as the bishop of Iconium to the latter's actual father, who believed the position would distract his son from his filial obligations. Gregory's defense is pointed and personalized: "For your part, though, you throw one punch after another by bringing charges against me (as I'm learning) . . . since I placed the hopes of life [Titus 3:7] in him and assumed that he was my only support, my only good adviser, my only sharer of piety" (*Ep.* 63.3). By featuring his response to the reproach of Amphilochius's father for the consecration, Gregory advertises to the collection's readers that it was he who pushed the young man into the job. Like Nyssen, Amphilochius owed his spiritual life and career in the church to Gregory.

The Helladius Dossier

Seven or eight letters[83] form the Helladius dossier: six are addressed to him in his capacity as the bishop of Caesarea (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 120, 127, 167, 172, 219–20), and one mentions him to a certain Theodore, likely the bishop of a city in a neighboring province but not Theodore of Tyana (*Ep.* 183). Unlike those of Nyssen and Amphilochius, the Helladius dossier has a decidedly critical tone.[84] While two of the letters stand as uncomplicated exchanges pertaining to Nicobulus (*Ep.* 127, an intercession on behalf of Nicobulus's father; 167, which asks that Helladius guide Nicobulus to unnamed teachers, whom the collection elsewhere reveals to be the Caesarean educators Stagirius, Eustochius, and Eudoxius) and one is an unremarkable letter offering prayers during the Paschal season (*Ep.* 172), the three others addressed to Helladius and the one that mentions him depict an out-of-control bishop enslaved to his base impulses. The gentlest of the bunch is *Epistula* 120, which morphs from a standard festal letter into a request that Helladius give "this church a bishop that the Holy Spirit will show forth" (*Ep.* 120.4). It was probably written on Easter Day 383, after the second split of Cappadocia and as Gregory was beginning to think about stepping down from his episcopal position. It seems strange that Gregory would seek Helladius's input in the determination of a bishop who did not reside within Caesarea's jurisdiction, unless this was a request not so much for direct involvement as for general support of the next bishop, whoever it might be, as a way to make amends for having worked against Helladius and for his rival Theodore of Tyana. *Epistula* 120 nevertheless apparently gave Helladius an opening to relitigate the jurisdictional disputes that had been settled in the autumn of 382, for, in the autumn of 383, Gregory complained to a bishop named Theodore that Helladius was "meddling in my affairs" (*Ep.* 183.5). With the support of "God-beloved bishops," Gregory had nominated a man "worthy of both my desire and your prayers" (*Ep.* 183.7; other letters reveal him to be Gregory's cousin Eulalius), but Helladius objected to the candidate "not with the precision of canons in mind, but with the satisfaction of his anger of wrath" (*Ep.* 183.5).

The collection indicates that Eulalius indeed became the bishop of Nazianzus (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 182), which did nothing to stop personal anger from motivating Helladius in other ecclesiastical business, according to Gregory. *Epistula* 219 advocates on behalf of Gregory's protégé Sacerdos, who found himself in some trouble that placed him at the center of a Helladius-led investigation and culminated in his ouster from a monastery. Helladius had acted in accordance with his "animosity toward certain people rather than a process of responsible decision making" (*Ep.* 219.2); now Gregory implored him to "relax your anger and acrimony toward [Sacerdos]" (*Ep.* 219.6) and not to "advertise acrimony that is better concealed than made known to outsiders" (*Ep.* 219.8). In fact, the severity of Helladius's wrath had disturbed Sacerdos's fellow monks and disrupted their devotion to taking care of the poor (*Ep.* 219.4), an assertion that tacitly accuses Helladius of being motivated more by petty grievance than by any concern for the ascetic community. In another letter, Gregory is downright offended that Helladius's anger is causing the merits of monastic "reverence and toils [to be] instantaneously wiped out" (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 220.2); to lead Sacerdos's defense—and to protect his protégé from the bishop's wrath—Gregory planned on "personally escorting him as he sets out to put you [Helladius] at ease" (*Ep.* 220.4). That Helladius would be so animated by personal grievance, presumably related to Gregory's siding with Theodore during the provincial split of 382, shows his lack of a moral compass.

The presentation of Helladius as subject to vicious anger is a damning rebuke of the bishop's authority and any claim he might make to being Basil's spiritual successor. Whereas Gregory had been a philosopher like Basil throughout his entire life, Helladius had fallen into petty strife; whereas Gregory had supported monastic pursuits as Basil did, Helladius penalized monks because of his anger toward

Gregory; whereas Gregory had made a nominal offer to reconcile the provinces, at least in spiritual terms, as Basil had, Helladius widened the division for personal gain (unlike Basil, who acted politically only in defense of God's honor). Portraying Helladius as essentially unfit for the position he held was an important tactic in a broad strategy whereby Gregory classified others as undeserving of Basil's legacy and thus elevated his own claim to it. The Nyssen and Amphilochius dossiers, while hardly hostile, paint both men as eclipsing Gregory in professional glory but not spiritual authority. Neither of these bishops, the collection intimates, moved away from needing Gregory's advice, encouragement, correction, consolation, and guidance, and neither could claim to be his superior: Gregory's consolation of Nyssen on the death of Basil positions him as Nyssen's new older brother and therefore spiritual adviser (*Ep.* 76), and the letters to Amphilochius reveal that Gregory had always been his spiritual father. Additionally, these two dossiers show that each of their subjects lived a life outside the church before becoming a bishop—Amphilochius as someone who encountered legal troubles, and Nyssen as someone who considered taking up a full-time job in the sophistic industry—in order to contrast them with Gregory, who maintained devotion to God throughout his whole life (as far as the collection and his other autobiographical writings are concerned), either in philosophical asceticism or, when that became impossible because of his obligations to his parents, among the church's priestly ranks. In that respect, despite whatever misfortunes he encountered over the course of his career, especially in Constantinople, he, not they, remained the authentic heir to Basil's eloquent, philosophical, and spiritual legacy.

THE FUTURE OF A FRIENDSHIP

Without making a teleological determination that Gregory's rhetorical efforts in the letter collection and the rest of his post-Constantinople writings were destined to triumph, we can say that they were indeed successful. From the fifth century to the present, historians and biographers have taken Gregory's portrayal of his intimacy with Basil at face value. The church historian Socrates in the 430s or 440s waxed reflective about the equality of their union: "If anyone should want to compare Basil and Gregory, and relate the details of each man's life and conduct, as well as the virtues present in each, he would waffle in his preference of one over the other. Both were an equal match for the other in their upstanding lifestyle and in their studies, I mean, of Greek literature and the sacred scriptures."[85] Whereas Gregory had worked tremendously hard in his writings to convince readers of his equal standing with Basil, a half century later Socrates could declare it in an almost reflexive way, so securely had it settled into the collective memory of ecclesiastical tradition. So too Socrates's contemporary Sozomen, who celebrated Gregory and Basil as "the most renowned orators of their time," two friends "equally focused on the virtues."[86] While Nyssen self-consciously presented himself as the theological warrior who picked up the mantle from his brother, it was Gregory whom Sozomen paired with Basil to form a dynamic duo without whom Eunomius and his followers "would have destroyed the greater part of the universal church for their own glory."[87] In fact, Sozomen wrote Nyssen out of the story entirely, pinning the Cappadocian legacy exclusively on Basil and Gregory.

Many of Gregory's biographers, whom we met in chapter 1, put together a portrait of the friendship that borrowed freely from his post-Constantinople writings and thus reiterated his self-presentational claims. We need not run through this immense biographical tradition, but a few representative writers deserve mention for their recitation of the relationship as their subject constructed it in the 380s. Gregory the Presbyter's sixth- or seventh-century hagiography reports that Gregory and Basil "became an enviable pair," while expunging any account of friction that the Sasima consecration caused.[88] Similarly, Nicetas the Paphlagonian's ninth-century encomium of Gregory depicts the friendship as marked by a "unified inclination of mind" and "a manner of unanimity" when it came to studies, lifestyle, and virtue.[89] He removed Basil altogether from his account of the Sasima appointment, couching Gregory's negative reaction to it as part of his broader trepidation about approaching any and all worldly honors.[90] French and German biographers of the early modern period repeated, with little criticism or analysis, Gregory's literary construction of his relationship with Basil, often enlisting his precise wording. Jean Leclerc in the seventeenth century noted that "their friendship became so famous that Gregory claims they were but a single soul in two bodies," and Carl Ullmann in the nineteenth encouraged readers to consult their letters in particular, in order to "envision the affectionate relationship between these two men."[91] The intensity of their "complete agreement on the highest principles of religion and morals" formed the basis of their unique friendship, rendered intense through the "intellectual individuality" each brought to bear on it: "Basil was more ardent and inclined to a life of action, Gregory more serene and contemplative," so they balanced each other and "complete[d] what was lacking in themselves."[92] The trend continued into the modern period, with Paul Gallay and Jean Bernardi holding up the friendship as famous, known throughout Athens and Cappadocia.[93] John McGuckin is the first biographer to critique Gregory's portrait of Basil, but based less on an analysis of Gregory's literary self-fashioning than on a psychological assessment of his and Basil's writings: "In Athens, . . . and probably for most of his life, Gregory suffered the unfortunate disability of loving his friend more than his friend loved him. He vaunts his friendship with Basil. He uses words to describe it that spring up from the emotionally affective depths of his heart. . . . Basil's vocabulary of friendship, on the other hand, is much more contained, dignified, and detached."[94] While it is certainly interesting to note the difference in discourse between the two men, calling Gregory an overly loving friend misses how his construction of the relationship developed, especially in the years after he left Constantinople, when that heavily affective language of unity and devotion was designed to boost his standing within Cappadocian society.

Gregory's biographers have uncritically repeated many of his autobiographical claims, and with respect to his friendship with Basil, this tradition finds its source squarely in his letter collection, a text that promotes Gregory as an authentic partner in many if not most of Basil's pursuits. Of course, the collection must be situated within its editorial context of late 383 and early 384 and understood as a product of contemporaneous cultural movements and social forces. Basil had by that point achieved the status of theological giant, having outshone most of his contemporaries with his monastic and ecclesiastical leadership in the pro-Nicene community of bishops. After his death in 379, it became crystal clear that the authority of other pro-Nicene leaders in the region could be bolstered by pegging it to his memory and legacy. This is what Nyssen, Amphilochius, and Helladius realized—and Gregory too. As he was without imperial recognition or credentials of successful negotiation at the level of conciliar politics, the claim to Basil's legacy became that much more valuable to him. Certainly, eloquence and philosophical authority carried weight with the provincial elites who made up his collection's audience, but more important was Gregory's ability to prove with epistolary documentation a meaningful, historical, and legitimate claim to knowing the authentic Basil.

EPILOGUE

The late antique author was a productive figure, a fashioner of words, narratives, characters, and arguments that transcended the sum of their parts to become texts. With texts, authors engendered feelings of sympathy or distaste or pride or social unity; with texts, authors persuaded, cultivated virtue, engendered piety, and enforced social boundaries tethered to concepts of ethnicity, status, religious identity, friendship, and kinship; with texts, authors generated new realities and value systems; with texts, authors created versions of themselves with nearly boundless freedom so long as their self-presentations fell within the limits of readers' willingness to believe and engage with them. Overwhelmingly, our knowledge of late antique authors stems directly from the texts they wrote. Because of the relative paucity of evidence and the literary nature of those primary sources that have survived, whether by accident or by purposeful transmission—which almost exclusively privileges the vantage and values of cultural elites—it is safe to say that the late antique author exists nowhere but in the product itself, the text. With the poet and critic Dan Chiasson, we can conclude that "authors, after all, aren't causes; they're effects produced by their own language."[1]

Texts have enduring legacies, especially those that find homes within long-lasting religious traditions. Spanning time and geography, such traditions constitute sites where millions of readers encounter texts through the lens of veneration and piety and in the light of shared worship, theology, ritual, values, and structures of authority. In certain cases, such textual appropriation elevates and transforms a mere historical actor, a writer of old, into a past saint, a temporal and human distillation of the atemporal and divine. Authors, their texts, and the bio/hagiographical narratives that accompany their memories acquire an aura of holiness. The effect resembles a tornado that sweeps the authorial persona and anything associated with it—biographical narratives, apocryphal stories, miraculous occurrences, supposed personality features, presumptions of orthodoxy, purity of discourse, and unquestioned authority—into an endless, upward-shooting swirl that creates a new hermeneutical relationship between text and reader defined by respect, veneration, and sanctity. Yet despite the rushing winds that propel the besainted author into the imagined stratosphere of human greatness, modern historians must recognize that authors remain what they are and always have been, the intentional or unintentional products of the very texts with which later readers idealized them.

In the case of Gregory of Nazianzus, appropriation by the orthodox tradition was the explicit goal of his autobiographical writings. By using various literary strategies, such as defending himself against real and invented accusations, incorporating accounts of suffering into narratives of his life, deploying invective against adversaries, and linking his social performances to widely lauded cultural ideals, he crafted an authorial identity that he believed would be enthusiastically received by contemporary friends, family members, and colleagues as well as later readers. These efforts were, of course, the outward expression of an aggressive gamble, for he had no assurance that they would succeed. In the end, however, they paid off handsomely. Generations of later biographers and hagiographers, historians and classicists, theologians and laypeople have looked upon his life, writings, and "personality" with admiring eyes. A sympathetic and unimpeachable protagonist, Gregory has been remembered for his literary genius, for his talent in articulating with piercing lucidity otherwise complex Trinitarian and Christological ideas, and finally for his unflagging personal integrity. Indeed, Christian collective memory has captured these qualities with the respective pithy designations with which readers still celebrate him: the Christian Demosthenes, the Theologian, and the truest friend of Saint Basil the Great.

I have sought not to challenge these designations (well, at least not the first two) so much as to root them in Gregory's post-Constantinople authorial project. Quite right: his rhetorical fluency and literary expertise are nothing short of masterful, while his contributions to the history of Trinitarian and Christological thought are as profound as they have been enduring. However, that he would be remembered for them—or even remembered at all—was anything but guaranteed. Here a quick thought exercise offers some insight. We know little of so many of his contemporaries, figures like Gregory's cousin Amphilochius of Iconium, Basil's successor Helladius of Caesarea, or even, for that matter, the third "Cappadocian father," Gregory of Nyssa. All of these bishops were geographically proximate to Gregory of Nazianzus and instrumental in the determination of the Constantinopolitan settlement of 381, not to mention the ironing out of whatever wrinkles remained in its aftermath. Each was highly trained in eloquence and supported its integral place at the center of late antique elite culture. Moreover, two of the three (Amphilochius and Nyssen) have been memorialized by the Orthodox and Catholic Churches among the community of saints, like Gregory. Yet not only do historians have scant material with which to formulate narratives of their lives, but their memories have not risen to the lofty status of Gregory of Nazianzus's. Why not? That they failed to write as many texts as him is an unsatisfying answer (to my knowledge, nothing attributable to Helladius survives, but plenty of texts authored by Amphilochius or Nyssen do), as is any subjective assessment of his superior brilliance. The difference, I contend, lies not in the quality or quantity of texts that they wrote but in the literary mode of autobiography that Gregory so vigorously adopted, which, despite being underappreciated, has quietly governed nearly all later scholarly accounts of his life, disposition, and brilliance. Autobiography was an eminently useful tool that, to the best of our knowledge, his contemporaries simply did not exploit. Within autobiographical texts, Gregory painted a literary self-portrait replete with fulsome accounts of self-proclaimed personality characteristics, friendships, values, integrity, and piety, and he well knew the potential impact that this could have on later readers. In the prologue of his longest autobiographical poem, Gregory specifically identifies "both contemporaries and future generations"[2] as his intended audience. Autobiography was his weapon of choice for defending himself against maligners and naysayers; with it, he etched his role, contributions, and identity into the collective memory of the church. After all, to quote Chiasson again, "if you want to be drawn, one straightforward plan would be to draw yourself."[3]

Gregory's subtle and complicated autobiographical project spans many texts in different literary genres designed for different audiences, but the vast majority of it kicked into high gear around the same time, when he perceived a threat to his social status and future legacy after his ouster from the community of illustrious clergy members gathered in Constantinople. With autobiography came not just ripe occasions for apologia but also opportunities to create narratives of his time in Constantinople that privileged his perspective. An imagined valedictory oration and several long poems publicized his perspective for an audience of readers back in Constantinople; a three-years-late eulogy showcased his unity with Basil for an audience gathered in Cappadocian Caesarea; epigrams and epigraphs inscribed his position at the center of kinship and friendship networks in Nazianzus, Cappadocia, and neighboring regions. His epistolary self-portrait in a multilayered letter collection, though, is the pièce de résistance. Here, in the individual letters, readers could catch snapshots of Gregory among his friends and colleagues at moments in his life both important and mundane. By bringing these letters into a single literary unit—that is, by repurposing past materials within a new literary construction—he fostered a new (at least for him) mode of autobiographical engagement whereby readers could interpret the letters collectively, in conversation with one another. His decisions pertaining to the collection's basic arrangement and portrayal of characters (couriers, addressees, and Gregory himself), its inclusion and exclusion of letters, and the editing of its letters for style, length, and perhaps content—these are the locations of Gregory's autobiographical act of authorship in the collection. But unlike his other autobiographical ventures, this one performs the additional feat of corroborating his apologetic self-fashioning: dossiers of letters to the same addressee intimate that, while in the midst of their epistolary relationship, those who knew him best had already consented to his constructed identity. Otherwise, the logic goes, they would have cut off the exchange of letters with him. Therein lies the ingenuity of the letter collection; whereas the other autobiographical works necessarily adhere to a first-person perspective and voice that leave no room for external support, the letter collection stands upon the implicit approbation of Gregory's contemporaries of whatever self-defense and of whatever self-fashioning he performed in it.

It is hardly a coincidence, I imagine, that the primary colors with which Gregory painted his epistolary self-portrait correspond to those of the broad strokes of his memory in later readers. For instance, as noted above, later Christians, especially Byzantine writers, referred to Gregory as the Christian Demosthenes, signaling both his possession of tremendous eloquence and, more obliquely, his mastery of classical literature. Less considered, though, is the extent to which this designation stems directly from his authorial self-fashioning in his orations and, particularly, his letter collection. To engage in another quick thought experiment, it was not Basil of Caesarea or John Chrysostom who merited this title—gifted preachers though they were—but rather Gregory. Recognition of his oratorical craftsmanship and entrenchment within the prevailing learned culture of his day owed as much to his repeated insistence on his unique talent with logoi as it did to his repeated demonstration of this in his writings. In this way, the letter collection has drawn contemporary and later readers to focus on this aspect of his authorial persona. While the title "the Christian Demosthenes" did not emerge until centuries after Gregory's death, the collection's authorial performance sewed its associations from the beginning: lucidity, creativity, persuasion, eloquence.

Similarly, from the Council of Chalcedon in 451, Gregory has been called the Theologian, a title whose honor only he and the author of the Fourth Gospel share. No doubt, his contributions to Trinitarian orthodoxy in *Orationes* 27–31 (the "theological orations") and to Christological orthodoxy in *Epistulae* 101, 102, and 202 (the "theological letters") figured into this designation, but again, we find the roots within Gregory's self-presentation in the letter collection. To be a theologian, as he writes near the beginning of *Oratio* 27, is to be a true philosopher, to maintain a purity of body and soul that engenders true opinions of the divine and empowers the possessor to communicate them. Personal integrity, disinterest in worldly power, and asceticism performed with purpose—these are the supreme qualities of the philosopher-theologian, and the ones highlighted over and over again throughout the letter collection. Not only does Gregory advertise his bodily and psychological purity by describing his ascetic practices as both traditional (bodily suffering, fasting, intense prayer) and novel (the Lenten silence), but he also attributes to himself the telltale products of philosophy: *parrhēsia*, endurance of hardship, and commitment to spreading virtue among those with whom one interacts (in his case, epistolarily). The collection gives voice to Gregory as philosopher and implies its positive reception with the enduring epistolary relationships to which the addressee-based dossiers bear witness. In the end, though, here later readers find even more evidence to support their memory of him as Gregory the Theologian.

As the last chapter noted in its conclusion, scholars within the church and academia have idealized Gregory's friendship with Basil as something worthy of remembrance and imitation. The two men's mutual loyalty signaled a broader loyalty to the irreproachable cause of combatting heresy. Yet that chapter also tracked the evolution of Gregory's presentation of their friendship, beginning in the 370s, after Basil surprised him with his sudden consecration as the bishop of Sasima, and taking on new levels of detail and nuance only after he returned to Cappadocia in the summer of 381, when it became clear that a credible claim of being Basil's most trusted friend would be a useful assertion of his own authoritative status within provincial society. The shifts in emphasis, not to mention the addition of secrets heretofore known only to himself, show the newfound relevance that this relationship had for Gregory within his post-Constantinople social reality. But again, we come back to the heart of the issue: the features and personality that later readers have found praiseworthy in Gregory are the products of his self-fashioning efforts.

At the risk of stating the obvious, this book is about an author, and it has used Gregory's self-presentation and textualized identity to make sense of his autobiographical writings, most particularly his letter collection. However, in taking Gregory-the-textualized-author as my subject, I have tried to avoid investing him with a historical significance that goes beyond the mere fact that he was a provincially elite author whose writings have survived en masse (unlike the overwhelming majority of people who lived in the late Roman Empire, who remain invisible to the historian's eye). I have striven to keep in focus the context of his autobiographical writings and the contingency of their success. In doing so, I have identified the designations and features that scholars have used to reify Gregory into something larger than life—his sweetness, delicate nature, naïveté, and integrity, as well as his literary mastery, ascetic purity, theological genius, and personal loyalty— and I have challenged the actual existence of those features by highlighting their origins within the very texts of Gregory's that got swept up in the veneration and warm remembrance of later tradition.

