

MICHAEL MAAS

Exegesis and Empire
in the Early Byzantine
Mediterranean

*Studien und Texte zu
Antike und Christentum*

17

Mohr Siebeck

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Exegesis and Empire in the Early Byzantine Mediterranean

Junillus Africanus and the
Instituta Regularia Divinae Legis

With a Contribution by
Edward G. Mathews, Jr.

With the Latin Text Established
by Heinrich Kihn Translated by
Michael Maas

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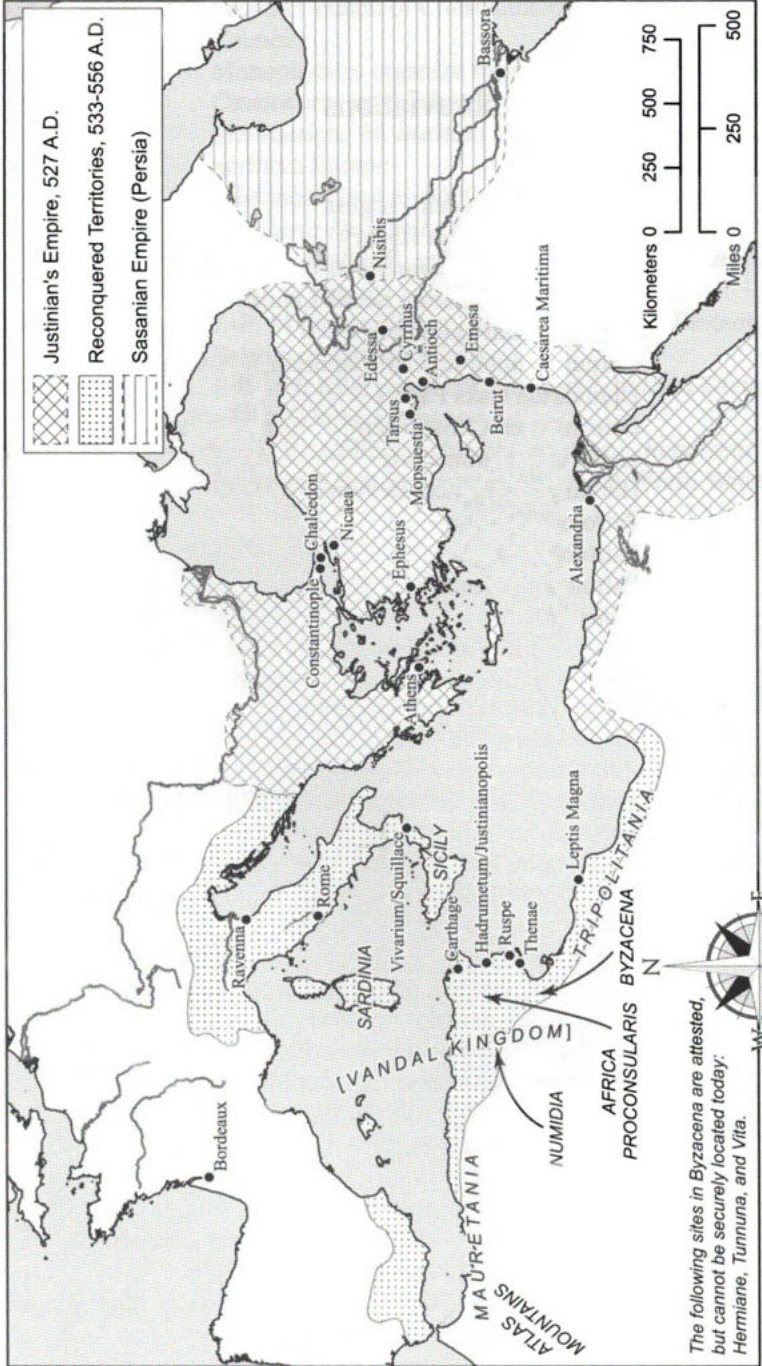
Chronology

