

Ks. Józef GRZYWACZEWSKI
(Paris, Séminaire Polonais)

BISHOP APPOINTING IN THE PATRISTIC TIME

(Part I)

On 19th June 2009 Pope Benedict XVI proclaimed *The Year for Priests* connected with the 150th anniversary of the death of John Vianney from Ars († 1859). It is a good opportunity to make some studies on the role of the priest ministry in the Church. In the Christian priesthood there are three degrees: episcopacy, presbyterate and diaconate. Many of the theologians of the first centuries were bishops or priests, some of them were deacons. There are theologians who, before being ordained bishops, were priests or deacons. Many Fathers of the Church wrote about the priesthood¹. In the patristic time, the formation of the clergy and the rules of the bishop appointment were different in comparison with our epoch. This article may help to understand the position of the bishop in early Church in the context of the ministry of priest and deacon.

I. THREE DEGREES OF PRIESTHOOD

According to the Christian faith, based on Old and New Testament, there is only one true Priest – Jesus Christ; men could participate in his priesthood². The first ones who were admitted to such a participation were the Apostles. They are considered as first bishops. Saint Paul speaks about bishops (ἐπισκόποι) as community leaders (Phil 1, 1; 1Tim 3, 1-2; Tit 1, 7). There were also persons called prophets (προφήται). Probably they had charisma for proclaiming the Christian message to the people (Acts 11, 27; 13, 1; 1Cor, 12, 28; 14, 29; Eph 4, 11).

In the beginning of Christianity we see two kinds of ministry: one charismatic and one institutional. As far as we know, generally they worked together, but sometimes there were tensions between them. Finally, the role of the char-

¹ Cf. E. Stanula, *Patrystyczna literatura o kapłaństwie. Przegląd bibliograficzny*, VoxP 13-15 (1993-1995) t. 24-29, 49-58; S. Longosz, *Kapłaństwo w starożytności chrześcijańskiej. Materiały bibliograficzne*, ibidem, pp. 499-555.

² Cf. H. Denzinger, *Symboles et définitions de la foi catholique*, Paris 1997, 4007, 4106, 4125, 4153, 4160, 4615 and 101, 308, 348, 1318, 1476, 1670, 1679, 3061, 3307, 4142, 4144, 4147, 4187, 4208, 4532, 4533, 1764, 1771.

ismatic ministry declined and the role of the institutional ministry grew up. Since the Apostolic time, the bishop has always occupied the first place in the community; he had persons who helped him in pastoral activities: priests (πρεσβυτέρου)³ and deacons (διακόνου)⁴.

Later appeared other functions like lector, acolyte, exorcist and archdeacon. There were persons who started their service of the Church as lectors, later became deacons and priests, and then they were ordained bishops. In most of the cases, the way to the episcopacy did not lead through all minor degrees.

In the end of the first century and the beginning of the second century there was a distinction between clergy and laity⁵, and the hierarchy: bishops, priests, deacons, was established in the Church, as we can see it by Ignatius of Antioch († 117). He may be considered as a theologian of episcopacy because in his letters he explained the significance of the priesthood and stressed out its importance in Christianity. He wrote to Philadelphians:

„I salute the Church of God which is at Philadelphia [...] in the blood of Christ, who is our eternal and enduring joy, especially if men are in unity with the bishop (ἐπισκόπῳ), the presbyters (πρεσβύτεροις), and the deacons (διακόνουις), who have been appointed according to the mind of Jesus Christ, whom He has established in security, after His own will, and by the Holy Spirit”⁶.

We find a similar explanation in the *Letter to the Trallians*⁷. The author expressed the opinion that the ministry of bishop, of presbyter and of deacon was established by Christ acting in the Church with the Holy Spirit. Those who exercise such functions accomplish their mission according to the mind of God. Ignatius tried in many ways to emphasize the role of the Church ministers:

„See that you follow the bishop, even as Jesus Christ does the Father, and the presbytery as you would the apostles; and reverence the deacons, as being the

³ About the priest ministry in the early Church, see VoxP 13-15 (1993-1995) t. 24-29: 24 articles and several patristic texts in Polish translation.

⁴ About the deacon ministry in the early Church, see VoxP 9 (1989) t. 17: 12 articles and several patristic texts in Polish translation.

⁵ Cf. S. Longosz, *Geneza i pierwsze znaczenie terminu «świecki» – laicus w literaturze wczesnochrześcijańskiej*, VoxP 23 (2003) t. 42-43, 53-63.

⁶ Ignatius Antiochenus, *Epistula ad Philadelphios* 1, SCh 10, 120, transl. A. Roberts – J. Donaldson, *Ante Nicene Fathers* (= ANF), vol. 1, Massachusetts 1999, 79.

⁷ Cf. Ignatius Antiochenus, *Epistula ad Trallianos* 2, SCh 10, 96, ANF 1, 67: „Since you are subject to the bishop as to Jesus Christ, you appear to me to live not after the manner of men, but according to Jesus Christ [...]. It is therefore necessary that, as you indeed do, so without the bishop you should do nothing, but you should also be subject to the presbytery, as to the apostles of Jesus Christ, who is our hope, in whom if we live, we shall at last be found. It is fitting also that the deacons, as being the ministers of the mysteries of Jesus Christ, should in every respect be pleasing to all. For they are not ministers of meat and drink, but servants of the Church of God”.

institution of God. Let no man do anything connected to the Church without the bishop. Let that be deemed a proper Eucharist, which is administrated either by the bishop, or by one to whom he has entrusted it”⁸.

The bishop is compared to Christ, the priests to the apostles, there is no special comparison for deacons. All should be respected as those who are at the service of God, each according to his place in the hierarchy. There was always one bishop in a local Church, but there were many priests and deacons; for this reason Ignatius spoke about the bishop using the singular (ἐπίσκοπος); while speaking about priests, he used sometimes the word *presbytery* (πρεσβυτέριον) which means *assembly of priests*, sometimes he used plural form *priests* (πρεσβυτέροι); in the same way, he used sometimes the word *deacon* (διακόνος) in singular, and sometimes in plural *deacons* (διακόνοι). The principal ministry of the bishop was the celebration of the Eucharist and the proclamation the Christian message based on the Gospel. In the case of necessity he could delegate a priest for this ministry. The deacon served on the altar but he was never authorized to preside the Eucharistic. His function in assembly was to read the Gospel; in the Christian community he was charged with actions of charity on behalf of sick and poor people, orphans and widows. Many Fathers of the Church wrote about the bishop ministry⁹.

The work intituled *The Apostolic Tradition*, attributed to Hippolytus of Rome († ca 236) presents the bishop as a principal person in the Church, gives instructions concerning his ordination, points out that the candidate for the episcopacy should be chosen by the community and consecrated by other bishops. The priests should be present in the church during the ordination, praying in silence for the gift of the Holy Spirit; they do not impose their hands on the ordained man, because it is an act reserved only for bishops¹⁰. The bishop’s task is to ordain priests and deacons by a special prayer and by laying on of hands. In this collection of instructions, composed in the beginning of the IIIrd century, an older tradition was expressed.

The bishop organized the religious life in his diocese. Very often he was obliged to represent *his* people by the civil authorities. The priests and deacons remained in union with their bishop within a district (diocese); the bishops remained in union among themselves within their province (Metropolis)¹¹ and

⁸ Ignatius Antiochenus, *Epistula ad Smyrnenses* 8, Sch 10, 138, ANF 1, 89.

⁹ Cf. Cz. Krakowiak, *Posługiwanie biskupów, prezbiterów i diakonów w pismach Ojców Kościoła do V wieku*, VoxP 28 (2008) t. 52/1, 514-530.

¹⁰ Cf. *Traditio Apostolica* 2, ed. B. Botte, Sch 11bis, 41; in English: *The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St. Hippolytus of Rome, Bishop and Martyr*, London 1992; see J. Naumowicz, *Kryterium rozróżnienia „duchowny – świecki” według Tradycji Apostolskiej*, VoxP 23 (2003) t. 42-43, 131-140.

¹¹ Cf. A. v. Harnack, *Die Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, Bd. 1, Leipzig 1924, p. 454: „Innerhalb der Gemeindeverfassung war die bedeutendste und wichtigste Schöpfung der monarchische Episkopat. Die Bischöfe haben recht eigentlich die Einzelnen in den Gemeinden zusammengehalten. Mit ihrem Auftreten schließt die Periode allmählich ab, in der

with the Bishop of Rome (the Pope) as the successor of saint Peter¹². In this sense, the bishop was a sign of the universality of the Church.

II. MARRIAGE AND CELIBACY OF THE CHURCH MINISTERS

In the beginning of Christianity, bishops, priests and deacons were allowed to be married, but they were encouraged to live in celibacy. Christ gave teaching about marriage (Mt 5, 27; 18, 8; Mt 19, 1-9; Mk 10, 1-10), but He spoke with favor about those who „do not marry for the sake of the Kingdom of heaven” (Mt 19, 12). Saint Paul accepted the marriage among the Christians, but he appreciated more the celibacy: „The unmarried man concerns himself with the Lord’s work, because he is trying to please the Lord. But the married man concerns himself with worldly matters, because he wants to please his wife” (1Cor 7, 33). In spite of such a position, married men were admitted to the episcopacy. Saint Paul demanded: „The bishop (ἐπισκόποι) must be married only once [...], he must be able to manage his own family well and make his children obey him with respect” (1Tim 3, 2-3).

