Studies in the letters of St. Basil of Caesarea and of Theodoret of Cyrus, with special reference to their assimilation of Hellenic culture.

by

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Ἡ φόβος ἐξεθρεψεν φιλίας θεσμοὺς ἀγαπῶσα
tῶν ἀποδημοῦντων ὄργανα συντυχῆς,
tὸν κάλαμον, χάρτην, τὸ μέλαν, τὰ χαράγματα χειρὸς,
σύμβολα τῆς ψυχῆς τηλθοῦν ἄχυριμένης.

Δι.Ε. ΙΧ,401 (Falladas)
SUMMARY

The first section of this thesis is devoted to an analysis of Basil's personality and activities, as evinced by his letters. This affords important insight into his attitude toward friendship, which is the subject of Section Two. Basil's expressions of sentiment about friendship provide a fruitful (and neglected) body of evidence for estimating his own character. They are so frequent, that they offer a standard of friendship-in-action against which to judge the theoretical approaches to friendship of the classical (and post-classical) Greek philosophers. Some similarities between classical Greek theories and Basil's ideas about this subject have been pointed out, as well as some basic differences.

Also, some Biblical passages have been considered, which are echoed, or to which a closer reference is made, in Basil's correspondence. Echoes do not always mean a clear and conscious derivation. Nevertheless, patterns and sentences about friendship as shown throughout the Bible are likely to have created a definite atmosphere, and offered criteria of behaviour to St. Basil.

He gives the traditional notion of friendship, as founded on a natural feeling, a Christian orientation. If as early as in classical writers friendship is based upon virtue, Basil and the other Christian writers give further emphasis to its ethical-religious value: friendship is thus regarded as a grace from God. According to such a "mystical" conception, friendship is able to join in bonds of love even persons who live separated from each other or who have never met: for they live in communion of faith and ideals.
The assimilation of the Hellenic cultural aspects of style, imagery and vocabulary is investigated in the third section of this thesis by reference to the letters of Theodoret of Cyrus. This stresses the importance of the connection of Christian letter-writing with the rhetorical tradition. Both in theory and in practice, Theodoret displays consideration for the value of words and of rhetorical ability. He thus undertakes the task begun by the earlier Fathers of the Church, and gives Christian ideals the customary literary and stylistic modes of classical antiquity. The Christian faith required precision of speech and dialectical training, and needed to be able to handle the same arms as the heathen.

Theodoret can be considered as one of the major exponents of that Hellenic culture which was to be assimilated more and more (and so to be changed) into a wholly different climate of civilisation, pervaded by Orthodox Christianity; and, in particular, as an exponent of that Atticistic movement, the purity of which was to fade, overwhelmed progressively through contact with the more practical language of everyday.

The deliberately repeated use of figures of speech in Theodoret's letters, as well as the usually accurate employment of metaphors and comparisons (though not to such extent as to be overwhelming), illustrate his close adherence to the rules of rhetoric. And the language of Theodoret's correspondence shows clear signs of having been influenced by the same cultural notion which moved the Atticists.
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INTRODUCTION

1. **Brief delineation of the subject of this thesis**

The fourth and fifth-century Christian epistolographers in Greek offer a large field for the study of their language and style, as well as of their topics and concepts, thus reflecting, in their writings, the output of a period during which Christianity was spreading in every stratum of society, and was approaching an accommodation with pagan culture. "By the fourth century", a recent writer has observed, "there were more and more Christians of upper-class families who had been trained in the pagan schools and yet who had reached positions of eminence in the church and gained the reputation of sanctity. Many of these realized that they had benefited greatly from their schooling in pagan literature and rhetoric". W.G. Doty speaks of the period c. 350-450 as the "golden age" of Christian letter-writing, "an age which reflected pagan standards."

The connection of Christian epistolography in these centuries with the

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1. D.B. Sadington, "The Function of Education according to Christian Writers of the Latter Part of the Fourth Century A.D.", in *Acta Classica* 8 (1965), p. 100. The author takes into account the educational ideas of Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, John Chrysostom, Augustine: even the last one, who was the least enthusiastic about the significance of classical learning for a Christian, could not deny its influence upon his "linguistic skill" (p. 94). Rhetorical training was felt to be a help for Christian preaching (p. 95 n. 50).

2. W.G. Doty, *The Epistle in Late Hellenism and Early Christianity: Developments, Influences and Literary Form*, Univ. Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1966, p. 31. This thesis is meant "as groundwork for the study of Christian epistolary usage" (p. 220). It offers a survey of letter developments from antiquity till the early Christian period, with particular reference to the Pauline letters as paradigmatic in their novelty. Reference to G.A. Deissmann's statements figure largely throughout Doty's work, which provides a good conspectus of early and Hellenistic Greek and Roman epistolography.
classical and rhetorical tradition deserves analysis. The first part of the present work will be devoted to building up a doctrine of friendship as it emerges from the correspondence of St. Basil of Caesarea, in its connections both with classical and with biblical ideas of friendship. This analysis will be preceded by an outline of Basil's personality and activities, as they are attested by his letters, in order that his relationships of friendship can be given their own place in the whole of his ideas and attitudes. For example, in the year 373, Basil wrote to one of his friends: "For the present...I consider life a wretched thing and detestable, separated as it is from association with those most dear. For, in my opinion, there is nothing for which a man may be joyful if he be separated from those who truly love him." Basil's epistles present a good number of similar assertions. Reference to statements about friendship and friendly relationships from the letters of Gregory of Nazianzus and of Theodoret of Cyrus will be made, whenever they appear of help in giving a fuller and clearer view of the subject.

The second part will deal with the rhetorical aspects of the letters of Theodoret of Cyrus, especially with regard to the employment of figures of speech, of metaphors and images, of Atticism in language; that is, assimilation of Hellenic culture not from the point of view of concepts, but from the stylistic and formal one.

1. ep. 124, 20-23, to Theodorus.
2. N. Festa stated in 1923: "Chi verrà studiare Teodoreto come prosatore, dovrà cercarlo in altri scritti (che non nella Terapia), specialmente nel 'De Providentia' e nelle epistole." (Rendiconti Accademia Lincei, 1929, p. 533)
Passages from the letters of Nilus of Ancyra and of Isidore of Pelusium will be occasionally quoted, where they show a similarly incontrovertible connection with rhetorical training.

II. Relations between Christianity and Hellenic culture during the first Christian centuries

Before entering into the study of the above mentioned Christian epistolographers in Greek, the following points should be made clear, about the relations between Christianity and Hellenic culture, with special reference to epistolography:

1. Christian letter-writers carried on a tradition, which was well established in late Greek and early Roman literature, rather than in Jewish. On the other hand, however, we cannot speak in terms of a mere, flat continuation of patterns and style from classical and Hellenistic times. For in the meantime the New Testament epistles had been written, and their influence on later Christian letter-writers is not to be underrated. Doty is right in insisting upon this; and what he states about "a new adaptation of the formal

1. "Since the letter form was not a characteristic feature of Jewish literature, and since the language of the early Christian Church was Koine Greek, we may expect that the closest analogy to Christian letters is to be found in the late Hellenistic, non-Christian epistles." (Doty, p. 98).

2. Doty, pp. 62 f., remarks that twenty out of twenty-seven NT 'books' purport to be letters.
literary genre of the epistles" can be largely applied to vocabulary and style in post-Pauline Christian epistolography. From the analysis of the letters of Theodoret, in fact, a composite language has emerged, which is theologico-biblical not less than it is, in some other cases, Atticistic. As, however, the main aim of the present work is to emphasise the assimilation of the Hellenic culture by the fourth and fifth-century Christian epistolographers in Greek, I will refrain from going more deeply into the relationship between St. Paul and the later Christian literature; and, if it is true that "the history of the Christian epistle would suggest that it will be one of

1. p. 224 - "...in Paul there is a metaphoric treatment of the form which broke through its rigidities and which reassembled language and the letter form for the service of Christian faith"; see also ibid., p. 161 ff. G. Karlsson ("Formelhaftes in Paulus-briefen?", in Eranos 54 (1956), pp. 133-141) observes in later Christian epistolography both "die konventionellen Wendungen der antiken Briefschreibenkunst" and "Reminiszenzen der...Paulusstellen" (p. 141, specifically about the topic ἀπονοια - παρονοια ).


3. This task, suggested by Doty (p. 226), would also require due consideration of the theological background.
both continuity and discontinuity", I will confine myself to pointing out the 'continuity' in relation to the classical linguistic and stylistic patterns.

2. On the other hand, if I am to give evidence for the importance of the connection of Christian letter-writing with the rhetorical tradition, I find it necessary to emphasize also the particular weight given to ideas and concepts in themselves by Christian writers, such that very seldom are rhetorical devices required and applied merely for their own sake. Some remarks in the course of the second section of this work will offer evidence further to what has been stated already by Doty and McGuire.

The Christian letter-writers "betray all the devices and mannerisms of the Second Sophistic in East and West, but underneath the rhetorical and artificial conventions and pretty phrases there is a solid content of Christian doctrine and practice". The analysis of Basil's and Theodoret's letters does not demand a recourse to any questionable distinction between form and content, but, rather, an emphasis upon the close interrelationship between rhetorical tradition and content. 

2. "There is a clear contrast between Christian and non-Christian writers in terms of the importance of content in relation to style" (pp. 31 f.).
3. M.R.P. McGuire, "Letters and Letter Carriers in Christian Antiquity", in The Classical World 53 (1960), pp. 151 f. One could say that stylistic devices are employed as an aid to reinforce theological or ethical arguments. Only few letters are mere plaisanteries; e.g. Basil, ep. 341 to Libanius, and a few others to the same; Theodoret, ep. 10 to the sophist Acherius.
and Christian subjects. The boundaries between classical tradition and Christianity cannot be easily drawn. It is true that the Fathers operated a synthesis of both elements. When Basil writes about friendship — or, better, when he writes in a friendly manner — he shows closeness to classical models, not without resorting, at the same time, to biblical patterns and quotations, and he correlates the resulting product with Christian agape. This is the case, when, for example, in a letter to Ambrose of Milan, he regards communication by letter, and the acquaintance with the "inner man" which results from it, as a gift of God. As for Theodoret, his resort to rhetorical devices satisfies the need of stressing the theological or moral doctrines he deals with. In the fourth and fifth centuries,

1. The frequent occurrence of such biblical derivations — even if, in many cases, difficult to be precisely defined — has made it necessary to devote a chapter of the present thesis to biblical ideas of friendship in their relation to St. Basil's concept of the same:

v. infra.

2. ep. 197, part 1, 1 ff.: "Ever great and many are the gifts of our Lord, and neither can their greatness be measured nor their multitude enumerated. And one of the greatest gifts to those who are aware of receiving his benefits is even this present one — that He has granted us who are very widely separated by an interval of space to be united to each other through communication by letter. And a double means of acquaintance has he granted us: one by personal meeting, and the other through intercourse by letter. Since, then, we have become acquainted with you through what you have said, and since we have become acquainted with you, not by having your bodily characteristics imprinted upon our memory, but by coming to know the beauty of the inner man through the variety of his discourse — because each of us speaks out of the abundance of the heart (cf. Mt. 12.34), we have glorified our God who chooses in every generation those who are pleasing to Him." These themes will be analysed later.
the aesthetic appeal of the classics is felt even if unwillingly; but it is directed to the benefit of a Christian training: " 'useful' means 'useful for Christian purposes'." The novelty of Christian rhetoric lies not in new discoveries or prescriptions, but in a new way of looking at old principles. The prime distinction between ancient and patristic traditions in rhetoric is the Christian belief in the absolute truth of the Bible."

3. The question of the relationship between Christianity and classical culture, and, specifically, of the attitude adopted by Christian writers towards pagan culture, has been largely and deeply debated. The aim of the present work is to analyse to what extent Basil and, a century later, Theodoret had resort, in their letters, to elements (either conceptual or stylistic and linguistic) of classical derivation. And here we are faced with that "opposition between theory and practice" observed by Norden. Although the founder

1. Saddington, pp. 37 f. (‘a propos of Basil’s Address to Young Men, on How They Might Derive Benefit from Greek Literature).
3. see: W. Jaeger, Early Christianity and Greek Paideia, Harvard Univ. Press, 1962; M.W.L. Laistner, Christianity and Pagan Culture in the Later Roman Empire, together with a translation of John Chrysostom’s Address on Vain glory and the Right Way for Parents to bring up their Children, New York, 1951; P. Wendland, Die Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zu Judentum und Christentum, Tübingen, 1912; further bibliography also in Saddington, pp. 36 ff.
of Christianity had "repudiated the wisdom of this world" and His disciples had announced the gospel in a plain language, soon this gospel had spread throughout the hellenized world: in the fourth century "educated persons would...go to the church with the same expectations as to the lecture-room of the sophist." Nor was the expectation in letter-writing less demanding. Basil wrote to Libanius: "You, who have looked within your own mind the entire art of the ancients, remain so silent that you do not even by writing letters grant us to have any profit from you. But as for me, if the art of Daedalus were safe, I should have gone to be with you, having fashioned for myself wings of Icarus. But nevertheless, since it is not possible to entrust wax to the sun, instead of using wings of Icarus I do send you by letter words which prove our friendship. And it is the nature of words to disclose the love that is within the soul. And here are the words; may you lead them where you will; and yet, although endowed with so great power, you remain silent. Nay, transfer to us also the fountains of eloquence which issue from your lips." The fact that Basil is writing to a sophist, and a pagan one, does not make the statements of the Christian writer less meaningful. On the contrary, the importance of "words", of good style was unquestioningly acknowledged. Achievements in the matter of style appear actually to be sought for, while the theoretical position was

1. "Die Gebildeten gingen damals mit denselben Erwartungen in die Kirche wie in die Hörsaal des Sophisten": so Norden, p. 551 ("Die Beeinflussung der Predigt durch die sophistische Rhetorik erreichte im vierten Jahrhundert ihren Höhepunkt", p.550), who also reports a passage from St. John Chrysostom (Hom. 3 in ep. 2 ad Thessal. Ch. 4-P.G.62 col.485) where the quest at all cost for recherche preaching is blessed: ...διὰ τὸ γὰρ ὅμιλας Χριστά: πάντα σαφῆ καὶ εὐθέᾳ τὰ παρὰ τὰ αἱ ἄλλα ἐπειδὴ τερπέστε ἔστε ἄροσται, διὰ τούτο καὶ τὰ ἐπειτεῖ." 

2. ep. 359.

3. I am adopting the reading σαλαδέλος, according to the Benedictine suggestion (see Courtonne, III, p. 219), whereas Dei Ferrari (IV, p. 329) reads διδασκάλος, according to Par. 967.
that of "an acceptance of the pagan educational system, coupled with
the warning that it was to be merely a means to an end and should not be
unduly prolonged."

To the good number of passages from both Greek and Latin
Christian writers recorded by Norden in order to present evidence for
the demand for a plain style, in opposition (at least verbal) to
classical rhetorical tradition, I should like to add some more,
especially related to the fourth and fifth century.

Sometime between 362 and 371, Gregory of Nazianzus wrote to
Gregory, the future bishop of Nyssa, a letter, in which he reproved him
for devoting himself to the practice of rhetoric: "...What has happened
to you, who were so wise, or of what have you charged yourself, that,
throwing away these sacred and pleasant books, which you used to read
to the people (do not blush at hearing that), or else putting them by
the fireside in the smoke, like the rudder and the spade during winter,
you have taken in hand the bitter and distasteful ones, and chosen to
be called rhetor rather than Christian?" It is the same attitude

1. Leistner, p. 52.
2. pp. 529-532.
4. ep. XI (pp. 16-18 Gallay).
5. Literally: "drinkable" (ποτίμος) — metaph. "fresh, sweet,
pleasant" from Plato onward (π. λόγος Phdr. 243 d).
Analogously, ἀποτοῦσ "distasteful".
6. The translation is my own (part 4, p. 17 Gallay). The letter is
also cited by W. Roberts, in his History of letter-writing from the
earliest period to the fifth century, London, 1843, pp. 466-467.
that moves also John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nyssa to admire St. Paul for his power of speech which is not due to worldly eloquence.

But the above mentioned letter of Gregory of Nazianzus is to be regarded as a typical sample of that antithesis between theory and practice, which appears to be a distinguishing mark of these centuries: he exorts his recipient to disdain rhetoric, whereas he himself actually employs its instruments, and enriches his epistle with quotations from the classics.


4. To confine myself to the above reported passage from ep. XI, I should like to draw attention to the accurate sentence parallelism, as well as to the resort to figures of vivacity, such as rhetorical questions and parenthesis.

5. The letter is actually sprinkled with various quotations and allusions; namely, two to Euripides' Phoenissae, two to Healed's Works and Days, and one to a pseudo-Pythagorean letter (see notes pp. 17-13 Gallay).
The same state of affairs is reflected by a well-known letter of Basil to Libanius: "But as for us, admirable sir, we associate with Moses and Elias and such blessed men, who communicate their thoughts to us in a barbarian tongue, and it is what we learn from them that we give utterance to - in substance true, though in style unlearned, as indeed these present words show." This very concept Basil expresses in a way which is far from being "unlearned": νοῦν μὲν ἀληθῆ, λέγειν δὲ ἀμαθῆ (note assonance and parechthesis emphasizing antithesis). So Libanius replies (ep. 340, 11-13): "...you have made also your present letter, of which you speak ill, so beautiful that those who were present with us could not refrain from leaping to their feet when it was being read". And further on (21-26): "May, rather stick to your books, whose style you say is inferior, though their substance is superior, and may no one prevent you. But of that which has always been ours and was formerly yours the roots not only remain but will remain as long as you live, and no lapse of time could ever excise them, not even if you should almost wholly neglect to water them." The same attitude and ideas find expression in ep. 355 (Libanius to Basil) and 356 (Basil to Libanius), the consistency of which with the above-mentioned passages may give evidence for their authenticity; to Libanius praising his γλῶττα (apparently after reading the saint's oration "Against Drunkenness"), Basil writes in a short note: "For us when we receive the letters you write, joy; but for us when we are asked to reply to the letters you write, a struggle. For what could we say to a tongue which speaks Attic thus -

1. ep. 339, pp. 19-23. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that, elsewhere, Basil and other Christian writers praise the language of the Bible for its ἀκρόβελα and pleasantness: see Bartelink, Observations de saint Basile.... pp. 33-91.
except that I am a disciple of fishermen? I confess it and I cherish it."

Let us pass to a letter of Gregory of Nyssa where again the dualism between classical and Christian (namely biblical) education is stressed, and, again, the depreciatory attitude toward classics is more nominal than actual — or, I should rather say, purely nominal: "I was trying to give this letter a suitable and fitting exordium, according to my custom, from the Holy Scriptures, but I could not find any to make use of, not because I was not able to devise anything fit, but because I judged it superfluous to write such things to people who do not know about them. For your zeal about the heathen culture is for us proof of no care about the divine teachings. I shall therefore speak not of those, and I shall make a prelude to your Eloquence according to your learning." Reference to Odyssey 24.514 ff. is thereupon made, and Homer is called ὁ διδάσκαλος τῆς θυμετέρας παιδείας. A strong impression arises from the reading of this letter: Gregory appears to feel the need of an excuse for resorting to Homer instead of to the Holy Scriptures, but not really to regret such a use of classical learning.

Nilus of Ancyra shows hostility towards the σοφισταὶ, and opposes to them the simple faith of the Apostles—fishermen: "God,

1. ep.XI, p. 41 ed. Pasquali (Leiden, 1959: my own translation). The epistle is addressed to Eupatrius the lawyer, perhaps the son of the Eupaterius (Eupatrius) to whom Basil addressed ep.159.
2. προσφυγὲς καὶ οἰκεῖον τῷ γράμματι ... προσώμοιν: perhaps an echo of Plato, Lg. 772e: δὲ η γνῶρ ... ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ νόμου προσώμοιν οἰκεῖον ἐκάστῳ προτιθέναι.
3. ep. I. m.209 (P.G. 79, 159 C).
having turned himself away from the sophists, masters of idle words and
full of every falsehood and imposture, entrusted some cobblers and
fishermen with His saving and splendid proclamation of piety and
justice."

Analogously, Isidore of Pelusium "souligne le contraste entre
l'erreur avec ses syllogismes raffinés et sa langue attique pure et
e le christianisme qui est bien pauvre au point de vue stylistique..."
(ep. II, 198, in P.G. 78, 644B). 2 But it has been remarked about him,
and we shall see that it is true of Theodoret as well, that
"il se mente sans cesse l'erdut lui-même et chez lui aussi se manifeste
dans une certain mesure le désaccord entre théorie et pratique si
défaut chez les auteurs chrétiens." 4

quoted by P. Courcelle, Late Latin Writers and their Greek Sources,
philosophus non invent.

2. G.J.M. Bartelink. "Observations stylistiques et linguistiques
Here is the conclusive sentence in Isidore's letter:

'Απεικόνισεν γι' η πλάνη, καὶ δεξιας συλλογιζομένη,
 ἀγροικίζομένη τῇ ἀληθείᾳ παρεχόμεν.

3. We read in Theodoret's Graecarum Affectationum Curatie (ed. by
P. Canivet, in Sources Chretiennes, n.57, Paris, 1933, II, p.446, 1-3):
'I have pointed out the opinions of Greek philosophers about God
and matter and creation, as well as about virtue and vice, and the
 teachings offered to us by the divine words. I have also pointed
out how all their theories have died out, given to the darkness of
 oblivion, whereas ours are flourishing and at their peak, and have
myriads of disciples in every city and land, as well as teachers who,
even if they lack the Platonic beauty of language, yet offer the
healing balm of truth" (my translation).

Pelusium als Sophist" in Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte 47
(1923), pp. 325-332.
Another letter of Isidore has been rightly pointed out by Norden as one of the clearest expressions of the feelings of Christian writers towards rhetoric: "The style of the divine wisdom is prosaic, but its thought is high as heaven; the diction of the heathen is splendid, but its achievement comes to naught. If one were able to join the notion of the former with the diction of the latter, one would be fairly judged most learned."

Indeed, the very preoccupation with the danger engendered by the classics shows the Christian writers' acknowledgement of and concern for their attraction - and made it necessary to resort to those stylistic and linguistic patterns which had been theirs. Even if it can be attested of all Christian writers of these centuries that they conceded only a secondary importance to the classics, as "their sole use lay in moral exempla which they contained or the rhetorical expertise which they could foster", their influence should not be underrated. The following chapters aim to contribute to the subject of interrelationship and osmosis between pagan culture and Christian ideals on the basis of letter-writing, as this was held to be a legitimate part of literature. One can agree with Karlsson that the epistle is in fact a form of rhetoric and that, as such, it entails fixed themes, namely protestations of friendship, and precise stylistic requirements. An analysis of the former, as they appear in Basil's letters, will be the main subject of the first section of this work; the second section will be devoted, as stated above, to Theodoret as rhetor.

1. ep. V, 231 (P.G. 73, 1500D) in Norden, p. 534. (My translation)
2. Saddington, p. 92.
III. Chronology of St. Basil's letters - The editions used

Three hundred and sixty-six letters of Basil have been preserved. They were written between 357 and 373, and they have been traditionally divided into three parts: 1) letters written between 357 and 370, thus belonging to the pre-episcopate period; 2) letters written between 370 and 373, during the episcopate; 3) letters which do not offer evidence for dating.

The letters will be quoted in the translation by R. Deferrari (Loeb Classical Library, London-New York, 1926-34, four volumes), with modifications when necessary. As for the numbering of lines, reference will be made to the edition by Y. Courtonne (Association G. Budé, Paris 1957-66), three volumes), for the reason that there is no such notation in the Loeb edition.

Both Deferrari's and Courtonne's editions have kept the chronological order fixed by the Benedictine editors, Dom Garnier and Dom Maran (Migne, P.G. 32).

The manuscript tradition of St. Basil's letters has been studied by M. Bessières (La Tradition Manuscrite de la Correspondance de S. Basile, Oxford, 1923).

1. Two more short letters have been added to the corpus of Basil's correspondence by Deferrari, vol.IV, pp. 354-356.
SECTION I

Basil's Personality
St. Basil's character seen throughout his letters: their psychological interest.

If St. Basil's letters are evidence for the history of his time, they are a psychological monument as well. Basil shows himself in different perspectives, according to his attitudes to different circumstances, and according to his reactions to men and events. So that we have a picture not only of the society of his age, but also of his own character — although Basil does not speak very often about his own feelings in an explicit way. Letters can provide an accurate image of him. One can apply to Basil himself what he wrote to Maximus the philosopher: "In truth words are the

1. The reconstruction of this picture has been the aim of works, such as those of Martin, Fox, Giet (Idées and Sesimes), Vischer, Treufer, Couronne — see Bibliography.

2. Whereas his friend and colleague Gregory of Nazianzus "éprouvait le besoin, chaque fois qu'il sortait d'une crise, d'expliquer à tous l'état de son âme" (E. Fleury, St. Grégoire de Nazianze et son temps, Paris, 1930, p.244); a difference in attitudes which proves a difference in characters: "...Basilius ernst, nüchtern, sachlich, streng, Gregor geühlgvoll, poetisch überschwänglich, Stimmungen und Eindrücken hingergeben" (K. Treu, "Φιλάλαα und Ἀγάπη — zur Terminologie der Freundschaft bei Basilius und Gregor von Nazianz", in Studii Classici 3 (1961), p. 423).

3. op.9, §8, 1 ff.
images of the mind. So we have learned to know you from your letters, as truly as, according to the proverb, the lion from its claw. Through his letters, Basil shows his sentiments and thoughts: one can therein determine the relationships he had, the motivations for his actions, his moods, his virtues and his faults.

The personality of Basil has been deeply and carefully analysed already, but from other and different starting-points: either from a strictly biographical point of view, or in order to

1. Ps.-Demetrius, De Elocutione, (ed. W. Rhys Roberts, Cambridge 1902, p. 175) writes: "The letter...should abound in glimpses of character. It may be said that everybody reveals his own soul in his letters. In every form of composition it is possible to discern the writer's character, but in none so clearly as in the epistolary." To this topos Karlasson (Idéologie) has devoted a few pages (94-99). He connects it with the leus epistulæ acceptae: he stresses the Pauline formula ΔŚ ὁν ἐσώπυρον as "un thème de variation", and reaches the conclusion that "il est extrêmement vraisemblable qu'une théorie épistolaire, du genre de celle qui est énoncée dans le 'De Elocutione', se trouve à l'origine de ces nombreuses séries de formules" (p.97). Still M. Psellos writes in ep. 11 (quoted by M.B. Tomakadin, Εὐκαντινὴ ἐπιστολογραφία — Εἰσαγωγή, κείμενα, κατάλογος ἐπιστολογράφων, Athens 1955, p.15): πλὴν ἄλλ' ἐγὼ τι τοῖς γράμματι πλέον χαρίζομαι μάλιστα γὰρ τοῦ φίλου ἀπεικονίζεται καὶ τὸν χαρακτήρα δείκνυσι τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχῆς.

Among the Latin letter-writers, the theme is to be found, e.g. in Cicero, Ad. Fam., XVI, 16: "Te totum in litteris vidi."

2. Cf. Lucian, Hermasimus, 53: "They say indeed that one of the sculptors, Phidias I believe, after looking at a lion's claw, calculates the size of the whole lion when fashioned in proportion to the claw."

build up a sociological picture of his ideas and activities.
Especially the works by Giet offer accurate glimpses into the man's character and attitudes. The old study by Martin is mainly devoted to building up a picture of the religious as well as civil society in the fourth-century Eastern provinces. The recent, massive work by Courtonne includes various aspects of Basil's actions on the basis of his correspondence, mainly his interventions against heresies and schisms, as a defender of the weak and as a legislator of monasticism. The aim of the present section is to impart relief to the moral character of this fourth-century bishop, strictly on the basis of evidence from his correspondence, in order to illustrate another facet of the man, namely, his attitudes and feelings, as a friend, toward laymen-friends and fellow-bishops. This aspect, however, cannot be considered on its own, isolated from the rest of Basil's attitudes. His activity as a churchman interacts with his human relationships.

In the present section, we shall therefore give emphasis to the actions of Basil in the ecclesiastical and in the social fields, as they emerge from the letters: these can offer the clue to the ideas and feelings which motivate his activity; that is, a careful examination of this part of his literary production will reveal the mainsprings of his behaviour. Through the letters, Basil's work as a spiritual adviser, and as a peace-maker, and his reactions to personal set-backs as well as to calumny also help us to set him in the right light for what regards his attitudes to friends.

1. without, at any rate, devoting too much space to these actions, when they have been stressed already by Giet or other scholars.

2. Events will be considered only with regard to the reactions of the man himself. Historical or theological details will be mentioned only when required by the context. Strictly doctrinal arguments will not be taken into account, as they belong to the theological field.
1. Basil man of action

Basil's correspondence bears witness to his intense activity inside and on behalf of the Church. Authority means service, even in the world, in spite of what he had written in about 353, at the beginning of his retirement to Pontus, when he still was aiming at a complete separation from the world: "There is but one escape from all this separation from the world altogether. Withdrawal from the world does not mean bodily removal from it, but the severance of the soul from sympathy with the body, and the abandonment of city, home, personal possessions, love of friends, property, means of livelihood, business, social relationships, and knowledge derived from human teaching; it also means the readiness to receive into one's heart the impressions engendered there by divine instruction."

1. S. Giet (Idées, pp. 152 ff.) points out how authority is, for Basil, a natural necessity (this being a theoretical support to his sometimes authoritative behaviour), as well as a divine institution; "le Chef, mandataire de Dieu, est le serviteur de ses frères".

2. ep. 2, 2, 21 ff., to Gregory of Nazianzus. Giet (ibid., pp. 193f.), in opposition to P. Humbert Claude (La doctrine ascétique de Saint Basile de Césarée, Paris, 1932, p. 221) stresses, concerning Basil's renunciation of the world, simply his will to live according to the Gospel: "Nous savons quel motif a poussé Basile à embrasser la vie religieuse et à réunir ses premiers disciples: c'est un désir, non d'apostolat, mais de perfection (cf. ep. 223, part 2)".

3. i.e. all the kinds of problems that usually arise in life.
But, soon after he had departed to Egypt, Palestine, Coele Syria and Mesopotamia, where he discovered the perfection of the Christian asceticism — φιλοσοφία — among the ascetics who lived in solitude ther, and after he had become the founder of organized monasticism, the outbreak of Arianism brought Basil back into the world.

Although the letters offer no explicit evidence on this point, Basil gives the impression of having decided that it was his duty to be in the world, as a presbyter first, and bishop later, and to work in the world so as to serve God and his neighbours in the way most suiting his capabilities.


2. It is important to underline that St. Basil's monastic ideal was essentially a social one. The Basilian monk was not completely separated from the world; he had the duty to join his neighbours, in order to improve them. He had to look after their souls, as well as after their bodily necessities. Basil aimed to combine the advantages of solitude and of intercourse with men, so that contemplation and action could complement each other: this he did when, in 353, he retired at Annæa. See also Gist, *Idées*, pp. 184 ff.

3. According to this principle, he also encourages worthy men to accept their election as bishop, and not to refuse what is their task: see, e.g., ep. 161 to Amphilochius of Iconium (year 374).
So, even if Basil would have liked to devote himself to the monastic ideal for the whole of his life, he was in fact able to give it up under the pressure of more urgent events and needs. And, once the choice was made, he embraced his new tasks with great energy, without complaints: no regrets can be found in his letters. He immediately gives the impression of being in strong spirits, facing reality and accepting the will of God: he never longed for what was no more at hand.

1. The succession of three types of life is common for many personalities of this age: they happened to be learned people, monks and churchmen successively, or at the same time. M. Harl — "Les trois quarantaines de la vie de Moise, schéma idéal de la vie du moine-évêque chez les Fères Cappadociens," in Revue des Études Grecques, 90 (1967), pp. 407-412) underlines the presence of this "themê du milieu cappadoceen et plus précisément du milieu lié à Basile; la vie de Moise est ressentie comme la préfiguration de ce qui fut la vie de Basile lui-même: forms à la culture profane, ayant consacré une part importante de sa vie à la solitude studieuse et contemplative (sejour à Anesi), partagé ensuite entre sa mission auprès des hommes et son goût pour la solitude" (p. 410). It is a traditional topic in Cappadocian hagiography, which is likely to have been borrowed from the Syriac monastic environment.

2. "Chez lui, la raison parle plus fort que le sentiment", as Giet (Sasimes, p. 34) points out, specifically à propos of his leaving Athens earlier than Gregory of Nazianzus.
2. Forms of Basil's action

A. Ecclesiastical Prostasies

1 Gregory of Nazianzus wrote about Basil: "As for the man's solicitude and support for the Church, there are many tokens, such as: freedom of speech in front of the authorities, especially in front of the most powerful men in the city; sound solutions of controversies, decreed by the man's own voice, having the force of law; patronage of the needy, most of it of a spiritual kind, but not a little for temporal advantage (for often this too may avail the soul securing influence over it by the exercise of benevolence); support of the poor, entertainment of the stranger, protection of virgins; written and unwritten monastic legislation; arrangements of prayers, good order of the clergy, and everything else by which a true man of God, and appointed to God, could help the people." If one thinks that these are the flatteries typical of a "laudatio funebris", evidence from the letters can confirm them all. When he writes to the administrators of the province of Cappadocia in support of his countrymen overloaded with taxes and burdens of many kinds, he acts as a

1. Or. XLIII, In Laudem Basili Magni, Ch.34 (P.G.36, 541 B-C) (my translation).
2. He was steadfast against the Arian emperor Valens (year 372): see his meeting with the praefectus praetorio Demosthenes, the evidence of which is given by Gregory in this Or. XLIII, and by Theodoret, Hist. Eccl. IV, XVI (P.G. 82, 1160-1166). On the other hand, Basil was able occasionally to use diplomacy, as long as it could be helpful.
3. See, e.g., app. 35,36,37,33,38 (where he pleads for an extension of time for his own payment of taxes), 284, etc.
4. See, e.g., app. 34, on behalf of an old man, who was obliged to serve again, in spite of his age, because his four-year-old grandson had been placed on the senatorial roll. See also app. 142 (to the prefect's accountant), 143, 144.
in order to defend his people's interests. This is what Gregory means when he speaks about Basil's προστάτης, in order to defend people's interests. This is what Gregory means when he speaks about Basil's προστάτης, in order to defend people's interests. Basil makes use of every means, even skilful politesse, when he considers it his duty to make entreaty in financial matters on behalf of his countrymen. The large number of his letters of commendation show one of the most relevant aspects of his social and charitable activity. At a time when "the sense of community was weak", "a man of power" was needed. Bishops were required to place their δυναμες, capabilities and culture at the disposal of their towns. Uncertainty of the pax Romana, feebleness of the central power, heavy taxation, tumults: such an unstable society was in need of "certainty and leadership."

1. He is able to soothe the correspondent, even to flatter him if necessary, to use elaborate expressions, if such means may help to achieve the aim (see eq. 15, 75 etc.). "Hier ist der Schmeichelei freier Spielraum gelassen, hier spielt die Sentimentalität eine ganz entscheidende Rolle:" so H. Zilliacus, "zu Abundance der spätgriechischen Gebrauchssprache. "Soa. Scient. Fenn. "Comm. Hum. Litt. 41*, nr. 2, Helsinki, 1967, p. 15, a propos of the tendency to wordiness in letters of petition and bills of complaint (papyri).

2. For Basil's deep interest in his own πόλεις (Cesarea) and πατρίς (Cappadocia), and for the new meaning that the word οἰκουμενη attains in him, see Gift, Ideas, pp. 153 ff.


4. "What the patron could offer was power on the spot. Δυναμις is a central element in the rôle of the patron" (Brown, p. 35). What is said of the 'holy man' in early Byzantine times can be applied to a fourth-century bishop in the Eastern part of the Empire: "he played a rôle that was applicable to urban conditions; his person summed up widespread ideals, common to Byzantine culture as a whole, in town and country alike; he could be approached, therefore, to minister to needs both more intimate and more universal than arbitration on the loans and boundaries of farmers." (Brown, p. 91)
Basil writes: "I have written to you about many who engage my interest, and in the future I shall write about still more. For neither can the supply of the needy fall, nor is it possible for us to refuse them favours." He feels deeply involved in his people's needs, and he cannot help taking care of them. The patron "was thought of as intervening not to disrupt the law but to make it work in particular cases: he exercises his interest in the reducing, if not evading, of tax demanis, the cancelling of debts, the settling of quarrels. We read in Basil: "For if you love me, as indeed you do, it is, of course, your wish by all means in your power to relieve those also whom I regard as my own self." "Ἀγάπη" means mutual help; help is therefore the natural consequence of love, and it extends to the friend's friends as well. Thus theoretical interpretation is given to a social task.

B. "Πνευματίκας πατήρ"

As for what Gregory of Nazianzus calls προστασία τῶν δεομένων...πνευματικαὶ, they belong to Basil's activity as a spiritual adviser and leader of souls. He often writes in order to establish what the truth is, to remove calumnies, to warn against lies. He

1. ep. 35, without address, On behalf of Leontius. 4,1-3.
2. The work of reconciliation was one of the main functions of a bishop: cf. Theodoret, Hist. Rel. (PG.62,1356 D): καὶ νῦν μὲν τῶν τυχομαχόντων τὰς ἐρίδας διαλύων — quoted by Brown, p. 90, m.119 and p. 98.
3. ep. 36, 5-7. About the equation friend = another own self, see infra, Chapter about friendship. In this letter, Basil asks assistance about the valuation of a friend's personal property.
4. Cr. XLIII, Ch. 34, cit.
is cautious and concerned, not dominated by passion. He shows himself willing to help people to distinguish what is wrong — on the theological as well as on the ethical or simply human ground — from what is true and good; he wants them to understand the importance of the position they adopt — in case they incline to heterodoxy —; he also tries to give courage to souls who, in spite of their good intentions, show a tendency to accept heresy, either because of their weakness or because of their ignorance. It is his moral obligation to alleviate griefs, to exhort to virtue and prevent evil. In correcting his flock's moral weaknesses, he is hard or indulgent according to the circumstances and the person. He himself describes his activity in this field, when he complains as follows: "As for the establishment of the Church, the correction of errors, sympathy for the brethren who are weak and protection of those who are sound — of these things not one is attended to."

He contributes to setting matters right, to removing doubts.

He urges a widow to enter the monastic life, thus following her son's example: "After taking your son Dionysios,...and anointing the wings...

1. Perspicacity and prudence are stressed by Giet (Idées, p. 292), specifically concerning Basil's theological activity. He had a practical mind, in spite of a certain natural inflexibility; this he was in fact able to correct when events required it. Cf. analysis in Giet, Sasines, 52.

2. Which does not exclude his bent for getting irritated: "Il est vrai que Basile s'irrite facilement; une certaine raideur, due à sa vive sensibilité, l'horreur qu'il a de tout ce qui reste imperfect, sa mauvaise santé l'y prédispose" (Giet, Sasines, p. 101, and n.1: δυσχερής δὲ τῆς ἐγνώ σύσει ἰουσίων πρὸς πάν το ἀτέλεστον Ἰκανίαν, in Mart. Juliti... 3).

3. Is it the Greek component in his mind, which makes him skilfully subtle and occasionally very pliable?


5. ep. 10, 9-14.
of his soul with the divine ointment, I have sent him forth to your ladyship, that you also may fly up with him, and enter the nest which he has built among us.'