- 325 First Ecumenical Council at Nicaea produces Nicene Creed
Traditional date of foundation of the School of Antioch
- 360–363 Reign of Julian
- 428 Theodore of Mopsuestia dies
- 428–431 Nestorius is Patriarch of Constantinople
Cyril is bishop of Alexandria
- 429–442 Vandals establish a kingdom in North Africa
- 431 Council of Ephesus
- 451 Council of Chalcedon
- 457 Death of Ibas of Edessa
Works of Theodore of Mopsuestia translated into Syriac
- c. 468 Theodoret of Cyrrhus dies
- 468 Byzantine expedition against Vandals fails
- 514–523 Dionysius Exiguus translates Acts of Church Councils into Latin at Rome
- 518–527 Justin II rules at Constantinople
Justinian is influential
- 527–565 Justinian emperor at Constantinople
- 527 Paul the Persian debates Photinos in Constantinople
- 528–529 Justinian forbids pagans to teach
Academy in Athens closes
- 532 Nika Revolt at Constantinople
- 533 Belisarius reconquers North Africa
Tribonian supervises editing of *Corpus Iuris Civilis*
- 536 Severus of Antioch, Monophysite theologian, expelled from Constantinople
- c. 540–554 Cassiodorus lives in Constantinople
- 541/542 Primasius' first visit to Constantinople
- 542–c. 549 Junillus is *Quaestor Sacri Palatii* and writes *Instituta Regularia Divinae Legis*
- c. 543–545 First edict against Three Chapters issued
- 543–553 Three Chapters Controversy
- 547–548 Facundus writes *In Defense of the Three Chapters*
- 551 Primasius' second visit to Constantinople
Justinian issues *Edict on the True Faith* to condemn the Three Chapters

- 553 Second Council of Constantinople (=Fifth General Council)
Monophysites organize their own church hierarchy
- c. 556 Cassiodorus establishes Vivarium monastery at Squillace
- c. 800 Manuscripts of *Instituta Regularia Divinae Legis* reach northern Europe
- 1545 Johannes Gastius publishes *editio princeps of Instituta Regularia Divinae Legis* at Basel
- 1765–1781 Andrea Gallandi publishes *Instituta Regularia Divinae Legis* at Venice
- 1866 J.-P. Migne publishes *Instituta Regularia Divinae Legis* in *Patrologia Latina* at Paris
- 1880 Heinrich Kihn publishes *Instituta Regularia Divinae Legis* at Freiberg im Breisgau
- 1998 John F. Collins publishes *Instituta Regularia Divinae Legis* with first English translation on World Wide Web

Abbreviations

ASE	Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CPG	Clavis Patrum Latinorum
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
GCS	Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
PG	Patrologia Graeca
PL	Patrologia Latina
PO	Patrologia Orientalis
<i>VL</i>	<i>Vetus Latina</i>



The Early Byzantine Mediterranean in the Reign of Justinian, 527-565 A.D.

The following sites in Byzacena are attested, but cannot be securely located today: Hermiane, Tunnuna, and Vita.

Introduction

The art of interpreting the Scriptures is the only one of which all men everywhere claim to be masters. [Jerome, *Letter 53.7*]¹

A heretic is a man, carried away by ignorance or contempt for divine law, who is either the obstinate initiator of new error or the follower of the error of another. He prefers to oppose universal unity than be subject to it. [Cassiodorus, *Explanation of Psalm 138*, perhaps citing Primasius of Hadrumentum]²

There may be added [to the *Code* and the *Digest*] something else promulgated by us, serving the purpose of *Institutes*, so that the immature mind of the student, nourished on simple things, may be the more easily brought to knowledge of the higher learning. [Justinian, *Constitutio Deo Auctore*, 11]³

Junillus Africanus: Roman Lawyer, Christian Exegete, and Imperial Civil Servant

From A.D. 542 to c. 549, Junillus Africanus was the chief legal minister of the Roman empire. He served the emperor Justinian I (527–565) in Constantinople as *Quaestor Sacri Palatii* (Quaestor of the Sacred Palace) following the death of Tribonian, who had supervised the compilation of

¹ Jerome, *Lettres*, ed. Jérôme Labourt (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1949–1953): “Sola scripturam ars est, quam sibi omnes passim vindicent”; trans. *Jerome: Letters and Select Works*, vol. 6, second series, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1983–1986).

² Cassiodorus, *Expositio in Psalterum. Psalm 138*, PL 70 (Paris, 1865): 994: “Haereticus est qui divinae legis vel ignorantia vel contemptu raptatus, aut novi pertinax inventor erroris, aut alieni sectator, catholicae unitati mavult adversari quam subijci.” Primasius’ lost work *The Effect of Heresy*, mentioned by Cassiodorus in *Enn. Psalm. 118.2*, is sometimes assumed to be Cassiodorus’ source: *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms*, trans. and ed. P.G. Walsh, vol. III, *Ancient Christian Writers* vol. 53 (New York/Mahwah, N.J.: Paulist Press, 1991), 492 n. 9; J. Haussleiter, *Leben und Werke des Bischofs Primasius von Hadrumentum: Eine Untersuchung* (Erlangen: Universitäts-Buchdruckerei von E.Th. Jacob, 1887), 1–55, here 24–27 = *Programm der königliche bayerische Studienanstalt zu Erlangen zum Schlusse des Schuljahres 1886/1887*.

³ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian*, trans. Alan Watson, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), xiv; Justinian, *Digesta*, ed. Theodor Mommsen and Paul Krueger, *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, editio stereotypa quarta decima, vol. 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1922), 9: “vel si quid aliud a nobis fuerit promulgatum institutionum vicem optinens, ut rudis animus studiosi simplicibus enutritus facilius ad altioris prudentiae redigatur scientiam.”

Justinian's *Corpus Iuris Civilis* (the *Corpus of Civil Law*).⁴ Junillus' main responsibilities as the top lawyer of the regime were to draft imperial legislation and handle petitions to the emperor.⁵ In the course of his administrative duties Junillus wrote a pedagogical treatise in Latin about biblical exegesis called the *Instituta Regularia Divinae Legis*, or *Handbook of the Basic Principles of Divine Law*.⁶

Like other educated Christians of his day, Junillus considered the Bible to be the source of true and useful knowledge about God's law for humanity. This essential information could be made clearer to Christian believers through proper exegesis and more accessible through appropriate instruction. Accordingly, the stated purpose of the *Instituta* was to teach about divine law in an orderly and introductory fashion, and so it stands with other late antique treatises such as Tyconius' *Book of Rules*, Augustine's *On Christian Teaching*, Hadrianus' *Introduction to Holy Scripture*, Eucherius' *Formulas of Spiritual Intelligence and Instructions to Salonius*, and Cassiodorus' *Institutes* as a guide to correct interpretation of the Bible.⁷ Junillus' *Instituta* linked the

⁴ Tony Honoré, *Tribonian* (London: Duckworth, 1978), 237–240, on stylistic grounds argues that Junillus held office until 548 at the latest. Procopius says he held office for seven years, *Secret History* 20.20, *Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia*, vol. III, *Historia Arcana*, ed. Jacob Haury and Gerhard Wirth (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1963; Ernest Stein, "Deux questeurs de Justinien et l'emploi des langues dans ses nouvelles," *Academie Royale de Belgique Bulletins de la Classe des Lettres* 23 (1937): 365–390, here 381–382, reprinted in Ernest Stein, *Opera Minora Selecta*, ed. J.-R. Palanque (Amsterdam: A.M. Hakkert, 1968), 359–385. The best manuscript testimony indicates that the proper spelling of his name is Junillus, not Junilius, as sometimes appears. See Stein, "Deux questeurs," 378–379.

⁵ Responsibilities of the Quaestor in the fourth and fifth centuries: Jill Harries, *Law and Empire in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 42–47; John Matthews, *Laying Down the Law: A Study of the Theodosian Code* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000), 171–180. The best study of the Quaestor at work in the sixth century is found in Honoré (1978); Gisella Bassanelli Sommariva, *L'Imperatore unico creatore ed interprete delle leggi e l'autonomia del giudice nel diritto giustiniano*. Seminario Giuridico della Università di Bologna 96 (Milan: Giuffrè Editore, 1983), 96–98, on the interaction of emperor and Quaestor.

⁶ In some manuscripts, the treatise is referred to as *De partibus divinae legis*, a title that properly refers only to its first book. Junillus' treatise will be referred to in this study as the *Instituta*.

⁷ Cassiodorus mentions these exegetes in his *Institutiones* I.10: "The first thing for us to do after having been instructed by the present manual is to return solicitously to the writers of introductory works on the Sacred Scripture, writers whose works we have eventually discovered: that is Tyconius the Donatist, St. Augustine *On Christian Teaching*, Adrian Eucherius, and Junilius. I have collected their works with sedulous care in order that codices with the same purpose may be held united in a single collection; by their various explanations and examples these men make known matters which were previously unknown," Cassiodorus, *An Introduction to Divine and Human Readings* I.10, trans. Leslie Webber Jones (New York: W.W. Norton, 1946), 95; *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones*, ed. R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937), 34; Tyconius, *Book of Rules*, ed. F.C. Burkitt (Cambridge:

Bible and a Christian cosmology to the order of the human world in a highly schematic hierarchy of examples, definitions, and explanations. The treatise owed a formal debt to the late Aristotelian tradition then common in learned circles, as well as to general Christian exegetical practice, especially at Antioch.⁸ Junillus cast this material in the form of a dialogue between teacher and student, in keeping with the standard *viva voce* methods of instruction of the day and with the format of some exegetical writing.⁹

