

ABSTRACTS

Pauline ALLEN, ACU Brisbane / University of Pretoria / Sydney College of Divinity

Two Foreign Saints in Palestine: Responses to Religious Conflict 5th-7th Centuries

This paper deals with two saints foreign to Palestine, one of them a spiritual master and the other a martyr. The first is Peter the Iberian, a Georgian prince named Nabarnugios, who as a child was sent as hostage to the court of Theodosius II (408-450) in order to maintain Byzantine-Georgian relations in the face of Persian expansionism. Peter subsequently left Constantinople to go to Jerusalem, and it was in Palestine as a monk, priest, and finally bishop that he reacted to the Council of Chalcedon (451 CE) and tried to respond to the demise of anti-Chalcedonian monasticism. Fortunately his biography was composed by one of his intimates, John Rufus. The biography of our second saint, Anastasius the Persian (born Magoundat: ‘created by the *magi*), the son of a *magus*, a former soldier, and finally a Christian monk in Palestine, was written by one of his fellow monks who accompanied him to his death. Anastasius was martyred in Persia on 22 January 628 at the hands of the Persian administration which occupied Palestine at the time. The travels of both these saints in their responses to religious conflict, in the case of Peter to the Council of Chalcedon and in that of Anastasius to Zoroastrianism, are remarkable. Their differing attitudes to Jews also deserve attention.

Junghun BAE, ACU Brisbane

Almsgiving and the Therapy of the Soul in John Chrysostom’s Homilies on Matthew

In recent years, much scholarly work has been done on the topic of John Chrysostom as an ancient psychagogue. In these recent studies, however, relatively little attention has been devoted to Chrysostom’s approach to almsgiving in relation to the cure of the soul. The purpose of this paper is to take a closer look at Chrysostom’s view of almsgiving and soul therapy within the context of ancient philosophical therapy. This paper places Chrysostom’s homiletic series on Matthew (*In Matthaëum hom.* 1-90, CPG 4424) at its analytic centre. Since more than half of these homilies (about 55 of 90 homilies) are concerned directly with poverty, wealth, and almsgiving, the homilies are crucial in understanding Chrysostom’s approach to almsgiving. Analysing these homilies, we will explore what types of psychic diseases are cured by almsgiving and how it heals them.

Mario BAGHOS, The Australian Institute for Orthodox Christian Studies

Turbulence in Alexandria and the Conflicting Representations of Athanasius and Cyril

Historiography is a slippery undertaking that is contingent upon the contemporary thought-world of the historian, as well as the available evidence— and dispositions—from the past contexts the historian studies. This is particularly manifested in contemporary historiographical representations of figures from the past, such as saints of the Christian Church; the former representations usually contradicting the status of the latter. In this paper, I argue that contemporary historiographical depictions of bishops Athanasius and Cyril, which render them as tyrants and inciters of violence in the city of Alexandria in Egypt, are conditioned by certain factors pertaining to both today's historiographical method and to depictions of Alexandria by historians of the past (such as, for example, Socrates Scholasticus). In relation to today's method, I argue that since the Enlightenment historians have been disposed to revisionist approaches to Christianity that often render the heroes of the Christian tradition—like Athanasius and Cyril—in negative ways in order to avoid hagiographical approaches that do not fit the rationalist, or secular, character of our time. Related to this, the impact of positivism on historiography has meant that only that which can be empirically demonstrated can be true: and since the themes of holiness that feature in the traditional representations of these two figures cannot be 'scrutinised' in the way historians seem to think that 'history' should, then these hagiographical portraits are not taken into serious consideration. Since the historiographical method eliminates the possibility of representing saints according to the way they have traditionally been represented, this paper argues that what historians have left to go on are the scant negative representations coming from the past. This paper will show that, in the case of Athanasius and Cyril, these negative representations are framed by the negative appraisals of Alexandria, often depicted by ancient historians—such as Socrates Scholasticus—as a hotbed of violence and strife. It concludes with a demonstration that traditional, or ecclesial, representations of these saints are just as legitimate as any other.

Dmitry BIRIUKOV, St Petersburg, National Research University Higher School of Economics (HSE)

The Arian Controversy of the Second Half of Fourth Century as a Debate over Universals

The doctrine of consubstantiality from Basil of Caesarea's *Contra Eunomium*, written as a reaction to the *Apology* of Eunomius originated a controversy over universals in the second half of the fourth century. This doctrine implied the understanding of consubstantiality in the "horizontal" sense as

commonness between the Persons of the Trinity, the same way as species are common to the constituent individuals. Using the fragments of Eunomius' reply *Apology for Apology*, preserved in Gregory of Nyssa, I intend to demonstrate that in his attempt to refute the applicability of the notion of consubstantiality to God the Father and the Son, Eunomius elaborated his own doctrine of commonness: the higher we go up the hierarchy of beings, the lesser the horizontal commonness in the nature of individual beings we see. I suggest that this doctrine may have been closely related to the Middle- and Neoplatonic interpretation of Aristotle's *Categories* which implied that categories and especially the category of the second substance (corresponding to species and genera) could be applied only to the corporeal realm. I will try to show the connection between this doctrine of Eunomius and the philosophical doctrine of Alcinous, Clement of Alexandria, Porphyry, and Iamblichus. Two strategies in Gregory of Nyssa's doctrine of the hierarchy of beings from his *Contra Eunomium* can be identified. One of these strategies is opposite to the doctrine of Eunomius, since for Gregory the most common is placed at the summit of the hierarchy, and the measure of commonness decreases when we go down the hierarchy. It can be suggested that it was the specific doctrine of Eunomius on commonness which triggered the philosophical reaction manifested in the doctrine of Gregory of Nyssa.

Ivan BODROZIC – Vanda Kraft SOIC, Catholic Faculty of Theology, University of Zagreb

St. Augustine's *De Trinitate* 1.7.14-1.8.15 as an Echo of Leporius' Case

In the first book of his *De Trinitate* (1,7,14), referring to Christ's Incarnation, St. Augustine pointed out that Christ, the one who was *forma Dei*, took *formam servi*, and argued that there was no intermingling or conversion of the one into another: *Neque enim illa susceptione alterum eorum in alterum conversum atque mutatum est; nec divinitas quippe in creaturam mutata est ut desisteret esse divinitas, nec creatura in divinitatem ut desisteret esse creatura.*

This sentence conveys a complex meaning because it followed various controversies, despite the fact that it does not seem so, since St. Augustine did not refer to any polemical context. It is quite evident that the first part of the sentence could refer to the Arians, but it is not clear to whom St. Augustine referred to when he said that neither human nature converted into divinity nor it has ceased to be created nature. One could think that it is just a matter of a thesis unlikely based on some controversy, but in fact it resulted from the case which is confirmed in the chapter 1,8,15 of *De Trinitate*. Namely, St. Augustine spoke of Christ's submission to the Father once everything has been subjected to him (cf. 1 Cor 15:28), and continued by warning that no one has the right to think that the human nature

assumed by Christ later merged with the divine nature (*conversum iri postea in ipsam divinitatem vel deitatem*). He added that the Apostle's claim was interpreted and argued by some persons as it was the future creature's transformation and conversion into the very substance or essence of the Creator (*commutationem et conversionem credat futuram creaturae in ipsam substantiam vel essentiam Creatoris*).

We intend to show that the aforementioned passages relate to the Leporius' case, a priest who was expelled from Gaul because of his divisionist attitudes, and finally came to Africa where St. Augustine instructed him in the Mystery of the Incarnation. After that, Leporius retracted his errors in his famous *Libellum emendationis*.