The expression „married only once”, in other translations „a man of one wife” (ἄνδρα μιᾶς γυναικὸς) signifies that saint Paul excluded from the Church ministry somebody who would be divorced or, after the death of his first wife, would have another woman for wife¹³.

The Church accepted the marriage as a union of man and woman, but only one marriage was highly regarded. The opinion about the second marriage (concluded after the death of the first partner) has never been very positive in the early Church. Such unions were tolerated so that the people do not sin, but the persons living in a second marriage were not admitted to the Church ministry.

According to the *Constitution of the Holy Apostles*, a document from the beginning of the IIIrd century (called *Didascalia*), the marriage of the bishops was accepted:

„Such a bishop ought to be, who has been ‘the husband of one wife’ (1Tim, 3, 2), who has herself had no other husband, ‘ruling well his own house’ (1Tim 3, 4)”¹⁴.

Charismen und Ämter durcheinander wogten und man sich nur auf Gott, sich selbst und den begeisterten Brüder verließ. Seit dem Ausgang des II Jahrhunderts waren die Bischöfe die Lehrer, die Oberpriester, die Richter”.

¹² Cf. Harnack, *Die Ausbreitung des Christentums*, p. 487: „Die römische Gemeinde besaß seit dem Ende des I Jahrhundert seinen faktischen Primat in der Christenheit. Als Gemeinde der Welthauptstadt, als die Kirche des Petrus und Paulus, als die *Ekklesia*, welche das Meiste für die Katholisierung und Unifizierung der Kirchen getan hat und tut”.

¹³ La Bible TOB (Traduction œcuménique de la Bible) 1Tim 3, 2, commentaire, note a: „Selon les commentateurs, l’apôtre viserait l’inconduite, ou bien il interdirait le remariage après veuvage, ou encore il s’en prendrait au fait de répudier sa femme pour en épouser une autre”.

¹⁴ *Constitutiones Apostolorum* II 2, 2, ed. M. Metzger, Sch 320, 148, transl. J. Donaldson, ANF 3, 396.

Even, if the Church understood the marriage as a way of living of the Christians, blessed by God, „the intellectual climate of the first Christian centuries persuaded some Christians authors to express misgivings about sex and marriage [...]. There was common agreement between Christians and pagans that the physical world, composed of matter, was the least worthy of all created being. It was subject to demonic forces and was itself a major source of the evils befell man”¹⁵. In such a context the marriage started to be regarded as incoherent with the sacerdotal dignity. In the end of the second century we observe a kind of *sacralisation of the clerical life*. Tertullian wrote on this subject:

„How many men, therefore, and how many women, in ecclesiastical orders, owe their position of continence, who preferred to be wedded to God; who have restored the honour of their, and who have already dedicated themselves as children of that future age, by slaying in themselves the concupiscence of lust, and that whole propensity which could not be admitted within Paradise”¹⁶.

This exclamation shows men and women living in chastity. The author does not speak about the Church ministers. We can suppose that the appeal to wed himself to God was addressed in the same way to the laity and to the Church servants, though the demand of Christ for holiness was understood as addressed especially to the clergy: bishops, priests, deacons.

There are many documents which show that „the association between sexual intercourse and uncleanness is so ancient that its origins can no longer be traced in history [...]. The universality of the demands for sexual abstinence before participation in worship is striking in the Mediterranean countries. It was found among the Semitic people, in the Hellenistic religions and in the old Roman cult. Entrance into a temple area in the Hellenistic era required ritual purity of a high order and although specific requirement regarding diet might vary, there was almost always an insistence on the avoidance of sexual intercourse. Visitors to Poseidon in Sunium were warned: «You are to be pure from garlic and pig’s flesh and women», while devotees of Athena at Pergamum were ordered: «You must abstain from intercourse with your own husband or wife for one day, from any other for two days»¹⁷. In the time of the Old Testament, the priest who had sexual intercourse remained unclean for the whole day, he was prohibited to perform any act of worship, he was not allowed to eat the food offered in sacrifice (Ex 19, 15; Lev 7, 19-20; 15, 16). In view of such a tradition, even if in the beginning of Christianity the marriage of the Church

¹⁵ Ch.A. Frazee, *The origins of clerical celibacy in the Western Church*, ChH 57 (1988) 110; Cf. S. Longosz, *Patrystyczna motywacja celibatu kapłańskiego*, VoxP 13-15 (1993-1995) t. 24-29, 285-311.

¹⁶ Tertullianus, *De exhortatione castitatis* 13, 4, CCL 2, 1035, ANF 4, 58.

¹⁷ Frazee, *The origins of clerical celibacy*, p. 114; see A.D. Nock, *Early Gentile Christianity and Hellenistic Background*, New York 1964, 17-20.

ministers was accepted, later it became quite natural that the demand of sexual cleanliness before sacrificing was attached to the Eucharist. The Christian position towards sex and marriage „cannot be understood apart from the broader cultural context of the late ancient Mediterranean [...]. Christian texts, their authors, and their subjects embody and express cultural contexts and social expectations that are not limited to the one religious tradition”¹⁸.

Surely, in the Christian conception of sexuality many elements from other cultures are to be found, but it is to be pointed out that the virginity received in the Church a special interpretation in the connection with the vision of the Resurrection as a new creation¹⁹. The opinion of Gregory of Nyssa († 394) may be considered as representative of the early Church on this matter:

„In fact, the life of virginity seems to be an actual representation of the blessedness in the world to come, showing as it does in itself so many signs of the presence of those expected blessings which are reserved for us there. That the truth of this statement may be perceived, we will verify it thus. It is so, first, because a man who has thus died once for all to sin lives for the future to God; he brings forth no more fruit into death; and having so far as in him lies made an end of this life within according to the flesh, he awaits thenceforth the expected blessing of the manifestation of the great God, refraining from putting any distance between himself and this coming of God by an intervening posterity; secondly, because he enjoys even in this present life a certain exquisite glory of all the blessed results of resurrection. For our Lord has announced that the life after our resurrection shall be as that of the angels. Now the peculiarity of the angelic nature is that they are stranger to marriage [...]. If the virginity then can win us favors such as these, what words are fit to express the admiration of so great a grace?”²⁰.

Gregory, after his studies on rhetoric, was married, but resigned to the marital life and became a priest and later a bishop. He is known as a famous theologian. As we see in his consideration on virginity, the Church had many reasons: theological, ascetical, and eschatological to consider the celibacy as a superior way of living and to connect it with the priesthood. There were of course pastoral reasons as well: an unmarried priest could devote himself more to the spiritual care of the faithful; in case of persecution he could easier accept imprisonment, banishment or other suffering, even a martyr death. For

¹⁸ T.M. Shaw, *Sex and Sexual Renuntation*, in: *The Early Christian World*, ed. Ph.F. Esler, vol. I, London 2000, 401; see M. Faucault, *The History of Sexuality*, transl. R. Hurley, New York: vol. I (1983), vol. II (1985), vol. III (1986); Polish transl. B. Banasiak – T. Komendant – K. Matuszewski: *Historia seksualności*, Warszawa 1995.

¹⁹ Cf. A. Solignac, *Virginité chrétienne*, DSp XVI 924-949.

²⁰ Gregorius Nyssenus, *De virginitate* 13, 3, SCh 119, 430, transl. W. Moore – H.A. Wilson, in: *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Ph. Shaff – H. Wace, ser. II, vol. 5 (= NPNF II 5), Massachusetts 1999, 360.

the Christian community it was easier to provide for one person than for the whole family²¹.

The conviction that the marriage is not compatible with the priesthood was officially expressed in the synod of Elvira (c. 300). The bishops have taken the decision as follows:

„We declare that all bishops, priests, deacons and all clerics active in the ministry are to entirely keep themselves from their wives and not have children. Whoever shall do so will be dismissed from the clergy”²².

This is „the earliest canonical enactment”²³ concerning the celibacy as obligation. It was valid only in the local Church of Spain. In other parts of the Roman Empire, the celibacy was emphasized but the married clergy was accepted by tradition. In Africa the Church ministers who were married before ordination were encouraged to keep sexual continence²⁴. On the first ecumenical Council of Nicaea (325) some bishops, probably inspired by the synod of Elvira, tried to impose the celibacy as obligation on the universal Church, but after a debate the assembly resigned to such a project:

„While they were deliberating about this, some thought that a law ought to be passed enacting that bishops and presbyters, deacons and sub-deacons, should hold no intercourse with the wife they had espoused before they entered the priesthood; but Paphnutius, the confessor, stood up and testified against this proposition; he said that the marriage is honorable and chaste, and that the cohabitation (συνουσίαν) with their own wife was chastity, and advised the Synod not to frame such a law, for it would be difficult to bear, and might serve as an occasion of incontinence to them and to their wives, and he reminded them, that according to the ancient tradition of the Church, those who were unmarried when they took part in the communion of sacred orders, were required to remain so, but those who were married, were not to put away their wives”²⁵.

This statement shows the tradition already existing: a married man could be ordained priest or bishop and he was permitted to continue the marital life; in such a case the marriage was recognized as a chaste one (τὸν γάμον ἄπο-

²¹ Cf. J. Jundził, *Pieniądz w łacińskiej literaturze chrześcijańskiej w okresie późnego cesarstwa*, SACH 3 (1984) 127-135.