Because Junillus' treatise was well-tailored for teaching, and because the influential Italian statesman and educator Cassiodorus (c. 490–c. 580) recommended it, the *Instituta* found a modest place in the monastic curriculum of the Middle Ages throughout Latin Christendom. The *Instituta* brought new techniques of "literalist" exegesis associated with teachers at Antioch to western clergymen, and it is because of its influence on medieval exegesis in western Europe that the treatise is best known today.¹⁰ Rather than

Cambridge University Press, 1894); *Tyconius, The Book of Rules*, trans. William S. Babcock (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989); Augustine, *On Christian Teaching*, ed. and trans. R.P.H. Green (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Hadrianus, *Ἐισαγωγή*, ed. Friedrich Goessling (Berlin: H. Reuther, 1887); Eucherius, *Formulae Spirituales Intelligentiae, Instructiones ad Salonium*, ed. C. Wotke (Bonn, Prague, Leipzig: Tempsky & Freitag, 1894); *The Formulae of St. Eucherius of Lyons*, trans. Karen Roe Keck, St. Pachomius Orthodox Library, <www.cf.org/OrthodoxPage/reading/St.Pachomius/lyonsintro.html> (1996).

⁸ The analytical scheme of seven categories (*intentio, utile, cuisnam auctoris sit liber, ordo, causa inscriptionis, divisio in capita, et ad quid refertur*) applied to the material in the *Instituta* is directly derived from Aristotle and influenced in particular by Porphyry's discussion of Aristotle's *Logic*. The seven categories were known in Syriac as well as Greek in the sixth century: Arthur Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, CSCO 266, Subsidia 26 (Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus CSCO, 1965), 182–185.

⁹ On question-and-answer in general: see below, 27–33; Pierre Hadot, "La préhistoire des genres littéraires philosophiques médiévaux dans l'antiquité," in *Les Genres littéraires dans les sources théologiques et philosophiques médiévales: Définition, critique et exploitation*, Actes du Colloque international de Louvain-la-Neuve, 25–27 mai 1981, Publications de l'Institut d'études médiévales, Université catholique de Louvain, 2e série: Textes, études, congrès, 5 (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, 1982), 1–9, here, 2–3. Lorenzo Perrone, "Sulla preistoria delle 'quaestiones' nella letteratura patristica. Presupposti e sviluppi del genere letterario fino al IV sec.," *Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi* 8.2(1991): 485–505; Giancarlo Rinaldi, "Tracce di controversie tra pagani e cristiani nella letteratura patristica delle 'questiones et responsiones,'" *Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi* 6 (1989): 99–124, 100 n. 4, for the scarce bibliography. Still basic is Gustave Bardy, "La littérature patristique des 'quaestiones et responses' sur l'écriture sainte," *Revue Biblique* 41 (1932): 210–236; 341–369; 515–537; 42 (1933): 14–30; 211–229; 328–352; Robert Kaster, *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 160; legal teaching was done *viva voce* as well: H.J. Scheltema, *L'enseignement de droit des antecessors* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970): 10.

¹⁰ E.g. Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952), 14; M. L. W. Laistner, "Antiochene Exegesis in Western Europe during the Middle Ages," *Harvard Theological Review* 40 (1947): 19–31; Walter Berschin, *Greek*

considering the *Nachleben* of the treatise, however, the present study examines the *Instituta* in its full sixth-century context as a rich and complex document of early Byzantine Christianity shaped by the heated doctrinal and cultural debates of Justinian's reign as well as by Junillus' own theological interests and training in the law.

It was generally believed from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century that Junillus was the bishop of an unknown diocese in Africa.¹¹ For this reason it was with an air of discovery that Heinrich Kihn, Professor of Theology at the University of Würzburg, identified Junillus the Quaestor as Junillus the exegete when he published the standard edition of the *Instituta* in 1880.¹² We need not be surprised, however, that a Roman imperial administrator wrote a book about Christian biblical exegesis during Justinian's reign.¹³ This period was one of complex integration of Christianity with all aspects of imperial society, including law and education. Junillus was only one of a cadre of government officials with a religious avocation, of whom the emperor Justinian himself was the best example.¹⁴ The *Instituta* accordingly reveals a