Alan CADWALLADER, Charles Sturt University, Canberra

The Devil made you do it: the function of mythological dimensions of conflict over the healing spring of St Michael of Chonai

Language use in diplomacy usually requires the amelioration of heightened expression in order not to offend or inflame. However, there are occasions when the well-credentialed skill of deflection mounted extreme characterisations in the effort to maintain cooperation, rebuild relationships or bolster vulnerable groups. Before the popular story of St Michael of Chonai became straitened to a more refined and consistent literary Byzantine text in service of a centralist liturgical agenda, there was one figure that received undiluted yet protean vilification: the devil. Given the conflictual context for the rise of the popular story and the conflictual content that dominates the narrative, the question of the role and function of the lengthy aside describing the devil requires analysis, especially given that this part of the story is one of two sections that is the most fluid in the story's transmission. The devil becomes the receiver of a constantly-changing but always reprehensible spoiled identity, deflecting attention from specific human agents attacking the place and the patronage of St Michael at Chonai/Colossae. It is the devil who becomes the emblematic representative and progenitor of repudiated behaviours and ideas at ecclesial flash-points across three centuries; and it is the devil who provides the ultimate deflection from the real offenders and thereby affords those under attack a diplomatic manoeuvre. This paper explores the manner and function of setting historical dimensions of conflict set into a mythological frame.

Michael CHAMPION, ACU Melbourne

Concepts of Justice in Late-Antique Historiography

Historiographical accounts of late-antique conflict between ecclesial groups, political factions, or warring nations provide an opportunity to explore concepts of justice operating in the period. In this paper, I will draw on historiographical accounts to trace the intersection of early Christian ideas of justice with their classical precursors as they were contested in Platonic, Aristotelian, and Stoic philosophy. In the case of justice in the context of war, for example, late-antique accounts show a high degree of continuity with classical war ethics. But clear modifications arise in the grounding, and consequent extent, of ethical claims, or in moderating the violently expansionary desires of a good king with the image of ascetic renunciation, or by the reframing of classical ideas of clemency within a larger narrative of divine *philanthropia*. The classical notion of justice as equity is appropriated in Christian narratives and theologies of mercy and forgiveness. In examples like these, debates about virtue, desire, peace as a natural good, and justice as equity, mercy, or clemency mix with views of the universal justice of the Christian God, divine philanthropia for the poor and weak, and ideologies of universal Christian orthodoxy. The paper traces such entanglements to explore how early Christian ideas of justice were formed in the context of conflict in late antiquity.

Kevin M. CLARKE, Ave Maria University, Florida

The Anti-Marcionite Thread in Origen's Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Romans

Marcion has drawn the eyes of modern scholars, his having all the allure of a rebel ahead of his time. We only know him through his adversaries. In a sense, Marcion is the proto-heretic par excellence, as the first part of the essay demonstrates. He stands at the beginning of the era of the apologists, and his thought is connected with both docetism and gnosticism. His thought had endured the centuries, a fact which may shed light on the gravity of the Fathers' opposition. The essay then takes up some necessary historical considerations, such as who Marcion was, what he taught, and how the Church Fathers tended to respond to him. The main part of the essay will move into Origen's treatment of Marcion in the *Commentary on Romans*. Not only does Origen mention Marcion explicitly in various places, but he implicitly confronts Marcion's thought throughout. It is in this commentary that he most directly engages Marcion's idea of the God of the Law as different from the Father of Christ and Marcion's opposition to allegory. At any rate, a study of Origen's polemic challenges some assertions that Origen is not interested in the details of Marcion's thought. Origen shows strong continuity with the received heresiological tradition regarding Marcion. The essay focuses on the following points: Marcion considers the soul as either good or evil, an idea which Origen resists strongly. Origen observes how this leads to dualism. Rather than positing two gods,

the foreknowledge of the one God is a better explanation for the differences between those who are good and those who are evil. The Marcionites also assert that there is a lesser God of the law that is different from the Father of Jesus Christ. Origen establishes Christ as God of both New and Old, with the law and the prophets as his witnesses. Finally, Marcion had a great dislike of allegorical interpretation. Hence, they abandon the Old Testament altogether and do not know how to respond to challenging portions of the New Testament. Paradoxically, they end up allegorizing the gospels. Origen shows what a serious disadvantage they face when they attempt to interpret the Scriptures.

Assoc Prof Jonathan P. CONANT, History, Brown University, Providence RI

Conflict, Trauma, and the Formation of an Early Christian Identity

How did Christians process and come to terms with violence in late antiquity? Recent studies have emphasized that the scope of imperial persecutions of Christians was far more limited than scholars have long envisioned. Though violence of this sort may have been rare, it was nonetheless both troubling and disruptive to those who lived through or witnessed it. Indeed, the stories that Christians told themselves about the experience of state violence suggest that its rending of normative social bonds and social expectations could be as traumatic as the torture and execution of physical bodies. Focused on late Roman Africa, this paper explores how Christians confronted the challenge of rebuilding such social bonds; ongoing debates within Christian communities about the nature and value of witness for the faith; the emphasis of these communities on the memory and naming of those who had suffered; and the creation of liturgical communities focused on the commemoration of particular martyrs. The case of Africa highlights the success of these strategies at coming to terms with a traumatic past, but also reveals some of their dangers, as in the second half of the fourth century local Christian society entered a new cycle of sectarian violence.

Sarah COOK, ACU Melbourne

Matthew and Mark in the Context of Early Church Disputes

The Christian Scriptures are testament to significant disunity in the early church. Right throughout the New Testament we find evidence of persistent disagreement and conflict between two branches of the Christian movement; one with a Gentile and Law-free focus, and one with a Jewish and Law-abiding focus. When viewed through this context, Matthew and Mark seem to be uncomfortable bed fellows in the Christian canon. Mark's Gospel is keenly pro-Gentile and the author clearly has a

liberal stance towards ritual aspects of the Torah. On the other hand, Matthew has a much stronger Jewish focus, is arguably anti-Gentile, and has a much more conservative view of the Law than most New Testament authors. As such, it seems that they were on opposite sides of a consistent division in the first century church.

My research applies this context of division to Matthew's widely accepted dependence on Mark. Doing so leads to some interesting questions. What are the implications of Matthew and Mark being on different 'sides' of the conflict? How did Matthew deal with the differences between his own stance and that of his primary source? How did he adjust Mark's Gospel so that it fell in line with his Christian Jewish beliefs? Can this shed light on Matthew's attitude towards Mark? And what future role did Matthew anticipate Mark's Gospel would have?

Doru COSTACHE, The Australian Institute for Orthodox Christian Studies

Drawing Indoors the Line of Division: *Letter to Diognetus* and the *Fifth Spiritual Homily*

Most scholars of the *Letter to Diognetus* agree that this anonymous second century writing has remained unknown to later Christian authors. The consensus is wrong. The approach, the imagery and the vocabulary of the fifth and sixth chapters of *Diognetus* are perfectly mirrored by the approach, the imagery and the vocabulary of the *Fifth Spiritual Homily* attributed to Macarius. Echoing the long rehearsed topic of the two ways, both writings address the matter of 'us' (i.e. Christians) and the 'world.' Both refer to the different mentalities and habits of the two categories. Both works point to the divine source of the Christian mindset and ethos, in sharp contrast to the all too human, even fallen, ways of the world. Detailed descriptions of 'our' virtues and 'their' sins feature in both works. All these suggest that the writer of the *Fifth Spiritual Homily* has copiously drawn on the approach of the Disciple, as the author of *Diognetus* is known. There is, however, a marked difference between the two writings. Whereas at first the homily outlines the rift between Christians and the world in identical terms to the letter, very soon it turns to another division, located indoors, within the Christian household. Specifically, the topic of the homily becomes the division between true and false Christians, which must have paved the way for Augustine's view that *civitas Dei* and *civitas terrena* were to be found within the Church itself. In this paper I intend to prove that *Diognetus* was not as unknown to later authors as is currently believed. Also, I intend to show how, by the time the message of the letter came to be reiterated in the fourth century *Fifth Spiritual Homily*, the outdoors tension addressed by *Diognetus* has become an indoors conflict.