²² *Concilium Eliberitanum* can. 33, ed. Hefele-Leclercq, I/1, 238-239: „Placuit in totum prohibere episcopis, presbyteris et diaconibus vel omnibus clericis positus in ministerio abstinere se a conjugibus suis et non generare filios; quicumque vero fecerit, ab honore clericatus exterminetur”, English transl. Ch.A. Frazee, *The origins of clerical celibacy*, p. 114.

²³ Cf. *Celibacy of the clergy*, in: *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, dir. A.E. Livingstone, Oxford 1977 (= ODChCh), 310.

²⁴ Cf. B. Degórski, *Kler afrykański w świetle synodów IV i V wieku*, VoxP 6 (1986) t. 10, 225.

²⁵ Sozomenus, HE I 23, 2-4, SCh 306, 212-214, NPNF Ser II 2, 256.

καλῶν), but after the ordination the marriage was not allowed. This position was adopted by the collection of Church rules called *Constitution of the Holy Apostles*²⁶ composed in IVth century:

„We have already said, that a bishop, a presbyter, and a deacon, when they are constituted, must be but once married, whether their wives be alive or whether they be dead; and what is not lawful for them, if they are unmarried when they are ordained, to be married afterwards; or if they be then married, to marry a second time, but to be content with that wife which they had when they came to ordination”²⁷.

Probably the decisions of Nicaea (can. 4) and the rules of the *Constitution of the Holy Apostles* were not followed in every province. Epiphanius (315-403) complained about deacons, priests and bishops who continued the marital life after their ordination; he stressed out that such a way of living was not conform to the canons; surely, he did not think neither about the canons of the Council of Nicaea which admitted the continuation of the marriage concluded before the ordination, nor about the rules of the *Constitution of the Holy Apostles*²⁸. Hefele supposes that while utilizing the idiom „τοῦτο οὐ παρὰ τὸν κανόνα”, Epiphanius meant rather the wish of the Church than a canon in a juridical sense. Such an understanding would be conform to his statement (in the same fragment): „The celibacy is observed in the countries in which the severe ecclesiastical canons were imposed”. It means that he was aware that there was no law established for the whole Church concerning the ceasing of the marital life after the ordination, but the celibacy was observed only in some countries. The word canon (κανών) which he uses might signify: appeal, exhortation, an ideal to be practiced²⁹, but not a law. Surely, in whole Christianity, in East

²⁶ Cf. M. Metzger, *Introduction* [in *Constitutions Apostoliques*], Sch 320, 26: „Les CA sont un témoin privilégié pour notre connaissance des institutions chrétiennes de la fin du IV^e siècle et nous font apparaître des formes de gouvernement ecclésiastique bien différentes des codes modernes, encore toutes proches de la pratique juive et de celle des premières communautés chrétiennes. A cette époque, chaque communauté locale régulait encore elle-même, de fait, ses institutions; c’était le seul fonctionnement possible, dans l’échange entre Eglises”.

²⁷ *Constitutiones Apostolorum* VI 17, Sch 329, 346, transl. J. Donaldson, ANF 7, 457.

²⁸ Cf. Epiphanius, *Haereses* 48, 9, GCS 31, 230-231, transl. H. Leclercq, in: J. Hefele, *Histoire des conciles*, vol. II/2, Paris 1908, appendice VI, p. 1334: „La sainte Eglise respecte le sacerdoce à ce point qu’elle n’admet pas au diaconat, à la prêtrise, à l’épiscopat, ni même au sous-diaconat celui qui vit encore dans le mariage et engendre des enfants: elle n’y admet que celui qui, marié, s’abstient de sa femme ou celui qui l’a perdue, surtout dans les pays où règnent de sévères canons ecclésiastiques. A la vérité, en certains endroits, les prêtres, les diacres et les sous-diacres continuent d’avoir des enfants. Je réponds que cela ne se fait pas selon la règle, mais à cause de la mollesse des hommes, parce qu’il est difficile de trouver des clercs qui s’appliquent bien à leurs fonctions [...]. Je dis donc qu’il convient que le prêtre, le diacre ou l’évêque soit tout à Dieu dans ses fonctions et ses obligations”.

²⁹ Cf. Hefele, *Histoire des conciles*, vol. II/2, p. 1335: „Il faut entendre ici le terme κανών non

and West, the chastity has been always presented as a model of the Christian life, as a way to imitate Christ, so it is easy to understand that the Church ministers were encouraged to live in celibacy³⁰. It seems that in IVth century local Churches applied differently the same moral and spiritual principles issued from the Gospel. In the West the rules concerning the celibacy were more strict than in the East.

According to the tradition affirmed by the Council of Nicaea, the father of Gregory of Nazianzus³¹, a great theologian, was married. As a married man, he was elected bishop of Nazianzus (a small locality in the district of Cappadocia)³², and after his ordination he continued to live with his wife Nonna; his name was Gregory. As far as we know, he accomplished perfectly his duties as pastor, as husband and as family father. Many years later, Gregory, his son, gave an excellent testimony on his family in his *Autobiographical Poem (De vita sua)* and in his orations (speeches)³³. He glorified his father as a good pastor (comparing him with Abraham) and his mother a good Christian (comparing her with Sarah), always presenting them as a couple living in love according to God's law. The marriage of Gregory's parents was accepted by the Christian

d'après son sens absolu, quand il est employé isolement, mais d'après le contexte qui ne vaut rien dire de plus sinon que les clercs qui n'observent pas le célibat s'écartent de l'idéal proposé et recommandé par l'Eglise".

³⁰ Cf. F. Vernet, *Célibat ecclésiastique*, DSp II/1 385-396.

³¹ In English two forms of this name are used: *Gregory Nazianzen* and *Gregory of Nazianzus*. The ODChCh uses the second form, see p. 711.

³² Cf. J. Quasten, *Initiation aux Pères de l'Église*, III, Paris 1962, 340: „Grégoire naquit vers 330 à Arianze au sud-ouest de la Cappadoce, dans la propriété proche de Nazianze, dont son père, qui porte le même nom que lui, était évêque. Sa sainte mère Nonna, était fille de parents chrétiens et eut une influence décisive dans la conversion de son mari en 325 et dans la première éducation de son fils”.

³³ Cf. Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Oratio XVIII* (post patris mortem) 1, PG 35, 985-1044: „O man of God and faithful servant and steward of the mysteries of God and man of desires of the Spirit: for thus Scriptures speaks of men advanced and lofty, superior to visible things”; *ibidem* 7: „I heard the Scripture say: «Who can a valiant woman»? [...] and declare that she is a divine gift, and that a good marriage is brought about by the Lord”; *ibidem* 8: „But she who was given by God to my father became not only his assistant, but even his leader, drawing him on by her best influence in deed and word to the highest excellence; judging it best in all other respects to be overruled by her husband according to the law of marriage, but not being ashamed, in regard of piety, even to offer herself as his teacher. Admirable was indeed was as was this conduct of her [...]”; *ibidem* 16: „He received a woodland and rustic church [...]. By constant meditation on the divine words, though a late student of such matters, gathered together so much wisdom within a short time that he was in no wise excelled by those who had spent the greatest toil upon them, and received this special grace from God, that he became the father and teacher of orthodoxy” (Fragments taken from: *Select Orations* by Saint Gregory Nazianzen, transl. Ch.G. Browne – J.E. Swallow, NPNF Ser II 7, 255-259; Cf. *Oratio XII*, *ibidem*, p. 245-246; *Oratio XVI*, *ibidem*, p. 247-254. The English translation of the *Autobiographical Poem* by Gregory, see G. Misch, *A History of Autobiography in Antiquity*, II, London 1950, 600-624.

community. Nonna was generally respected because of her virtues. Her son, Gregory of Nazianzus, dedicated her about 50 epigrams³⁴. She is still known as saint Nonna; in the oriental Church her liturgical commemoration is celebrated on 5th August³⁵. At that time there were other bishops living in marriage after their ordination³⁶, surely not every *ecclesiastical* couple passed to the history with the opinion of sanctity.

With the time the tradition concerning the celibacy was modified: the priests (presbyters), married before the ordination, were allowed to continue to live in marriage, but a married man, when he was elected bishop, was demanded to resign to the marital life. So, married priests were generally accepted, but bishops should live in celibacy. The opinion of those who thought like Epiphanius of Salamis was gaining the majority in Christianity and finally became normative in whole Church. It is to be supposed that the monasticism was not without influence on the image of the Church ministers; the people expected that they live like monks, without being attached to the family duties.

In Vth century we notice many situations in which, if a married man became a bishop, he was obliged to stop the marital life with consensus of his wife. Such a solution was not understood as a divorce, because the marriage was still held for valid:

„The wife of a cleric, after his husband's ordination, was to be treated by him like a sister, but there was never any suggestion that the marriage itself was dissolved”³⁷.

Pope Leo the Great († 461) gave regulations concerning the bishops and priests who were married before ordination:

„In order that their wedlock may become spiritual instead of carnal, it behoves them not to put away their wives but to «have them as though they had them not» (1 Cor 7,29), whereby both the affection of their wives may be retained and the marriage functions cease”³⁸.

³⁴ Cf. A. Stępniewska, *Św. Nonna – matka Grzegorza z Nazjanzu w jego twórczości poetyckiej*, VoxP 28 (2008) t. 52/2, 1038-1047.