He exhorts Caesarius, Gregory of Nazianzus' youngest brother, to keep his good will in the way of perfection: "We urge you to be an even better servant of God, ever more and more increasing your fear of Him, and advancing to perfection." He reminds Caesarius of the feelings that must have arisen in him in the face of death: "(We must) always preserve the same attitude of mind that we had at the moment of our perils. For assuredly we were reminded of the vanity of life - τοῦ βίου τὸ μάταιον - , and also that there is nothing trustworthy or fixed and solid in human affairs, seeing that they so readily admit of change. And no doubt there arose in us, probably, in the first place, a feeling of repentance for the past, and then a promise regarding the future, that, if we should survive, we should serve God and be mindful of ourselves with all strictness. For if the imminent danger of death suggested any subject for our reflection, I believe you betook yourself of this or something

1. The metaphors of the wings and the nest resume the image of the τέχνη...περιστερῶν θηρευτική, which occurs at the opening of this letter. The image is an elaborate one. Although Basil does not insist on the use of such devices in letters dictated by moral or ecclesiastical motives, the presence of such images here can be explained by the fact that this letter belongs to Basil's younger years, when the influence of the school was still very strong. Cf. Courtonne, Un temoin, p. 55 & p. 93.
2. ep. 26, 9-11. Caesarius had escaped from death during an earthquake in October, 363. Deferrari (vol. I, p. 155, n. 1) points out that "shortly after receiving this letter, he retired from the world".
3. lines 13 - end.
very much like it, at that time. Accordingly, ...I have made bold to remind your Perfection of this obligation because I am at once overjoyed at God's gift and solicitous concerning the future. It is yours to receive our words graciously and calmly, as was your wont when we conversed together eye to eye." By the letter Basil carries on his office of spiritual adviser, reminding Caesarius of their face-to-face meeting.

He encourages Macarius and John to resist persecution:

"Let not false slander disturb you, nor threat of the powerful terrify you; let not the ridicule and insults of your acquaintances offend you, nor yet the condemnation of those who pretend to care for you and who offer you deceit's most potent lure — the pretence of giving advice. Against them all let right reason give battle, summoning to be its ally and helper the teacher of piety, our Lord Jesus Christ, for whom to suffer is a delight and 'to die is gain'."

He strengthens the others' courage by reminding them that they have the truth at their side; this certainty was a spring for his own action.

So, after consoling the Church of Parnassus for the death of their bishop, he urges them not to spend too long in vain tears, but to master their sorrow and to make every effort to elect a bishop as

1. probably during the reign of Julian: ep. 13, 18—end.
2. μὴ...ὑμᾶς ἑαράτετο διαβολή ψευδής, μηδὲ φοβεῖτο τῶν κρατοῦντων ἄπειλη. As for the absence of fear in face of temporal power, cf. Gregory of Nazianzus (Or. XLIII, ch.34, cit.) about Basil's παρομοία πρὸς ἀρχόντας.
4. cf. ep. 139 to the Alexandrians, who were suffering because of Valens' persecution (373); and ep. 140, to the Church of Antioch, dictated by the same reasons.
good as the previous one: "As for the rest, we must admonish you
that, after you have put away all sorrow, you should become your
own masters, and should rise up and face your unavoidable duty of
providing for the Church, to the end that the holy God may assume
charge over His flock, and, in accordance with His will, may supply
you with a shepherd who will tend you wisely."

In case of difficulties, Basil puts forward solutions in
conformity with the principles of reason and with moral laws. At
the beginning of his episcopate, he writes to Paregorius, a presbyter,
rebuking him with clear and firm words, and relentlessly pointing
out to him what he must do, lest he be anathematised: "I have
read your letter with all the patience at my command; and I am
astonished that, when you might have made me briefly and without
difficulty an apology by your actions, you choose to persist in the
practices charged against you, and by lengthy arguments attempt to
heal the incurable. I am neither the first nor the only one,
Paregorius, to enact that women shall not live with men." Basil
goes on, claiming for evidence the Fathers of the Nicaean Council,
stressing the importance of adhering to celibacy, and sagaciously
laying the accent on the fact that the presbyter's position is not as
sinless as he pretends it to be. Basil thinks of consequences for the
whole body of the faithful: "We know that what is done in all purity
by some is to others an occasion for sin." Then he writes:

1. ep.62, 13 - end.
2. ep.55, 1-6.
3. I rather suggest the following translation: "...when you might
have...given me satisfaction...."
4. 21 f.
5. 24-29.
"Why then do you complain of the chorepiscopus, and recall an ancient grudge? Why do you not rather blame yourself for not consenting to give up the society of the woman? Come now, expel her from your house, and place her in a convent."

He takes good care of his people's spiritual progress: he rejoices at somebody's faith and good behaviour: "It is a delight to listen to you, and to read your works affords us a still more lively pleasure. Abundant thanks to the good God, who has not allowed the truth to succumb to the treachery of those who claim, forsooth, to prevail, but has furnished through you an advocacy of the doctrine of the true religion! They, however, like hemlock oraconite, and every other deadly herb, after a brief period of bloom will quickly wither. But as for you, the Lord will bless you with endless youth and bloom as your reward for your defence of His name."

Again he feels joy and offers congratulations in another epistle, addressed to the deaconesses, daughters of count Terentius: "That you have not given way to deceptions, surrounded as you are by the gross perversity of men who destroy the word of truth, and that you have not abandoned the apostolic proclamation of faith and gone

1. ep.17 to Origen, apparently a layman and a Christian apologist — 1 ff. Cf. Theodoret of Cyrus, ep. 126, p.98, 22 ff. (ed. Azema ) ἔγνων τῆς θεωτέρας πίστεως τῷ σταθερῷ τῷ καὶ βέβαιῳ, καὶ θυμόδας ἐνεπλήσσῃν ὅτι μάλιστα πλεῖστης. Theodoret also brings forward the motivation for this feeling, that is the awareness of belonging to the same body of the Church.

2. ep. 105. Terentius was a general and comes under Valens, to whom Basil addressed ep. 99 and 214.
over to the popular novelty of the day — does this not call for
great thanksgiving to God, and does it not most justly bring you great
commendation?"

Basil seems to believe that a just commendation is in conformity
with truth and may be psychologically stimulating. And in the
following letter, to a soldier: "...Therefore play the man, and
be strong, and always strive to foster and increase your love of God,
that the supply of the blessings He bestows upon you may grow greater
and greater."

There is consistency between these words to the soldier and
what Basil himself appears to be: a manly and strong character,
working to fulfil his duties, according to his ideal.

1. They have therefore been proof against the ebbs and flows of ideas
and beliefs, to which weak and superficial characters are inclined.

2. epp. 13-20.

3. ep. 106, 11-14. Cf. ep. 146 to Antiochus, the nephew of Eusebius,
bishop of Samosata; and ep. 154 to Ascholius, bishop of Thessalonica.

4. His weak and delicate constitution did not prevent him from
completely devoting his life to his duties; see, e.g., epp. 136, 138, 141.
3. Characteristics of Basil's Activities.

Fierce and dignified, Basil shows cleverness and sagacity, and has an awareness of his high office. His sensitivity makes him able to analyse and to understand the feelings of others. He does not appear surprised, for example, at being closely questioned by his friend Gregory, who has to decide about joining Basil in his retirement in Pontus. Basil realizes how hesitant his friend is, before making up his mind about such an important matter as choosing complete devotion to the monastic ideal: "I recognized your letter, just as men recognize the children of their friends by the parents' likeness appearing in them."

For when you say that the nature of our surroundings

1. Giet (Sasimes, p. 30) thus outlines Basil's character as it appears from the time of his studying in Athens, in contrast with that of Gregory: "Sérieux et gravité ne sont pas seulement, chez lui, l'effet d'une maturité précoce, d'études et de réflexions prolongées: nous voyons la marque d'une certaine raideur naturelle". And he observes in Basil, in spite of his spiritual vivacity and dialectic flexibility, lack of ἑτοροπαθεία — urbanity (cf. ibid., p. 91 ff.). But see also infra. It is impossible to come to any final objective judgement about psychological characteristics, in spite of the value which can be set upon Basil's correspondence as faithfully reflecting his views and feelings. Giet's work analyses carefully the different possible explanations for Basil's attitude towards Gregory about the question of Sasima (Sasimes, p. 83 ff., al.)

2. At least as far as they do not oppose Basil's ecclesiastical and administrative plans. The pressure of these may explain his inflexibility (whether justifiable or not, it is not my task to judge) on some occasions: with Pope Damasus, with his uncle Gregory, with Eustathius of Sebaste, with Paulinus of Antioch, with Gregory of Naziansus about Sasima.

3. ep. 2, 1, 1 ff.
4. For the idea, cf. ep. 9, 1 ff., cit.
would not greatly tend to implant in your soul a desire to live with us until you should learn something of our habits and mode of life, it is truly characteristic of your mind and worthy of your soul, which counts all the things of this earth as nothing compared with the promised bliss which is in store for us." Basil gives here a full account of his monastic life and its regulations; if he wishes his friend to join him, he waits for his deliberate choice. He offers him an objective picture of the strict rules to which they must submit, and does not even hesitate to tell Gregory his difficulties: "I have indeed left my life in the city, as giving rise to countless evils, but I have not yet been able to leave myself behind - ἐμαυτῶν δὲ οὐπω ἀπολίπετθν ἔσυνθην - ".

He goes on to give an ingenious comparison between his own spiritual situation and that of people who suffer from sea-sickness. "Our experience", he continues, "is something like this. For we carry our indwelling disorders about with us, and so are nowhere free from the same sort of disturbances. Consequently we have derived no great benefit from our present solitude." Here he shows himself able to accept his failure, without false pride or discouragement. Fialon speaks about Basil's "pride tempered by Christian humility."\(^3\) As for evidence from the letters, I would not think 'pride' the proper

1. part 1, 11 f.
2. 18-21.
3. "...un orgueil qui eût été inflexible, si l'humilité chrétienne n'en eût triomphé." (Fialon, p62)
word to express Basil's attitude, at least generally: in fact, he never seems to set too high a value on himself; he absolutely never asks for applause or admiration; nor even makes much of his own personal situations or feelings — even references to his frequent illnesses are reduced to the essentials. He does not so much stress what he has done or is doing for the good of the Church or the wealth of his flock, as emphasizes what is still to be done, always keeping in view the necessities of the Church, or the needs of people who are in difficulties of any kind. The high opinion that all authorities have held about Basil is substantiated by the evidence of his correspondence. His letters, as one can easily judge by the passages quoted so far, are not a sophist's exercises. They adhere to the reality of his time and his environment, and reflect clearly his worries and thoughts as well as his actions.

1. Which does not mean that expressions of humility in Basil's letters should be taken into account in this regard: they simply obey the customary practice of relationships at that time: see ep. 30, 4; 60, 24 (ἐνεχθήκατι κατάθηκα πρὸς τὴν ταπείνωσιν ἡμῶν ή σεμνότης σου); 79, 2f.; 97, 7 f.; etc. Ep. 3, beginning, seems to be more sincere and meaningful. Cf. ep. 204, part 4, 2 ff. (to the Nccoassarceans, in order to turn away suspicions about his supposed semi-Arian connections): "What then am I saying, brethren? Not that I am a sinless man, nor that my life is not full of numberless defects. For I know myself, and indeed I do not cease to shed tears over my sins in the hope that somehow I may be able to propitiate my God and escape the threatened chastisement. But", he continues, "as for the man who judges our affairs, if he is certain that his own eye is clear, let him pick the mote from our eye."

2. See ep. 9, part 3, 24; 27; 30, 4; 34, 13; 43, 29 ff.; 94; 100; etc.
Striving after ἀλήθεια.

Basil's letters throw light on his actions; they are actions themselves. He is firm in matters of dogma and ethics; makes use of diplomacy in order to prevent heresy; but, once he realizes the situation cannot be saved, he becomes intransigent. He rises against any voice he thinks is injurious or erroneous. In his speech Ποίδας τούς νέους, he defined truth as "the essential fruit of the soul" - ψυχής προηγουμένως...κατεστίκη ἡ ἀλήθεια. He keeps to this view, and often makes reference to ἡ ἀλήθεια and shows his efforts to support it.

If, as has been said, it is true that letters give a faithful image of the writer's character, we may state that Basil was steadfast in working to reach his aims, especially when dealing with the problems of the churches: although, as can be seen, not an opportunist, but resolute in his principles, he gives proof of diplomatic capacities, and shows himself able to control situations.

1. Cf. ep. 8; 9; 38; 45; 46; 52; 53; 54; 55; 69; 85; 93; 214; 226; 234; 251; 253; 276; 299; 327; and many more.
2. "there are many things to be said, many things to be heard from the other side, objections to be solved, one's own reasons to be advanced..." (ep.156, 2, 22-24). "La rude figure du docteur autoritaire cache une souplesse d'esprit peu commune, et sous des dehors d'intransigeance se dissimule un parfait diplomate" (M. Guignet, speaking about Basil in Saint Grégoire de Nazianze et la rhétorique, Paris, 1911, p.40).
3. supra, p.73.
4. Cf., e.g., ep. 61, to Athanasius of Alexandria, about the evil conduct of a governor of Libya.
6. See, e.g., ep. 113, 4 f. (προὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν σάλος - zeal for the truth); and ep. 21, 11-13: "We are mindful of the spiritual injunction that we should not 'receive the voice of a lie'" - according to Ex.23:1 (insisting on carefulness in judgements).
7. See, in addition to the many letters concerning problems of the churches (such as ep. 30, 66, 39, 136, 243), the ones dealing with the division of Cappadocia (ep. 74-76).
Basil's letters united, in spite of distance in space, the scattered faithful, and encouraged exiled bishops and churches isolated among Arians. In them we find a grave and upright tone, just like the man and the weighty affairs he was dealing with. He is able to point out aims, means, obstacles. His reasoning is convincing; when necessary, he amplifies it with an appeal to the heart. When religious or moral matters are in question, he very often refers to the Scriptures.

Sensitive or insensitive?

Lively in temper, sometimes passionate, Basil is more often prudent and very careful of the consequences. He, who appreciated solitude, but who was nevertheless a man of action, shows himself sensitive as well. His generally weighty and solemn attitude gives place to a gentle or passionate delicateness toward the weak, and toward his friends. He is able to use expressions of exquisite politeness, in accordance with the tastes and usage of his time. His spirit is refined and learned. Not indifferent in regard to persons

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1. Cf., e.g., ep. 120 to Meletius, bishop of Antioch, exiled in Armenia. The rôle of letters in keeping bishops and churches in contact with one another was becoming traditional: see, e.g., Athanasius' polemical and dogmatical epistles. Cf. N. Corneanu, "Les efforts de saint Basile pour l'unité de l'Église," Verbum Caro, 23 (1969), p. 60.

2. Cf., as a sample, ep. 46, to a fallen virgin.

3. He can make use of violent words, as in ep. 115 to the heretic Simplicia, where he attacks her keeping of slaves and eunuchs.

4. Cf. the great number of letters addressed to friends: v. infra.

5. Many a letter displays his classical and rhetorical education: e.g., epp. 136; 222; 239; 242; 329; etc.
and events, he is, rather, affected by them. But his sensitiveness is not maudlin sentimentality: he gives the impression that he feels deeply pain and sorrow, but without weakness or discouragement.

Peace-maker

This combination of deep feeling with a strong will is crucial in determining our impression of his character. The former we can see especially in his relationships of friendship, the latter in his ecclesiastical and social actions. This aim he put above everything else. He worked hard for peace-making — ἐργαζόμενος. He wrote to the Senate of Tyana, in 372: "For the sake of peace... I have determined to neglect no effort whatever, not to omit anything as too humble to say or do, not to take into account the length of any journey, and not to shrink before any irksome thing, if so I may obtain the rewards of peace-making." And to Evagrius, the presbyter: "What is sweeter to the ears than the name of peace?" Gregory of Nazianzus named him "the Peaceful One's disciple" —

1. As said above, the conclusions achieved by Giet, after an accurate historical and psychological analysis of both Basil's and Gregory's attitudes, are convincing. "Basile méconnait, dans le feu de l'action, l'importance des facteurs psychologiques" (Basime, p. 20): a good explanation for some contradictions in his attitude. Cf. ibid., pp. 17; 96 f.
2. ep. 97, 33-37.
3. Cf. ep. 204, part 7.
4. ep. 156, 3 f.
5. Or. XLIII, ch. 29 (P.G. 36, 536 B).
He used all means, all possible tones of voice, in order to secure ὁμονοία and ἐλπίς.

He very often insisted on having his fellow-bishops' help in order to defeat heresy and disunion: he pointed out perils, and stressed the necessity of concord. He wrote: "No activity is so peculiarly Christian as making peace." He suffers because of the bad ecclesiastical situation: "How can we keep silent in the present state of affairs?"

He compares the condition of the Church to "that of an old cloak, which, being easily torn by an ordinary strain, cannot be again restored to its original strength. In such times, therefore, as these, there is need of great diligence and much care that the

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1. Cf. Giet, Idées, p.176: "L'unité, aux yeux de Basile, n'est pas, toute, affaire d'autorité: elle baigne dans une réalité plus large et plus profonde: la foi, la charité sont les conditions sans lesquelles il n'est point de cohésion possible entre les membres de l'Eglise. Mais le moyen normal de réunir - comme des éléments épars - les bonnes volontés et les foyers dispersés de vie chrétienne, c'est l'action d'une autorité souveraine." Cf. ibid., 352 ff., Sæsima, 13.

2. An example in ep. 114, 1 ff.: "Why need I tell men who are the sons of peace how great is the blessing of peace?.... I think that those who really and truly labour for the Lord should have this one aim - to bring back into union the Churches."

3. ep. 114, 11-12.

4. Cf. also ep. 123, to Eusebius of Samosata, esp. parts 1 and 3.

5. In this way he starts ep. 34 to Eusebius of Samosata. The entire letter is interesting: see, e.g., 15-17: "We should all pray for some analgesic to render our souls insensible of their ills, so that we may not be afflicted with intolerable pains." Only Eusebius' friendship (17 ff.) can offer Basil a reason for feeling consolation.

6. ep. 113 to the presbyters at Tarsus, 15 ff.
churches may be in some way benefited. And a benefit it is that the parts which have hitherto been broken apart be united again. And a union might be affected if we should be willing to show indulgence to the weaker, whenever we can do so without causing harm to souls. These words closely reflect his own policy: indulgence, but also fidelity to the orthodox faith.

Personal contrasts — Their resolution.

His frequent appeals for concord and unity must have urged him to be consistent with his own principles, and to feel the necessity of a reconciliation with his uncle Gregory, bishop of an unknown see. This latter supported the opposition of some bishops to Basil when he was elected metropolitan of the province of Cappadocia in 371. Basil, in spite of his strong character, was able to submit and to ask for peace to be restored, and even to assume a humble posture. This is what one can gather from the two letters addressed to bishop Gregory. Basil's willingness to come to a reconciliation is shown in such expressions as: "I am paying the penalty for my old offences in this separation from your love." "Therefore, containing myself no longer, I have been the first to speak out, exhorting you to be mindful both of us and of yourself..." "It would be meet, therefore, for a man of your character to draw others to himself, and to afford to all who approach you an opportunity of being filled with the excellence of your character as with the fragrance of some perfume." Basil

1. Giet (Idées, 176 ff.) underlines "tolérance", "sagesse" and "largeur de vues" in Basil's attitude.
2. Cf. also, e.g., pp. 65 & 126 to Atarbius, bishop of Neocaesarea, the leader of the Cappadocian bishops in their opposition to Basil.
5. Ibid., 1, 21-23.
6. 2, 3-11.
stresses the harm that such a disagreement between them may do to the Church: "...you must have noticed, before we did, the harm being done to the churches...". "Now, however, the harm is not confined to one or two men, but whole cities and peoples get the benefit, indirectly, of our misfortunes". "...whereas the taking of revenge is appropriate to anyone who is aroused to anger, yet to rise superior to anger itself belongs in truth to you alone or to any man who may be like you in virtue."

May this be flattery? It is likely that Basil sincerely appreciated his uncle; which explains why he thinks it more necessary to come to a reconciliation with him. He goes on: "This, however, I shall not say - that he who is wroth with us is letting his rage fall on those who have done nothing wrong." He recognizes his own fault. Anyway, he had just written: "For, if we do anything sinful, we shall become better by being admonished.... And if we do no wrong, why are we hated? Such, then, are the statements which I submit in my own justification."

Yves Courtonne writes: "Basil fait voir ici qu'il est prêt à tout accepter pour les Eglises et pour la paix. C'était en effet la guerre, que lui avaient déclaré des évêques de sa province. Il faut lui reconnaître le mérite d'avoir humilié devant un ennemi sa fierté blessée. Le sacrifice dut être grand." Basil's brother, Gregory,

1. Such an attitude of humility and meekness responds also to a psychological ability.
2. ibid., 3, 7.
3. 3, 9-11.
4. 3, 16-19.
5. 3, 19-20.
6. 2, 16-20.
8. See Giet, Idées, p.274.
had tried to settle the conflict between Basil and their uncle rather ingenuously, by writing more than one letter in the name of the uncle. When this was discovered, the situation between the two deteriorated. A letter to his brother Gregory shows an angry Basil, who expresses his disillusion at discovering the deceit, and blames his brother for his simplicity: "I write these words to upbraid you for your fatuity - which I consider at no time befitting a Christian, and entirely out of place at the present moment - in order that in the future, at any rate, you may guard yourself, and spare me." The second letter to his uncle Gregory shows a calmer Basil in regard to his brother's mistake: "In times past I have always been glad to see my brother.... And at the present time I have welcomed him on his visit in the same mind, having in no wise altered my affection for him.... I have considered the man's presence to be a consolation both for the ills of the body and for the afflictions of the soul as well...." Basil's striving for reconciliation is evident when he writes: "That we might not, as others have done, attach to our lives a melancholy story of a quarrel which would afford pleasure to our enemies and be a calamity to our friends, and would also be displeasing to God, who has defined the distinguishing mark of His disciples as perfect love." He is aware of the responsibilities

1. ep. 53
2. Basil rebukes his brother because of χρηστότητα also in ep. 100 to Eusebius, 27 ff.
3. 25-23.
4. ep. 60.
5. 1 ff. The theme of consolation is very frequent when relationships of friendship are meant: v. infra.
6. ibid., 11 ff.
which are attached to his own position and his uncle's, both supposedly being models for the behaviour of the faithful.

Reaction to calumny.

Basil's sensitive character is manifest in regard to the calumnious attitudes of many against him. He was often attacked because of his conciliatory attempts, which made some people accuse him of connivance with heretics. But evidence from the letters shows him scrupulous both in accomplishing his ecclesiastical duties and in facing theological disputes. He was careful and far from any imputation of superficiality; and it was not an easy task to deal with such different characters and opinions or to handle delicate problems of theology and ethics. He wrote to Gregory of Nazianzus: "For the present,...we urge you, as we have urged you before, to devote yourself entirely to the advocacy of the truth, and to those impulses which are implanted by God in your mind for the establishment of the good; and we beg you to rest content with these and ask nothing more of us; for by falling far short of our theme we add strength to the truth by our advocacy." He is inviting his friend to work for the same aim which he himself is continuously fighting for - "the advocacy of the truth" - but without presuming too much out of his "own weakness".

1. See his reluctance to give credence to Eustathius of Sebaste's heretical tendencies. Cf. epp. 119; 130; also epp. 125 and 128.
2. Basil's relationship with Eustathius is the subject of a chapter in Couronne, Un témoin, pp. 179-222.
3. ep. 7, 13 ff.
4. Basil, therefore, did not trust blindly the efficacy of reasoning in theological matters; he also condemned excessive subtlety: cf. Hornus, p. 33.
5. See also the beginning of the same ep.7: "Even when I wrote to your learned self, I was not unaware that every theological expression is inferior to the thought of the speaker, and inferior to the desire of the questioner; because speech, I presume, is naturally too weak a thing to serve perfectly the conceptions of our minds." (ep. 7, 1-5).
6. v. supra, p. 34.
When his efforts are slanderously misunderstood, his reactions are not surprisingly dictated by his sensibility: "Can you not imagine how my soul was pained on hearing of the calumny heaped upon me...? During almost the entire night,...I lay sleepless, so did grief take hold of my innermost heart. For, in truth, as Solomon says, 'Calumny humbleth a man', and no one is so insensitive to pain that his soul is not bowed down to the earth with suffering, when he falls in with lips that are prone to falsehood." Yet, Basil counters his natural feeling of susceptibility by appealing to Christian charity: "But I must be proof against all things, endure all things, committing my vindication to the Lord, who will not overlook us". He is confident in his own good reasons; and concludes with these words: "And if anyone says that he is privy to any lawless blasphemy on our part against Dianius, let him not prattle in a corner like a slave, but let him take his stand in the open and refute me freely - μετὰ παροημαίας". Basil expects from the others the same παροημαία he makes use of himself; which freedom of speech is supported by the consciousness of being an "advocate of the truth".

1. ep. 51 to bishop Bosporius, 1, 1 ff. This letter was dictated by Basil's need of self-justification against a calumnious report that he had anathematized bishop Dianius, who had subscribed to the creed of Ariminum (360). Cf. also ep. 131 to Olympus (a layman friend of his), part 1, 10 ff.: "How could I help becoming almost out of my senses when I read...a letter teeming with countless insults, with intolerable accusations against us and assaults...?"

2. Eccles. 7.7. Basil refers to the Scriptures in order to justify his personal experience.

3. part 1, 10-12.

4. part 2, 19-22.

5. V. supra, p. 29, ep. 17.
In a letter to Athanasius, bishop of Ancyra, Basil again defends himself from calumny in front of this fellow-bishop, who had apparently believed some slanderous reports about him. Probably Athanasius considered Basil to be guilty because he had not called the Holy Spirit God, in spite of his stating that He is not a creature; or, alternatively, he may have joined those who would accuse Basil of accepting too easily into his communion some people who had been Arians. Basil writes here: "...That a man of your acumen, whom we have believed to be preserved as one among few for the consolation of the churches, as a bulwark of the true faith and a seed of the original and true love — that you should so far share the existing state of feeling, as to place more weight upon blasphemies of men of no account than on your long experience of us, and are thus led to suspect the truth of outlandish tales without proof, this to us seems ground for both fear and serious anxiety." The 'long experience' of a man should be the basis for loyal friendship.

1. Ep. 25. Cf. De ferreri, I, p. 149, n.2: "This Athanasius was appointed to the see of Ancyra through the influence of Acacius, bishop of Caesarea, a leader of the Homoeans (semi-Arians). However, he himself acquired a reputation for orthodoxy. Cf. Greg.Nyses., Contra Eunom. 1.11,292. Basil speaks highly of him in letter 29."
2. cf. ep. 113, 24 ff.
4. ep. 25, 1, 13 ff.
as well as a defence against both calumny and flattery. Here once more Basil gives evidence that he feels a duty to correct other people's wrong views, especially when they may be dangerous for the whole community of believers.

He reacts to slander both on sentimental and on intellectual grounds: "...In the first place, I grieved in my soul, that truths had been made of little account by the sons of men; and, in the second place, I was also afraid for myself, lest sometime, in addition to my other sins, I should also experience a hatred of mankind, reflecting that no trust is to be placed in any man, inasmuch as those who were most freely trusted by me have shown themselves so false to me and so false to truth itself." So he stresses his being in accordance with the truth, and expresses his disillusion for his friends' falsehood.

The period 372-374 was one of intense spiritual suffering for St. Basil. He had become estranged from Gregory of Nazianzus; Theodotus, bishop of Nicopolis, for whom Basil had great esteem, had suspected him of heresy, and refused to cooperate with him in appointing bishops in Lesser Armenia; and the treachery of his former friend, Eustathius of Sebaste, had become clearer.

1. Ep. 119, e.g., (to Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste) is another defence from slander. As for flattery, cf. ep. 20, end, and 21. V. infra, Basil and Friendship.
2. He explicitly speaks about "ἐλθών ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπανάδοσσαν— to set about the work of correction" (ep. 156, 2, 10).
3. Ps. 11, 2.
4. ep. 131 to Olympius, 2, 1 ff.
5. cf. ep. 121 and 130, addressed to him.
Though a firm and strong character, as seen above, he gives way on some occasions to expressing the doubts and troubles of his soul, especially when writing to friends able to support his struggle with consolation and advice: "You were on the point of visiting us (and the blessing was near), to cool us with but the tip of your finger as 1 we burned in the midst of temptations. Then what? Our sins stood in the way and prevented your setting out, that in our sickness we might find no healing. For just as with waves one sinks, another rises, and a third is already turning black with rippling - φοίκη μελανίνεται - so too with our troubles.... But pray do visit us, either to console us, or to give advice, or to send us on our way, but in any case by the very sight of you to make us easier at heart. And, most important of all, pray, and pray again, that our reason be not submerged by the flood of evil, but that in all things we may keep ourselves pleasing to God...". This is ep. 123 to Urbicius, a monk, only known through this and another letter of Basil's to him; by this letter 123 Basil opens his heart and pours forth his spiritual problems, although somewhat restrained, as is his habit.

1. cf. Lk. 16, 24.
2. Sin is regarded as an obstacle preventing the pleasure of meeting friends.
3. Appeals to the friends' prayers are as frequent in the correspondence of Theodoret of Cyrus: cf. e.g., app. 113, 66, 3 ff. (to Pope Leo); 125, 93, 16; 130, 110, 7; 133, 126, 17 ff. etc.
4. 1-6 and 9-14.
5. ep. 262.
6. He makes use here of some metaphors: was it therefore easier and more spontaneous for Basil to express his deepest feelings and his sorrows through rhetorical language?
Irony

Basil's weighty and grave temper very rarely gives place to irony or to any joke. However, this might be the case in both app. 137 and 138, where he ridicules his own illness: "... during a whole month already have I been assiduously undergoing the treatment of the thermal waters, expecting to receive some benefit therefrom. But it seems that I toil quite uselessly in this solitary place, or that I even show myself deserving of ridicule in the eyes of the many for not heeding the proverb which says, 'Warm baths are of no use to the dead.'" And again, playing with words and metaphor: "...If I looked at the spirit of your letter, I was at once eager to fly straight to Syria, but if at the weakness of my body, because of which I lay fettered, I realized that I was incapable not only of flying but even of turning over on my bed."

Evidence of his fundamentally serious character is given also by his friend Gregory of Nazianzus, who wrote how he let Basil escape from the tricks to which every newly arrived student in Athens was subjected by his older fellow-students; after explaining what such tricks were like, Gregory writes: "At that time not only did I feel respect myself for my great Basil, considering the steadfastness of his character and the wisdom of his conversation, but I also persuaded the other young fellows, who did not know him yet, to have the same attitude. Many, in fact, immediately felt

1. to Antipater, governor of Cappadocia, and to Eusebius, Bishop of Samosata, both written in 373.
2. ep. 137, 4-10.
3. ep. 138, 1, 2-6. Note the use of polyptoton: εὔθες ὑμῶν πέτεσθαι ἡν εὔθες Σύμων (3f).
respect for him, having got to know him by hearsay. Because of this what happens? He alone, more or less, among all, escaped from the common rule, because he was regarded as deserving a greater honour than expected as a newcomer."
CHAPTER TWO

Basil the Churchman

The strength and ability that Basil displays in his manifold activities, and, on the other hand, the sensitivity which dominates his relationships with friends are not in contradiction to each other. Basil is firm, and yet not blindly inflexible, in important matters, such as theological disputes or relations with the political power; at the same time, he opens his heart to friends, and shares joys and sorrows with them, without surrendering to weakness, not even when he is in distress. Indefatigable as he is, he seems to find in friendship a balance to his constant solicitudes. Through giving free rein to his deepest feelings, he finds resources for renewed energies; he often expresses his awareness of this psychological

1. Courtonne (Basil’s Letters, I, p. 190, n.1), commenting on ep. 35 (about there being no necessity of taking the oath), writes: "...Plus encore qu’un lettré et qu’un penseur, Basile est en effet un chef, tant par le jugement qui inspire les décisions, que par l’autorité qui les impose. Des trois Cappadociens c’est même le seul qui soit vraiment un chef."
experience, which antiquity had earlier emphasised.

Concerning the first of the two aspects of Basil's personality mentioned above, viz., the force and ability he shows in his activities, there is much evidence in his letters, a good number of which, as seen above, deal with ecclesiastical as well as 'political' problems. In them Basil displays clarity of insight, the capacity to penetrate into the heart of the problems, and, consequently, the possibility of offering solutions, in accordance with Christian ideals. Dissension and conflict are distasteful to him, and he makes an effort to work out a way to solve them. He sometimes rhetorically inflates his pictures of the situation, and resorts to metaphors.

1. See, e.g., ep. 9, 20, 27, 56, 65, 80, 132, 134, 154, 176, etc. The following passage from ep. 127 to Eusebius of Samosata will suffice here (10-14): "But may the holy God grant that you may come to our place, so that I may embrace your August Reverence, and recount to you every particular. For it is natural somehow that matters which have grieved us when we experienced them can afford a certain gratification when we recount them." For this theme, v. infra ('Basil and Friendship').


3. in the sense of πολιτικὸς , as 'relating to citizens' in the wider meaning.

4. see, e.g., ep. 66, 2, 13ff.: he speaks about the 'illnesses' of the city, which has been fragmented - διασπάται and διαστήμαται ep. 70, 9 ff.; ep. 74, 1, 19ff., and also parts 2 and 3, about division of Cappadocia by Valens.
When he writes that "the whole Church has been disrupted", and goes on to give a metaphorical account of the situation — "as on the deep when many ships are sailing together, all are dashed together the one against the other by the violence of the waves" —, he is first of all able to point out the reasons which can explain the situation itself, thus making use of his παρονήσια 2: "the shipwreck occurs, partly, it is true, by reason of the external cause which violently agitates the sea, but partly from the confusion that reigns among the sailors, who jostle against and oppose one another." 4

1. λέγει το πάσα Ἐκκλησία ep. 32, 9 ff., to Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria.

2. Basil shows his παρονήσια here, even though he writes further on (ibid. 17-19): "It is enough to dismiss the topic with this simile, since your wisdom (i.e., Athanasius) permits nothing more and the situation permits us no freedom of speech." Note the important rôle of simile: this rhetorical device offers a better and safer way of explaining a difficult situation.

3. i.e., the heresy.

4. Analogous metaphors, of the sea, in ep. 91, 15 ff.; 100, 2 ff.; etc. For their occurrence in Basil's Sermons, see J.M. Campbell, The Influence of the Second Sophistic on the Style of the Sermons of St. Basil the Great, Cath. Univ. Amer. Patr. St. 2, Washington, 1922, pp. 105 ff., 116 f., 130 ff. Such metaphors are as common in all the Fathers: see section about Theodoret.
In order to face this situation, he calls upon Athanasius' help for the mediation he is trying to fulfil towards some bishops, probably the Macedonians, who were not in communion with him. The longing for peace within and among the Churches is the mainspring of his action: "But if this idea of communion has been entirely rejected by you, still absolve us at least from all blame for our efforts, since honestly and frankly, through a desire for peace and mutual union among those who hold the same beliefs about the Lord, have we entered upon this embassy and mediation." Once Basil has given an account of the situation — and he seems to be suffering from "the continual storms and floods which rise against the Church" — he can suggest the remedies too.

Elsewhere, he portrays self-love — φιλαυτία — as the main cause of ecclesiastical conflicts: "Self-love, when rooted in the mind by long habit, no one man can eradicate, no one letter, no

1. ep. 32, 19 f.: καὶ πρὸς ταύτα τῆς ἑκατὸν μυθερνήτης: "But who is the helmsman capable of meeting these dangers?". Note the continuation of the seafaring image.
2. ibid., 33 to the end.
3. This we find in ep. 31, 15 f., to bishop Innocent. According to J. Wittig (Studien zur Geschichte des Papstes Innocenz I", in Thesal. Quartalschrift, 34, 1902, pp. 338-439), the letter was written by St. John Chrysostom to Pope Innocent I.
4. ep. 156 to Evagrius, the presbyter, commonly known as Evagrius of Antioch. He was consecrated by the dying Paulimus in 333, "an act which prolonged the Meletian schism in Antioch."
5. Basil gives the word a different interpretation from the one offered by Aristotle, Ν.Ε. IX.8; see G. Bohnenblust, Beiträge zum Topos Ἐνότος φιλαυτίας, Inaugural-Diss., Berlin, 1905, p.44; "der Gute selber φιλαυτίας sein, denn er werde wirklich sein wohlerwachsenes Interesse wahren."
6. part 2, 1 ff.
7. No doubt the letter could sometimes play an essential part, also according to the way Basil quotes it here.
short time. For the complete elimination of suspicions and of the clashes arising from controversies is impossible, unless there be some trustworthy man to act as a mediator in the interest of peace. And if all the strength of divine grace should flow upon us, and if we were able by word and deed and the gifts of the Spirit to move our opponents, then it would be necessary for me to undertake so great a task. Yet perhaps even in that case, you would not have advised us to set about the work of correction all alone, since he who by the Grace of the Lord is the bishop is the man upon whom the care of his church falls chiefly...".

1. Basil is referring to Meletius, whom he regarded as the legitimate bishop of Antioch. The schism of Antioch started in 330, when Eustathius was deposed by Arians, and his supporters formed a separate community, thus refusing any relationship with the heretics. In 360-61, when the Arian Eudoxius became bishop in Constantinople, his friends elected Meletius, bishop of Sebaste in Armenia, in his place in Antioch. He seems to have been orthodox, and was exiled by the emperor Constantius, under Arian pressure, less than one month after his election. The Arian Euzoius took his place. In 362, when Julian, at the beginning of his reign, recalled the exiled men, Meletius went back to Antioch; but still the supporters of Eustathius did not trust his orthodoxy (in spite of his being exiled by the Arians), and so there were three parties in the capital of the East; the followers of Eustathius, a small minority supported by Egypt and the West, the followers of Meletius, supported by all Catholics in the East, and the Arians. Bishops and other notable Catholic representatives tried hard to push the parties to a reconciliation; in 362, Athanasius assembled a synod in Alexandria, but Lucifer of Cagliari, the Legate, was incapable of any diplomacy, and he consecrated bishop the presbyter Paulinus — the leader of the Eustathians — therefore continuing conflicts and divisions. St. Basil, who realised (see this letter 156) that the schism of Antioch was basically dependent on personal conflicts, tried to reconcile Meletius with St. Athanasius, and to solicit the Pope's and the Western bishops' intervention, through Athanasius' intercession. When Athanasius died, in May 373, Basil still continued in his efforts. Eventually, in 377, a council in Rome condemned the errors which Basil, Meletius and his party had denounced. See: Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques, Paris, 1912... s.v. "Antioche"; and: Dictionnaire de théologie catholique, Paris, 1903-46, s.v. "Antioche, Patriarch Crec". Cf. Bas., pp. 66, 67 to Athanasius, op. 63 to Meletius, etc. Y. Couronne (Un témoin, pp. 242-232) devotes a whole chapter to analyzing the schism of Antioch before Basil, at the time of Basil's activity, and after Basil.
'The interest of peace' and 'the work of correction' are
towards in Basil's letters about ecclesiastical matters: the
former is the aim and the incentive of Basil's activity, the latter
the means he makes use of. Let us consider what he himself writes,
in the same letter, thus explaining the main lines of his attitude:
"...your perfect wisdom is not unaware of the fact that evils which
have been strengthened by time need time first of all for their
correction, then a strong and vigorous method of treatment, if one is
to get at the very bottom of them, so as to tear out by the roots the
complaints of the ailing. But you know what I mean, and if it is
necessary to speak more clearly, there is no cause for fear." He
appears to be confident in the soundness of his reasons for his
intervention, and aware of his duty. He had written just above:
"However, you should know that our power is as deficient as our desire
is abundant."

Basil shows, throughout his correspondence, an enlightened
attitude concerning dogmatic questions: not only does he resort to a
great deal of tact, though firm in his orthodoxy, but he also stresses
the necessity of avoiding meaningless discussions: "(But) we
exhort those who have put their hope in Christ not to concern themselves
too much about any faith except the old, but just as we believe, so
also to be baptized, and just as we are baptized, so also to repeat the
doxology. And it is sufficient for us to confess those names which
we have received from the Holy Scripture and to shun innovation in

1. 156, part 1, 17-23.  2. Ibid., 1, 16-17
3. also because of his body being "worn out by long illness", as he
writes in part 2, 14 f.
4. Ep. 175 to the coroan Magnenianus, 13 to the end.
addition to them. For not in the invention of appellations lies our salvation — ὁ γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἐφευρέσει τῶν προσηγοριῶν ἡ σωτηρία ἡμῶν — but in the sound confession of the Divinity in which we have declared our faith."