Barry CRAIG, Diocese of Cairns

Continuity and divergence in Innocent I's liturgical orthodoxy

Liturgy, as a major expression of ecclesial identity, often becomes a locus of conflict within a community when changes are introduced. But the changes that distinguish communities (and cause conflict between them) usually evolve slowly enough to go unnoticed as practices are gradually shaped by the little acknowledged forces of misinterpretation and misunderstanding that fill the vacuum made by historical forgetfulness and ignorance. The letter of Innocent I to Decentius of Gubbio is an early witness to ahistorical claims about liturgical development, to particular interpretations of certain practices, and to consternation among Gubbio's clergy due to liturgical changes being introduced there. The letter provides an opportunity to explore Innocent's general claims (similarly made by others) and some of the specific cases he touched upon since they have continued to resurface across the ages as points of conflict in liturgical practice.

Matthew R. CRAWFORD, ACU Melbourne

Tolerating Contradiction: Eusebius of Caesarea's Response to Conflicts within the Fourfold Gospel

Previous scholarship has argued that Eusebius of Caesarea's Canon Tables, a paratextual system for finding cross-references within the fourfold gospel, was an apologetic project motivated by the criticisms of Porphyry who had noted a number of contradictions between the gospels. On this interpretation, the cross-referencing system was intended to demonstrate that all such conflicts of interpretation could be harmoniously resolved. This, however, is a fundamental misunderstanding of Eusebius' project. The present paper will point out that Eusebius' parallels included in his Canon Tables more often make such supposed contradictions more apparent without telling the reader how to resolve the tension between the passages. An important but overlooked analogy for Eusebius' actual intent is his explanation of the methodology he employed in his tabulation of the histories of nations known as the *Chronicle*. In the *Chronicle* Eusebius pointed out that, despite his best efforts, it was impossible to reconcile absolutely all of the events recorded in the Bible and the histories of the nations he considered. His more limited ambition with the *Chronicle* was to provide a mass of research material, which has been described as possessing a certain "Bakhtinian openness," so that later generations could continue to work upon the problems posed by this material. The same "Bakhtinian openness," I will argue, characterizes his Canons for the gospels, implying that

Eusebius was willing to tolerate a greater degree of unresolved conflict between the gospels than is typically assumed.

Miyako DEMURA, Tohoku Gakuin University, Sendai

Augustine's response to Origenist Controversy in *De peccatorum meritis et remissione*

After Elizabeth Clark published her epoch-making monograph *Origenist Controversy* (1998), scholars pay attention to the theme of the literary relation between Origen (ca.185-254 CE) and Augustine of Hippo (354-430) from new perspective. As Clark integrates the perspective of network theory in reconstructing the ties between the circle of roman society and ascetical writers, and situates the Pelagian controversy as an aftermath of Origenist controversy, I would like to focus on the outset of Pelagian controversy in respect of their understanding of the Original Sin based on Pauline texts, and consider how Augustine accepted and/or innovated Origen's exegesis of St Paul in his *De peccatorum meritis et remissione* in consideration for the movement of Origenist controversy in his day.

Geoffrey DUNN, University of Pretoria

"Romani principes aduersum nos prouocantur": Augustine of Hippo's Letter to Emeritus of Caesarea

In the years immediately prior to the great 411 colloquy at Carthage, where imperial authority ruled on the question of which side, Donatists or Caecilianists, was the true church in Africa, Augustine had written to Emeritus, the Donatist bishop of Caesarea, the metropolis of Mauretania Caesariensis, urging him to abandon his adherence to Donatism. Within *Epistula* 87 Augustine argued that, just as the Donatists had not passed judgement of Count Gildo or Optatus, bishop of Thamugadi in Numidia, they ought not to have passed judgement on their fellow African Christians (and, by extension, the rest of the world's Christians) at the time of Diocletian's persecution. On another level, a complaint of the Donatists against the Caecilianists was that they urged the state to persecute Donatists. Augustine put words into Emeritus' mouth to lay that charge: "...you stir up the Roman emperors against us." (*Ep.* 87.8) Augustine will tell Emeritus that one can only be persecuted if one's cause is right; if one's cause is evil then it is legitimate punishment. In Augustine's view the Donatists have brought imperial punishment (not persecution) upon themselves because of their schism. This paper will show how Augustine sidesteps a dilemma using Paul's letter to the Romans:

while it is true that Christians should not judge each other (Rom 14:4), it is the responsibility of the state to punish wrongdoers (Rom 13:2-4), and it is the responsibility of Christians to rehabilitate them (Rom 11:23). By way of conclusion, a comparison may be made with comments Augustine wrote in a letter (*Ep.* 95), replying to one from Pauline of Nola and his wife Therasia (*Ep.* 94 = Paulinus of Nola, *Ep.* 45), where Augustine attempted to reconcile apparently contradictory passages of Scripture on the question of punishment.

Chris L. DE WET, University of South Africa, Pretoria

Religious Conflict and Christian Monastic Curses in Late Antique Syria

The religious context of late antique Syria was varied, to say the least. Along with the different religions that characterized the region, there were numerous Christian movements that were in many instances at odds with one another. The common denominator between most of the varieties of Christianity in late antique Syria was monasticism. Several authors have compiled *vitae* of the Syrian monks of their region and particular stream of Christianity. Characteristic among many of the *vitae* are the conflicts between monks and clergy of opposing religious groups, or between monks and members of the rich ruling classes. In the narratives, the conflicts often turn violent in a specific way—the protagonist monk curses his opponent, which often ends with the extremely graphic and violent demise of the opponent. The fate of the opponents is frequently described in disciplinary and punitive terms. This paper investigates the nature, function, and implications of the supernatural literary violence of the monastic curses in the *vitae* of late antique Syrian monks. Curses will be compared with one another, as well as with magical/religious cursing outside of Christianity. It will be asked what effect such literary depictions may have had on actual violence, and vice versa. The paper, more generally, investigates the complex relationship between literary (and fictional) religious violence and actual religious violence.

Claudia DOBRINSKI, Paderborn, Germany

Hotspot Ravenna in the 5th/6th Centuries

Ravenna today, as a world cultural heritage, shows the important past of this late metropolis: church and palace buildings, mosaic art and artistic sources of the fourth and seventh centuries point to the explosive and changing history. Especially the conflict between the so-called Orthodox / Catholic and

the Arian-Eastern Gothic political elite is reflected in Ravenna's surviving buildings and works of art. The two cathedrals' churches and the associated baptisteries have been preserved as ensembles, but they also have a partial image of the short-lived Ostrogothic kingdom, which is difficult to explain, due to decades of demolitions, reconstructions and religious-political assumptions.

Scientists - theologians, archaeologists, art historians, historians - attempted to make a small interpretation of a typical Arian or orthodox mosaic image. But perhaps the focus on the similarities can be used to draw conclusions about the differences.

Together with other findings, the two ensembles provide information on how to live and work together in a city: the Christian religion, in its diversity at the time, had a lasting effect on society, politics, culture and the economy.

Hubertus R. DROBNER, Paderborn University

Martyrdom in Augustine's preaching. The transition from an exterior to an interior conflict

The liturgical calendar of North Africa is full of feasts that celebrate the great martyrs of the first three centuries: St Stephen, the apostles Peter and Paul, James and John, Perpetua and Felicity, St Cyprian, the martyrs of Massa Candida, the Scillitan Martyrs, the Twenty Martyrs of Hippo, also John the Baptist, and many more. In Augustine's lifetime, however, martyrdom caused by general persecutions had come to an end. Martyrdom, were it caused by the conflicts with the Donatists (Circumcellions) or pagan disputes, only happened in rare and isolated cases.

Nevertheless, Augustine lived and preached in a crucial period of re-orientation of Christian life that required a twofold theological, spiritual and practical explanation: (1) What constitutes martyrdom? (2) If martyrdom exclusively means giving one's life for the Christian faith in persecution, and only martyrs become saints as the feasts of the liturgical calendar suggest, how can the common and average Christian be saved? And, consequently, why then bother to strive for living a good Christian life? In other words: If martyrdom is constituted by an external conflict, for most Christians sanctity is impossible to achieve.