³⁵ Cf. J. Dölger, *Nonna. Ein Kapitel über christliche Volksfrömmigkeit des vierten Jahrhunderts*, ACh 5 (1936) 44-75; J.M. Sauget, *Nonna*, BS IX, 1044-1045.

³⁶ Cf. Hefele, *Histoire des conciles*, vol. II/2, p. 1335: „Nous rencontrons, au temps de la persécution de Dèce, l'évêque de Nilopolis, Chérémon, qui s'enfuit avec sa femme sur le Mont Arabique et dont la trace ne fut jamais retrouvée. Saint Pliléas, évêque de Thumis et martyr, pendant sa comparution devant les magistrats, voit sa femme entrer dans le local où se rend la justice; elle était encore païenne et rien ne prouve qu'elle eût consenti à une séparation de corps [...]. Sous Dioclétien, l'évêque de Sirmium, Irénée, homme jeune, marié, père d'enfants en bas-âge, est arrêté et mis en jugement. On voit alors son père et sa mère, sa femme, ses enfants qui se jettent à ses pieds et le supplient de demeurer avec eux”.

³⁷ B. Brennan, „*Episcopae*” – *Bishops' wives viewed in 5th-century Gaul*, ChH 54 (1985) 314.

³⁸ Leo I papa, *Epistula* 167, 3, PL 54, 1204A, transl. Ch.L. Feltoe, NPNF Ser II 12, 110.

According to the Pope's statement, after the ordination, the marriage as a union of two persons still exists, but only its physical functions should cease; husband and wife become like brother and sister.

As we know, for example from the acts of the synod of Tours, in Merovingian Gaul, „when a married man was ordained a priest, his wife was known as a *presbytera*; when he was consecrated bishop, his wife was given the title *episcopa*”³⁹. Such women occupied a special place in the Christian community: „In sixth century, a special blessing was included within the liturgy for the wives of married men on the day of their husband's ordination. These women were called *presbyteresses (presbyterae)* and were entitled to wear special dress”⁴⁰. Sometimes the couple was separated, sometimes the persons stayed in the same house respecting the sexual continence. That was the case of Demetrius, the bishop of Alexandria († 295)⁴¹ and of Paulinus, the bishop of Nola († 431)⁴²; both continued to live with their wives as with sisters. There were persons who broke their vows; in such case, a priest or a deacon (and perhaps a bishop) was menaced to loose his ministry⁴³.

As one can imagine, the position of the wife of a bishop in the society was sometimes difficult. There was an opinion that „an *episcopa* could not be anything more than a hindrance to a bishop in the charge his pastoral duties. Indeed, the canons of the sixth century Gallic Church invariably portray the *episcopa* as an occasion of sin to be avoided”⁴⁴. In VIth century in Gaul many decisions were taken concerning the relations of the clerks with their wives and persons from their families, especially women⁴⁵. Gregory of Tours pictured a very black portrait of Badégisil, the bishop of Le Mans, and of Magnatrude, his wife. Apparently, he was aggressive and greedy, and she inspired him not only to bad actions but also was cruel to those who were opposite to her, men and women. After the death of the bishop, she entered into dispute with his successor, Bertrand, over some goods; in his opinion they

³⁹ *Concilium Turonense* (567) can. 20, CCL 148A, 184, for the term *episcopa*, *ibidem* can 14 (13) and *presbytera*, *Synodus Antissiodorensis* (561) can. 21, CCL 148A, 268; S.F. Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society: Marriage and the Cloister 500-900*, Philadelphia 1981, 134-136.

⁴⁰ Frazee, *The origins of clerical celibacy*, p. 117.

⁴¹ Cf. Epiphanius, *Haereses* 59, 4, PG 41, 1021-1024.

⁴² Cf. Paulinus Nolanus, *Epistula* 23, 42, PL 61, 284.

⁴³ Cf. *Concilium Claremontanum* (535) can. 13, Hefele-Leclercq II/2 1141: „Quiconque est ordonné diacre ou prêtre, doit cesser tout commerce conjugal. Il devient le frère de son ancienne femme. Comme quelques-uns, enflammés par la passion, ont violé leurs engagement et sont revenus à la vie conjugale, ils perdront pour toujours leur dignité”.

⁴⁴ Brennan, „*Episcopae*”, p. 313.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Concilium Agathense* (505) can. 15, CCL 148, 201; *Concilium Arelatense* (524) can. 2, CCL 148A, 43-44; *Concilium Claremontanum* (535) can. 13, CCL 148A, 108; *Concilium Aurelianense* (538) can. 7, CCL 148A, 117; *Concilium Aurelianense* (541) can. 17, CCL 148A, 136; *Concilium Turonense* (567) can. 11, CCL 148A, 179-180; can. 13, CCL 148A, 180; can. 14, CCL 148A, 181; *Concilium Matisconense* (581-583) can. 3, CCL 148A, 224.

belonged do the Church, she claimed that they were a private property of her late husband⁴⁶. Probably in the story of this *terrible couple* there are some anecdotic elements. Of course, in the history of the Church there were many conflicts over material things after the decease of a bishop or priest. Gregory of Tours presented also some pious *episcopae*, for example the wife of bishop Riticius and the wife of bishop Simplicius, both lived perfectly in chastity. The wife of bishop Namatius „used to hold a book on her lap reading stories of old events, pointing out to the painters what they ought to represent on the walls (of the church)⁴⁷.

Because of problems with bishop's families, gradually efforts were made to diminish the number of married men as candidates for the episcopacy. Probably it was not possible to eliminate them completely: „In the West local councils of the fifth and sixth centuries [...] the usual canons for admittance to that state (the clergy) required married men to practice continence and unmarried candidates to pledge they would never contract matrimony. The number of married bishops continued to decline⁴⁸. The priority was given to those who have never been married. There were more candidates for the episcopacy from monasteries. In East such a way of recruitment became a rule. In West there were always bishops coming from monastic communities and also from other milieu. In most of cases, they came from aristocratic families. So, we notice four steps in the discipline of celibacy:

the first one: the marriage was not an obstacle in exercising the Church ministry (the apostolic time);

the second one: married men were admitted to the ministry of bishop, priest and deacon, and they were allowed to continue the marital life after the ordination; at the same time, somebody who was ordained bishop or priest or deacon could not marry (that was the position of the Council of Nicaea);

the third one: priests and deacons were allowed to live in marriage contracted before ordination, but bishops, since the day of the ordination, were demanded to stop the marital life and to treat their wives as sisters (wish of Epiphanius of Salamis, regulations of Pope Leo the Great);

the fourth one: even if, in theory a married man could be ordained bishop, on the condition to vow continence, in fact priority was given to those who have never been married (tendency of the synods in Gaul in fifth and sixth centuries).

⁴⁶ Cf. Gregorius Turonensis, *Historia Francorum* VIII 39, PL 71, 476, transl. R. Latouche, Paris 1999, 172. Magnatruide was able to defeat a group of soldiers led against her by *comes* Chuppa (ibidem X 5, PL 71, 535, transl. p. 266).

⁴⁷ Gregorius Turonensis, *Liber in gloriam confessorum* 74, 75 (= *Historia Francorum* II 17, PL 71, 215A), transl. B. Brennan, in: *Translated Texts for Historians*, ed. E. James – R. van Dam, Liverpool 1985, 317.

⁴⁸ Frazee, *The origins of clerical celibacy*, p. 117.

Now, in Christianity of Oriental tradition, most of the parish priests are married, and bishops are obliged to life in celibacy⁴⁹. In Latin tradition, not only bishops but also priests observe the celibacy. In both traditions, deacons could be married.

The minor ministers, which were established later in the Church, were not obliged to live in celibacy. According to the tradition approved by *The Constitution of the Holy Apostles* and the decisions taken by synods, they were allowed to marry before and after their entering the service of the Church, but there were some restrictions in this matter:

„We also appoint that the ministers, and singers, and readers (lectors), and porters (acolytes), shall be only once married. But if they entered into clergy before they were married, we permit them to marry, if they have an inclination thereto, lest they sin and occur punishment. But do not permit any of the clergy to take to wife either a courtesan, or a servant, or a widow, or one of that is divorced, as also the law says”⁵⁰.

So, they were allowed to marry, but only one time, and the wife should have a good opinion; she must be not a widow or a slave. The subdeacons until IVth century were allowed to be married; in Vth century they were required to vow continence in the same way as deacons and priests.

III. FROM A MONASTERY TO A BISHOP SEE

In IVth and Vth centuries the monasticism, born in the East, was progressing quickly to the West. In that time we see bishops who had an experience of the monastic life. One of them, as we said above, was Gregory of Nazianzus. But a very eminent person belonging to this category was saint Basil as well. He was born ca 330 in Caesarea in a family of high traditions of classical culture and Christian religion. His father Basil was a teacher of rhetoric. His grandmother Macrina (called Older), his mother Emelia⁵¹, his sister Macrina (called Younger), his two brothers Gregory, the bishop of Nyssa, and Peter, the bi-

⁴⁹ Cf. K. Ware, *L'Orthodoxie. L'Eglise des sept Conciles*, transl. F. Lhoest, Paris 2002, p. 375: „Les ordinands doivent choisir leur voie avant l'ordination, car nul ne peut se marier après avoir été ordonné à l'ordre majeur. Il faut que le mariage précède l'ordination [...]. Autrefois, le clergé paroissial était presque toujours composé d'hommes mariés, mais maintenant il est assez fréquent qu'un prêtre-moine soit en charge d'une paroisse. Depuis le sixième ou le septième siècle, l'évêque doit être célibataire, et depuis au moins le quatorzième siècle, il doit avoir prononcé des vœux monastiques; un veuf peut être consacré à l'épiscopat s'il fait profession monastique”; see: J. Meyendorff, *Marriage: an orthodox perspective*, New York 1975.