ABBREVIATIONS

BIBLICAL, APOCRYPHAL, AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHICAL WRITINGS

Acts	Acts of the Apostles
Amos	Amos
1 Chr	1 Chronicles
2 Chr	2 Chronicles
Col	Colossians
1 Cor	1 Corinthians
2 Cor	2 Corinthians
Dan	Daniel
Deut	Deuteronomy
Eccl	Ecclesiastes
Eph	Ephesians
Esth	Esther
Exod	Exodus
Ezek	Ezekiel
Ezra	Ezra
Gal	Galatians
Gen	Genesis
Hab	Habakkuk
Hag	Haggai
Heb	Hebrews
Hos	Hosea
Isa	Isaiah
Jas	James
Jer	Jeremiah

Job	Job
Joel	Joel
John	Gospel of John
1 John	1 John
2 John	2 John
3 John	3 John
Jonah	Jonah
Josh	Joshua
Jude	Jude
Judg	Judges
1 Kgs	1 Kings
2 Kgs	2 Kings
Lam	Lamentations
Lev	Leviticus
Luke	Gospel of Luke
4 Macc.	4 Maccabees
Mal	Malachi
Mark	Gospel of Mark
Matt	Gospel of Matthew
Mic	Micah
Nah	Nahum
Neh	Nehemiah
Num	Numbers
Obad	Obadiah
1 Pet	1 Peter
2 Pet	2 Peter
Phil	Philippians
Phlm	Philemon
Prov	Proverbs
Ps	Psalms
Rev	Revelation
Rom	Romans
Ruth	Ruth
1 Sam	1 Samuel
2 Sam	2 Samuel
Song	Song of Songs
1 Thess	1 Thessalonians
2 Thess	2 Thessalonians
1 Tim	1 Timothy
2 Tim	2 Timothy
Titus	Titus
Zech	Zechariah
Zeph	Zephaniah

ANCIENT AND LATE ANTIQUE WRITERS AND WORKS

ACO	*Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*	
Ambr.	Ambrose of Milan	
	Ep.	*Epistula*
Amm. Marc.	Ammianus Marcellinus	
Amph.	Amphilochius of Iconium	
	Ep. syn.	*Epistula synodica*
Ath.	Athanasius of Alexandria	
	V. Anton.	*Vita Antonii*
Aug.	Augustine of Hippo	
	Ep.	*Epistula*
Aus.	Ausonius of Bordeaux	
	Ep.	*Epistula*
Avit.	Avitus of Vienne	
	Ep.	*Epistula*
Bas.	Basil of Caesarea	
	Ep.	*Epistula*
	Hom.	*Homilia*
	Spir.	*De spiritu sancto*
	Trin.	*Adversus eos qui per calumniam dicunt dici a nobis deos tres*
Chrys.	John Chrysostom	
	Ep.	*Epistula*
Cic.	Cicero	
	Fam.	*Epistulae ad familiares*
Clem.	Clement of Alexandria	
	Paed.	*Paedagogus*
C. Th.	*Codex Theodosianus*	
D.	Demosthenes	
	Or.	*Oratio*
Dam.	Damasus of Rome	
	Ep.	*Epistula*
Dem.	Demetrius	
	Eloc.	*De elocutione*
Eger.	Egeria	
	Itin.	*Itinerarium*
Epict.	Epictetus	
	Diss.	*Dissertationes*
Epicur.	Epicurus	
	Sent.	*Ratae sententiae*
Eun.	Eunapius of Sardis	
	V.S.	*Vitae philosophorum et sophistarum*
Eus.	Eusebius of Caesarea	
	H.e.	*Historia ecclesiastica*

	L.C.	*De laudibus Constantini*
	V.C.	*Vita Constantini*
Firm.	Firmus of Caesarea	
	Ep.	*Epistula*
Gr. Naz.	Gregory of Nazianzus	
	Carm.	*Carmen*
	Ep.	*Epistula*
	Epig.	*Epigramma*
	Epit.	*Epitaphium*
	Or.	*Oratio*
	Test.	*Testamentum*
Gr. Nyss.	Gregory of Nyssa	
	Ep.	*Epistula*
	Eun.	*Contra Eunomium*
	Hom. opif.	*De hominis opificio*
	In Bas.	*In Basilium fratrem*
	Or. fun. in Mel.	*Oratio funebris in Meletium episcopum*
	V. Macr.	*Vita sanctae Macrinae*
Gr. Pres.	Gregory the Presbyter	
	V. Gr. Th.	*Vita sancti Gregorii Theologi*
Gr. Thaum.	Gregory Thaumaturgus	
	Pan. Or.	*In Origenem oratio panegyrica*
Hier.	Jerome of Stridon	
	Ep.	*Epistula*
	Vir. ill.	*De viris illustribus*
Hipp.	Hippolytus of Rome	
	Haer.	*Refutatio omnium haeresium*
Il.	*Iliad*	
Iren.	Irenaeus of Lyon	
	Haer.	*Adversus haereses*
Isid.	Isidore of Pelusium	
	Ep.	*Epistula*
Isoc.	Isocrates	
	Antid.	*Antidosis*
	Dem.	*Ad Demonicum*
	Phil.	*Ad Philippum*
J.	Josephus	
	Vit.	*Vita*
Jo. D.	John of Damascus	
	F.O.	*De fide orthodoxa*
Jul.	Julian	
	Ad Them.	*Ad philosophum Themistium*
	Ep.	*Epistula*
	Or.	*Oratio*

Jul. Vict.	Julius Victor	
	A. Rh.	*Ars rhetorica*
Just.	Justin Martyr	
	Dial.	*Dialogus cum Tryphone*
Justn.	Justinian	
	Or.	*Oratio*
Lib.	Libanius of Antioch	
	Ep.	*Epistula*
	Or.	*Oratio*
Luc.	Lucian of Samosata	
	Somn.	*Somnium sive vita Luciani*
Max.	Maximus the Confessor	
	Pyrr.	*Disputatio cum Pyrrho*
Men. Rhet.	Menander Rhetor	
Mus.	Musonius Rufus	
	Diss.	*Dissertationum a Lucio digestarum reliquiae*
Nic.	Nicetas the Paphlagonian	
	En. Gr.	*Enkōmion eis ton megan Grēgorion archiepiskopon Kōnstantinoupoleōs*
Or.	Origen of Alexandria	
	Cels.	*Contra Celsum*
Pass. Perp.	*Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis*	
Phil. Alex.	Philo of Alexandria	
	Contempl.	*De vita contemplativa*
	Her.	*Quis rerum divinarum heres sit*
	Spec.	*De specialibus legibus*
Philost.	Philostorgius	
	H.e.	*Historia ecclesiastica*
Philostr.	Philostratus	
	Ep. et dial.	*Epistulae et dialexeis*
Pl.	Plato	
	Cra.	*Cratylus*
	Grg.	*Gorgias*
	Phd.	*Phaedo*
	Resp.	*Respublica*
	Tht.	*Theatetus*
Plut.	Plutarch	
	Mor.	*Moralia*
P. Nol.	Paulinus of Nola	
	Carm.	*Carmen*
	Ep.	*Epistula*
Porph.	Porphyry of Tyre	
	Marc.	*Ad Marcellum*

Prax. Thek.	*Praxeis tes Hagias Apostolou kai Martyros tou Christou Theklas, kai thaumata*	
Ps.-Dem.	Pseudo-Demetrius	
	Typ. epist.	*Typoi epistolikoi*
Ps.-Lib.	Pseudo-Libanius	
	Ep. Char.	*Epistolimaioi Charaktēres*
Ruf.	Rufinus of Aquileia	
	H.e.	*Historia ecclesiastica*
Rur.	Ruricius of Limoges	
	Ep.	*Epistula*
S.E.	Sextus Empiricus	
	M.	*Adversus Mathematicos*
Sen.	Seneca	
	Ep.	*Epistula*
Sid.	Sidonius Apollinaris	
	Ep.	*Epistula*
Soc.	Socrates Scholasticus	
	H.e.	*Historia ecclesiastica*
Soz.	Sozomen	
	H.e.	*Historia ecclesiastica*
Symm.	Symmachus of Rome	
	Ep.	*Epistula*
Synes.	Synesius of Cyrene	
	Ep.	*Epistula*
Tac.	Tacitus	
	Agric.	*De vita Iulii Agricolae*
Tat.	Tatian	
	Or.	*Oratio ad Graecos*
Thdt.	Theodoret of Cyrrhus	
	Ep.	*Epistula*
	H.e.	*Historia ecclesiastica*
Them.	Themistius of Constantinople	
	Or.	*Oratio*

JOURNALS AND BOOK SERIES

CCSG	Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca
CH	*Church History*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
FOTC	Fathers of the Church
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte
GNO	*Gregorii Nysseni Opera*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*

JECS	*Journal of Early Christian Studies*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JLA	*Journal of Late Antiquity*
JRS	*Journal of Roman History*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
PG	Patrologia Graeca
PL	Patrologia Latina
PLRE	*Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SP	*Studia Patristica*
VC	*Vigiliae Christianae*
ZAC	*Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum*

NOTES

1. AN EPISTOLARY AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1. Hier., *Vir. ill.* 117 mentions Gregory's death as occurring three years before composition, while Hier., *Ep.* 47.3 notes that *Vir. ill.* was written in Theodosius's fourteenth year—that is, 392. Therefore, Gregory died in 389/90.

2. Basic letter writing would have been covered in Nicobulus's education under a grammarian, but advanced epistolary style would have been taught by rhetors and sophists. See Raffaella Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 215–19; Abraham Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1988), 6–7.

3. My presentation of Nicobulus's dramatic entrance into rhetorical training relies heavily on the brilliant reconstruction of Neil McLynn, "Among the Hellenists: Gregory and the Sophists," in *Gregory of Nazianzus: Images and Reflections,* ed. J. Børtnes and T. Hägg (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2006), 213–38, esp. 214–19. On competition and partisanship as defining features of sophistic culture in late antiquity, see Edward J. Watts, *City and School in Late Antique Athens and Alexandria,* Transformation of the Classical Heritage 41 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 42–43.

4. See Aaron Wenzel, "Libanius, Gregory of Nazianzus, and the Ideal of Athens in Late Antiquity," *JLA* 3 (2010): 264–85.

5. Each of these men had a demonstrable connection to Basil. In addition to being his successor, Helladius was probably the former tax assessor for whom Basil wrote his *Ep.* 281 (see *PLRE* 1:412, Helladius 2). Basil advocated for Eustochius in a conflict with a certain Callisthenes (Bas., *Ep.* 72–73). Stagirius was an epistolary correspondent of Gregory of Nyssa, Basil's brother (Gr. Nyss., *Ep.* 9, 27), and his only extant text is included in Gregory of Nyssa's collection (Gr. Nyss., *Ep.* 26). If he didn't know Basil personally, Eudoxius likely

knew of him through Eustochius, Gregory of Nazianzus, or local lore. See Neil McLynn, "Gregory Nazianzen's Basil: The Literary Construction of a Christian Friendship," *SP* 37 (2001): 178–93.

6. See Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.1–19, 433–34, 557–61. Although written in Cappadocia after his departure from Constantinople in the summer of 381, Gr. Naz., *Or.* 42 was likely sent to Constantinople as an apologetic account of the turbulent months he spent there. See Jean Bernardi, ed. and trans., *Grégoire de Nazianze: Discours 42–43*, SC 384 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1992), 7–17; Susanna Elm, "Inventing the 'Father of the Church': Gregory of Nazianzus' 'Farewell to the Bishops' (*Or.* 42) in Its Historical Context," in *Vita religiosa im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Kaspar Elm zum 70. Geburtstag* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1999), 3–20.

7. See, e.g., Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.1, 2.1.10, 2.1.12–14, 2.1.18–19, 2.1.40, 2.1.52–53, 2.1.68. On the apologetic thrust of Gregory's autobiographical poetry, see John McGuckin, "Autobiography as Apologia in St. Gregory of Nazianzus," *SP* 37 (2001): 160–77.

8. See Harry Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 140–43.

9. See Gr. Nyss., *Ep.* 29 and Peter's reply (Gr. Nyss., *Ep.* 30).

10. On the *Philocalia,* see ch. 2, n. 18.

11. See, e.g., Aug., *Ep.* 31; P. Nol., *Ep.* 3–4.

12. See PG 37:969–1452, which contains the first section of the second book of Gregory's poems—the *Poemata de seipso,* a collection of ninety-nine autobiographical poems, among which are Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.1, 2.1.11–12, 2.1.92. These four poems feature the only direct narratives of his life told in the first person, while the remaining ninety-five comprise laments, prayers, invectives, meditations, and reflections.

13. For instance, Gr. Naz., *Or.* 1–3, 6, 9, 11–12, 15–17, 19, 22–23, 26, 33–34, 36.

14. See the eulogies for his brother, Caesarius (Gr. Naz., *Or.* 7), his sister, Gorgonia (*Or.* 8), his father, Gregory (*Or.* 18), and Basil (*Or.* 43), as well as the panegyric for Maximus the philosopher (*Or.* 25).

15. Gregory followed the rhetorical tradition of eulogizing intimates according to the "encomiastic topoi" of "family, birth, nature, upbringing, education, [and] pursuits" (Men. Rhet. 2.420 [Russell and Wilson 174]).

16. David Konstan, "How to Praise a Friend: St. Gregory of Nazianzus's Funeral Oration for St. Basil the Great," in *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity,* ed. Tomas Hägg and Philip Rousseau, Transformation of the Classical Heritage 31 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 161.

17. See Gr. Naz., *Epit.* 1–129 and *Epig.* 1–254.

18. The date of his birth is no longer in question. See Paul Gallay, *La vie de Saint Grégoire de Nazianze* (Lyon: Vitte, 1943), 25–27, and R.P.C. Hanson, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God: The Arian Controversy, 318–381* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988), 701 n. 94, on how some nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholars, such as Alphonse Benoit, *St Grégoire de Nazianze: Sa vie, ses œuvres, et son époque* (Marseille: Marius Olive, 1876; repr., Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1973), 16 n. 1, 765–71, and H.M. Gwatkin, *The Arian Controversy* (London: Longmans, Green, 1908), 152, argued for a birth date between 300 and 325 to avoid imagining Gregory's father being married and having sex while a bishop, a position that he attained in 329.

19. See the rich description of the region in Raymond Van Dam, *Kingdom of Snow: Roman Rule and Greek Culture in Cappadocia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 13–14. Although Nazianzus was forty-five miles north of Tyana, the road connecting the two was roundabout, making the traveled distance approximately eighty miles. See Robert G. Ousterhout, *Visualizing Community: Art, Material Culture, and Settlement in Byzantine Cappadocia,* Dumbarton Oaks Studies 46 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017), 17, on the difficulties in precisely locating Nazianzus, but for its general placement see A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1937), map between pp. 28 and 29; F. van der Meer and Christine Mohrmann, *Atlas of the Early Christian World,* ed. and trans. Mary F. Hedlund and H. H. Rowley (London: Nelson, 1958), map 16a; Tim Cornell and John Matthews, *Atlas of the Roman World* (Oxford: Checkmark Books, 1982), 150; and Angelo di Berardino and Gianluca Pilara, eds., *Historical Atlas of Ancient Christianity,* Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum (St. Davids, PA: ICCS Press, 2013), map 20. Pace Susanna Elm, *Sons of Hellenism, Fathers of the Church: Emperor Julian, Gregory of Nazianzus, and the Vision of Rome,* Transformation of the Classical Heritage 49 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 20, who insists that Nazianzus is "no isolated hamlet." We should not endow it with more cultural and political connectivity than its geographic and demographic limitations would permit. I agree with the assessment of Neil McLynn, "Gregory the Peacemaker: A Study of Oration Six," *Kyoyo-Ronso* 101 (1996): 191, that Gregory "single-handedly [put Nazianzus] on the map." Indeed, Philost., *H.e.* 8.11 describes Nazianzus as a *stathmos,* a roadside staging house.

20. They belonged to the curial class of local notables; see Thomas A. Kopecek, "The Social Class of the Cappadocian Fathers," *CH* 42 (1973): 453–66.

21. For the autobiographical sketch of his education, see Gr. Naz., *Or.* 7.6. Gregory commemorated several of his instructors in his epigrams and epitaphs. See Gr. Naz., *Epig.* 142–46 and *Epit.* 115–18 for Carterius, his pedagogue in Nazianzus, who may have accompanied him throughout his educational tour (see Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind,* 48–50). See Gr. Naz., *Epit.* 4 for Thespesius, the sophist under whom Gregory studied in Caesarea Maritima (Hier., *Vir. ill.* 113 also mentions him). See Gr. Naz., *Epit.* 5 for Prohaeresius, the sophist under whom Gregory studied in Athens, whose fame was widespread enough to merit substantial attention from Eunapius of Sardis (see *V.S.* 487–90). John McGuckin, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus: An Intellectual Biography* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001), 44–45, suggests that Gregory, while in Alexandria, may have studied with Didymus the Blind and Bishop Athanasius, although Christopher A. Beeley, *Gregory of Nazianzus on the Trinity and the Knowledge of God: In Your Light We Shall See Light,* Oxford Studies in Historical Theology (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 8, remains skeptical.

22. See Gr. Naz., *Or.* 7.13, where Gregory brags that Julian was acquainted with his learning and piety. For Gregory's relationship with Basil, see ch. 5. Gregory mentions or alludes to Athens in letters to Sophronius (*Ep.* 21–22, 29, 37, 39, 93, 135), Julian (not the emperor; 67–69), Philagrius (30, 36, 80–87, 92), Eustochius (189–91), and Stagirius (165–66, 188, 192).

23. This was likely the town's only church and financed by Gregory's father in line with his curial obligations; see Thomas A. Kopecek, "The Cappadocian Fathers and Civic Patriotism," *CH* 43 (1974): 295.

24. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 1.1 (SC 247:72). Elsewhere, he designates the ordination a "tyrannical act" (*Or.* 2.6 [SC 247:96]) and a "forced" act (*Or.* 3.2 [SC 247:244]). McGuckin, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus,* 10, describes this reaction as "little short of hysterical."

25. Elm, *Sons of Hellenism,* 27, 192–95. On patria potestas generally, see Antti Arjava, "Paternal Power in Late Antiquity," *JRS* 88 (1998): 147–65. It offered fathers a legal and economic guarantee that their heirs would provide love, respect, and obedience. However, due to the rarity of a father's living into his son's adulthood, the law would have affected very few people. The obligations of patria potestas ceased upon the father's "manumission" of his son or the father's death.

26. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 15. See Martha Vinson, "Gregory Nazianzen's Homily 15 and the Genesis of the Christian Cult of the Maccabean Martyrs," *Byzantion* 64 (1994): 166–92, esp. 187.

27. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 6. My discussion of the schism reflects the reconstruction of McLynn, "Gregory the Peacemaker."

28. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 43.34–35, with *Or.* 14 and Bas., *Hom.* 322, 325, 336. See Anthony Meredith, "The Three Cappadocians on Beneficence: A Key to Their Audiences," in *Preacher and Audience: Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics,* ed. Mary B. Cunningham and Pauline Allen, New History of the Sermon 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 89–104. On the importance of this relief project to Basil's self-fashioning as a lover of the poor, see Philip Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea,* Transformation of the Classical Heritage 20 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 137–45; and Peter Brown, *Poverty and Leadership in the Later Roman Empire,* Menahem Stern Jerusalem Lectures (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2002), 35–42.

29. See Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 40–44 and *Or.* 18.35, which notes that Gregory's father-bishop was bedridden and quite ill but nevertheless strong enough to travel to Caesarea and join Basil's consecration.

30. The election was quite contentious, and Basil even roused the opposition of his own uncle. See Bas., *Ep.* 58, with Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea,* 145, 148–49, which highlights the dismissiveness of Bas., *Ep.* 56, 289. See Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 45.2 for Basil's loyal partisans in Caesarea, and Bas., *Ep.* 99, 223 for opposition to and suspicion of his episcopacy.

31. Sasima was some twenty miles southeast of Nazianzus, a mile off the road down to Tyana. See Stephen Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor, Volume II: The Rise of the Church* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 66, map 3.

32. For protests, see Bas., *Ep.* 74–76. This division was an administrative decision. Cappadocia contained vast swaths of property owned by residents of Armenia and many imperial estates, it served as a powerful staging ground for Roman military strikes against Persia, and it harbored a major armor factory, in Caesarea, along with several large horse ranches; see Van Dam, *Kingdom of Snow,* 110–13. Dividing the province allowed Valens to block any western access to these resources; see Noel Lenski, *Failure of Empire: Valens and the Roman State in the Fourth Century A.D.,* Transformation of the Classical Heritage 34 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 285. Although Valens had allowed Basil to remain in office during the run-up to the emperor's visit to Caesarea at Epiphany in 372 and regarded him as a leading provincial figure (the division of Cappadocia was enacted only a few months after this visit), had awarded Gregory's brother, Caesarius, the position of imperial comptroller before the latter's death in 368, and was likely impressed with Gregory's oratorical display during the Epiphany visit, Gregory's version of events posited the division as

a direct result of Basil's theological confrontation with Valens (who was a Homoian), the praetorian prefect Modestus, and the eunuch Demosthenes (Gr. Naz., *Or.* 43.44–57). This was the version that resonated in the imaginations of his contemporaries and later writers: see Gr. Nyss., *Eun.* 1.120–43 and *In Bas.*, 10, 14; Ruf., *H.e.* 11.9; Soc., *H.e.* 4.26.16–24; Soz., *H.e.* 6.16.1–10; Thdt., *H.e.* 4.19.

33. Martha Vinson, trans., *Select Orations: Gregory of Nazianzus,* FOTC 107 (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2003), 36 n. 1, suggests that this Eulalius was not Gregory's cousin of the same name, who succeeded him to the episcopacy of Nazianzus in the mid-380s.

34. For a detailed discussion of the relevant texts, both contemporary to the event itself (*Or.* 9, 11–13) and retrospective (*Carm.* 2.1.11; *Or.* 43, 10), see ch. 5.

35. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.395–414.

36. Bas., *Ep.* 217.50 (Courtonne 2:209), to Amphilochius of Iconium, mentions the death of Gregory's father-bishop and Gregory's inability to become bishop himself because of an eye-related illness; indeed, Basil deems him downright "useless for any present tasks."

37. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.547–49, 551 (Jungck 80). The city (modern Silifke, Turkey) was 75 miles southwest of Tarsus, 125 miles south of Nazianzus, and 100 nautical miles west of Antioch, although some scholars have erroneously identified it as the Seleucia in Cilicia; see, e.g., Hanson, *Search for the Christian Doctrine,* 702–3, and Carolinne White, ed. and trans., *Gregory of Nazianzus: Autobiographical Poems,* Cambridge Medieval Classics 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), xvi n. 16. Claudio Moreschini, *Gregorio Nazianzeno: I cinque discorsi teologici,* Testi patristici (Rome: Città Nuova, 1986), 11, unconvincingly argues for Seleucia-Ctesiphon on the Tigris; there is no evidence that Gregory traveled that far east.

38. Following Gregory's autobiography, some later biographers have given this period little attention: see Carl Ullmann, *Gregorius von Nazianz, der Theologe: Ein Beitrag zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte des vierten Jahrhunderts* (Darmstadt: Carl Wilhelm Leske, 1825), 151–52; Benoit, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze,* 381–82; Gallay, *La vie de Saint Grégoire,* 129–30, which focuses on defining *ton parthenōna* (translated as "the house for virgins" above; Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.548) and establishing the length of time that Gregory spent there; McGuckin, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus,* 230–31, is the best of the bunch. Francis Gautier, *La retraite et le sacerdoce chez Grégoire de Nazianze,* Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études science religieuses 114 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2002), offers no substantive assessment of these years, instead arguing without any merit that Gregory moved to Seleucia simply to await an invitation from Amphilochius's sister, Theodosia, to head the pro-Nicene community in Constantinople. Apparently, he waited a long time.

39. Eger., *Itin.* 23.4. Gregory likely lived in the monastery, assuming, with McGuckin, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus,* 230–31 (against Gallay, *La vie de Saint Grégoire,* 129), that *ton parthenōna* in *Carm.* 2.1.11.548 refers to a specific structure. For a thick description of the Thecla cult, see Stephen Davis, *The Cult of Saint Thecla: A Tradition of Women's Piety in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 3–35 (for the foundational narratives surrounding Thecla and the socioreligious values they promulgated), 36–80 (for the cult and shrine in Seleucia).

40. *Prax. Thek.* 28; Davis, *Cult of Saint Thecla,* 45–46.

41. Protection: *Prax. Thek.* 27.39–40; Davis, *Cult of Saint Thecla,* 73. Miracles cured everything from ear infections (*Prax. Thek.* 41; Davis, *Cult of Saint Thecla,* 74) to tumors (*Prax.*

Thek. 11; Davis, *Cult of Saint Thecla,* 73) and even anthrax (*Prax. Thek.* 12; Davis, *Cult of Saint Thecla,* 74). For the effects of Zeno's patronage, see Davis, *Cult of Saint Thecla*, 39–47.

42. Of Gregory's 567 extant poems (a number that includes his epigrams and epitaphs), only a handful can be dated with any certainty. Gallay, *La vie de Saint Grégoire,* 253, proposes pre-375 dates for *Carm.* 2.1.1, 2.1.45, 2.2.1–3 and *Epit.* 1–104. *Carm.* 1.2.1, a long poem in praise of virginity, and perhaps many more of the forty poems that make up the collection of "moral verses" in the Patrologia Graeca, could date to the Seleucian period, but such dating remains purely speculative. On Gregory's poetry generally, see Walter Ackermann, "Die didaktische Poesie des Gregorius von Nazianz" (inaugural diss., University of Leipzig, 1903); Celica Milovanovic-Barham, "Gregory of Nazianzus: *Ars Poetica* (*In suos versus: Carmen* 2.1.39)," *JECS* 5 (1997): 497–510; Herbert Musurillo, "The Poetry of Gregory of Nazianzus," *Thought* 45 (1970): 45–55; D. A. Sykes, "Gregory Nazianzen, Poet of the Moral Life," *SP* 22 (1989): 69–73, and "Gregory Nazianzen as Didactic Poet," *SP* 16 (1985): 433–37; Constantine Trypanis, *Greek Poetry from Homer to Seferis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 409–11.

43. Gregory condemned Diodore's "two sons" Christology a few years later in the series of anathemas in *Ep.* 101.16–21; see also Beeley, *Gregory of Nazianzus,* 129–30. Tarsus was only a three-day journey from Seleucia; see Eger., *Itin.* 23.1. On Apollinaris, see n. 75 below.

44. Theodosius's famous *Cunctos populos* edict, issued from Thessalonica on February 28, 380 (*C. Th.* 16.1.2), announced his intention to locate the imperial residence in Constantinople; see R. Malcolm Errington, "Church and State in the First Years of Theodosius I," *Chiron* 27 (1997): 21–72, esp. 36–37. That Theodosius, despite his pro-Nicene commitments, remained flexible and open regarding theological legislation, see Neil McLynn, "Moments of Truth: Gregory of Nazianzus and Theodosius I," in *From the Tetrarchs to the Theodosians: Later Roman History and Culture, 284–450 CE*, ed. Scott McGill, Cristiana Sogno, and Edward Watts, Yale Classical Studies 34 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 215–39; and Susanna Elm, "Waiting for Theodosius, or The Ascetic and the City: Gregory of Nazianzus on Maximus the Philosopher," in *Ascetic Culture: Essays in Honor of Philip Rousseau,* ed. Blake Leyerle and Robin Darling Young (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2013), 185–86. Nevertheless, pro-Nicene bishops were thrilled to have a pro-Nicene emperor in office.

45. Gr. Nyss., *V. Macr.* 386 dates the council to nine months after Basil's death; for a chronological survey, see Anna M. Silvas, *Gregory of Nyssa: The Letters—Introduction, Translation and Commentary,* Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 83 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 32–39. As to its attendees, the end of the Verona Codex (PL 13:353D–354A) names Meletius of Antioch, Eusebius of Samosata, Zeno of Tyre, Eulogius of Edessa, Bernatius of Mallus, and Diodore of Tarsus and adds that 146 other, unnamed bishops signed the council's nonextant tome, mentioned by Thdt., *H.e.* 5.9. For an overview, see Gustav Bardy, "Le concile d'Antioche (379)," *Revue Benedictine* 45 (1933): 196–213.

46. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.12.77–78 (Meier 34).

47. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.12.91 (Meier 36). See also Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.596, where he notes that a host of shepherds (easily interpreted as the council of Antioch) sent him to Constantinople. Another later mention of the move (Gr. Naz., *Or.* 43.2) states that it was forced upon him by others and that Basil had consented to it—a strange claim, since Basil had died nine months before the council! Gregory is either inventing Basil's support or

transforming Basil's general desire that Constantinople have a pro-Nicene leader into specific support for him.

48. Gregory referred to the Anastasia several times after his return to Cappadocia; see Gr. Naz., *Or.* 42.26 and *Carm.* 2.1.5–6, 2.1.15.49–50, 2.1.16. On Theodosia's connection, see Jean Bernardi, "Nouvelles perspectives sur la famille de Grégoire de Nazianze," *VC* 38 (1984): 354. That "Anastasia" referred to a community rather than a distinct structure, see Rochelle Snee, "Gregory Nazianzen's Anastasia Church: Arianism, the Goths, and Hagiography," *DOP* 52 (1998): 159. On confusion regarding the Anastasia's location in Constantinople, see McGuckin, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus,* 242–43.