Consequently, Augustine's theological and spiritual answer and practical guidance are compelled to shift the saving conflict of martyrdom from the exterior, political realm to the interior, spiritual arena. The paper intends to show precisely why, how and to which effect Augustine wrought this transfer of conflict by developing a new theology and practice of an everyday spiritual martyrdom

which each and every Christian suffers, indeed must undergo, in order to achieve sanctity and salvation.

Leonela FUNDIC, Macquarie University

Picturing Conflicts between the Western and Eastern Churches in Byzantine Art

The aim of this paper is to explore how works of Byzantine visual art reflected doctrinal and liturgical polemics between the Western and Eastern Churches from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries. Focusing on evidence from monumental paintings across the Mediterranean, the paper investigates a number of the most characteristic iconographic themes, which were employed in relation to such polemics. The topics I discuss include pictorial responses to disputes over two wills and activities in Christ's person; Peter's primacy; the *filioque* controversy; debates about the sacramental use of leavened or unleavened bread and the necessity of the epiclesis for the consecration of the elements.

Daniel Robert HANIGAN, University of Sydney

At the Crossroads of the Whole World: The Apophatic Theology of Etymology in Clement of Alexandria's Protrepticus

In his oration to the people of Alexandria, Dio Chrysostom described their city as being 'situated at the crossroads of the whole world ... bringing together all manner of men in one place, displaying them to one another and, as far as possible, making them a kindred people' (*Or.* 32.36). Despite Dio's enthusiastic appraisal of the success of this cultural experiment, Alexandria in the second century AD was a city often divided by conflict. Dissension between the various religious and cultural groups that comprised Alexandria's population often erupted into mass violence, most notably evidenced by the Jewish revolt against the Roman authorities in 115-117AD which decimated the Alexandrian Jewish community.

Clement of Alexandria is a product of this cultural friction. A migrant from Athens writing in the second century AD while serving as the Christian Bishop of Alexandria, Clement's writing is steeped in the conflict between Christianity and Greek Paganism. This is particularly true of his *Protrepticus*, an exhortatory epistle written to his countrymen in Greece adjuring them to abandon their devotion to the Pagan gods and become Christians. In the

Protrepticus, Clement presumes a number of etymologies of the names of Greek divinities which depict Hellenic Paganism as a despicable and savage worldview, pitted in diametric opposition to the civilized and poetic truth of Christianity. This paper argues that Clement uses the etymologies of divine names in the *Protrepticus* as a means of responding to the conflict between Christian and Pagan ideologies that pervaded the intellectual climate of Alexandria in the second century AD. It contends that his reliance on etymologies as a rhetorical tool must be understood as a product of his own apophatic theology and his Middle Platonic view of the 'ineffability' (ἄρρητος) of God. In doing so, it offers the first attempt in scholarship to date to locate Clement's etymologies within his broader theological thought.

Wakako HIRANO, Kobe College, Kyoto

Nature, Will and Action according to Augustine

It goes without saying that the theological concepts of nature and will are evident throughout the writings of Augustine. His teaching of voluntary acts and sin runs parallel with the concept of nature. Especially in his exegetical commentaries on Genesis and from the Pelagian controversy onwards, Augustine argues that due to Adam's sin by a volitional choice, all of Adam's descendants inherit a vitiated nature, and no longer have the complete freedom of will. Therefore, it is important that the relationship between nature and will be revealed so that we can understand how angels and human beings harm themselves by performing evil actions. Although some illuminating studies consider the voluntary acts and fallen humanity as being linked with the concept of nature, the correlation still remains in question. In this paper, I will focus on the conceptual framework for nature and will, thereby coming to some understanding of the distinctive property of human beings and angels. Furthermore, the paper will indicate that there is a perfect relationship between the two in God.

Alex Hon Ho IP, Chung Chi Divinity School CUHK

A Christian response to economic conflict in a Christian household

This paper aims at elucidating the response suggested by Paul, in the Letter to Philemon (Phlm), to Philemon and his household concerning how to handle the conflicting relationship with a slave who became a Christian. The thesis in this paper suggests that the main issue Paul tries to address is the conflicting relationship between Onesimus and Philemon, who had both slave-master relationship and Christian brotherhood relationship. In light of the grand Roman slavery which cannot be changed by any individual, Paul suggested the response for Philemon should be voluntarily choose

the loving brotherhood relationship (Phlm 1:15-16). The argument in this paper is divided into three parts.

Part 1 will introduce a new perspective concerning the economic relationship between slave and master in light of the New Institutional Economics (NIE). With the help of NIE, we can understand better the relationship between slave and master which is far from simple. Using NIE to analyse the formal and informal institutions in the Roman economy, we can see the relationship was mainly economic driven with the characteristics of objectifying and manipulating. With this result, we will see that the conflicting relationship is a bigger issue for Paul to deal with when Onesimus is back to Philemon's household than the previously assumed begging for forgiveness. The finding from economic analysis in the first part can help us to read the letter from a new angle without holding the runaway hypothesis. The second part will briefly compare economic relationship suggested in part 1 with the loving relationship that can be generated from other undisputed Pauline letters. The third part will focus on reading the response, based on love (Phlm 1:8-9), suggested by Paul in Phlm with respect to the conflicting economic relationship and loving brotherhood relationship. Scholars have well recognized that Paul has used many relational terms in such a short letter, such as τέκνου, σπλάγχνα, ἀδελφὸν ἀγαπητόν and κοινωνόν. Based on the conflicting relationship suggested in section two, the third section will focus on analysing Paul's rhetoric in persuading Philemon to accept Onesimus as a beloved brother (Phlm 1:15-16) given the prevailing values and practices implied in the economic relationship. We will read part of the main rhetoric in the letter seeing how Paul argue rhetorically to Philemon first not to accept the prevailing values and second to practice the love ethics in light of the grand Roman institution of slavery.

Robin M. JENSEN, University of Notre Dame, USA

Spitting on Statues and Saving Hercules' Beard: The Conflict over Images (and Idols) in Early Christianity

Early Christians not only condemned polytheists' images of the gods in words but also publicly ridiculed them. Prior to the establishment of Christianity as an imperially sanctioned religion, these actions may have included surreptitious hissing or spitting and, at least according to records of certain martyr's trials, could even have been more boldly damaging (and dangerous to the perpetrators). By the end of the fourth century, official legislation authorizing their removal prompted local acts of desecration and destruction of images along with altars. These deeds may have been meant primarily as a repudiation of the gods' traditional cults but aspects of social, economic, or ethnic conflict may also have instigated and sustained them. In Africa, church officials like Augustine tended to play mediating roles by attempting to quell potential riots in places like Carthage. Elsewhere, angry mobs may have been less contained and even provoked to physical violence. This address will consider the character of Christian condemnation gods' images, official and unofficial actions aimed against such objects, and the occasionally violent activities of their denouncers as well as defenders.

Naoki KAMIMURA, Tokyo Gakugei University

Tertullian's understanding of sacred places and the differentiation of Christians from pagans

With the continued expansion of Christianity in Roman North Africa, violence and harassment affected the Christian community. Tertullian of Carthage referred both to the reality of Christian groups in Roman provinces of *Africa Proconsularis* and to these times of persecution. He considered the struggles and conflicts between Christians and non-Christians as a stimulus for believers of the Christian God to distance themselves from defenders of the traditional gods of Rome and Africa, in particular, idolaters. It is noteworthy that the eager for distinction enables us to perceive significant changes of a spatial sensibility from the late second century. While this desire for differentiation is often evident in the case of martyrdom in the writings of Tertullian, his description of Christian worship suggests a new mapping of sacred places to be productive for Christian identification. Tertullian designated certain tombs and places of assembly as Christian. He connected the *ecclesia* with a physical place. In this paper, I shall deal with some treatises of Tertullian and consider the way in which both internal and external affiliation of Christians were formed, together with conceptions of sacred place. In the process, I shall pay particular attention to the environment that could provide the framework of religious places in the North African landscape.