⁵⁰ *Constitutiones Apostolorum* VI 17, 2, Sch 329, 346-348, ANF 7, 457.

⁵¹ Cf. A. Stepniewska, *Święta Emelia – matka Bazylego i Grzegorza z Nyssy*, VoxP 25 (2005) t. 48, 67-78.

shop of Sebasta are honoured as saints⁵². Macrina (the Younger) was known as a model of ascetic life and as a person who was able to discuss the theological questions. Her brother Gregory (bishop) called her „Teacher”⁵³. Basil, „after being educated at Caesarea in Cappadocia, Constantinople and Athens in the best pagan and Christian culture of his day, he forsook the world for the monastic life, and after a brief period in Syria and Egypt, settled as a hermit by the river Iris near Neocaesarea (358)”⁵⁴. In one of his letters, he expressed his fascination for the way of living of the monks he met:

„I read the Gospel, and I saw there that a great means of reaching perfection was the selling of one’s goods, the sharing them with the poor, the giving up of all care for this life, and the refusal to allow the soul to be turned by any sympathy to things of earth. And I prayed that I might find some one of the brethren who had chosen this way of life, that with him I might cross life’s short and troubled strait. And many did I in Alexandria, and many in the rest of Egypt, and others in Palestine, and in Coele Syria, and in Mesopotamia. I admired their continence in living, and their endurance in toil. I was amazed at their persistency in prayer, and their triumphing over sleep, subdued by no natural necessity, ever keeping their souls purpose high and free, in hunger, in thirst, in cold, in nakedness, they never yielded to the body; they were never willing to waste attention on it; always, as though living in a flesh that it is to sojourn for a while in this life, and what to have one’s citizenship and home in heaven. All this moved my admiration. I called those men’s lives blessed, in that they did indeed shown that they «bear about in their body the dying of Jesus » (2 Cor 4, 10). And I prayed that I, too, as far as in me may, might imitate them”⁵⁵.

Indeed, inspired by the eastern monasticism, he came back to his country and went to the property of his family in the locality called Anesoi in the district of Neocaesarea on the river Iris. There his mother Emelia and his sister Macrina were already leading a female community; his brother Peter lived nearby as an anchorite. Basil started to organize a male community. He got known in East two principal ways of monastic life: anchoritic and coenobitic. The first one seemed dangerous to him because of the solitude and ascetical excesses which he noticed; the second one brought a danger of disorder and did not gave much possibility to contemplate. Basil had some knowledge of the monastic life by Eustathius, the bishop of Sebasta in Minor Asia, which was marked by an excessive rigor in ascetic practice. Surely, he did not want

⁵² Cf. Quasten, *Initiation aux Pères de l’Église*, vol. III, p. 296; F. Drączkowski, *Patrologia*, Lublin 1998, p. 216.

⁵³ Cf. Gregorius Nyssenus, *Dialogus de anima et resurrectione*, PG 46, 11-160, transl. W. Moore – H.A. Wilson, NPNF Ser II 5, 430-468.

⁵⁴ *Saint Basil the Great*, in: ODChCh, p. 166.

⁵⁵ Basiliius, *Epistula* 223, 2, PG 32, 824, transl. B. Jackson, NPNF Ser II 8, 263.

to follow this kind of rigor⁵⁶, especially after the synod in Gangres (355) which condemned it as nonconform to the moral ideals of the Gospel.

In his letter to Gregory of Nyssa (written about 357), Basil formulated his own monastic *Credo*⁵⁷. One can notice his doubts and hesitation, but also his will to imitate the ascetic life of the oriental monks, avoiding extreme elements which he saw among them. In fact, he initiated with the cooperation of his friend Gregory, a type of monasticism which could be considered as a moderated one⁵⁸. In his vision of the Christian perfection, we can realise some ideas of the Platonic and Stoic philosophy⁵⁹. In the formation program, he consecrated more place to the intellectual work than in the oriental tradition⁶⁰.

Eusebius, the bishop of Caesarea, after having noticed his qualities, suggested him to become a priest (ca 364). Basil accepted this charge, probably because he wanted to serve better his brothers in the monastic life. As we know for example from Gregory of Nazianzus, he was active also outside of the community; he cooperated with Eusebius, his bishop, whom he surpassed by culture and knowledge of the Christian doctrine, avoiding conflicts and rejecting suspicions spread out by the enemies⁶¹. He was engaged in the defence

⁵⁶ Cf. P. Maraval, *Le monachisme oriental*, in: *Histoire du christianisme*, ed. J.M. Mayeur – Ch. et L. Pietri – A. Vauchez – M. Venard, II, Paris 1995, 735: „Les premiers renseignements sur l’existence d’un important mouvement ascétique sont fournis par les vingt canons et la lettre synodale d’un concile tenu à Gangres en 355 et réunissant quatorze évêques du Nord de l’Asie Mineure qui condamnent les excès d’un certain Eustathe et de ses disciples. A la lumière de ces textes, l’enseignement d’Eustathe apparaît comme poussant à ses extrêmes conséquences le radicalisme évangélique: la pauvreté totale et la chasteté parfaite sont requises de tous les chrétiens, et de ce fait l’abandon des conjoints, des parents par leurs enfants, des enfants par leurs parents, des maîtres par leurs esclaves, est légitime pour qui choisit cette vie – ce qui ébranle l’ordre familial et social [...]. Basile de Césarée en témoigne, et avec lui toute sa famille: c’est sous l’influence d’Eustathe que sa soeur aînée Macrine, sa mère Emmélie, son frère Naucratius adoptent la vie ascétique dans les solitudes du Pont”.

⁵⁷ Cf. Basilius, *Epistula* 2, 2-6, PG 32, 224-233, transl. B. Jackson, NPNF Ser II 8, 110-112; *Epistula* 22, 1-3, PG 32, 289-293, NPNF Ser II 8, 127-129.

⁵⁸ Cf. Maraval, *Le monachisme oriental*, p. 736: „Basile, tout en conservant les institutions fondamentales d’Eustathe, va donner à la réalisation de son idéal ascétique un cadre qui en prévient les excès [...]. Son idéal n’est autre que l’idéal chrétien, et il s’efforce de le fonder sur le Nouveau Testament, donc sur le double précepte de la charité [...]. Ses écrits en précisent les contours: ils deviennent peu à peu des «règles» pour une institution qui se structure [...]. La réglementation de la vie communautaire (en matière de prière, de pénitence, de travail), est marquée par une certaine mesure”.

⁵⁹ Cf. V. Desprez, *Le monachisme primitif. Des origines jusqu’au concile d’Ephèse*, Abbaye de Bellefontaine 1998, p. 348: „Basil met en pratique l’idéal des classes aisées du temps: la retraite sur ses terres, pour s’efforcer à la sagesse recommandée par Platon et les stoïciens. Mais la Bible, lui d’abord dans l’esprit d’Origène, prend peu à peu le pas sur la philosophie”.

⁶⁰ Cf. Basilius, *Epistula* 2, 3, PG 32, 228B, transl. B. Jackson, NPNF Ser II 8, 111: „The study of the inspired Scripture is the chief way of finding our duty, for in it we find both instruction about conduct and the lives of blessed men, delivered in writing, as some breathing images of goodly living”.

⁶¹ Cf. Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Oratio* 43, 33, 540-541: „Basil’s next business and purpose was

of the Christian faith against emperor Valens who supported the Arian heresy. After the death of Eusebius (370), he was appointed to succeed Eusebius as the bishop of Caesarea and the metropolitan of Cappadocia. The election was difficult, because the Arians wanted to push their candidate, but Basil, supported by Gregory of Nazianzus and his father (bishop), gained the favour of the majority of electors. B. Jackson, the editor of his works, presents the situation as follows: „No intelligent onlooker of the position at Caesarea on the death of Eusebius [...] could be blind to the fact that of all possible competitors for the vacant throne Basil himself was the ablest and most distinguished, and the likeliest to be capable of directing the course of events in the interests of orthodoxy [...]. Basil may or may not have taken Gregory’s advice not to put himself forward. But Gregory and his father, the bishop, from this time strained every nerve to secure the election of Basil. It was felt that the cause of true religion was at stake. «The Holy Ghost must win». Opposition had to be encountered from bishops who were in open or secret sympathy with Basil’s theological opponents [...]. To the people of Caesarea, Basil was represented as a man of saintly life and of unique capacity to stern the surging tide of heresy [...]. All resistance was overborne, and Basil was seated on the throne of the great exarchate”⁶².