As we have seen, Basil was firm but not intransigent. Further evidence of this is offered by ep. 113, to the presbyters at Tarsus: after stressing the necessity of maintaining the Creed of Nicaea, and that the Holy Spirit should not be called a creature, he writes: "But beyond these things I think nothing should be insisted upon by us. For I am convinced that by longer association together and by mutual experience without strife, even if there should be need of some addition being made by clarification, the Lord who works all things together to good to such as love Him will concede this." Basil therefore shows himself to be more confident in the fruits of charity and union than in mere theological disputes. Which leads us to further fundamental ideas that often occur in Basil's letters: concord and peace are brought about through contact with one's spiritual brothers, and they have their raison d'être in belonging to the same "body of Christ."

"We know very clearly that we need the help of each and every brother more than one hand needs the other. Indeed, from the very constitution of our bodies the Lord has taught us the necessity of community — τὸ δυναταῖον τῆς κοινωνίας —. For whenever

1. cf. 32 to the end.
2. cf. Rom.3.23.
3. cf. Basil's Regulæ Fusiæ Tractatæ, VII (P.G. 31, 923 ff.) for an expansion of these ideas.
I look upon these very limbs of ours, and see that no one of them is sufficient in itself to produce action, how can I reason that I of myself suffice to cope with the difficulties of life?". The need of communion with his brothers in the faith, that Basil experiences in his own case, induces him to exhort others to the same: communion is both a duty and a benefit: "...be assured that, unless we assume a labour on behalf of the churches equal to that which the enemies of sound doctrine have taken upon themselves for their ruin and total obliteration, nothing will prevent truth from being swept away to destruction by our enemies, and ourselves also from sharing in the condemnation, unless with all zeal and goodwill, in harmony with one another and in unison with God — ἐν ὑμνοιᾷ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ συμπνοϊᾳ τῇ κατὰ θεόν —, we show the greatest possible solicitude for the unity of the churches." So Basil writes to Atarbius, bishop of Neocaesarea, once again using such key-words as ὑμνοια, συμπνοϊα, ἐνωσις τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν.

And he continues with the following exhortation and statement: "I exhort you, therefore, to cast from your mind the thought that you have no need of communion with another. For it does not benefit the character of one who walks in charity, nor of one who fulfils the command of Christ, to cut himself off from all connection with his brethren."

Many other passages from his letters give evidence that Basil works and writes in order to make the "one body of Christ" an actual reality: for example, ep. 70: "What could be more pleasant

1. ep. 97, 10 ff. to the Senate of Tyana.
3. "S'il est quelqu'un qui eût pu dire, comme S. Paul, qu'il avait la sollicitude de toutes les Eglises, c'est bien Basile de Césarée". (Courtouze, Un témoin, p. 359)
4. ep. 65, 26-30.
5. without address, about a synod.
6. ff.
than to behold men who are separated from one another by so vast a
diversity of places of residence, bound by the unity of love into a
single harmony of members in the body of Christ?"  
He regards "the agreement with the bishops of the West" as
the best way to defeat heterodoxy likewise in the East; "...To unite
these parts and to bring them together into the harmony of a single
body belongs to Him alone, Who by His ineffable power grants even to
dry bones a return once more to flesh and muscles." But, he adds,
"the Lord performs His mighty deeds through those who are worthy of
Him": he is urging Athanasius to act as an intermediary with the
Western bishops, in order to put an end to the situation in Antioch.

Basil's efforts towards unity within and among the Churches
do not derive from the purely intellectual consciousness of the
necessity of such unity: his letters sound emotionally touched when he
regrets the old times, "when the Churches of God flourished, rooted
in the faith, united by charity — ἐνοικημέναι τῇ πίστει,
ηυπηρέται τῇ ἁγίᾳ —, there being, as in a single body, a single
harmony of the various members; when the persecutors indeed were in the
open, but in the open were also the persecuted... Then we
Christians had peace among ourselves, that peace which the Lord left

1. cf. ep. 156, 1, 15: "The union of the members of the body of
Christ" is "the greatest of all blessings."
2. ἡπαρὰ τῶν δικαίων ἐπισκόπων σύμπνοια: ep.66 to Athanasius,
3. He is dealing with the schism of Antioch.
4. part 2, 17 ff.
5. See above, note 1, p.52.
to us, of which now not even a trace remains to us, so ruthlessly have we driven it from one another."

The same feelings are evinced in ep. 172, where he rejoices at bishop Sophronius' charity, which leads him again to a nostalgic picture of the old times: "...To be thought worthy of meeting a man who holds the same opinions as myself and who reverences the faith of the Fathers,..., is in truth to return to the old-time blessedness of the churches, when those were few who suffered from the malady of inquiry, and all were in peace, being workmen fulfilling the commandments and not needing to be ashamed, serving the Lord through a simple and not too elaborate confession, and preserving inviolate and not too elaborate their faith in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

1. ep. 164 to Ascholius, bishop of Thessalonica, 1, 13 ff., in 374. Further on in the same epistle, he gives a dramatic account of the situation in the Church of Caesarea: "Charity has grown cold (cf. Mt. 24.12). The teaching of the Fathers is being destroyed; shipwrecks in the faith are frequent; the mouths of the pious are silent; the laity driven from their houses of prayer raise in the open their hands to the Master in heaven" (part 2, 19 ff.). And he concludes: "(That) God may become reconciled with His churches and lead them back to their ancient peace" (2, 30-32).

2. "For nothing is so rare now as a meeting with a spiritual brother, and peaceful discourse, and spiritual communion" (2, 7-9).

3. This Basil, as well as classical philosophers, regards as an essential basis for friendship.

4. cf. 2 Tim. 2, 15.

5. cf. 19 to the end. As for Basil's tendency to avoid too elaborate dogmatic discussions, see above, about ep. 7 (p. 41) and app. 175 and 113 (pp. 53f.).
Both ideal and actuality, respectively the belonging to the same Church, and the distressing situation aroused by heresy and divisions, urge Basil to feel and to insist on the vital importance of keeping in touch with his fellow-bishops; that is, friendship strengthened by a common basis of beliefs, and by the pursuit of the same aim. He writes to Athanasius of Alexandria: "The more serious the maladies of the churches become, the more we all turn to your Perfection, firmly convinced that the sole consolation left to us in our misfortunes is your patronage — μπορασία...". He continues: "Therefore do not cease praying for our souls and arousing us by your letters; for if you had known how helpful these were, you would never have let pass any opportunity that was offered of writing to us..."

1. i.e. συλλογή included in the wider sense of αγάπη. Greg. Naz. writes to Basil (ep. 49, 4; ed. Gallay): "I was astonished,... that you do not assume that the same things fit both you and us, who have thoughts and life and everything in common, having been joined together from the very first by God." And to Giganties (ep. 106, 1): "...you have as a bond of your love towards us the hope of the same things and the legitimate adoration of the Trinity": again the common ground of beliefs is regarded as a "bond" for agape. This theme will be further stressed below.

2. ep. 30, 1 ff.

3. Basil often expresses his grief in a somewhat insistent manner, as many letters here already show. This reflects the tendency to exaggeration encouraged by rhetoric. Cf. ep. 136, 164, etc.

4. ep. 9 ff. More than once Basil strongly expresses his trust in the efficacy of prayer; cf. ep. 162, to Eusebius, 26 F.: "But I am entirely convinced that, if you would join us in your prayers, we should easily be freed from all our troubles." The same concept is to be found often in Theodoret.

5. about this frequent theme, see also Thraede, Grundzüge griechisch-römischer Briefstilistik, Munich, 1970, pp. 125 ff., 163 ff.
This passage offers an example of the interrelation between friendship and communication by letter, which it will be necessary to stress further on. Here, it will suffice to give another example of the way in which the idea of unity in ἀγάπη is combined with general spontaneous feelings of friendship and with the awareness of needing mutual help in order to face problems: "Since favours we have once received from God abide steadfast and dwell through memory in the souls of both of us, even though we have been separated in body, let us at least write frequently and tell each other of our necessities, and particularly at this time when the storm has consented to this very brief period of truce."

This leads to the consideration of the ways in which Basil expresses his feelings towards friends throughout his correspondence. His expressions of friendship may be directed to fellow-bishops and other ecclesiastics as well as to laymen; it would be relevant to see whether or not his attitudes are different, according to the persons he addresses; what the mainsprings of his relationships of friendship are; and how φιλία is integrated by him into the Christian ἀγάπη. These themes will be the subject of the next section: the main aspects of Basil's ideas about friendship will be emphasized, and they will be related to classical as well as to biblical concepts about the same. A conclusion will be drawn, by sketching outlines of a doctrine of friendship, according to Basil-

1. op. 77, 4 ff.
2. As for the juxtaposition ἀνουσία-παρουσία and body-soul, see Thrasea, pp. 135 ff., 146 ff.
3. Allusion to the division of Cappadocia by Valens - cf. opp. 74 ff.
SECTION II

Basil and friendship
CHAPTER ONE

Forms, aims and terminology of friendship

1. Friendship as a service

One difference catches the eye as one compares Basil's letters addressed to laymen with the ones addressed to his fellow-bishops: the former are oftener asked to assist in temporal matters, and Basil likes to resort therein to elaborate rhetorical devices; whereas, when addressing the latter, spiritual needs are prominent, and resort is oftener made to Christian \( \alpha \gamma \alpha \pi \eta \) than to \( \varphi i l \lambda \iota \). Terminology thus reflects the main distinction according to the status of the correspondent: letters of introduction and commendation on one side, and, on the other side, correspondence with colleagues in order to ensure agreement in matters of dogma.

Appeals for help seem to be one of the characteristics of friendship, and assistance the duty of officials, according to a letter to a governor: "I am ashamed to seem to write, not disinterestedly out of friendship\( \, \varphi i l \lambda \iota \varsigma \, \nu e n e x \nu \, \kappa \alpha \theta \alpha \rho \alpha m \delta \, \), but pursuing some need on every occasion. Anyhow the thought has occurred to me...that some distinction should be made between words

1. "...und es ist verständlich, dass solche Briefe viele Freundschaftsbeteuerungen und-Anrufungen enthalten" (Treu, p. 22).
2. ep. 34, 1, 6 ff. The governor is probably Elias, who was ruling Cappadocia in 372.
3. Friendship should theoretically be disinterested, but it always involves, in Basil as well as in the theoretical observations of classical writers, actual help: see below.
4. So I have translated \( \chi \rho e t \acute{\alpha}n \, \tau \nu \lambda \, \theta e r a \pi e \acute{\varsigma}w \, \), better, in my opinion, than "serving some advantage" (Deferrari, II, p. 105).
addressed to officials and those addressed to private persons." The distinction sounds somewhat sophistical. Does Basil mean that his relationship with the governor is not a close one, so that it does not deserve the name of a true friendship? But this would be in contradiction with the explicit resort to the word φίλα he has just made. One could rather believe that this is but an elaborate introduction in order to justify the appeal, and to please the governor, in accordance with the stylistic conventions of the age. Basil continues: "For we ought not to converse in the same manner with a physician as with the man in the street, nor, obviously, with a magistrate in the same way as with a person of private station, but from the skill of the one and from the authority of the other we should try to derive some benefit for ourselves. Therefore,...in intercourse with magistrates there is also a secondary benefit which may accrue from one's dealings, namely assistance for the afflicted." Thus η τῶν καµνόντων βοήθεια may be regarded as an utilitarian reason when appealing to friendship, but it also answers the Christian precept of helping one's neighbours, according to one's own tasks and abilities.

The concluding words of this letter once again speak about relationships of friendship and their consequent duties, in order to increase the power of Basil's persuasion: "It is not in keeping with your character either to allow men to suffer hardships, or to belittle the laws, or to refuse to yield to the petitions of your friends, even if the personal affairs of your subjects crowd upon your attention."

1παρεμπόρευμα means "by-product", used in metaphorical sense by the Fathers (see Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon, Oxford, 1961) Courtonne (vol. I, p. 137) translates, better than Deferrari, as "bénificce accessoire."

2. part 2, 31-33.
The same kind of call for help - on somebody else's behalf - for the sake of friendship is to be found in many letters. For example, in ep. 36 to the governor, Basil starts thus: "I know that the first and greatest object of your Honour's zeal is to favour the cause of justice in every way, and the second, to benefit your friends - τούς φίλους εθ' ποιεῖν - and to take action in the interest of those who flee to the protection of your Magnanimity. Hence we are completely in accord in the present case. For the thing for which we plead is just, and a favour to us, whom you have deigned to number among your friends, and an obligation due to those who implore your Constancy for assistance in alleviating their sufferings."

And in ep. 109, to the comes Helladius, pleading on behalf of a widow's heir: "Although I must earnestly beg pardon for troubling your Excellency on account of the magnitude of the office you hold, lest I shall seem to be making an immoderate use of your friendship, yet I am not permitted by my necessities to hold my peace." Basil cannot help interceding for the needy, because it is his duty, as it is a duty for the powerful to grant assistance: "Therefore, I entreat you (and pardon the necessity which forces me to trouble you), lend your assistance to this matter also according to the power which Christ has given to you who are noble and of good character and have always employed...

1. Dorotheas the presbyter, Basil's foster-brother (cf. opp. 36 and 37), had his grain stolen by some "of those who are entrusted with the administration of public affairs" (ep. 36, 10 ff.) Basil asks here that Dorotheas may recover the grain, and that the audacity of such tax-collectors may be contained.
2. 1 ff.
3. ἐνα μὴ ὅδιν ἀμέτρως ἐμφορεύσατο τὴς φιλίας ὅμων. - ἐμφορεύσατο means literally: 'to be filled full of'.
4. οὕς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναγκῶν ἥσυχάζειν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπομαι: the possessive "my" is added by Deferrari. The addition can be regarded as justified, if one considers that Basil felt as his own the neighbours' troubles: see, e.g., ep. 36, 5-7: "If you love me, as indeed you do, it is, of course, your wish by all means in your power to relieve those also whom I regard as my own self."
5. Ibid., 23 ff.
for a good end what you have received." Thus the concepts of giving of aid both as a duty of friends and as a duty of the powerful overlap.

Elsewhere, instead of stressing the good use of power as a Christian obligation, Basil appeals to natural feelings of humanity in order to urge the mighty to lend assistance: this is the case in ep. 120 to Sophronius: "On meeting an estimable man who found himself in an unbearable situation I suffered in my soul. For why, since I am man, was I not to sympathise with a free man involved in troubles beyond his deserts?" This is one of the skilful introductions that Basil employs, in order to support his cause with good reasons and to win the correspondent's sympathy, often, as

1. 1 ff. Such appeals to natural, and not exclusively Christian humanity do not mean that the correspondent must be necessarily a pagan: evidence is provided by the same letter, line 11, where Basil, in order to encourage Sophronius to help Eumathius, writes: "καὶ γὰρ Χριστιανῷ χαρίζῃ — and you will also be aiding a Christian", which entitles us to think of Sophronius himself as a Christian. As for the notion of pagan φίλανθρωπία Basil resorts to it, e.g., in ep. 15, 3 (to Arcadius, imperial treasurers) and in the letters to the praefectus Modestus (ep. 90, 13 and 18; ep. 91, 6 and 8; ep. 231, 3): "Bei geringerer Vertraulichkeit oder zu hohem Rang des Empfängers wird eher an seine φιλανθρωπία appelliert" (Treu, p.425).

2. Deferrari (ii, p. 467, n.2) compares with Xenander, Fr. 602 Kock: οὕδες ἐστὶ μοι ἄλλοτρος, οὐν ἢ χρηστός — ἢ φύσις μιὰ πίντων, τὸ δ' οἶκεσθαι συνιστήσαι τρόπος — "For me none is a foreigner if so be he is good. One nature is in all and it is character that makes the tie of kin." Also with Terence, Heaut. Tim. 77 ("Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto.").
here, by presenting the correspondent's intervention as the only way to overcome the difficulties in question, Ep. 273, without address, offers a clear picture of the links between friendship and commendation: "Thoroughly convinced that your Honour so loves us that you consider what concerns us as concerning yourself, I commend to your exceeding goodness our most revered brother Here, whom we call our brother, not through mere custom, but through our very sincere attitude of friendship towards him which admits no higher degree; and I urge you to regard him as your own, and, in so far as you can, to grant him protection in whatever he petitions your Magnanimity: so that I may be able to number this benefit also among the many blessings which I have already obtained from you." The captatio benevolentiae complies with the taste and usage of the time as well as having a psychological motive.

Basil can apply to laymen in worldly matters and ecclesiastical affairs, as he writes to Elias, governor of the province of Cappadocia: "...I strongly desired to communicate with your Wisdom concerning all my temporal affairs, and I desired, too, to hold converse with you on behalf of the churches..." Here he wants to defend himself against some slanderous reports regarding the establishment of a church and a hospital, arranged by him in the suburbs of Caesarea.

1. 4 ff.: "And in deliberating how I could be helpful to him, I found but one solution of the difficulty that besets him — if I should make him known to your Decorum. The rest, therefore, depends upon you — to place at his disposal also that zeal of yours which on our testimony you have shown to many."

2. The same attitude and the same conventional frame we find in Gregory of Nazianzus, e.g. in ep. 103 to Palladius.

3. ep. 94, 6 ff.

He represents his work as a cooperation in the activities of the secular administrative power. He also makes a distinction between addressing Elias in his official capacity and as a friend.

Basil happens also to ask for a layman's advice and criticism about his theological works. But such a layman is required to be a learned person and a friend: this must have been the case with Leontius the sophist, to whom Basil addresses ep. 20. After exhorting him to write ("Surely a sophist has nothing to do but write"), and after praising his ability in speech ("...of all the Greeks whom I know you are the best fitted to speak"), Basil invites Leontius to utter his judgement about his work against Eunomius. He requests a sincere opinion, "for", he writes, "herein especially does a friend differ from a flatterer; the flatterer speaks to give pleasure, but the friend refrains from nothing, even that which gives pain."

1. ep. 94, 53 ff.
2. 7 ff.
3. line 22.
4. 34-36.
5. The distinction between friend and flatterer is traditional: v. infra. The same concept we can find in ep. 21 of Basil (16-18): "At any rate one would rather see a beloved friend indulge in anger than anyone else in flattery."
It is noteworthy that, in all the above-quoted letters addressed to laymen, reference is made to their relationship with Basil as to one of φιλία. As for ἀγάπη, it seldom occurs in letters written before Basil was made bishop. Thereafter it is frequently used. In some occurrences, it is just a question of a conventional title: for example, when Basil addresses bishop Bosporius like this: "During almost the entire night, because of the words of your Love, I lay sleepless."

1. The use of the verb ἀγαπάω in ep. 273 is not in opposition to the general statement: it has been remarked (Treu, p. 423, n. 5) that this verb belongs both to φιλία and to ἀγάπη, whereas φιλέειν is suppressed in this connection, at least in most cases. The following example can support this assertion: "...I am sure that you have found none who so loves you or values so highly your friendship—οιμαί γάρ μὴ ἐφρεείν σε τοὺς οὕτως ἄγαπόντας καὶ ἀντιποιομένους τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν φιλίας (ep. 11, probably addressed to Olympus, 13 f.).

2. For example, in ep. 9 (to Maximus the philosopher), he writes (pt.1, 3 ff.) "...we are delighted to find you not slothful in your attitude towards the first and greatest of virtues—love towards both God and neighbour—τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἄγαπην καὶ πρὸς τὸν πλήσιον. We hold as an indication of the latter your tenderness for me—τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς δεξιότητά σου."


4. I rather regard ἄγαπη σου as a title, against Deferrari's translation: "after receiving your words of love." This interpretation sounds awkward in relation to the context (defence against a slanderous report). Deferrari himself recognizes elsewhere in the word ἄγαπη the significance of a title (e.g. ep. 255,2). Cf. Lampe, P.G.L., s.v. ἄγαπη, G.
In many cases, ἀγάπη stands for φιλικα, or, rather, encloses it in a broader meaning: "...Basilus sich wiederholt auf das christliche ἀγάπη - Gebot als direkte Begründung der φιλικα beruft." Thus, he writes to Gregory of Nazianus in terms of ἀγάπη towards him. He acknowledges in Euschius καλ τὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ καλὰ σπουδὴν. He thanks God for having given clear proof of the ἀγάπη of the presbyters in Tarsus. Ἀγάπη is, again, the word employed in a letter to Eusebius of Samosata, where he refers it to another bishop, Jovinus. To Amp. Hilochius of Iconium he writes: "On reading the letter of your piety, we gave great thanks to God, that we found traces of an ancient charity - ἀφοίτος ἀγάπης ἵχνη εὑρομένη - in the words of your epistle." But, on the other hand, Basil employs the term φιλικα while speaking about communion and theological agreement: "...they have undertaken...to transfer their communion to Anthimus, in contempt of us and this church, having grown stale as regards friendship." This example can be ranked together with the one reported by Treu, who points out as remarkable the use of φιλικα in ep. 70: "...we have

1. Treu, p. 424.
2. ep. 71, 1, 5 f.
3. ep. 72, 1 f.
4. ep. 113, 3.
5. ep. 127, 15.
9. usually regarded as addressed to pope Damasus, concerning a synod, 25-32.
had recourse to urging you by this letter to rouse yourself to our assistance, and to send men of like mind with us, who will either reconcile the dissenters, or restore the churches of God to friendship - φιλία, or will at least make more manifest to you those who are responsible for the confusion." Treu's suggestion, that perhaps φιλία denotes a lower degree of harmony, a more external modus vivendi, in contrast with the hardly attainable full dogmatic agreement, is acceptable. But such a resort to φιλία appears in the same letter together with a very clear statement about the ties of ἀγάπη: "To renew the ties of an old affection - ἀγάπη - and to restore into full bloom the peace of the Fathers, that heavenly and salutary gift of Christ which has become withered by time, is for us both necessary and expedient, and I know well that it will seem delightful to your Christ-loving disposition also. For what could be more pleasant than to behold men who are separated from one another by so vast a diversity of places of residence, bound by the unity of love into a single harmony of members in the body of Christ?". The conclusions reached by Treu - that φιλία is in Basil an immanent, "human" notion, which can sometimes undergo a negative valuation, whereas ἀγάπη is differentiated through its transcendent character, which excludes all negative possibilities - are in themselves not objectionable. One is, however, not allowed to be dogmatic about such an ill-determined subject as the use of φιλία and ἀγάπη in

1. 1-9.

2. Treu, pp. 425 f.
Basil: he nowhere offers a clear statement about the definition or limits of either term. Nor is this surprising: still in the fifth century, no sharp distinction between the two words was operative. A passage from ep. 135 of Theodoret of Cyrus is significant in this respect: he comments on the Gospel commandment of love towards one's neighbour as follows: "He who places a high regard on service to his neighbour, and complies with the rules of friendship - διατήρων τῆς φιλίας τοῦς ὄρους - not only in times of prosperity, but also in days of seeming misery, is observing the second commandment."

Those instead, he continues, who do not take into account the laws of friendship - τῶν...τῆς φιλίας νόμων...διανυμοῦντες - and remain indifferent towards their friends who are attacked, are considered to be bad also by non-Christians - καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἑξο μεσόδοσ (sic). The word φιλία is thus still applied to the Christian law of ἀγάπη.

1. In addition to φιλία and ἀγάπη, other words of classical derivation are occasionally used, which show the writer's linguistic pliability: e.g. παλαίθ εὐαρέστα (ep. 33 to Aburgius, 1); διάθεσις...ἐρωτική, intermingled with ἀγάπη in one of his most passionate letters of friendship, ep. 124 to Theodorus; ἐξαίρετοι (chosen friends) in ep. 179, 12 to Arintheus; φίλτρον (love, affection), in ep. 260, 1, 5 (to bishop Optimus). For φίλτρον, see Karlsson, Ideology, pp. 99-101.

2. Aséma III, p. 130, 14 ff.

3. For the 'christianization' of the notion of friendship in Basil above and beyond the boundaries of mere terminology, see below, "Outline of a doctrine of friendship."
3. **Interrelation between \( \mu \lambda \gamma \alpha \) (or \( \dot{\alpha} \gamma \dot{a} \pi \eta \)) and epistolary exchange.**

In a letter to Zoilus, Basil expresses in a few lines some characteristic ideas about friendship: "But... write to us on every pretext. For if we have any claim to eloquence, most gladly shall we read the letters of an eloquent man: and if we have learned from Scripture how great is the good of love, of supreme value do we regard communication with a man who loves us." The importance of epistolary communication is thus stressed, importance is attributed to an "eloquent" letter, and this is correlated with \( \dot{\alpha} \gamma \dot{a} \pi \eta \) as it is taught by the Scriptures; reciprocity in \( \dot{\alpha} \gamma \dot{a} \pi \eta \) is emphasized as well.

The main reason for friendship in \( \dot{\alpha} \gamma \dot{a} \pi \eta \), and consequently for epistolary correspondence, is the need of communicating, and of asking for prayer: "Not that we may make your distress greater do we often pour out our troubles unsparingly in our letters to your Honour, but that we may grant ourselves some consolation through the lamentations which somehow, when indulged, are wont to break up one's deep-seated grief; and so that we may stir your Magnanimity to more intense prayer on behalf of the churches."

For the sake of friendship, and through the letter, feelings and emotions, \( \lambda \dot{u} \mu \pi \alpha \) and \( \varphi \rho \omicron \omicron \nu \tau \rho \delta \varepsilon \), are shared: "...but when he (i.e. Sanctissimus, a fellow-presbyter, the carrier of the letter) tells

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of the disturbances that have beset us, he will perhaps add some grief and anxiety to the troubles which already are stored up within your good heart."

The themes of visitation and conversation through the letter, of the spiritual meeting and consolation offered by correspondence, are as frequent in Basil as in other Christian letter-writers. One of the clearest statements about epistolary exchange as a means of maintaining friendship is to be found in ep. 255: "Would that it were possible for me to write to your Reverence every day. For ever since I made the acquaintance of your Affection I have had a great longing to live with you if it were possible, but if not, at least to write and to receive letters, that I may be able both, at inform you of my affairs and to learn of your own situation - ἵνα ἔχω καὶ σημαίνειν

1. See, e.g., ep. 12,5 ff. (καὶ τὰ μικρὰ γράμματα, σύμβολα ὅντα τῆς μεγάλης σου διαθέσεως, πολλοὶ ἄξια ποιησάμεθα);
27, 9, cf. 269,1,6 (διὰ τοῦ γράμματος...δύμιλα); 50,3 ff. (τοῦς τιμίους...γράμμασιν ἀναλαβεῖν ἡμῶν τὰς ψυχὰς); 183,19 ff. (...τῆς ἡδίστης ἡμῶν φωνῆς ὑμῶν ἕναργη σύμβολα διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων διαπεμόμενοι) ἵνα καὶ τῆς ἐν τούς γράμμασι προσφωνήσεως) ; 213,1,3 ff.; 271,13 ff. (διὰ γράμματος ἱδεῖν σου τὴν λογίστητα) ; 326, 4 (ἐγγραφος...δύμιλα) ; etc. Analogously Theodoret, e.g. in ep. VI, Asesa I, p. 73, 16 ff.: "When we are in your presence, we satisfy our longing by continuously enjoying the sight of you, whereas, when we are far away, we try to console ourselves through letters." More examples in Thraede, pp. 152-157 and al.
2. to bishop Vitus, 1 ff.
The exchange of news is carried out through the letter, and is a mark and a consequence of a relationship of friendship.

And again, in ep. 290: "May many blessings be upon those who urge your Honour to maintain a continuous correspondence with us by letter. For do not think that such words are spoken by us in accordance with convention, but out of a true disposition on our part to value your words as of the greatest worth." The protestation uttered by Basil is more meaningful, if one takes into consideration how common is the subject of the letter as a means of consolation, and in accordance with tradition, especially with the Peripatetic one. I shall attempt in the following chapter to examine the connections between St. Basil's views concerning friendship and the theories of Classical and later Greek philosophers (namely Plato, Aristotle, Stoics, Epicureans) on this subject.

1. to Nectarius, 1 ff.
CHAPTER TWO

St. Basil's views on friendship compared to those of Classical and Hellenistic Greek philosophers.

I must state beforehand that, if it is difficult to trace a logical development in the history of theories of friendship in Greek classical philosophy, it is even more difficult to state with certainty whether or not such theories have directly influenced St. Basil's ideas about the subject. Basil received a classical education in Athens, but soon the way of life he chose carried him far away from philosophical studies, and plunged him into theological controversies and ecclesiastical concerns. It is true that he never rejected, nor seemed to have forgotten, his classical learning, but he did not adhere to it with the same confident enthusiasm which Gregory of Nazianzus always evinced; nor are his references to and echoes of the classics so conspicuous as in Gregory. Reminiscences from Greek antiquity in his letters play their role alongside biblical references and appeals to common proverbs. As for the specific ideas of friendship, it is not easy to distinguish what Basil may have borrowed from the classics and what he may have felt as normal human experience, without any need for dependence on Greek theorists. On the other

1. For an outline of ancient material about friendship from Aristotle onwards see: Bohnenblust, pp. 26 f.
3. He followed the usual curriculum, and he apparently excelled in rhetoric, grammar and philosophy: see Gregory of Naz., Cr. XLIII, ch. 23 (P.G. 36, 528).
4. cf. ep. 340 of Libanius, 23 to the end, quoted in the Introduction, p. 11.
hand, he may have experienced in a deeper way such feelings as the need of friends, or the pleasure which comes from a friendly relationship, not only through his natural sensitivity, but also because the classical theories about friendship, still alive in his mind, whether more or less consciously, helped him to give a more accurate expression to his personal feelings and to his attitude towards friends. Whichever the solution may be, I will leave the problem open; St. Basil's letters offer evidence enough to enable us to catch resemblances to classical thought, but not to state with absolute certainty that Basil expressed certain ideas about friendship only because he was consciously referring to corresponding ideas expressed by classical philosophers. These concerned themselves with friendship in its abstract and perfect state, rather than friendship in daily life, whereas Basil did not need to write an abstract treatise on friendship, nor a theoretical dialogue such as Plato's *Lysis*. Through his letters he gets into direct touch with his friends; he very often and insistently expresses his feelings of love, gratitude, joy in regard to friends, but more rarely does he need to support such feelings with theoretical meditations. Basil's letters to friends are thus deeply rooted in his life, whereas, for example, Plato and the Stoics seem not to acknowledge the personal character of friendship. Friendship is a means to attain *aρετή*, virtue. Aristotle, however, among the Greek philosophers, although

1. The next chapter will be devoted to the influence of the biblical ideas of friendship, and to their frequent overlapping with the influence of the classics.

considering virtue as the foundation for a true friendship, realized that friendship is addressed to the person; that is, to the virtuous person, and not to the virtue abstractly considered.

1. Friendship in Plato.

As I have just stated above, Basil appears to be interested in a living and operating friendship. The mere fact that, for Plato, the most perfect form of love is the impersonal one, toward the Good, enables us to believe that his influence on Basil, as far as it concerns ideas of friendship, must not have been essential.

Besides that, Plato does not draw a clear distinction between φιλία, friendship, and ἔρως, love, which makes it difficult to relate his theories to Basil's own position. In Basil's letters, φιλία is certainly quoted, and ἀγάπη even oftener, but ἔρως seldom appears, and when it does, it seems to be used as a stronger substitute for the more common φιλία – ἀγάπη.

1. We will see, this is also Basil's idea. His friends are in most cases people whose first aim was virtue, according to a Christian spirit (many of them being orthodox bishops).

2. I am omitting Socrates, because, if one can say that Plato's influence is dubious, there is even less evidence for a direct influence by Socrates on Basil's views about friendship. It is true that Socrates was not so much a theorist as a deep interpreter of love on the ethical and educational grounds; that, for him, friendship was not utilitarian any longer, but it became strictly connected with ethics and tended to the spiritual perfection of partners: all that we will find in Basil, too. But these coincidences are due to the fact that Socrates first gave way to a new atmosphere in philosophy and ethics (cf. similarities with Christianity), and it is not surprising to find something similar in Basil, without appealing to a direct influence in this field. See, for the problem of love in Socrates and Plato, M. Schiavone, *Il Problema dell' Amore nel Mondo Greco*, vol.1: Platone, Milano, 1965, pp. 167 ff.

3. cf. ep. 124, 1 (τὸ πάθος τοῦ ἔρωτος) and 7-9 (διάθεσις ἔρωτική). v. supra p. 69, n.1.
As early as in Charmides, Plato gives a metaphysical interpretation of ἔρως, which is an aspiration to beauty and a means to philosophy. In Lysis, friendship is given the meaning of a spiritual love, for which it is necessary to be φιλόμορφος. The φιλία of the Lysis is comprehensive of all relations of affection, being neither eros nor friendship; and the investigation about it remains purely formalistic; which proves once more that its influence on Basil must have been minimal. In Plato we find mere theory, whereas in Basil love has a practical foundation and a concrete aim. Plato does not stress so much the concept of mutual φιλία as the idea of τὸ φίλον (the beloved), considered as the object of a one-sided feeling.

Plato's Lysis raises questions which Aristotle partly restated: does friendship arise from similarity, or from dissimilarity? Does it consist of equality (ὅμοιότητα) or of the harmony of opposites (ἐνεργον διαφημόνων...ἀρμονία)? Such questions belong to a theoretical and philosophical background, which is not essential in order to understand Basil's position in regard to friendship.

In Phaedrus also, Plato gives a passionate and warm picture of friendship, which makes it indistinguishable from love; he insists at length upon its connection with the doctrine of the soul and with philosophy.

1. Charm. 157a-159a. Cf. Schiavone, pp. 185-195. 2. cf. A.W. Begemann, Plato's Lysis (in Dutch), Amsterdam, 1960. 3. In Lys. 214 a-b; 215 a, quotations from Homer, Empedocles, Heraclitus show that Plato was aware of the need to transpose the concept of Eros from gnomic ethics (cf. the early poets) and cosmological inquiry (cf. Empedocles and Presocratics) to the metaphysical ground. 4. Aristotle, N.E., VIII, 1,6. 5. Phdr., 245 c. 6. Ibid., 269 d ff.
Plato's Eros, as it appears in the Phaedrus, had already been set forth in the Symposium; it is a longing, a striving after the transcendent intelligible value.

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Diotima stresses the desire of immortality as belonging to love; such desire urges a man to devotion and to virtue. In this regard one could see a kind of connection with the Christian ideal, in so far that Christian love (as a part of which friendship could be regarded) involves devotion and virtue. Plato's doctrine of love, considered from an ethical point of view, can be seen as expressing in nuce a necessity which was going to be emphasized by the Christian moral message, because it regards man as involved in the fulfillment of his obligations, to which he is bound at any moment of his life. But,

1. cf. Schiavone, pp. 353 ff.

2. Sym. 207 a - 212 b. Karlsson (Idéologie, 62 ff.) emphasizes the influence of Plato and of Neoplatonism on the concept of the 'unity of souls' in friendship as a preparation to the unio mystica with God.

3. "Origen and the Greek Christian writers who followed him in this were right in thinking that eros in the sense in which it was used by the Platonic philosophers was a word which could rightly be used for the agape of God revealed in Christ." : A.H. Armstrong, "Platonic Eros and Christian Agape", in Domeside Review, 1961, p. 113. In analysing Plato's doctrine in the Symposium and in the Phaedrus, Professor Armstrong observes that "here again we find the idea that eros is not just a self-centred passion to satisfy one's own need by acquiring something good or beautiful. It is a desire of absolute good or beauty which is somehow inevitably also a desire to increase good and beauty, to make someone else better and more beautiful." (pp. 103 ff.). This is maintained by Plotinus and by Proclus (Armstrong, pp. 113 and 115 ff.),
even if Plato's spiritualistic ethics may here and there foreshadow Christianity, this does not imply a definite connection between him and Basil as far as concepts of friendship and love are concerned.

Christian \( \varphi i\lambda\alpha \), or, even better, \( \alpha\gamma\iota\pi\eta \), entails a great innovation in the concept of love: a Christian loves a person because he is a person; a Greek philosopher could love him just as a thing.\(^1\) Love for a person, according to the Greek classical concept, is the bottom rung in the ladder leading to the best forms of Eros, and it has to give place to a kind of love which is more and more generalized and removed from concrete personalities, while ascending towards the absolutely real and impersonal Idea. Instead, we will see how Basil's position is more practical, and so much less philosophical. The Socratic dialectic procedure maintains the subject on a philosophical ground, which is not to be found in the fourth-century bishop.

2. **Aristotle on friendship: similarity of concepts between him and St. Basil.**

Compared with Plato, Aristotle gives a colder picture of friendship, but, at the same time, a more natural and human one. He devotes the eighth and ninth books of the *Nicomachean Ethics* to a treatment of this subject. I would like to emphasize here that the atmosphere of the *Nicomachean Ethics* is, of course, essentially different from that of St. Basil's letters of friendship: the systematic theories of Aristotle's philosophical treatise cannot have very much in common with Basil's epistolographic language, which satisfies a vital need of communication between souls who are far away from each

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other. Nevertheless, the fact that Aristotle gives space to the consideration of the personal element in friendship brings his position nearer to Basil's attitude.

There are, in the Nicomachean Ethics, at least seven themes which are reflected in Basil's letters, though not always explicitly expressed.

1. a) Friendship is useful: Aristotle quotes Homer (II.10.224) and adds: "for two are better able both to plan and to execute" - Basil too makes use of his friends for spiritual purposes - and not seldom, as seen above, for worldly purposes as well, when he asks for favours from local authorities, such as reduction of taxes, exemption from offices, etc. Conversely, he gives advice in order to help friends who need to be guided, or heartened, or admonished. For Basil, mutual help is therefore, one of the characteristics of friendship. Basil writes to Eusebius of Samosata: "Before our departure from this life may God deem us worthy of an interview with you for the good of our soul" - (ἐπ' ἐμφασεὶ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν). And to the Senate of Tyana: "We know very clearly that we need the help of each and every brother (i.e. friend) more than one hand needs the other."

2. v. supra, pp. 22 ff.
4. ep. 136, end.
5. ep.97, 10-12.
To call a friend and colleague ἀδελφός was customary: in ep. 172, for example, Basil rejoices at bishop Sophronius’ charity: "For nothing is so rare now as a meeting with a spiritual brother (οὐδὲν γὰρ ὦτω σπάνιον νῦν ὀς ἀδελφὸς συντυχίᾳ πνευματικοῦ).

b) Resemblance in virtue and identity of spiritual aims are the foundations required for a sincere friendship: Aristotle says that "the perfect form of friendship is that between the good, and those who resemble each other in virtue." This can easily be found in the relationships between Basil and such men as, for example, Eusebius of Samosata and other fellow-bishops, or also laymen who were moved, like Basil, by the same "love towards both God and neighbour." Basil kept in touch only with those people with whose ideals he was able to agree. One cannot expect from him any statements about his own virtues, but it is undoubted that he could establish relationships of friendship only with those who were of "one body and one mind" with him. Evidence

1. 7 f. 2. N.Ea. VIII.3.6. 3. ep. 9, to Maximus the philosopher, 4 f. Cf. ep.136, 138 etc. 4. The expression is very frequently resorted to throughout antiquity: ascribed to Diogenes and Pythagoras, and to be found again in Cic. Lael. 92, Porphyr. ad Hor.Carm.1 3,8, etc. See Bohnenblust, p40, who is right in stating that, on the other hand, the Christian writers are likely to have echoed Act.Ap. 4.32: τοῦ δὲ πλήθους τῶν πιστευοντῶν ἂν καρδία καὶ ψυχὴ μία. καὶ οὐδὲ εἶς τί τῶν υπορχόντων αὐτῷ ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ ἔσται, ἀλλ’ ἂν αὐτοῖς πάντα κοινά.
of this can be found in app. 63 and 64. The former, addressed to the governor of Neocaesarea in about 371, deserves extensive quotation: "The wise man, even though he dwell in a distant land, though I may never behold him with my eyes, I account my friend", is a saying of the tragic poet Euripides. If, therefore, in spite of the fact that no face-to-face meeting has as yet given us the pleasure of acquaintance with your Magnanimity, we say that we are your friend and associate, do not consider this assertion to be flattery. For, as the promoter of our friendship, we have Fame, who with mighty voice proclaims your deeds to all mankind.... We have come to know you as well, and have been as utterly captivated by you, as if we had been associated with you for a long time, and had knowledge of your noble qualities through long experience.... your magnanimity, the loftiness of your spirit, the gentleness of your manners, experience in affairs, sagacity of

Deferrari, II, p.13, note 2, compares, for similar expressions, Iamblichus, de Vita Pythag. 39, 237; Procop. Gaz., Epist.154; and Cicero, de Nat. Deorum, 1.44.121. This view is opposed by Themistius, (Cfr. XXI - Περὶ φιλίας, 275 b-c, ed. G. Downey and A.F. Norman, Leipzig 1970, vol.ii, p. 65): "The tragic poet, therefore, praises the virtuous man and counts him as a friend, even though he does not know him at first-hand; I agree that this is a neat maxim; but my advice to those seeking to maintain a friendship is that they should make it as closely-woven as they can and regard time spent together as of great importance for preserving the relationship. For if it is true that practice makes perfect in every department of life, we should regard personal association as the means of practice for friendship."
judgment, dignity of life mingled with affability, ability as an orator, and many other qualities...which we cannot mention to you without carrying the letter beyond its proper limits. How, then, could I help loving such a man? How, at any rate, could I so far control myself as not with loud voice to make known my soul’s emotion? Accept, therefore, admirable sir, the appellation, which is applied to you of a friendship that is true and genuine; for our character is far removed from servile adulation; may you keep us numbered in the roll of your friends, by frequent letters, both showing yourself to us and consoling us for your absence.” The language and style, which Basil uses here, could as well fit a letter of recommendation: but, in fact, Basil is not asking for any material help or support for his clientes. One must admire the self-confidence with which Basil writes to a powerful official whom he has never seen! One passage is particularly meaningful: after enumerating the governor’s virtues, Basil acknowledges that he is bound to love him: he cannot help loving people who are good, which proves that good qualities are the necessary foundation for friendship. Analogously, Gregory of Nazianzus offers an even more rigorous statement in ep.11 to Gregory of Nyssa, part 2: Ἐπειδὴ τοῖνυν φίλοι πάντες ἀλλήλων καὶ συγγενεῖς οἱ κατὰ θεὸν ζώντες καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ Ἑβαγγελῇ στολχοῦντες...