Kota KANNO, Couvent St Dominique, Tokyo

John Henry Cardinal Newman and His Perception of Religious Conflict

What kind of relationship can we find between patristic observation and theological speculation on the subject of « conflict »? We have one good example to analyse in John Henry Newman's first academic work, *The Arians of the Fourth Century*.

I wish to clarify how Newman observed conflict in the ecclesiastical situation of the early church. For this purpose, he created a new framework of historiography, and this new paradigm permitted him to observe the source and reason of conflict in the various groups, and consider how he could justify ecclesiastical authority which undertook judge's role.

We find the first application of his historical observation in his ecclesiological work, *Via Media (Lectures on the Prophetic Office of the Church)*. Newman proposes two traditions in the Church in this book. *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* may be considered a development of his observations concerning conflict. These two steps in his reflection are not merely

repeating his thoughts as expressed in *The Arians*, but a common major concern may be discerned in the two works: How can one understand conflict in the Church?

In the case of *Via Media*, he applied his observations of conflict to his contemporary Church, namely, the subject of lectures is the conflict between the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant Churches. For this, he proposed some kind of solution. This second case is the revision of the relationship between the early Church and the actual Roman Church. In the *Essay*, Newman described the history of Catholicity as a process of developing the essential idea through the conflicts in Church's history. By studying the two phases, we may understand that Newman's efforts to discover the notion of conflict in early the Church was deeply ingrained in his theological thinking.

Pak Wah LAI, Biblical Graduate School of Theology, Singapore

Friends, Foes and John Chrysostom's Trinitarian Discourse

As the most ecumenical of all church fathers, John Chrysostom's writings have been some of the most well read in the last 100 years. Since 1990 more than 1,400 articles, monographs and chapters were published on his teachings. Of these, however, only 20 have examined his theology, with two devoted to his doctrine of the Trinity. This is a rather odd tally given John's immense popularity. There are two main reasons for this. Firstly, among scholars of the last century, the predominant image of John has been one of a pastor and moralist rather than a theological heavyweight. Secondly, despite his association with the so-called School of Antioch, it is Theodore of Mopsuestia and not John who is regarded as the preeminent Antiochene theologian. As a result, there has been, proportionally speaking, more interest in Theodore's theology than that of John. Given these sentiments, it is hardly surprising that little attention has been given to John's Trinitarian theology, despite the current resurgence of interest in this doctrine among Patristic scholars.

Yet, judging from Chrysostom's homilies, such as his *On the Incomprehensibility of God*, or *Baptismal Instructions*, it is evident that his Trinitarian teachings are sophisticated and comparable to those of his peers. A careful assessment of his doctrine is thus long overdue. Such an enterprise, however, must begin with a re-evaluation of the conventional assumptions about John's friends and foes, and their influence over his theology. There are three parts to our study. We begin with John's Christological differences with Diodore and Theodore, and how this might challenge the theological collegiality that is often presumed about the three. I will demonstrate further that John's mentor, Meletius of Antioch and Basil of Caesarea, actually play a more influential role in John's Trinitarian thought. Lastly, I shall consider how the broader Eusebian tradition that Meletius bequeaths to John

shapes his views of Sabellianism, and the role that this and other heresies play in Trinitarian discourse.

Raymond J. LAIRD, ACU Brisbane

St John Chrysostom and Conflict in the Church: A model for the 21st Century?

John Chrysostom, as a very good pastor, was aware of the destructive power of divisions in the Church. He found in the letters of his model, the Apostle Paul, an efficacious base on which to encourage his people to avoid controversies over various issues. From 1 Corinthians 1, he harvested thoughts on the authenticity of true leaders, wisdom, the use of words, and the importance of godly conduct. In this essay, there is room only for comment on Chrysostom's understanding of true agreement and its power to produce proper conduct as convincing witness. The paper deals with concord in words, unity of mind, and harmony of attitude. When all of these are properly in place, then conflict and divisions should disappear from the church. Adoption of this model provides the presence of the unanswerable argument of conduct, the way to overpower deceivers.

Basil LOURIE, St Petersburg

A Freedom beyond Conflict: The Logic of Internal Conflict and the Free Will in Maximus the Confessor

The problem of free will is logically difficult, in Eastern Patristics, not once but twice. Already in the most discussed problem of *liberum arbitrium*, the Eastern "semi-Pelagian" resolution implies a sharply non-classical logic allowing a paradox of self-reference (God is omnipotent but limited his omnipotence, whereas remaining omnipotent; compare the Liar paradox). By contrast, the western non-classical but not self-referential resolution of the problem of free will by the Molinists and Leibniz, where the free will implies ontological vagueness of the reasonable creatures, is equivalent to the Eastern "semi-Pelagianism" in presumption of real existence of mutually incompatible possibilities (thus tolerating a subcontrary opposition in ontology and violating the principle of non-contradiction) but avoids any statement on a limitation in God. However, the doctrine of *θέωσις* (according to the specific Eastern model *tantum—quantum*: inasmuch as the Logos became human, each deified human will become God) brought a new problem to the logic: God does not have *liberum arbitrium* but he is hardly less free than a human being. Indeed—as Maximus the Confessor explains in subtle details—the deified reasonable creature does not have *liberum arbitrium* (γνώμη)

either. According to Aristotle and most of the modern deontic logics, the choice from a unique possibility means that there is no choice at all. Maximus does not follow this path, thus implying a difference between “no choice” (= no freedom) and “choice out of one” (= divine freedom); this logic tolerates a contrary opposition as well (thus violating the principle of excluded middle). The deification of a free creature is a transition from the conflicting subcontrary oppositions to the *tertium datur* beyond the contrarities.

Natalie MENDES, University of Sydney

The Gods Must be Crazy: Augustine’s Reinvention of African Religion

The divine protectress of Carthage was known by many names including Tannit, Dea Caelestis, Juno, virgin, and mother, but to Augustine she was known as a demon, an unclean devil, and an adulteress (Civ. D. 2.4, 5, 26.). Her companion, Ba’al Hammon, the African Saturn, paterius, frugifer, does not fare much better, being branded a cruel, licentious demon (Civ. D. 7.19.) At the start of the 5th century Augustine was fighting a rhetorical war against the pagan gods of Africa which had begun in the 3rd century with Cyprian, Minucius Felix, and Tertullian, and raged on ever since. African Saturn and Dea Caelestis were deeply rooted in African identity. Their multifarious nature made them flexible and broadly appealing to worshippers both urban and rural, but this quality also made them difficult to criticize. Augustine, however, uses the dyad’s amorphous identities to his advantage. He treats centuries of myth and ritual surrounding the pair as a unified doctrine, before picking apart the contradictions therein. Augustine not only reinterprets the pair’s many rituals and functions, but also adds a new identity to the mix – the sensuous demon. Augustine’s rhetorical stylings fuelled conflict in his own day, culminating in the destruction of Caelestis’ Temple at Carthage in 421 A.D, and his critique of polytheism set the rich traditions of pagan authors, and the gods themselves in conflict with each other.

Seumas MACDONALD, Macquarie University

Stoics and Epicureans and Anomoians, oh my: Polemical guilt by association in Gregory of Nyssa’s *De Deitate*

In Gregory of Nyssa’s little-studied homily *De Deitate*, Gregory identifies Anomoian opponents with the philosophical schools of Stoicism and Epicureanism, drawing upon Acts 17. This draws upon a familiar pattern of condemning present foes by association with condemned figures of the past. In this paper I explore the dynamic of guilt by association in Gregory’s sermon, contextualised against other instances of the same rhetorical strategy, and in consideration of how it functions polemically

in contexts where the targets of attack are unlikely to be present. Such an analysis deepens our understanding of the general function of guilt-by-association polemic in periods of contested orthodoxy, as well as contributing to a growing understanding of this important 'minor' homily of Gregory.