49. Several eastern bishops, including Basil of Caesarea, had previously sympathized with Homoiousian confessions. Gregory was always, as best we can tell, pro-Nicene (see the statements at Gr. Naz., *Or.* 1.5, 1.7, 3.6, 6.22, 12.6, 13.4 and the whole of 16), and he was removed from the broader conflicts thanks to his monastic isolation in Seleucia. For the theological partisanship of the fourth century, see Lewis Ayres, *Nicaea and Its Legacy: An Approach to Fourth-Century Trinitarian Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 85–269.

50. Bas., *Ep.* 48 (Courtonne 1:129), written in 371.

51. See Gr. Naz., *Or.* 33.3–5, the only contemporary autobiographical account of the event, although *Or.* 23.5 may contain a reference. The retrospective Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.652–74 barely mentions it and even faintly praises Demophilus. For other retrospective allusions, see Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.12.103–5, 2.1.15.46, 2.1.30.54–56, 2.1.33.12; see also Andrew Hofer, "The Stoning of Christ and Gregory of Nazianzus," in *Re-reading Gregory of Nazianzus: Essays on History, Theology, and Culture,* ed. Christopher A. Beeley, CUA Studies in Early Christianity (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2012), 143–58. McGuckin, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus,* 256–57, assumes that Gregory feigned episcopal status, presumably because Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 77.3 mentions the presence of "initiates" at the attack, which may be interpreted as confirmation that Gregory was performing baptisms. However, one hopes that Gregory would have foreseen this act's provocation to Demophilus. Additionally, Gregory likely laid low and avoided playing the bishop since he knew no better than anyone else what Theodosius's intentions vis-à-vis Demophilus were in the spring of 380; indeed, Theodosius later even offered to let Demophilus keep his position if he professed allegiance to the pro-Nicene community (see McLynn, "Moments of Truth," 218–21). At the time of the attack, then, the chances that Demophilus would retain his position must have been seen as good—by Demophilus, by his supporters, and by Gregory too.

52. On Maximus, see Gr. Naz., *Or.* 25–26, both written during the summer of 380, the former as a laudatory panegyric, the latter as Gregory's apologia after Maximus had fled Constantinople in shame. See also Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.728–1112 for a comprehensive but retrospective narrative of Maximus's treachery, and *Carm.* 2.1.41 (titled "Against Maximus"), written—like *Carm.* 2.1.11—after Gregory departed from Constantinople; because he refers to his refusal to speak (line 57), the latter could date to his ascetic silence during Lent in 382. Other sources too mention Maximus after his flight from Constantinople: see *Ep.* 13 by Ambrose of Milan, who supported Maximus as late as 382 but backed off once Theodosius chimed in (Ambr., *Ep.* 14); Dam., *Ep.* 5–6; Hier., *Vir. ill.* 117, 127. See also the accounts of Soz., *H.e.* 7.9; Thdt., *H.e.* 5.8. None of these, though, pertain to the narrative of Maximus's "treachery" during the summer of 380, leaving us with Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.728–1112 as the only

source for it. The most comprehensive (but not unproblematic) study of Maximus's career is Rochelle Snee, "Gregory Nazianzen's Constantinopolitan Career, A.D. 379–381" (PhD diss., University of Washington, 1981), 7–107. See now Bradley K. Storin, "Autohagiobiography: Gregory of Nazianzus among His Biographers," *Studies in Late Antiquity* 1 (2017): 254–81, esp. 274–80.

53. See Elm, "Waiting for Theodosius," 193–95.

54. For the narrative of events here, see Errington, "Church and State," 54–59.

55. See Gr. Nyss., *Or. fun. in Mel.*

56. On Paulinus's appointment, see Thomas R. Karmann, *Meletius von Antiochien: Studien zur Geschichte des trinitätstheologischen Streits in den Jahren 360–364 n. Chr.*, Regensburger Studien zur Theologie 68 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2009), 306–21; Hanson, *Search for the Christian Doctrine,* 809–10.

57. See Hanson, *Search for the Christian Doctrine,* 509, 643–44.

58. Dam., *Ep.* 5 (PL 13:368a, 369a).

59. That even Gregory's friends turned against him, see Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.18, 52–53, 68, but interpretive caution is paramount because of the poetry's deeply apologetic thrust, which frames Gregory as a philosopher and prophet who, like Isaiah, Daniel, Peter, Paul, and John the Baptist, suffered iniquity on all sides (see *Carm.* 2.1.14.61–65). In other words, it was rhetorically useful for Gregory to claim betrayal by friends.

60. Scholars are divided as to the intent of Gregory's resignation. Errington, "Church and State," 57–59, interprets it as a showpiece, meant to be publicly rejected but, to Gregory's shock, accepted by Theodosius. McGuckin, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus,* 358–59, sees the offer as Gregory's attempt to put the best face on a forced resignation. McLynn, "Moments of Truth," 237, interprets it as a successful attempt to draw Emperor Theodosius more directly into the proceedings.

61. See Gr. Naz., *Or.* 42.19 for the designation of this work as an apologia. Following Bernardi, *Grégoire de Nazianze: Discours 42–43*, 7–17, most scholars now interpret this oration as a retrospective self-defense that was never delivered orally before its announced audience; see, e.g., Elm, "Inventing the 'Father of the Church,'"; Brian Daley, *Gregory of Nazianzus,* Early Church Fathers (London: Routledge, 2006), 138–39. The work was probably written in the late summer or autumn of 381.

62. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.1737–38 (Jungck 138, 140).

63. For more on Gregory's construction of his friendship with Basil, see ch. 5. See also McLynn, "Gregory Nazianzen's Basil." I am convinced that *Oratio* 10 is another fictional retrospective, written well after the events it describes. See Justin Mossay, "Le 'discours' 10 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Notes et controverses," *Byzantion* 70 (2000): 447–55.

64. See, for instance, Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.1–5, 7–10, 13–20, 23, 27, 29–30, 32–46, 50–53, 63, 68, 70, 88, 92–95. The narrative and commentary in these poems are so allusive that it is difficult to establish any precise chronological sequence of composition, except to simply classify them collectively as "post-Constantinople" works. Throughout, he laments the loss of his position in Constantinople and blames the envy that ran rampant among the bishops for his departure. See especially *Carm.* 2.1.12.102–5, which targets specific individuals without naming names. On the identity of these bishops, see McGuckin, "Autobiography as Apologia," 167–69.

65. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.19.9–16, 31 (PG 37:1271–73).

66. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.12.334 (Meier 48).

67. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.12.16 (Meier 32); see also *Carm.* 2.1.12.145.

68. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.12.54–58 (Meier 34).

69. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.1923–29 (Jungck 148).

70. See Neil McLynn, "The Voice of Conscience: Gregory Nazianzen in Retirement," in *Vescovi e pastori in epoca Teodosiana* (Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1997), 2:299–308; Elm, "Inventing the 'Father of the Church,'" and "A Programmatic Life: Gregory of Nazianzus' *Orations* 42 and 43 and the Constantinopolitan Elites," *Arethusa* 33 (2000): 411–27. McGuckin, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus,* 377–84, superbly sifts through the letters and poems that concern Nectarius.

71. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.12.170 (Meier 40). See also *Carm.* 2.1.1.498–525, where Gregory lambastes a worthless person who is enjoying success. McGuckin, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus,* 381, contends, rightly I believe, that the person described must be Nectarius.

72. See Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.12.432–574, 610–708.

73. See Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.10.11–15.

74. What follows largely recapitulates Bradley K. Storin, "In a Silent Way: Asceticism and Literature in the Rehabilitation of Gregory of Nazianzus," *JECS* 19 (2011): 225–57. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.34–38 and *Ep.* 107–14, 115–19 are the texts directly related to the Lenten silence of 382. See also *Carm.* 2.1.14, 20, 32 (and perhaps 19, 21–31, 33), 40–41, 45–46, 50 for discussion of the related topics of purification, withdrawal, condemnation of an idle tongue, and desire to act as a priest.

75. Gregory wrote poems against Apollinaris (*Carm.* 2.1.10–11), as well as epistolary treatises (*Ep.* 101–2). In one letter in the collection, written in the late summer of 382, he directly beseeches Cappadocia's governor, Olympius, to use whatever means necessary to "exact vengeance on the offenders [i.e., the Apollinarians]" (*Ep.* 125.6). On the Apollinarians in and around Nazianzus, see Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.30.86–192. On Apollinaris, see Henri de Riedmatten, "La christologie d'Apollinaire de Laodicée," *SP* 2 (1957): 208–34; Brian Daley, "'Heavenly Man' and 'Eternal Christ': Apollinarius and Gregory of Nyssa on the Personal Identity of the Savior," *JECS* 10 (2002): 469–88, esp. 475–78; now Susanna Elm, "Apollinarius of Laodicaea and Gregory of Nazianzus: The Early Years," in *Apollinarius und seine Folgen,* ed. Silke-Petra Bergjan, Benjamin Gleede, and Martin Heimgartner, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 93 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 3–18. See also Beeley, *Gregory of Nazianzus,* 131–43, on the unitive character of Gregory's Christology, formed in part to challenge the Christological double subjectivity of Diodore of Tarsus.

76. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.35.2–4, 36.6, 37.1–5, 37.11.

77. See Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.34.91–96. As the communicator of internal disposition, the tongue has an intimate relationship with the seats of intellect (*nous*) and appetites (*phrēn*). See Suzanne Abrams Rebillard, "Speaking for Salvation: Gregory of Nazianzus as Poet and Priest in His Autobiographical Poems" (PhD diss., Brown University, 2003), 152–54.

78. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.34.99–104, 2.1.38.31–51.

79. See Gr. Naz., *Or.* 42.1; *Carm.* 2.1.11.8–16, 42, 47, 430–44; *Carm.* 2.1.12.818–36.

80. See Elm, "A Programmatic Life," 419–21, 425–27, and "Inventing the 'Father of the Church,'" 17–20; McLynn, "Voice of Conscience," 303–7, which cites, as confirmation of Gregory's enduring influence in the capital, *C. Th.* 16.5.12, from December 383, which lists Apollinarians among the banned heretics for the first time. However, plenty of other

anti-Apollinarian allies of Nectarius, with better reputations than Gregory, had strong ties to Constantinople. It is difficult to see why the new bishop of the imperial capital would have felt compelled to listen to his bedeviled predecessor. Gregory's self-proclaimed importance on the Constantinopolitan scene is vastly misleading; after all, he was not Theodosius's first choice to serve as the bishop of Constantinople (that honor went to Demophilus), and both the council's bishops and the emperor regarded Nectarius as an upgrade over Gregory, as a competent leader and a quick study.

81. See Soc., *H.e.* 5.7; Soz., *H.e.* 7.7. Whereas Socrates's account differs substantially from Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11, Sozomen's narrative claims that Gregory never complained about his labors in the capital, a statement refuted by a quick reading of any part of his post-Constantinople corpus.

82. This claim is pervasive among late antique letters: see, e.g., Ambr., *Ep.* 47.4, 53; Aug., *Ep.* 20.1; Bas., *Ep.* 163; Chrys., *Ep.* 149, 169; Gr. Nyss., *Ep.* 18.2; Lib., *Ep.* 1225.3; P. Nol., *Ep.* 5.20, 42.1; Symm., *Ep.* 8.21.2; Synes., *Ep.* 138. The tradition continued well into the Byzantine period. See Anthony R. Littlewood, "An 'Ikon of the Soul': The Byzantine Letter," *Visible Language* 10 (1976): 197–226, esp. 216–19; Gustav Karlsson, *Idéologie et cérémonial dans l'épistolographie byzantine: Textes du X^{e} siècle analysés et commentés* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1962), 23–37.

83. Philippe Lejeune, *Le pacte autobiographique* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1975), 14. See also M.-F. Baslez, P. Hoffmann, and L. Pernot, "Avant propos," in *L'invention de l'autobiographie: D'Hésiode à Saint Augustin,* ed. Baslez, Hoffmann, and Pernot, Actes du 2ème colloque de l'Équipe de recherches sur l'hellénisme post-classique, Paris, ENS, June 14–16, 1990 (Paris: Presses de l'École Normale Supérieure, 1993), 8: "The intimate self, its loves, its sufferings, sensitivity to the fleeting and ephemeral aspects of worldly things—this is what we expect to see in a modern autobiography."

84. Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives,* 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 257–86.

85. Robert Folkenflik, "Introduction: The Institution of Autobiography," in *The Culture of Autobiography: Constructions of Self-Representation,* ed. Folkenflik (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 13–15. On the problems of constructing generic categories vis-à-vis autobiography, see James Olney, *Metaphors of Self: The Meaning of Autobiography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 38–39.

86. Laura Marcus, *Auto/biographical Discourses: Criticism, Theory, Practice* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), quotations on 4, 6, and see her broad discussion at 11–89. See also Felicity Nussbaum, *The Autobiographical Subject: Gender and Ideology in Eighteenth-Century England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), chs. 1–2; Peter Sloterdijk, *Literatur und Organisation von Lebenserfahrung: Autobiographien der Zwanziger Jahre* (Munich: Hanser, 1978); Estelle C. Jelinek, *The Tradition of Women's Autobiography: From Antiquity to the Present* (Boston: Twayne, 1986), 21–30; Almut Finck, *Autobiographisches Schreiben nach dem Ende der Autobiographie* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1999); Renate Hof, "Einleitung: Genre und Gender als Ordnungsmuster und Wahrnehmungsmodelle," in *Inszenierte Erfahrung: Gender und Genre in Tagebuch, Autobiographie, Essay,* ed. Hof and Susanne Rohr (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 2008), 7–24; Eva Kormann, *Ich, Welt und Gott: Autobiographik im 17. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004).

87. Smith and Watson, *Reading Autobiography,* 13.

88. Smith and Watson, *Reading Autobiography,* 31.

89. This can be true of "factual" autobiographies (those where the "autobiographical 'I'" refers to the presumed author of the text) and "fictional" ones (those where the "autobiographical 'I'" refers to someone else, as in Plato's *Apology*). On the distinction, see Annemaré Kotzé, "Three Instances of Greek Autobiographical Writing from the Fourth Century BCE," *Classical World* 109 (2015): 39–67, esp. 43–44. On the *Apology* as one of the earliest instances of the autobiographical device, see Donald Morrison, "On the Alleged Historical Reliability of Plato's *Apology,*" *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 82 (2000): 235–65; Yun Lee Too, *The Rhetoric of Identity in Isocrates: Text, Power, Pedagogy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 192.

90. Isoc., *Antid.* 8 (Mathieu 3:105).

91. Cic., *Fam.* 5.12.8; Tac., *Agric.* 1.3; Plut., *Mor.* 439e. Plutarch's approval of euergetistic accounts likely comes out of a widespread acceptance of political and military leaders writing about their own exploits. That such memoirs hewed closer to the historiographical genre than to any autobiographical one, see Christopher Pelling, "Was There an Ancient Genre of Autobiography?, or Did Augustus Know What He Was Doing?," in *The Lost Memoirs of Augustus and the Development of Roman Autobiography,* ed. Christopher J. Smith and Anton Powel (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2009), 41–64, esp. 43–44.

92. See Glenn W. Most, "The Stranger's Stratagem: Self-Disclosure and Self-Sufficiency in Greek Culture," *JHS* 109 (1989): 114–33.

93. Phil 3.8. See also Paul's longest autobiographical section, Gal 1.11–2.14, which concludes with an account of his conflict with Cephas, and 2 Cor 11.22–12.4, which inserts a list of hardships that he has endured for Christ between a description of his ethnic lineage and an autobiographical account, told in the third person, of his mystical elevation to the third heaven. Much of Paul's autobiographical material is boasting couched in an apologetic context; see Edwin A. Judge, "Paul's Boasting in Relation to Contemporary Professional Practice," *Australian Biblical Review* 16 (1968): 37–50; Duane F. Watson, "Paul and Boasting," in *Paul and the Greco-Roman World: A Handbook,* ed. J. Paul Sampley, 2nd ed. (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 1:90–112.

94. J., *Vit.* 4–7; Gr. Thaum., *Pan. Or.* 5–9.

95. *Pass. Perp.* 3–13.

96. On the composite nature of Libanius's text, see Lieve Van Hoof, "Libanius' *Life* and Life," in *Libanius: A Critical Introduction,* ed. Lieve Van Hoof (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 11–15. Lib., *Or.* 1.1–155 appeared in the 370s while Libanius was still alive; Lib., *Or.* 1.156–285 was posthumously cobbled together from his notes and diaries by later admirers. That Gregory would have had the social opportunity to get Lib., *Or.* 1.1–155 is intimated by Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 236, which, while basic and without a strong date, indicates the existence of an epistolary relationship through which a text might travel.

97. The observation is not new. See Wolf Liebescheutz, "Libanius and Late Antique Autobiography," in *Mélanges A. F. Norman: Textes,* ed. Ángel González Gálvez and Pierre-Louis Malosse, *Topoi,* suppl. 7 (Paris: De Boccard Édition-Diffusion, 2006), 272–74, likely building on Christoph Jungck, *Gregor von Nazianz: De vita sua,* Wissenschaftliche Kommentare zu griechischen und lateinischen Schriftstellern (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1974), 151. Liebescheutz, however, misses the apologetic thrust of each text, for which see especially McGuckin, "Autobiography as Apologia"; Van Hoof, "Libanius' *Life*";

Harmut Leppin, “The Late Empire,” in *Political Autobiographies and Memoirs in Antiquity: A Brill Companion,* ed. Gabriele Marasco (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 448–49.

98. Lib., *Or.* 1.1 (Foerster 4).

99. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.1–5, 40–45 (Jungck 54, 56).

100. Lib., *Or.* 1.3–4; Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.87–100 (mothers at Lib., *Or.* 1.4; Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.57–80).

101. Lib., *Or.* 1.5, 8; Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.211–36.

102. Lib., *Or.* 1.12, 17, 88–89; Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.249–64, 704–20.

103. Lib., *Or.* 1.9–10; Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.124–210.

104. Lib., *Or.* 1.14, 18, 91, 139–43; Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.887, 1745–46, 1819.

105. Lib., *Or.* 1.103; Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.665–67.

106. Lib., *Or.* 1.12, 54; Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.267–73, 594, 696–727.

107. What follows incorporates Storin, “Autohagiobiography,” 256–68.

108. On automimesis and its consequences, see Tomas Hägg, *The Art of Biography in Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 5; Paula R. Backscheider, *Reflections on Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 90–124; Andrew Sinclair, “Vivat alius, ergo sum,” in *The Troubled Face of Biography,* ed. Eric Homberger and John Charmley (New York: St. Martin’s, 1990), 123–30.

109. See Xavier Lequeux, ed. and trans., *Gregorio presbyterii vita sancti Gregorii Theologi,* CCSG 44, Corpus Nazianzenum 11 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2001), 15–16. The Presbyter acknowledges that he is Gregory’s first hagiographer: “Up until today he has been honored with silence by everyone”—that is, no one has written his *vita* (Gr. Pres., *V. Gr. Th.* 1 [CCSG 44:120]).

110. On the ancient biographical tradition, see Patricia Cox, *Biography in Late Antiquity: A Quest for the Holy Man,* Transformation of the Classical Heritage 5 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 3–65; see also Averil Cameron, “Form and Meaning: The *Vita Constantini* and the *Vita Antonii,*” in *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity,* ed. Tomas Hägg and Philip Rousseau, Transformation of the Classical Heritage 31 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 72–88. On the communal aspects of the genre, see Marc Van Uytfanghe, “L’hagiographie de l’Antiquité tardive: Une littérature populaire?,” *Antiquité tardive* 9 (2002): 208–18.

111. See Derek Krueger, *Writing and Holiness: The Practice of Authorship in the Early Christian East,* Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 1–11, 63–93.

112. In the critical edition cited in n. 109 above, Lequeux meticulously demonstrates the extent to which the Presbyter relied on *Carm.* 2.1.11 and other autobiographical texts. For instance, he incorporated material from Gr. Naz., *Or.* 43 into his account of Gregory’s time in Athens (Gr. Pres., *V. Gr. Th.* 4); from Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 6 into his account of Gregory’s ascetic tasks in Pontus (*V. Gr. Th.* 6.9–16); from Gr. Naz., *Or.* 5 into his account of Gregory’s meeting with the emperor Julian (*V. Gr. Th.* 8.42–53); from Gr. Naz., *Or.* 18, 43 and *Ep.* 41–43 into his account of Basil of Caesarea’s episcopal election (*V. Gr. Th.* 9.26–35); from Gr. Naz., *Or.* 14 into his account of Gregory’s support for the Basiliad, a charity hospital whose establishment Basil spearheaded (*V. Gr. Th.* 11.49–54); from Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 125, 138–39, 152, 182–83 into his account of Gregory’s final years (*V. Gr. Th.* 22). A few episodes not found anywhere in Gregory’s corpus appear in the vita: his baptism in Cappadocia after returning from Athens

(*V. Gr. Th.* 5.15–16), the allocations of annuities for the Basiliad (11.46–49), his baptism of Maximus the Cynic (14.8–10), and his panegyrics at the advent of Emperor Theodosius (17.1–3).

113. Gr. Pres., *V. Gr. Th.* 1 (CCSG 44:120).

114. Gr. Pres., *V. Gr. Th.* 8.

115. Gr. Pres., *V. Gr. Th.* 16 (CCSG 44:174).

116. Gr. Pres., *V. Gr. Th.* 21.

117. Nicetas the Paphlagonian wrote an encomium for Gregory at the very end of the ninth century, which minimally incorporates narrative elements; see his *Enkōmion eis ton megan Grēgorion archiepiskopon Kōnstantinoupoleōs,* ed. and trans. James John Rizzuto, *The Encomium of Gregory Nazianzen by Nicetas the Paphlagonian: Greek Text Edited and Translated* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1976).

118. On the origins of the Jansenists, see Alexander Sedgwick, *Jansenism in Seventeenth-Century France: Voices from the Wilderness* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1977), 14–46; on the complicated strands of political ideological affiliations in the eighteenth century, see Edmond Préclin, *Les jansénistes du XVIII^{e} siècle et la constitution civile du clergé: Le développement du richérisme, sa propagation dans le bas-clergé, 1713–1791* (Paris: Gamber, 1928). On the Jansenist-Jesuit conflict, see Dale K. Van Kley, "Jansenism and the International Suppression of the Jesuits," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Volume 7: Enlightenment, Reawakening, and Revolution, 1660–1815*, ed. Stewart J. Brown and Timothy Tackett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 302–28.

119. Godefroy Hermant, *La vie de S. Basile le Grand, archevesque de Cesarée en Cappadoce, et celle de S. Grégoire de Nazianze, archevesque de Constantinople,* 2 vols. (Paris: Jean du Puis, 1674, 1679). On Hermant's life see Adrien Ballet, *La vie de Godefroy Hermant, docteur de la Maison et Societé de Sorbonne, Chanoine de l'Église de Beauvais* (Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1717).

120. Hermant, *La vie de S. Basile,* 1:"avertissement" (n.p.).

121. Hermant, *La vie de S. Basile,* 1:60, 62.

122. Louis-Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire eccléstiastique des six premiers siècles, Vol. 9: Les vies de Saint Basile, de Saint Grégoire de Nazianze, de Saint Grégoire de Nysse, et de Saint Amphiloque* (Brussels: Eugene Henry Fricx, 1732), 305–731.

123. Le Nain de Tillemont, *Mémoires,* 308.

124. Jean Leclerc, *Bibliothèque universelle 18: Gregorii Nazianzani Opera, cum ejus vita* (Amsterdam, 1690), 128. While Leclerc textually engaged in polemic against Catholic proponents about the importance of papal authority and tradition, he maintained cordial relations with his opponents. See Maria-Cristina Pitassi, "*Arminius Redivivus*? The Arminian Influence in French Switzerland and at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century," in *Arminius, Arminianism, and Europe: Jacobus Arminius (1559/60–1609),* ed. Th. Marius van Leeuwen, Keith D. Stanglin, and Marijke Tolsma, Brill's Series in Church History 39 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 135–57.

125. Although see Hägg, *Art of Biography,* 380, for prudent warnings against overgeneralizations.

126. Walter Raleigh, *The History of the World,* ed. C. A. Patrides (1614; repr., Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1971), 47.

127. So Johnson told his own biographer: see John Boswell, *Boswell's Life of Johnson,* ed. G. H. Hill (1791; repr., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932), 3:155.

128. Hermione Lee, *Biography: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 47, quoting Johnson's *Idler* essay of November 24, 1759. See also Nigel Hamilton, *Biography: A Brief History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 69–99.

129. Ullmann, *Gregorius von Nazianz,* v.

130. Ullmann, *Gregorius von Nazianz,* 169. On the convergence of Pietism and Romanticism in nineteenth-century Germany, see Stewart J. Brown, "Movements of Christian Awakening in Revolutionary Europe, 1790–1815," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Volume 7: Enlightenment, Reawakening, and Revolution, 1660–1815*, ed. Brown and Timothy Tackett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 581–87.

131. Ullmann, *Gregorius von Nazianz,* x.

132. Ullmann, *Gregorius von Nazianz,* 297–98.

133. Hamilton, *Biography,* 111. See also Lee, *Biography,* 54–71.

134. Benoit, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze,* 403, sketches a miracle story from Sozomen (*H.e.* 7.5) pertaining to the resurrection of a fallen pregnant woman and notes that the Anastasia was the site of further healings and appearances by the Virgin Mary.