Thus identity of spiritual goals is given a strict Christian significance.

1. i.e., the name of ‘friend’.
2. "Das Zerrbild der Freundschaft ist die Schmeichelei", states Bohnenblust, offering evidence from Aristotle as well as from Cicero (p.31).
3. 19-22: πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἔμελλον ἀγαπᾶν τὸν τοιοῦτον; πῶς γοῦν ἐδυνάμην ἐμαυτὸς κρατῆσαι, πρὸς τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ καὶ ἐνθοῦν τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐμαυτοῦ πάθος διασημάτως:
4. We may compare the similar Stoic teaching: v. infra.
In the following letter, no. 64, to Hesychius, Basil again stresses the sharing of tastes and interests as providing a ground for friendship: "Even from the beginning there have been many things which have bound me to your Honour — your love of letters, common to me also,...and our long-time friendship for that admirable man Terentius." Thus, a similar propensity towards liberal studies, and a common friend, can be two good reasons to develop a friendship towards a person, even without having met him at all. But, in fact, it is as if Basil knew Hesychius, because another common acquaintance has praised the man's virtues before him: "But when, too, that most excellent man, who satisfies the title of every intimate relationship with us, our most venerated brother Elpidius, conversed with us and described each of your noble qualities (...), he enkindled in us such a longing for you, that we pray that you may some day visit this old fireside of ours, so that not only by report but by actual experience also we may derive pleasure from the noble qualities which reside in you." Moral qualities thus justify the immediate development of a sound friendship, and arouse a strong desire — πέθος — for a meeting, from which spiritual pleasure is expected to accrue. It is noteworthy

1. 1-4.
2. a Christian orthodox comes and general.
3. 4 ff.
4. Deferrari, II, p.21, n.5, refers, for this expression, to 11.6.429ff.: "Hector, truly thou art to me father and revered mother, and brother, as thou art to me a goodly husband."
that the same claim to the common "love of letters" is to be found in ep. 67,1 of Gregory of Nazianzus, addressed to Julian, a fellow-student of his in Athens and assessor of taxes in Cappadocia. "There is many a reason for my friendship towards you, and among them especially literature - of λόγοι -; nothing is in fact more venerable than this, nothing more capable of establishing a bond." And in ep. 38,2 of the same to Themistius: "This (i.e. of λόγοι , eloquence) has from the beginning joined us together - if it is true that we are worth something in eloquence -...".

c) "It is impossible for men to spend their time together, unless they give each other pleasure or have common tastes": thus Aristotle writes. The first condition can, I think, be related, in Basil, to his very frequent insistence upon the pleasure he receives from his friends' letters and visits. As for the necessity of having common tastes, this brings us back once again to the common ground of ideas, feelings and beliefs, which acted as a trait d'union between Basil and his close friends, as already pointed out in b). Ep.138 is significant: Basil complains about his own illness, which has

1. H.E., VIII.5.3: συνδιάγειν δὲ μὲν ἀλλήλων οὐκ ἔστι μὴ ἴδεις οὖνας, μηδὲ χαίροντας τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

2. This theme occurs very often in Basil's letters: he requires to be visited (e.g., in ep. 64,74,123,145,162,201,271, etc.), and expresses his deep appreciation for letters as having more or less the value of a visit (see, e.g., ep. 20,164,165,172,184,185, etc.). As for the occurrence of the τόπος in other letter-writers, it will be sufficient to quote here Gregory of Nazianzus, ep. 55 to Nicobulus.

3. to Eusebius of Sameseta, part 1, 24-26 and part 2,1-8. Analogously, Gregory of Nazianzus shows regret for missing an encounter with Eusebius (ep. 64-66).
prevented him from meeting Eusebius: "Of what gladness of heart we have been deprived I myself also know, even though it was with but my finger-tip that I tasted last year of the very sweet honey of your church. Because of other pressing matters as well I wanted to meet with your Holiness and both to consult with you about many things and to learn many things from you. For here it is not possible to meet with genuine charity. But though one may at times find a person who shows even very great charity, there exists no one who is able, in a manner comparable with your perfect wisdom and the experience which you have gathered from your many labours for the churches, to offer advice on the matters which lie before us." Regret for missing an occasion of meeting, claim for the friend's advice in view of a common effort for the good of the churches, admiration for the friend's 'wisdom and experience' (φρόνησις καὶ ἐμπειρία), all these considerations play their part in forming Basil's attitude to Eusebius, and it is not too much to say that they are implicit in the above-noted doctrine of Aristotle.

1. εἰ καὶ ἄκρω δακτύλῳ τοῦ γλυκυτάτου μέλιτος τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν Ἑκκλησίας ἀπεγευσάμεθα πέρυσιν.
Cf. Theodoret, ep. XXXII, p. 93 Azémia I, 6-8 (to Theodorus, bishop of Antiochia): "...I have abundantly enjoyed the honey of your Sanctity, and I have more clearly acknowledged how great are the advantages granted by the presence of your Sanctity." The expression ἄκρω δακτύλῳ...ἀπογευσάθαι was proverbial (Zenobius, in E.L. von Leutsch – F.W. Schneidewin, Corpus Paroemographorum Graecorum, Göttingen 1839, I, p.61): cf. Theodoret, ep.X, p.82 Azémia I, 10f.
2. The theme of πόθος occurs often in Basil and in other epistolographers: see Thraede, pp. 165 ff.
d) **Necessity of concord (δυνομα) between friends:**

Aristotle\(^1\) states: "Concord\(^2\) exists between good men, since these are of one mind both with themselves and with one another, as they always stand more or less on the same ground; for good men's wishes are steadfast, and do not ebb and flow like the tide, and they wish for just and expedient ends, which they strive to attain in common."

Basil does not speak explicitly about the indispensability of concord between friends, but it is clear enough that he maintains a friendly attitude only towards those people (especially fellow-bishops) who were in agreement with him about the orthodox faith. He so often makes efforts to ensure friendly relationships among the bishops, because that was the only way to keep the Church safe and united in a very troubled period. In this sense, his relationships of friendship can be regarded as essentially essential.

1. *N.E.*, IX.6.3.
2. Which also means "consistency of outlook".
3. Cf. also Stoics, below. Similarly the Latin writers: *Cic. Lael.* 8.27 ("Similis sensus existit amoris, si aliquem nacti sumus, cuius cum moribus et natura congruamus, quod in eo quasi lumen aliquod probitatis et virtutis perspicere videamus"), al.; *Sall. Cat.* 20.4 ("Idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est"); etc. See Bohnenblust, p. 27.
4. See, for instance, his refusal to keep on friendly terms with Eustathius of Sebaste, when he realized the man's heterodoxy. Cf. ep. 263, part 2.
"utilitarian". 'Ομόνοια is the term used by Christian writers to mean "unity, concord" as characteristic of Christian society. In order to attain διονοια, not only διονυσία, "unity of soul", is required, but also συμφωνία within and among the churches. This συμφωνία which finds its ground in the Holy Spirit, is the ground as well for mutual harmony between Christians. Finally, κοινωνία approaches the meaning of "communion", "fellowship", "partaking". Basil writes to Pope Damasus: "We have had recourse to urging you by this letter to rouse yourself to our assistance (against the Arian heresy), and to send us men of like mind with us - ἀποστείλαι τινὰς τῶν διονυσίων, who will either reconcile the dissenters, or restore the churches of God to friendship, or will at least make more manifest to you those who are responsible for the confusion. It will thus be clear to you also for the future, with what men it is proper to have communion - πρὸς τίνας ἔχειν τὴν κοινωνίαν προσήκει. 'Ομόνοια is therefore not strictly referred to a personal relationship, but comprehends a wider ecclesiastical meaning.

1. See, for example, his letters to Athanasius of Alexandria (66,67,69, etc.), very rich in words of praise for the man's virtues and good qualities.
2. See Lamp. s.v. Ομόνοια.
5. ep. 70, 25-32.
e) Communication between friends.

Aristotle says: "A man ought also to share his friend's consciousness of his existence, and this is attained by their living together and by conversing and communicating their thoughts to each other." The link with the task undertaken by Basil's letters is obvious. Aristotle continues: "For this is the meaning of living together as applied to human beings: it does not mean merely feeding in the same place, as it does when applied to cattle."

The idea of communication between friends is, in fact, a commonplace in Basil's letters. I will quote a few examples. Basil writes to Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium: "To me it brings relief to communicate our affairs to you, and you, I know, are anxious about nothing so much as our affairs." Thus he exhorts Eustathius, bishop of Himmeria, to write as often as he can, "since discourse between those of like mind is a consolation for every grief." He

1. Ν.Ε., IX.9.10.
2. συναισθάνεσθαι ἁρα δεῖ καὶ τοῦ φίλου ὅτι ἔστιν.
"It is in the consciousness of the existence of another that a man becomes truly conscious of himself." (J.A. Stewart, Notes on the Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle, Oxford 1892, II, p. 392).
3. The word συζήν does not seem to be made use of by Basil.
4. ep. 231, 9 ff.
5. This is a good example of the difference in intonation between Aristotle's rigorous, cold treatise and Basil's warm feelings. The idea is the same, but its expressions are necessarily different.
6. ep. 134, 6-3.
This is the means of conversation for those who are widely separated in person, I mean correspondence by letter, and if this let us not deprive each other, in so far as circumstances may permit.” To Eustathius, a physician:

"If there is any profit in our letters, at no time cease writing to us and urging us to write. For we on our part are certainly made more happy by reading letters from wise men who love the Lord, and if you on your part find anything worthwhile in ours, it is for you who read them to know. If, then, we were not distracted by our manifold duties, we should not refrain from the pleasure of writing constantly; but you, whose cares are less, console us as often as possible by writing. For, as they say, 'wells become better for being drawn upon'. And to
to Eupaterius and his daughter: "...what could be sweeter to a man who prays that he may ever associate with God-fearing men and derive some of the profit such association yields than such letters, which help us in our search for the knowledge of God?". These examples

1. ep. 185, 8-11.
2. ep. 151, 1-11.
3. καὶ γὰρ τὰ φρέατά φασίν ἀντλούμενα βελτίω γίνεσθαι.
Cf. Theodoret, ep.1, p.82 Azema, 16-18, where the fifth-century letter-writer resorts to the same saying, but reports it more elaborately and at length: φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ φρέατα μὴ ἐξαντλούμενα ἀποκαλέσων τοὺς χρωμένους, ἐξαντλούμενα δὲ ἡδῶν καὶ καθαρότερα παρέχειν τὰ νόματα.
4. ep. 159, 1, 2-6.
confirm the existence, in Basil, of the above mentioned idea of 
communication between friends, as indispensable both for spiritual 
enrichment — as shown above (topic (a) ) — and for consolation, which is 
going to be dealt with at the following topic f).

f) Importance of friends as sharing joys and sorrows.

Aristotle not only precisely defines the friend as one who 
shares his friend's joys and sorrows, but also devotes a large section 
of IX.11 to dealing with this subject: "Sorrow is lightened by the 
sympathy of friends — κουφίζονται γάρ οί λυπούμενοι συναλγούντων 
tῶν φίλων."

After trying to give an explanation for this, he 
concludes that, in any case, "the consoling power of friendship" is 
ever effective. As for Basil, many letters of his insist at length 
on this concept. Ep. 57, for example, to Meletius, bishop of Antioch, 
contains some important expressions about such a consoling effect which 
flows from the friend, and about the function of the letter in evoking 
friendly feelings: "Everything here is full of distress, and my

1. Also for Gregory of Nazianzus (ep. 31,2, to Philagrius) "the 
custom of friendship" assumes conversation and discussion together.
2. N.E., IX,4.1.
3. par. 2 to 5.
4. The same notion is in Callimachus, Fr. 714 Pfeiffer:

κουφοτέρως τότε φάτα διαθλίβουσιν ἄνιτα,
ἐκ δὲ τριπλόντων μοραν ἀφείλε μιὰν,
ἡ φίλον ἢ ὁτ' ἐς ἀνόρα συνεμπορον ἢ ὁτε κωφαῖς
ἀλγεα μαθαύρας ἑσχατον ἔξεργη.

5. lines 7 - 11.
only refuge from my troubles is the thought of your Holiness; and this is brought more vividly to my mind by the intercourse which your letters, so full of all wisdom and grace, give me. And the beginning of ep. 143, to Trajan, sounds like this: "It brings great comfort to men in trouble to be able to lament their misfortunes, especially when they meet with those who by reason of the nobility of their character are able to sympathize with suffering."

What immediately follows, in Aristotle's treatise, is interesting in the light of some similarities in Basil's thought: "Yet the pleasure that the company of friends affords seems to be of a mixed nature. It is true that the very sight of them is pleasant, especially in time of misfortune, and is a considerable help in assuaging sorrow; for a friend, if tactful, can comfort us with look and word, as he knows our characters and what things give us pleasure and pain. But, on the other hand, to see another pained by our own misfortunes is painful, as everyone is reluctant to be a cause of pain to his friends. Hence manly natures shrink from making their friends share their pain."

2. Note the close resemblance with Aristotle's passage (IX.11.2), where he tries to analyze the reason why friendship brings consolation: he suggests that "the pain is diminished by the pleasure of their (i.e. the friends') company and by the consciousness of their sympathy." Very explicitly, Gregory of Nazianzus writes to Lollianus (ep.15,2): πάντα...κοινά πολούμεθα ποδί σέ, καὶ λύπας καὶ ἐφφροσύνας, τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἡ φιλία.
3. Ν.Εα. ΙX.11.3-4.
4. v. supra, p. 34, n.2.
And the philosopher continues: "In prosperity again the company of friends sweetens our hours of leisure, and also affords the pleasure of being conscious of their pleasure in our welfare." The same holds for Basil, who likes to share joys and spiritual victories with faithful friends: "The holy God has fulfilled for us a prayer of long standing", he writes to Ascholius, bishop of Thessalonica, "having deemed us worthy to receive a letter from your true Holiness. For although the most important thing and worthy of our greatest zeal is to see yourself and to be seen by you, and to enjoy at first hand the graces of the Spirit that are in you, yet since both distance in space and the preoccupations which detain each of us severally deprive us of this, it is worthy of a secondary prayer that our spirits may be nourished by frequent letters of your charity in Christ. And this is what has happened to us now, when we have received in our hands the letter of your Sagacity; for our spirits have increased to more than double through the enjoyment of your communication.... And our joy was increased many times over, not only by the fact that you are such a man as the testimony of all asserts, but also because the noble qualities in you are a source of pride to our own country." And in other letters as well, Basil shows himself always willing to congratulate friends for their spiritual achievements.

1. ibid., par. 5.
2. ep.165, 1 ff. This letter is otherwise regarded as addressed to Soranus, duke of Scythia, who had sent the relics of St. Sabas to Basil, as the Benedictine edition infers. Soranus was a relative of Basil; Basil's reference to him as to a glory for their country (16 ff.) makes this identification likely. On the other hand, the use of the title ἐυσεβεῖα is more fitted for a bishop.
3. Here is a clear example of the way in which Basil gives a Christian meaning to what is also a merely human sentiment.
4. or, rather, "of a second prayer": δευτέρας εὐχής ἄξιον
5. Cf. app. 17, 152, 154, etc.
g) Dissolution of friendship.

Aristotle states that the cause of dissolution of friendships based on virtue may be an extreme moral decline, or improvement, in one of the parties. After giving the theoretical motivation why it is impossible to be bound still to love somebody who has become (or who we think has become) a bad man, he wonders whether one should break off the friendship at once: "Perhaps not in every case, but only when our friends have become incurably bad; for so long as they are capable of reform, we are even more bound to help them morally than we should be to assist them financially, since character is a more valuable thing than wealth and has more to do with friendship. However, one could not be held to be doing anything unnatural if one broke off the friendship; for it was not a man of that sort that one loved; he has altered, and if one cannot restore him, one gives him up."

As for Basil, we know from some letters that he came to be on bad terms with some individuals with whom he was previously friendly. Aristotle, in fact, theoretically expressed what Basil experienced in actual life, and what Basil himself sometimes expresses very colourfully.

1. N.E., IX.3.
2. ibid., par. 3: "only what is good is lovable;...and we ought not to be lovers of evil, nor let ourselves become like what is worthless."
3. A highly moral statement, very close to Basil's position as a Christian.
5. Cf., e.g., the evolution in his relationship with Eustathius of Sebaste: ep. 119, 123, 128, 130, 244, etc. V. infra. On Basil's attitude towards his uncle Gregory, v. supra, pp. 38 ff.
in his own letters. More than a few times he discovers that people he supposed to be good and trustworthy are not like that; and he works the thing out exactly in the way Aristotle says: he tries to cure the person, to advise him; and only when he realizes he is incurable, does he break off the friendship. He explains his behaviour in ep. 123, part 3, to Eusebius of Samosata: "...Yet it does not seem best to me to estrange ourselves entirely from those who do not except the faith, but we should show some concern for these men according to the old laws of charity and should with one accord write letters to them, offering every exhortation with kindliness, and proffering to them the faith of the Fathers we should invite them to join us; and if we convince them, we should be united with them in communion; but if we fail, we should ourselves be content with one another, and should remove this present uncertainty from our conduct, taking up again that evangelical and guileless way of life in which they lived who from the beginning adhered to the word. 'For', it is said, 'the believers had but one heart and one soul'. If, then, they obey you, that will be best.

1. Act. Ap. 4.32: v. supra p. 80, n.4; to this it is worth adding that, on the classical side, the expression μα ψυχή φίλων is ascribed to Pythagoras by late writers; Aristotle (N.E., IX, 3.2) mentions it as a proverb, without ascription to Pythagoras: "All the proverbs agree with this (i.e. that friendship is an extension of self-love); for example, 'Friends have one soul between them', 'Friends' goods are common property', 'Friendship is equality', 'The knee is nearer than the shin'."
But if not, recognize the instigators of the trouble, and henceforth cease writing to me about a reconciliation." Eusebius had apparently tried to settle the controversy between Basil and Eustathius of Sebaste over the latter's heterodoxy. Though Basil had been on very friendly terms with Eustathius, their difference over essential matters of theology was a serious reason which brought the dissolution of this long-standing friendship; Basil's attitude, also as explained in this letter 128, appears in accordance (consciously, or, rather, only because it is coincident with Christian behaviour?) with Aristotle's theoretical statement.

I have tried to point out different elements in the analysis of Aristotle's and Basil's ideas about friendship. But whereas it is easy to distinguish the different topics and notions in the philosopher's treatise, they are in a more natural and lively manner interwoven together throughout Basil's letters, and inseparably connected with one another. This has made it difficult to give a systematic outline of Basil's thought. On one occasion, Basil makes a clear and interesting reference to Aristotle (although without quoting his name) in the matter of friendship: in ep. 83, to a censor, lines 17-19, he writes: "Do not think it strange, if I call the property of my

1. Eustathius (c.300-c.377), bishop of Sebaste in Pontus from c. 357, had been in his youth a disciple of Arius, in association with Eusebius of Nicomedia. He became one of the leaders of the homoousian party and, as such, took part in councils and negotiations with the imperial court and the Church in Rome. His main interests, however, especially in his earlier years, were in monasticism; in this field, he appears to have exerted a strong influence on Basil, for the foundation of his rule. The relationship between the two deteriorated later, as Basil's letters prove. Basil was doubtful about the orthodoxy of Eustathius' opinions on the divinity of the Holy Spirit. This probably helped in driving Eustathius further into the so-called Macedonian Heresy (Pneumatomachi).
friends my own, since along with other virtues I have learned friendship, and have been mindful of the wise saying that a friend is another self." This was, again, regarded as a Pythagorean sentence, which we find in Aristotle, in Cicero and elsewhere.

It is furthermore necessary to underline an evident difference in the position between the two: while Aristotle insists on the idea that a true friendship "requires time and intimacy", Basil also considers as something genuine and reliable friendship between persons who have not the opportunity of frequent meetings; and this is because of the epistolographic relationship, which functions as a good substitute for personal contact. Let us illustrate Basil's concept with one example among many: he writes to an unknown friend: "If the holy God soon permits you to be released from your cares, we beg you to consider nothing more urgent than a sojourn with us. For I am sure that you have found none who so loves you or values so highly your friendship. Therefore, so long as the Holy One ordains this separation, deign to console us with a letter on every pretext."

There is thus stressed the important rôle of letters, a rôle not mentioned, as far as I know, by any of the Greek classical writers who dealt with friendship, perhaps because they considered it as theorists and philosophers, without descending into actual details. This idea,
however, of the growth of friendship, even between persons living far away from, or never having actually met each other, shows a certain resemblance to the Stoic concept, according to which all the wise are friends. This I will consider in the immediately following sub-chapter. It is worth stressing, however, that the Christian notion of love and unity in Christ must have played a major role in the development of Basil’s ideas about the maintaining of friendship, surely far above any classical link. The notion of correspondence as a valid vehicle of friendship appears to reflect a deeper understanding of the bond which may exist between two who have never met. This may well be based on the specifically Christian idea of fellow-membership ‘in Christ’. Such a bond is real between any two Christians, and may explain the reasoning behind this greater stress placed on letters as enabling friendship to exist and develop.

1. cf. also Eur., Fr. 902 Nauck, explicitly quoted by Basil in ep. 9, cit. (v. supra, p. 31).
2. See below, ch. three.
3. **Stoic and Epicurean doctrines about friendship and their relationship to St. Basil.**

It is indispensable to stress once again that Basil, being not a philosopher, but a Christian and a bishop, looks at virtue and at friendship from a more personal and a less theoretical point of view.

Furthermore, we will come across some ideas, which may be common both to Stoicism (or, conversely, to Epicureanism) and to the Christian writer, but which have been found in Aristotle already. Evidence is not available to indicate whether Basil may have borrowed such ideas from one or the other philosophical doctrine.

This being stated, it may be valid to compare such assertions as we find in epp. 63 and 64 of Basil, quoted at length above (where good qualities and common tastes (namely a tendency to the love of learning) are regarded as a sound basis for a reliable friendship, and where the impossibility is declared of not loving men who are good), with the Stoic belief that all who are wise and virtuous are

1. As one cannot state, for example, whether Cicero's idea about similarity as necessary in order to establish friendship (Lael. 3.27 cit., cf. Off. I.55) derives from Aristotle or from the Stoics: see Bohnenblust, p.8.
2. pp. 31-33.
friends, because they agree in their views of life, and because they all love one another's virtue.

Both the Stoic σοφος and the Christian can make available to others the spiritual wisdom they have amassed, and, in doing that, they accomplish the prime function of friendship. Basil writes to Eustathius, a physician: "it makes us happier to read letters from wise men who love God." The new wisdom is now the Christian one. But the basis for friendship has not very much changed with regard to the classical idea. We have already dealt with the concept of ὀμόνοια - concord as regards a relationship of friendship. According to Stoicism, too, concord is necessary and characteristic of friendship.

...φαεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄγαθον καὶ τὸ ἀσκάζεσθαι καὶ τὸ φιλεῖν μόνων εἶναι σπουδαῖον.

Cf. Basil, ep. 9,1,3-7: "We are delighted to find you not slothful in your attitude towards the first and greatest of the virtues - love towards both God and neighbour"; and ep. 122,2, where he regrets having been obliged to give up Eviphus' friendship - because he accepted heterodoxy - , although he was so remarkable for his learning, as well as for wisdom and virtue, and had so many good reasons to claim Basil's friendship. Gregory of Nazianzus appears to be even more explicit, and more strictly linked with certain classical expressions: cf. his ep. 71, where he considers καλουκαγαθία and learning as leading naturally to friendship; and ep. 39 (offering a definition of the friend). Cf. also Julian, ep. 35 Bidez ("we have a stronger relationship between each other than hospitality: ours is founded on the education we have received and on devotion towards the gods" (my translation).

2. ep. 151, 3 f.
3. v. supra, p. 36f.
4. v. supra, Stob. in n. 1.
Both for Epicurus and for the Stoics, friendship implies taking part not only in the same life (τῇ συζην), but also in the same 'philosophy' (τῷ συμφιλοσοφεῖν). Epicurus puts as a condition for friendly relationships with him the acceptance of his doctrine; and the Stoics are not less exclusive. The notion of friendship has in fact become stricter, as it demands agreement in thoughts, and not only in feelings. The same attitude we can find in St. Basil. He writes, for example, to Ascholius, bishop of Thessalonica: "You have acted rightly, and according to the law of spiritual charity, in writing to us first and in challenging us by your good example to the like zeal. For while worldly love needs the eyes and personal contact that there may arise thence a beginning of intimacy, yet those who know how to love in the spiritual way do not depend upon the flesh to promote their love, but through the fellowship of the faith are brought to the union of the spirit. So thanks be to the Lord who has consoled our hearts by showing that not in all men has charity grown cold, but that there exist somewhere in the world men who display the mark of Christ's teaching...... Such are you who are lights of the churches... shining as in a moonless night, not only giving delight through your virtue, but also arousing, by the rarity with which you are found, our deep affection." Here is one of the many examples of the contrast between worldly friendship, which requires vicinity, and the Christian one, which is possible even in ἀπουσία. Basil appears to be close to the Stoic position (that all the wise and virtuous are friends), but in a different spirit, as he stresses very much the individual relationship.

1. ep. 154, 1 ff.
Some characteristics of the earlier Greek notions of φίλία have been incorporated in the Stoic view of friendship, such as the concepts that friendship is possible only among the good, that it leads men to perfection, that it is based on identity of opinions, and that it satisfies a natural inclination towards the society with other men. But all this appears as very abstract in the Stoic doctrine: all that is personal and individual is rejected by Stoicism, and sacrificed to an abstractly unobjectionable construction. This makes the background completely different if related to Basil's position, which is firmly attached to actual life.

The aspects of φίλία which the Stoics denied are stressed, conversely, by the Epicureans. Epicurus dealt with friendship in the strict and modern sense of the word, thus following the path opened by Aristotle. Friendship is important to the Epicureans: since they do not care about family and public affairs, only relationships with friends stand between them and complete solitude.

1. See E. Klein, Studien zum Problem der römischen und griechischen Freundschaft, Diss., Freiburg, 1957, pp. 61-70.
2. Basil, though a Christian, may have had Epicurean concepts before his mind to a greater extent than one might think. He quotes the λέει βίοςας in ep. 9.3.26 (ἀμα το λαθεαν βιοςαντεςév τοις πρωτοις ὑν ἀγαθων ἁγουεν); he is asking Maximus to come and visit him, since he prefers not to leave his retreat: "At the same time I regard 'life in oblivion' as among the highest of blessings". This is an interesting application of the Epicurean motto to the Christian monastic ideal. Also Theodoret, in ep. 62, speaks of 'live your life in oblivion' as a saying of 'one of the men once called wise', probably referring to Epicurus (or to Pythagoras? See Aséma, II, p.140, n.2).
The idea of mutual utility as related to friendship is to be found in Epicurus as well: he in fact regards utility as the very source of and the main reason for friendship. For Epicurus, as for the earlier philosophers, giving and doing good to a friend, as well as sharing his destiny and living with him, plays an important rôle altogether.

All these characteristics are subordinate, according to the Greek philosopher, to one single principle, the aim of personal happiness: the ἴδια becomes the measure for every kind of relationship, above all for friendship. εὖ ποιεῖν is preferable to εὖ πάσχειν because it gives a greater pleasure: here is a curious coincidence.

2. Cf. H. Usener, Epicurea, Leipzig 1887, Fr. 541 (Cicero, de finibus, 26, 34: "utilitatis causa amicitia est quaesita...praesidium amicorum"), Fr. 546 (Plutarchus adu. Coloten 8 p. 1111 b: καὶ τὴς ἴδιου ἐνεκα τὴν φιλίαν αἰροῦμενος (λέγει Ἐπίκουρος) ὀπερ τῶν φίλων τὰς μεγάλας ἀληθόνας ἀναδεχεσθαι), al.
3. See Diog. Laert. Vitae, X, 120: Ἀσκεῖ δ᾽ αὐτοῖς (i.e. the Epicureans)...γίνεσθαι...τὴν φιλίαν διὰ τὰς χρείας δεῖν μέντοι προκατάρχεσθαι (καὶ γὰρ τὴν γῆν σπείρομεν), συνίστασθαι δὲ αὖθις κατὰ κοινώνιαν τοῖς ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἐκπεπληρομένοις.
4. Usener, Fr. 544.
with Basil's attitude as a Christian. Another strange parallelism is found, though in different terms: according to Epicurus, since the ηδύ is an absolutely personal feeling, a man may even be willing to die for his friend's sake, thus accomplishing the ideal of the σοφος.  

The similarity to the words of the Gospel is curiously conspicuous.

For Epicurus, as said above, friendship and utility are very strictly joined. Nevertheless, some seeming contradictions disclose not so utilitarian a mental attitude as one might judge at a first glance. We have seen how often Basil himself, as a Christian, thinks of friendship as one means to get help in ecclesiastical as well as in secular matters. Which does not prove, of course, a definite and conscious reference by the Christian writer to the Epicurean attitude, nor even an unconscious relation. The late Greek philosophers, in fact, progressed towards a more practical and less metaphysical basis of thought; some common attitudes may be explained simply on the grounds that they were experienced as psychologically true: coincidence is likely to be casual, and does not imply derivation.


2. See Jn.13.1; (ἀγαπήσας τοὺς ὀλίους τοὺς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, εἰς τέλος ἡγάπησεν αὐτούς). cf. Phil. 2.8.

It seems that Basil is in a sense nearer the Epicurean point of view (relating friendship to utility and pleasure), than to the Stoic one, according to which, from a strictly theoretical point of view, the importance and value of friendship is denied, since the wise man must be self-sufficient.

Again, Basil appears strangely close to Epicurus when he stresses how ἀπουσία must not be an obstacle to friendship: Epicurus writes: "Only the wise man will have the same goodwill (χάρις) towards present and absent friends". Whereas, according to the Stoics, absence is one of the things which do not depend on us, which are indifferent: once again we are faced with the abstract and detached attitude, fundamentally different from the warm feelings that Basil discloses in his letters. Ἀγάπη, as a gift of the Spirit, brings together persons who are bound to be physically separated.

1. cf. e.g., Seneca, ep. 9,13 ff. Abstract theory is corrected in the light of reality: (par. 15): "quamvis (sapiens) se ipso contentus sit, amicis illi opus est. Hos cupit habere...quam plurimos, non ut beate vivat; vivat anim atiam sine amicis beate". Cf. ep. 109 (on the fellowship of wise men).
3. Cf. ep. 133.
However, late Stoicism displays a new attitude, which is very similar to the position mentioned just now. Seneca writes that if places are distant, hearts are not. A man is not really far from his friends, if he constantly thinks of them. Besides that, according to the Latin writer, one has the hope of joining one's friends after death: which is similar to the Christian belief.

The above-mentioned remarks, sometimes contradictory, show the difficulties that arise when one tries to distinguish the influences of the different philosophical schools on Basil's attitude towards friendship, especially since the boundaries among them had become less and less definite. Had not Christianity itself played an important role in bringing about the state of affairs which encouraged this eclecticism?

1. ep. 35, 3. "venit ad nos ex ilis quos amamus, etiam absentibus, gaudium"; but he adds: "sed it leve et evanidum; conspectus et praesentia et conversatio habet aliquid vivae voluptatis".
4. St. Basil's view on friendship compared with those of his pagan contemporaries.

Friendship is a topic of the epistles not only of Basil and the Christians, but also of their pagan contemporaries. It will be the aim of this sub-chapter to deal with the theory and practice of friendship as evinced by Libanius the sophist and by the emperor Julian in their letters. It will therefore be possible to demonstrate to what extent Basil's ideas about friendship coincide with those expressed by the above-mentioned pagan letter-writers of the fourth century on the same subject. We shall consider how friendships are formed and what they imply, according to Julian and Libanius.

a) The formal making and breaking of friendships.

The bearers of letters from Libanius are expected to become friends of the recipients: the son of Olympius is introduced to Clearchus by a brief letter (ep. 4): "...He comes with my letter... as he wants your friendship through me who love you both." Libanius is able to love a person, when this increases his estimation of a common friend (ep. 21.1): "Formerly I used to admire the excellent Hermogenes because of philosophy, which I heard he is interested in, but now I also love him, because he knows how much and what you are worth. They say in fact that he regards you as a good man, and that he estimates highly your company, and considers the lack of it a burden." Analogous feelings are expressed in Libanius' Oration I,116: "(Hermogenes) summoned me to him, and begged me to be his friend, as

intimate with him as I was with Aristaenetus and Seleucus, by whom he had been inspired with the desire to obtain this boon. 'Well', said I, 'it is only right that I should be a friend of a friend of theirs.' Such expressions of friendship comply with a practical goal: it was customary to introduce eminent people to each other by messages like these mentioned above. We will return later to deal with this aspect of friendship.

Another way of forming relationships of friendship is offered by the teacher/pupil relationship, which also extends to the pupil's parents. Libanius writes to Eudicius (ep. 745): "The sons of a friend have come to a friend at the instance of a friend: I immediately delighted in them because of their father, and, as time went by, also because of their natures." P. Petit stresses the close relationship between Libanius and his pupils: the teacher is at the same time the adviser, the patron and the friend of his students. This attitude is not at all far from what has been stated above about Basil's activity as a spiritual adviser and leader of souls.

We can find a similar position in Julian: a common teacher can be a good enough reason to promote friendship among his pupils (ep. 39 init. to Theodorus the chief-priest): "I have written to you a less official kind of letter, because you are on more friendly terms with me

1. Cf. ep. 64 of Basil to Hesychius, quoted above, p. 83.
2. Cf. ep. 37,5; 70,3; 97,2; 141; 235,1; 763,1 (family friendships).
than, I think, with the others: we have had the same teacher." This was Maximus of Ephesus. Julian thereafter writes that he trusts the judgement of their common teacher, who thinks highly of Theodorus, so that he shares this judgement; even though he finds that "before loving a person, one should know him; and before knowing, one should experience". (1)

A statement formerly quoted from Libanius' ep. 745, that he came to appreciate some young men because of their own natures (καὶ διὰ τὰς φύσεις) as well as because of his relationship to their father, clearly shows a further reason leading to the formation of friendship, i.e. a good character. We have already seen (2) that resemblance in virtue is regarded as the foundation for a true friendship by Aristotle, and that the same attitude is evinced by St. Basil. Libanius writes to Eutocius (ep. 519,1): "Letoïus is a friend of ours because he is of good character (χρηστός) (3) and superior to the condition in which he lives. He is a soldier, but, in respect of intelligence, he is among the educated." (4) A virtuous nature and identity of cultural interests are therefore ranked, no less than in Basil, among the most important requisites of a genuine friendship. Friendship between Libanius and

1. This careful view is shared by Themistius, quoted above, p. 31 n. 1
2. pp. 30 ff.
3. Analogously, in ep. 763,1, Orion, a Christian, is regarded as a friend, because, among other reasons, he appears to be χρηστός.
Eudaemon (ep. 103 to Modestus) is awakened, because Eudaemon is found to be "worthy of the children of Greeks" (ibid. 1) and "one of the companions of the Muses" (ibid. 4). Palladius is introduced to Andronicus by a long letter of praise (ep. 133), where the man's upright nature and virtues are attested, and the common ground of principles and interests between him and the recipient of the letter is stressed.  

Julian (ep. 40) states that "a true friendship arises mainly because of similarity". This can be compared to the questions raised by Plato on a theoretical ground, and restated by Aristotle. But one can recognise a specially clear hint of the later philosophies (i.e. the exclusiveness which both the Stoics and Epicurus show in demanding acceptance of their own doctrines as a pre-requisite of friendship), when Julian writes thus (ep. 13 to Priscus, the philosopher): "When I say 'you', I mean the true philosophers, among whom I am persuaded you are, and you know how I loved you, and love you, and pray to see you." Such stress upon identity of views and adherence to the same "philosophy" inevitably leads to the assertion of a close

1. Ibid. 1: "If you look, you will find in him the principles according to which you rule, and the love of culture in which you dwell."  
2. φιλία δε ἀληθινῆ γίνεται μᾶλλον μὲν ὅτι ὀμοιότητος.  
3. See above, p. 76.  
4. Cf. the proverb "Friendship is equality", as considered in Aristotle's N.E. IX, 8, 2 (see above, p. 94 n. 1).  
5. See above, p. 100.
friendship between all who are good, as seen above¹ with reference to Stoicism.

There is a similar justification for Julian's assertion in ep. 73 to Aristozenus the philosopher: that a relationship of friendship between persons who have never met before is justifiable, not less than the kind of friendship that one can have towards the people of past centuries. Such friendships are indeed grounded upon resemblance in virtue.² "Is not ἢσθαλον ἄνδρα ³ a very common beginning?", Julian writes in ep. 34 to Eustathius the philosopher. "You certainly know what follows, and it applies to you...., a man of letters and a philosopher.....and you have me as a friend, if we are both ἢσθαλοί. ."

While examining the ways in which friendships are formed, according to Libanius and Julian, one has also to take into account relationships basically grounded on, and maintained by, writing. The importance of communication by letter-writing between friends has been stressed above⁴ as an often-repeated concept in Basil's epistles.

Julian's ideas about this subject, and the expressions he employs for it, are remarkably similar (ep. 30 to Theodorus the chief-priest): "When I received your letter I rejoiced, as is natural; for why should I not, as I heard that a man, who is my colleague and the dearest of my friends, is safe?". The reading of Theodorus' letter has filled Julian with "tranquillity" and "gratification", as if he saw in it the image of his friend's noble nature.⁵

¹ pp. 98 ff.
² εἰς ὑμῶν ἀδώντες ἄλληλοι: ἔσμεν φίλοι; πῶς ὅπερ χιλίων ἐτῶν γεγονότα καὶ ναῦ καὶ μὴ δίκα διάχιλών; ὅτι σπουδασία πάντως ἦσαν καὶ τὸν τρόπον καλοὶ τῇ κάλαθοι. V. supra, pp. 30 ff. and p. 99 n.l. It is worth remarking the identity in terminology with the Stoic definition on one side, and with Gregory of Nazianzus' ep. 71 on the other side.
³ The reference is to a Euripidean expression (Nauck, fr. 902), which is cited in Basil's ep. 63 (see above, p. 31).
⁴ pp. 38 ff.
⁵ · · ·ωσπερ εἰκόνα τινα γενναίου σου καθορᾶν τρόπου, τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἡσπαζόμην — a commonplace: see above, p. 17 and p. 71.
Libanius writes to Pannychius (ep. 95.3): "I hope that you will be my friend and will enjoy my letters and will soon yourself imitate them, to such an extent that I do not hesitate to ask for a favour even in my first letter, as if I had long been familiar with you; I would in fact do wrong, if I did not write what I would not be ashamed to say in your presence." Thus the concept of letter-writing as a substitute for personal encounters is expressed.