Wendy MAYER, Australian Lutheran College, University of Divinity / University of South Africa

Peace inflaming War: Severian of Gabala, John Chrysostom and conflicting conceptual frames

In an article to appear late in 2017 ("A life of their own: preaching, radicalisation, and the early ps-Chrysostomica in Greek and Latin") I tested a mode of analysis derived from neuroscientific research, particularly in the area of moral psychology, on two of the four subcorpora that Sever Voicu has identified within the early Greek ps-Chrysostomica. What I am in the process of showing is that, using moral cognition research, we can potentially map what a homilist intended against a homily's probable impact; intuit different positions within the one party as well as on opposing sides; chart developing estrangement between two formerly aligned parties/individuals; and better explain ecclesiastical disputes where doctrine itself was not in question. That is, as a mode of analysis, it not only provides a new way to engage with pseudonymously attributed homilies, but can be applied to patristic homilies across the full spectrum of an ecclesiastical divide. In my conclusion to that article I argued that side-by-side analysis of homilies preached in Constantinople by John Chrysostom and his rival and subsequent enemy, Severian of Gabala, should prove equally instructive. In a paper delivered in Leuven in November 2016 I began to explore that thesis further, subjecting to very preliminary analysis the two homilies that the opposing bishops preached in response to instruction by the empress Eudoxia to resolve their differences. In that paper I was able to show that the homilies do indeed provide evidence of two different ways of viewing the episcopate. In this paper I will deepen that analysis against the backdrop of other homilies delivered by both bishops in Constantinople. The aim is to show that, because of their different conceptualisations of the bishop's role, their responses to the command to make peace served to inflame, not dampen, growing hostilities.

Richard MILES, University of Sydney

Building Consensus in Sixth Century AD North Africa

This paper will explore the different ways that ecclesiastical and lay elites in North Africa after the Justinianic Conquest used building projects to try to re-frame and bring closure to the religious conflicts which had afflicted the region since the fourth century AD.

The first part of the paper will concentrate on a series of significant ecclesiastical building projects dating to the sixth century AD in major urban centres such as Carthage, Ammaedara and Sufetula. It will be argued that the still recent memory of the Vandal regime, and the detrimental impact of its religious policies on the African Nicene Church, played a very significant role in how these new or remodelled churches were conceived and designed.

The focus of the second part of the paper will be a number of rural martyr shrines in central and southern Numidia where the relics of non-African saints, particularly from the eastern Mediterranean were venerated in the Byzantine period. These shrines, it will be argued, although distant in terms of architectural sophistication and ecclesiastical ambition from the great churches of Carthage, owed their development to a similar need to build consensus in a badly fragmented religious landscape, in this case not only the recent Nicene/Arian conflict but also the Donatist controversy.

Bronwen NEIL, Macquarie University / University of South Africa / Sydney College of Divinity / ANU

Addressing Doctrinal Conflict by Letter: Leo I on the Chalcedonian Controversy

Leo the Great's correspondence on the Chalcedonian controversy span a decade of his pontificate, from the archimandrite Eutyches' first bid for papal support in 448 to Leo's final attempts to influence the outcome of Alexandrian episcopal elections in 458. Leo's letter to Flavian, the famous Tome (*Ep.* 28) is well known for being read and acclaimed at the Fourth Ecumenical Council, convened at Chalcedon in 451. My focus is on the lesser known letters of Leo on the vexing question of the natures of Christ. In his epistolary responses to the unfolding conflict over Eutyches' statement of 'one nature' Christology, Leo's doctrinal statements are carefully tailored to his correspondent. In one case, we have evidence of the redaction process: *Letters* 30 and 31 to Pulcheria show him redrafting letters on the same day to avoid contentious terms such as 'essence' and 'substance'. The Chalcedonian letters of Leo show how crucial was letter-writing for both sides in efforts to resolve doctrinal conflict, and how it sometimes had the opposite effect, that of escalation. I bring to bear a new methodological approach, that of social conflict theory, to see what new insights it can proffer in relation to a particular conflict, that over the natures of Christ in the lead-up to the Council of Chalcedon and in its aftermath.

Satoshi OHTANI, Tohoku University, Japan

***Philanthropia* as a Result of Conflicts: A Deliberate Terminology in Late Antique Christian Historiography**

By the fourth century, far from being a uniquely Hellenic term, *philanthropia* acquired the special meaning in Christianity. In the third century, Origen and Clement of Alexandria had used it to describe the particular kind of love, which God shows towards mankind. In the fourth century, Christian writers used the term as the concept of hospitality and donation for poor, the care of the sick, and the special characteristic of God which stimulated the Incarnation. Scholars were focusing the theological terminology and its uses in the political propaganda by the Church Fathers and the Emperors in the Late Antiquity.

However, Eusebius of Caesarea uses the term especially in his historical writings as a sensitive word which applies to the Christian behaviours in some conflicts. Eusebius express the indulgence of apostates by confessors in the persecution, Emperor Constantine's lenient treatments for the crafty courtiers as the *philanthropia* of the Christians. Eusebius needed to use an undisputed term for the expression of sensitive deed in his historical writings, in the unsafe situation of conflicts between the Christians about the penance and indulgence for apostate, or in the struggle for power in the imperial court. Investigating the terminology and the related historical situation, this presentation will make a contribution for methods of analysis of historiographies in Late Antiquity.

Boris REPSCHINSKI, Innsbruck University

Shift the Issue and win the Fight? Rhetorical Strategies of dealing with Conflicts in Matthew's Gospel

In recent years there has been an increasing consensus among scholars in the field of Matthean studies situating the gospel squarely within a conflict over leadership of the Jewish people in the post 70 era. Usually this conflict is anchored around the treatment of issues regarding the Jewish Law within Matthew's gospel. However, it is the contention of this paper that the gospel highlights the conflicts surrounding the Law in order to shift the focus from the really contentious issue separating Jewish leaders and the Matthean community, namely Christology. For this purpose, the gospel uses various rhetorical strategies which will be examined here. Finally, as an afterthought, John's gospel will receive brief attention as an alternative possibility for dealing with the same conflict.

Hind Salah El-Din Somida AWAD, Cairo University

The Archangel Michael in Upper Egypt as a response to the Arian-Nicene Conflict

The Archangel Michael holds an important position in the Coptic traditions since the preaching of Christianity in Egypt. The aim of this essay first of all is to investigate the role of the Archangel

Michael in Upper Egypt from the fifth century AD until the seventh's one as a response to the Arian-Nicene Conflict for some sources from there have pointed out to the attribution of many diverse functions to him that were in turn just a mere results related to this conflict among the Copts. The second aim is to publish a new Coptic Ostrakon from the Coptic museum in Cairo which holds a new text that will shed more light on how the Chalcedonian Copts in Upper Egypt viewed and believed in the Archangel Michael in their life

Makiko SATO, University of Toyama

Lying as Human Nature: Augustine's Concept of Lies in the Pelagian Controversy

The term "human nature" or "nature of man" is found frequently in Augustine's works (van Fleteren 1999). Especially in the Pelagian controversy, the different understanding of human nature is the focal point of the argument between Augustine and his opponent. Augustine and the Pelagians agree with that nature itself, which is made by God, has no corruption, but Augustine argues that human nature, which all human beings have now, has been depraved or corrupted, and the Pelagians deny that. Interestingly, both of them sometimes mention passages regarding lies or deception in the Bible when they argue their opinions. They quote, for example, "a lying mouth slays the soul" (Wis 1:11), "Every man is a liar" (Ps 116:2), "no lies is found in their mouth" (Rev 14:5) and so on. Lying seems to be seen as an act that would show what human nature is. As is well known, Augustine discusses lying in some of his works, and wrote two books whose theme is lying: *De mendacio* and *Contra mendacium*, that were actually not written to refute the Pelagians. How does Augustine's argument on lying, from his early works, connect to the argument with the Pelagians? In this paper, I will examine the relationship between the concept of lies and the ontology of human nature in Augustine's texts in the controversy.