135. Benoit, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze,* i–ii, iv.

136. Benoit, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze,* 751.

137. Benoit, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze,* iii.

138. See the letters to and from Msgr. Charles-Philippe Place (the bishop of Marseille) that precede Benoit's introduction to *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze.*

139. Louis Montaut, *Revue critique de quelques questions historiques se rapportant à Saint Grégoire de Nazianze et à son siècle* (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1878), 220.

140. See Gamaliel Bradford, *A Naturalist of Souls: Studies in Psychography* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1917), 8–9: "Character, then, is the sum of qualities or generalized habits of action. Psychography is the condensed, essential, artistic presentation of character."

141. Virginia Woolf, "The New Biography," *New York Herald Tribune,* October 30, 1927. See also Catherine Neal Parke, *Biography: Writing Lives* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 67–88.

142. This point was even noted by a contemporary: Edgar Hocedez, review of *Hellénisme et christianisme: Saint Grégoire de Nazianze et son temps,* by E. Fleury, *Gregorianum* 12 (1931): 325–27.

143. Eugène Fleury, *Hellénisme et christianisme: Saint Grégoire de Nazianze et son temps* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1930), xi.

144. Fleury, *Hellénisme et christianisme,* 374.

145. Fleury, *Hellénisme et christianisme,* 310.

146. Fleury, *Hellénisme et christianisme,* 376.

147. Gallay, *La vie de Saint Grégoire,* xiv; see ix–xx for a thematic bibliography of all primary sources, hagiographies, scholia, and secondary sources about Gregory, as well as a detailed discussion of Gallay's citation method. While such bibliographical citation is de rigueur in modern scholarship, the practice finds its first implementation among Gregory's biographers here.

148. Gallay, *La vie de Saint Grégoire,* vii.

149. Gallay, *La vie de Saint Grégoire,* 245.

150. Gallay, *La vie de Saint Grégoire,* 245–46.

151. Paul Gallay, *Grégoire de Nazianze,* Collection église d'hier et d'aujourdhui (Paris: Les Éditions Ouvrières, 1993), 25–26.

152. Gallay, *La vie de Saint Grégoire,* 246.

153. Jean Bernardi, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze: Le théologien et son temps (330–390)* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1995), 9.

154. Bernardi, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze,* 338.

155. Bernardi, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze,* 339–40.

156. Bernardi, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze,* 345.

157. Bernardi, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze,* 342.

158. McGuckin, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus,* xvii.

159. McGuckin, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus,* 9, 178–79, 371.

160. Musurillo, "The Poetry of Gregory of Nazianzus," 46.

161. Adrian S. Hollis, "Callimachus: Light from Later Antiquity," in *Callimaque,* ed. Franco Montanari and Luigi Lehnus (Geneva: Fondation Hardt, 2002), 43; Christos Simelidis, *Selected Poems of Gregory of Nazianzus: I.2.17; II.1.10, 19, 32—A Critical Edition with Introduction and Commentary* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 31.

162. Van Dam, *Kingdom of Snow,* 204.

163. See John Freeland, "St. Gregory Nazianzen, from His Letters," *Dublin Review* 130 (1902): 333–54, esp. 341–42; Paul Gallay, *Langue et style de Saint Grégoire de Nazianze dans sa correspondance* (Paris: Monnier, 1933), 96; Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Gregory of Nazianzus: Rhetor and Philosopher* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 128; Georges Barrois, trans. and ed., *The Fathers Speak: St Basil the Great, St Gregory Nazianzus, St Gregory of Nyssa* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1986), 11. Historians and other scholars have treated many late antique letters in such a way based, in large part, on a distinction drawn by the famous New Testament scholar Adolf Deissmann between the sincerity and authenticity of a "letter" and the frigidity and affectation of the literary "epistle": see *Light from the Ancient East,* 4th ed., trans. Lionel R. M. Strachan (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1965), 227–51. On the problematic foundation of this distinction, see Bradley K. Storin, "The Letters of Gregory of Nazianzus: Discourse and Community in Late Antique Epistolary Culture" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2012), 83–84 n. 7. Deissmann influenced a generation of scholars: see, e.g., Michiel van den Hout, "Studies in Early Greek Letter-Writing," *Mnemosyne,* 4th ser., vol. 2 (1949): 19–41, esp. 22; Clinton W. Keyes, "The Greek Letter of Introduction," *American Journal of Philology* 56 (1935): 28–44; J. Sykutris, "Epistolographie," in *Realencyclopäedie der classischen Alterumwissenschaft,* suppl. 5 (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche, 1924), cols. 185–220, esp. 186; Heikki Koskenniemi, *Studien zur Idee und Phraesologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Chr.* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Kirjapaino Oy Helsinki, 1956), 61–63. The twentieth century witnessed a concerted move away from Deissmann's work: see William G. Doty, "The Classification of Epistolary Literature," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 31 (1969): 183–99; M. Luther Stirewalt Jr., *Studies in Ancient Greek Epistolography,* SBL Resources for Biblical Study 27 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1993), 10–17; Richard Miles, "Epistolography," in *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World,* ed. G. W. Bowersock, Peter Brown, and Oleg Grabar (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 428–29; Jennifer V. Ebbeler, "Pedants in the Apparel of Heroes? Cultures of Latin Letter-Writing from Cicero to Ennodius" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania,

2001), 35–37 (a critique of Deissmann's dichotomy); Herwig Görgemanns, "Epistle," 1138–44, esp. 1141–42, and "Epistolography," 1144–48, in *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World: New Pauly,* ed. H. Cancik and H. Schneider, trans. C. F. Salazar et al., *Vol. 4: Cyr–Epy* (Leiden: Brill, 2004). See especially Owen Hodkinson, "Better than Speech: Some Advantages of the Letter in the Second Sophistic," in *Ancient Letters: Classical and Late Antique Epistolography,* ed. Ruth Morello and A. D. Morrison (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 283–300, which offers an intricate account of how pseudepigraphical letters and fictional letter collections overlap with the motifs of "real" letters (i.e., those actually sent).

164. For a general historiographical orientation, see Elizabeth A. Clark, *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004). Recent scholarship in a range of fields has shown that reading any text for an authentic and true account of the self is misguided: see, for instance, Saul M. Olyan, "The Search for the Elusive Self in the Texts of the Hebrew Bible," 40–50; J. Albert Harrill, "Paul and the Slave Self," 51–69; and Esther Menn, "Prayer of the Queen: Esther's Religious Self in the Septuagint," 70–90, in *Religion and the Self in Antiquity,* ed. David Brakke, Michael L. Satlow, and Steven Weitzman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005).

165. The bibliography on these subjects is immense, but Christopher Beeley's publications are the best place to start: "The Early Christological Controversy: Apollinarius, Diodore, and Gregory Nazianzen," *VC* 65 (2011): 376–407; *Gregory of Nazianzus,* 63–233; *The Unity of Christ: Continuity and Conflict in Patristic Tradition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 171–221. See also Frederick W. Norris, *Faith Gives Fullness to Reasoning: The Five Theological Orations of Gregory of Nazianzen,* Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae (Leiden: Brill, 1991); Andrew Hofer, *Christ in the Life and Teaching of Gregory of Nazianzus,* Oxford Early Christian Studies (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), with my review in *Catholic Historical Review* 101 (2015): 598–99. On the engagement of Gregory's broader intellectual activity with classical and contemporary philosophical debates, see now Elm, *Sons of Hellenism,* 147–265, 336–477.

166. *ACO* 2, 1, 3.114 [473].14; Justn., *Or.* (*ACO* 3.193.2, 26, 35; 3.194.4; 3.195.32); Max., *Pyrr.* (PG 91.316c); Jo. D., *F.O.* 3.15.

167. See the classic studies of Gallay, *Langue et style;* Marcel Guignet, *Les procédés épistolaires de Saint Grégoire de Nazianze comparés à ceux de ses comtemporains* (Paris: Picard, 1911); Ruether, *Gregory of Nazianzus.* Recent treatments include Kristoffel Demoen, *Pagan and Biblical Exempla in Gregory Nazianzen: A Study in Rhetoric and Hermeneutics,* Corpus Christianorum Lingua Patrum 2 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1996); Ben Fulford, "Gregory of Nazianzus and Biblical Interpretation," 31–48, and Suzanne Abrams Rebillard, "Historiography as Devotion: *Poemata de seipso,*" 125–42, in *Re-reading Gregory of Nazianzus: Essays on History, Theology and Culture,* ed. Christopher A. Beeley, CUA Studies in Early Christianity (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2012). For Gregory at the beginning of the Byzantine literary tradition, see Anthony Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium: The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition,* Greek Culture in the Roman World (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 161–66; Margaret Mullett, "The Classical Tradition in the Byzantine Letter," in *Letters, Literacy and Literature in Byzantium,* Variorum Collected Studies Series (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 75–93.

168. See Raymond Van Dam, *Becoming Christian: The Conversion of Roman Cappadocia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003) and *Friends and Family in Late Roman*

Cappadocia (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003); David Konstan, *Friendship in the Classical World,* Key Themes in Ancient History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) 163–65; Susan Holman, *The Hungry Are Dying: Beggars and Bishops in Roman Cappadocia,* Oxford Studies in Historical Theology (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 135–67; Andrew T. Crislip, *From Hospital to Monastery: Christian Monasticism and the Transformation of Health Care in Late Antiquity* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 118–20; Susanna Elm, *Virgins of God: The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 151–58; Daniel F. Stramara Jr., "᾿ΑΔΕΛΦΟΤΗΣ: Two Frequently Overlooked Meanings," *VC* 51 (1997): 316–20; Vasiliki M. Limberis, *Architects of Piety: The Cappadocian Fathers and the Cult of the Martyrs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

169. The lines between the past voice of an individual letter and the "present" voice of the collector, however, can be blurry. Sidonius Apollinaris continued to write individual letters and add them to the seven-book collection he had already published. Some of them even explicitly mention of the prospect of appearing in that letter collection. See especially Sid., *Ep.* 9.15. See also Michaela Zelzer, "Der Brief in der Spätantike: Überlegungen zu einem literarischen Genos am Beispiel der Briefsammlung des Sidonius Apollinaris," *Weiner Studien* 108 (1995): 541–51, esp. 548–49.

170. *C. Th.* 16.1.3.

2. THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE LETTER COLLECTION

1. See Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 175.1.

2. See ch. 1 for a fuller discussion of the collection's audience.

3. By my count, there are four: Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 88 (which may be an act of Byzantine pseudepigraphy), 241 (written by Basil), 243 (a theological letter whose provenance is unknown), 249 (written by Gregory of Nyssa). See the introduction to and appendix of Bradley K. Storin, trans., *Gregory of Nazianzus's Letter Collection: The Complete Translation,* Christianity in Late Antiquity 7 (Oakland: University of California Press, 2019).

4. For a narrative of the textual history, see Paul Gallay, *Les manuscrits des lettres de Saint Grégoire de Nazianze* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1957), 105–22; for useful information and close analysis of the translations of Gregory's work, see Agnes Clare Way, "Gregorius Nazianzenus," in *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries—Annotated Lists and Guides, Volume II,* ed. Paul Oskar Kristeller and F. Edward Cranz (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1971), 43–192, esp. 111–24 for the letter collection.

5. See Denis Meehan, "Editions of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus," *Irish Theological Quarterly* 3 (1951): 207–8. The Maurist edition is preserved in PG 37:9–388.

6. Paul Gallay, *Gregor von Nazianz: Briefe,* GCS 53 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1969), v.

7. He published them in a separate volume: *Grégoire de Nazianze: Lettres théologiques,* SC 208 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1974).

8. I run through the arguments against the authenticity of *Ep.* 88, 241, 243, and 249, which I do not list among the omitted letters in tables 10–15, in Storin, *Gregory of Nazianzus's Letter Collection.*

9. See now Bradley K. Storin, "Autohagiobiography: Gregory of Nazianzus among His Biographers," *Studies in Late Antiquity* 1 (2017): 260–63, with relevant bibliography.

10. My own doctoral dissertation, "The Letters of Gregory of Nazianzus: Discourse and Community in Late Antique Epistolary Culture" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2012), which privileges chronology in its presentation of my translation of Gregory's letters, is guilty of this error.

11. For the details of the individual manuscripts and their families, Gallay's meticulous work in *Les manuscrits* is indispensable.

12. Within three manuscript families: Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 12, 74, 114, 171, 184; within two manuscript families: 28, 236; within one manuscript family: 42, 57, 88, 241, 244, 245. That Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 88, 241 appear in only one manuscript family adds to the argument against their authenticity. See the introduction to Storin, *Gregory of Nazianzus's Letter Collection.*

13. See Gallay, *Les manuscrits,* 36–40.

14. See Lieve Van Hoof, "The Letter Collection of Libanius of Antioch," 113–30, Gérard Nauroy, "The Letter Collection of Ambrose of Milan," 146–60, and Daniel Washburn, "The Letter Collection of John Chrysostom," 190–204, in *Late Antique Letter Collections: A Critical Introduction and Reference Guide,* ed. Cristiana Sogno, Bradley K. Storin, and Edward J. Watts (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017).

15. The v-family locates the epistolary dossier among other letters addressed to Nicobulus (be it the young Nicobulus or Nicobulus the Elder), near the back of the collection. The logic of the g-family's chosen location for it is unclear to me.

16. On this exchange, see ch. 5.

17. The u-, v-, f-, and g-families, and to a lesser degree the h-family, preserve the silence letters (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 107–9, to Cledonius; 110, 119, to Palladius; 111, 118, to Eugenius; 112–14, to Celeusius; 116–17, to Eulalius) as a dossier. Basil is frequently misidentified as the addressee of *Ep.* 114.

18. The precise number is uncertain, due to occasional homonymic confusion and the potential for misidentification.

19. The *Philocalia* is an anthology of Origenian texts extracted from apologetic treatises, scriptural commentaries, and philosophical pieces pertaining to the subject of free will. Based on the mention in Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 115, scholars have traditionally understood Gregory and Basil to have compiled it, in the early 360s, during their ascetic retreats: see, e.g., John McGuckin, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus: An Intellectual Biography* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001), 103–4. However, some have called into question not only the date of composition but also the authorship: see Marguerite Harl, ed. and trans., *Philocalie d'Origène,* SC 302 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1983), 1–20; Neil McLynn, "What Was the *Philocalia* of Origen?," in *Christian Politics and Religious Culture in Late Antiquity,* Variorum Collected Studies Series (London: Routledge, 2009), 32–43.

20. On Basil's letter collection, see Andrew Radde-Gallwitz, "The Letter Collection of Basil of Caesarea," in Sogno, Storin, and Watts, *Late Antique Letter Collections,* 69–80.

21. The familially linked dossiers are those of Thecla and Sacerdos; George and Basilissa; Simplicia and Alypius; Basil and Gregory of Nyssa; Amphilochius and his father, also named Amphilochius; Gregory and his brother Caesarius; Nicobulus and his father, also named Nicobulus.

22. Letters written by individuals of differing educational levels certainly vary stylistically, but it is easy to identify "examples among both the papyri and the literarily transmitted letters which seem to fit the specifications of the handbooks" (Stanley K. Stowers, "Social

Typification and the Classification of Ancient Letters," in *The Social World of Formative Christianity and Judaism: Essays in Tribute to Howard Clark Kee,* ed. Jacob Neusner et al. [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988], 87; see 87 n. 41 for a brief catalogue of these examples).

23. Pseudo-Libanius, *Epistolimaioi Charaktēres* 6, 17, 21, 28, 32, 34.

24. See ch. 4.

25. See Bradley K. Storin, "In a Silent Way: Asceticism and Literature in the Rehabilitation of Gregory of Nazianzus," *JECS* 19 (2011): 225–57.

3. "THE MOST ELOQUENT GREGORY"

1. If we can tell from the inclusion of another letter to Themistius (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 24) in the collection.

2. On the historiography of late antique literature and the scholarly tendency to dismiss the role of literature in addressing issues of importance to late antique elites, see Lieve Van Hoof and Peter Van Nuffelen, "The Social Role and Place of Literature in the Fourth Century AD," in *Literature and Society in the Fourth Century AD: Performing Paideia, Constructing the Present, Presenting the Self,* ed. Van Hoof and Van Nuffelen, Mnemosyne Supplements 373 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 1–15.

3. A student could be as young as eleven (Lib., *Ep.* 634) or as old as sixteen (Eun., *V.S.* 485) at the start of rhetorical training, but still being enrolled at the age of twenty was frowned upon (*C. Th.* 14.9.1).

4. On ancient education in general, see the classic account of Henri Marrou, *Histoire de l'education dans l'Antiquité* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1948), and more recent treatments by Teresa Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), and Raffaella Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

5. W. Martin Bloomer, "Schooling Persona: Imagination and Subordination in Roman Education," *Classical Antiquity* 16 (1997): 59.

6. See Robert A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity,* Transformation of the Classical Heritage 11 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 26–27. See also Lucian's comment on the common understanding that education beyond rhetoric required "lots of work, a long time, no minor expenditure, and an illustrious position" (Luc., *Somn.* 1 [LCL 130:214]).

7. For example, the Heteroousian leader Aetius was raised in destitution, but he gained the patronage of a certain Paulinus, who funded his studies (see Philost., *H.e.* 3.15).

8. See Raffaella Cribiore, "Spaces for Teaching in Late Antiquity," in *Alexandria: Auditoria of Kom el-Dikka and Late Antique Education,* ed. Tomasz Derda, Tomasz Markiewicz, and Ewa Wipszycka (Warsaw: Warsaw University Press, 2007), 143–50; Edward J. Watts, *The Final Pagan Generation,* Transformation of the Classical Heritage 53 (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015), 56.

9. See Peter Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Toward a Christian Empire,* Curti Lectures (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 38–61.

10. *C. Th.* 14.1.1 (trans. Pharr, 405). For a critique of the Roman government's reliance on eloquence rather than administrative experience as a qualification for virtually any office, see Ramsay MacMullen, "Roman Bureaucratese," *Traditio* 18 (1962): 364–78. While sophists

and their students idealized the necessity of rhetoric to professional success and prestige, the reality was that advancement was possible for self-taught individuals or those with technical training, like stenographers. See Kaster, *Guardians of Language,* 47–50; Lieve Van Hoof, "Performing *Paideia:* Literature as an Instrument for Social Promotion in the Fourth Century AD," *CQ* 63 (2013): 387–406.

11. Kaster, *Guardians of Language,* 73, presents an impressive but hardly complete roster of clergy members in the third and fourth centuries known to have been not merely students but also grammarians and rhetoric teachers.

12. See Claudia Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition,* Transformation of the Classical Heritage 37 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 178–83. On the high ranks and elite status of many bishops, see Frank D. Gilliard, "Senatorial Bishops in the Fourth Century," *HTR* 77 (1984): 153–75.

13. For voices of dissent, see P. Nol., *Carm.* 10.22; Hier., *Ep.* 22.30. On the continuation of traditional education in the fifth and sixth centuries, see Peter Heather, "Literacy and Power in the Migration Period," in *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World,* ed. Alan K. Bowman and Greg Woolf (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 177–97.

14. Edward J. Watts, *City and School in Late Antique Athens and Alexandria,* Transformation of the Classical Heritage 41 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 21; see also 1–47, for academic life and culture in late antiquity.

15. Maud Gleason, *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), xxii. On the interrelationship among rhetoric, physiognomy, gender performance, and self-presentation, see Gleason's chs. 2 and 3.

16. That the intersection of Greek culture, social status, and literary performance so characteristic of the Second Sophistic can also be found in the so-called Third Sophistic of the fourth century, see Thomas Schmitz, *Bildung und Macht: Zur sozialen und politischen Funktion der zweiten Sophistik in der griechischen Welt der Kaiserzeit,* Zetemata 79 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1997).

17. The seminal work on the epistolary genre is Janet Gurkin Altman, *Epistolarity: Approaches to a Form* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1982). For the genre in an ancient context, see Roy K. Gibson and A. D. Morrison, "Introduction: What Is a Letter?," in *Ancient Letters: Classical and Late Antique Epistolography,* ed. Ruth Morello and Morrison (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 1–16; Jennifer V. Ebbeler, "Tradition, Innovation, and Epistolary Mores," in *A Companion to Late Antiquity,* ed. Philip Rousseau (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2009), 270–84; Catherine Conybeare, *Paulinus Noster: Self and Symbols in the Letters of Paulinus of Nola* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 21.

18. Lib., *Ep.* 1064.2 understands epistolary training as a crucial component of a teacher's curriculum. For letter writing in an Egyptian educational context, see Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind,* 215–19; in an Antiochene educational context, Raffaella Cribiore, *The School of Libanius in Late Antique Antioch* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 169–73. On the timing of epistolary training, see Abraham Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1988), 6–7.

19. Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists,* 6, and Hans-Josef Klauck, *Ancient Letters and the New Testament: A Guide to Context and Exegesis,* trans. Daniel P. Bailey (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006), 197, understand the handbooks as collections of epistolary templates for professional scribes and secretaries, but see Carol Poster, "A Conversation

Halved: Epistolary Theory in Greco-Roman Antiquity," in *Letter-Writing Manuals and Instruction from Antiquity to the Present: Historical and Bibliographic Studies,* ed. Poster and Linda C. Mitchell (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007), 21–51, for the handbooks in an educational setting.

20. Ps.-Lib., *Ep. Char.* 6, 17, 21, 28, 32, 34 (Malherbe 68, 70).

21. See Stanley K. Stowers, "Social Typification and the Classification of Ancient Letters," in *The Social World of Formative Christianity and Judaism: Essays in Tribute to Howard Clark Kee,* ed. Jacob Neusner et al. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 87, along with n. 41 for a brief catalogue of these examples; Stowers, *Letter Writing in Greco-Roman Antiquity* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986), 56; Bianca-Jeanette Schröder, *Bildung und Briefe im 6. Jahrhundert: Studien zum Mailänder Diakon Magnus Felix Ennodius* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 147; Jeffrey T. Reed, "The Epistle," in *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period, 330 B.C.–A.D. 400*, ed. Stanley E. Porter (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 171–93, esp. 173–74; Peter L. Schmidt, "Letter," in *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World: New Pauly,* ed. H. Cancik and H. Schneider, trans. C. F. Salazar et al., *Vol. 7: K–Lyc* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 436–40.

22. Claiming to see the writer's soul in a letter is pervasive among late antique letters, e.g., Bas., *Ep.* 163; Gr. Nyss., *Ep.* 18.2; Ambr., *Ep.* 53. See also Antony R. Littlewood, "An 'Ikon of the Soul': The Byzantine Letter," *Visible Language* 10 (1976): 197–226, esp. 216–19; Gustav Karlsson, *Idéologie et cérémonial dans l'épistolographie byzantine: Textes du X^e^ siècle analysés et commentés* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1962), 23–37.

23. See Klaus Thraede, *Grundzüge griechisch-römischer Brieftopik,* Zetemata 48 (Munich: Beck, 1970), 162–79; Élisabeth Gavoille, "La relation à l'absent dans les lettres de Cicéron à Atticus," in *Epistulae Antiquae I: Acts du I^er^ colloque "Le genre épistolaire antique et ses prolongements,"* ed. Léon Nadjo and Gavoille (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 153–76; Sophie Roesch, "L'interaction auteur/destinaire dans la correspondance de Cicéron," in *Epistulae Antiquae II: Acts du II^e^ colloque international "Le genre épistolaire antique et ses prolongements européens,"* ed. Nadjo and Gavoille (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 89–112; Anna De Pretis, "'Insincerity,' 'Facts,' and 'Epistolarity': Approaches to Pliny's Epistles to Calpurnia," *Arethusa* 36 (2003): 136; Margaret Mullett, "The Classical Tradition in the Byzantine Letter," in *Letters, Literacy and Literature in Byzantium,* Variorum Collected Studies Series (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 75–93. For praise for good and idiosyncratic style, see Hier., *Ep.* 85.1; Sid., *Ep.* 9.12. (Lib., *Ep.* 716 claims that Libanius himself influenced the emperor Julian's distinctive style.) For rebukes of bad style, see Jul., *Ep.* 82; Rur., *Ep.* 1.13.

24. For emphasis on the *metron epistolēs* (Greek) or *modus epistulae* (Latin), see Bas., *Ep.* 12; Lib., *Ep.* 81.2; Synes., *Ep.* 4, 53, 142; Aus., *Ep.* 23; Hier., *Ep.* 57.13, 82.4, 133.2; Firm., *Ep.* 33. The sheer mechanics of composing letters and the frequency with which writers sent them necessitated brevity. Extrapolating from the ten-year period that Libanius's 1,544 letters cover, we might reasonably estimate that he wrote one as often as every three days: see Scott Bradbury, *Selected Letters of Libanius from the Age of Constantius and Julian,* Translated Texts for Historians 41 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004), 19. Guy Achard, *La communication à Rome* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1991), 139, estimates that Cicero in the first century BCE composed ten (!) letters per day—an extreme number, but not rejected by Jon Hall, *Politeness and Politics in Cicero's Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 16.

25. Excluding information: Jul., *Ep.* 191; Bas., *Ep.* 28.1, 63, 150.3, 260.5, 261.3, 291; Firm., *Ep.* 33; Lib., *Ep.* 1237.2; Thdt., *Ep.* S109; Sid., *Ep.* 6.11; Avit., *Ep.* 22. Fear of excessive length:

Bas., *Ep.* 160.5; P. Nol., *Ep.* 19.4, 20.1; Chrys., *Ep.* 107; Hier., *Ep.* 54.18, 57.8, 68.2; Aug., *Ep.* 167.6; Thdt., *Ep.* S21, S131; Rur., *Ep.* 1.11.