Of course, not everyone was satisfied with this election. Athanasius, the bishop of Alexandria, sent him a letter of congratulations, while emperor Valens, inspired by the Arian party, prepared to carry out the measures against the Catholics in the province. Basil as a bishop remained faithful to the *Credo* of Nicaea and defended it by his preaching and theological treatises⁶³, and worked on the development of the monastic life, male and female in the Greek Church. „Throughout his whole career, Basil oversaw several groups of ascet-

to conciliate the prelate, to ally suspicion [...] in his envy of virtuous concord: carefully complying with the laws of obedience and spiritual order. Accordingly he visited him, with instruction and advice. While obedient to his wishes, he was everything to him: a good counselor, a skillful assistant, an expounder of the Divine Will, a guide of conduct, a staff for his old age, a support in the faith, most trusty of those without, in a word, as much inclined to good-will, as the power of the Church came into his hands almost, of not quite, to an equal degree with the occupant of the see. For in return for his good-will, he was requited with authority. And their harmony and combination of power was wonderful”.

⁶² Saint Basil, *Prolegomena*, in: *Letters and selected works*, NPNF Ser II 8, p. XXI-XXII; cf. Św. Bazyli Wielki, *Listy*, transl. W. Krzyżaniak, Warszawa 1972, 9.

⁶³ Cf. J.F. Racine, *The Text of Matthew in the writings of Basil of Caesarea*, Boston 2004, p. 15: „He kept fighting for the Nicene creed in a period when state-supported Arianism appeared to triumph. Indeed, emperor Valens (364-378) promoted the reconciliation of the Eastern Church around the formula of Rimini (359), which had replaced the terms *homoousios* – coined at the council of Nicaea (325) – with the more ambiguous term *homoios* (alike). All bishops who refused to recognize the formula of Rimini and to accept communion with the Anomoian party were dispossessed of their see, which was then handed to an Arian. Basil successfully resisted the emperor and his prefect Modestus on this point”.

ics. This oversight provided an avenue for an important literary activity⁷⁶⁴. He composed his famous Rules (moral, mayor and minor)⁶⁵, which are still followed in Christianity of the oriental tradition. In this sense, we can say that he, while being a bishop, did not cease to be a monk.

In West there were also bishops with monastic experience. The most famous among them is saint Martin. We know many details about his life from the work *Vita Sancti Martini* by Sulpitius Severus⁶⁶, from *Historia Francorum* by Gregory of Tours, and from other authors. He was born in Sabaria in Panonia (now Hungary) ca 316 in the family of a Roman *tribun*. In his young age, he started to serve the army. Ca 354 he left the military service and was baptized. In Gaul he met saint Hilary, the bishop of Poitiers, who introduced him to the service of the Church:

„This time, Hilarius wanted to institute him in the office of the diaconate, endeavoured still more closely to attach him to take part in the Divine service. But when he constantly refused, crying out that he was unworthy, Hilarius, as being a man of deep penetration, perceived that he could only be constrained in this way, if he should lay that sort of office upon him, in discharging which there should seem to be a kind of humiliation for him. He therefore appointed him to be an exorcist. Martin did not refuse this appointment, from the fear that he might seem to be looked down upon it as somewhat humble⁷⁶⁷.

Martin, as many other men in that time did not want to accept any ministry in the Church. In this case, he agreed because the function of exorcist was difficult and it belonged to the minor degrees of the Church service⁶⁸. In this sense, it could be a kind of humiliation for him. After having assumed this charge, he decided to visit his family in Panonia. When he came back, Hilary⁶⁹ was in exile in Italy. It was a time of Arian controversies. Martin joined him,

⁶⁴ Ibidem, p. 11.

⁶⁵ Cf. Basilus, *Prooemium ad Hypotyposin* (CPG 2884), PG 31, 1509-1513; J. Gribomont, *Histoire du texte des ascétiques de saint Basile*, Louvain 1953, p. 279-282; *Regulae morales*, PG 31, 691-869; *Prooemium in Asceticon magnum*, PG 31, 889-901; *Regulae fusius tractatae*, PG 31, 901-1052; *Regulae brevius tractatae*, PG 31, 1052-1305. English translations: *The Ascetic Works of Saint Basil*, transl. into English with introduction and notes by W.K.L. Clarke, New York – Toronto 1925; Saint Basil, *Ascetical Works*, transl. M.M. Wagner, ed. 3, Washington 1970. Polish translation: Św. Bazyli Wielki, *Pisma ascetyczne*, przekład i opracowanie J. Naumowicz, ŻM 5-6, Tyniec – Kraków 1994-1995.

⁶⁶ Critical edition with commentary and French translation: Sulpice Sévère, *Vie de Saint Martin*, trad. J. Fontaine, SCh 133-135, Paris 1967. In English there are two forms of this name. In some works the form Sulpitius is used, in some works – Sulpicius. The ODChCh uses the second form, see p. 1556.

⁶⁷ Sulpicius Severus, *Vita S. Martini* 5, 2, SCh 133, 262, transl. A. Roberts, NPNF Ser II 11, 6.

⁶⁸ Cf. P. Towarek, *Egzorcyzm. Historia, liturgia, teologia*, Olsztyn 2008, 43-69.

⁶⁹ In English there are two forms of this name. In some works the form *Hilarius* is used, in some works – Hilary. The ODChCh uses the second form, see p. 769.

and in Illyricum he had to suffer for the faith⁷⁰. In Milan he started to live as a hermit. When Hilary returned to Gaul, Martin followed him and – after having obtained a place in Ligugé, he arranged there his second hermitage. Soon some persons joined him. So, the first community was born. His sanctity and his gift to perform miracles became known and admired by the people. Surprisingly, he was elected bishop of Tours (371), not without hesitations on part of some bishops:

„Nearly about the same time, Martin was called upon to undertake the episcopate of the Church at Tours, but when he could not easily be drawn forth from his monastery, a certain Rusticus, one of the citizens, pretending that his wife was ill, and casting himself down at his knees, prevailed on him to go forth. Multitudes of the citizens having previously been posted by the road on which he travelled, he is thus under a kind of guard escorted to the city. An incredible number of people not only from that town, but also from the neighbour cities, had, in a wonderful manner, assembled to give their votes. There was but one wish among all, there were the same prayers, and there was the same fixed opinion of the effect that Martin was most worthy of the episcopate, and that the Church would be happy with such a priest. A few persons, however, and among these some of bishops, who had been summoned to appoint a chief priest, were impiously offering resistance, asserting forsooth that Martin’s person was contemptible, that he was unworthy of the episcopate, that his clothing was mean, and his hair disgusting. This madness of theirs was ridiculed by the people of sounder judgement, inasmuch as such objectors only proclaimed the illustrious character of the man, while they sought to slander him. Nor truly was it allowed them to do anything else, than what the people, following the Divine will, desired to be accomplished⁷¹.

So, according to the biographer, the will of the people was more efficient than the opposition of the bishops from the metropolis. In that time, as we see, the role of the local community in the bishop appointing was important and in many cases it was decisive. Martin manifested a great pastoral zeal, an ardent piety and admirable charity. As a bishop he did not want to resign to the monastic ideals. He found a community in Marmoutier nearby the city of Tours:

„And now having entered on the episcopal office, it is beyond my power fully to set forth how Martin distinguished himself in the discharge of its duties For he remained with the utmost constancy, the same as he had been before. There was the same humility in his heart, and the same homeliness in his garments. Full alike of dignity and courtesy, he kept up the position of a bishop properly, yet in

⁷⁰ Cf. Sulpicius Severus, *Vita S. Martini* 6, 4, Sch 133, 264-266, NPNF Ser II 11, 7: „After this, when Arian heresy had spread throughout the whole world [...], he had been subjected to many punishments, for he was publicly scourged and was compelled to leave the city”.

⁷¹ *Ibidem* 9, 1-4, Sch 133, 270-272, NPNF Ser II 11, 8.

such a way as not lay aside the objects and virtues of a monk [...]. Accordingly he made use, for some time, of a cell connected with the church; but afterwards, when he felt it impossible to tolerate the disturbance caused by the numbers of those visiting it, he established a monastery for himself about two miles outside the city [...]. Here then he possessed a cell constructed of wood. Many also of the brethren had, in the same manner, fashioned retreats for themselves [...]. There were altogether eighty disciples, who were being disciplined after the example of the saintly master. No one there had anything which was called his own; all things were possessed in common. It was not allowed either to buy or to sell anything, as is the custom among most monks. No art was practiced there, except that of transcribers, and even this was assigned to the brethren of younger years, while the elders spent their time in prayer [...]. They all took their food together, after the hour of fasting was past⁷².

In this relation we see the basic elements of the primitive monasticism: poverty, prayer, obedience to the master, but also an autonomy; every monk possessed his own cell, but they took meals together. In this community we notice the traces of the anchoritic way of living with some organization of the common life. The work of transcribers was typical for many monastic communities of that time. It seemed natural that the bishop who organized a community was its head. After his death, his successor exercised the same authority. The communities which appeared in a diocese were subjected to the local bishop, even if they were not founded by him. With the time passing, it became a rule. As we know, „Gallican Church councils emphasized the bishop’s responsibility for the monasteries and monastic discipline in his diocese. Thus for example the fifth Council of Arles (554) declared: «That monasteries and monastic discipline pertain to the bishop in whose diocese they are established»⁷³. This situation started to be changed two centuries later: „In seventh century, for the first time, some bishops drew up formal privileges of certain monasteries in their dioceses. They freed these religious institutions from their own episcopal visitation and jurisdiction and that of their successors”⁷⁴.