Letters and the Latin Middle Ages: From Jerome to Nicholas of Cusa. Trans. Jerold C. Frakes (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1988), 83; Sten Hidal, "Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Antiochene School with Its Prevalent Literal and Historical Method," in *Hebrew Bible Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*. vol. 1.1: *Antiquity*, ed. Magne Saebø (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1996), 543–568; on the Antiochene tradition, see Corrie Molenberg, "The Silence of the Sources: The Sixth Century and East-Syrian 'Antiochene' Exegesis," in *The Sixth Century: End or Beginning?* ed. Pauline Allen and Elizabeth Jeffreys, 145–162 (Brisbane, Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1996); C. Schäublin, *Untersuchungen zu Methode und Herkunft der Antiochenischen Exegese*, *Theophaneia* 23, Beiträge zur Religions- und Kirchengeschichte des Altertums (Köln/Bonn: P. Hanstein, 1974); on the School of Nisibis: Vööbus, *School of Nisibis* (1965); Arthur Vööbus, "Abraham de Bet Rabban and His Role in the Hermeneutic Traditions of the School of Nisibis," *HTR* 58 (1965): 203–214; Wolfgang A. Bienert, "Die 'Instituta Regularia' des Junilius (Junillus) Africanus: Ein nestorianisches Kompendium der Bibelwissenschaft im Abendland," in *Syrisches Christentum weltweit: Studien zur Syrischen Kirchengeschichte. Festschrift für Prof. W. Hage*, ed. M. Tamcke, W. Schwaigert, and E. Schlarb, Studien zur orientalischen Kirchengeschichte, vol. I. (Münster: LIT, 1995), 307–324, here 311.

¹¹ Louis Pirot, "Junilius Africanus," in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, vol. 8.2 (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1925): 1971–1976, here 1971.

¹² Heinrich Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Africanus als Exegeten. Nebst einer kritischen Textausgabe von des letzteren Instituta regularia divinae legis* (Freiberg im Breisgau: Herder'sche Verlagshandlung, 1880), 222–233.

¹³ On Junillus as a civil servant, see Kihn (1880), 227–228.

¹⁴ Some manuscripts call Junillus *beatus* or *sanctus* because it was assumed he was a bishop. In 1589, Margarin de la Bigne, a French theologian, called him a saint in his collection of patristic sources (Kihn, 229). Kihn, 222–233, proved that Junillus was not a bishop as stated in postscripts of four of the manuscripts that he examined. For the manuscript evidence, see 224–226. In a letter addressed to Junillus from Ferrandus, a deacon of Carthage (see below, "The Empire Writes Back"), Junillus is addressed "in Christo carissime filio

great deal about the assumptions made by the administrative elite at Constantinople about the nature of cultural unity within the Roman empire, expressed in terms of theology and imperial authority. As a document intimately connected to imperial policy, as we will see, the *Instituta* integrated Christian exegesis with a Mediterranean-wide view of the Roman empire that reached from Spain to Syria. Justinian's reign was the last time such a broad and synoptic view would be possible in Mediterranean antiquity. At the same time, Junillus was a theological dragoman. His slim treatise suggests an interpretation, even a justification, of the new kind of imperial theocracy that Justinian envisioned. As Roman lawyer, Christian exegete, and court functionary, Junillus exemplified a new approach to power, faith, and society that we call Byzantine.

Throughout the Byzantine period, biblical exegesis was far more than a literary and theological exercise. It was also a medium that conveyed enormous authority because it provided the language for relations between the emperor, the Church, and major groupings of the empire's population. Control of exegetical writing could be a source of considerable power, and during Justinian's reign the stakes regarding imperial control of exegesis were particularly high. At this time, Christians of the Mediterranean world had coalesced into large-scale exegetical communities that defined themselves according to their adherence to different christological positions. For example, large communities of Monophysites in Syria and Egypt held that Christ had one nature united out of two, while Chalcedonians in Constantinople, Asia Minor, and North Africa held that divine and human natures coexist in Christ, entirely separate, yet consubstantial with the Father. These christological positions in turn derived from and depended on interpretation of biblical and other sacred texts.

As a devout Christian, Justinian desired above all else to establish doctrinal unity within his realm, and so he endeavored to unite and control these christology-defined groups. To do so, it was necessary to establish himself as a legitimate interpreter of sacred texts in the establishment of orthodox doctrine. As "exegete-in-chief" he intended to establish and implement uniform belief throughout his realm and in the process fortify his political authority. The emperor linked his theological imperative in part to the control of interpretive language, and so biblical exegesis, on which christological definition depended, became a basic element of imperial policy and inadvertently the flashpoint of divisive debate throughout the empire. As we will see, Junillus as Quaestor took an appropriately active part in the execution of Justinian's policies.

sanctae matris ecclesiae catholicae," which indicates that Junillus was not a clergyman but only a "son" (*filius*) of the church (Kihn, 232–233).