Finally, we may note the friendship which arises out of mutual affection, and which develops through familiarity of long standing. Libanius writes to Magnus (ep. 34.1): "Macedonius is among my closest friends, as he has lived with me for a long time." And in ep. 199.9, he stresses, in writing to Gaianus, that φιλία is to be judged υπό το·φιλεῖν, i.e. according to the depth and intensity of affection.

As for the breaking of friendships, a few letters from Libanius offer evidence of his attitude about the subject. Often the holding of high office is openly criticised as the main cause for strain in friendships. Libanius has this to say in ep. 20.1 to Aristaenetus: "Is it perhaps a rule for those who are powerful not to send letters to their friends, as soon as they attain to their power? If indeed there exists such a written law, then comply with it and keep silent; but if no rule hinders you, why are you silent? Do speak. I think I have in fact found out: the number of your affairs has increased, and your care for public affairs does not allow you to pay attention to your personal ones." Again ep. 245 to Eutherius stresses forgetfulness of friends as typical of the powerful: "...I am now

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1. Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus' Cr. XLIII, ch. 19, quoted below (p.113).
2. οίδα δ' ἐργον συμβεβηκῶς χρόνον. Cf. the Aristotelian concept of συζήν, — above, p. 33.
3. As for Basil, v. supra, pp. 93-95.
afraid that the letter will not be able to do anything in my favour, and that you are afflicted in the same manner as the good Andronicus. He was persuaded by his high office not to recognize his friends any longer, and he is no doubt exercising his power in a way which is praiseworthy (for I must tell the truth), but he might be faulted for his attitude towards me\(^2\). In ep. 336 to Honoratus, he complains about Honoratus' change in attitude towards him. He claims to have persevered in his affection towards Honoratus,\(^1\) in spite of the man's indifference towards him. He had later on received a letter from Honoratus, but he could not recognize his old friend in it.\(^2\) He had therefore decided to keep silent, because "there is no need to write to one who does not want it."\(^3\) He is now writing again at the initiative of a common friend, Martial. Libanius' attitude seems to be basically a continuous effort to keep on good terms with friends, and not to lose patience as far as possible. Such a frame of mind is not distant from St. Basil's, although Basil's motives for breaking off friendships seem to be essentially due to disagreement in doctrinal matters,\(^4\) whereas Libanius seems to refer, in most cases, to changes in the degree of affection, caused by prolonged separation (mainly due to involvement in offices of state).

b) Reconciliation of friends.

On the subject of reconciliations between friends who have become alienated from one another, Basil and Libanius display much the

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1. \textit{ibid. sec.7}: φιλεύν ἐτι τῷ λήγαντι τοῦ φιλεύν συνηδόμην.
2. \textit{ibid. sec.2}: τῆς μὲν γὰρ οὗ ἡν, οἶμαι, χειρός, τῆς δὲ σῆς οὐκ ἦν διανοία.
3. \textit{ibid. sec.10}: τί γὰρ δεῖ ὑπὶ βουλομένῳ γράφειν;
4. See above, p. 95.
same attitude. Both are readily prone to attempt reconciliation, but each is impelled by slightly different motives, corresponding to the difference in the attitude of each towards the breaking of friendship, which we noticed above.\(^1\) In ep. 75, Libanius urges Euemolpius to be reconciled with Parthenius, and defines forgiveness as more typically "Hellenic\(^2\) than revenge. In ep. 1120, to Elpidius, he expresses his hope that the "war" between the recipient and Seleucus may be over; if not, he exhorts Elpidius to put an end to it. "For if you were the first one to give offence", he writes, "it is reasonable that you should also initiate the peace; if the blame is his, even greater in this case would be men's wonder at your conduct" (sec. 2).

c) Friendships as based on identity of religion and education among pagans.

We have seen above\(^3\) that identity of cultural interests was traditionally regarded as a necessary requirement in the establishment of true friendships. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Julian and Libanius are found to stress the topic of identity of religion and education among pagans, as a ground for sincere and sound relationships of friendship. "We have a stronger bond between each other than hospitality", Julian writes to Eustathius the philosopher,\(^4\) "ours is founded on the education we have received and on devotion towards the gods." It is the worship of the pagan gods and the appreciation of pagan philosophy that Julian, and usually Libanius, have at heart, when praising or encouraging their friends. In ep. 694, for example,

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1. For Basil's attitude in particular, see above, pp. 38 ff.
2. ibid, sec. 41 καὶ ἐστὶ γε ὀλοκ ἡ συγγνώμη τῆς τιμωρίας Ἑλληνικήτερον.
3. pp. 105 c-d.
4. ep. 35, quoted above, p. 99 n.l.
Libanius pours out words of esteem for Maximus’ philosophy, which almost raises men to the society of the gods.\(^1\) Schouler\(^2\) points out the typically “Hellenic” character of Libanius’ views about friendship,\(^3\) and his emphasis on community of culture.\(^4\) But this has more to do with the implications of friendship than with its basis. What we must additionally notice here is, that such a stress laid upon identity of religion and education among pagans does not prevent Libanius from developing a relationship of friendship also towards Orion, a Christian. This friendship is grounded on a number of good motives (“My mother brought us together, and he (Orion) appears to be a good man, and rather blames than imitates those who abuse their power”)\(^5\) and it puts Libanius under the obligation of doing all he can to help Orion in difficulty, with no prejudice for his being a Christian: “Orion was a friend of mine, when he was in prosperity; now he is experiencing ill-fortune, but my opinion of him is unchanged; for I am ashamed to make myself another example of the proverb, and to

\(^1\) ibid., sec. 2: εἶδοι (the subject is Libanius) ὅτι πάμεγα κέρδος ἀνθρώποις ἀνήρ φιλοσοφῶν καὶ οὐ πολὺ τούτ’ ἔλαττον τοῦ τοῦτος Θεός, ἀναμένεται τοῦτος ἀνθρώποις καὶ συμπαθήτειν καὶ συμπαθήτειν, οἷα τῶν πολυτάν λεγόντων ἄκουομεν.


\(^3\) See above, p. 105h, note 3.

\(^4\) Cf. ep. 334, 2: συμφωντητίς εἰμὶ Γερμαννος φιλῶν καὶ φιλοῦμενος ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν λόγων. And ep. 390, 4–5, where Chromatius is said to have shared dwelling, table, joys and worries with Libanius. This aspect is developed in a Christian context in the passage by Gregory of Nazianzus which I have cited below, p. 113.

\(^5\) ep. 763, 1, to Belaeus. This letter has been briefly mentioned above, 105c, note 3.
seem to be avoiding a friend who has encountered ill-fortune. That is why thrice already I have invoked your help: first by letter, then in your presence, and now again as formerly. For, even if he differs from me in religious beliefs, it would not be right for him to meet with hostility from his friends, whatever harm he may do to himself should he be mistaken.\textsuperscript{1} Thus, with a breadth of view not far removed from that shown by Basil,\textsuperscript{2} though from the opposite side, Libanius shows himself willing to observe his duties as a friend even towards persons who do not share his religious beliefs. Identity of opinions may not be required in some cases, provided there remains a basic identity of attitudes. Friendship and loyalty, a constancy rewarded with help by the gods,\textsuperscript{3} may be enjoyed in common with Christians, provided they share Libanius' interest and zeal for the Greek λόγος.\textsuperscript{4}

Nevertheless, the common ground of Hellenic religion is in most cases looked for in a friend by Libanius, and always by Julian.\textsuperscript{5}

1. ep. 819,1-2, to Belaeus.
2. Basil's choice of friends is not confined to Christians, as seen.
3. He, too, insists on the evaluation of such elements as a common friend, or the same love for letters, etc., which may offer a sound enough ground for the development of a reliable friendship.
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d) **Friendship in absence.**

Libanius often refers in his letters to the unhappiness caused to him by his friends' absences. Like Basil, he expresses his feelings in passionate terms, as when he says he is grieved by scarcity of friends: "And when I say 'scarcity' I mean absence, because even Olympus has to be ranked among those who are absent.... And when I have spent the day in struggling with family-matters or in wearying myself over my pupils, the only refuge that I have is night."\(^1\) This rather dramatic tone is not unusual in Libanius, and appears to show sincere affection on the rhetor's part.\(^2\)

Of the related topic, that letter-writing is a substitute for the presence of friends (which so often occurs in Basil)\(^3\), Schouler \(^4\) cites many examples in Libanius. It will be enough here to add a passage from ep. 359 to Ursus, where the \(\pi\alpha\rho\omega\nu.\Delta\nu\omega\nu\) theme\(^5\) is followed by an emphatic assertion of the 'double honour' of receiving a letter from Ursus: "For the very fact of your writing is an honour, and the fact of your writing such intellectual, good things is another honour" (sec. 2).

e) **Constancy in friendship.**

Many passages in Libanius' letters show him giving praise and encouragement to those who are able to maintain their friendships,

1. ep. 699,3 to Celsus.
3. See above, pp. 53ff., 70-72 and 33-92. Julian displays similar appreciation of friends' letters, e.g. in ep. 30.
4. p. 70 n.1.
5. See above, p. 59, n.2.
whereas blame is expressed whenever a relationship of friendship misses its aims, i.e. help and goodwill towards friends, both in words and in deeds. Libanius suggests that Theodius should become a good friend of Letoiius, because he "not only is able to be an affectionate friend, but also is able to abide in friendship", which Theodius himself does and appreciates. In another letter, Libanius writes to Mardonius: "It is not surprising that I, who love you and am loved by you, was helped by you. For if it is typical of enemies to assail each other, the rule of friendship involves an alliance."

Misfortunes offer the opportunity to test a friend's faithfulness; Libanius writes to Anatolius: "Isocrates strongly advises us to test friends before necessity arises, so that we will not be hurt when we encounter bad fortune, and he says that one should pretend to be in need, even if one is not." He recommends Farthenius to Florentius because he would be ready even to go through fire to help a friend, and, if his friend does wrong, would resist him, because

1. These concepts are formally expressed by Libanius in his Cr. 37, where he renounces friendship with Polycles because of the man's insults to Julian's memory. He writes (ibid. 4): ἄλλ' οὐ ταύτα τοῖς φίλοις φέειλεται παρὰ τῶν φίλων, ἄλλα βοήθεια, προθύμια, λόγος, ἔργα, ἡμῖν δὲ ἔργου οὐ παρῇς καιρός, λόγου δὲ.

Only such requisites can guarantee a true friendship: Polycles could not therefore ever have been a true friend of Julian's (ibid. 18): ἡμῖν δὲ ήθα μὲν οὐδέποτε, δοκεῖς δὲ ἣξεις.

2. ep. 551,3. 3. ep. 845,1.
7. ep. 72,3: ἐστι δὲ...ἐκμελεταίς ἄξιος, ὦ γε φίλῳ μὲν βοηθῶν κἂν εἶς πύρ ἐμβαίνῃ, φίλῳ δὲ ἀμαρτάνοντι καλυπτῆς ἵσταται κολακεῦσαι μὲν οὐκ εἰς ἔλεον....
he does not know how to flatter. Neither danger nor fatigue should be obstacles to a faithful friend. "Whenever I heard my friend's voice, it was a chain that bound me", so Libanius writes in his autobiography, where he had just stated: "The greatest incentive toward happiness is the possession of firm friends. All the blessings a man can think of do not equal this, says Euripides, for he knew that these firm friends would, for their comrades' sake, give up not just their possessions but their very lives, as for instance, Achilles who secured vengeance for Patroclus at the cost of his own life." Thus constancy in friendship can be represented, by taking examples from the poets, even going as far as the sacrifice of one's own life: this concept is also expressed in a letter to Mygdonius.

1. The refusal of flattery and the necessity of plain speaking between friends is a very frequent topic in Libanius (see Schouler, p. 69 and note 5) as well as in Basil (see below, pp. 125 f.).
3. Aristaeutus, one of Libanius' closest friends and most frequent correspondents.
4. 59, p. 33.
5. 56 f., p. 36.
6. Cf. the parallelism between Epicurus' position and the Gospel words, as pointed out above, p. 103.
7. ep. 557, 5.
f) Utilitarian aspects of friendship.

In Libanius' Or. 1.23, an echo of Homer's ll.5,116 is found, with reference to the topic of the virtue of friendship: "(Crispinus) needed an ally and friend to stand by him and to be near to encourage him, and such a one was not far to seek when I was there. He told me of his predicament and of his need, and naturally I, considering the length of the journey, hesitated, but friendship overcame my hesitation." Here is the concept of friendship implying help and support, which has been found to be a commonplace in Basil's correspondence as well. Not only Basil's, but also Libanius' views about friendship comply with spiritual as well as with worldly purposes and demands. First of all, comfort and consolation are expected to be offered by friends. The idea is expressed, for example, in ep. 36 to Themistius: "My daily life will be worse, as the one who helps me is absent, and I shall suffer, because I will not have near me the one to whom I used to disclose my sorrows and so obtain relief from them" (see 4). The need to have friends within close reach is frequently stressed, no less than in Basil's letters. A good example is offered, among many others, by ep. 132.2 to Ambrosius: "I used not to be accustomed to bewail and lament, but now that is my situation. There is a difference, however, in so far that I do it in the company of friends now, whereas before I had not even the advantage of company."

1. Autob. p.20. Aristotle too quotes a passage from Homer (ll.10,224) about the usefulness of friendship: see above, p. 79.
2. δεόμενος δὴ συμμάχου τε καὶ φίλου παραστησόμένος. cf. φίλος παραστησόμενος, ll.5,116 cit.
3. See above, pp. 79,90 ff. and elsewhere.
4. See above, pp. 33 ff.
"I left the court room", Libanius writes in Cr. II, 162, "pitying the governor for the perversity with which he saw fit to govern, while many of my friends flocked round me to console me with all kinds of reflections." It has been more than once pointed out above that "the lightening of sorrow by the sympathy of friends" and "the consoling power of friendship" constitute a link between the classical and post-classical Greek concept of friendship and the early Christian one. "It is fitting that the beginning of your friendship with him (Spectatus) should be the end of the grief which you are cherishing for your wife," Libanius writes to Aristaenetus. This follows a few lines in which Libanius stresses the closeness of the friendship which, as he hopes, will develop between Aristaenetus and Spectatus; he implies that this will help Aristaenetus to face the distress occasioned by his wife's death.

The locus communis that a friend can be regarded as an "alter ego" makes its appearance in Libanius, when he writes to Silanus: "I approved of Spectatus because of his actions towards you, or rather because of his actions towards me; for what he has done in your favour I thought and said to have been done in my favour." Pain and fatigue undertaken on a friend's behalf are well compensated for by the joy which one derives from providing the friend with either moral or material support. Taking an active part in one's friends' lives is the measure of friendship.

1. Autob. p. 92. 2. ep. 427, 3. ibid. 2. 2 µέν οὖν οὕτως ἐκκούσα περὶ σοῦ, τολμάτα ἔστιν, ὥστε ἐρωτῆσαι ἀπὸ σοῦ, τολμάτα ἔστιν, ὥστε ἐπιδόντος σοὶ ιδιότη. Cf. also ep. 171, 1, and see more references in Schouler, p. 69 and note 3.
4. ep. 573, 1.
5. To the examples mentioned at pp. 105K−r, ep. 58, 1 of Libanius to Modestus can be added: ἔμοι πᾶς ὑπὲρ σοῦ πόνος ἡδός. καὶ γὰρ ἂν μικρὸν ὑπὲρ σοῦ πονοῦμεν, τὸ γε ὑπὲρ σοῦ πονοῦμεν καρδά ἐμοὶ.
interests and needs is considered a duty, which conforms with morality and with the law. No hesitation is regarded as conceivable, when one can make one's help available to friends in difficulty.\footnote{1} Such an attitude naturally leads Libanius to frequent requests for favours addressed to people of high standing, more often on behalf of friends than on his own behalf. This habit once again agrees with the traditional outline of the theory and practice of friendship, which has been found to be accepted by St. Basil as well.\footnote{2} It is pointed out by Schouler\footnote{3} that "le rôle d'intermédiaire que joue le plus souvent le sophiste le fait insister sur la contagion de l'amitié, sur l'extension des bienfaits et de l'affection aux amis de l'ami.\footnote{4} L'intervention est souvent justifiée par la noble et impérieuse obligation de porter secours à l'ami en difficulté." In a letter to Nicentius\footnote{5}, Libanius acknowledges Nicentius' good-will and long-standing friendship for him, and stresses the receipt of benefits, along with the memory of benefits received, as its characteristics.\footnote{6} He asks for Nicentius' help once more, since caring about a friend's friends is no less important than caring about the friend himself.\footnote{7}

\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{1} Cf., e.g., ep. 21, 3; 673, 1; 649, 1.
\item \footnote{2} See above, pp. 79 f., about usefulness of friendship.
\item \footnote{3} p. 71.
\item \footnote{4} Cf. Libanius' Or. I.116, quoted above (p. 105a).
\item \footnote{5} ep. 1209.
\item \footnote{6} ibid. 2: εν δὲ τῷ παρελθόντι χρόνῳ πολλά μὲν σὸν χαρεάζομενον ἔδρασας, ἀπάντων δὲ ἐγὼ μεμνημαι.
\item \footnote{7} ibid.: τοὺς γὰρ αὐτὸν μὲ σωζεθαι τὸ τοὺς φίλους τοὺς ἐμοῖς ἐπὶ πράττεν οὐκ ἐλάττωνος σπουδής further on (sec.) the usual reference to the saying οὐκ εἶναι ἡ τῶν φίλων is made.
\end{itemize}
The theme of ἐὰν πολεῖν τὸν φίλους appears to be as common a notion in Libanius as we have seen it to be in Basil, and is even more openly expressed and oftener referred to in Libanius. In a letter to Julian Libanius praises him for having taught Elpidius how to benefit his friends. The same motif is employed as a cantatio benevolentiae in a letter to Italicianus: "If I did not know that you understand how to love and that you have often laboured by thought and deed for the benefit of your friends, I would have feared that the great number of my letters would be a burden to you. But as it is, because you are one of those who praise Achilleius, I trust that I shall appear to you to be behaving properly, by never ceasing to beg and cry for help."

The above mentioned passages will suffice to disclose the notion of friendship-in-action as a frequently developed one throughout Libanius' correspondence. I shall next consider the extent to which pagans and Christians in the fourth century shared a common outlook on the subject of friendship. This will cast light on certain aspects of the concept of philanthropia both in the pagan and in the Christian contexts.

1. See above, p. 102.
2. ep. 35.
3. ibid. 4: οὐ γέγονε...διδάσκαλος...τῆς προθυμίας τοῦ πολεῖν ἐν τοῖς φίλους.
4. ep. 665,1.
5. For references to 'heroic' friendships, like that between Achilles and Patroclus, see Schouler, p. 70 n.2.
6. But see also, e.g., ep. 669; 381; etc.
7. Although not immediately relevant to the theme of friendship-in-action, it should be observed that a true relationship of friendship implies freedom from deception; see Libanius' ep. 12.2 (πολεῖν μετὰ ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρτετον ὡς ἢ μονομαντεῖν).

Cf. Basil's reaction to calumny, above, pp. 41ff.
8. Julian's letters appear to offer no explicit statements about this specific topic. They are abundant in more generally theoretical observations on identity of outlook between friends, friendship of the wise, etc. See above, pp. 105 a–e.
Climate of opinion.

The stress laid on friendship between "Hellenes", as it appears in Libanius' and in Julian's letters, has been taken into consideration above. Here I should like to point out that Libanius regards the readiness to be reconciled as "Hellenic". He writes to Jovianus: "Make an end of the quarrel for your part also, and adopt a Hellenic attitude of mind. It would be fitting, since Olympius comes bringing you in his heart all that is good in Hellenism." In a letter to Maximus, he reminds Maximus of his obligation to help Uranus, Libanius' friend: "If you are failing to give help to those who in my estimation deserve help, you are acting in an un-Hellenic way..."

We have in fact already seen that a similar attitude may be observed both in later Greek philosophy (especially Epicureanism) and in St. Basil's correspondence, where utility is related to friendship. I have suggested that the reason for this similarity lies in the existence of a common ground in ethics, rather than in a definite and conscious relationship between St. Basil and the Greek pagan philosophers.

The reflection of this body of shared ideas may be seen in Libanius as well. He and Basil move in the same world, though their religious and social positions within it are different.

Schouler clearly defines the homogeneity which, in spite of diversities, underlies the works of pagan philosophers and of churchmen in the fourth century A.D.: "Des philosophes comme Julian, Des philosophes comme Julian,

1. p. 105r
2. ep. 411r, 4.
3. reading, with Poerster, 'Ελληνων καλά.
4. ep. 357r, 1.
5. p. 103.
6. p. 76.
les chrétiens et Libanios mènent au fond le même combat, contre les parvenus sans foi ni loi et sans respect pour la culture et la morale. Mais chacun entend à sa façon cette œuvre de redressement spirituel. Le sophiste, pour sa part, croit qu'il faut maintenir les structures traditionnelles et ranimer le vieil idéal hellénique, dont le grand mérite fut de savoir concilier l'exaltation de l'énergie individuelle et le service du bien commun."

The values of Hellenic culture and of tradition are regarded by Libanius and his friends as essential;¹ and Festugière² remarks on the resemblance between this ideal and the Aristotelian μεγαλοψυχία. The notion and attitude of philanthropia also finds its place in this perspective. The pagan orator Themistius made philanthropia one of his main themes, and emphasised it as the greatest of the virtues of the emperors. He laid stress on philanthropia as a universal human quality, as well as the supreme attribute of the Deity. This doctrine of Themistius is seen³ as an answer to the teachings of Christianity, and as an effort to show that paganism as a way of life could provide principles as good as those of Christianity.

The "philanthropic" attitude evinced by Libanius in a few letters is in fact very similar to the one disclosed in some passages from Basil's correspondence. The latter's ep. 130 to Sophronius, for example, quoted above,⁴ has been seen as particularly significant in

1. Cf. e.g., also ep. 670,2 to Ulpianus: "Try to be worthy of your father and of your nature and of the culture that you acquired, and show that by a noble disposition of the soul one can rise superior even to difficult times."
4. p. 63: "On meeting an estimable man who found himself in an unbearable situation I suffered in my soul. For why, since I am man, was I not able to sympathise with a free man involved in troubles beyond his deserts?"
the light of the notion of obligations which are owed to friendship. There is very little, if any, difference between Basil's words and the ones employed by Libanius in, for example, ep. 864,1 to Eutychianus: "You know that I suffer along with those who suffer, and if I see someone who is wounded by Fortune, I pity him and do not shrink from doing whatever I can for him." Whether we look for the source of this "philanthropic" attitude in a pagan or a Christian ground of beliefs, we must note how closely interwoven the two positions are. They both belong to the same body of generally held opinions. While the Christians adopt hellenized vocabulary and thought, Themistius, Libanius and Julian find a pagan counterpart to the Christian agape in the development of the term philanthropia to denote a moral principle governing both public and private actions. It is true that Libanius regards Julian as "philanthropos" because he was a Hellene and ruled over Hellenes. But also, in the name of "philanthropia", Libanius

1. See above, p. 63 n.1.
2. See, e.g., also ep. 153,1: εἰς τοῖς ἀντιξωσίος ἀνθρωπίνως ὀνειδιζόμενος, ὥστε ἐν δυναμώς καὶ νομίζοντα πάντως ἄρρενον τῷ ἠλικοντω. This can be compared to Julian's attitude with respect to the imitation of certain Christian features, as noted by Downey, p. 204.
4. Downey, pp. 204 ff., offers evidence of the prominence of the word "philanthropia" in the theology as well as in the liturgy of the early Church.
5. It is worth noting, with Downey (p. 202), the significance given by Themistius to philanthropia as the object and aim of the teaching of the "true philosopher" (Cr. II, 264), through the medium of literature.
shows himself sympathetic towards slaves, towards Jews, towards anyone who has suffered injustice. We are reminded of Basil's unceasing championship of those in need of protection over a wide field of human activity. Quite apart from the demands of Christianity in Basil's case, both men must have been animated by the feelings of humanity and compassion inculcated by the standard moral education of later antiquity, which they both shared.


2. Cf. ep. 1251, where Libanius is pleading for them: ταῦτα οὖν εἴτε ἔχειν οὐ τεταραγμένοι, πεισάς δὲ οὐ δυναθέντα τοῦτο δυνηθοῦσαν ἀναγιμάζαμεν γράψαι. οὐ δὲ καλ ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐκεῖνοις συγγρωθι...

3. Cf. ep. 636 to Anatolius, dealing with a case of rape. He tells the whole story, and starts off by expressing his sad astonishment that such things could happen in a civilised part of the world: οὐα τεταλμηται οὖ περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλήν ἔγγεις ζυγεύν οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις Δυσαίμης, ἀλλ' ἐν Φοινίκῃ, τῷ πάντων ἡμερώτατῳ χαρῆ, νόμον ὄντως, ἀρχόντων ἐφεστηκότως, βασιλέως ζώντος ἐν ὁπλοῖς, ὅπως ἀπαν ἀπείη βλασίν.
Biblical testimony on friendship, considered in relation to St. Basil's Letters.

Friendship is an enduring fellowship of persons, entering into the very core of life, and it presupposes a certain mental similarity. Such reciprocal relationship of affection or sympathy between persons of the same sex (or at least independent of sexual attraction), is held to be based on a community of nature and of interests.

"Friendship", Harnack writes, "in the deepest and most comprehensive sense of the term, is the twin-sister of that knowledge (i.e. philosophy) which forms the supreme and engrossing business of a lifetime. Both arose together. Both had Eros as their common father. The history of the Greek schools of philosophy is at the same time the history of friendship." We have seen how noteworthy is the position attained by Greek philosophers about the concept of friendship; so that one could objectively agree with Th. von Haering's statement that "it has often been observed how in the estimate of the Greeks friendship surpasses marriage in tenderness and depth." It is in fact true that we owe the basic formulation of the definition of friendship to the context of Graeco-Roman culture. But one may

4. von Haering, p. 347.
question whether the Bible says anything about this subject. Did the importance of friendship decrease in the light of Christian love? Or did both ideals, the classical and the biblical, reappear in the Christian Church?

Moreover, if every true friendship is spiritual, Christian friendship especially ought to deserve such qualification, as its effect consists, according to St. Augustine, in creating "one soul in two bodies". The fruits of friendship may be expected to be most valuable in religious life, where friendship reaches a deep intensity. Accordingly, would it be possible for a Christian to look back to the Holy Scriptures for guidance on friendship? To what extent may St. Basil have been influenced by them?

The present chapter will deal with these questions. We will see, it is true, how little φίλία emerges in the New Testament (especially if compared with the rôle given to it by the Greeks).

1. A spiritual friendship is defined as "a mutual sharing between two persons who seek the same spiritual ideals.... Spiritual friendship is a close bond between two individuals who share and incite each other to the attainment of the highest spiritual goals." (New Cath. Encycl., s.v. "Friendship, Spiritual," by C. Browning).

2. "Aimer ses amis en Dieu, c'est les aimer à cause de ce qu'on voit en eux de divin, les aimer spirituellement, sans que le corps et les sens soient mêlés en rien à ce sentiment, les aimer enfin en vue de Dieu, pour les rendre meilleurs et les rapprocher de leur fin." (from: Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, Paris, 1937-71, s.v. "Amité" (by G. Vansteenberghe), where reference is often made to the dialogue De Spirituali Amicitia (PL. 195, 659-702), written by Aelred, abbot of Rievaulx (XII century).


But, on the other hand, the possibility is offered to Christians to refer not only to ideas and examples of relationships of friendship from classical antiquity, but also to the facts, ideas and psychological observations about the subject which can be found in the Old Testament. Such an attitude, combining as it does both the classical tradition and biblical sources of inspiration, is exhibited in a sentence (maybe only casual, but nevertheless worthy of notice) from ep. 194 of Basil, who thus encourages Zoilus to write to him: "...write to us on every pretext. For if we have any claim to eloquence, most gladly shall we read the letters of an eloquent man: and if we have learned from Scripture how great is the good of love, of supreme value do we regard communication with a man who loves us." Admiration for eloquence, highly renowned among the Greeks, proceeds for Basil jointly with the longing for love, aroused by the reading of Scripture.

1. 6 ff., quoted above (p. 70).
2. Mutual affection is one of the characteristics of a true friendship; ἀναφέροντως answers φίλησις. Cf. ep. 208 to Eulancius, ll f.: "Surely it is just for those who began an affection (διάμεθα) to be repaid in like manner." And ep. 259 to the monks Palladius and Innocent, 1 ff.: "How much I love you, you must infer from the extent of your own love for us." Such mutual διάμεθα, anyway, seems to go beyond personal ties of friendship, and to be based essentially on identity of spiritual goals. The idea is already in Sophocles, O.C., 775: κατοι τις αὖθε τέρψεν ἀκοντας φίλησιν;
"The key to friendship lies in individuality, and the Old Testament knows well to appreciate this virtue";¹ and "Christ Jesus Himself is the highest type of friendship"²; thus the biblical attitude towards friendship will be taken into consideration, when it can be related to a similarity of behaviour or opinions as evidenced through St. Basil's letters.

However, I must state beforehand that, as we have already seen with regard to classical sources, the same difficulties are going to be faced in the present chapter: unless Basil quotes a precise passage of Scripture (which occurs rarely), there is no certainty of a direct influence. Nor ought one to be surprised if quotations from the Scriptures on friendship are rare in Basil, considering that this subject is not fundamental to biblical teaching.

It is however possible to trace an outline of attitudes about friendship, that Basil has apparently derived from the Bible. And, where they are analogous to Greek classical topoi, it becomes a possible inference that St. Basil may have borrowed such concepts about friendship and its value both from the classical and the biblical environments,³ and has elaborated these borrowings as he found them to correspond to his own experiences and needs.

1. Rothe, loc. cit., also quoted by J. Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Edinburgh, 1903-26, s.v. "Friendship" (by W.M. Rankin).
3. Both derivations will be acknowledged when necessary, in the course of this chapter.
1. **Friendship in the Old Testament.**

The value of friendship is stressed by the Old Testament, in such a way as to leave no doubt about the importance of this sentiment even from a religious point of view. It is, therefore, not surprising that Basil pointed out the importance of friendship, especially in a period when there was no longer need of rejecting such a human feeling as if it were distracting from the love of God, or anyway confusing. This does not imply, on the other hand, that Basil would give friendship a value beyond its limits: "For not a steward but a huckster shall I be if I barter the gift of God for human friendships", he writes to Nectarius, a layman of high official position, after many times protesting the sincerity of his friendship.¹

Before taking into account the sententious utterances that call attention to the importance of the role of friendship in the Old Testament, let us glance at two examples of friendship contained

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¹ ep. 290, 12 f. Nectarius had asked for a friend of his to be elected chorepiscopus. Basil pours forth compliments, but he finally states that his choice will be independent, and in accordance with the divine inspiration. The letter starts thus: "May many blessings be upon those who urge your Honour to maintain a continuous correspondence with us by letter. For do not think that such words are spoken by us in accordance with convention, but out of a true disposition on our part to value your words as of the greatest worth. ...Thus to me the dearest of all friends is he who conveys to me your letters." The use of the word φίλος is hyperbolically extended beyond its proper sphere: a friend is he, who helps Basil to keep in touch with his friend of old. However, this seems to be nothing else but a captatio benevolentiae, to render more acceptable the refusal - though extremely polite - which follows.

² In the present chapter, I have made use of Nelson's Complete Concordance of the Revised Standard Version Bible, compiled under the supervision of J.W. Ellison, New York, 1957. Quotations will be made according to The Holy Bible, Revised Standard Version.
in it: although no reference to them can be found in Basil's correspondence, the way in which they find deep expression in the Old Testament bears witness to the far from negligible place accorded to friendship even before the broader law of love announced by the Gospels made its appearance. Any full demand for the sentiment of friendship throughout Basil's letters should therefore be fully justified also from a religious point of view. In Ruth 1.16 f., the friendly relationship between Ruth and Naomi is portrayed. "Ruth's expression of affection and loyalty corresponds to the warmth and disinterestedness of sentiment incorporated in the Greek and Roman ideals": 1 "...where you go I will go, and where you lodge I will lodge; your people shall be my people, and your God my God...". Basil repeatedly displays, as already seen, 2 the same strong feeling of desire (πόθος), of longing for the friend's vicinity: "...If He (God) should grant that we be with you, we count it at once the best and the most pleasing gift", he writes to Eustathius, the 'philosopher', 3 after looking for him through many countries.

2. cf. previous chapter, p. 83 and p. 99. See also below, pp. 134 ff (Christianisation of the notion of πόθος — ἐπιθυμία).
only consolation for bodily separation offered to him is the acceptance of God's will,\(^1\) as well as intercourse through letters. When proximity is spatially impossible, the attraction and the spiritual union between friends appear through the reciprocal turning of thoughts and desire to the other. "You, though so far separated in body", Basil writes to bishop Valerian,\(^2\) "have united yourself to us by letter, and embracing us with your spiritual and holy yearning you have engendered in our souls an ineffable affection." And to Vitus, bishop of Charræ: \(^3\) "...ever since I made the acquaintance of your Affection I have had a great longing to live with you if it were possible, but if not, at least to write and to receive letters, that I may be able both to inform you of my affairs and to learn of your own situation."

The second, more prominent example from the Old Testament is offered by the relationship between David and Jonathan,\(^4\) which, spontaneously formed, proves to be deep and lasting. It makes a biblical parallel to Crestes and Pylades:\(^5\) "When he had finished speaking to Saul, the soul of Jonathan was knit to the soul of David, and Jonathan loved him as his own soul.... Then Jonathan made a covenant with David, because he loved him as his own soul. And Jonathan stripped himself of the robe that was upon him, and gave it to David, and his armour, and even his sword and his bow and his girdle."

1. "But if He (God) should postpone this blessing, we shall calmly bear our loss. For surely He administers our affairs better than we should if the choice were ours." (ep. 1, 46-48)
2. ep. 91, 2 ff.
3. ep. 255, 2 ff.
4. 1Sam. 18.1-4.
5. Cf. St. Augustine, Confessions, IV, 6, 11-13: "...sicut de Creste et Pylade traditur, si non fingitur, qui vellent pro invicem simul mori, quia morte peius eis erat non simul vivere."
This close bond of two hearts, this love as dear as one's own soul, are typical of a friendship of youth. "Youth is naturally the springtide of friendship, for then the awareness of personality, and the desire for its completion, puts forth its tendrils, and is not yet narrowed down by the various aims of practical life." Common ends bind friends together: the higher and more spiritual they are, the closer and faster a relationship should result. The friendship between David and Jonathan is, in fact, a bond in God: "In the Old Testament the picture of David and Jonathan stands out prominently for the fineness of its psychological delineation, but its religious character gives it its most peculiar impress." Common ends bind friends together: the higher and more spiritual they are, the closer and faster a relationship should result. The friendship between David and Jonathan is, in fact, a bond in God: "In the Old Testament the picture of David and Jonathan stands out prominently for the fineness of its psychological delineation, but its religious character gives it its most peculiar impress." Common ends bind friends together: the higher and more spiritual they are, the closer and faster a relationship should result. The friendship between David and Jonathan is, in fact, a bond in God: "In the Old Testament the picture of David and Jonathan stands out prominently for the fineness of its psychological delineation, but its religious character gives it its most peculiar impress."

It is the same ground of common religious and moral ideals that guides Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus to a close friendship during their stay in Athens. "When, as time went by," Gregory will write, "we admitted to each other our yearning and our eagerness for philosophy, we were at that time everything to each other, as we shared the same roof, the same table, the same sentiments, looking to the same goal, and together increasing our mutual affection, so as to make it warmer and firmer."

This passage evinces with vivid precision all the characteristics of a deep friendship, such as can take place between two young men aiming at a high spiritual goal. Gregory, sensitive as he was, shows

1. von Haering, p. 347.
2. cf. 2 Sam. 21.7.
4. Gregory of Nazianzus, Or. XLIII, ch. 19 (my own translation).
5. i.e., the ascetic life.
himself to be the more apt to commemorate it; he who was able to write to Basil: "I breathe you more than the air."

Can the establishment of a resemblance between the biblical example quoted above and the friendship of Basil and Gregory be justified? It cannot be affirmed that they had the biblical pair as a model consciously in their minds. It would perhaps be less surprising if some classical pattern, celebrated by the rhetors, had impressed the two Cappadocian students. In any case, analogy does not prove imitation. Yet, to them, who must have been fervent readers of the Scriptures since boyhood, who considered the way which led to the church the first and more honourable, the model offered by the biblical pair may have represented a mainspring, and a source for practical imitation. For the account of the friendship between David and Jonathan is not as rich in details as the picture given by Gregory about his relationship with Basil; more essential and distilled, the biblical passage appeals to feelings and intuition, rather than uses expressions worth imitation by the pupils of the Athenian rhetors of the fourth century. From the consideration of the friendship between David and Jonathan, two elements emerge that can still be related to Basil's attitude. One is the particular reliability attributed to a relationship contracted in youth; the other is the connection of friendship with God and in God. I should like to study these elements in more detail.

1. Gregory of Nazianzus, ep. 6,3: ἔνω σε πανο ψηλον ἐν υπνικα.

"On ne saurait parler de l'amitié en termes plus touchants et plus délicats. Gregoire garde, au fond, un souvenir eau du séjour qu'il a fait près de Basile, et une sorte de nostalgie."

(Gist, Gregimes, p. 50).

2. according to Gregory's statement in Or. XLIII, ch. 21.
a) **Friendship as a life-long relationship.**

On several occasions Basil stresses the depth of a friendship which can be dated back to boyhood: in ep. 272 he writes in order to contradict a misleading report of his words before Sophronius, the magister officiorum: "But this has appeared to me annoying and altogether astounding— that you, a man especially distinguished for depth of character, should have brought yourself to lend both ears to them and to accept any slander against me, who, although I have loved many from early youth to this old age of mine, know that I have

1. **Hie.** 13-21. The Cappadocian Sophronius was a friend and fellow-student of Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus in Athens.
2. i.e., some flatterers of the mighty Sophronius.
3. cf. Ps. 7.3 ff. ("O Lord my God,...if I have requited my friend with evil or plundered my enemy without cause, let the enemy pursue me and overtake me"); Ps. 15.1 ff. ("O Lord, who shall sojourn in thy tent? Who shall dwell an thy holy hill? He who walks blamelessly, and does what is right, and speaks truth from his heart; who does not slander with his tongue, and does no evil to his friend, nor takes up a reproach against his neighbour.") Examples and sentences from the Scriptures can therefore support Basil's remonstrance against calumny, especially if it be accepted by a friend; cf., for example, the beginning of ep. 223 against Eustathius of Sebaste, which is very rich in biblical quotations; it will be sufficient to cite the following passage (1, 4-10): "...even the great Job, though he bore his misfortunes for a long time in silence, by this very act exhibiting his fortitude—that he remained firm under most unbearable sufferings, yet when he had struggled sufficiently in silence, and had persistently concealed his grief in the depth of his heart, then he opened his mouth and pronounced those words that everyone knows". Incidentally, this text gives evidence of Basil's tendency to somewhat vague references and to avoidance of more precise quotations either from the classics or from the Bible.
preferred no one in friendship to your Perfection. For even if my reason had not persuaded me to love you for what you are, our intimacy from boyhood would be enough to attach me to your soul. And you know how powerful is the force of habit in friendship.  