Martin as a bishop and monk, accompanied by his brothers, travelled throughout the country preaching the Gospel to the people he met. The number of the monks was growing quickly, in Marmoutier and in Ligugé as well. Gregory of Tours gives a similar portrait of saint Martin; he presents his piety and apostolic zeal, his miracles, poverty and inclination for monastic life⁷⁵. Not every

⁷² Ibidem 10, 1-7, SCh 133, 272-274, NPNF Ser II 11, 9.

⁷³ B.H. Rosenwein, *Inaccessible cloisters: Gregory of Tours and Episcopal Exemption*, I, Boston 2002, 181; Cf. *Concilium Arelatense* (554) can. 2, CCL 148, 340: „Monasteria vel monachorum disciplina ad eum pertineant, in cuius sunt territorio constituta” (quoted from the above mentioned work).

⁷⁴ Rosenwain, *Inaccessible cloisters*, p. 181.

⁷⁵ Cf. Gregorius Turonensis, *Historia Francorum*, I 36-39 and 48, MGHMer I/1, 51 and 55 vel

information about saint Martin has the same historical value. According to the hagiographical rules of that time, in a *Vita* of a saint *should* be some legendary elements⁷⁶. The *Letters* of Sulpitius and his *Dialogues*⁷⁷ show a great authority of saint Martin, when he was alive, and his cult after his deaths, especially in Gaul. Surely, saint Martin of Tours belongs to the most popular saints in western Europe.

In Gaul, like in other parts of Christianity, the monasticism was progressing; many monasteries were founded, for example in Rouen, Toulouse, Marseille, Auxerre, Amboise, Clion, Chinon, and in other localities. The most famous monastic centre is the monastery of Lerins, founded by saint Honoratus (ca 365-430). It was a place of study, of ascetic life and training of candidates for the episcopacy⁷⁸. The role of Lerins in the Church in Gaul was very important: „Here numbers of Gallo-Roman aristocrats sought refuge during the period of barbarian invasion and settlement, and from here was drawn a significant proportion of the saintly bishops who oversaw the transition from Roman to sub-Roman Gaul”⁷⁹.

The first person, coming from this centre, who marked the history of the Church was Hilary, the bishop of Arles. Because of the important position of this city in the Roman administration, its bishop - Patroclus became the metropolitan of Gaul⁸⁰, it means he obtained authority over southern Gaul and in Spain, recognized by the Pope Zosimos⁸¹. Later, Hilary „became a monk at

PL 71, 179-182 and 184-185.

⁷⁶ Cf. Ch. Dawson, *The Western Fathers Being the Lives of SS. Martin, Ambrose, Augustine of Hippo, Honoratus of Arles and Germanus of Auxerre*, New York 1954, p. 5: „Sulpicius did not «create» St. Martin, though he certainly exploited him. There was an immense popular devotion to St. Martin before Sulpicius had published a line about him, and this was founded in part on his simple holiness and in part on an almost universal belief in his powers as a miracle worker. Sulpicius found all this in existence when he first made the acquaintance of the saint in his monastery a few years before Martin's death. He found also in Martin himself a personality that completely captivated him, and moved him to become a disciple of Martin to the extent of renouncing his more secular activities”.

⁷⁷ Cf. Sulpicius Severus, *Epistulae* I-III, CSEL 1, 138-151, transl. A. Roberts, NPNF Ser II 11, 18-23; *Dialogi* I-III, CSEL 1, 152-216, transl. A. Roberts, NPNF Ser II 11, 24-54, especially *Dialogue* II and III. There is a collection of seven letters whose authenticity is discussed (CSEL 1, 251-256). Those letters are in the same edition, p. 55-70.

⁷⁸ Cf. Desprez, *Le monachisme primitive*, p. 517: „Comme Marmoutier, Lérins devint bientôt une pépinière d'évêques”.

⁷⁹ I. Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms (450-751)*, London 1994, 181.

⁸⁰ About the prerogatives of the Metropolitan of Arles, cf. E. Griffe, *La Gaule chrétienne à l'époque romaine*, vol. II: *L'Eglise des Gaules au V^e siècle*, Paris 1966, 146-164.

⁸¹ Cf. *La Gaule chrétienne. Vies d'Hilaire et de Césaire d'Arles*, introd. J.C. Giraud, transl. C. Lavant, Paris 1997, 10: „L'organisation de l'Eglise en Gaule étant calquée sur celle des provinces, le diocèse d'Arles va bénéficier du privilège de la ville comme préfecture des Gaules [...]. Lorsqu'en 395 le préfet du prétoire des Gaules vint s'installer à Arles, il sembla tout naturel à l'évêque de se considérer désormais comme métropolitain [...]. Le pape Zosime confirma le privilège de l'évêque Patrocle d'Arles qui pourrait donc par exemple présider à la consécration des évêques de la région.

Lerins under the influence of his kinsman St. Honoratus, and ca 430 succeeded him as bishop of the metropolitan see of Arles⁸². He was appointed by designation by Honoratus. The community of Arles agreed with the decision of its pastor⁸³. Hilary accepted this choice not without hesitation and after the ordination, he started to work with zeal. He founded a monastic community in Arles, and he continued to live in a monastic way⁸⁴, for example he read during the meal and encouraged the faithful in the city to do so. His biographer noticed that some families followed this advice and they were listening to a reading during their meals⁸⁵. Such a tradition was initiated in monasteries, and it is still kept in many congregations, specially by the Benedictines. Having assumed his position of primate of Gaul, „Hilary presided over several councils, among them the first Council of Orange (441) and that of Vaison (442). In 444, by deposing a bishop, Chelidonius, he appears to have exceeded his rights as metropolitan, and on the dethroned bishop's appeal to Leo I, the Pope deprived Arles of its metropolitan jurisdiction and obtained from emperor Valentinian a decree granting Rome supreme authority over the Church in Gaul⁸⁶. In spite of the objections to his decisions as metropolitan, he passed to the history as a man of deep faith and courage in his pastoral actions.

Half century later, another monk of Lerins, Caesarius was appointed as the

Hilaire hérita de ce privilège lorsqu'il devint évêque, et le pris très au sérieux. Il convoqua plusieurs conciles et se crut le droit de connaître des affaires de tous les diocèses (en Gaule)”.
 82 *Hilary of Arles*, in ODChCh, p. 769.

83 Cf. *Vita Hilarii Arelatensis* 9, PL 50, 12, 27, transl. in *La Gaule chrétienne. Vies d'Hilaire et de Césaire d'Arles*, p. 39: „Deux années passèrent et le bienheureux évêque Honorat, arrivé au terme de cette vie incertaine, fut appelé à recevoir la récompense de ses mérites. Il écrivit à Hilaire pour lui demander de l'assister à ses derniers moments. Celui-ci s'empessa d'obéir, comme si on le rappelait dans la solitude. De grands personnages étaient venus en foule recevoir la bénédiction d'un homme pareil. Ils pressèrent le bienheureux Honorat de désigner son successeur. Une grande effervescence régnait; pour le choix de ce successeur, on voulait s'en remettre au jugement d'Honorat et on réclamait un témoignage. En rendant le dernier soupir, il désigna du doigt celui qui avait le plus de mérites personnels”.

84 Cf. *ibidem* 10, PL 50, 1228-1229, transl. in *La Gaule chrétienne. Vies d'Hilaire et de Césaire d'Arles*, p. 41: „Il fonda tout de suite une communauté éprise de solitude, où se développait la vertu de la continence et qu'il imprégna par son exemple presque autant qu'il la forma par sa parole [...]. Il a connu la difficulté du progrès, l'austérité des mortifications physiques, il a éprouvé le plus profond mépris du siècle, il a attaché du prix à l'équité et la justice, il s'est montré modéré dans les réprimandes [...]. Il s'est approché aisément des principes de la «philosophie divine» et en a encouragé d'autres à marcher dans cette voie”. The idiom *philosophie divine* signifies *the monastic life*, see A.M. Malingrey, *Philosophia. Etude d'un groupe de mots*, Paris 1961, p. 250-260.

85 Cf. *ibidem* 15, PL 50, 1232, transl. in: *La Gaule chrétienne. Vies d'Hilaire et de Césaire d'Arles* p. 49: „Il lisait en mangeant. C'est lui qui a introduit cette habitude dans les cités”. The commentary of the editor to this information: «Il s'agit des cités de Gaule. La lecture à table existait à Hippone au temps de saint Augustin. Les moines de Lérins le faisaient aussi, mais ils n'étaient pas en ville”, see *ibidem*, p. 49, note 28.

86 *Hilary of Arles*, in ODChCh, p. 769.

bishop of Arles (505), even if he resisted⁸⁷. It was after the fall of the Roman Empire (476). He also kept fidelity to the monastic ideals; he lived in austerity and valorised the monastic life⁸⁸, addressed exhortations to monks and nuns, and composed two *Rules*, one for male, and one for female community⁸⁹. His sister Caesaria was responsible for one of such communities⁹⁰. He also encouraged the people to listen to a divine reading during the meals, as in the monastery⁹¹.