The purpose of the present study, then, is to bring the voice of Junillus Africanus into discussion of the age of Justinian by providing readers an easily accessible text and translation of his treatise and by offering an evaluation of the man and his work in their historical context. Junillus has led a ghostly existence in a catena of encyclopedia entries, scholarly footnotes, and occasional articles, but he and his work have not been studied at length since Heinrich Kihn published his influential edition in 1880.¹⁵ The present edition includes the text and critical apparatus established by Kihn and provides a new translation as well. Kihn's volume is very difficult to find, and many of his interpretations that have filtered into the literature about Junillus and Justinian now may be shown to be erroneous and misleading. A new reading of Junillus is necessary, and this book takes a step in that direction. It is intended for readers interested in the history of Christian exegesis and also for Byzantinists and others who deal with the history of the Mediterranean at the end of antiquity. In particular, by linking the *Instituta* to broader issues implicit in the text, this book shows why Junillus is a valuable source for the reign of Justinian and the sixth century.

Summary of the Instituta Regularia Divinae Legis

The *Instituta* is divided into two books that deal with divine law as manifest in the Bible. It has an introduction in which Junillus explains how he came to write the treatise following his encounter with Primasius, a North African clergyman who had come to Constantinople on business for his province in 541 or 542 and to whom the book is addressed. Junillus explains that in response to Primasius' request he reorganized lectures of Paul the Persian, a teacher at the School of Nisibis in Syria. The implication is that the material that follows, i.e., the body of the *Instituta*, is simply a reworking of Paul's lectures or writings.

The first book considers what the Bible says about God and divine law and how this material is presented. Five chapters of Book One deal with different sorts of speech or modes of interpretation appearing in the Bible: literal (Chapter 2), historical (Chapter 3), prophetic (Chapter 4), proverbial (Chapter 5), and through straightforward teaching (Chapter 6). Junillus defines each of these methods, tells in what books of the Bible they may be found, gives examples of each, compares them with one another, and answers simple questions about them. Chapter 7 discusses the relative authority of the books of the Bible based on the methods of analysis they employ. Chapter 8 considers the authors of the books of the Bible. Chapter 9 deals with the

¹⁵ Kihn's text is reproduced below, with a translation. See also the text, a translation, and introduction on the World Wide Web, prepared by John F. Collins in 1998: <ccat.sas.upenn.edu/jod/texts/junillus.text.html>; <ccat.sas.upenn.edu/jod/texts/junillus.trans.html>; <ccat.sas.upenn.edu/jod/texts/junillus.intro.html>.

literary forms of different books of the Bible. Chapter 10 addresses the sequence of the books, and Chapter 11 tells that the Bible teaches about God, the present, and the future. In Chapter 12 Junillus describes the names of God and their meanings in the Bible. Chapter 13 mentions different levels of interpreting God. Chapter 14 describes the Trinity and the nature of its parts. Chapters 15, 16, and 17 describe how the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are represented in the Bible, while Chapter 18 describes the shared attributes of the elements of the Trinity as well as their unique attributes. In Chapter 19 the representation of God's workings is discussed. In Chapter 20 the representation of God in comparison with his Creatures is discussed.

The second book of the *Instituta* has thirty chapters and deals primarily with the present age in which humans live. Chapter 1 mentions the categories in which the Bible addresses the present age: God's creation, human and divine governance, the product of nature and will, and the consequences of acts of will. Chapter 2 discusses the phases of divine creation and the differences among them. Chapter 3 discusses the governance of the world. Chapter 4 deals with the modes of general governance, that is to say, patterns passed through the generations without God's intervention. Chapter 5 discusses particular governance: the governance of angels and men by God, the governance of angels over themselves and humanity, and the governance of humanity by human beings. Chapter 6 describes lawgiving and the means through which it is accomplished. Law through works is the topic of Chapter 7. Law through words is the topic of chapter 8. Chapter 9 deals with the governance of angels. Chapter 10 considers human governance through human agency. Chapter 11 discusses chances of nature, and Chapter 12 chances of the will. Chapter 13 discusses what follows from the outcome of the will.

Chapter 14 deals with matters pertaining to the future. Chapter 15 considers how people receive a vocation from God. Chapters 16 and 17 deal with types and their differences. Chapter 18 considers foretellings in general. Chapter 19 considers foretellings made before the law of the Old Testament was made known to humanity, and Chapter 20 relates the sorts of foretellings possible after the New Testament through law and grace. Chapter 21 deals with foretellings of things that have been accomplished under the law of the Old Testament. Chapter 22 treats law under Christ in the New Testament. Chapter 23 relates foretellings that pertain to the calling of the nations under the law. Chapter 24 considers the foretellings given under divine Grace. Chapter 25 discusses the effects of foretellings.