When he writes to his comrade Eusebius, another friend of his youth in Athens, Basil expresses feelings and employs terms which are very similar to what is said by Gregory about their own relationship: "Having visited the city immediately on the heels of your departure, why need I describe how disappointed I was at missing you, to a man who needs no words but knows by experience through having suffered similarly? For how much would it have been worth to me to see the most excellent Eusebius, and to embrace him, and to return again in memory to our youth, and to recall those days when one home was ours, and one hearth, and the same teacher, and leisure, and study, and indulgence, and want, when all that we possessed was shared equally with each other! Of how much worth do you think I consider it to renew all these things in memory through meeting you, and, casting aside this burdensome old age, to fancy that I have become young instead of old?"

1. Does not this statement sound like flattery itself, or, at least, like rhetorical exaggeration?
2. Basil appears here to give credit to the ancient commonplace on the force of intimacy and habit in friendship (cf. Aristotle, N.E. VIII. 3.3.), about which see previous chapter (p. 96.5). But, oftener, both the force of circumstances and the idea of unity in spirit urge him to deny the absolute necessity of frequent face-to-face meetings in order to maintain a friendship. It has been said above (p. 97) that Basil extends to each friendly relationship the typically Christian idea of belonging to the same Body of Christ, which destroys distances. This, which is the distinctive mark of the Church (cf. ep. 243 to the bishops of Italy and Gaul, part 1, 4 ff.), is applied as well to personal relationships (cf., for ex., ep. 244, to Festus and Magnus, 31 ff.).
3. ep. 271, 1 ff.
4. Gregory of Nazianzus, Or. XLIII, ch. 19 (v. supra, p. 113).
Elsewhere again Basil emphasizes the special value of a mutual benevolence of long standing: "That my friendship and intimacy with our most revered brother Hera had its beginning in early childhood, and by the grace of God has endured until old age, you yourself know better than anyone else. For the Lord blessed us with the love of your Magnanimity also from almost the same time that He brought about our acquaintance with each other." In conclusion, according to the three passages quoted above, one can acknowledge the specially high import ascribed by Basil to relationships of friendship started when young. This import is not underrated by the Holy Scriptures; where it is also written, albeit in an entirely different context: "...Have you not just called to me, 'My father, thou art the friend of my youth'...?"

Thus a friendship having its origin in youth gives the same security as fatherhood.

b) Friendship in a religious context.

Friendship is connected with God and in God: this is suggested by the episode of David and Jonathan, as well as by other passages in the Bible, and it is echoed in Basil, not only in that friendship is regarded as a gift of God, but also in the sense that true friendship can arise solely between those who fear God. Such an restriction is, in a sense, to be attributed to Greek classical philosophy as well.

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1. ep. 274, 1 ff.
3. See also the classics: e.g. Eur. Hel. 560: γείας γαρ τε καὶ τοι and Pl. Ly. 214a: "God himself makes friends by drawing them to each other" (cf. Od. 17.213). According to Plato, he who is friendly with the divinity, will also find good friends (see: Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Tübingen, 1957-65, s.v. "Freundschaft", II, 2).
4. v. supra, pp. 37 ff.
As for the Old Testament, a passage of Ecclesiasticus deals with true and false friendship, and with the care required in the choice of friends, and comes to its climax in exalting the excellence of a God-fearing relationship: "Gentleness of speech, how it wins friends everywhere, how it disarms its enemies! ... Be on good terms with all, but for thy trusted counsellor, choose one in a thousand.

Tried friends be the friends thou makest; do not bestow thy confidence lightly; some men are but fair-weather friends, and will not stand the test of adversity. True friendship, sure protection and rare treasure found; true friendship, a thing beyond compare, its tried loyalty outweighing gold and silver; true friendship, elixir of life, and of life eternal! Only those who fear God will come by it;

2. cf. Eur. Andr. 643 f.: "He, who is wise, is careful not to arouse quarrels with friends"; Democritus, Fr. 216 Natorp (Die Ethika des Demokritos - Texte und Untersuchungen, Hildesheim-New York, 1970, p. 28): "The man, who is not defended to a great extent by his tested friends, is surly". Cf., in the Old Testament again, Prov. 17.9: "He who forgives an offence seeks love, but he who repeats a matter alienates a friend."
3. cf. Democritus, Fr. 211 Natorp (p. 27): "The friendship of a single intelligent man is preferable to that of all the unintelligent".
4. A commonplace, both classical and biblical; this point is going to be examined further on (pp. 121 ff.), together with references. Here it will be sufficient to quote: Eur. Hipp. 1223 ff.; Or. 727 ff.; 1155 ff.; Democritus 214 Natorp (p. 27); Job 6. 14 ff.; 19.19; 19.21; Ps. 35.14; Prov. 19.4; 19.6; Jer. 38.22; Lam. 1.2; Eccl. 37.1 ff.; and especially Prov. 17.17.
5. Loyalty is regarded as an essential ingredient of a true friendship; if it fails, friendship cannot exist either. Cf. Eur. Hipp. 925 ff.; and oftener in biblical contexts: 2 Sam. 16.17 ("Is this your loyalty to your friend? Why did you not go with your friend?"); Job 6.27; Ps. 7.4 ff., 15.3, cit. (p. 115 n. 3).
the fear of God gives friendship evenly shared, friend matched with friend". Transition is made from a purely human, though wise and valuable, friendship to a superior level of friendship; it is related to religious goals and to a religious background.

Letters of Basil offer evidence that he puts his confidence in men who "fear God". "What could be sweeter to a man who prays that he may ever associate with God-fearing men and derive some of the profit such association yields, than such letters which help us in our search for the knowledge of God? For if 'to us, to live is Christ', accordingly also our speech ought to be about Christ, and our thoughts and all our actions should depend upon His commands, and our souls should be moulded according to Him. I therefore rejoice when I am questioned about such matters and congratulate those who put the questions."

"...we have marvelled...at your zeal for knowledge and your humility, in that you not only consent to learn..., but also to learn from us, in whom there is nothing great in the way of knowledge. But yet, since through fear of God you consent to perform an act that would not easily happen with another man, we on our part ought to co-operate with your eagerness and good zeal, even beyond our power".

"You have done **well** in writing to us, for you have exhibited the fruit of charity in no small degree; and do you continue to do this. Do not, however, think that you need apologize whenever you write to us. For we understand ourselves and realize that to every man belongs by nature equality of like honour with all men, and that we form our estimate of superiority not according to family, nor according

2. ep. 159, 1, 2-10.
3. ep. 199, 3-14, to Amphilochius, on the Canons.
to excess of wealth, nor according to the body's constitution, but according to the superiority of our fear of God. Therefore what is there to prevent you, who fear the Master more, from being greater than us on this very ground? So write to us continually...

Thus, in accordance with the biblical concept, the attribute of the fear of God appears to play a fundamental rôle in influencing Basil's behaviour towards his correspondents, especially when he praises his colleagues' fervour in increasing their theological knowledge and their charity. And the third passage quoted above throws a particularly clear light on his believing, as the Scriptures say, that "the fear of God gives friendship evenly shared".

**Sentences from the Wisdom books of the Old Testament.**

A few hints from one celebrated biblical pattern of close friendship have so far offered the opportunity to elucidate some aspects of Basil's attitude in his friendly intercourse; as evidenced by letter; and have allowed us to take into account also a good number of sayings from other books of the Scriptures. In the present sub-chapter, some more passages will be considered, which are echoed, or to which a clearer and closer reference is made, in the correspondence of the bishop of Caesarea. Also, attention will be devoted to a few classical sentences when they are found to coincide with the enunciated by the

1. ep. 262, 1, 1-10.
by the biblical wisdom. The following themes will be considered:

a) Faithfulness in adversity;  b) The duty of plain speaking between friends;  c) Treachery in friendship.

e) Faithfulness in adversity.

We have already seen how indispensable the ancients considered this element to be in proving the sincerity of a friendship. It is said in the book of Proverbs: "A friend loves at all times, and a brother is born for adversity".

Not less definite are the statements from classical writers. Euripides says:

"Friends' gratitude that waxeth old I hate, I hate him who would enjoy friends' sunshine-tide, but will not in misfortune sail with them."

And, in the Orestes: "A loyal friend in sorrow is firmer than calm at sea for sailors, after the storm."

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1. This is especially true of the book of Proverbs: "Its pointed and scattered sayings crystallise the maxims and warnings drawn from Hebrew wisdom and experience on this topic, and contain a practical philosophy designed to meet some of the duties and dangers connected with friendship and companionship" (from: Hastings' Encyclopaedia, s.v. "Friendship," II.1). Similarity or coincidence with sentences from the classics exist precisely because of such a dependence on everyday experience and common sense. Also laments on treachery of friends can offer identity of views especially if compared with passages from Greek tragic poetry.

2. See above, p. 118 n.4.

3. 17.17.


5. 727 f. See also: Ibid, 1155 ff.; I.A.A., 408.
Democritus stresses how rare it is to find such faithfulness: "Many avoid their friends when they fall from wealth to poverty"; and: "In prosperity it is easy to find a friend, in adversity nothing can be more difficult."  

What has St. Basil to say about the subject? He often asks for consolation and moral support from his friends through his letters, and as often gives thanks for obtaining it. The law of reciprocal love must have prevented him, in most cases, from having to face disappointments. He has given a lot to friends and spiritual brothers, and a lot appears to have been returned to him. In the year 371, he writes to Athanasius: "The more serious the maladies of the churches become, the more we all turn to your Perfection, firmly convinced that the sole consolation left to us in our misfortunes is your patronage; for you, through the efficacy of your prayers and through your knowing how to offer the best suggestions in difficulties, are believed by all alike,..., to have saved us from the present fearful tempest."

Similarly, he expresses his feeling of deep confidence in Eusebius of Samosata: "In company with your Magnanimity we do not shrink from stripping ourselves for great trials, but without you we are not self-reliant enough to face even ordinary afflictions."

1. Fr. 215 Natorp (p. 23).
2. Fr. 214 Natorp (p. 27).
3. ep. 30, 1 ff.
4. ep. 98, 1, 12-15,
But sometimes Basil could not escape from disloyalty, or, at least, disillusion occasioned by a friend. He writes to Pergamius:

"As for you, dear sir, cease in your brief expressions to bring serious charges, charges indeed that imply the utmost depravity. For "forgetfulness of friends" and the "haughtiness which is engendered by power " embrace all the crimes there are". Basil is objecting to the correspondent's accusation of not having replied to a letter of his, and he expresses the hope that he has not failed, because of this "iniquity", "to love according to the commandment of the Lord" (line 19). Ep. 244 offers a picture of his reactions to the behaviour of his former friend, Eustathius of Sebastae. It is addressed to bishop Patrophilus, a common friend: "I read your letter,..., and I read it with pleasure. For how was I not to do so, when it was written both by a man of wisdom and by a heart taught by the commandment of the Lord to practise charity toward all! And I know fairly well the reason for your silence in the past. For you seemed like one at a loss and amazed, because that Basil, he who from boyhood had performed such a service for a certain person, he who had done such and such things at such and such times, he who had taken up war against countless people because of his care for one man - because this person has now become different from what he was, and has taken up war instead of love, and all the rest that you wrote, displaying full well the consternation of your soul at the unexpected turn of affairs.

1. ep. 56, 15-18.
2. ep. 244, 1, 1 ff. Basil explains to Patrophilus the reasons why he has been morally obliged to break with Eustathius.
3. see above, pp. 115 ff.
4. i.e., Basil himself.
And if you did assail us somewhat, I did not take this ill. For I am not so incorrigible as to be vexed at the kindly rebukes of the brethren." Basil is defending himself against an apparent charge of disloyalty. Not he, but the other party, will be proved to be unfaithful.

He goes on to show how hard he had tried to remain friendly with Eustathius and to believe in his good will. But a letter from Eustathius himself made Basil's hope of a conciliation fail:

"Being affected by this letter in a way that was natural, and being astounded at so unexpected and sudden a change, I was not even able to make reply. For my heart was constricted, and my tongue failed, and my hand grew numb; and I fell into the state of an ignoble soul (for the truth must be told, though the fact does merit forgiveness): I almost fell into misanthropy, and men of every character were regarded with suspicion by me, and I thought that the virtue of charity did not exist in man's nature...; for if the man who seemed to have kept watch over himself from childhood to late old age was so easily enraged on pretexts so trivial, having given no consideration to our side of the matter, nor even having held his experience of me in the past as of more importance than so cheap a slander,...after this experience with this man, what was I to conjecture about the rest, respecting whom we neither had such great pledges of friendship, nor possessed such a proof of watchfulness on their part over the habits of life?". Such are, though rhetorically exaggerated, the effects of an unfaithful friendship, seen through Basil's considered reaction.
b) The duty of plain speaking between friends

"Better is open rebuke than hidden love. Faithful are the wounds of a friend; profuse are the kisses of an enemy," it is written in the book of Proverbs. And, analogously, among the Greeks, flattery is often regarded as in contrast with a true friendship.

Basil displays the same attitude: "...herein especially does a friend differ from a flatterer; the flatterer speaks to give pleasure, but the friend refrains from nothing, even that which gives pain." The similarity with the notion and terminology employed by Themistius is remarkable: "A friend and a flatterer are in no way alike: on the contrary, they are ever so different, because the latter praises everything, whereas the former would not assent to your errors." One is therefore obliged to cure a friend's moral illnesses: "And these remedies are words full of goodwill and frankness, not sweet speeches meant to give pleasure."

Analogously, Basil writes to Sophronius, the magister officiorum: "...I am not surprised if there are some flatterers in attendance upon a man of your high position. For somehow, as by a

1. 27.5 ff.
3. ep. 20, 34–36, to Leontius the sophist (quoted above, p. 65).
5. ep. 272, 1, 3 ff.
law of nature, such servile and obsequious courtiers spring up beside men of exalted positions.... And we must almost say that just as mildew is destructive of grain when it gets into the grain itself, so flattery when it works its way into friendship is a blight upon the friendship."

As flattery has nothing to do with a friendly relationship, so a just rebuke is a main duty of friendship: "Now to write all that I have in mind I not only regard as neither compatible with the limits of my letter nor in general suitable to the mode of address, but also to pass by in silence is almost impossible for me, since my heart is aflame with righteous indignation against you. So I shall travel a middle course, writing some things, passing over others. For I wish to rebuke you, if it is proper, in the language of a friend and an equal — ἐν ὁμορρίᾳ φιλίᾳ — It is noteworthy that the same concept is given expression again and again, though in different forms, by Gregory of Nazianzus: for example, he underlines through an effective antithesis the gap between a friend's speech and a flatterer's; and gives the duty of παρηγαγία a Christian foundation.

1. ep. 291, 1 ff., to Timotheus the chorepiscopus.
2. Greg. Naz., ep. 17,3: "It is suitable to a high-minded man to accept his friends' freedom (of speech) rather than his enemies' flattery". Cf. ep. 33,2.
3. See his ep. 11,1-2: "I have something good in my character (I shall in fact boast one thing among the many myself - cf. 2 Cor. 11-12): I get vexed at a bad decision in the same way with myself and with my friends. Now, since those who live in accordance with God and who follow the same Gospel are all friends and relatives of each other, why should you not hear from us with frankness what everybody whispers?". Cf. ep. 132, 1 of the same.
c) Treachery in friendship

Consideration has been given already to Basil's attitude when faced with disloyalty on the part of long-standing friends; this attitude agrees with what is stated by some biblical passages, as well as by a few Greek classical sentences.

Two letters of Basil will now be examined, which explicitly quote a biblical lament about human treachery. Ep. 265 is mainly dictated by the distress that "the manifold innovations of Apollinarius of Laodicea" have caused to the bishop of Caesarea: "While any suffering inflicted by an open enemy, even if it is excessive in painfulness, is somehow endurable to the sufferer, as it is written: 'For if my enemy had reviled me, I would verily have borne with it'; to experience injury at the hands of one of like mind and a close friend, this is altogether hard to bear and admits of no consolation. For him whom we expected to have as a fellow-champion of truth, this man have we now found among the masses obstructing those who are being saved by leading their minds astray and by drawing them away from right doctrine."

The scriptural passage to which Basil refers is Psalm 55,12 ff.: "It is not an enemy who taunts me - then I could bear it.... But it is you, my equal, my companion, my familiar friend! We used to

1. see above, pp. 123 f.
2. part 2, 9 ff.
3. cf. 3 Jn. 3.
4. Cf. 1 Sam. 13,1-4 (v. supra, p. 112) and Deut. 13,6: "...your friend who is as your own soul". See Basil, ep. 83,17-19 (cit., p. 95) and 273, 1 ff. (cit., p. 64).
hold sweet converse together; within God's house we walked in fellowship." The same passage is referred to in the following ep. 266 as well: "The charges that from of old have been fabricated by the Arians against the Church...can...be endured by us because they come from open enemies and foes of the word of truth.... But it is what is being done by men of like mind and opinion with ourselves that grieves and disturbs us."

In conclusion, Basil seems to give voice and expression to notions about friendship and its characteristics, which are to be found in the Old Testament. They are, mostly, rather general notions - which appear, in similar forms, in the Classics as well. Nevertheless some utterances are linked with the biblical text, and suggest derivation.

1. Cf. the expressions of bitter disappointment uttered by Gregory of Nazianzus in ep. 48, 9-10, addressed to Basil à propos of the question of Sasima.
2. Addressed to Peter, bishop of Alexandria, part 1, 12 ff.
2. **Friendship in the New Testament**

The New Testament deals with friendship too little, and in too special a way, to have had much direct influence upon Basil's concept of it.

There have been arguments concerning the rôle of friendship in Christianity. On the one hand, the pagan ideal of friendship has been considered to have been absorbed in charity, and, for this very reason, to have become meaningless. The eschatological view brought out by the Gospel changes values and aims, while for the Greeks "in der φιλία verwirklicht der Mensch die Harmonie des Lebens", one could say that friendship in the New Testament plays a subordinate rôle. In fact, as has been well stated, the New Testament has nothing to say expressly about friendship. The prescription of charity towards one's neighbours, independently of one's personal tastes, seems to deprive friendship of its indispensable selective character. We must also remember that, especially in early Christian times, the renunciation of a purely human friendship expresses the need of transferring one's mind and heart from the earth to heaven.

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1. "Der φιλία ist der Mensch also solcher wichtig, der ἀγάπη dagegen in seiner Bedeutung für Gott" (Hauck, p. 224).
2. ibid., p. 218.
3. ibid., p. 219: "Im grossen Unterschied gegenüber dem Griechentum gehört die φιλία nicht zur Ethischen Ermahnung des N.T. Weder Jesus noch Paulus preisen die Freundschaft oder geben Regeln über rechtes Verhalten in der Freundschaft."
On the other hand, it has been stated that Christ Himself is the model of a close spiritual friendship, because of His sharing life with His apostles and disciples, and of His predilection for some of them — St. John, Lazarus, Martha and Mary, Mary of Magdala. Jesus has been defined as the example *par excellence* of friendship.

But I should rather say that this statement is right only if attention is paid to the concept of spiritual friendship. The adjective "spiritual" is to be stressed, so far as it concerns the Christian ideal of a religious fellowship. And the relationships between Jesus and His Apostles (as those between Paul and Timothy), are essentially relationships between Master and disciples, in spite of such expressions of kinship as in Mt. 12, 43-50 and parallel, and in Jn. 15, 12-15. He calls them His friends, in order to stress

4. "...Greater love has no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends. You are my friends if you do what I command you..."

"The Jewish Christians would feel that they were thus placed on a level with Abraham; the Gentiles that they were ranked with the Stoic ideal of Wisd. 7, 7: 'Wisdom maketh men friends of God.' Philodemus: 'We may declare the wise to be friends of the gods, and the gods the friends of the wise.' " (Gore-Goudge-Guillaume, *A New Commentary on Holy Scripture*, London, 1923, part III, p. 264). See also: V. Warnach, *Agape — Die Liebe als Grundmotiv der neutestamentliche Theologie*, Düsseldorf, 1951, p. 159, n. 2; p. 323.
the antithesis to the idea of their being servants in relation to Him. When φίλος, φίλακα et similia occur in the New Testament, they are used in a different meaning from the Greek classical one. They mainly express the relationship between Christ and His disciples, but very seldom a relationship between men.

No light is cast upon any concept of friendship, when it is said, for example, that "The Son of Man is a friend of tax collectors and sinners". Also φίλος τοῦ Καίσαρος and φίλος τοῦ νυμφίου are not illuminating for the ethical problem of friendship in the New Testament.

In Jas. 2.23 ("Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness; and he was called the friend of God"), again φίλος is referred to the relationship with God. Given the irrelevance of the 'friendship' theme in the New Testament,

1. See L. Vischer, "Das Problem der Freundschaft bei den Kirchenvätern - Bas. der Grosse, Gregor von Nazianz und Chrysostomus", in Theol. Zeitschr. 9 (1953), pp. 173 ff. For a statistical report about the use of words such as φίλος etc. in the New Testament, see Hauck, pp. 213 ff.
2. Mat. 11.19; cf. Lk. 7.34 (φίλος τελωνίας).
4. Jn. 3.29.
5. cf. Gen. 15.6.
therefore, one could not expect any statement about the subject to be echoed in Basil's letters, in spite of the many quotations from the Gospels that are to be found in them. One passage is however worth mention, which seems to echo St. James' epistle not only in similarity of construction, but also in respect of the concept itself. Basil's ep. 226 is a defence of his position, addressed to his monks, with reference to the accusations made against him by Eustathius.

It ends with an exhortation to be "friends of the truth (φίλοι τῆς ἀληθείας)." The juxtaposition between falsity and truth, between the world and God, is the subject of Jas.4.4. "Unfaithful creatures! Do you not know that friendship with the world is enmity with God? Therefore whoever wishes to be a friend of the world makes himself an enemy of God." But, still—friendship is not dealt with as a human sentiment; the word φιλία is once again referred to an eminently religious context.

In fact, Christians are not supposed to be friends among themselves, but 'brothers', which is the word frequently used by Basil to address his correspondents, if Christians.

Some similarities in structure, concepts and expressions can be found between the New Testament epistles and Basil's, though the former do not deal with friendship in itself. In the third epistle of St. John we find the words: "I had much to write to you, but I

1. A quotation from Mt. 12.34 ("For out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks") in ep. 197 to St. Ambrose (l. 12 f.) is somehow relevant to the notion of friendship, in so far as discourse is regarded as a mirror of the heart and a means of acquaintance.
3. see above, p. 30.
4. l.13 to the end.
would rather not write with pen and ink. I hope to see you soon, and we will talk together face to face*: this idea is frequent in Basil too, who in some passages complains about the "lifeless letters", and who writes to Eusebius of Samosata: "Not by means of unreasoning desire but through the strength of faith I expect that a way will appear in desperate straits and that you will easily surmount all obstacles, so that you may see your most beloved church, and, moreover, may also be seen by her; and this she holds in esteem above all blessings - to gaze upon your countenance, and to listen to your voice." And to Amphilochius of Iconium: "For many reasons I desire to meet you, both that I may employ you as an adviser on the matters in hand, and in general that, beholding you after a long time, I may have some consolation for your absence." St. John's epistle ends like this: "Peace be to you. The friends greet you. Greet the friends, every one of them." The concluding sentence of ep. 255 of Basil reads as follows: "Greet all the brethren in Christ in our name."

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1. e.g., in ep. 212, 2, 4 f. (γράμματα ἄμυχα). This is what Karlsson (Idéologie, pp. 48 ff.) calls "Thème de l'insuffisance", a theme that, as a matter of fact, "se présente si spontanément à l'esprit " (p. 56). On the rôle of γράμματα see above, pp. 70 ff. and below, pp. 134 ff.

2. ep. 145, 10-15.

3. ep. 201, 1-4.
Of some Pauline themes in St. Basil's letters.

We read in Orchard's Commentary about St. Paul's epistles to the Thessalonians: "These epistles are especially remarkable for the glimpse they give us of the personality of Paul and of his love of the brethren and friendship for his converts.... The Thessalonians are his "brothers" for whom his love is so intense that he would gladly communicate to them not only the Gospel but his very soul, thoughts and feelings, indeed, his life, "because you have become most dear to us". Though they are only friends and brethren of a few months' standing, he cannot continue without news of their progress even for a short time, and he "lives again" when he learns not only that they are doing well but that they are as desirous to see him again as he is to see them." The same feelings are expressed by Basil as a "spiritual father", or "friend in the truth". In his letters we find the fundamental Pauline teaching on the union of Christians with God in Christ, the remembrance of each other in one's prayers, and the praise for the correspondent's Christian behaviour.

These themes have been mentioned already in this work, on a few occasions, and for different purposes. Here it is expedient to quote some passages from Basil, which show a particular resemblance to Paul's attitude, and which can allow us to speak of a "christianisation" of the notion of friendship.

2. 1 Thess. 2.8.
3. 1 Thess. 3.6-8.
The concluding sentences of a letter to Sophronius present us with a more than usual explicit remark about the special value that God's commandment of love accords to friendship: "I think it right to account myself no less honourable than any of those who are renowned for friendship (πιλλα), both because I have never been found sinning against friendship, and, again, because I have received from my God the commandment of that charity (ἀγάπῃ) in which I am your debtor, not only as concerns human nature in general but also because I recognize you in particular as a benefactor of myself and of my country."

It has been pointed out above that unity in the body of Christ gives friendship a religious basis. Love is a fruit of the Spirit, a gift of the Spirit: "Eyes are promoters of bodily friendship, and the intimacy engendered through long association strengthens such friendship. But true love is formed by the gift of...

1. ep. 272, 3, 10 - end.
2. p. 67, a propos of ep. 70.
3. τὸν καρδίαν τοῦ Πνεύματος, τὴν κατὰ Θεὸν ἀγάπην:
   ep. 62, 2 f. Cf. ep. 65, 12 f.; 172, 3 f. (τὸν γὰρ πρῶτον καρδίαν τοῦ Πνεύματος, τὴν ἁγάπην, ἐδείξας ἡμῖν διὰ τοῦ γενέματος).
   In Gal. 5. 22 we read: "But the fruit of the Spirit is love...".
4. ep. 133 to Peter, archbishop of Alexandria, 1 ff.
   Cf. ep. 154, 1 ff.
the Spirit, which brings together objects separated by a wide space, and causes loved ones to know each other, not through the features of the body, but through the characteristics of the soul: the opposition is, on this occasion, strongly and clearly underlined by antinomy in terms (σωματικὴ φιλία — θεωρία ἱψία).

The Holy Scriptures have taught Basil "how great is the good of love": a bond is established between a purely human relationship, the Gospel commandment and God's spiritual endowment. Thus Basil presents us with a rather clear statement of a Christian doctrine of friendship. In this context the thanksgiving for epistolary exchange finds a significant place. For example, he opens his epistle to a fellow-bishop by expressing the wish that he (Basil) could write to him every day: "For ever since I made the acquaintance of your Affection I have had a great longing to live with you if it were possible, but if not, at least to write and to receive letters, that I may be able both to inform you of my affairs and to learn of your own situation. But since not what we wish is ours, but we should receive with thanksgiving whatever the Lord gives, we have given thanks to Holy God for having provided us with an occasion for writing to your Reverance — the arrival of our most beloved and reverend brother Sanctissimus, fellow-presbyter, who, having undergone much hardship on the journey, will relate to you with accuracy all that he has learned in the West. For this also ought we to give thanks to the Lord and to adore Him, that He may grant to us also that same peace, and that we may receive each other in a liberal spirit. Greet all the brethren in Christ in our name."

1. ep. 194, to Zeilus, 3 ff.
2. ep. 255 to Vitus of Charrae, partly quoted above, p. 112.
He addresses bishop Sophronius in a similar way: after giving expression to his joy at seeing Sophronius' charity through his letter, he writes: "since we have found this communion in your Perfection, we have rendered exceeding thanks to the Lord, beseeching also that we may share in the perfect joy that is in you. For if your letters are such, what would a meeting be? And if you can move me so from a distance, how estimable will you be when you appear to us from near at hand! But be assured that if we were not encompassed about by a multitude of countless preoccupations and by the present inexorable necessities by which we are constrained, I should have hastened to your Perfection in person."

"Because of the regard that I have for your Piety", Basil writes to Barses, the exiled bishop of Edessa, "I did desire to visit you myself and in person to embrace your true charity, and to glorify the Lord who has been magnified in you, and who has made your honourable old age renowned to all those in the world who fear Him. But since weakness of body weighs heavy upon me and an indescribable anxiety for the churches presses upon me, and because I am not master of myself in the matter of travelling where I wish and meeting whom I desire, I appease by letter the longing that I have for enjoying the blessings that are in you (διά τοῦ γράμματος ἀναπαύει τὸν πάθος ἰδίω τὴν ἑκατοστὶ τῶν ἐν σοι καλῶν) and I urge your unexcelled Reverence to pray for me and the Church, that the Lord may grant us to pass without

1. ep. 172, 9-16.
2. ep. 267, 1 ff.
3. cf. Lk.1.46-53.
offence the trying days or hours of our sojourn here."

The same desire is expressed by Paul: "But since we were bereft of you, brethren, for a short time, in person not in heart, we endeavoured the more eagerly and with great desire to see you face to face."

I will quote a last example, where the motives (now Christianised through St. Paul) of the unity of goals and of the epistolary bond appear together with the themes of thanksgiving and of prayer: "Although in any case I should have been glad to see the excellent young men, both on account of their steadfastness of character, which is beyond their years, and on account of their close relationship to your Reverence, which gives us grounds for expecting great things from them, when I saw them coming to me with your letter also, I became doubly fond of them. And when I read the letter and saw in it not only the anxious care for the churches shown in your disposition, but also your concern about the reading of the Divine Scriptures, I gave thanks to the Lord, and prayed for blessings upon those who brought such a letter to us, and indeed before them upon him who wrote it to us."

2. 1. Thess. 2.17. About the subject of epistolary παρουσία in the New Testament, see Thraede, pp. 95 ff.
3. The face-to-face meeting (in Basil ἡ κατ' ἐφθασμον συνυφια, e.g. in ep. 63, 3-4) is, already in the Old Testament (Ex. 33.11), regarded as typical of a relationship between friends: καὶ ἐλάλησεν ὁ Κύριος πρὸς Ἰωσὴφ ἐνώπιος ἐνωπίφ, ὡς εἰ τις λαλήσει πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον.
4. ep. 260, 1, 1ff.
Thus, notions and ideas which both the Greek classical and the Old Testament traditions had dealt with, find a new synthesis in the Christian epistolographer. Friendship is raised to charity, and yet it maintains personal features.

"Through love for Christ (the Christian) should be grieved and distressed at his brother's faults and rejoice over his successes:" an echo of the long-standing concept that people who are tied by sympathy should share joys and sorrows is still to be found in this passage from a letter of Basil on the perfection of the monastic life: that is, of the ideal Christian life. But it is transferred to a higher level: it has become a moral obligation in the strictly Christian sense. And the word "brother" has replaced "friend". The New Testament epistles have played a relevant rôle in this process.

1. cf. 1 Cor. 12, 26: κατ ἐνεκές ἐν μέλος, συμπάσχει πάντα τὰ μέλη· ἐν τῷ ὑπάρχοντι μέλος, συγχαλοι πάντα τὰ μέλη.

Basil refers expressly to this passage in his *Regulæ Brevius Tractatae, CLXXV* (P.G. 31, 1197).

2. ep. 22, 3, 3-5.
CHAPTER FOUR

Conclusion to Sections One and Two, with an outline of a doctrine of friendship in Basil.

The analysis of St. Basil's correspondence has proved to offer copious evidence both in regard to the man's personality and to his notions of friendship. His letters evince his activity in the social and ecclesiastical fields. He works as a patronus in order to support and defend his people's interests. The large number of his letters of commendation show one of the most prominent aspects of his social and charitable actions.

They also bear witness to his rôle as a spiritual adviser and leader of souls. He often writes in order to establish where the truth lies in matters of theology, to remove calumnies, to warn against lies. He is cautious and concerned, not dominated by passion. He contributes to the strengthening of weak wills.

In case of difficulties, Basil puts forward solutions in conformity with the principles of reason and with moral laws. He takes care about his people's spiritual progress. Fierce and dignified, he shows sagacity, and has a consciousness of his high office. Basil does not stress so much what he has done or is doing for the good of the Church or the wealth of his flock, but rather emphasises what is still to be done, always keeping in view the necessities of the Church, and the needs of the people who are in difficulties of any kind.

Firm in matters of dogma and ethics, he makes use of diplomacy in order to prevent heresy; only when he realizes that the situation cannot be saved, does he become intransigent.

Lively in temper, sometimes passionate, Basil is more often prudent and very careful of the consequences of his actions.
His generally solemn attitude gives place to a gentle or passionate delicateness toward the weak, or toward his friends.

His character appears formed out of a combination of a deep feeling with a strong will. The former we can see especially in relationships of friendship, the latter in his ecclesiastical and social actions.

Basil's sensitive character is evident in regard to the calumnious attitudes of many against him. He reacts to slander both on sentimental and intellectual grounds. His weighty and grave temper very rarely gives place to irony or to any joke, apart from a few passages where he ridicules his own illness.

He seems to find in friendship a balance to his solicitudes. "The interest of peace" and "the work of correction" are recurrent themes in Basil's letters concerning ecclesiastical matters. He stresses the necessity of avoiding meaningless discussions in dogmatic questions. According to him, the necessity of concord and peace is effected through keeping in contact with spiritual brothers, and it has its reason of existence in their belonging to the same "body of Christ". His "care for the churches" reminds us of St. Paul.

Both this ideal and the actuality — the distressing situation aroused by heresy and divisions — urge Basil therefore to feel and to insist on the vital importance of maintaining close relations with his fellow-bishops; that is, friendship strengthened by a common basis of belief, and by the pursuing of the same aim.

Basil's expressions of sentiment about friendship provide a fruitful (and neglected) body of evidence for estimating his own character.

1. 2 Cor. 11.23.
They are so frequent, that they offer a standard of friendship-in-action against which to judge the theoretical approaches to friendship of the classical (and post-classical) Greek philosophers. Some basic differences between classical Greek theories and Basil's ideas have been pointed out, (for example, the latter's consideration of friendship as a person-to-person relationship, in no way abstract), as well as some similarities, especially with Aristotle's statements in N.E. VIII-IX: that friendship is useful; that resemblance in virtue and identity of spiritual aims are the foundations required for a sincere friendship; friends must give each other pleasure, and have common tastes; concord rules their relationship, and communication is felt to be indispensable to keep it steady; finally, friends are supposed to share joys and sorrows. On the other hand, whereas Basil considers even a relationship between persons who cannot meet often to be a genuine friendship, Aristotle had insisted on the commonplace that friendship requires time and intimacy.

As for Stoicism and Epicureanism, Basil seems to have in common with them the concept of wisdom and virtue as the necessary foundations for friendship, as well as that of friendship as participating in the same "philosophy". In addition, Basil appears to be very close to the Epicurean position, when he denies bodily absence to be an obstacle to friendship.

Although θλέα emerges so little in the New Testament, the possibility is offered to Christians to refer not only to ideas and examples of friendship from classical antiquity, but also to notions and psychological observations about the subject which can be found in the
Scriptures. Echoes do not always mean a clear and conscious derivation. Nevertheless, patterns and sentences as shown throughout the Bible are likely to have created a definite atmosphere, and offered criteria of behaviour to the Saint.

The friendly relationship between David and Jonathan has been emphasized above and compared with the one between Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus. Particular reliability is shown to be attributed to a relationship contracted in youth, and to friendship connected with God and in God. True friendship appears in fact to be restricted to God-fearing people.

Some biblical passages have been considered, which are echoed, or to which a closer reference is made, in Basil's correspondence. Also, attention has been devoted to some classical sentences, when they have been found to coincide with the biblical wisdom.

The following concepts have been underlined as common to the biblical tradition and to St. Basil:

faithfulness in adversity;
the duty of plain speaking between friends;
action taken against treacherous friends.

The influence of the New Testament epistles has been stressed with regard to the christianisation of the following themes: communion in Christ, community of spiritual aims, necessity of the epistolary bond, thanksgiving and prayer for the recipient and from the recipient.
Outlines of a doctrine of friendship, as revealed in St. Basil's letters.

At this point, some outlines can be sketched for a doctrine of friendship in Basil, as evidenced throughout his epistles.

Consideration will be given to the component parts of friendship, as they emerge from the foregoing analysis: its foundations, mainsprings, advantages and duties; the characteristics which are recognized as indispensable in order to maintain it, the ways in which it manifests itself, and its Christian attributes.

The foundations of friendship.

Harmony in views and agreement in aims, especially in the spiritual and ethical fields, are considered by Basil as the most unfailing bases for friendship. The demand for a common ground of ideas and beliefs, already known to Greek philosophers, reaches a fuller consciousness in Basil, enriched as it is by the endeavour after God-fearing friendships, according to the biblical pattern. Concord (δυναμις) about basic subjects is regarded as so necessary, that Basil prefers to give up a relation of friendship, when agreement appears to be impossible.

The mainsprings of friendship.

The fact is significant that, already in his Monastic Rules,

1. Copious evidence from St. Basil's letters, substantiating these points, has been given in the preceding chapters. It will not be necessary, therefore, to repeat any passages here.
Basil recalls the existence of a natural bond among men, and acknowledges God for its establishment. The obligation that "each monk should rejoice with the brother who is honoured, grieve with the brother who is in distress, and feel compassion for the brother who is in sin, remembering that all are members of the one body whose head is Christ", is exemplified in the behaviour shown by Basil, according to the evidence of his letters. It is true that, here, Christianity is meant, more than purely human friendship; but, still, the sense of individuality is alive in Basil, as well as the attention to the person's character and tastes and needs.


4. We can reasonably apply to Basil what has been written about St. Paul's epistles, in regard to the relationship of the Christians to Christ (E. Best, *One Body in Christ*, London, 1955, pp. 23 f.): "Christians do not lose their personalities "in Christ": they are still fully responsible human beings; their personalities are not fused with Christ's. They rejoice, stand fast, and labour in Christ, but it is still "they" who rejoice, stand fast, and labour. Their separate existence is not diminished in the slightest; indeed they are given duties, responsibilities, and relationships one to another because they are "in Christ". In view of this it is doubtful if we can apply the word mystical to describe this relationship...." Besides that, his Greek education must have strongly prevented Basil from being regardless of the individual personality.
The raison d'être of friendship is essentially natural, and a relationship of friendship satisfies the need to exchange opinions, give advice and consolation, share joys and pains: in one word, to converse and communicate, to the benefit of the souls.

The advantages and duties of friendship. How to maintain it.

We have seen how often Basil stresses the consoling and supporting effects of friendship: mutual help, in order to grow together spiritually, can be regarded as one of the most recurrent topos in Basil's theory of friendship, and as the main advantage which justifies his constant search after friends. He declares that he cannot live nor operate without his friends' support. Love is, in Basil, both a natural need and a commandment of God. It is neither a simply human friendship nor a purely Christian agape: the boundaries of both sentiments are enlarged, and they overlap each other. The attraction for the other's good qualities is supported by the awareness of love as a scriptural teaching.

The laws of a true relationship are faithfulness and sincerity; neither disloyalty, nor flattery can be accepted between friends. Nor is a friend allowed to lend his ear to calumny: friendship stands above any disbelief.

Mutual affection, as it appears in Basil, is the distinguishing mark of a person-to-person relationship.

1. Cf. Aristotle's statement, that the happy man requires friends (ὅτι οἱ εὐδαίμονες φίλοι) in N.E., IX.9.3.
1. The theme has been stressed at length by Thraede, pp. 165 ff.
Cf. H. Koskenniemi, Studien zur Idee und Phrasologie des Griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Chr., Helsinki, 1956, pp. 73 ff.

2. The notion of the letter as an instrument for the maintenance of friendship becomes a commonplace throughout the Byzantine epistolography. Karlsson (Idéologie, pp. 23 ff.) offers a few good examples from the fourth and fifth-century letter-writers to illustrate a tenth-century epistle (Misc. Rodl. 242, fol. 212 v), which develops at length this idea. In fact such a concept owes its main development to the fourth- and fifth-century writers, and becomes conventional. Karlsson rightly stresses the influential weight of A.P. IX, 401 and of Synesius' ep. 138 (R. Hercher, Epistolographi Graeci, Paris, 1873, pp. 723 f.).