Fabian SCHULZ, University of Tübingen

Do Christ and the Apostles belong to the East or to the West? Space and Authority in the Fourth Century Church

The introduction of a recent collective volume claims: "While it is true that modern scholars have sought to identify theological schools or trajectories according to an imposed... East/West paradigm..., there is simply no surviving evidence that anyone in the late-ancient Roman world understood such...

geographical paradigms to be a marker of theological difference."¹ In this paper I want to argue that quite to the contrary East and West mattered – at least in the 4th century, when they were emphatically claimed, assigned and contested.

During the Arian controversy and the Meletian schism there were parties of various convictions who described themselves or their opponents as oriental and occidental. These hemi-spheres depended solely on stances in theology and church politics, not on language areas or political entities. But while the east embraced the orient at the latest by the time of the council of Serdica in 343, the west kept its distance towards the occident, which is partly due to the fact that the bishop of Rome's claim of power extended beyond this sphere. Furthermore, for Christians the two spaces or cardinal directions had quite different connotations. The orient, which was positively connoted, was eagerly claimed by eastern bishops as a resource of legitimacy arguing that Jesus Christ, who resembles the sun, was born there. In response, western bishops declared Christ to be ubiquitous or claimed the sun-metaphor for the occident, whose traditional connotation was negative, leaving the orient to Lucifer and heresy. Furthermore, Rome claimed the apostles Peter and Paul as citizens, what the east did not accept. By highlighting a neglected argument about identity, space and authority this paper aims to study the intersection between theology and history.

Mary SHEATHER, ACU Canberra

The *Apology* of Justin Martyr and the *Legatio* of Athenagoras: Two Responses to the Challenge of Being a Christian in the Second Century

The persecution of the early Christians by the imperial government in Rome and the provinces may not have been as extensive or as persistent as it has sometimes been painted. There is however no doubt that most Christians were likely to experience challenges, both internal and external, to the new way of life, belief and worship that they had adopted. The need to justify belonging to this new 'ethnos' spurred a number of educated Christians to respond to the cultural and social conflict they experienced by composing works variously described as 'apologies', 'embassies' or the like, to rebut the charges alleged against them and expound the basis for their faith. The identity of their actual or presumed audience, whether unsympathetic emperors, suspicious officials, wary pagan neighbours or fellow-Christians – possibly harbouring a sense of inferiority over their new faith – may have varied, and may at times be hard to determine. Such groups, too, may have been more or less

¹ Demacopoulos, G.E. and Papanikolaou, A. (eds.), *Orthodox constructions of the West*, New York: Fordham University Press, 2013 p. 3.

susceptible to the arguments brought forward. Nevertheless, the overall purpose of these works, to present membership of the Christian community as a reasonable option posing no threat to society at large, and to counteract a contrary view, is less a matter for debate, and the resulting discourses are susceptible of comparative analysis.

With the *Apology* of Justin Martyr and the *Legatio* of Athenagoras we encounter responses which deal with similar issues, but from rather different perspectives. This paper will attempt to draw out some of the ways in which each writer presented his case, and assess their significance and effectiveness.

David C. SIM, ACU Melbourne

Benign Endurance or Active Vengeance? Responses to Violence in the Gospels of Mark and Matthew

The Gospels of Mark and Matthew are generally considered to have been written in situations of conflict, Mark in the light of the Neronian persecution and Matthew in the context of conflict with the broader Jewish society. Yet, despite the similarity in the social settings that gave rise to these texts, they respond to their situations of conflict in vastly different ways. Mark exhorts his readers to endure in the face of persecution and promises eschatological rewards for those who do so, but he says very little about the retribution or vengeance that his community's oppressors will face. For his part Matthew also enjoins endurance in the face of persecution with the promise of end-time rewards, but this theme is complemented by the view throughout the text that those who oppress the community will be punished horribly and eternally after the judgement; the wicked will burn forever in the fires of Gehenna. This paper will attempt to determine why Mark and Matthew, who both wrote their Gospels in the midst of conflict and persecution, responded to their respective situations in such different ways.

Kosta SIMIC, ACU Brisbane

Byzantine Liturgical Hymns as Instruments of Religious Polemics

The aim of this paper is to shed light on how liturgical hymns were used as agents of polemics against Christian "heresies" and Muslims. Addressed to a wide audience, these texts were effectively

mobilised to communicate messages that delineated dogmatic differences and strengthened the congregation's sense of identity vis-à-vis a common foe.

By focusing on hymns produced mostly during the iconoclastic and post-iconoclastic periods, I will explore how their authors referred to both ancient and contemporary "heresies" and "heretics". Such references especially occur in hymnographic texts for feasts dedicated to the Church Fathers of Oecumenical Councils and so-called Sunday of Orthodoxy, when the Eastern Church commemorates the victory against iconoclasm.

Liturgical hymns constituted a significant medium of theological polemic against Muslims, too. The rise and expansion of Islam represented the most acute external threat to the Byzantine empire in both military and ideological terms from the seventh century onwards, since the Muslim Arabs laid claims to the same territory and cultural heritage as Byzantium. To counter the new religion, many Byzantine authors engaged in polemics with its proponents by producing separate polemical writings, often in the form of a dialogue between a Christian and a "Saracen." Echoes of this existential threat to the empire found their way into liturgical texts, especially hymns, through which the faithful invoked God's protection and prayed for imperial victory.

Peter STIEGER, Chaminade University, Hawaii

(No) Sympathy for the Devil? Love of Spiritual Adversaries in the Writings of Didymus the Blind

As a successor and strong supporter of Origen of Alexandria, though not an uncritical one, Didymus the Blind has long been presented as advocating controversial theological views, notably the *apokatastasis* (ἀποκατάστασις), the restoration of all, including the Devil and demons. Along with Origen and Evagrius, Didymus' views on this have traditionally been condemned by Christian communities who adhere to the anathemas promulgated by the Fifth Ecumenical Council in 553 C.E. In order to better understand Didymus' theology, it is important to consider his notion of spiritual conflict and its ramifications for the friends and enemies of God. The purpose of this paper is to examine Didymus' theology of enmity with God, in particular his interpretation of key biblical passages that indict certain characters as enemies of God, namely Satan, the demons, and Judas Iscariot. As such, the paper will seek to address such questions as should Christians have any sympathy or compassion for Satan and the demons? Was Judas' betrayal merely the selling out of Jesus based on greed, or is there a deeper betrayal of the teacher-student friendship at stake? How do the enemies contrast with Didymus' understanding of the friends of God? In addition to considering Didymus' exegesis of these characters, the paper will examine his treatment of the New

Testament command to love one's enemies. Didymus' doctrinal and exegetical texts will both be considered to establish his theology of spiritual conflict. Finally, these considerations will be contextualized within Didymus' own theological milieu, where the blind scholar seems to be aware of mounting criticism of his theology, perhaps by his own students, and even possibly the conflicts swirling around several of his prominent former students (Evagrius, Jerome and Rufinus).

Ryan W. STRICKLER, Macquarie University, Sydney

Innocent Victims or Enemy Combatants? Persecution and Conflict in Seventh-Century Byzantium

The seventh century was a period of crisis for the Byzantine Empire. At its dawn, Byzantines found their cities burning at the hands of the Sassanid Persians, who conquered Jerusalem, and with it, relic of the True Cross. The emperor Heraclius's eventual victory and restoration of the Cross was soon eclipsed by the sudden and devastating rise of Muslim Arab forces, which permanently redrew the map and conquered Jerusalem for centuries to come.

Such crises present a paradox. On the one hand, Christian Byzantines, particularly the imperial court, blamed crises on domestic enemies, such as the Jews and theological opponents, and responded with persecution. On the other hand, Byzantines faced hardship at the hands of non-Christian conquerors, namely Zoroastrian Persians and Muslim Arabs. This begs the question as to whether treatment by military conquerors can be considered persecution.