Chapters 26–30 turn to a different range of issues about the relation of reason and faith. Chapter 26 explains that God created the present age so that humans could exercise reason, and Chapter 27 describes human reason. Chapter 28 describes the purpose of divine teaching. Chapter 29 discusses different proofs that the Bible was divinely inspired, and Chapter 30 explains

that faith is necessary for religion despite the proofs supplied by the Bible, because it is superior to rational argument.

Themes and Topics

Appreciation of the *Instituta*'s content alone will not reveal the historical significance of the work. It cannot tell us, for example, why the chief lawyer of Justinian's regime would write a handbook of exegesis or how christological quarrels shed light on issues other than the development of doctrine. To contextualize the treatise properly, we must consider a wider range of circumstantial issues generated by the treatise.

1. The Instituta between East and West: Lines of Communication and Circulation of Ideas

Junillus claimed Paul the Persian, a shadowy figure associated with the Christian School of Nisibis in Syria, as the main source of his *Instituta*, and he addressed the work to Primasius, a clergyman in North Africa who was active in political and religious debate. Junillus' stance as an intermediary between Syria and North Africa points to a growing disunity among regions of the Mediterranean world, and it raises questions about the circulation of religious documents and ideas during the Justinianic period. Real breaks in lines of communication between North Africa and Constantinople and the Greek and Syriac east lay behind Junillus' "go-between" posture. When he became Quaestor, it had been less than a decade since Justinian's forces overturned the Vandal kingdom in North Africa in 533 and reconnected the former Roman provinces to the Empire. Although there was considerable movement between Africa and the East during the period of Vandal rule (Junillus, for example, went to Constantinople at some time during these years), these regions had grown apart, especially in doctrinal matters. For these reasons, the *Instituta* invites consideration of how religious documents and ideas passed across linguistic, religious, and cultural boundaries in the sixth century and about the nature of the ideological, religious, and political forces that shaped the lines of transmission.¹⁶ We will see that Junillus and Primasius were part of an informal literary community of exegetes who exchanged texts across the Mediterranean in the sixth century for private and pastoral use and that Justinian's policies gave the circulation of religious documents a sudden political relevance. We will see as well that the reference to Paul the Persian connects the *Instituta* to a tradition of public disputation on religious topics in

¹⁶ Claire Sotinel, "How Were Bishops Informed? Information Transmission Across the Adriatic Sea in Late Antiquity," forthcoming; Claudia Rapp, "The Transmission of Hagiography between East and West in Early Byzantium: A Question of the Parting of Ways?" (paper presented at the biennial meeting of the Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, Perth, April 20–22, 2001), on patterns of ecclesiastical and imperial communication in the Adriatic.

the sixth century. Thus, at a time when the emperor was trying to reestablish authority over the Mediterranean, Junillus linked separate traditions of public disputation about exegetical matters and private circulation of exegetical texts among clerics. These topics are discussed below in the section “Date, Sources, and History of the Text.”

2. *The Instituta in Theological Debate: The Three Chapters Controversy*

Bitter religious dispute framed the composition and circulation of the *Instituta*. Junillus served as Quaestor and wrote the *Instituta* during the Three Chapters Controversy (543–553), a religious dispute that drove a wedge between the Emperor Justinian in Constantinople and the bishops of North Africa, Italy, and the Balkans for a decade, with reverberations that continued much longer.¹⁷ Justinian’s armies had conquered the Vandal kingdom in North Africa and were struggling with the Ostrogoths to regain Italy for the