3. Treu (p. 245) points out that ἀγάπη, in itself may break, but not when it is sublimated to the level of...
with Christian charity. One can only observe a tendency to stress the religious dimensions of love oftener in letters belonging to the last period of his life. But φιλία is still mentioned there. Basil does not appear to neglect φιλία, as if it were unworthy in comparison with the commandment of ἀγάπη. φιλία is not bewildering or distracting from the love of God and from the general love for neighbours. He very rarely needs to draw human friendship back to its proper limits: "For not a steward but a huckster shall I be if I barter the gift of God for human friendships." Especially in letters asking for help on behalf of the needy, it is difficult to distinguish where the words φιλος, φιλα et similia are employed in a strict sense, from the places in which they are used merely according to the rules of etiquette. Φιλος is, for example, extended outside its proper area, when even the person, who conveys to Basil the correspondent's letter, is said to be 'the dearest of all friends.' To such extent the ample courtesy, which dominated the relationships among personalities in the political and ecclesiastical spheres, could hyperbolically enlarge a long-used word.

1. The problem is faced in a different way when Basil speaks to his monks: "even visits from relatives and friends are to be avoided as the source of much dissipation" (Murphy, pp. 33 f., see Regulae Fusius Tractatae, XXXII; Regulae brevius Tractatae, CCCXI, al.). But he also declares that "in imitation of the Apostle St. Paul, the monk should be solicitous first of all for the eternal welfare of his relatives and friends, and of their temporal welfare in so far as it is auxiliary to the eternal" (Murphy, p. 34, see Regulae Brevius Tractatae, CXC).

2. ep. 290, 12 f., cit. (p. 110).
In conclusion: apart from the more or less consistent use of terminology, Basil gives the traditional notion of friendship, as founded on a natural feeling, a Christian orientation. If as early as in classical writers friendship is based upon virtue, Basil and the other Christian writers give further emphasis to its ethical-religious value: friendship is thus regarded as a grace from God. According to such a 'mystical' conception, friendship is able to join in bonds of love even persons who live separated from each other, or who have never met: for they live in community of faith and ideals.

2. Fabre, p. 141.
For reference purposes I subjoin a list of Basil's main correspondents. My comments indicate how close was his connection with them.

**AMBROGIUS**: an influential lay compatriot of Basil's, and a friend of long standing: "And who knows how to honour an old friendship, to revere virtue, and to sympathize with those who labour, as well as yourself?" (ep.33,1 f.). Ep. 147, addressed to him on behalf of Maximus (former governor of Cappadocia, who had been unjustly accused of embezzlement), tells us of his interest in learned reminiscences, as is built on a series of comparisons between the sufferings of Odysseus and those of Maximus.

**AMPHILCHIUS**, bishop of Iconium: his decision to become a hermit was frustrated by his appointment to the see of Iconium. In ep. 161, Basil expresses joy and gratitude to God for Amphilochnus' election, and encourages him to pursue his task. Amphilochnus campaigned against Arianism and other heretical sects. Basil dedicated to him his "De Spiritu Sancto", and wrote several letters to inform him of the problems of the churches. The beginning of ep. 201 reads as follows: "For many reasons do I desire to meet you, both that I may employ you as an adviser on matters in hand, and in general that, beholding you after a long time, I may have some consolation for your absence."

**ANDRONICUS**, a general: in writing to him on behalf of Domitian, an offender (ep.112), Basil employs rich and complimentary language. He regrets having failed to visit the general (1,5 f.): "I know that I agreed to visit Sebaste and enjoy the company of your Perfection; and I did go there, but missed meeting you, since I arrived a little too late for your noble self."

**ANTIOCHUS**: the nephew of Eusebius of Samosata. Basil sends him a short letter (ep. 146) of spiritual advice and encouragement. Elsewhere (e.g. ep.157) he commends himself to Antiochus' prayers.

**ANTIPATER**: a governor of Cappadocia. In ep. 137 Basil appeals to him for help and protection for Palladia, a relative of his.

**ARINTHAUS**: Flavius A., a general and an orthodox Christian, had the courage (together with Trajanus and Victor) to oppose boldly the

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emperor Valens (Theodoret, Eccl. Hist. IV, 30). After Julian's death, he worked for the choice of a Christian successor (Amm. XXV 5, 2). In 367 he was in command in the Gothic War. Basil appears to be on friendly terms with him, and asks for his intervention in ep. 179.

Ep. 269 is addressed to Arintheus* wife, in consolation for his death (year 377 or 378).

Ascholius, bishop of Thessalonica: baptized Theodosius at Thessalonica in 330, before his Gothic war, and attended the Council of Constantinople in 381 (Socrates, Eccl. Hist. V, 6 and 9). Basil emphasizes his "fellowship" in the faith and "union of the spirit" with him (ep. 154, 7 f.). He writes about "the graces of the Spirit" that are in Ascholus (ep. 165, 5).

Atarbius*, bishop of Neocaesarea and a relative of Basil's: ep. 65 was written before a break took place between the two, with a subsequent effort on the part of Basil to rescue Atarbius from Sabellianism. Basil clearly shows his willingness to re-establish communion with the other; he appeals both to the notion of friendship (lines 5 ff.: "...I consider that in matters of friendship defeat has the force of victory") and to the law of Christian charity (with reference to 1 Cor. 13.4 ff.). He also approaches Atarbius very tactfully in ep. 126.

Athanasius*, bishop of Alexandria: of the six extant letters addressed to him, ep. 61 is an answer about the excommunication of a governor of Libya; the other five (epp. 66, 67, 69, 80, 82) deal with the vital question of the union of the churches. Basil puts all his confidence in Athanasius' help (see, e.g., ep. 69, 1, 1 f.: "The opinion of your Honour which we long ago conceived is being ever confirmed by the passage of time... ").

Barsees, bishop of Edessa: exiled by the Arian persecution (Theodoret, Eccl. Hist. IV, 14). Basil (ep. 264, 1 ff.) addresses him as follows: "To one who is truly most beloved of God and worthy of every respect and honour, bishop Barsees, Basil sends greetings in the Lord." He insistently commends himself to his prayers.

Bosporius, bishop of Colonia in Cappadocia Secunda: a close friend of both Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus. He had apparently (ep. 51) lent ear to a calumnious report that Basil had anathematized bishop Dianius (who had subscribed to the creed of Ariminum).
CANDIDADUS: a governor of Cappadocia, and a friend of Basil and Gregory; perhaps a pagan. Basil sends him a letter (ep.3) rich in classical references: apt therefore to a person who is likely to have been a fellow-student, probably in Athens.

DIODORUS: a presbyter in Antioch in 373, and later (373) bishop of Tarsus (Theodoret, Epic. Hist. IV,22 and ep.16 - Aesma II, pp.53f.). Basil, in commenting on Diodorus' works, utters some very interesting literary judgements (ep.135).

EULANCIUS: from the tone of the letter addressed to him (ep.208), Eulancius appears to have been a friend and a supporter of Basil: "... for a long time you had been one of those who were hated on account of us, not one of those who dared to hate us on account of others. Therefore be the same as you always have been..." (7 ff.). He may have been a sophist (or perhaps a high officer?), as Basil writes (1 ff.): "For a long time you have been silent, and you have been so although you are ordinarily very talkative and have made it a custom and a profession always to say something and to display yourself in words."

EUPATERIUS: he and his daughter (otherwise unknown) must have been committed Christians; Basil (ep.159) answers their questions about the orthodox doctrine on the Holy Ghost.

EUSEBIUS, bishop of Samosata: ep.27 is marked by a particularly reverent tone: Basil is not a bishop yet, and speaks about "the great treasures" of Eusebius' wisdom (line 15). Especially when writing to him Basil opens his heart, and pours out all the weight of his troubles and cares (cf. ep.30). In ep. 34, Basil emphasizes his distress more than usual: Eusebius must have been able to sympathize with him and to understand the problems of the churches perhaps better than most other friends and colleagues of Basil's.

Basil calls Eusebius "the noble guardian of the faith and the vigilant champion of the churches" (ep.136,2,23 f.). To him Basil writes (ep.100, 1 ff.): "I beheld the letter of your Charity...with the same feelings with which men at sea behold a beacon fire shining from afar upon the deep...". Another letter (ep.241) is exclusively a request for "more intense prayer on behalf of the churches".

EUSEBIUS: not to be confused with the bishop of Samosata; he was a friend and fellow student of Basil in Athens: "Of how much worth do you think I consider it to renew all these things (i.e., their youth) in memory through meeting you, and, casting aside burdensome old age, to fancy that I have become young again instead of old?" (ep.271,10ff.).
HUSTATHIUS, a physician: Basil regards him as one of the "wise men who love the Lord" (ep.151,4). A doctrinal letter addressed to him (ep.139) is generally ascribed to Gregory of Nyssa (against the Pneumatomachi).

HELLADIUS comes: known only from ep. 109, in which Basil pleads for a widow and her heirs. He is also mentioned in ep. 107,10.

HESYCHIUS: known only from epp. 64 and 72. The former, especially, sounds friendly and appreciative; Basil emphasizes the common love of letters among the "many things" which have bound him to Hesychius. In ep. 72, Basil asks him to settle a quarrel.

INNOCENTIUS bishop: of uncertain identity. Ep.50 is marked by a tone of reverence, as to a spiritual father (4f.: "...you have consented to come down to lowly men like us...", etc.). Basil calls Innocentius "friend and true glorifier" of the Holy Spirit (line 15).

JOVINUS, bishop of Perrha: Basil addresses to him a short 'sophistic' letter (ep.113), asking for a visit.

Another JOVINUS, a comes, otherwise unknown, appears to have been highly esteemed by Basil, who writes to him in a very friendly manner (ep.163).

LEONTIUS the sophist: Basil speaks of him in terms of a true friend, as distinct from a flatterer (epp. 20,34 and 21,14). He displays a particularly rich style, to be much appreciated by a sophist, whose tongue will "in no event be silent, being both sophistic and Attic, any more than the nightingale when spring stirs it to song" (ep.20,12-14).

MARTINIANUS: ep. 74 was addressed to him in 371, about the division of Cappadocia by Valens. Deferrari (II, p.66,n.1) suggests that he was a philosopher or a man of letters, on the basis of the abundant literary references in the letter, and of Basil's profuse compliments to the man.
MAXIMUS the philosopher: surely a Christian (ep.9, 1,3-5: "We are delighted to find you not slothful in your attitude towards the first and greatest of the virtues - love towards both God and neighbour"). Basil discusses with him matters of theology.

MELETIUS, bishop of Antioch: Basil employs words of love and reverence towards him, and insists at length upon the joy of receiving his letters, "full of all wisdom and grace" (ep. 57; cf. ep. 39). Basil regards him as the legitimate Catholic bishop in Antioch (ep. 120), and writes to Athanasius of Alexandria (ep. 67, 12-15): 

"...(Meletius) is a man not open to censure as regards his faith, and in respect to his life admits no comparison with the rest, as also in this respect, that he stands at the head of the whole body of the Church, so to speak, while the residue are, as it were, segments of its limbs".

MODESTIUS the prefect: Flavius Domitius M., praefectus urbi in Constantinople, later praefectus praetorio, per Orientem. He persecuted the Catholics under Valens. At the command of the emperor, he attempted to induce Basil to share communion with the Arians (Theodoret, Eccl. Hist. IV,16). Shortly after this, Modestus fell ill: he summoned Basil, humbly apologized for his insolence towards him, and asked for his prayers. As he soon recovered, he subsequently professed great admiration and respect for Basil, who often pleaded with him for favours. The extant letters of Basil addressed to him (104, 110, 111, 279, 280, 281) display a rather flattering intonation, in accordance with the man's high position.

1. about the Antiochene schism, see above, p. 52, n.1.
2. On Modestius' curriculum vitae, see Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart, vol.15.2 (1932), 2323-2326.
NECTARIUS: according to Tillemont (see De ferrari, 1, p. 33, n.1), is to be identified with the future bishop of Constantinople, successor of St. Gregory of Nazianzus and predecessor of St. John Chrysostom. Basil consoles him (ep. 5) and his wife (ep. 6) for the death of their son.

OLYMPIUS: a wealthy layman of Neocaesarea, and a trusted supporter and friend of Basil, who wrote to him rather elaborate letters, also rich (ep. 4) in references to Stoic and Cynic philosophers. The tone of ep. 11 (without address) proves it likely to have been sent to Olympius (10-14): "If the holy God soon permits you to be released from your cares, we beg you to consider nothing more urgent than a sojourn with us. For I am sure that you have found none who so loves you or values so highly your friendship". In ep. 131, Basil defends himself against any charge of heresy.


ORIGEN: according to the information derived from ep. 17, he was apparently a rhetorician, as well as a Christian apologist.

PERGAMIANUS: it is conjectured from ep. 56 that he was a layman of some weight. Basil plays the sophist in this letter, and resorts to a long, subtle introduction. "...So when you next write to us, do not consider that you are beginning a second series of letters, but that you are paying off the debt which this present note creates. For even though my letter is a return for your previous one, yet, by exceeding yours in length by more than twice, it will pay off the double obligation. Do you see to what sophistry idleness has driven me?" (9-15).
FEBER, bishop of Alexandria: he succeeded Athanasius in 373 (Theodoret, Eccl. Hist. IV, 17). "True love" and "communion according to the faith" are stressed as a strong spiritual bond existing between Basil and Peter (ep. 133, 9-11 and ep. 266, 1, 2): a bond based on the same concern for the welfare of the churches.

POEMENIUS, bishop of Satala in Armenia: a close relation of Basil, who appointed him in 372 to the see in Satala, in compliance with the commission received by Valens. It is noteworthy that on some occasions when Basil writes to his fellow-bishops about theological or ecclesiastical matters (see ep. 122 to Poemenius), he does not employ long and elaborate introductions but goes straight to the main point.

SOPHRONIUS, magister officiorum: a fellow-countryman and fellow-student in Athens of Basil and Gregory. Basil writes (ep. 272, 1, 16ff.): "...although I have loved many from early youth to this old age of mine, (you) know that I have preferred no one in friendship to your Perfection". Sophronius became a high officer in the Civil Service, and in 365 was appointed prefect of Constantinople, as a reward for warning Valens of Procopius' attempted usurpation (Amm. XXV, 9). Both Basil and Gregory addressed to him many letters of commendation. Basil's ep. 32 ends like this (part 2, 21-23): "So become yourself both our adviser and our protector, and by means of your great wisdom discover the right form of help". A passage from ep. 72 (20 ff.) reads as follows: "Our sole consolation, considering the terrible plight we are in (i.e., the division of Cappadocia), has seemed to be to bewail our sufferings to your Clemency, and to urge you, if you have influence, to stretch a hand to our city now fallen to her knees."

In ep. 272, Basil tactfully, yet firmly, rebukes Sophronius for believing some slanderous reports about him.
SOPHRONIUS, a bishop: to be distinguished from the above mentioned Sophronius magister officiorum. Basil calls him "a spiritual brother" (ep. 172,3), and expresses joy at his charity.

TERENTIUS, comes and general: he held Valens’ favour, in spite of his orthodoxy. Basil approaches him with ecclesiastical as well as with doctrinal questions: ep.99 and ep. 214 (written during the Antiochene schism, in 375, and trying to divert Terentius from the side of Paulinus to that of Meletius).

THEODORUS: identity unknown; Basil writes him a passionate letter of friendship (ep. 124).

THEODOTUS, bishop of Nicopolis and metropolitan of Lesser Armenia: the mutual high esteem between him and Basil did not prevent them from growing cold toward each other, as Basil did not at first join him in his suspicions about Eustathius of Sebaste’s doctrinal position (ep. 130; cf. ep. 121).

TRAJAN: the recipient of ep. 143 is likely to have been the commander-in-chief of the army under Valens.

URBICIUS, a monk: of unknown identity. He must have been highly esteemed by Basil, who writes as follows (ep. 123, 9-11): "But pray do visit us, either to console us, or to give advice, or to send us on our way, but in any case by the very sight of you to make us easier at heart."

VITUS, bishop of Charrae in Mesopotamia: Sozomen (Hist.Ecc. VI, 33) speaks of him as well known for his sanctity. This is in accordance with Basil's words (ep. 255, 2 ff.): "...ever since I made the acquaintance of your Affection I have had the great longing to live with you if it were possible, but if not, at least to write and to receive letters...".

ZOILUS: Basil describes him as "highly educated and so versed in writing" (ep. 194, 2 f.) and as "an eloquent man" (ibid., 3). They appear to have been on friendly terms with each other.

The relationship of friendship between Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus has been briefly taken into consideration above, as well as the evolution in the relationship with Eustathius of Sebaste, and with Gregory of Nyssa, Basil's brother. For the Basil-Libanius correspondence, see Deferrari, IV, Introduction (with bibliography).

1. p. 31, n.1 (with reference to Giet, Sasimeg).
2. p. 95 (and cf. Courtonne, Un témoin, pp. 179-222).
SECTION III

THEODORET OF CYRUS AS RHETOR
CHAPTER ONE

Theodoret of Cyrus' education and doctrinal position

In the foregoing sections I have tried to emphasise the spiritual and intellectual sides of Basil's character. The use of epistles as sources of biographical evidence as well as of cultural history represents a common trend.

My approach to Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, will be from a different angle. It is appropriate to underline the character and value of letter-writing as they were regarded in the late Roman and early Byzantine period, that is, to pay attention to the cultured and refined ways of writing of which the epistolographers of the time made use, bound as they were to the rhetorical traditions dominating both the Eastern and the Western parts of the Roman Empire.

1. according to Sykutris, Probleme der byzantinischen Epistolographie, Athens 1932, quoted by N.M.Wagner, "A Chapter in Byzantine Epistology: the Letters of Theodoret of Cyrus", in Dumberton Oaks Papers 4 (1943), p. 123. This article has been a stimulating starting-point for the present section.

2. Theodoret's life (393-c.457) exemplifies the ideal outline of a tripartite experience, devoted to the acquirement of education first, then to monasticism, and eventually to the episcopate and its cares: v. supra, p. 21 n. 1. The personality of Theodoret is the subject of Y. Azema's thesis (Theodoret de Cyr d'après sa Correspondance, Étude sur la Personnalité Morale, Religieuse et Intellectuelle de l'Evêque de Cyr, Paris, 1951.)
We now move further into an age - the fifth century - when the Byzantine aestheticism and pompous mentality overwhelmed every field of expression, and must realise the extent to which the letter would be subservient to conventions and delimited forms, and addicted to literary manners. Sister Wagner remarks that "It seems, after all, a reasonable inference that the act itself of expressing thought through a written medium would have almost inevitably involved a conscious regard for convention...particularly in an age when rule and precept everywhere held sway over the written word." To rhetoricians, the letter was one genre of προσωπολογία, together with the panegyric and the suasoria.

In this section of the thesis, Theodoret's extant letters, which are said to play a prominent rôle in Byzantine epistolography, will be analysed with regard to their stylistic features and vocabulary, to ascertain how far they are true to types and conventions. This will be preceded by a brief outline of Theodoret's educational environment and curriculum, and of his doctrinal position in the ecclesiastical controversies of the period.

1. p. 124.
3. προσωπολογία in Phid. Πο. (Περὶ ποιημάτων)
5.12 (pl.); D.H. De Veterum Censusura, 3.1; Demetr. Elloc. 265.
1. Theodoret’s education

Theodoret belonged to a Christian Antiochene family of high standing. He supposedly attended the lectures of teachers (may be Christian sophists) who had been trained by Libanius. Antioch at the beginning of the fifth century was a cross-roads of peoples, their languages, mentalities and religions: only the consciousness of being of Hellenic culture could give unity to educated people. Theodoret was among these: he was bilingual, a hellenised Syrian, and the Antiochene environment was highly fitted to endow him with a deep sensitivity to human needs no less than with an intellectual and cultural education. The political as well as religious importance of Antioch in the late Roman Empire is stressed by the explicit statements of some of its citizens, such as Ammianus, Libanius, Chrysostom. Its theological school flourished side by side with the rhetorical one.

1. All biographers of Theodoret rely on the first short biographical notice about him, by Gennadius of Massilia (De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, ch. 39, in P.L. 53, 1112B — 1113 A).
2. "...ce dont on est fier et qui fait qu'on est Hellène, c'est plus la langue que la race" (P. Canivet, Histoire d'une Entreprise Apologétique au Ve siècle, Paris, 1957, p. 23).
3. Theodoret was not able to use Latin (see Gr. Affect. Curatio, V, 74, ed. by P. Canivet, in Sources Chrétiennes, no. 57, vol. I, p. 250). About the languages spoken in Antioch in this period, see: G. Haddad, Aspects of Social Life in Antioch in the Hellenistic-Roman Period, Diss., Chicago, 1949, pp. 112-114.
4. Their testimonies are collected by Haddad, pp. 25 ff.
Theodoret must have followed the usual curriculum, and studied grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy. Canivet\(^1\) investigates the compass of his education, on the basis of the *Graecarum Affectionum Curatic* and of the correspondence, and emphasises that his culture is that of a man of letters rather than of a philosopher. Canivet devotes space to building up a detailed picture of Theodoret's knowledge of pagan religions, of history, science and philosophy.\(^2\) The conclusions that Canivet reaches about Theodoret's philosophical learning are especially worthy of mention: "À Antioche, il a certainement appris la rhétorique, mais aucun indice ne permet de supposer qu'il ait pu y suivre des cours de philosophie."\(^3\) Theodoret is a link in the chain joining Platonism and Christianity, but he employs a terminology which is closer to that of asceticism than to that of philosophy.\(^4\) Analogously, he owes to Stoicism a certain vocabulary, particularly in regard to knowledge and psychology; but this, too, "fait partie de sa culture de moine et il n'en est nullement redécevable au stocïsme qu'il ne connaît pas."\(^5\)

Before progressing into a further analysis of Theodoret’s learning, with specific reference to his rhetorical training, it will be necessary to give an account of his position in the ecclesiastical controversies of the period.

2. Theodoret’s doctrinal position

Theodoret was consecrated bishop of Cyrus in 423, after seven years’ experience of monastic life at Nicerta, near Apamea. He then continued his ascetic regime and at the same time attended to his pastoral duties, and worked at converting pagans as well as Jews and heretics. At the outbreak of the Nestorian controversy, Theodoret became the champion of the Antiochans, and opposed the twelve anathemas of St. Cyril of Alexandria as being tinged with Apollinarianism. He therefore refused to condemn Nestorius at the Council of Ephesus in 431. The supporters of Eutyches and of Dioscorus of Alexandria condemned Theodoret at the Robber Synod of Ephesus

1. cf. ep. 31 and 113.

2. The doctrine of Nestorius developed from the Antiochene theology of Eustathius of Sebaste, Diodorus of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia, in opposition to Arianism and Apollinarianism. It is dyophysite, and therefore in contrast to the expositions of St. Cyril, who held that there was one “nature” (physis) in Christ: in this, Cyril’s opponents detected Apollinarian echoes (see New Catholic Encyclopaedia, s.v. “Nestorianism,” by P.T. Camelot).

3. Eutyches, against whom Theodoret wrote his Eranistes in 447, was a Constantinopolitan abbot, and the father of Monophysitism. Dioscorus succeeded Cyril as patriarch of Egypt, and followed strictly the theology of his predecessor.
in 449, and Theodosius II exiled him to his monastery at Apamea. After appealing to pope Leo I and accepting the christological doctrine of the Tome of Leo, he was restored to his see by the Emperor Marcian and was proclaimed an "orthodox Father" at the Council of Chalcedon in 451.

Theodoret has long been blamed for his rather imprecise statements in the christological question, and has been held partly responsible for the divisions in the Eastern Church. In recent years, a more accurate investigation into his works and into the controversies of his time has led scholars to a revaluation of Theodoret as the theologian of the school of Antioch and as the defender of the doctrine of Chalcedon.

When dealing with the doctrinal evolution of Theodoret, Marcel Richard emphasises one relevant point of his christology: namely, his usage of concrete and "personal" terms to designate the human nature assumed by the Word. Richard makes clear that, in resorting to such terms, Theodoret meant to follow closely the teaching of the Holy Scriptures and therefore to defend the orthodox tradition. But

   Garnier's judgement of the bishop of Cyrus is too strict and undeserved, according to Canivet (Introduction to the Curatic, I, p.7, n.3).
2. Debate continues over Theodoret's doctrine. A widely-respected recent review is to be found in A. Grillmeier, Christ in Christian Tradition, from the Apostolic Age to Chalcedon (451), transl. by J.S. Bowden, London, 1965, pp. 419-427.
4. ibid., p. 463.
he dropped this use after 432. Richard writes: "Il faut admettre qu'à un moment quelconque l'évêque de Cyr s'est rendu compte de l'ambiguïté de ces formules, et cela, sans aucun doute, à la lecture des écrits de saint Cyrille." And he stresses Theodoret's loyalty in acknowledging his antagonist's orthodoxy, only a few months after the Council of Ephesus.

After Chalcedon, Theodoret devoted himself to the government of his diocese as well as to writing polemical and exegetical works.


We have seen that Theodoret was well-read. Not only does he show his classical knowledge through quotations and allusions, but he also displays a rhetorical training through the use of figures of speech and of imagery and through his εὐγλώττια. In my remarks on Theodoret, it will be my aim to attempt an evaluation of the extent and depth of rhetorical education, on the basis of a stylistic and linguistic analysis of the correspondence of the fifth-century bishop.

Photius underlined the Attic beauty and purity of Theodoret's diction:

καὶ ἂ λέξις δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ συνθήμη τῆς ἀττικῆς εὐγενείας οὐ φεύγει τὰς γονίδις, πλὴν εἰ τι περιεργότερον αὐτῆς ἔστι καὶ τῆς ὧν φανερῶς πολλόν ἀκοῆς ἀνακεχωρηκός....

And similarly:

πάντων τῶν εἰρημένων κατάληλον φράσιν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ μᾶλλον οὖστος ἐπέθηκε σαφῆς τε γιὰρ καὶ ύψηλὸς καὶ ἀπέριττος...
I will try to verify to what extent Photius' judgement about Theodoret's style is applicable to his letters in particular. This will enable us to ascertain whether Theodoret represents a link between the Second Sophistic, the influence of which can be seen in the fourth-century Fathers, and Byzantine writers of later date, such as Roman the Melodist. In this respect, Theodoret would rank with Isidore of Pelusium, among his contemporaries.

Not only in practice, as we will see, but also in theory, Theodoret displays consideration for the value of words, and urges his friend, Aerius the sophist, to make use of his rhetorical ability

1. They have been defined as "stylistische Kunstwerke" by O. Bardenhewer (Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, Freiburg, 1924, IV, p. 245). Garnier (P.G. 34, 254) writes as follows: "Nihil hoc in genere scribendi perfectius: nam quae sunt epistolarum virtutes, brevitas, perspicuitas, elegantia, urbanitas, modestia, observantia decori et ingeniosa prudensaque ac erudita simplicitas, in epistolis Theodoreti admirabiliter elucent ut scribentibus exemplo esse possint."


3. See articles by Redl and Bartelink, cit. p. 13, n. 2 and 4.

4. Cf. his ep. 22 to the <omnes diligamus (Aegea II, p. 73, 3f.): τούσ λόγους φασίν καὶ συν ἐν δικαίωμα τῆς ἀθείν μεταφράζειν καὶ ἄμελνο ποιεῖν.

The statement which immediately follows, that beautiful characters do not need the beauty of words, but, rather, they embellish words, does not conceal Theodoret's actual consideration for the weight of rhetoric.
for the needy's benefit. He thus undertakes the task begun by the earlier Fathers of the Church, and gives Christian ideals the customary literary and stylistic modes of classical antiquity: that is, he continues to develop the "intellectual attitude of Christian humanism". The Christian faith required precision of speech and dialectical training, and needed to be able to handle the same arms as the heathen. Rhetorical education was "comme le dénominateur de la bonne société", according to Petit's statement: a socio-economic motivation for it is offered by the fact that this kind of instruction was required in order to take one's place among the ranks of the huge Imperial bureaucracy. At the same time, the long-standing survival of this education can find a socio-psychological explanation in the proud awareness of belonging, or rather, referring, to the same cultural background, as a liaison among different races.

Theodoret provides evidence for the gradual change in cultural and social atmosphere which was taking place as the life of the Eastern empire became subject in a fuller and deeper way to Byzantine civilization. Even if this civilization can (as it must) be regarded

1. ep. 30 (ibid., p. 33,10 f.); ἠδόν καὶ ρόδι τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀκαδήμιαν δείξατί τῶν λόγων τὴν ὀφέλειαν.

2. According to the definition given by H. Hunger ("On the Imitation - μίμησις - of Antiquity in Byzantine Literature", in Dunbarton Oaks Papers, 23-24 (1969-70), p. 21), who also points to the lack of search for originality in Greek antiquity and Byzantine Middle Ages, and the importance attributed to a close study of classics for the sake of imitation (p. 17).

as an "independent entity", there is nevertheless no doubt that during Byzantine times the Greek-Hellenistic element played an important role in the field of rhetoric, of scholarship, and of literature in general. Theodoret can be considered as one of the major exponents of that Hellenic culture which was to be assimilated more and more (and so to be changed) into a wholly different climate of civilisation, pervaded by orthodox Christianity; and, in particular, as an exponent of that Atticistic movement, the purity of which was to fade, over-whelmed progressively through contact with the more practical language of everyday. The banner of the ἀρχαῖα φιλοσοφία, of which Themistius calls himself the representative, are likely to have been handed on by Theodoret, not less than by Isidore, to their later exponents. "Πρὸς τοὺς ἀττικοὺς ἀλλὰν πάλιν τρέχουσι λειμῶνας αἱ ἡμέτεραι μέλιται", thus Theodoret writes to the sophist Isocasius. One century later, Choricius, the pupil of Procopius, the main interpreter of the archaizing tendency in literature promoted by the rhetorical school of Gaza, will say in the funeral oration for his master that he had initiated his students τῶν ἀρχαίων ὄργανων and had let them pick λειμῶνας 'Ἀττικοῦς'.

Aeneas of Gaza writes

2. ep. XXVII (XXIII), vol. I Azema, p. 94 f., 19 f.
The use of rhetorical imitation, both in the fifth century and later, can be proved to be extant and relevant, even without being clearly expressed from a theoretical point of view. Hunger is right in asserting that "the reason for this is probably that the tradition of imitating rhetorical models had for a long time become a customary practice. When customs and institutions have become firmly rooted in a continuous and stable convention, explanations and justifications of their existence are seldom wanted."

I have mentioned, so far, the function of λόγοι ἀπεικονίδια as fitted into the frame of the ὑποτιμου ῥήμα and of imitation (μιμησι) of classical models. Before analysing the way in which Theodoret resorted to them in his letters, let us answer the following questions: in what milieu could the Hellenic tradition operate and exert its influence? Was such a milieu able to exercise its influence also on Christians? And, finally, is it reasonable to conduct such an investigation, as mentioned above, into the epistolary genre? Or would we not rather expect that Theodoret felt concern about Atticism and observation of stylistic rules in more 'public' works such as his Therapeutics, in which he could challenge Hellenism by using Hellenism itself?

1. p. 18.
The school was the environment for transmission of the Hellenic tradition: and this very school Christians themselves would attend, beside pagans, and listen to teachers who in most cases were pagans. In the fifth century, the everyday contact between pagans and christians, who were equally involved in the tasks of municipal and of imperial administration, would start in their earliest childhood and continue in their schooldays. Sophists enjoyed high reputation, even if they were pagan, among learned Christians: the former are praised by the latter not only when their powerful help in worldly matters is requested, but often and simply in their capacity of learned and eloquent personalities. Both Basil and Theodoret liked to entrust young people to sophists, with whom they appear to have been on cordial and friendly terms. Basil wrote to Libanius: "I feel ashamed when I introduce the Cappadocians to you one by one, instead of persuading all men of suitable age to seek after eloquence and learning and to employ you as the master of their training." By introducing a young Cappadocian to the sophist, he felt as if he was guiding "the thirsty to springs of water". Theodoret sounds even less reserved when he writes for the same purpose to his friend, the pagan sophist Isocasius, in Antioch. "L'exemple de Théodoret montre qu'à Antioche du moins des chrétiens peuvent sans risque

1. cf., e.g., Theodoret, ep. 30 to the sophist Aerius, on behalf of Celestacius.
2. ep. 335, 1 ff. See also ep. 337.
3. ep. 335 cit., 1.
The influence of rhetorical and sophistic education on Christians, through the milieu of school, having been established, we can go on to consider the question of the relevance of letter-writing as an acknowledged genre, deserving literary interest from the point of view of style.

In antiquity as well as in Byzantine times, a letter was often more than a private communication: it was, rather, a rhetorical exercise, which might not so much carry an actual message as aim to stimulate and blandish the recipient's emotional and intellectual tastes. In letters exchanged between men of high literary culture, not always for a practical purpose, the rules of rhetoric, transmitted by scholastic tradition, were carefully observed. No originality was claimed (apart from the appreciation of variations within the common outline), but homage paid to a specific scheme of contents, structure and style.

Such systematic arrangement was not to be neglected in the "favorite Byzantine pastime of letter-writing", even in the case of theological or dogmatic letters written by learned Christians.

1. Canivet, p. 33, who also writes: "Théodoret fit à la fréquentation des milieux non chrétiens un avantage qu'il mettra au service de son apostolat, c'est-à-dire une ouverture d'esprit, une attitude de large accueil, un certain humanisme qui, avec la charité dont il est toujours fait une règle, lui permettront d'entretenir, au cours de son épiscopat, des rapports suivis et cordiaux avec des hommes qui ne partageaient pas sa foi." (Ibid).

2. Jenkins, p. 45.
A letter was meant to be a 'public' production: conforming to the regulations of rhetorical training and of imitation, and itself likely to be analysed and imitated, as it might be passed round in literary circles or groups. Theodoret will prove in the following study to be in fact bound to rhetorical and Attitistic patterns.


...διαθε γὰρ τότε καὶ εἷς τὰς ἑμᾶς χειρας χρυσός....

τὰ σὰ φημι γράμματα καὶ ὁ πολὺς ἐν ἑκεῖνοις πλοῦτος

...ἐγὼ δὲ περιχαρῆς τῇ συντυχίᾳ γενόμενος κολυνθ

προθέμα τοῦ παραθή τὸ κέρδος, καὶ πάντες μετείχον τὸ ὅλον ἑμάστος ἑχειν φιλονεικοῦντες, καὶ οὐκ ἠλπτοῦμην ἐγὼ διεξιοῦσα γὰρ τὰς πάντων χειρας ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἑδιος ἑκάστου πλοῦτος ἐγίνετο....

The edition of Theodoret's letters by Y. Azéma (Sources Chrétiennes, three volumes, nos. 40, 93, 111, Paris, 1955-1965) includes 47 epistles from the Collection Patmensis (represented by only one manuscript from Patmos) and 147 from the Collectio Sirmondiana (from the name of their first editor - see Migne, P.G. 83, col.1173-1409). The present study will be based on this edition, and, in quotations, the number of the letter will be followed by the page and line number. I will either quote the Greek text or use my own translation into English, when necessary. L. Destombes (Recherches sur la correspondance de Théodoret, Univ. Catholique de Lille, 1944-45), has studied the manuscript tradition, authenticity (with a discussion about epp. 110 and 86) and chronology of Theodoret's letters, and has devoted the third chapter of his thesis to their recipients. Dating must be grounded exclusively upon internal evidence, and letters are divided by Destombes in two main groups - epistles written before 448 (Theodoret's relegation to Cyrus, followed by deposition in 449 and exile) and letters written between 449 and 451.

1. They are contained in the first volume of the edition by Azéma.

2. Roman numerals refer to the Collectio Patmensis.
CHAPTER TWO

Figures of speech in Theodoret's letters

I will first examine those accessory devices, the deliberately repeated use of which illustrates Theodoret's close adherence to the rules of rhetoric.¹

1. Figures of redundancy and repetition.

Periphrasis (Campbell p. 25, Mitsakis p. 166) is rare: in many cases it is a question of resorting to expressions based on such verbs as γράφωμαι or ποιοῦμαι.

σύφρονι λογισμῷ κεχρημένοι (14, 46, 13 f.);
ποιησόμεθα πρόνοιαν (73, 130, 20); γράφωμαι συνέει
κεκοσμημέναι (92, 242, 18); λύσιν λαβεῖν (120, 32, 12).

Examples of pleonasm² (Campbell p. 27, Guignet p. 36) are significant, and are sometimes combined with alliteration and (or) polysyndeton. I am considering in this category words which are nearly, but not quite, identical. Their frequency does not allow me to agree with Sister Wagner's statement, that they are "scattered" and such that they "do not constitute a stylistic mannerism":³

¹. For a framework of this kind of analysis, cf. Guignet (cit. p. 34 n.2) and Campbell (cit. p. 50 n.4). For the selective treatment of figures of speech, cf. Mitsakis, The Language of Romanos the Melodist (Ryz. Archiv., Hft. 11) Munchen, 1967, pp. 163 ff. I am not offering a definition in English of these figures, because this can be found in the above-mentioned works.
². "Cette figure est oratoire par nature; elle étoffe le discours, amplifie le ton, favorise l'harmonie rythmique..." (Guignet p. 36).
³. p. 167.
διπλῶς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ φιλῶ καὶ ἀγαπῶ καὶ γεραῖρωι

(XV, 87, 22 f.); ἀμβητητι...καὶ θηριώδες. (XXII, 93, 11 f.),
cf. ὁμοὶ καὶ θηριῶδες (141, 150, 25) and ὁμοὶ καὶ θηριῶδες (ibid., 28); λυμένι...εὐδρίῳ καὶ εὐστάμῳ καὶ ἀπνέμῳ (XXII, 93, 19); ὡς ἐρῶς χρημάτων καὶ φιλόξυρου καὶ τοῦ πλείονος ἐφιέμενοι (XI, 104, 15 f.);

ἀδίκως...καὶ δίχα κρίσεως (9, 36, 6); γεγήθαις, καὶ γαννυμέθα, καὶ χορεύομεν (21, 74, 19 f.), cf. γάννυμαι καὶ εὐφραίνομαι (128, 106, 16) and similarly 133, 126, 2; 142, 154, 20 f., etc.; δέδικα καὶ πρώτῳ (77, 166, 14), cf. δέδικε τε καὶ πέφυκεν (78, 178, 21); πρῶτος καὶ κορυφαῖος (36, 230, 9 f.); γελώμενα τε καὶ

1. Cf. the similar pleonasm in Nilus, epp. I, 146 (P. G. 79, 144A):

τὴν ἐπιποθεῖ, καὶ στέργει, καὶ ἀγαπῇ τὸ θεῖον πνεῦμα,

ἡ τὴν ἐνωσίν, καὶ ὀμνύοντας, καὶ τὴν φιλαλληλίαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν;

2. Similar combinations are to be found in: Th. 3. [34] (ὁμοίος καὶ ἀπαραίτητως); Ἰσ. 19, 31 (φ. καὶ σχ. ετελώς ἔχειν);

D. 29, 2 (φ. καὶ πιθοῦς).

3. Nilus expresses the same feelings by a similar pleonasm:


4. This sentence resembles the sophisticated locution πρῶτος καὶ μόνος, which is found in Gregory of Nazianzus (P. G. 35, 1121 C (end), quoted by Guignet, p. 33).
According to the examples quoted above, there can be established in Theodoret a tendency to play upon a certain number of words (mainly verbs or adjectives), which occur rather frequently in the same pattern to express given feelings. Analogous emphasis is obtained through the employment of the double adjective, which is to be found constantly with proper names of persons: e.g., τὸν θαυμασιώτατον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατον ἑλεστιακὸν (30, 83, 17 f.); ὁ δύνατατος καὶ ἀγάπατοτο.... Ἰάκωβος (42, 112, 11) etc.\(^1\)

**Autonomasia** (to be included among the figures of redundancy when a periphrasis is employed for the description of a person; otherwise it is a "minor figure", or, more exactly, a subdivision of synecdoche: Campbell p. 72, Mitsakis p. 166), is very common in Theodoret's letters, especially to designate God (ὁ δικαιοκρίτης, e.g. III, 76, 22; νομοθέτης, VIII, 81, 5; τὸς πυθίας νομοθέτης; XLIII, 107, 7; τὸν ὅλων πολιτικὴ τε καὶ πρωτανία, e.g., 11, 33, 17; ὁ φιλόδωρος, 76, 166, 6; ὁ δοῦνα δυνάμενος, 24, 82, 20; τὸν ἑννοοῦν ἐπότης, e.g. 99, 16, 15; etc.), or the devil (ἡ ἐννονᾶ ἐνέργεια, LX, 13; ὁ συνλάζων, "the sifter": cf. Lk. 22, 31 ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐξητήσατο ὅμας τοῦ συνλάζαι δι τὸν σιτον; ὁ ἀλαζωρ, cf. Mitsakis p. 172); also to indicate outstanding

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\(^1\) These examples are scarcely distinguishable from the use of titles of address, customary in later Greek rhetoric and official communications: they can be regarded as cases of autonomasia (see immediately below).
men, or even inanimate things. The emperor is ἡ καλλινικοσ κομψῆ. Demosthenes is called ὁ Παλανέδο...ρήτωρ (21, 72, 12), Thucydides ὁ συγγραφεύς par excellence (73,153,16), or also "the son of Olorus" (21, 72, 20f.). The Byzantines usually quote without giving the name of the author, or by giving it in a more or less encoded form. That "the poet" was Homer, the son of Olorus, Thucydides, and the man from Paeania, Demosthenes, one learned in elementary school.¹ Finally: the Nile is called ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ποταμός (XLIX, 119, 5); and death is ἡ ἀνάγκη (16, 62, 2).