To be continued

⁸⁷ Cf. *Vita S. Cesarii Arelatensis* 14, PL 67, 1007, transl. C. Lavant: *Vie de saint Césaire par le seigneur Cyprien, le bienheureux Firmin et le saint évêque Viventius complétée par le prêtre Messien et le diacre Etienne*, in: *La Gaule chrétienne. Vies d'Hilaire et de Césaire d'Arles*, p. 81-82: „Lorsque notre Père réalisa de quoi il était question, à savoir qu'il devait être ordonné évêque, il chercha une cachette au milieu de tombeaux. Mais on ne peut cacher celui que signale, non sa faute, mais la grâce [...]. C'est ainsi qu'il reçut de force la charge de l'épiscopat, et que le doux mulet du Christ porta le fardeau avec humilité”.

⁸⁸ Cf. *ibidem* 28, trans. in: *La Gaule chrétienne. Vies d'Hilaire et de Césaire d'Arles*, p. 92: „Sous l'inspiration divine, l'homme de Dieu conçut le projet, pour le règne du Seigneur, d'enrichir l'Eglise d'Arles non seulement de couvents de clercs, mais également de communautés de moniales, qui seraient une protection pour la cité”.

⁸⁹ Cf. *Caesarius Arelatensis, Statuta sanctorum virginum*, in: *S. Caesarii Opera omnia*, ed. G. Morin, II, Maredsous 1942, 101-129; *Regula monachorum*, *ibidem*, p. 149-155. In English: M.C. McCarthy, *The Rules for Nuns of St. Caesarius of Arles. A translation and critical introduction*, Washington 1960. In Polish: Cezary z Arles, *Pisma monastyczne*, transl. E. Czerny – M. Borkowska – J. Piłat, introd. J. Piłat, dir. M. Starowieyski, ŻM 2, Tyniec – Kraków 1994, 55-82, 86-93.

⁹⁰ Cf. *Vita S. Cesarii Arelatensis* 25, PL 67, 1013, transl. C. Lavant, p. 98: „Entre temps, il avait achevé le monastère qu'il avait commencé à construire pour sa soeur, destiné à la solitude du cloître selon la règle primitive [...]. Il rappela du couvent de Marseille sa vénérable soeur Césarie, qu'il avait envoyée là-bas pour lui faire apprendre ce qu'elle devait enseigner ensuite; il l'installa avec deux ou trois soeurs dans les logements qu'il avait fait aménager. Beaucoup de jeunes filles les rejoignirent alors par groupes entiers”. This convent was dedicated in August 512.

⁹¹ Cf. *Caesarius Arelatensis, Sermones ad populum* 1, 17, ed. and transl. M.J. Delage, SCH 175, 263: „Toutes les fois que nous invitons des gens à notre table, de même que nous faisons servir des mets propres à restaurer le corps, il est juste que nous mettions tous nos soins, soit à faire lire la sainte Ecriture (*lectionem divinam relegere*), soit à prononcer nous-mêmes quelques sainte parole (*aliquid sanctum ex ore proferre studeamus*) propre à nourrir l'âme [...]. En effet, celui qui met tous ses soins à servir aux âmes la lecture divine et aux corps un repas sobre et mesuré, nourrit et l'homme extérieur et l'homme intérieur; et ainsi accomplit en lui la parole du Seigneur: «L'homme ne vit pas seulement de pain, mais de toute parole qui sort de la bouche de Dieu» (Mt 4, 4)”; see J. Grzywaczewski, *La 'lectio divina' à la campagne au VI^e siècle d'après les Sermons de Césaire d'Arles*, StPatr 43 (2006) 379-392. The same author: *La lecture à la campagne au VI^e siècle d'après 'Les Sermons' de Césaire d'Arles*, VoxP 22 (2002) t. 42-43, 463-474

USTANAWIANIE BISKUPÓW W OKRESIE PATRYSTYCZNYM

(Streszczenie, cz. 1-2)

W artykule podjęte zostało zagadnienie wyboru kandydata na biskupa. W okresie patrystycznym zasady w tym względzie nie były ujednoczone dla całego Kościoła, nie było też – jak wiadomo – szkół, które by przygotowywały do kapłaństwa czy do biskupstwa. Dlatego kandydatów do posługi w Kościele należało szukać we wspólnocie chrześcijańskiej. Zdarzało się, że na biskupa powoływano ludzi pełniących funkcje publiczne. W ten sposób wyświęcony został Synezyjusz z Cyreny, znany jako filozof oraz mający doświadczenie w sprawach politycznych. Podobnie Ambroży został okrzyknięty biskupem, gdy jako rzymski konsul wszedł do kościoła w Mediolanie w czasie debaty nad wyborem pasterza dla tego miasta. Również Sydoniusz Apolinary, który był poprzednio prefektem Rzymu, gdy wrócił do Galii został wybrany na biskupa.

Wielokrotnie zdarzało się, że ten, kogo upatrzone na biskupa nie czuł się na siłach, by podjąć to odpowiedzialne stanowisko w Kościele i w społeczności; w takim przypadku stosowano perswazję (tak było w przypadku Sydoniusza oraz Ambrożego), a czasem nawet swego rodzaju przymus. Grzegorz z Nazjanzu przyjął godność biskupią, ponieważ nie potrafił sprzeciwić się presji swego ojca, który też był biskupem, a zapewne i całej rodziny. Jan Chryzostom wzbraniał się przed przyjęciem święceń kapłańskich, a potem, gdy dał się poznać jako wybitny kaznodzieja, na rozkaz cesarza został porwany i przewieziony do Konstantynopola, gdzie bez swej zgody wprowadzono go na urząd patriarchy. Również św. Augustyn został kapłanem, a potem biskupem pod presją ówczesnego biskupa Hippony, a także wiernych świeckich.

Od czasu, gdy pojawił się monastycyzm, zaczęto znajdować kandydatów na biskupa wśród mnichów, którzy bardzo często nie wyrażali chęci do podjęcia proponowanej funkcji. Do wybitnych przedstawicieli biskupów o monastycznym doświadczeniu można zaliczyć Bazylego z Cezarei, Grzegorza z Nyssy, wspomnianego Jana Chryzostoma, Marcina z Tours, Hilarego z Arles, Cezarego z Arles. W Galii istniały głównie trzy ośrodki monastyczne, które stanowiły miejsce formacji dla przyszłych biskupów, były to Ligugé, Marmoutier, a przede wszystkim Lérins.

Istniała tradycja, szczególnie w Afryce, że sędziwy biskup mógł wyznaczyć swego następcę. Tak biskup Waleriusz wprowadził św. Augustyna na swoje miejsce, a potem Augustyn oświadczył publicznie wobec ludu, że jest jego życzeniem, by po jego śmierci stolicę w Hipponie objął Herakliusz, który wówczas był kapłanem. Podobnie, tuż przed śmiercią, św. Honorat wyznaczył Hilarego na biskupa Arles. Kościół dopuszczał tego rodzaju możliwość, preferował jednak, by biskup był wybrany przez lokalną wspólnotę, zaaprobowany przez biskupów z danej prowincji kościelnej, a konsekrowany przez metropolitę lub innego biskupa za wiedzą metropolity.

Z kapłaństwem wiąże się celibat. W tej dziedzinie obserwuje się ewolucję. W czasach apostoelskich nie było problemu pogodzenia kapłaństwa (w tym biskupstwa) z małżeństwem. Sw. Paweł nawet wprost polecał, by biskup był mę-

żem jednej żony. Dość wcześnie wytworzyła się tradycja, że żonaty mężczyzna może przyjąć święcenia diakonatu, kapłaństwa i biskupstwa, a potem wykonywać swą posługę jako mąż i ojciec. Jednakże ten, kto już przyjął święcenia nie może wstąpić w związek małżeński. Sobór Nicejski zaakceptował tę tradycję. Jest ona także poświadczona w zbiorze pouczeń dyscyplinarnych zwanym *Konstytucje Apostolskie*. Jednocześnie podejmowano wysiłki, by ci, którzy zostali wyświęceni jako żonaci, złożyli ślub wstrzemięźliwości, co nie było równoznaczne z rozwodem ani z separacją. Małżeństwo uważane było za ważne, duchowny mógł nadal mieszkać z żoną, jednakże domagano się, by żonę traktował jak siostrę. Za złamanie ślubu wstrzemięźliwości groziła kara utraty godności kościelnej.

Z akt synodalnych dowiadujemy się, że pozycja żony biskupa, zwanej *episcopa*, była dość skomplikowana. Jej obecność dawała okazję do różnych posądzeń, a czasem i konfliktów. Pisze o tym także Grzegorz z Tours. Dlatego po upadku cesarstwa zaczęto podejmować wysiłki, by ograniczyć liczbę żonatych biskupów. Pojawiło się więcej kandydatów ze środowisk monastycznych, inni pochodzili z możnych rodów, przy czym pierwszeństwo dawano tym, którzy nie byli żonaci.

Każdy ze sposobów wybierania biskupa miał pozytywne i negatywne strony; żaden nie dawał gwarancji, że nowo mianowany biskup spełni oczekiwania wszystkich wierzących. Ogólnie jednak liczba tych, którzy odpowiednio spełnili swe zadania jako biskupi była w okresie patrystycznym dość duża.

Do głównych zadań biskupa należało sprawowanie Eucharystii, nauczanie oraz organizowanie życia religijnego w diecezji, czasem wypadało angażować się w sprawy społeczne, a nawet polityczne. Biskup, przez to, że pozostawał w łączności z innymi biskupami oraz z Papieżem, był dla duchownych niższych stopni oraz dla wiernych świeckich znakiem jedności Kościoła oraz jego powszechności.