¹⁷ Justinian’s writings on the Controversy are gathered and edited in: Justinian, *Lettera al Santo Sinodo contro I Tre Capitoli* (Testo A), in *Scritti teologici ed ecclesiastici di Giustiniano*, ed. Mario Amelotti and Livia Migliardi Zingale (Milano: Giuffrè Editore, 1977), 141–148. For the most recent discussion and bibliography on the Three Chapters, see Uthemann, “Kaiser Justinian als Kirchenpolitiker und Theologe,” *Augustinianum* 39 (1999): 5–83, 64–68 on the Three Chapters specifically. Claire Sotinel, “Vigilio,” in *Enciclopedia dei Papi*, vol. 1 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2000), 512–529; 516–528 also provides important overview and bibliography. Other necessary studies are: Wolfgang Pewsinn, *Imperium, Ecclesia universalis, Rom. Der Kampf der afrikanischen Kirche um die Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts*, Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistes-geschichte 11 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1937); Robert A. Markus, “Reflections on Religious Dissent in North Africa in the Byzantine Period,” vol. 3, *Studies in Church History*, ed. G.J. Cuming (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1966), 140–149; Robert Eno, “Doctrinal Authority in the African Ecclesiology of the Sixth Century: Ferrandus and Facundus,” *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 22 (1976): 95–113; Judith Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987); John Meyendorff, *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions: The Church 450–680 A.D.* (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1989); Pierre Maraval, “La politique religieuse de Justinien,” 389–455, in Luce Pietri, et al. eds, *Les Églises d’Orient et d’Occident*, vol. III, *Histoire de Christianisme des origines à nos jours*, ed. J.-M. Mayeur, et. al. (Paris: Desclée, 1990); Claire Sotinel, “Autorité pontificale et pouvoir impérial sous le règne de Justinien: le pape Vigile,” *Mélanges de l’École Française de Rome. Antiquité* 104 (1992): 439–463; Peter Bruns, “Zwischen Rom und Byzanz. Die Haltung des Facundus von Hermiane und der nordafrikanischen Kirche während des Drei-Kapitel-Streits (553),” *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 106.2 (1995): 151–178; Aloys Grillmeier, with Theresia Hainthaler, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. 2, *From the Council of Chalcedon (451) to Gregory the Great (590–604)*, part 2, *The Church of Constantinople in the Sixth Century*, trans. Pauline Allen and John Cawte (London: Mowbray; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995), esp. 411–462; Averil Cameron, “Justin I and Justinian,” in *Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, A.D. 425–600*, vol. XIV *CAH* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 79–85; Claire Sotinel, “Le concile, l’empereur, l’évêque. Les statuts d’autorité dans le débat sur les Trois Chapitres,” in *Orthodoxie, Christianisme, Histoire*, ed. Susanna Elm, Éric Rebillard, and Antonella Romano. Collection de l’École Française de Rome 270 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2000), 275–299.

empire as the Three Chapters Controversy raged. This study will suggest that the Controversy not only provided the general background for the *Instituta*, but that in his role as Quaestor Junillus intended the treatise to further the imperial position in the *melée*, in which exegesis played a central role. In 543, Justinian condemned the writings of several theologians of the previous century, including Theodore of Mopsuestia, in a clumsy attempt to establish doctrinal unity throughout the empire.¹⁸ The controversy will be discussed more fully below, but it is necessary to explain at the outset that most western clergymen believed that by insisting on imperial control of biblical exegesis the emperor had overstepped his place and was interfering in matters that rightly were the concern only of priests.

Thus we will see that Junillus held the quaestorship during a period when exegesis was central to questions of political authority. Junillus shared his master's religious and political convictions. By illustrating the version of Chalcedonian that Justinian insisted upon, and by showing the propriety of imperial legislation on religious matters, the *Instituta* directly supported the emperor's position in the Three Chapters Controversy. It was entirely appropriate, furthermore, for Junillus, who came originally from somewhere in North Africa himself, to address the *Instituta* to Primasius, who was also from North Africa and active in exegetical circles. In 551, after he became bishop of Hadrumentum (called Justinianopolis after 533), Primasius was one of the few western clergymen to support Justinian's condemnation of the Three Chapters.¹⁹ The majority of North African clerics opposed Justinian's position, and two of their number, Facundus and Ferrandus led the opposition to imperial policy. These issues are discussed below in the sections "The North African Background," "Unity and Authority: The Struggle between Justinian and the North African Bishops," and "The Empire Writes Back: The North African Response to Justinian's Attempts at Controlling Sacred Texts."

3. *The Stamp of Constantinople: Making the Instituta Orthodox*

In the introduction to the *Instituta*, Junillus referred to the School of Nisibis and modestly presented himself as the mere transmitter of Paul the Persian's ideas. Kihn accepted this disclaimer at face value and went on to argue that through Paul Junillus should be closely associated with the School of Nisibis and the teachings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, whom he identified with the School and whose theological interpretations Justinian attacked in the Three Chapters Controversy. This study will show to the contrary that Junillus' self-

¹⁸ Uthemann (1999), 72–73.

¹⁹ Primasius Adrumentanensis, *Commentaria in Apocalypsim*, PL 68 (Paris, 1866): 793–936; Haussleiter (1887), 1–55, is the fullest treatment; Meyendorff, *Imperial Unity* (1989), 255; Umberto Moricca, *Storia della Letteratura Latina Cristiana*, vol. III.2, *La Letteratura dei Secoli V e VI da Agostino a Gregorio Magno* (Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1934), 1485–1487; Pietri, et. al., eds. (1990).

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