26. Bas., *Ep.* 57; Lib., *Ep.* 369.3; Symm., *Ep.* 1.14.1; Chrys., *Ep.* 222; Aug., *Ep.* 40.1.

27. *A. Rh.* 27 (Giomini and Celentano 105).

28. See, e.g., Symm., *Ep.* 7.9; Isid., *Ep.* 1401; Sid., *Ep.* 7.2; Ps.-Lib., *Ep. Char.* 2, 46–50. For a third-century witness to the same stylistic priorities, see Philostr., *Ep. et dial.* 2. On the conversational quality of letters, see Thraede, *Grundzüge griechisch-römischer Brieftopik,* 152–54.

29. For reflections on the friendly affection that could travel through epistolary texts, see Bas., *Ep.* 265.3; Ambr., *Ep.* 1.1, 48.1; Lib., *Ep.* 1297.1; P. Nol., *Ep.* 23.14; Symm., *Ep.* 1.16; Chrys., *Ep.* 111; Aug., *Ep.* 204.5; Firm., *Ep.* 20, 27; Sid., *Ep.* 7.10; Rur., *Ep.* 2.16. On the tropes associated with letters of friendship, see Thraede, *Grundzüge griechisch-römicsher Brieftopik,* 125–46, 165–79, with citations; Carolinne White, *Christian Friendship in the Fourth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 5–8; John F. Matthews, "The Letters of Symmachus," in *Latin Literature of the Fourth Century,* ed. J. W. Binns (London: Routledge, 1974), 58–99. For an example of a friendship that was created and maintained in letters—i.e., with no face-to-face meeting—consider the relationship between Augustine and Paulinus (see Aug., *Ep.* 27, 31, 42, 95; P. Nol., *Ep.* 3, 4, 6, 45, 50). There is plenty of reason to think that others did the same.

30. On the ways that Cicero, Pliny, and Fronto wrote this type of letter, see Roger Rees, "Letters of Recommendation and the Rhetoric of Praise," in Morello and Morrison, *Ancient Letters,* 149–68. In the second century, Epictetus described an incident when someone who asked him for a letter of recommendation ended up rejecting it because the language was fashioned in too plain a style (*Diss.* 1.9.27–34). For a spate of recommendations on behalf of Carthaginians displaced to Syria by a Vandal invasion, see Thdt., *Ep.* S29–36, S52–53, S70, P22–23.

31. E.g., Bas., *Ep.* 104; Lib., *Ep.* 163; Ambr., *Ep.* 59, 73.16; Firm., *Ep.* 16–17.

32. See Bradley K. Storin, "The Letters of Gregory of Nazianzus: Discourse and Community in Late Antique Epistolary Culture" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2012), ch. 2.

33. Fruit: Rur., *Ep.* 2.61; Ps.-Jul., *Ep.* 80; Hier., *Ep.* 31.3. Vegetables: Lib., *Ep.* 128. Mushrooms: Ambr., *Ep.* 43.2. Silphium: Synes., *Ep.* 106, 134. Fish: Firm., *Ep.* 19, 35; Rur., *Ep.* 2.44, 2.45, 2.54; Avit., *Ep.* 72. Bacon: Rur., *Ep.* 2.43. Wine: Avit., *Ep.* 74. Saffron: Synes., *Ep.* 134. Oil: Lib., *Ep.* 34.3. Sauce: Aus., *Ep.* 25. Bread: P. Nol., *Ep.* 3, 4. Live animals: Firm., *Ep.* 10, 44; Aus., *Ep.* 15, 18; Hier., *Ep.* 31; Synes., *Ep.* 134 (Synesius intended to send ostriches with the letter but could not make it happen). Pajamas: Sid., *Ep.* 7.16. A cap: Hier., *Ep.* 85.6. Other garments: P. Nol., *Ep.* 29.5; Hier., *Ep.* 44, 71.7. Gold: Synes., *Ep.* 19. Flyswatters: Hier., *Ep.* 44. Platters: P. Nol., *Ep.* 5.21. Bowls: Jul., *Ep.* 40. Cups: Hier., *Ep.* 44. Coins: Jul., *Ep.* 40. Golden apples: Aus., *Ep.* 17. Rugs: Synes., *Ep.* 61. Chairs: Hier., *Ep.* 44; Avit., *Ep.* 19. Sliver of the true cross: P. Nol., *Ep.* 31.1. Holy objects associated with Easter: Firm., *Ep.* 10; Hier., *Ep.* 31.1. Living people: P. Nol., *Ep.* 49.1; Rur., *Ep.* 2.15.

34. Sidonius Apollinaris often embedded poems in the body of his letters: see, e.g., *Ep.* 1.9, 2.8, 7.9, 7.17, 8.9, 9.13.

35. On the social impact of letters, see, e.g., Stefan Rebenich, *Hieronymus und sein Kreis: Prosopographische und sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1992); Andrew Cain, *The Letters of Jerome: Asceticism, Biblical Exegesis, and the Construction of Christian Authority in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Philippe

Bruggisser, *Symmaque ou le rituel épistolaire de l'amitié littéraire: Recherches sur le premier livre de la correspondance* (Freiburg: Éditions Universitaires, 1993); Dennis Trout, "*Amicitia, auctoritas,* and Self-Fashioning Texts: Paulinus of Nola and Sulpicius Severus," *SP* 28 (1993), 123–29; Trout, *Paulinus of Nola: Life, Letters, and Poems,* Transformation of the Classical Heritage 27 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Sigrid Mratschek, *Der Briefwechsel des Paulinus von Nola: Kommunikation und soziale Kontakte zwischen christlichen Intellektuellen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002); Adam M. Schor, *Theodoret's People: Social Networks and Religious Conflict in Late Roman Syria,* Transformation of the Classical Heritage 48 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010); Jennifer V. Ebbeler, *Disciplining Christians: Correction and Community in Augustine's Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

36. See ch. 1.

37. On the connection between changes in governance, the emergence of church institutions, and the explosion of epistolography, see Cristiana Sogno, Bradley K. Storin, and Edward J. Watts, introduction to *Late Antique Letter Collections: A Critical Introduction and Reference Guide*, ed. Sogno, Storin, and Watts (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017), 6–9.

38. On this educational tour, see Gr. Naz., *Or.* 7.6 and *Carm.* 2.1.11.121–29. On Gregory's pedagogue Carterius, see Gr. Naz., *Epig.* 142–46 and *Epit.* 115–18. At Caesarea Maritima, Gregory studied under the sophist Thespesius, for whom see Gr. Naz., *Epit.* 4 and Hier., *Vir. ill.* 113. At Athens he studied under Prohaeresius and supposedly Himerius; on the former, see Gr. Naz., *Epit.* 5 and Eun., *V.S.* 487–90, 493; on the latter, see Eun., *V.S.* 494 and Soc., *H.e.* 4.26.

39. See Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.211–20.

40. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 43.15–24.

41. *Or.* 43.11.1, 4 (SC 384:136–40). See also Gr. Naz., *Or.* 36.4, where he touts the power of his tongue, trained in "outside" (i.e., classical) eloquence and ennobled by divine eloquence.

42. Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Gregory of Nazianzus: Rhetor and Philosopher* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 7.

43. See Susanna Elm, *Sons of Hellenism, Fathers of the Church: Emperor Julian, Gregory of Nazianzus, and the Vision of Rome,* Transformation of the Classical Heritage 49 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), chs. 4–6, 8–10.

44. See Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.1113–272.

45. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.1126 (Jungck 108), 1144 (Jungck 110), 1178–79 (Jungck 110). For the complete list of heresies, see Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.1153–85. Gregory here repeats a well-worn trope among proto-orthodox polemic that all heresies stemmed from the initial error of Simon Magus, who sought to purchase Peter's miraculous abilities (Acts 8.9–24); see, e.g., Iren., *Haer.* 1.23.2; Eus., *H.e.* 2.13.6; Hipp., *Haer.* 6.2, which mentions an intellectual lineage from Simon to Valentinus.

46. *Carm.* 2.1.11.1201–6 (Jungck 112).

47. *Carm.* 2.1.11.1218–24 (Jungck 112).

48. Compare Jul. Vict., *A. Rh.* 27; Ps.-Lib., *Epist. Char.* 50. Indeed, Gregory's advice is quite similar to Pseudo-Libanius's on this point.

49. See especially Dem., *Eloc.* 226; Philostr., *Ep.* 2.1; Ps.-Lib., *Epist. Char.* 47–49; Jul. Vict., *A. Rh.* 27.

50. See also Philostr., *Ep.* 2.1; Ps.-Lib., *Epist. Char.* 46–47, 50.

51. *C. Th.* 16.1.3 designates him an orthodox standard-bearer, along with other addressees in Gregory's collection.

52. On the Helladius dossier, see ch. 5.

53. See Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 36.1, 44.5, 64.1, 67.3, 68, 70.2–4, 76.2, 80.2, 90.3, 91.1, 95, 100.5, 104.4, 105.1, 106.3, 123.2, 125.4, 126.1, 129.1–2, 130.3, 131.1–2, 139.4–6, 141.1, 142.1–2, 149.1, 152.2–3, 152.7, 154.3, 162.4, 171.1, 183.4, 183.6–7, 185.7, 187.1, 193–94, 195.2–3, 197.1, 199.2, 200.3, 205.1, 207.1–2, 210.1, 221.1, 222.1, 224.5, 225.1–3, 231.2, 242. However, as the next chapter will demonstrate, illness plays an important role in the collection's portrayal of Gregory as a philosopher who can ascetically endure any bodily hardship.

54. See also Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 44.7, 60.2, 67.3, 87.2, 117, 123.1, 129.1, 224.5, 225.2.

55. See Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 68.1, 93.2, 125.4, 195.3, 222.2.

56. See Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 10.14 (Candidianus's epistolary yearning for friends), 40.2 (Basil's epistolary yearning for Gregory), 60.1, 64.2, 70.3, 75.1, 117, 142.1, 197.8, 199.2, 207.1, 229.1 (Pansophius's epistolary yearning for Gregory), 231.2.

57. See also Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 56.1, 65.6, 66.1, 74.2, 115, 164.3, 172.1, 226, 239.1, 240.1.

58. See also Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 4.13, 58.13, 60.2, where he appeals to the *metron* as other late antique writers do—that is, when he notes that additional information would make the letter too long or asks pardon for a letter that is already running too long.

59. Gregory had, it seems, a special relationship with Olympius: see Neil McLynn, "Gregory's Governors: *Paideia* and Patronage in Cappadocia," in Van Hoof and Van Nuffelen, *Literature and Society,* 31–47.

60. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 104.1 (for Philoumena), 126.4 (for Nicobulus the Elder), 143.2 (for Leontius), 146.1 (for Nicobulus the Elder), to Olympius; 219.7 (for Sacerdos), to Helladius.

61. See also Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 146.3, to Olympius, where he uses the same title in his intercession for Nicobulus the Elder.

62. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 16.4, 17.3, 18.1, to Eusebius of Cappadocian Caesarea; 40.5, 58.1, 60.1, 246.1, 246.7, to Basil; 77.2, 115.2, 139.1–2, 152.4–5, 159.1–2, 160.1, 161.3, 162.1, 163.2, 163.6, 183.3, to Theodore of Tyana; 84.2, to Alypius; 127.1, to Helladius; 138.3, to Bosporius; 185.4, to Nectarius; 222.1, 223.1, 223.13, to Thecla; 242, to Peter. Obviously, Gregory does not reserve this title for bishops.

63. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 64.1, 65.1, 66.1, to Eusebius of Samosata; 182.4, to Gregory of Nyssa; 186.5, to Nectarius. See *Ep.* 171.3, to Amphilochius, for the address "Most Godly One." Unlike "Your Reverence" (see previous note), Gregory does reserve this title for bishops.

64. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 148.6, to Asterius; 164.1, to Timothy; 175.2, to Eudoxius; 195.2, to Gregory the governor; 198.3, 199.4, to Nemesius; 234.3, to Olympianus.

65. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 64.2, 66.2, to Eusebius of Samosata; 93.2, to Sophronius; 139.1, 157.3, to Theodore of Tyana; 184.4, to Amphilochius; 204.8, to Adelphius; 224.5, to Africanus.

66. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 3.4, to Evagrius; 6.6, to Basil; 76.5, to Gregory of Nyssa; 125.3, to Olympius; 137.1, to Modarius; 208.1, to Jacob; 230.5, to Theodosius.

67. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 21.2, to Sophronius; 103.4, 170.2, to Palladius; 126.3, to Olympius; 136.2, to Modarius; 181.2, to Saturninus; 195.4, to Gregory the governor; 199.6, to Nemesius; 208.1, to Jacob.

68. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 42.1, 42.3, to Eusebius of Samosata; 227.2, to Ursus.

69. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 29.4, to Sophronius; 63.6, to Amphilochius the Elder; 79.5, to Simplicia; 205.2, to Adelphius; 207.2, to Jacob.

70. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 28.2, to Amphilochius; 106.1, 144.1, to Olympius; 219.3, to Helladius.

71. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 42.4, to Eusebius of Samosata.

72. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 21.4, 22.2, to Sophronius; 129.2, 130.4, to Procopius; 131.2, 141.10, to Olympius. Gregory reserves this title for government officials.

73. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 137.1, to Modarius; 126.4, 141.5, 141.7, to Olympius. Like "Your Magnanimity" (see previous note), Gregory reserves this title for government officials.

74. Even without reference to Nestor, Gregory often used his age—or, as he phrased it, his "gray hair"—to inspire respect and acquiescence to epistolary requests regardless of the mode of discourse: see Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 23.5, 41.2, 77.2, 89, 125.1, 129.4, 140.4, 141.8, 142.2, 190.8, 206.4, 223.14. However, mentions of his advanced age do not always bear a positive connotation and were sometimes used to gin up pity for his sorry condition: see *Ep.* 41.7, 42.1, 42.4, 44.5, 80.2, 106.3, 120.4, 147.2, 154.3, 183.8, 184.1, 185.1, 242.

75. See other intertextual engagement with Homer at Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 5.1–2, 30.2, 54, 175.3, 192.3, 240.3.

76. The citations are too numerous to list. For instance, Gregory refers to, alludes to, or quotes Homer on thirty-three occasions in the collection, Plato on eighteen, and Pindar on ten. One may peruse a full list of classical references in Paul Gallay, ed., *Gregor von Nazianz: Briefe,* GCS 53 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1969), 193–95.

77. For Tantalus, see Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 5.2; Heracles, 5.5, 52.2; Abaris, 2.1; Eunomus, 175.2; King Pandion, 114.2–5.

78. See Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 51.5: "The third feature of epistles is grace. This we should guard if we're not to write letters utterly dry and devoid of beauty, adornment, and polish, as they say—for instance, without practical maxims, proverbs, and sayings, or even jokes and riddles, things that make language sweet."

79. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 61 (both a letter of consolation to Aerius and Alypius and a fundraising request that they donate their inheritance to the church), 76, 197, 222–23, 238; see Ps.-Lib., *Epist. Char.* 25 for the type.

80. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 193–94, 230–32; see Ps.-Lib., *Epist. Char.* 20 for the type.

81. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 30, 80, 95–96, 100, 157; see Ps.-Lib., *Epist. Char.* 43 for the type.

82. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 4–5; see Ps.-Lib., *Epist. Char.* 39 for the type.

83. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 72, 81, 99; see Ps.-Lib., *Epist. Char.* 36 for the type.

84. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 51, 54, 107, 110, 113, 116, 118–19, 212–15, 223, 244; see Ps.-Lib., *Epist. Char.* 31 for the type. If one wanted to see the theological letters (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 101–2, 202) in terms of epistolary types, they would fall into the didactic subgenre.

85. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 3, 50, 144, 158, 163, 246, 248; see Ps.-Lib., *Epist. Char.* 27 for the type.

86. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 10, 44, 154–55; see Ps.-Lib., *Epist. Char.* 30 for the type.

87. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 7, 11, 16, 20, 75, 77–78, 166, 178–79, 188, 217, 221; see Ps.-Lib., *Epist. Char.* 5 for the type.

88. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 25–26, 29, 57, 61, 82, 122, 125, 133, 135–36, 145, 149, 152, 173, 192, 210; see Ps.-Lib., *Epist. Char.* 7 for the type.

89. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 69, 121, 172, 184, 229; see Ps.-Lib., *Epist. Char.* 10 for the type.

90. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 58; see Ps.-Lib., *Epist. Char.* 24 for the type.

91. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 19; see Ps.-Lib., *Epist. Char.* 40 for the type.

92. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 48; see Ps.-Lib., *Epist. Char.* 21 for the type.

93. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 206; see Ps.-Lib., *Epist. Char.* 34 for the type.

94. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 245; see Ps.-Lib., *Epist. Char.* 41 for the type.

95. See Ps.-Lib., *Epist. Char.* 10–12.

96. Letters that incorporate elements of the friendly type are Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 1–6, 8, 13, 15, 21, 23, 27, 31, 39, 47, 64, 67, 70–71, 74, 86, 92–97, 100, 103, 112, 132, 148, 156–57, 159, 164, 167, 174, 181, 188, 195, 198, 200, 203–5, 210, 225, 227–31, 233–35, 237, 239–40, 242. For accompanying gifts, see Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 25.1, 26.1, 31.7, 52.2, 115.2–3, 121.1, 172.1, 229.1, 234.1, 235.1.

97. Recommending letters in the collection are Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 21, 28, 37–39, 41–43, 65, 85, 103, 134, 137, 150, 157, 159, 167–70, 174–76, 181–82, 189, 209, 224, 227–28, 236, 245.

98. Interceding letters in the collection are Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 9, 13–15, 22–24, 67, 83, 91, 104–6, 126–29, 140–43, 146–48, 151, 160, 162, 183, 185–86, 195–96, 198–99, 207–8, 211, 216, 218–19, 225.

99. See Ps.-Lib., *Epist. Char.* 5–6, 18, 25, 31, 34.

100. See Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 1.1, 46.2, 58.4, 188.1, 189.2, 190.3; see also *Ep.* 30.2, 33.2.

101. Gregory brings up "the masses" either to patronize them as simpletons who need the guidance and protection of elites like him or to dismiss them as immoral misfits who prefer flattery over truth and vice over virtue (as opposed to Gregory and his addressees): see Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 20.5, 29.4, 31.2, 31.5, 33.6, 40.4, 51.4, 58.9, 66.3, 67.1, 75, 77.4, 81.1, 108, 114.4, 138.2, 138.4, 139.6, 146.8, 154.1, 154.3, 161.2, 163.1, 165.7, 216.5, 217.2, 222.5–6, 223.7, 227.4.

4. "FATHER OF PHILOSOPHERS"

1. Sacerdos's expulsion is the subject of discussion in letters to Eudocius, Helladius, and Homophronius (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 216–21) and alluded to in letters to his sister, Thecla (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 222–23). The date of these troubles is hard to pin down with precision.

2. All the collection's letters to Sacerdos pertain to ascetic philosophy: see Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 99, 212–15.

3. On the date of this text, see Robert J. Panella, *Greek Philosophers and Sophists in the Fourth Century A.D.: Studies in Eunapius of Sardis,* ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers, and Monographs 28 (Leeds: Francis Cairns, 1990), 9.

4. Eun., *V.S.* 462 (LCL 134:380).

5. Eun., *V.S.* 465–66. For another account of Eustathius's embassy, see Amm. Marc. 17.5.15.

6. Eun., *V.S.* 466–70.

7. On Themistius generally, see Peter Heather and David Moncur, ed. and trans., *Politics, Philosophy, and Empire in the Fourth Century: Select Orations of Themistius,* Translated Texts for Historians 36 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001), 1–68, 137–72, 199–217, 285–96. Themistius believed it was not philosophical innovation that was needed but rather enunciation and explanation, which he accomplished by writing paraphrases of classic texts; see Them., *Or.* 23.294–95.

8. Them., *Demegoria Constantii* 20 (trans. Panella, 238).

9. Them., *Or.* 5.70a (trans. Heather and Moncur, 170). See also *Or.* 6.77c. The church historians Socrates (*H.e.* 4.32) and Sozomen (*H.e.* 6.36.6–37.1) both report that Themistius urged Valens to relax his persecution of Nicene Christians in the name of religious toleration.

10. Two Arabic manuscripts attribute to Themistius a text that was thought to be addressed to Julian (the *Risâlat*). The thirteenth-century Ibn al-'Ibrī described it as an attempt to persuade Julian to not persecute Christians. See John Vanderspoel, *Themistius and the Imperial*

Court: Oratory, Civic Duty, and Paideia from Constantius to Theodosius (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 126–30, for doubt about it being a response to Jul., *Ad Them.*, and 241–49, for the complicated problems of authorship, occasion, and addressee.

11. The classic biography of Julian remains Josef Bidez, *La vie de l'empereur Julien* (Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1930). For an exceptional and succinct treatment of his political career, see G. W. Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978). For his engagement with contemporary intellectual culture, see Susanna Elm, *Sons of Hellenism, Fathers of the Church: Emperor Julian, Gregory of Nazianzus, and the Vision of Rome,* Transformation of the Classical Heritage 49 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 60–143, 269–335.

12. While Caesar (between 355 and 360), Julian wrote a letter to Themistius in which he scoffs at the possibility of any mortal embodying the divine qualities needed to act as the ideal philosopher-king, arguing that a ruler should instead promote virtue through just legislation: Jul., *Ad Them.* 259a. On the date, see T. D. Barnes and J. Vander Spoel, "Julian and Themistius," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 22 (1981): 187–89; see Elm, *Sons of Hellenism,* 80–86, for a thorough exegesis of this text, and 106–39, for Julian's evolution on this point.

13. Jul., *Or.* 7.228d–235d, 6.182c–188c (with the exegesis of Elm, *Sons of Hellenism,* 136–39).

14. See, for example, the images of the "rare bronze coin" (34) and the "gold coin of Julian" (106) in Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate.* On the beard as a marker of philosophical identity from the Hellenistic period through late antiquity, see Paul Zanker, *The Mask of Socrates: The Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity,* trans. Alan Shapiro (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 108–13, 307–31. On the *Misopogon* and its context, see John F. Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 408–15; Polymnia Athanassiadi-Fowden, *Julian and Hellenism: An Intellectual Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1981), 201–5.

15. For the competition over philosophical authority as it played out in the literary arena of biographies, see Arthur Urbano, *The Philosophical Life: Biography and the Crafting of Intellectual Identity in Late Antiquity,* Patristic Monograph Series 21 (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2013).

16. Eus., *L.C.* 5.4.

17. Eus., *V.C.* 4.29.2 (trans. Cameron and Hall, 164).

18. Ath., *V. Anton.* 72–80.

19. Gr. Nyss., *V. Macr.* 1, 6 (SC 178:142, 162).

20. See Anne-Marie Malingrey, *"Philosophia": Étude d'un groupe de mots dans la littérature grecque, des Présocratiques au IV^{e} siècle après J.-C.* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1961). For the construction of identity among philosophers and sophists in the imperial period and Second Sophistic, with insights that pertain to late antiquity, see Kendra Eshleman, *The Social World of Intellectuals in the Roman Empire: Sophists, Philosophers, and Christians,* Greek Culture in the Roman World (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

21. Isoc., *Antid.* 271; Isoc., *Dem.* 2–5; Pl., *Phd.* 68c; Pl., *Resp.* 6.503b, 7.521c (cf. 5.475c); Epicur., *Sent.* 12, as well as the quotation of Epicurus at Porph., *Marc.* 31 and the paraphrase of him at S.E., *M.* 11.169; Sen., *Ep.* 90.5 describes Posidonius's view; Mus., *Diss.* 14 (cf. 3).

22. For his self-identification, see Phil. Alex., *Spec.* 3.1; for Moses, *Her.* 60(301); for the Therapeutae, *Contempl.* 16, 26, 28, 34, 67, 69, 89. Whether or not the Therapeutae were a real

community does not matter here; Philo believed that spiritual elites could hold the title of philosopher.

23. 4 Macc. 1.8, 5.22–24, 7.7, 7.21–22.

24. 1 Thess 2.1–8 (written ca. 50–51 CE). See Abraham Malherbe, "'Gentle as a Nurse': The Cynic Background to I Thess ii," *NovT* 12 (1970): 203–17; Malherbe, *Paul and the Thessalonians: The Philosophic Tradition of Pastoral Care* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 3–4, with references in n. 8.

25. Just., *Dial.* 2, 8. See also Tat., *Or.* 32, which designates Tatian's religious community a philosophical school.

26. Clem., *Paed.* 2.11.117; Or., *Cels.* 3.58.

27. See Dominic J. O'Meara, *Platonopolis: Platonic Political Philosophy in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2003), 40–139, for the Neoplatonist development of a political philosophy aimed at divinizing both souls and state.

28. True as much in the fourth as in the second and third centuries. See Johannes Hahn, *Philosoph und die Gesellschaft: Selbstverstandis, öffentliches Auftreten und populäre Erwartungen in der hohen Kaiserzeit* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1989), esp. 33–45, 156–71.