Recently, scholars such as Thomas Sizgorich and Arietta Papaconstantinou have questioned whether we can speak of a homogeneous Islamic *Ummah* before the Caliph Umar, and to what extent inter-Christian persecution may have even eclipsed that inflicted upon Byzantines by Islamic conquerors.

This paper examines the question of persecution during the numerous conflicts of the seventh century. Instances in which Byzantine Christians acted as persecutors, as well as cases where Christians seemingly faced persecution will be considered. I examine literary sources, such as the *Life of George of Choziba*, *The Doctrina Jacobi nuper Baptaziti*, the corpus of Maximus the Confessor, and the *Apocalypse* of pseudo-Methodius, in conversation with archaeological and numismatic evidence. I argue that the seventh-century crises presented a grave threat to Byzantine triumphalism, a threat which was addressed either by blaming and persecuting opponents, or "emplotting" themselves in a providential narrative of persecution and chastisement.

Ruth SUTCLIFFE, Christ College Sydney

To flee... or Not to Flee? Matthew 10:23 and Third Century perspectives on Flight in Persecution

Clement, Origen and Cyprian each escaped persecution by departing; Cyprian was later martyred and Origen was a tortured confessor. Tertullian neither fled nor was martyred, but became a vehement opponent of flight in the face of persecution. All four referred or alluded to Matthew 10:23 in the defence of their position. The crux of the issue was whether the Matthew 10 missionary discourse had continuing application beyond the initial pre-Easter mission of the Twelve. To what extent did their respective theological positions and specific social and ecclesiastical contexts influence their exegesis? Tertullian is known for his shifting theological stance, but in the case of Matthew 10:23 he went beyond a modified emphasis to reach two quite different conclusions. As his theology became more rigorist, he moved from a pragmatic tolerance to a total rejection of flight in persecution, which he condemned as the result of fear and weakness in the face of the desirability and obligation of martyrdom. Clement, Origen and Cyprian, in contrast, accepted the continuing relevance of Matthew 10:23. They held that it was better to flee than to deny, and that withdrawal was prudent in order to continue one's mission, or for the protection of others. Additionally, by removing oneself, the sin of the persecutor would be minimised as they would not have a martyr's blood on their hands. Flight itself could be construed as suffering and witness for Christ, and a selfless protection of the persecutor despite the personal desirability of martyrdom. An exploration of the fathers' application of this passage to a practical (and contentious) problem contributes to a broader understanding of their exegesis and how they appropriated Scripture to their particular circumstances.

Hiroshi TONE, Doshisha University

Ambrose of Milan and the *episcopalis audientia*. A bishop's response to disputes between citizens

After Constantine's period, there was a growing tendency for bishops to conduct disputes between citizens instead of a civil judge. This system is called *episcopalis audientia*. There has been a great discussion about this system. However, several studies come to reach an agreement that it is difficult to make clear the actual condition of this system sufficiently. The reason is that main sources are mainly limited to some imperial prescripts which were collected in codices according to the interests of compilers. It can be seen from this point that all imperial prescripts of *episcopalis audientia* have not been handed down to us. In addition, these imperial prescripts were promulgated as answers to particular questions to the Roman Empire each time, so that it is difficult to deduce the general function of *episcopalis audientia* from the contents of these imperial

prescripts. Then, Caroline Humfress pointed out the importance of studies on bishop's testimonies of *episcopalis audientia* (C. Humfress, *Orthodoxy and the Courts in Late Antiquity*, Oxford, 2007, 167). Therefore, the present study was undertaken in order to collect Ambrose of Milan's testimonies, and to examine his interests in cases of inheritance. In the conclusion, I will elucidate the function of *episcopalis audientia* as the symbolic case of responses to conflict in Christianity after Constantine's period.

Nozomu YAMADA, Nanzan University, Japan

Political and Ecclesiastical Perspectives on Julian of Eclanum's Theological Response in the Pelagian Controversy

In the last APECSS conference in St. Petersburg, I gave a presentation about rhetorical perspective in the controversy between Julian of Eclanum and Augustine. In that presentation, I made clear the distinct differences in the theological and anthropological interpretations of the humanity and sexuality of Jesus Christ, which were written about particularly in *Opus Imperfectum*. In my presentation this time, I would like to focus on the political and ecclesiastical perspectives of Julian's and Augustine's interpretations of Biblical passages. One of the important factors of the social background at that time was the two different social networks that developed from the time of the Origenist Controversy, which occurred prior to the Pelagian Controversy. These two controversies have been thought of as being quite different; nevertheless, the two networks of people who opposed each other in each controversy were strongly related to each other. It is clear that there was continuous contact between these two social networks throughout both controversies. Another important social factor is the different regional arguments and liturgies about infant baptism, particularly in Rome and North Africa. It is commonly assumed that in North Africa, Augustine's home ground, that infant baptism was already required, but in the Italian peninsula, Pelagian's place of power, adult baptism was still common. Augustine's theory of original sin seems to have supported the African tradition of infant baptism on theological grounds. Pointing out the different political and ecclesiastical reasons behind the different theologies and anthropologies between Augustine and Julian, I would like to reconsider the political character of Augustine's theory of original sin and to reevaluate Julian's theological assertions, especially his emphasis on human free will and the goodness of human nature.

Youhanna Nessim YOUSSEF, ACU Melbourne

Settling Conflicts through Theological Debates after the Council of Chalcedon

The theological debates between Chalcedonians and non-Chalcedonians started soon after the Council of Chalcedon (451). With the great sixth-century theologian of the non-Chalcedonian party, Severus of Antioch, these debates reached their height; however these theological debates never had positive outcomes. Some attempts at practical solutions for setting the theological conflicts included:

- 1- The Liturgical exchange between both parties after the council of Chalcedon
- 2- Communal activities when the (non-Chalcedonian) Copts restored a church of the Melkites (Chalcedonians) in Lower Egypt in the Twelfth century.
- 3- Mutual respect between prelates such as Peter V (non-Chalcedonian) and Gregory (Chalcedonian).
- 4- Intercessions of the kings towards the two communities such as the king of Byzantium, the king of Barcelona and the king of Nubia in the Middle Ages from the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries.

While the intercession of emperors and theological debates did not settle the conflict, popular interaction between the two communities did settle it and was the predecessor of modern ecumenism.

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Arguing with Old Men: Tradition, Formation, and Disputation in Late Antique Gaza

Scholarship on Gazan monasticism has largely focused on its “founder”, Isaiah, and on the Great Old Men, Barsanuphius and John. In Isaiah’s homilies and the Great Old Men’s vast correspondence, we can see the elaboration and articulation of a distinctive approach to spiritual direction and ascetic practice. Because of its distinctive flavour, stewed in Chalcedonian and Origenist controversies, Gaza is understandably called a “school” of monasticism, a hallmark of which is its pervasive anti-intellectualism. The last flowering of this “school” was Dorotheus, who trained under John and, to some extent, Barsanuphius. His homilies have been less appreciated, and Dorotheus himself characterized as a “scholastic” systematizer of other peoples’ thought.

I suggest reading Gaza the other way round. Beginning with Dorotheus, we can ask how he *remembers* and is *formed* by the Great Old Men. On this reading, which follows recent scholarship by Kyle Schenkewitz among others, Dorotheus appears much more as a deeply autobiographical and

free thinker than he does as systematizer. In his *Homily 12*, on which this paper will focus, Dorotheus engages in disputations on matters of death, judgment, and eschatology. He peppers his own speculation with quotations from Evagrius Ponticus and shapes it through a remembered dispute with, it will be argued, Barsanuphius himself. A close reading of this personal dispute not only implicates the structure of Gazan spiritual authority, it distills topics of eschatology implicated in the Second Origenist Controversy. I conclude that, reading through Dorotheus' formation, we find a more intellectually engaged and open Gaza, in which dangerous controversies are refracted and, perhaps, buffered through personal interaction which, far from foreclosing intellectual speculation, seems to create space for it.