29. See Eun., *V.S.* 500–505 for Chrysanthius's embodiment of these characteristics.

30. For the philosopher's clothing, see the series of articles and chapters by Arthur Urbano: "'Dressing a Christian': The Philosopher's Mantle as Signifier of Pedagogical and Moral Authority," *SP* 62 (2013): 213–29; "Sizing Up the Philosopher's Cloak: Christian Verbal and Visual Representations of the *Tribōn*," in *Dressing Judeans and Christians in Antiquity,* ed. Kristi Upson-Saia, Carly Daniel-Hughes, and Alicia J. Batten (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 175–94; "Tailoring Rhetoric: Verbalizing Philosophical Dress in the Second Sophistic," in *The One Who Sows Bountifully: Essays in Honor of Stanley K. Stowers,* ed. Caroline Johnson Hodge et al., Brown Judaic Studies 356 (Providence, RI: Brown Judaic Studies, 2013), 243–54. I am grateful to Professor Urbano for sharing his paper "Their Garb, Our Truth: Dress and the Demarcation of Intellectual Status in Early Christian Literature and Art," delivered at the Annual Meeting of the North American Patristics Society, Chicago, May 2016.

31. See R.R.R. Smith, "Late Roman Philosopher Portraits from Aphrodisias," *JRS* 80 (1990): 144–46, with plates xii–xiii. See also Zanker, *Mask of Socrates,* 92–97, 307–20.

32. See "bust of 'sophist,'" in Smith, "Late Roman Philosopher Portraits," 148–50, with plates xv–xvi, which incorporates a slew of artistic conventions to portray a man who was likely alive when the bust was commissioned.

33. See Robin Lane Fox, "Movers and Shakers," in *The Philosopher and Society in Late Antiquity: Essays in Honour of Peter Brown,* ed. Andrew Smith (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2005), 19–50.

34. Peter Brown, *The Philosopher and Society in Late Antiquity,* Protocol Series of the Colloquies of the Center 34 (Berkeley: Center for Hermeneutical Studies, 1980), 7.

35. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 1.1 (SC 247:73).

36. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 2.8 (SC 247:98).

37. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 2.35 (SC 247:132–34).

38. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 1.6 (SC 247:80).

39. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 2.1 (SC 247:86).

40. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 2.6 (SC 247:96). On the role of purification in Gregory's writings and thought, see Brian Matz, *Gregory of Nazianzus,* Foundations of Theological Exegesis and Christian Spirituality (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2016), 37–52.

41. See Elm, *Sons of Hellenism,* 162, with n. 59.

42. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 4.5, 103–10.

43. See Elm, *Sons of Hellenism,* 228–58, 337–425.

44. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 2.91.

45. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 6.2 (SC 405:126).

46. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 26.10 (SC 284:248).

47. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 26.4 (SC 284:232).

48. Elm, *Sons of Hellenism,* 414–32.

49. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 27.1, 2, 3 (SC 250:72–76).

50. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 27.7 (SC 250:86–88).

51. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 28.2.

52. Caesarius, who "renounced military service to transitory things" because his soul was "so philosophical," was killed in the aftermath of an earthquake in 368 (Gr. Naz., *Or.* 7.15 [SC 405:216]). What his precise plans were remains unclear. Perhaps he intended to join Gregory in the priesthood, or perhaps he had a monastic life in mind. It is also possible that Gregory fabricated the final desire of Caesarius to "renounce transitory things" in order to give his panegyric a structure like that of the parable of the prodigal son. Within this narrative, Gregory was the one who received the letter from Caesarius announcing his plans, and it makes no mention of Gregory telling anyone else about them. As for his sister, Gorgonia, Gregory does not designate her a philosopher, but he praises her for publicly displaying all the philosophical virtues and practices (*Or.* 8.8, 11, 13, 15–16). Gregory's father showed his philosophical nature in his pastoral care and orthodoxy, as well as his earnestness, guilelessness, forgiving spirit, freedom from malice and anger, *parrhēsia*, courage in the face of hostility, and the way he endured suffering and hardship (*Or.* 18.16, 22, 24–28, 33–34). Even Gregory's mother, Nonna, who receives an unexpected amount of attention in the panegyric for his father, had a philosophical spirit: she was the originator of her husband's salvation and an embodiment of virtue, a woman whose only concern was for the beauty of her soul and the restoration of the divine image within herself (*Or.* 18.7–9, 28).

53. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 24.14, 13 (PG 35:1185).

54. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 21.1 (PG 35:1083–84).

55. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 21.9; see also 21.10, 37, where Gregory describes Athanasius as the living embodiment of the ideal bishop discussed in 1 Timothy.

56. See ch. 1.

57. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 25.2 (SC 284:158).

58. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 25.11 (SC 284:180); see also 25.15, 18, for Maximus's orthodoxy.

59. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 25.4 (SC 284:164); see also 25.2.

60. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 25.3 (SC 284:160).

61. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 25.1 (SC 284:156, 158).

62. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 25.2 (SC 284:160).

63. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.1757–58 (Jungck 138–40).

64. Other autobiographical poems make the same point: Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.1 (esp. lines 387–615), 2.1.5, 2.1.7–10, 2.1.12 (esp. lines 125–442, 610–752), 2.1.13 (esp. lines 51–58, 152–60), 2.1.15, 2.1.23, 2.1.27, 2.1.29–30, 2.1.33, 2.1.40, 2.1.52, 2.1.63, 2.1.68, 2.1.70, 2.1.92.

65. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 42.19 (SC 384:90).

66. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 42.8 (SC 384:68); see also 42.12.

67. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 42.15 (SC 384:80). For a Trinitarian exposition that proves the orthodoxy he instilled in his congregation, see *Or.* 42.15–18.

68. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 42.21 (384:94).

69. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 42.22 (SC 384:96).

70. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 42.22 (SC 384:98).

71. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 43.28 (SC 384:190), 80 (SC 384:302).

72. Compulsion to benefit humanity: Gr. Naz., *Or.* 43.41; civic patron: 43.33; not subject to flattery: 43.40; *parrhēsia*: 43.34, 48–50; eloquence: 43.13. See also 43.68–69, for his orthodoxy; 43.10, 29, 43, 61–62, 65, for his asceticism; 43.39, for his focus on the good.

73. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 43.66 (SC 384:270).

74. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 43.29; for contentious situations, see 43.28, 48–50, 53.

75. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 43.19–21, 25.

76. See Gr. Naz., *Or.* 42.26.

77. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 43.2 (SC 384:120).

78. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 43.59 (SC 384:252).

79. See ch. 5.

80. Athenian education: Gr. Naz., *Or.* 43.18; against Valens: 43.53; orthodoxy: 43.68–69; writings: 43.67; character: 43.64.

81. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.270 (Jungck 66). Indeed, the poem's preface laments the behavior of bad bishops (27–39) and frames Gregory's clerical career as having been enacted against his better judgment.

82. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.910 (Jungck 98).

83. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.575–78 (Jungck 82).

84. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.704–7, 710–15 (Jungck 88).

85. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.1054 (Jungck 104).

86. Asceticism: Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.299–336, 490–91, 547–51, 1254–59; social service: 2.1.11.1113–1272; *parrhēsia*: 2.1.11.1617, 1659 (cf. 2.1.5.11, 2.1.10.762–70); orthodoxy: 2.1.11.1100.

87. In several of Gregory's poems, Envy is the social personification of Satan, who works in the church among Gregory's opponents: see Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.189, 192, 201, 335, 1506, 1889; 2.1.2.19; 2.1.7.1–2; 2.1.10.8; 2.1.12.836; 2.1.13.159; 2.1.15.47; 2.1.18.3; 2.1.30.26, 63–65; 2.1.34.205; 2.1.37.5; 2.1.40.6, 17, 33; 2.1.43.5; 2.1.63.4; 2.1.66.6; 2.1.89.26; 2.1.94.4.

88. One might surmise that Gregory would not have needed to write many letters while in Constantinople, but the social necessity of epistolary communication, especially during the time of widespread coordination in the run-up to the Council of Constantinople, makes this unlikely. One might also surmise that he simply failed to transfer his epistolary archive to Cappadocia when he left. While not impossible, it is unlikely, given that these two letters made it back and show a strong thematic cohesion: their survival reflects editorial selection, not accident.

89. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 23.5, 41.5, 42.27; *Carm.* 2.1.12.33, 2.1.12.105, 2.1.15.11, 2.1.30.55, 2.1.33.12.

90. See Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 90, 97 for the same sentiment.

91. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 130, 132–33, 135–36. On these two councils, see R. P. C. Hanson, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God: The Arian Controversy, 318–381* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988), 811, 822–23.

92. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 107–9, to the priest Cledonius; 110, 119, to the rhetoric teacher–turned–imperial official Palladius; 111, 118, to the monk Eugenius; 112–14, to the municipal magistrate Celeusius; 116–17, to his cousin (and episcopal successor) Eulalius. For a fuller treatment, see Bradley K. Storin, "In a Silent Way: Asceticism and Literature in the Rehabilitation of Gregory of Nazianzus," *JECS* 19 (2011): 225–57.

93. For other assertions of his *parrhēsia* or philosophical praise for its use, see Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 7.4, 17.2, 41.2, 42.5, 44.5, 58.8, 64.5, 78.5, 132.1, 142.3, 145.6, 146.2, 197.5, 222.4.

94. Gregory also links endurance and philosophy in Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 19.1, 32.1, 35.2, 76.4, 90.4, 219.3, 222.1, 222.5, 223.4, 223.11, 223.12, 244.5.

95. The classic example of the healthy ascetic is Antony in Ath., *V. Anton.* 14. For a thorough discussion of early Christian ambivalence and even confusion regarding illness in holy people, see Andrew T. Crislip, *Thorns in the Flesh: Illness and Sanctity in Late Ancient Christianity,* Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), chs. 1, 4.

96. That Gregory of Nyssa was likely married to Theosebia, see Jean Daniélou, "Le mariage de Grégoire de Nysse et la chronologie de sa vie," *Revue d'Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 2 (1956): 71–78.

97. See also Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 222.

98. See Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 9–10, 13–14, 22–24, 29, 67, 79, 83, 91, 98, 104–5, 125–27, 129, 140–44, 146–49, 151, 160–63, 186, 195–96, 198, 207–8, 211, 221.

99. For applied biblical typology, see Derek Krueger, *Writing and Holiness: The Practice of Authorship in the Early Christian East,* Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 15–32; Michael S. Williams, *Authorised Lives in Early Christian Biography: Between Eusebius and Augustine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 36–48, 87–95.

100. For other typological comparisons, see Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 139.1, 186.4.

101. Indeed, on only a few occasions does the collection call out the author of scriptural language: Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 80.1 and 91.2 (attributing quotations to David), 118.1 (noting the text as Ecclesiastes), 158.1 (attributing a phrase to Ezra), 168.1 (attributing a verse to John).

102. For other instances of scripturalized praise, see Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 45.1, 79.1, 91.2, 221.1. For a similar practice in paraenetic letters, see *Ep.* 65.4–5, 186.4, 221.1; in requesting letters, *Ep.* 57.2, 61.6, 61.8.

103. Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 95, 100.3, 120.2.

104. See Frances Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997; repr., Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2002), 95–116.

5. "BASILIST"

1. Bas., *Trin.* 1 (trans. DelCogliano, 270). On the complicated textual history, integrity, and authenticity of this sermon, see DelCogliano, "Basil of Caesarea's Homily *On Not Three Gods* (*CPG* 2914): Problems and Solutions," *Sacris Erudiri* 50 (2011): 87–131.

2. For an excellent summary and review of the relevant texts, see Philip Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea,* Transformation of the Classical Heritage 20 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 270–317.

3. For September 378, see Jean-Robert Pouchet, "La date de l'élection episcopale de Saint Basile et celle de sa mort," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 87 (1992): 5–33; Pierre Maravel, "Retour sur quelques dates concernant Basil de Césarée et Grégoire de Nysse," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 99 (2004): 153–57, which revises Maravel's previous assessment of August 377 in "La date de la mort de Basil de Césarée," *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 34 (1988): 25–38; Anna Silvas, *Gregory of Nyssa: The Letters—Introduction, Translation and Commentary,* Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 83 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 32–39. For January 1, 379, see T. D. Barnes, "The Collapse of the Homoeans in the East," *SP* 29 (1997): 3–16; Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea,* 360–63; Richard Vaggione, *Eunomius of Cyzicus and the Nicene Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 304–11.

4. Bas., *Ep.* 58 (Courtonne 1:146), 100 (Courtonne 1:219).

5. Bas., *Ep.* 215.

6. Gr. Nyss., *Hom. opif.*, pref. (PG 44:125).

7. Gr. Nyss., *Ep.* 29.4 (trans. Silvas, 207). Likely at the council of Constantinople in 360, to align himself with the prevailing Homoian orthodoxy Eunomius had delivered his *Apology,* whose success secured him the episcopacy of Cyzicus. On the date of the *Apologia,* see Lionel R. Wickham, "The Date of Eunomius' *Apology:* A Reconsideration," *JTS,* n.s., 20 (1969): 231–40. In 364 or 365, as a priest in Caesarea, Basil wrote his *Contra Eunomium* in response to the *Apologia,* once it had become clear that Eunomius was supporting the imperial usurper Procopius; see Raymond Van Dam, *Becoming Christian: The Conversion of Roman Cappadocia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 27–28. Eunomius responded with his *Apologia pro apologia,* sequentially publishing its five books between 378 and 380. It was against this work that Nyssen wrote his *Contra Eunomium I,* in late 380 or early 381, and with later books through 383: see Silvas, *Gregory of Nyssa,* 44–45, 49.

8. Gr. Nyss., *Eun.* 1.1.3, 76 (*GNO* 1.1:23, 48).

9. Gr. Nyss., *In Bas.* (*GNO* 10.1:120).

10. Amphilochius is the addressee of Bas., *Ep.* 150, 161, 176, 188, 190–91, 199, 202, 217–18, 231–36, 248. On his epistolary relationship with Basil, see Silvain DeStephen, *Prosopographie chrétienne du bas-empire, 3: Prosopographie du diocèse d'Asie (325–641)* (Paris: Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2008), 113–24.

11. See Bas., *Ep.* 138, 150, both written in 373. The former announces Iconium's episcopal vacancy to Eusebius of Samosata; the latter praises Amphilochius for his ascetic isolation but argues that his discipline would be put to better use in an urban environment, where he could serve the poor and infirm.

12. Bas., *Ep.* 161.2 (Courtonne 2:94).

13. Bas., *Ep.* 199.1 (Courtonne 2:154). The other "canonical letters" are Bas., *Ep.* 188, 217.

14. Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea,* 261. The letters are Bas., *Ep.* 200–202, 232.

15. Basil dedicated *De spiritu sancto* to Amphilochius: see Bas., *Spir.* 1. pref.

16. See Amph., *Ep. syn.*, lines 15–22.

17. See Raymond Van Dam, "Governors of Cappadocia during the Fourth Century," *Medieval Prosopography* 17 (1996): 10–12, 64–66; Jean-Robert Pouchet, *Basile le Grand et son*

univers d'amis d'après sa correspondance: Une stratégie de communion, Augustinium Studia 36 (Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1992), 227–33. The date for the second split is provided by Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 154. *C. Th.* 13.11.2 confirms that it was still in effect in March 386.

18. See C. H. Turner, "Canons Attributed to the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381, Together with the Names of Bishops, from Two Patmos MSS ΡΟΒ΄ ΡΟΓ΄," *JTS* 15 (1914): 168–70. The manuscripts in Turner's article feature canons and a roster of signees at the Council of Constantinople in 381; based on the content, it was composed in the Council's early days, before Meletius of Antioch had died and Gregory of Nazianzus was confirmed as the bishop of Constantinople. Among the Cappadocian signees, it lists Helladius first (just like the other metropolitans in their provincial groups), followed by Gregory of Nyssa, Aestherius of Tyana, Bosporius of Colonia, Olympius of Parnassus, and finally Gregory of Nazianzus.

19. Severus of Antioch nearly a century and a half later referred back to this incident as a rich example of how otherwise pious men could descend into petty conflict: see E. W. Brooks, ed. and trans., *The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, in the Syriac Version of Athanasius of Nisibus* (Oxford: Williams and Norgate, 1903), 205–6.

20. Neil McLynn, "Curiales into Churchmen: The Case of Gregory Nazianzen," in *La trasformazioni delle "élites" in èto tardoantica: Atti del convegno internazionale di Perugia, 15–16 marzo 2004*, ed. Rita Lizzi Testa (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2006), 293.

21. See the terrific rundown of primary sources in McLynn, "Curiales into Churchmen," 290–94.

22. See *C. Th.* 16.1.3.

23. Hier., *Vir. ill.* 128 reveals that Gregory of Nazianzus was present for Nyssen's reading of *Contra Eunomium,* which begins with Nyssen fashioning himself as Basil's theological heir. Further, Gr. Naz., *Or.* 43.34–36 is likely a retort to the description of the Caesarean famine in Gr. Nyss., *In Bas.* (see Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea,* 137 n. 12), in which case he would have been aware of Nyssen's further self-fashioning work in that eulogy. Finally, Nyssen, Amphilochius, and Helladius feature prominently in Gregory's letter collection, and each addressee's dossier bears an observable dynamic in which Gregory exerts his authority or seeks to subtly diminish theirs, as this chapter later discusses in detail.

24. Gregory's antagonism to his friends and allies may have stemmed from their role in pushing him out of Constantinople: see, e.g., Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.1745–73, 2.1.19.9–21, 2.1.33.16, 2.1.53.1, 2.1.68.3–11, 2.1.93.10.

25. See, for instance, Martha Vinson, trans., *Select Orations: Gregory of Nazianzus,* FOTC 107 (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2003), xv–xvi; Marie-Ange Calvet-Sebasti, ed. and trans., *Grégoire de Nazianze: Discours 6–12*, SC 405 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1995), 88–99.

26. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 11.3 (SC 405:334).

27. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 12.2 (SC 405:350).

28. See the discussion of this legal construct and its place in Gregory's life in ch. 1.

29. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 12.4 (SC 405:354).

30. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 12.5 (SC 405:358).

31. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 9.4–5 (SC 405:308–10; trans. Vinson, 23–24, modified).

32. See Vinson, *Select Orations,* 36 n. 1, against Paul Gallay, *La vie de Saint Grégoire de Nazianze* (Lyon: Vitte, 1943), 123 n. 3, which claims that Eulalius was the editor of this oration.

33. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 13.2 (PG 35:853).

34. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 9.5, 12.4.

35. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 9.4.

36. See the discussion in ch. 1.

37. One may recall the cluster of anti-Constantinople letters, discussed in ch. 2, and the personalized character of his philosophical identity, discussed in ch. 4.

38. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.430–44 notes that Pontus and Caesarea already know the event that is about to be described, the appointment to Sasima in 372. That is, Gregory is relating this story not to the people in those regions but to a different audience, at Constantinople, composed of the bishops who challenged his position on the basis of that appointment and his well-placed sympathetic friends and acquaintances there. The date is impossible to pin down, but given the audience and the poem's conclusion with his departure from Constantinople, it seems likely that he wrote it almost immediately upon returning to Cappadocia.

39. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.228–30 (Jungck 64).

40. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.232 (Jungck 64).

41. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.351–56 (Jungck 70).

42. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.391 (Jungck 72).

43. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.405–13 (Jungck 72–74).

44. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.476–83 (Jungck 76).

45. Neil McLynn, "Gregory Nazianzen's Basil: The Literary Construction of a Christian Friendship," *SP* 37 (2001): 180–83.

46. Ascetic mentors: Gr. Naz., *Or.* 43.25; conflict with Eusebius: 43.29, 31; election: 43.37; confrontation with Valens: 43.52–53; war against Anthimus: 43.58–59.

47. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 43.59 (SC 384:252).

48. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 43.59 (SC 384:254).

49. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 43.32.

50. Illnesses: Gr. Naz., *Or.* 43.61; hospital: 43.64; writings: 43.67.

51. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 43.80.

52. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 43.82.

53. McLynn, "Gregory Nazianzen's Basil," 183.

54. McLynn, "Gregory Nazianzen's Basil," 180. See also Frederick W. Norris, "Your Honor, My Reputation: St. Gregory of Nazianzus's Funeral Oration on St. Basil the Great," in *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity,* ed. Tomas Hägg and Philip Rousseau, Transformation of the Classical Heritage 31 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 140–59.

55. See Vassilios P. Vertoudakis, *Το όγδοο βιβλίο της Παλατινής Ανθολογίας: Μια μελέτη των επιγραμμάτων του Γρηγορίου του Ναζιανζηνού* (Athens: Institut du Livre–A. Kardamitsa, 2011), 25–61, for a helpful overview of the epigrammatic tradition before Gregory and his place in the *Palatine Anthology.*

56. Gr. Naz., *Epig.* 2–11, 79.

57. Gr. Naz., *Epig.* 3 (LCL 68:400), 5, 7 (both LCL 68:402), 9, 10 (both LCL 68:404).

58. Gr. Naz., *Epig.* 2, 6 (LCL 68:402), 8 (LCL 68:404).

59. Gr. Naz., *Epig.* 11 (LCL 68:404); *Or.* 43.82 (SC 384:304) claims that Gregory possessed "the tongue that was once most sweet to you [Basil]."

60. See Justin Mossay, "Le 'discours' 10 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Notes et controverses," *Byzantion* 70 (2000): 447–55.

61. See Susanna Elm, "Inventing the 'Father of the Church': Gregory of Nazianzus' 'Farewell to the Bishops' (*Or.* 42) in Its Historical Context," in *Vita religiosa im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Kaspar Elm zum 70. Geburtstag* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1999), 3–20, which establishes that Gr. Naz., *Or.* 42 is an imagined valedictory oration, never delivered, written for an audience of the bishops gathered in Constantinople for the council in 381.

62. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 10.3 (SC 405:322).

63. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 10.3–4 (SC 405:322–24).

64. See ch. 2, for a discussion of the manuscript evidence; McLynn, "Gregory Nazianzen's Basil," 184–86, for a reasonable guess.

65. See ch. 2.

66. The twenty letters to Basil are Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 1–2, 4–6, 8, 19, 40, 45–50, 58–60, 245–46, 248. The letters addressed to other parties are *Ep.* 16–18, to Eusebius of Caesarea, which connect to *Ep.* 19; *Ep.* 41, to "The Church of Caesarea," and 43, to "The Bishops," which connect to *Ep.* 40, 45–46; and *Ep.* 247, to Glycerius, which connects to *Ep.* 246, 248.

67. Bas., *Ep.* 368 (trans. Way, 2:347).

68. The second witness is Gr. Naz., *Epig.* 79, also a post-Constantinople writing. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.337–64 discusses Gregory's ordination with no reference to Basil's, while *Or.* 43.25 discusses Basil's ordination with no reference to Gregory's.

69. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.277–336.

70. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 43.25 (SC 384:180–82).

71. See also Gr. Naz., *Or.* 43.28–29, where Gregory is equally taciturn on the matter.

72. On *parrhēsia*, see ch. 4; on its centrality to late antique notions of friendship, see David Konstan, *Friendship in the Classical World,* Key Themes in Ancient History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 103–5, 153–56.

73. A wordplay: "palace" = *basileion;* "Basil" = *Basileios.*

74. Indeed, in tone and content Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 46 mirrors the admonishing type described by Ps.-Dem., *Typ. epist.* 7.

75. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 43.37.

76. Bas., *Ep.* 71.2 (Courtonne 1:167).

77. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 43.69 (SC 384:278).

78. Gr. Naz., *Or.* 43.69 (SC 384:278–80).

79. On the *Philocalia,* see ch. 2, n. 19.

80. These addressees are Amphilochius of Iconium (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 13, 25–28, 62, 171, 184; Bas., *Ep.* 150, 161, 176, 188, 190–91, 199–202, 217–18, 231–36, 248); Bosporius of Colonia (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 89, 138, 153; Bas., *Ep.* 51); Caesarius (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 7, 20; Bas., *Ep.* 26); Candidianus (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 10; Bas., *Ep.* 3); Cyriacus (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 211; Bas., *Ep.* 114); Epiphanius (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 239; Bas., *Ep.* 258); Eusebius of Samosata (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 42, 44, 64–66; Bas., *Ep.* 27, 30, 48, 85, 98, 100, 127, 136, 138, 141, 145, 162, 166–67, 198, 237, 241, 268, 271); Gregory of Nyssa (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 11, 72–74, 76, 81, 182, 197; Bas., *Ep.* 38, 58); Julian (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 67–69; Bas., *Ep.* 293?); Leontius (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 95; Bas., *Ep.* 20, 21?); Meletius (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 240; Bas., *Ep.* 193);

Nectarius of Constantinople (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 91, 151, 185–86; Bas., *Ep.* 4, 290?); Olympius (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 104–6, 125–26, 131, 140–44, 146, 154; Bas., *Ep.* 4, 12–13, 131, 211?); Palladius (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 103, 110?, 119?, 170; Bas., *Ep.* 292?); Philagrius (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 30–36, 80, 87, 92; Bas., *Ep.* 323); Simplicia (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 79; Bas., *Ep.* 115); Sophronius (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 21–22, 29, 37–38, 93, 135; Bas., *Ep.* 32, 76, 96, 177, 180, 192, 272); Timothy (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 164; Bas., *Ep.* 291).

81. See David Konstan, "How to Praise a Friend: St. Gregory of Nazianzus's Funeral Oration for St. Basil the Great," in *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity,* ed. Tomas Hägg and Philip Rousseau, Transformation of the Classical Heritage 31 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 160–79.

82. Jean Daniélou, "Le mariage de Grégoire de Nysse et la chronologie de sa vie," *Revue d'Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 2 (1956): 71–78.

83. Gregory mentions a certain Helladius as his cousin in *Ep.* 15. It is unclear if this is the future bishop of Caesarea, but thematically, his appearance here would agree with Gregory's authorial program. The letter recommends "my lordly cousins Helladius and Eulalius" (*Ep.* 15.4) to Lollianus, a provincial notable, and describes their philosophical characters. If we should identify this Helladius with Basil's future successor, then Gregory would be establishing that Helladius, like Nyssen and Amphilochius, owed a great professional success to Gregory's early intervention, and that Helladius's later grudge against Eulalius was all the more petty, since, on the one hand, the two were kinsmen and, on the other, they were united under Gregory's patronage. If this Helladius is not to be identified with Basil's future successor, then this letter should be excluded from the Helladius dossier.

84. See Vasiliki M. Limberis, "Bishops Behaving Badly: Helladius Challenges Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa," in *Re-reading Gregory of Nazianzus: Essays on History, Theology, and Culture,* ed. Christopher A. Beeley, CUA Studies in Early Christianity (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2012), 158–77.

85. Soc., *H.e.* 4.26.4–5 (SC 505:108).

86. Soz., *H.e.* 5.18.2 (SC 495:186), 6.17.1 (SC 495:322).

87. Soz., *H.e.* 6.26.10 (SC 495:378).

88. Gr. Pres., *V. Gr. Th.* 4 (CCSG 44:130), 10.

89. Nic., *En. Gr.* 3 (Rizzo 22); see also 4.

90. Nic., *En. Gr.* 9.

91. Jean Leclerc, *Bibliothèque universelle 18: Gregorii Nazianzani Opera, cum ejus vita* (Amsterdam, 1690), 10; Carl Ullmann, *Gregorius von Nazianz, der Theologe: Ein Beitrag zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte des vierten Jahrhunderts* (Darmstadt: Carl Wilhelm Leske, 1825), 35.

92. Ullmann, *Gregorius von Nazianz,* 35–36.

93. See Gallay, *La vie de Saint Grégoire,* 55–62; Jean Bernardi, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze: Le théologien et son temps (330–390)* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1995), 117–21.

94. McGuckin, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus,* 77.

EPILOGUE

1. Dan Chiasson, "Sense of Self: New Poems by Terrence Hayes and Deborah Landau," *New Yorker,* May 11, 2015, https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2015/05/11/sense-of-self. I came across this review thanks to Ellen Muehlberger, "On Authors, Fathers, and Holy Men,"

Marginalia: Los Angeles Review of Books, September 20, 2015, https://marginalia.lareviewofbooks.org/on-authors-fathers-and-holy-men-by-ellen-muehlberger. On late antique authorship as a productive activity, see Derek Krueger, *Writing and Holiness: The Practice of Authorship in the Early Christian East,* Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 6–8.

2. Gr. Naz., *Carm.* 2.1.11.42 (Jungck 56).
3. Chiasson, "Sense of Self."

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INDEX OF GREGORY'S *EPISTULAE*

Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 1 to Basil, 37, 157–58, 163, 214nn96,100, 223n66
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 2 to Basil, 37, 157–58, 213n77, 214n96, 223n66
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 3 to Evagrius, 94, 212n66, 213n85, 214n96
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 4 to Basil, 37, 50, 74, 81, 157–58, 163, 212n58, 213n82, 214n96, 223n66
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 5 to Basil, 37, 50, 74, 157–58, 163, 213nn75,77,82, 214n96, 223n66
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 6 to Basil, 37, 157–58, 200n112, 212n66, 214n96, 223n66
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 7 to Caesarius, 81, 213n87, 219n93, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 8 to Basil, 37, 157, 163, 214n96, 223n66
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 9 to Amphilochius, 168–69, 219n98
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 10 to Candidianus, 212n56, 213n86, 219n98, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 11 to Gregory, 138, 167–68, 213n87, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 12 to Nicobulus (the Elder), 50, 62, 91, 206n12
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 13 to Amphilochius, 168, 214nn96,98, 219n98, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 14 to Caesarius, 49, 81, 214n98, 219n98
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 15 to Lollianus, 97, 140, 214nn96,98, 224n83
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 16 to Eusebius (of Caesarea), 49, 62, 81, 138, 159, 163, 212n62, 213n87, 223n66
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 17 to Eusebius (of Caesarea), 49, 81, 159, 212n62, 219n93, 223n66
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 18 to Eusebius (of Caesarea), 49, 81, 159, 212n62, 223n66
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 19 to Basil, 142, 159, 163, 213n91, 219n94, 223n66
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 20 to Caesarius, 81, 213n87, 214n101, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 21 to Sophronius, 191n22, 212n67, 213n72, 214nn96,97, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 22 to Sophronius, 168–69, 191n22, 213n72, 214n98, 219n98, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 23 to Caesarius, 49, 169, 213n74, 214nn96,98, 219n98
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 24 to Themistius, 141, 168–69, 207n1, 214n98, 219n98
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 25 to Amphilochius, 86, 164, 168, 213n88, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 26 to Amphilochius, 168, 213n88, 214n96, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 27 to Amphilochius, 168, 214n96, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 28 to Amphilochius, 43, 50, 62, 168, 206n12, 213n70, 214n97, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 29 to Sophronius, 191n22, 212n69, 213n88, 214n101, 219n98, 224n80

Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 30 to Philagrius, 113, 191n22, 213nn75,81, 214n100, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 31 to Philagrius, 139, 191n22, 214nn96, 101, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 32 to Philagrius, 56, 139, 191n22, 219n94, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 33 to Philagrius, 56, 191n22, 214nn100,101, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 34 to Philagrius, 191n22, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 35 to Philagrius, 191n22, 219n94, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 36 to Philagrius, 138, 191n22, 212n53, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 37 to Sophronius, 3, 112, 121, 191n22, 214n97, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 38 to Themistius, 3, 101–2, 112, 121, 214n97
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 39 to Sophronius, 166, 191n22, 214nn96,97, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 40 to Basil, 159, 163, 192n29, 212nn56,62, 214n101, 223n66
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 41 to "The Church of Caesarea," 81, 86, 159, 192n29, 200n112, 213n74, 214n97, 219n93, 223n66
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 42 to Eusebius (of Samosata), 43, 50, 62, 81, 86, 164, 192n29, 200n112, 206n12, 212n68, 213nn71,74, 214n97, 219n93, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 43 to "The Bishops," 80–81, 86, 159, 192n29, 200n112, 214n97
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 44 to Eusebius (of Samosata), 49, 81, 86, 142, 164, 192n29, 212nn53,54, 213nn74,86, 219n93, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 45 to Basil, 159–60, 192n30, 219n102, 223n66
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 46 to Basil, 159–60, 164, 214n100, 223nn66,74
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 47 to Basil, 162–63, 214n96, 223n66
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 48 to Basil, 142, 161, 163, 213n92
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 49 to Basil, 161, 223n66
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 50 to Basil, 50, 74, 161, 164, 213n85, 223n66
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 51 to Nicobulus, 2, 29, 37, 43, 74, 81, 87, 110–11, 113, 213nn78,84, 214n101
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 52 to Nicobulus, 1–2, 29, 37, 43, 74, 81, 87, 110, 115, 149, 213n77, 214n96
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 53 to Nicobulus, 2, 29, 37, 43, 74, 81, 86–87, 110, 156
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 54 to Nicobulus, 29, 37, 43, 74, 81, 87, 110, 213nn75,84
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 55 to Nicobulus, 91
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 56 to Thecla, 81, 140, 212n57
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 57 to Thecla, 43, 50, 62, 81, 206n12, 213n88, 219n102
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 58 to Basil, 80, 161–62, 212n58,62, 213n90, 214nn100,101, 219n93, 223n66
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 59 to Basil, 80, 161–62, 223n66
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 60 to Basil, 163, 212nn54,56,58,62, 223n66
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 61 to Aerius and Alypius, 213nn79,88, 219n102
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 62 to Amphilochius, 62, 168, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 63 to Amphilochius (the Elder), 91, 143, 168–69, 212n69
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 64 to Eusebius (of Samosata), 49, 62, 212nn53,63,65, 214n96, 219n93, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 65 to Eusebius (of Samosata), 49, 62, 212nn57,63, 214n97, 219n102, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 66 to Eusebius (of Samosata), 49, 50, 138, 212nn57,63,65, 214n101, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 67 to Julian, 191n22, 212n53–54, 214n96,98,101, 219n98, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 68 to Julian, 50, 191n22, 212n53, 212n55, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 69 to Julian, 191n22, 213n89, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 70 to Eutropius, 94, 212nn53,56, 214n96
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 71 to Eutropius, 94, 214n96
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 72 to Gregory, 167, 213n83, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 73 to Gregory, 167, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 74 to Gregory, 49–50, 62, 167, 206n12, 212n57, 214n96, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 75 to Vitalianus, 212n56, 213n87, 214n101
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 76 to Gregory, 86, 140, 164–65, 171, 212nn53,66, 213n79, 219n94, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 77 to Theodore, 37, 135, 138–39, 195n51, 212n62, 213nn74,87, 214n101
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 78 to Theotecnus, 95, 135, 143, 213n87, 219n93
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 79 to Simplicia, 80, 113, 212n69, 219n98,102, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 80 to Philagrius, 37, 86, 165, 191n22, 212n53, 213n74,81, 219n101, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 81 to Gregory, 167, 213n83, 214n101, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 82 to Alypius, 50, 213n88
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 83 to Alypius, 50, 214n98, 219n98
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 84 to Alypius, 50, 212n62
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 85 to Alypius, 50, 214n97
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 86 to Alypius, 50, 214n96
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 87 to Philagrius, 191n22, 212n53, 224n80

Gr. Naz., *Ep.* *88 to Nectarius, 205n2, 205n8
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 89 to Bosporius, 213n74, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 90 to Anysius, 37, 50, 95, 212n53, 218n90, 219n94
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 91 to Nectarius, 212n53, 214n98, 219nn98,101,102, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 92 to Philagrius, 56, 139, 191n22, 214n96, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 93 to Sophronius, 191n22, 212nn55,65, 214n96, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 94 to Amazonius, 95, 135, 214n96
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 95 to Leontius, 95, 135, 212n53, 213n81, 214n96, 219n103, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 96 to Hypatius, 95, 135, 213n81, 214n96
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 97 to Heraclianus, 95, 214n96, 218n90
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 98 to "The Decurions," 94, 219n98
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 99 to Sacerdos, 81, 213n83, 214n1
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 100 to Gigantius, 95, 212n53, 213n81, 214n96, 219n103
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 101 to Cledonius, 37, 141, 194n43, 197n75, 213n84
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 102 to Cledonius, 37, 141, 197n75, 213n84
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 103 to Palladius, 81, 212n67, 214nn96,97, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 104 to Olympius, 56, 212n53,60, 214n98, 219n98, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 105 to Olympius, 56, 212n53, 214n98, 219n98, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 106 to Olympius, 56, 212n53, 213nn70,74, 214n98, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 107 to Cledonius, 81, 136, 197n74, 206n17, 213n84, 219n92
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 108 to Cledonius, 81, 136, 197n74, 206n17, 214n101, 219n92
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 109 to Cledonius, 81, 197n74, 206n17, 219n92
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 110 to Palladius, 81, 97, 197n74, 206n17, 213n84, 219n92, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 111 to Eugenius, 81, 97, 136, 197n74, 206n17, 219n92
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 112 to Celeusius, 81, 97, 197n74, 206n17, 214n96, 219n92
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 113 to Celeusius, 81, 197n74, 206n17, 213n84, 219n92
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 114 to Celeusius, 50, 81, 97, 197n74, 206nn12,17, 213n77, 214n101, 219n92
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 115 to Theodore, 4, 86, 148, 165, 206n19, 212nn57,62, 214n96
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 116 to Eulalius, 81, 97, 197n74, 206n17, 213n84, 219n92
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 117 to Eulalius, 81, 97, 197n74, 206n17, 212nn53,56, 219n92
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 118 to Eugenius, 81, 97, 136, 197n74, 206n17, 213n84, 219nn92,101
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 119 to Palladius, 81, 97, 197n74, 206n17, 213n84, 219n92, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 120 to Helladius, 81, 110, 169–70, 213n74, 219n103
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 121 to Theodore, 213n89, 214n96
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 122 to Theodore, 213n88
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 123 to Theodore, 212nn53,54
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 124 to Theodore,———
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 125 to Olympius, 50, 141, 197n75, 200n112, 212nn53,55,66, 213nn74,88, 219n98, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 126 to Olympius, 212nn53,60,67, 213n73, 214n98, 219n98, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 127 to Helladius, 62, 81, 169, 212n62, 214n98, 219n98
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 128 to Procopius, 214n98
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 129 to Procopius, 97, 212nn53,54, 213nn72,74, 214n98, 219n98
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 130 to Procopius, 50, 95, 212n53, 213n72, 219n91
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 131 to Olympius, 56, 212n53, 213n72, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 132 to Saturninus, 95, 214n96, 219nn91,93
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 133 to Victor, 95, 136, 213n88, 219n91
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 134 to Victor, 95, 214n97
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 135 to Sophronius, 95, 136, 143, 191n22, 213n88, 219n91, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 136 to Modarius, 95, 136, 212n67, 213n88, 219n91,100
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 137 to Modarius, 212n66, 213n73, 214n97
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 138 to Bosporius, 95, 200n112, 212n62, 214n101, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 139 to Theodore, 95, 200n112, 212nn53,62,65, 214n101
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 140 to Olympius, 50, 213n74, 214n98, 219n98, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 141 to Olympius, 212n53, 213nn72,73,74, 214n98, 219n98, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 142 to Olympius, 56, 212n53,56, 213n74, 214n98, 219n93,98, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 143 to Olympius, 50, 212n60, 214n98, 219n98, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 144 to Olympius, 213n70, 213n85, 219n98, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 145 to Verianus, 81, 213n88, 219n93

Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 146 to Olympius, 212nn60,61, 214nn98,101, 219nn93,98, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 147 to Asterius, 213n74, 214n98, 219n98
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 148 to Asterius, 212n64, 214nn96,98, 219n98
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 149 to George, 50, 212n53, 213n88, 219n98
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 150 to Asterius, 119, 214n97
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 151 to Nectarius, 214n98, 219n98, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 152 to Theodore, 37, 97, 141, 200n112, 212nn53,62, 213n88
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 153 to Bosporius, 95, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 154 to Olympius, 212n53, 213n74,86, 214n101, 221n17, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 155 to Asterius, 213n86
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 156 to Asterius, 113, 214n96
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 157 to Theodore, 95, 212n65, 213n81, 214nn96,97
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 158 to Eulalius, 213n85, 219n101
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 159 to Theodore, 212n62, 214n97
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 160 to Theodore, 212n62, 214nn96,98, 219n98
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 161 to Theodore, 212n62, 219n98
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 162 to Theodore, 37, 212n53,62, 214nn98,101, 219n98
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 163 to Theodore, 37, 212n62, 213n85, 214n101, 219n98
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 164 to Timothy, 212n57,64, 214n96, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 165 to Stagirius, 118, 140, 191n22, 214n101
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 166 to Stagirius, 191n22, 213n87
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 167 to Helladius, 2–3, 81, 111, 169, 214nn96,97
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 168 to Photius, 81, 214n97, 219n101
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 169 to Strategius, 81, 214n97
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 170 to Palladius, 62, 81, 97, 140, 212n67, 214n97, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 171 to Amphilochius, 43, 50, 62, 168, 206n12, 212nn53,63, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 172 to Helladius, 81, 111, 169, 212n57, 213n89, 214n96
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 173 to Postumianus, 95, 213n88
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 174 to Eudoxius, 3, 112, 121, 214nn96,97
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 175 to Eudoxius, 2–3, 205n1, 212n64, 213nn75,77, 214n97
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 176 to Eudoxius, 3, 112, 214n97
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 177 to Eudoxius, 3
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 178 to Eudoxius, 3, 213n87
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 179 to Eudoxius, 3, 213n87
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 180 to Eudoxius, 3
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 181 to Saturninus, 112, 212n67, 214nn96,97
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 182 to Gregory, 167, 200n112, 212n63, 214n97, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 183 to Theodore, 50, 62, 112, 169–70, 200n112, 212nn53,62, 213n74, 214n98
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 184 to Amphilochius, 50, 62, 168–69, 206nn12,65, 213nn74,89, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 185 to Nectarius, 50, 62, 212n53, 212n62, 213n74, 214n98, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 186 to Nectarius, 62, 214n98, 219n98,101, 224n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 187 to Eudoxius, 3, 212n53
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 188 to Stagirius, 3, 112, 191n22, 212n63, 213n87, 214nn96,100
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 189 to Eustochius, 112, 191n22, 214nn97,100
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 190 to Eustochius, 3, 112, 114–15, 138, 191n22, 214n100
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 191 to Eustochius, 3, 191n22, 213n74
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 192 to Stagirius, 3, 112, 138, 191n22, 213n75,88
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 193 to Vitalianus, 212n53, 213n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 194 to Vitalianus, 94, 139, 212n53, 213n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 195 to Gregory the governor, 49, 212nn53,55,64,67, 214nn96,98, 219n98
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 196 to Hecebolius, 112–13, 214n98, 219n98
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 197 to Gregory, 138, 140, 167, 212nn53,56, 213n79, 219n93, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 198 to Nemesius, 94, 212n64, 214nn96,98, 219n98
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 199 to Nemesius, 94, 212nn53,56,64,67, 214n98
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 200 to Nemesius, 212n53, 214n96
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 201 to Nemesius,———
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 202 to Nectarius, 37, 141, 213n84
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 203 to Valentinianus, 214n96
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 204 to Adelphius, 81, 212n65, 214n96
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 205 to Adelphius, 95, 139, 212nn53,69, 214n96
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 206 to Adelphius, 138, 143, 213nn74,93
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 207 to Jacob, 212nn53,56,69, 214n98, 219n98
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 208 to Jacob, 212n66,67, 214n98, 219n98

Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 209 to Castor, 62, 81, 214n97
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 210 to Castor, 81, 212n53, 213n88, 214n96
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 211 to Cyriacus, 81, 214n98, 219n98, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 212 to Sacerdos, 43, 50, 81, 213n84, 214n1
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 213 to Sacerdos, 81, 138, 213n84, 214n1
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 214 to Sacerdos, 81, 213n84, 214n1
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 215 to Sacerdos, 81, 121, 213n84, 214n1
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 216 to Eudocius, 81, 214nn98,101, 214n1
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 217 to Eudocius, 81, 213n87, 214n101, 214n1
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 218 to Eudocius, 81, 214n98, 214n1
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 219 to Helladius, 81, 111, 169–70, 212n60, 213n70, 214n98, 219n94
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 220 to Helladius, 81, 111, 169–70, 214n1
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 221 to Homophronius, 81, 212n53, 213n87, 214n1, 219nn98,102
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 222 to Thecla, 81, 212n53,55,62, 213n79, 214n101, 214n1, 219nn93,94,97
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 223 to Thecla, 81, 140, 212n62, 213nn74,79,84, 214n101, 214n1, 219n94
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 224 to Africanus, 117, 141, 212nn53,54,65, 214n97
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 225 to Hellebichus, 94, 118–19, 212nn53,54, 214n96,98
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 226 to Anysius, 50, 212n57
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 227 to Ursus, 212n68, 214nn96,97,101
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 228 to Pansophius, 94, 214nn96,97
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 229 to Pansophius, 212n56, 213n89, 214n96
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 230 to Theodosius, 94, 212n66, 213n80, 214n96
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 231 to Eusebius, 49, 94, 212nn53,56, 213n80, 214n96
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 232 to Diocles, 94, 213n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 233 to Ablabius, 94, 214n96
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 234 to Olympianus, 94, 212n64, 214n96
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 235 to Adamantius, 94, 214n96
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 236 to Libanius the Sophist, 50, 62, 94, 199n96, 206n12, 214n97
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 237 to Macedonius, 214n96
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 238 to "The Brotherhood at Sannabodae," 94, 213n79
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 239 to Epiphanius, 94, 212n57, 214n96, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 240 to Meletius, 81, 94, 116, 212n57, 213n75, 214n96, 223n80
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* *241 to Aburgius, 205n2, 205n8, 206n12
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 242 to Peter, 94, 212n53,62, 213n74, 214n96
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 243 to——, 205n2, 205n8
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 244 to Basilissa, 43, 50, 62, 143, 206n12, 213n84, 219n94
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 245 to Basil, 50, 62, 74, 157, 206n1, 214nn94,97, 223n66
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 246 to Basil (= Bas. *Ep.* 169), 50, 62, 86, 163, 212n62, 213n85, 223n66
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 247 to Glycerius (= Bas. *Ep.* 170), 50, 62, 86, 163, 223n66
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 248 to Basil (= Bas. *Ep.* 171), 50, 62, 86, 163, 213n85, 223n66
Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 249 to = Gr. Nyss. *Ep.* 1 (to Flavian), 205n2, 205n8

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

Abaris, 115
Ablabius (addressee of Gr. Naz.), 92*tab.*, 94
Achilles, 114, 116
Adamantius (addressee of Gr. Naz.), 92*tab.*, 94
Adelphius (addressee of Gr. Naz.), 94*tab.*, 95, 138–39, 143, 212n65, 212n69
Aelius Palladius, 130
Aeneas, 114–15
Aeschines, 115
Aeschylus, 115
Aestherius of Tyana, 221n18
Aetius, 207n7
Africanus (addressee of Gr. Naz.), 88–89*tab.*, 91, 117, 141, 212n65
Agamemnon, 114–15
Alypius (addressee of Gr. Naz.), 50, 56, 85*tab.*, 206n21, 212n62, 213n79
Amalekites, 142
Amazonius (addressee of Gr. Naz.), 89*tab.*, 93, 95, 96*tab.*, 166
Ambrose of Milan, 74, 195n52
Amphilochius of Iconium (addressee of Gr. Naz.), 49, 83*tab.*, 85*tab.*, 86, 88*tab.*, 91, 93, 108, 141, 149, 152–54, 164–66, 168–69, 171, 173, 176–77, 193n36, 206n21,22, 212n63,65,69, 213n70, 220n10,11,15, 221n23, 223n80, 224n83; episcopal election of, 143, 147, 169; *Epistula synodica*, 148; legal troubles, 141, 168–69; relationship with Basil of Caesarea, 147–48, 220nn10,11,12,13,14,15
Amphilochius the Elder (addressee of Gr. Naz.), 49, 93, 169, 206n21, 212n69
Anastasia, 8, 12, 130, 195n48, 202n134; Easter attack on, 8, 138, 143
Anaxarchus, 139
Anthimus of Tyana, 6, 133, 142, 148, 150, 152, 154–55, 160–61, 222n46
Antimachus, 115
Antioch, 8–9, 29, 144, 193n37; competition between Meletius and Paulinus, 9, 136. *See also* council of Antioch (379)
Antony the Great, 125, 219n95
Anysius (addressee of Gr. Naz.), 50, 95, 96*tab.*
aorgēsia (“avoidance of anger”), 126
Aphrodisias, 126
Aphrodite, 115
Apollinarians, 11–12, 109, 141, 197n75,80
Apollinaris of Laodicaea, 7, 136, 141, 194n43
apologia: and autobiography, 15, 17199n89, 93,97. *See also* Gregory of Nazianzus, apologia
Arianzus, 1
Aristophanes, 115
Aristotle, 115
asceticism, 126, 138–40, 158, 171, 178, 195n52, 197n75, 200n112, 206n19, 212n53, 214n2, 218nn72,86, 219n95, 220n11, 222n46
Ascholius of Thessalonica, 9, 146
Asterius (addressee of Gr. Naz.), 88–90*tab.*, 91, 93, 119, 212n64

Athanasius of Alexandria, 125, 146, 150, 191n21, 217n55; *Life of Antony*, 125
Athens, 3, 5, 18, 30, 84*tab.*, 98*tab.*, 108, 112, 119, 133, 150, 152–55, 158, 160–61, 163, 172, 191n21, 200n112, 211n38
Augustine of Hippo, 24, 210n29
authorship, 5, 14–18, 24–25, 30–31, 107, 116, 130, 137, 156, 175–79, 224n83
autobiography, 13–17, 20. *See also* Gregory of Nazianzus, and autobiography
automimesis, 18, 23, 200n108

Barnabas the apostle, 154–56
Basil of Caesarea (addressee): the Basiliad (hospital), 154, 200n112, 222n50; *Canonical Letters*, 147–48, 220n13; conflict with Anthimus of Tyana, 6, 133, 142, 148, 148, 150, 152, 154–55, 160–61, 222n46; conflict with Eusebius of Cappadocian Caesarea, 138, 159, 222n46; conflict with Emperor Valens, 133, 154, 218n80, 222n46; *Contra Eunomium*, 147, 220n7; *De spiritu sancto*, 148, 220n15; death, 2, 86, 132, 140, 164, 167, 194nn45,47; episcopal election, 6–7, 81, 86, 154, 159–60, 162, 164, 192n30, 200n112, 222n46; *Epistulae*, 43, 50, 62, 80–81, 97, 158; *Hexaemeron*, 147; letter collection, 34, 86–87, 93, 165–66; ordination, 157, 223n68; as pro-Nicene leader, 146; posthumous legacy, 27, 146–50. *See also* Gregory of Nazianzus, relationship with Basil of Caesarea; letter collection (Gr. Naz.), Basil of Caesarea cluster
Basilissa (addressee), 88*tab.*, 93, 144–45, 206n21
Benoit, Alphonse, 21–22, 190n18, 202n134
Bernardi, Jean, 22–23, 172
Bernatius of Mallus, 194n45
Bezalel, 142
Billius, Jacobus, 31–34
biography, 5, 18
Bloomer, W. Martin, 103
Bosporius of Colonia (addressee), 49, 83*tab.*, 95, 96*tab.*, 169, 212n62, 221n18, 223n80
Briseis, 114

Caesarea (Cappadocia), 1–6, 30, 83–84*tab.*, 88–89*tab.*, 96*tab.*, 108, 112, 144, 146–48, 155, 159, 161, 163–64, 170, 177, 192nn29,30,32, 220n7, 221n23, 222n38
Caesarea Maritima, 5, 108, 191n21, 211n38
Caesarius (addressee; Gregory's brother), 49, 81, 84*tab.*, 108, 165, 190n14, 192n32, 206n21, 217n52, 223n80
Caesarius (addressee), 49, 81, 91, 93, 168
Caillau, Armand-Benjamin, 35
Callimachus, 24, 115
Callisthenes, 189n5
Candidianus (addressee), 84*tab.*, 212n56, 223n80
Cappadocia, 1, 3–7, 9, 12–13, 27–29, 84–85*tab.*, 88–90*tab.*, 96*tab.*, 97, 98*tab.*, 108, 122, 144, 146, 150, 156, 158, 164–67, 172–73, 177, 190n6, 191n19, 197n75, 200n112, 218n88, 221n18 ; provincial split (372), 6–7, 148, 150–56, 192n32; provincial split (382), 148, 165, 167, 169–70, 221n17
Carterius, 191n21, 211n38
Castor (addressee), 82, 89*tab.*, 93
Celeusius (addressee), 95, 97, 98*tab.*, 206n17, 219n92
Chiasson, Dan, 175, 177, 224n1, 225n3
Chrysanthius, 216n29
Cledonius (addressee), 95, 98*tab.*, 136, 206n17, 212n51, 219n92
Clémencet, Charles, 35
Clement of Alexandria, 126
Cleobulus, 115
Codex Theodosianus, 194n44, 197n80, 207n3, 221n17
Constantine (Roman emperor), 103, 123, 125
Constantinople, 3–4, 7–13, 17–18, 23, 25–29, 84–85*tab.*, 87, 89–90*tab.*, 95, 96–97*tab.*, 102, 119, 129–37, 143–44, 152, 165, 168, 171, 177, 190n6, 194n44,47, 195n52, 198n80, 218n88, 221nn18,24, 222n38, 223n61; pro-Nicene community, 109, 193n38. *See also* Council of Constantinople (381); Gregory of Nazianzus, resignation from Constantinople; Letter collection (Gr. Naz.), anti-Constantinople cluster
Constantius II (Roman emperor), 9, 101, 123–24
council of Antioch (379), 8–9, 194n47
council of Aquileia (381), 136
Council of Chalcedon (451), 25, 178
council of Constantinople (360), 6, 220n7
Council of Constantinople (381), 3, 8–12, 18, 27, 83–84*tab.*, 89*tab.*, 123, 131–33, 135, 148–49, 218n88, 221n18
council of Constantinople (382), 95, 136, 143
council of Constantinople (383), 136
Council of Constantinople (553), 37
Council of Nicaea (325), 9
Cyriacus (addressee), 82, 84*tab.*, 89*tab.*, 93, 223n80

Damasus of Rome, 9, 146
David, 143, 219n101

Decius (Roman emperor), 130
Deissman, Adolf, 203n163
Demophilus of Constantinople, 8, 195n51, 198n80
Demosthenes, 114–15; Gregory of Nazianzus as the "Christian Demosthenes," 118, 176, 178
Demosthenes (the eunuch), 193
Dianius of Caesarea, 146
Didymus the Blind, 191n21
Diocles (addressee), 92*tab.*, 94
Diodore of Tarsus, 7, 141, 194nn43,45, 197n75
Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 115
divinization. *See theōsis*
Dorotheus of Oxyrhynchus, 9
du Friche, Jacobus, 34–35

education (in late antiquity), 103–7, 207nn3,7,10, 208nn11,17,18,19, 209nn24,25, 210nn29,30
Egeria, 7
Eleazar the martyr, 125
Eli the priest, 143
Elijah, 147
Elm, Susanna, 6, 25, 108, 191n19
eloquence (*logoi*), 2–4, 6, 17–18, 26, 91, 102–7, 123, 127–28, 133, 153, 176, 178, 207n10, 211n41; in Gregory's letter collection, 108–18, 137; and philosophy, 122–23, 128, 143; and Gregory's relationship with Basil, 160, 163–64, 171, 173, 218n72
enkrateia ("self-control"), 126
envy, 95, 123, 128, 134–35, 158, 196n64, 218n87; as the byproduct of autobiography, 15
Epictetus, 139, 210n30
Epicurus, 125
Epiphanius (addressee), 84*tab.*, 92*tab.*, 94, 223n80
epistolography (antiquity and late antiquity): and education, 105–7, 189n2; and gifts, 107; handbooks, 94, 105–7, 116, 206n22, 208–9n19; intertextuality, 106, 112, 114–15, 143, 213n75; length of letters (*metron*), 106, 111, 113, 109nn24,25; letter as "image of the soul," 13, 24, 106, 144, 156, 198n82, 209n22; letter collections, 68, 74; letter vs. epistle, 203–4n163; style, 29, 87, 91, 93–94, 139; titles, 106, 113; types, 94, 105–6, 110, 116, 118, 137–38, 140, 213n84
Eudocius (addressee), 82, 89*tab.*, 93, 214n1
Eudoxius (addressee), 3, 4, 30, 88*tab.*, 91, 93, 101, 110–12, 119, 121, 169, 189n5, 212n64
Eugenius (addressee), 95, 97, 98*tab.*, 136, 206n17, 219n92
Eulalius of Nazianzus (addressee), 12, 95, 97, 99*tab.*, 140, 168, 170, 206n17, 219n92, 222n32, 224n83
Eulalius of Doara, 6, 151, 193n33
Eulogius of Edessa, 194n45
Eunapius of Sardis, 123–25, 191n21
Eunomius of Cyzicus, 128, 147, 172, 220n7
Eunomus, 115, 213n77
Eusebius (addressee), 92*tab.*, 94
Eusebius of Caesarea, 125
Eusebius of Cappadocian Caesarea (addressee), 49, 82, 91, 138, 146, 154, 159–60, 212nn62,63, 222n46, 223n66
Eusebius of Samosata (addressee), 49, 81, 83*tab.*, 86, 91, 138, 142, 146, 164–65, 194n45, 212nn65,68, 213n71, 220n11, 223n80
Eustathius the philosopher, 123, 214n5
Eustochius (addressee), 3, 4, 30, 88*tab.*, 91, 110–12, 114–15, 119, 121, 138, 169, 189–90n5, 191n22
Euthalius, 169
Eutropius (addressee), 92*tab.*, 94
Evagrius (addressee), 92*tab.*, 94, 212n66
Ezra, 219n101

Flavian of Antioch, 9
Fleury, Eugène, 21–22
Folkenflik, Robert, 14
friendship, 23, 25, 82, 87, 94, 106–7, 110, 114, 116–17, 163, 175, 210n29, 223n72. *See* Gregory of Nazianzus, relationship with Basil
Fronto, 210n30

Gallay, Paul, 22–23, 31, 35–37, 43, 96, 98, 100, 172, 202n147, 206n11
George (addressee), 50, 88–89*tab.*, 93, 144, 206n21
Gigantius (addressee), 95, 96*tab.*
Glycerius (addressee), 86, 163, 223n66
Gorgonia, 129, 190n14, 217n52
Gregory of Nazianzus: against Apollinaris, 7, 197n75; apologia, 5, 9, 13, 16–17, 28, 95, 102, 114–15, 122, 132, 135, 149, 156, 166, 177–78, 190nn6,7, 195n52, 196nn59,61; autobiography, 5, 9–13, 16, 18, 178; baptism, 200n112; biographical tradition, 18–24; birth, 5, 190n18; *Carmen* 2.1.11 (*De vita sua*), 3, 5, 10, 16, 109, 131, 133–35, 152, 154–58, 160–61, 167, 195n52, 200n112, 222n38; coadjutor of Nazianzus, 7, 150–51; death, 189n1; education at Athens, 3, 5, 102, 112, 133, 150, 152, 158, 191n21, 200n112,

Gregory of Nazianzus *(continued)* 211n38; epistolary style, 2, 111, 113, 119; *Epistulae* 101–2 and 202 (theological letters), 34, 37, 141, 194n43, 197n75, 213n84; eulogies, 5, 129–30, 155, 190nn14,15, 217n52; illness, 17, 50, 109, 112–13, 117–18, 135, 139–40, 193n36, 212n53; and *karteria*, 138–40, 145, 179, 219n94; Lenten silence, 11–12, 81–82. 95, 97, 98*tab.*, 136–37, 179, 195n52, 197n74, 206n17; letter collection, *see* letter collection (Gr. Naz.); *Oratio* 4 (against the Emperor Julian), 128; *Orationes* 9, 11–13 (orations related to Sasima appointment), 150–51, 155–56; *Oratio* 10 (retrospective address to Basil and Gregory the Elder), 155–56, 161, 196n63; *Orationes* 25–26 (on Maximus the Cynic), 195n52; *Orationes* 27–31 (theological orations), 7, 129, 141, 178; *Oratio* 42 (Valedictory Address), 3, 12, 131–32, 190n6; *Oratio* 43 ("Eulogy for Basil"), 3–4, 9–10, 132–33, 148, 152, 154–60, 162, 164, 177, 190n14, 193n32, 194n47, 200n112, 218n72, 221n23, 222n46, 223nn68,71; ordination, 5–6, 133, 152–53, 157–58, 192n24, 223n68; and *parrhēsia*, 132–35, 137–38, 140, 145, 159, 161, 164, 179, 217n52, 218nn72,86, 219n93; post-Constantinople writings, 11, 13, 26, 129, 131–35, 149, 151, 156–58, 162, 167, 171–72, 176, 196n64, 198n81, 223n68; relationship with Amphilochius of Iconium, 168–69; relationship with Basil of Caesarea, 2, 9–10, 26–27, 43, 74, 80, 82, 87, 132, 149, 150, 154–55, 157–66, 172–73, 179; relationship with Gregory of Nyssa, 167–68; relationship with Helladius of Caesarea, 169–71; resignation from Constantinople, 9, 26–27, 96–97*tab.*, 119, 123, 131, 135, 149–50, 152, 190n6, 196n60,64, 222n38; stonings of, 17, 135, 195n51; Sasima appointment, 6, 9–10, 133, 149–51, 153–54, 156, 161, 172, 179, 222n38
Gregory of Nyssa, 4, 6, 30, 43, 49–50, 83*tab.*, 86, 94, 98*tab.*, 125, 138, 140, 146–49, 152–54, 164–69, 171–73, 176–77, 189n5, 205n3, 206n21, 212n63,66, 219n96, 220n7, 221n18,23, 223n80, 224n83; *In Basilium fratrem*, 147; *Contra Eunomium*, 4, 147, 220n7, 221n23; *De opificio hominis*, 147; *Epistulae*, 43, 50
Gregory Thaumaturgus, 16
Gregory the Elder, 5–7, 11, 102, 128, 150, 154, 159–60, 190n18, 191n23, 192n29, 193n36, 217n52
Gregory the governor (addressee), 88*tab.*, 91, 212nn64,67
Gregory the Presbyter, 18–19, 21, 172, 200nn109,112
Hagia Thekla, 7, 132, 193n39
hagiography, 7, 17–21, 140, 142, 154, 172, 175–76, 200n109, 202n147
Hamilton, Nigel, 21
Hecebolius (addressee), 89*tab.*, 91, 112
Helladius of Caesarea (addressee), 2–4, 30, 82, 88–90*tab.*, 91, 93–94, 110–13, 119, 140, 148–49, 152–54, 166–67, 169–71, 173, 176–77, 189n5, 212n60,62, 213n70, 214n1, 221n18,23, 224n83
Hellebichus (addressee), 92*tab.*, 94, 117–18
Hera, 115
Heracles, 115, 213n77
Heraclianus (addressee), 95, 96*tab.*
Hermant, Godefroy, 19
Hervagius, Johannes, 31–33
Hesiod, 115
Himerius, 30, 211n38
hoi polloi ("the masses"), 102–4, 107, 110, 113, 126, 128, 131–32, 136–37, 167, 214n101
Hollis, Adrian, 24
Holy Spirit, 109, 128, 141–43, 150, 154–55, 161–62, 170
Homer, 114–16, 213nn75,76
Homoians, 6, 8–9, 142, 193n32, 220n7
Homoiousians, 9, 195n49
Homoousians (pro-Nicenes), 3, 6, 8–9, 23, 25, 27, 103, 109, 129–30. 146–48, 152, 173, 193n38, 194n44, 195nn47,49,51
Homophronius (addressee), 82, 89*tab.*, 93, 96*tab.*, 214n1
Hypatius (addressee), 95, 96*tab.*, 135

Iamblichus, 123
Iberia (in the Caucasus), 144
Iliad, 114–16
illness, 17, 50, 109, 112–13, 117–18, 131, 135, 139–40, 154, 163, 193n36, 212n53, 219n95, 222n50
Isaiah the prophet, 143, 196n59
Isocrates, 15, 115, 125

Jacob (addressee), 212n66–67,69
Jansenism, 18–19
Jerome of Stridon, 1, 4; *De viris illustribus*, 1, 189n1, 191n21, 221n23; *Epistulae*, 4
Jesuits, 19
Job, 10, 139
John the evangelist, 178
John the Baptist, 126, 147, 196n59
John Chrysostom, 74, 178
Johnson, Samuel, 20
Jonah the prophet, 143

Josephus, 15–16
Joshua the prophet, 142
Jovian (Roman emperor), 124
Julian (addressee), 50, 84*tab.*, 88*tab.*, 89*tab.*, 91, 93, 223n80
Julian (Roman emperor), 5–6, 18, 124–25, 127–28, 191n22, 200n112, 209n23, 214n10, 215nn11,12,14
Julius Victor, 106
Justin Martyr, 126

karteria ("endurance"), 126, 138–40, 145, 179, 219n94

Lancius of Neocaesarea, 80–81
Leclerc, Jean, 19, 172, 201n124
Le Nain de Tillemont, Louis-Sébastien, 19, 21
Lejeune, Philippe, 13–14
Leontius (addressee), 84*tab.*, 95, 96*tab.*, 135, 212n60, 223n80
Lequeux, Xavier, 200n112
Letter collection (Gr. Naz.): Amphilochius dossier, 168–69; anti-Constantinople cluster of letters, 95, 96–97*tab.*, 135, 222n37; audience, 2–4, 12, 26, 29–30, 110, 119, 144, 156, 159, 164, 168, 173, 177; authorship, 24–27, 74, 86, 102–3, 110–11, 156–57, 177–78, 218n88; Basil of Caesarea cluster, 82–87; chronological arrangement, 30–33, 35–37, 68, 74, 98, 206n10; design, 4, 24, 26, 29–31, 81–82, 97, 110, 115, 149–50; d-famiy, 50, 56–62*tab.*; epistolary intertextuality, 112, 114–15, 143, 213n75; epistolary types, 94, 105–6, 110, 116, 118, 137–38, 140, 213n84; f-famiy, 50, 56, 63–68*tab.*; g-famiy, 56, 62, 69–74*tab.*; Gregory of Nyssa dossier, 49, 167–68; Helladius dossier, 82, 169–71, 224n83; h-famiy, 62, 68, 75–80*tab.*; letters wrongly attributed to Gregory, 30, 205n3,8; manuscripts, 68, 74, 80–82; Nicobulus cluster, 87–94; printed editions, 31–37, 62, 205n5; silence cluster of letters, 81, 95, 87, 98*tab.*; u-famiy, 43, 44–49*tab.*, 49; v-famiy, 49–50, 51–56*tab.*
Libanius of Antioch (addressee), 74, 92*tab.*, 94, 209n24; *Oratio* 1 (autobiography), 16–17, 199n96
logoi. *See* eloquence
Lollianus (addressee), 89*tab.*, 97, 98*tab.*, 140, 224n83
Louvard, Franciscus, 35
Lucian of Samosata, 207n6
Lucifer of Cagliari, 9

Maccabean martyrs, 6, 125
Macedonius (addressee), 92*tab.*, 94
Macrina, 125
Mamas, 117–18
Maran, Prudentius, 35
Marcus, Laura, 14
Maximus the Cynic, 8, 129–30, 190n14, 195n52
McGuckin, John, 23, 172, 191n21, 192n24, 193n38, 195n51, 196n60, 197–98n70, 201n112, 217n58
McLynn, Neil, 25, 154, 189n3, 190n5, 191n19, 192n27, 196n60, 197n80
Meidias, 114
Meletius (addressee), 81, 84*tab.*, 92*tab.*, 94, 116, 223n80
Meletius of Antioch, 8–9, 146, 194n45, 221n18
memoirs, 199n91
Modarius (addressee), 95, 96*tab.*, 136, 212n66, 213n73
Modestus, 81, 193n32
monasticism, 7, 34, 89*tab.*, 92*tab.*, 94, 97, 98*tab.*, 102, 112, 125, 136, 161–62, 170, 193n39, 219n92
Montaut, Louis, 21–22
Morel, Fédéric, 31, 33, 35–36
Moses, 125, 129, 142, 147, 215n22
Mossay, Justin, 155
Most, Glenn, 15
Musonius Rufus, 125
Musurillo, Herbert, 23

Navila, 95, 96*tab.*
Nazianzus, 5–7, 11–12, 28, 83–84*tab.*, 89*tab.*, 95, 97, 98*tab.*, 136, 143, 150–51, 168, 170, 177, 191nn19,21, 192n31, 193nn33,37, 197n75
Nectarius of Constantinople (addressee), 11–12, 27, 30, 84*tab.*, 89*tab.*, 93, 197nn70,71, 198n80, 212nn62,63, 224n80
Nemesius (addressee), 92*tab.*, 94, 212nn64,67
Neoplatonism, 123, 216n27
Nestor, 1, 114–15, 213n74
Nicene Creed, 7
Nicetas the Paphlagonian, 171, 201n117
Nicobulus (addressee), 1–4, 29–31, 37, 43, 50, 56, 62, 68, 74, 80–82, 86–87, 88*tab.*, 91, 93–95, 101, 110–15, 119–20, 138, 149, 152, 156, 169, 189nn2,3, 206n15
Nicobulus the Elder (addressee), 88*tab.*, 91, 93, 95, 113, 117, 121, 141, 168–69, 206n15, 212nn60,61
Nonna, 7, 10, 17, 129, 163, 217n52

Odysseus, 114
Olympianus (addressee), 92*tab.*, 94, 212n64

Olympius (addressee), 50, 56, 84*tab.*, 88*tab.*, 91, 93, 113, 119, 141, 197n75, 212nn59,60,61,66,67, 213nn70,72,73, 224n80
Opsopoeus, Vincentius, 31–34
Origen of Alexandria, 16, 126, 206n19

Palatine Anthology, 155, 222n55
Palladius (addressee), 81–82, 84*tab.*, 89*tab.*, 93, 95, 97, 98*tab.*, 140–41, 206n17, 212n67, 219n92, 224n80
Pandion, 115, 213n77
Pansophius (addressee), 92*tab.*, 94, 212n56
Paris, 114
Parnassus, 169
parrhēsia ("frank speech"), 122, 126, 132–35, 137–38, 140, 145, 159, 161, 164, 179, 217n52, 218nn72,86, 219n93, 223n72
Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas, 16
passions of the soul, 11, 126, 129, 136–37, 140
patria potestas, 6–7, 150, 158, 192n25
Paul the apostle, 15, 126, 142, 147, 154–56, 196n59, 199n93
Paulinus (patron of Aetius), 207n7
Paulinus of Antioch, 8–9, 196n56
Paulinus of Nola, 210n29
Pergamum, 124
periautologia ("speech about oneself"), 15
Peter (addressee), 92*tab.*, 94, 212n62
Peter of Alexandria, 130, 146
Peter of Sebaste, 4, 147
Peter the disciple, 196n59, 211n45
Philagrius (addressee), 30, 56, 83*tab.*, 86, 113, 138–39, 165, 191n22, 224n80
Philo of Alexandria, 125, 216n22
Philocalia, 4, 86, 148, 165, 206n19
Philosophy in late antiquity, 118, 134, 144, 162–63, 167, 178–79; and adversity, 118, 122, 126, 212n53; and Christianity, 124–26, 130, 141–42, 178–79; and divinization, 127, 130; and eloquence, 122, 128; and governance, 124; *karteria*, 126, 138–40, 145, 179, 219n94; *parrhēsia*, 122, 126, 133; role of philosophers, 122–27; and scriptural interpretation, 126, 141–42
Philoumena, 212n60
Photinus, 128
Photius (addressee), 81–82, 89*tab.*, 93
Pietism, 20
Pindar, 115, 213n76
Place, Charles-Philippe, 202n138
Plato, 109, 115, 124–25, 136, 199n89, 213n76
Pliny, 210n30
Plotinus, 123
Plutarch, 15, 199n91
Pontus, 6, 83–84*tab.*, 96*tab.*, 128, 146, 153, 158, 200n112, 222n38
Porphyry of Tyre, 123
Posidonius, 125, 215n21
Postumianus (addressee), 95, 96*tab.*
prayers, 18, 109, 128–29, 168–70, 179, 190n12
Procopius (addressee), 50, 95, 96*tab.*, 97, 98*tab.*, 213n72
Procopius (usurper), 220n7
Prohaereius, 30, 191n21, 211n38
psalms, 109, 122, 129
pseudepigraphy, 204n163, 205n3
Pseudo-Libanius, 94, 105, 211n48
Pythagoras, 115

Raleigh, Walter, 19–20
Remonstrants, 19
Romanticism, 19–22
Rousseau, Philip, 6

Sacerdos (addressee), 82, 89–90*tab.*, 93–94, 96*tab.*, 97, 98*tab.*, 111–12, 122, 138, 140–41, 170, 206n21, 212n60, 214nn1,2
Samuel the prophet, 147
Sannabodae, ascetic community at (addressee), 92*tab.*, 94
Sapor, 123
Sasima, 6, 150–51, 192n31. *See also*, Gregory of Nazianzus, Sasima appointment
Satan, 218n87
Saturninus (addressee), 88*tab.*, 90*tab.*, 91, 93, 95, 96*tab.*, 212n67
Second Sophistic, 204n163, 208n16, 215n20
Seleucia, 7, 95, 132, 193nn37,38,39, 194nn42,43, 195n49
Severus of Antioch, 221n19
Sidonius Apollinaris, 205n169, 210n34
Silvanus the apostle, 155
Simon Magus, 211n45
Simonides, 115
Simplicia (addressee), 80, 94*tab.*, 113, 206n21, 212n69, 224n80
Smith, Sidonie, 14–15
Socrates, 139
Socrates Scholasticus, 12, 171, 198n81, 214n9
Sopater, 123
sophists, 3, 16, 30, 88–90*tab.*, 92*tab.*, 103–5, 108, 110, 112, 114, 129, 189n2, 207–8n10, 211n38
Sophronius (addressee), 85*tab.*, 88–89*tab.*, 91,

93, 95, 96*tab.*, 121, 136, 166, 168, 191n22, 212nn65,67,69, 213n72, 224n80
Sosipatra, 123–24
Sozomen, 12, 171–72, 198n81, 202n134, 214n9
Stagirius (addressee), 3–4, 30, 88–89*tab.*, 91, 94, 110–12, 114, 118–19, 138, 140, 165, 169, 189n5, 191n22
Strategius (addressee), 82, 89*tab.*, 90*tab.*, 93

Tacitus, 15
Tantalus, 115, 213n77
Tarsus, 7, 85*tab.*, 193n37, 194n43
textuality, 14, 24, 27, 98, 103, 106, 112–14, 179
Thecla, 7, 132, 193n39
Thecla (addressee), 81–82, 90*tab.*, 93, 140, 206n21, 212n62, 214n1
Themistius of Constantinople (addressee), 88*tab.*, 90*tab.*, 91, 93, 101–2, 121, 124–25, 141, 168, 207n1, 214nn7,9,10, 215n12
Theocritus, 115
Theodore of Tyana (addressee), 4, 83*tab.*, 86, 93, 95, 97, 97*tab.*, 98*tab.*, 112, 141, 148, 165, 169–70, 212nn62,65
Theodosia, 8, 193n38, 195n48
Theodosius (addressee), 92*tab.*, 94, 212n66
Theodosius (Roman emperor), 8–9, 27, 101, 124, 148, 152, 189n1, 194n44, 195n51–52, 196n60, 198n80, 201n112
Theognis, 115
Theosebia, 140, 167, 219n96
theōsis (“divinization”), 123, 127–31, 138, 144
Theotecnus (addressee), 95, 97*tab.*, 143
Therapeutae, 125, 215–16n22
Thespesius, 191n21, 211n38
Thessalonica, 194
Timothy (addressee), 85*tab.*, 212n64, 224n80
Timothy of Alexandria, 9
Timothy the apostle, 155
Titus the apostle, 143, 155
Tyana, 6, 83*tab.*, 97*tab.*, 148, 191n19, 192n31
typology, 142–43

Ullman, Carl, 20–21, 172
Ursus (addressee), 212n68

Valentinianus, 93*tab.*
Valentinus, 45, 109
Valens (Roman emperor), 6, 101, 124, 133, 146, 148, 154, 192–93n32, 214n9, 218n80, 222n46
Van Dam, Raymond, 24, 191n19
Victor (addressee), 85*tab.*, 95, 97*tab.*, 136

Watson, Julia, 14–15
Watts, Edward, 104
Woolf, Virginia, 21

Xenophon, 115

Zeno (Roman emperor), 194n41
Zeno of Tyre, 194n45
Zeus, 115

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