The axis-and-thesis device, i.e. the presentation of the idea first negatively and then positively (Campbell p. 29),² abounds throughout the whole body of the letters, and appears to be particularly

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¹ Hunger p. 29.

² Scattered cases of positive-negative axis and thesis can be found as well: e.g., ἡγούμενον τῶν παθῶν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἡγούμενον ύπ' αὐτῶν (65, 146, 4); ἀνάγκη προσδεδοθαι, καὶ μὴ γνώμη (79, 134, 19 f.): this is a stock-phrase: cf. 81, 193, 3 f. and 83, 210, 5 f. Similarity of situations suggests the recourse to similar phrasing.
suitable to epistles of spiritual advice, of philosophical consolation, and to emphasise commendation, as well as to underline the major points in theological disputes.

1. Cf., e.g., the numerous occurrences in ep. 3 and 77. One rather elaborate example will suffice to illustrate this essentially simple device: ὁμ οὐκ ἐχοντες, οὐ κλίνην, οὐ στραμμῆν, οὐ τράπεζαν, οὐκ ἄλλην τινά τῶν ἀναγκαίων χρείαν. ἀλλ' αἰκιζόμενοι, καὶ στρεπλούμενοι, καὶ καθειργόμενοι.... (77,163,20 and ff.).

2. It occurs many times in ep. LVII, e.g., 113,16-19, where a cumulative arrangement is to be found in the succession of negatives: οὐ γὰρ ἐκβάλλει τὴν λύπην, οὐδὲ ἀπέθει ονομάτες, οὐδὲ..., ἀλλὰ τῇ πίστει τὴν λύπην μετρεῖ.

3. See, e.g., ep.XI, 104, 11 (οὐ φύσις, ἄλλα γνώμη), ibid. 104, 13 (οὐχ υπὸ φύσισις, ἄλλ' ὑπὸ προαιρέσεως) and 104,18 (οὐ μόνον ἅδικως...ἀλλ' οὐδὲ δίκαλως).

4. See, e.g., ep. 145, 162, 16 f.; ibid. 164, 13; 164, 19-21; 166, 15; 163, 22.
Examples of anadiplosis, epanaphora, antistrophe, anastrophe, cycles and climax are relatively few. Here are some of them:

**anadiplosis**: (Campbell p. 32, Mitsakis p. 164): τελευτήν, καὶ τελευτήν καὶνην καὶ παράδοξον (XLII, 116, 1); οἶδα..., ὁ ἀνιαρὸν ὁ χωρισμός, καὶ λέγει ἀνιαρὸν (69, 150, 19 f.).

**epanaphora** (Campbell p. 32, Guignet p. 39, Mitsakis p. 165):
The words νῦν, οὗ, οὖτε, εἴτε, καίν, ἕνα are to be found most frequently at the beginning of two or more consecutive cola (e.g. epp. XXXI, 97, 7 f.; XLII, 113, 16 f.; 1, 20, 12; 72, 156, 20 f.; 113, 64, 17 f.) A good example, with μετά, is to be found in 116, 70, 9-11: μετὰ γὰρ ἐξ καὶ εἰκοσιν ἐτη τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, μετὰ τὸς πολλὸς καὶ μυρὺς πόνου; μετὰ τὸς ὑπὲρ τῆς εὔεξεθαλας ἀγῶνα, μετὰ τὸ προσενέγκαλ....

**antistrophe**, the opposite of epanaphora (Campbell, p. 35, Guignet p. 39, Mitsakis p. 165): τὸ μὲν...βάλλεσθαλ, πάντων ἀνθρώπων κοινῶν... τὸ δὲ φέρετι..., οὐκ ἐτι κοινῶν (65, 144, 23-25); ἐπέσχετο τὴν ἀνάστασιν, ἐχέγγυον... τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀνάστασεως τοῦ τιμίου σωμάτως αὐτοῦ δεδωκὼς τὴν ἀνάστασιν (76, 164, 25-27); and the emphatic repetition of the words τὸ σώμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ in 145, 166, 18-23. The same root, but different forms are employed in the following examples of anastrophe (Campbell p. 35):


2. Cf. also St. Paul, commented on by Augustine (Norden, p.504).

In a few instances, words are accumulated in a sort of climactic arrangement, so that they can afford an opportunity for punning assonances; or, rather, they express theological notions through paradox. This is the case in 126, 100, 16 ff.: El γάρ ἀπαθῆς ἡ τοῦ Μονογενοῦς θεότης, ἀπαθῆς γάρ τῆς Τριάδος ἡ φύσις, τὸ δὲ πάσχειν πεφυκὸς μὴ προσομολογηθῆ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν, μάτην θερεῖται τὸ μὴ γενόμενον πάθος. Τοῦ γὰρ πάσχοντος οὐκ ὄντος, πῶς ἂν γένοιτο πάθος; Ἀπαθῆ μὲν γὰρ τῆς θελαν φύσιν κηρύττομεν... Πῶς ἂν οὖν γένοιτο πάθος οὐκ ὑποκειμένον τοῦ πάσχοντος; In 42, 110, 2 ff.: φείσασθαι μὲν τὸν ἄλλων συντελέν, φείσασθαι δὲ τῶν τρισαθλῶν πολλευομένων. And in 24, 32, 20; 131, 116, 24; ibid. 118, 1 f.; etc.

1. "For if the deity of the Only-begotten is impassible (for the nature of the Trinity is impassible), and if we do not acknowledge that which is disposed by nature to suffer, it is idle to speak of the passion which has not taken place. For if there is no person to endure the suffering, how could there be suffering? We in fact proclaim that the divine nature is impassible.... How therefore could passion take place, if there does not subsist the person liable to suffering?" Theodoret is attacking the Docetic sect, who held that Christ’s body was not human, but either a phantom, or of real but celestial substance.
In this way, by means of repetition, doctrinal assertions are stressed. By the same device, strong feelings may be marked, as in the following examples: ἄλλι' ἄχθομαι, καὶ λάν ἄχθομαι (XIII,35,9); ἄλλα δέομαι καὶ πάλιν δέομαι (XXXIII,99,16 f.). Thus the writer wants to underline a subject which possesses relevance for him, and is not indulging merely in rhetoric. Sometimes emphasis is sought by nothing else than repetition of pronouns, possessive adjectives, or adverbs.

A particular case of repetitive paronomasia is offered by some instances, where emphasis is achieved by repetition of an adjective in its comparative or superlative degrees: e.g. ἀξιάγαστα - ἀξιάγαστότερα (51,126,17); τῷ θυμήρῳ...τῇ γὰρ θυμηρόστερον...

(35,222,15 f.)

2. See, e.g., 34,96,5 ff.; 69,150,17-19 (demonstrative pronouns); 75,162,13 f.; 93,244,13 f. (relative pronouns); 94,246,16 f. (personal pronouns).
3. See, e.g. 25,82,22 f.
4. See, e.g., 81, 198, 1 (πολλάκις); 143,156,24 and ff. (οὗτος).
In conclusion:

The employment of pleonasm in Theodoret's letters proves his tendency to repetitiveness and richness in speech. The aim of the above-quoted pleonastic redundancies is in the majority of cases merely aesthetic, and not explicative: Theodoret resorts to synonyms more to stress an idea (especially when deep feelings such as sorrow, or indignation, are involved), than to offer a choice between two or more expressions, one of which is so obscure as to require an explanation. This primarily aesthetic purpose ranks Theodoret with the rhetorical tradition, in which pleonasm satisfies the mere wish to give prominence to wealth of words, for the sake of emphasis. We cannot fully agree with Sister Wagner's statement, that "figures of redundancy and repetition do not have a significant representation in the letters of Theodoret, with the exception of antonomasia", if we consider the undoubtedly significant number of occurrences of the arsis-and-thesis device, and of repetitive paronomasia.

1. But see above, ep. 126,100,16 ff. (p. 131).
2. This occurs frequently in Christian writers, when they deal with theological terminology.
2. **Figures of sound.**

All figures of sound are represented in the letters of Theodoret. It is not always easy to decide when such figures are used deliberately, and when they arise spontaneously. I shall confine myself to quoting a selection from those examples which seem to me to be intentional.

Examples of *paronomasia* (Campbell p. 39, Guignet p. 96; Mitsakis p. 167) are sometimes short and incisive, sometimes developing into rather long passages. The latter is the case for the following instances: ὁ θεὸς ἐστὶν ἐκλεισθὲς, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἁται ἐπλέον προσφέρειν τὰ δῶρα (IX,32,7); τοι δὲ οὕτως ἀμφότεροι καὶ θερμωδοὶ γεγένηται δικαστήρι, ὡστε δικάσαι ἀνδράσιν, ἀν τῇ φωνῇ οὐκ ἐπήκουσε, καὶ οὐ δικάσαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταδικάσαι, καὶ τοῦτο λεγεῖ ἄμφοτεροι καὶ θερμωδοὶ; (141,150, 24-27); διελέγχοντες πυθόδος ἐνδειγνοστε ἡ πειθολογία (145, 176, 12 f.).

Repetitive sound-devices appear to be suited to doctrinal contexts, and to be required to support theological assertions as well as confutations: πέπονθε γὰρ τὸ παθητὸν, καὶ τὸ ἀπαθής μεμένημεν ἀπαθεῖς. Ἐννοηράπησε γὰρ ὁ θεὸς Λόγος, οὐχ ἵνα παθητὴν ἀποφήνῃ τὴν ἀπαθή φύσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα τῇ παθητῇ

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1. Cf. similar examples of adjective-adverb combination in Gregory of Nazianzus (Guignet p. 93). In this instance by Theodoret, the pair of adjectives ἀμφότεροι καὶ θερμωδοὶ is resumed by the correspondent adverbs in a cyclic phrasing.
Union or opposition of words having the same root is frequent: δειλάραστος...δειλάραστος (xx, 92, 10f.; cf. XXXIX, 103, 23 and 143, 156, 11 f.); καὶ παιδονύμιοι καὶ παιδοτρίβαι καὶ πᾶσι...παιδεύουσι (XLV,109,13-20);

φιλάνθρωποι (Δεσπότης)...φιλοχριστού(λαοῦ)(6,30,22f.); δυσετηρία...εὐετηρία (23,30,13 f.); δὲ ὅμοιότατοι...καὶ ὁμοσπόνδιοι (63,143,13 f.).

Union of simple word and compound can be found: ζυγομαχοῦνται καὶ παρὰ τὰ ζυγὰ... (XXXIV,100,2); ἀγαπῶν ἀνταγαπῶμαι (75,160,19f.); περὶ πολλοῦ...πολλάκις...; πολλά... (XXXV,100,11-13), for which cf. Gregory of Nazianzus in Guignet p. 97, and St. Paul, 2 Cor.3,22 (ἐν πολλοῖς πολλάκις σπουδαίον).

1. Similarly Romans: ὁ τὸν Θάνατον Θανατῶσας, τὸν δὲ ἀνθρωπον πολίσας ἔρινθατον (25. κβ. 2) etc. (Mitsakis p. 163).

2. Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus (Guignet p. 97) and Romans (Mitsakis p. 163 and note).

A few cases of paronomasia are achieved through combination of the passive and active forms of the same verb: καλ βαλλομένου καλ βάλλονταί (16, 36, 20, cf. 10, 33, 21); καλ τεκέν φιλίαν, καλ τεκέπην αὐξήναι (75, 162, 4 f.); etc.

A few more examples of paronomasia are worthy of mention: ἐν δεῖξῃ..., ἐν πωθί...δοκιμάσῃ, ἐν τοῖς δοξάζονται ἀντιδοξάση (77, 166, 11 f.); τὴν πόλιν μὴ ὀθρευμένην εὖρον, ..., τὴν ἀνυδρον πόλιν θδάτων ἐπιλήψα (31, 196, 17-19); κεραννύμεναν ἀκέραλοι (146, 196, 22); φαντασίᾳ καὶ δοκιμεῖ φανέντα (104, 23, 1, cf. 126, 100, 23 and 146, 130, 23); συναγωνιστῶν ἀνταγωνισμενῶν (129, 108, 13 f.). Here and elsewhere, the sound-device stresses an antithesis of thought.

Polyptoton, i.e. the repetition of the same word or words, but in different cases (Campbell p. 40, Guignet p. 90, Mitsakis p. 165), is sometimes carried out in consecutive words, sometimes after an interval: οὕτω καὶ ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφοῦ βλέπει (2, 22, 3); λιμην γὰρ ὑπάρχεις λιμένος, τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ λιμένι χειμαζομένου.

1. Polyptoton is "une moindre symétrie.... Mais c'est une de ces asymétries plus prises que la symétrie même" (Guignet, loc.cit.).

2. Examples are offered, e.g., by Nilus I.26 (F.G.79, 93A):

καὶ σινάτους εἰς σινότος πορεθέσθαι;

and by Aeneas of Gaza, VIII, 7: παρὰ φίλων πρὸς φίλους;

and XII, 6 f.: μηκέτι τοῦ εἰδώλου τὸ εἰδώλον ἐγκαταγράφειν.
Alliteration (Campbell p. 42, Guignet p. 96, Mitsakis p. 167): here again it is not always possible to ascertain to what extent occurrences of this device are deliberate. I have quoted hereafter the most striking examples, which seem to comply with the demand of consonance. Many instances of alliteration have their place in contexts of particular importance: so often the letter-writer deals with matters that he had at heart, such as problems of the churches or his personal misfortunes. In some cases, the position of words is arranged with the purpose of obtaining alliteration and/or other figures of assonance, for the sake of rhythm: πολλάν γάρ καὶ...

1. Cf. the Demosthenic example quoted by Alexander Rhetor, in Spengel, III, 34 f.: οὔτοι..., τούτοις..., ὡς τούτων....

2. Norden, pp. 59 f., stresses the musical and rhythmical value of alliteration in Greek prose. This device is frequent also in Nilus (e.g. I, 246 (P.G. 79, 173A): ἐνεὐμέθα ἐκτενῶς ἐπὶ τὸν θόντα) and in Isidore (e.g. I.485 (P.G. 73, 445D): Καππαδόκας Καρχηδονίων καλύτερα).
This is not the first case we have come across of similarities in phrasing: especially in letters of theological content, but also elsewhere, it is true that "the letters of Theodoret receive a characteristic stamp from a certain element of repetitiveness, a tendency toward using again and again the same turns of expression or pattern of thought" (Wagner, p. 174). But one cannot share Sister Wagner's rather harsh judgement (that "Theodoret may have belonged to that class of persons whose favorite clichés in speech identify them as surely as the most intimate facets of their personality"), if one considers the stylistic and linguistic variety in his letters.
Instances of assonance (Campbell p. 42) are few and scattered throughout Theodoret's letters: ἀγνοο.UIManager(1,74,6); γνῶσιν ἔχουσιν (45,113,15).

Some examples of parechesis (Campbell p. 42, or punning assonance, Mitsakis p. 163) are significant. This device gives way to a play of assonances in the concluding sentence of ep.I (74,15f.): μεγάλα γὰρ κερδίνειν μεγαλαυχ الدنيا όμετέρων μεταλαγχάνων εὑρην. An analogous jeu de mot occurs in 33,224,14 f.: οὐκ αὐθαδεία χρώμενοι, ἀλλ' ὀπό τῆς χρείας φθοδύμενοι : the antithesis is given prominence by the resort to a chiastically arranged parechesis. Here are a few shorter, but no less effective, occurrences: καὶ κάλλος ὀνομάτων καὶ πλῆθος νομιμάτων (XV, 37, 9); χρησάμενος χρήμασι (ΧΙΙΙ,105,3); ἄνδρα πολλῶν χρημάτων καὶ κτημάτων δεσπότην (34,96,10f., cf. 36,98,20f.); ἄφθοπαλνος πόνους (108,32,21); φιλονεικεὶ νικᾶν (129,103,5).

1. παράκηματ ἐστι κάλλος ὀμοίων ὀνομάτων ἐν διαφόρῳ γνῶσιν ταύταν ἄχουσιν (Spengel, II, 251,9-10).  
2. Cf. employment of parechesis by St. Paul (Norden pp. 502 f.).  
3. Cf. the same combination (χρήματα, κτήματα) in Gregory of Nazianzus, P.G.35, 1100G; 36, 377 B (quoted by Guignet, p. 100).
In conclusion, we may say that every figure of sound is represented in Theodoret's epistolary style, even if these figures do not occur in overwhelming preponderance. They are all produced, in accordance with the tendency to symmetry and antithesis, through the echoing of similar assonances within the same sentence or period.

3. Figures of vivacity.

Among the devices of vivacity, polysyndeton (Campbell p. 47; Mitsakis p. 167) is found most frequently: the pleonastic use of particles, especially καί, was held to be Attic. Theodoret, however, appears to be rather restrained, resorting more often to the less elaborate varieties of this device.

Asyndeton (Campbell p. 44; Mitsakis p. 166) does not occur as frequently. The ellipsis of connecting words is confined to those passages in Theodoret's letters, where a most incisive style is

2. There are, nevertheless, exceptions, such as the sixfold variety in 14, 52, 21 f. (which gives relief to the concluding exhortation); or the eightfold case in 82, 202, 11-15.
3. As stated already by Wagner, p. 168.
required; for example, to give prominence to a list of praises, as in XXXIII, 23, 14 ff. and in 116, 70, 2-4; or to stress the passionate defence of his own orthodoxy: ἔσχον ἄγινας πρὸς Ἔλληνας, πρὸς Ἰουδαίους, πρὸς πᾶσαν πλάνην αἰρετικήν (113, 64, 2 f., cf. 116, 70, 26 f.); ἤπρόττων...μίαν τῆς Τριάδος θεότητα, μίαν βασιλείαν, μίαν ἐξουσίαν, ἀδιδώτητα, ἀτρεπτότητα, ἀπάθειαν, ἐν θελήμα, τελεῖαν τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν θεότητα, τελεῖαν τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα (116, 72, 2-6). 2

1. In 31, 196, 7 ff., where Theodoret is defending himself by giving a brief resumé of his episcopacy, short sentences are arranged one after the other, with no connective. Cf. Nilus, I.238 (P.G. 79, 169C): οἶδε τηρεῖν τὰ μέτρα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ταλαιπωρίας, μικρὰ τὸν ὄγκον, συστέλλει τὸ φρόνημα, ταπείνωτο λογισμοῦ, ὑπερηφάνειαν αἰσχὺνεται......

Like St. Paul on charity (1 Cor.13.7):

πάντα στέψει, πάντα πιστεύει, πάντα ἐλπίζει, πάντα ὑπομένει.

It is worth noting the distribution of rhetorical questions (Campbell p. 49, Mitsakis p. 167) and of parenthése (Campbell p. 53, Guignet p. 107). Both devices share the same function, of giving a statement more vividness than its simple enunciation.

There is an increasing number of rhetorical questions in these letters belonging to a later period in Theodoret's life and activity: a stronger effectiveness is thus attained, for the sake of apology (e.g., 111, 44, 12 ff.; ibid., 22 f.), of consolation (e.g., 137, 136, 5 ff.; ibid., 10 ff.; ibid., 16 ff.), or of self-defence (e.g., 125, 94, 1 ff.; 139, 142, 11 ff.; 141, 150, 22 ff.). In its cumulative form, and combined with epanaphora, the rhetorical question is also fitted to didactic letters, e.g., VIII, 81, 13 ff.: ποτέ ουράνιοι εἰς οὐρανόν ἀναβλέπετε; ποτὲ δὲ γλαύκας τὸν οὐρανοθέντα νομοθέτην αἰτήσετε...; As for parenthesis, one cannot but agree with Wagner's statement, that "most of the instances appear to be merely an afterthought or an additional detail hastily inserted." 2 Sometimes parenthesis

1. Cf. the large employment of rhetorical questions in app. XVI and XIX of Aeneas of Gaza.
2. p. 169.
3. "Il faut reconnaître, en effet, que la parenthèse présente bien des inconvenients. Si elle élargit le période, elle lui enlève aussi parfois cette unité qui assure l'union intime des pensées; elle trouble bien souvent leur vue synoptique, et ne peut être excusée que par une intention artistique", so Guignet (p. 107) remarks, after pointing out that parenthesis is not very well qualified in the eyes of Attic purism. Also Himerius and Gregory of Nazianzus, he continues (p. 103), often resort to it as to a convenient means of expressing ideas and sentiments, with no effort to fit them into the period as a whole.
serves to space out and emphasise a gnomic statement: εἰ...λάβοιμεν τὸ τοῦ πάθους κοινόν - πλήρης γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων ὁ βίος - οὔσομεν γενναίος τὸ γεγονός (137, 138, 1 f.).

On the whole, litotes (Campbell p. 54, Mitasakis p. 167) is rare, but yet significant: οὐκ ἀπειλοῦμεν (starting ep. XII, 83, 21); οὐ μικρὰ...κεκέρισθη (XIV, 86, 14; cf. 2, 22, 7; οὐ μικρὰ πλημμελήματα); τὰ οὐκ εἴδε διακείμενα τῶν ἡθῶν (22, 73, 3); οὐκ ἡθέλησεν ἄγνοησιν (70, 152, 19, cf. 36, 230, 17); οὐκ ἔκλειδότως (31, 196, 24); οὐκ ὅρθος: δόγμασι (102, 20, 17).

Most examples of irony (Campbell p. 55) refer to Theodoret's condemnation, and they usually rely on the stressed employment of a superlative adjective: κατέκριναν ὡς ἡθέλησαν ὁ δικαίωτατος διακριτὴ (113, 76, 4; cf. 119, 76, 20-23; 139, 144, 5; 140, 143, 15 f.; 141, 152, 4; etc. See also 133, 124, 22 and 111, 46, 17). "Parfois simple procédé de style, (l'ironie) n'en est pas moins le signe intellectual de son indignation ou de sa colère. Appliquer, comme il le fait souvent, des épithètes apparemment laudatives à ceux-là même dont on sait qu'ils sont ses adversaires..., c'est user d'un procédé qui est assurément la marque d'un esprit qui savait être caustique à ses heures".

1. Azéma, Théodoret de Cyr d'après sa correspondance, p. 246.
2. p. 169 (and n. 16).
the following can be added: άλλην τοίνυν ἐπέτωκεν τερβρείας ἀφορμήν ὃτι τὴν ἄδολεσχίαν ἀπακόμενοι ("those who enjoy hair-splitting can find another subject on which to exercise their pedantry", 16, 60, 17 f.); polémē...χώραν, ἥν ὀνομάζει μυτέρα (43, 114, 7 f.): here, sarcasm and scorn can be felt, in addition to mere irony; Theodoret is writing to Fulcheria, and trying to prevent her from lending her ear to Athanasius of Perrha's calumnious charges against the diocese of Cyrus.

To summarize, all figures of vivacity are to be found in the letters: their occurrences are prominent, but certainly not overwhelming, either in number or in intensity.

4. Devices of the Court-room and the Public Assembly.

Theodoret has recourse to epidiorthesis (Campbell p. 56, Guignet p. 101) in many cases, such as: ἡ...φαμετέρα ἁγιότης πόλιν οἰκουσα, μᾶλλον δὲ πέλαγος ἀνθρώπων ἔχουσαν ὀικουμένην (epidiorthesis introducing a hyperbole, 4, 37, 1-3); ἀνευδής γὰρ ὅ τι τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐπαγγειλόμενος, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀληθείᾳ πηγή (epidiorthesis introducing a metaphor, 7, 34, 1 f.); πρὸς τούτοις, μᾶλλον δὲ πρὸς τούτοις (17, 62, 24); οὐ δικασόμεναι, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ λίαν ἐπανέσκαντες (139, 144, 5 f.).

Other related devices are not as frequent. They are in fact not so suitable for epistles, even rhetorical ones, as they

1. Irony is combined here with invective (ψύγοι).
2. according to the classification given by Campbell, pp. 23 f.
are for sermons and speeches. A sort of *diaporesis* (Campbell p. 56, Guignet p. 223) is introduced at the beginning of ep. 58 (134, 13 ff.):

εἰς μοι μερίζει τὴν γνώμην ἡ περὶ τοῦ γράψαι τῷ ὑμετέρῳ μεγέθει βουλή.

A kind of *paraleipsis* (Campbell p. 57, Guignet p. 229) is used as a rather common device in letters of commendation to influential personalities, to justify interference by Theodoret which he feels may be open to reproach; for instance, at the beginning of ep. V (77, 15 ff.): ἄλλως μὲν οὖν ἐν ἑράμηνα προσεπέλθην διὰ γραμμάτων το ὑμετέρου μέγεθος.... Ἐπειδὴ δὲ..., ἀνεθάρρησα κάγο (cf. 42, 106, 22 ff.).

The writer gives relief to his hesitancy about approaching the recipient, thus displaying a meek attitude and aiming at *captatio benevolentiae*. A conceptual paraleipsis is involved, more than a strictly technical one. Again a sort of paraleipsis is offered by the following example: ὁποῖος μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνος καὶ τόσον ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐνεθραμμένος, ἢγδ μὲν οὖν ὁ κ ἐρω, τὸ ἐμαυτῷ πρέποντα λογιζόμενος; τεκμηριώτερ δὲ σαφῶς τὸ νῦν ἐγχειρηθέν παρ' αὐτοῦ (43, 114, 10 ff.). Thus, by pretending to pass over the point in silence, the writer attains an even higher degree of emphasis.

1. Cf. Guignet's remark about Gregory of Nazianzus' style (p. 223): "L'apcrēsis est quelquefois indiquée indirectement. L'auteur dit que le sujet est au-dessus de ses forces."

V. infra, s.v. *paraleipsis*. 
Frescopoeia (Campbell p. 53) is rare (e.g., 127, 104, 20 ff.), not less than hypophora (Campbell p. 62) is (e.g., XLVII, 116, 27 f.: an objection is raised to be immediately refuted). Prodiorrhosis (a promise to be brief: Campbell p. 62, Guignet p. 223) seldom occurs. (καὶ τὸ δὲ συμφόρον, ἐξ ὑστὸς διελέγεται τὸ δειδώς; 146, 178, 5).

Dialektikon (a combination of question and answer: Campbell p. 61) is well represented by the following instances: ἀγαπῶμεν τὴν παλάκη: συνησθῶμεν αὕτη (XLVII, 115, 9); ἀλγεῖν ἡ φύσις παρακελεύεται; οὐ λογόσμου χάριν ὀμολογεῖτω, καὶ...ἀκολουθεῖτω. Κεντεῖ τῆς κόρης ἡ μνήμη; τὴν τοῦ πεποιηκότος ἀντιτάξωμεν μνήμην (ibid., 15 ff.).

Finally, the following occurrences of prokatalepsis ("a device for breaking the force of possible objections by anticipating or refuting them": Campbell p. 57) may be noted: πῶς δὲ δίκαιον τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐμὸτητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν κατηγορεῖσθαι; καὶ γὰρ ἐκβάλλουσα κλονοῦσα καὶ ἐκβαλλόμεθα τοῦτο κλονοῦσα οὐ διαφέρομεν (111, 44, 22 and ff.); τοῦ γὰρ πάσχοντος οὐκ ὄντος, πῶς ἂν γένοιτο πάθος; ἐπαθῆ μὲν γὰρ τὴν θείαν φύσιν κηρύττομεν (126, 100, 19 f.).

About this group of devices it has been said: "Les rhéteurs byzantins, dont la critique est si formelle, n'ont pas manqué de citer la plupart des σχήματα qui concourent à la mise en valeur du détail, et dont l'origine est indéniablement sophistique". But their weight, according to the above analysis, plays only a small part in determining the character of Theodoret's epistolary style as a whole.

5. **Minor Figures**

The so-called Minor Figures, while presenting the appearance of asymmetry, actually give prominence to a feigned search for symmetry and rhythm. Theodoret's resort to them is not regular, but nevertheless significant.

**Hyperbaton** (Campbell p. 65, Cuignet p. 91, Mitsakis p. 164) is employed: it is often a question of an article, or of a pronoun, being separated from its substantive. Such a split between two words which are logically connected draws the attention to one prominently situated word: ἐπιζομένος γὰρ, ὡς τὸ ζωοῦσα τοῦτο καὶ τετριγώνως νέος ὁ φιλάνθρωπος ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τὰς τάξιν ἡγασμένος δεσπότης (XVII, 39, 9–11; here the hyperbaton is designed to emphasise the word δεσπότης: "the emperor", and also to secure an effective alliteration); ὑπὲρ...τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ταύτα γεγένηται φύσεως (6, 34 6 f.); τοῦτον οὐ δύναμαι κατασβέσαι τῶν ἐρωτα (41, 70, 23); ὄντις φιλαθλήσας ἀπήλει νόμος πολλὰς ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ δέσπασθαι παρὰ τῆς σῇ φιλαθλείᾳ ἐπιστολάς (87, 232, 5 f.).

1. "Ὑπερβατὸν δὲ ἐστι λέξις ἡ φράσις ἀνά μέσων ἑχουσά τι τῶν ἐξής νοσομένων (Spengel, III, 43, 5 f.). It is "a characteristic of the high style," but also "a standard device in Theodoret's day" (Wagner p. 168, n.3).

Hendiadys (Campbell p. 66, Guignet p. 94, Mitsakis p. 166, where it is ranked among figures of redundancy) is a far from common figure in Theodoret’s letters: see, e.g., τρόπον καὶ βίον (L. 119, 26); and παραχωποίδον καὶ συγκλόδων ἀνθρώπων ("promiscuous crowd causing disorder", 139, 146, 1 f.).

On the other hand, recourse to adjective-substantive abstract (Campbell p. 66) is frequent, and thus gives evidence for a typical element (which was regarded as Attic in Byzantine writing). Energy is τὸ δραστηριὸν (XXXVII, 101, 25) and violence τὸ σφοδρὸν (ibid., 27); here are a few more instances: τὸ θυμίτων τῆς φύσεως τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης (XLVIII, 113, 2; cf. 3, 34, 15); τὸ τῆς πίστεως ἀκραίφνες (11, 40, 6; cf. the same turn of phrase in 123, 33, 13); τὸ τὸν εἴδους λευκὸν καὶ γεύσεως τὸ λεπτὸν (13, 44, 16 f.); τὸ τῆς συνουσίας ἐπαγωγὸν καὶ γλυκό (144, 153, 24).

Some scattered examples of paradox and oxymoron (Campbell p. 67, Mitsakis p. 167) are to be found: in XXIII, 94, 14, the self-contradictory expression τὰ τῆς ἡπείρου ναυάγια is used; δόξα ("glory") is δύστηνος (133, 126, 5), and πενία is ἀκάλυπτος (ibid., 7 f.) and again: κατὰ ταύταν ἄγαμοι.

And Basil, Ps. 33, 147 E: ἔνα ἡμέτερον τῇ ἐκείνου πτωχελά (of Christ) πλουτήσωμεν (for this cf. Paul, 2 Cor. 3.9), cf. InDivites, 61 E (Campbell p. 63).
null διγμοὶ πολεμοῦμενοι (91, 240, 13-20); τοῦ δὲ μισοῦντα τὸν ἀγαπημένον (135, 130, 13 f.); and 145, 164, 4 ff., of theological content, offers a succession of oxymora; el δύναται ψεύσασθαι ὅ...θες τῆς ἀληθείας ὥ νομοθέτης..., el δύνατον ἀδικοῦν γενέσθαι τὸν τὴν δικαιοσύνην πηγάζοντα..., el δύνατον ἀσοφοῦν γενέσθαι τῇ σοφίᾳ τὸν ἀμυνόσον etc.

Paradoxes of the faith offered in fact ample scope for this device of rhetoric.

Few occurrences of hyperbole (Campbell p. 69) can be mentioned: πέλαγος ἀνθρώπων is found in XV, 37, 2; and the dramatic aspects of events are given emphasis by the use of expressions built on τραγῳδία, ὁμίλοι, and derivatives: τὰ δὲ νῦν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπιχειρηθέντα πᾶσαν τραγικὴν ὑπερβαίνει διηγησιν (86, 226, 5 f.); τραγῳδίαν τὰ παθήματα (XXIII, 94, 3); οὕτως ἐλεεινδος τὸν τοῦτο παθημάτων τὸ ὁμίλοι (XIX, 91, 23); τὸ ὁμίλοι τῆς συμφορᾶς (70, 154, 2); see also 33, 94, 6 f. and 120, 32, 8 f.

Resort to τραγῳδία, ὁμίλοι and similia is sophistic, 2

1. διηγησις (or διηγημα) and διηγησασθαι are very frequently employed by a sophist like Himerius, for example.

According to Guignet (p. 217), the διηγημα "est le seul domaine où le vrai rhéteur se sent en plein possession de ses moyens".

and is to be found also in Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus and John Chrysostom. Among the later letter-writers, the following example by Aenesas of Gaza (XVI,1) is worthy of mention: τὸ παρ' ὅμοιον ἀνίκον δρᾶμα, καὶ αὐτὴν ἑδάκρυσα τὴν γῆν.

Antithesis of concepts is stressed by means of hyperbole: καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν, δὲν φωτισθα ἐκάλουν, οὐ τὰς ἀνατολῆς μένης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς οἰκουμένης, ἀπηκρύφθην, καὶ οὔδε ἄρτου, τὸ γε εἰς αὐτὸν ζήκον, μεταλαγχάνω (125, 96, 17ff.). The same device is employed to intensify expressions of praise: οὐδ' εἰ λαθρεύμα τῶν ἡμετέρων τριχῶν σχολήμεν στόματα, ὑμνήσατι αὐτὸν ἄξων λυχνίων (377 232, 14 f.; cf. the same pattern of expression mf in 136, 134, 23-25).

Finally, an example of antimetathesis (Campbell p. 74) can be found within the comparison in 76, 164, 15-17: the word ζωή is repeated, first meaning "eternal life" and then "life" in the common

1. See Meridier, p. 103.
2. See Guignet, p. 143, also à propos of imagery and metaphors.
4. Antonomasia has been taken into consideration above (p. 176), among the figures of redundancy.
sense: (God) ἀνθρώπους σκανδεῖ ἰπᾶς ἁτήρθαι, εἰς ἀγήρων των ἀγεμομένων ἀπέγγυν. 'Ο μὲν γὰρ ἐκθυλοὺς τῶν θεομομένων τὴν ἀγήρῳ ἀφαιρεται ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος ἀπαλλατηθῆς (God) ὁπερ ἂν ζωγρῆση τῶν πικρῶν ἐλευθεροὶ τοῦ θενάτου δεσμῶν.

On the whole, the quality of the above mentioned examples of Minor Figures indicates the influence of a sophistic tradition, which was still alive, and standardised, in Theodoret's time (especially in the use of hyperbaton and of adjective-substantive abstract); but Theodoret nevertheless employs them to a limited extent only.


Parallelisms of every kind are evident throughout Theodoret's correspondence, even if they are not overwhelming in number, nor contrived for the sake of mere sophistry. They appear

1. The same resort to repetition of ζωή occurs in Basil, quoted by Campbell (p. 24), but in a less elaborate turn of phrase: ἀλλ' ἀγά τὸν ζωήν: (life on earth) εἰς ζωήν (life in heaven): in Gordium 143 C.

2. Dr. McCai has drawn my attention to the excellent parallel from Romanos 33, str. υἱοῦ ff. (Maas-Trypanis): καθάπερ δέλταρ γέγονεν αὐτοῖς ἡ σάρξ τοῦ πάντων δεσπότου, οὐ πρὸς θενάτου θηρία, ἀλλ' εἰς ζωήν ἀλκούσα τοῦ δέσμιον καὶ δοξολογοῦντας τὸ πανάγιον πνεῦμα.

The imagery and contrast are very close to those in Theodoret.

to give greater prominence to the thought they are required to express.

I will limit myself to recording only a few noteworthy examples showing parallelism in the arrangement of sentences, similarities of sound at the end of successive cola or sentences, chiasitic arrangements and antithesis.

Sentence parallelism can be found in the following instances:

1. to the θελοντες ἐφύλαττε νόμους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ φύσις, μονόμον ἂν καὶ διαρκῶν ἀπήλαυσε ἄγαθόν. Ἡπειρὸν δὲ τῆς εὐθείας ἐξετάζειν τρίβου καὶ τῶν θελῶν κατεφορνήσαμεν ἐντολῶν, ἀναγκαίως ἀπὸ μην ἀρίθμηκαν βίω (XII, 92, 18 and ff.): in each sentence, verbs are every time put between the adjective and the corresponding noun; this device stresses the continuity of the concept; καὶ τοῦ χειλεμάνος οἶδα τὸ σκυθρῶμαν καὶ τοῦ κλάδους ἐπισταμαι τὸ σφοδρὸν (XLII, 111, 23f.).

1. Cf., e.g., the simple, but nevertheless effective structural similarity in a perfect parison like the following: καὶ τῆς δοκεῖ ἐπιδεῖξαι τὸ μέγεθος, καὶ τῆς κτήσεως ἐκεῖνης ἔχειν τὴν ἔρωτα (73, 160, 4 f.).

More recherché is this parison: καὶ ἀπολογούμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγνολας, καὶ ἀλγὸν διὰ τὴν ἁγνολαν (XLV, 111, 5 f.);

polysyndeton, polyptoton and parechesis are combined within its frame.
 hé δειξή τὸν σίτον, ἢν τὸν χρυσὸν δοκιμάσῃ, ἢν τοὺς δοξάζοντας ἀντιδοξάσῃ, ἢν τοὺς ἀθλητὰς στεφανώσῃ, ἢν τοὺς ἀριστέας ἀνακηρύξῃ (77, 166, 11–13); ἐγύμνωσαν μὲν ἐρωσόντες, ἔξελαύνουσι δὲ καὶ πόλεως (116, 70, 13 f.);
see also: 123, 33, 17–19; 124, 90, 21 f.; etc.

_Homoioteleuton_ (see, in addition to Campbell and Guignet _loc.cit._, also Mitsakis p. 163) is used to obtain musical sound and rhythmic effect: a few instances will be noted among many, where the desire for sound-effect is combined with the intention of emphasizing the thought expressed. "Because of the highly inflected nature of the Greek language, it is difficult to determine in many instances whether _homoioteleuton_ is intentional or accidental. Rhetorical design, however, seems...to be evident when _homoioteleuton_ is joined with parallelism of structure": this statement by Sister Burns, à propos of St. John Chrysostom's Homilies on the Statues, can be applied to epistolary style in Theodoret as well. A quotation

1. Note the chiasitic arrangement. Cf. Guignet p. 120, Campbell p. 87 (chiasitic sentence parison); an example from Basil (_In Divites_, 55B) shows a particular similarity to this sentence by Theodoret:

ο κατασήκων τὸν σίτον, τοὺς πελυνταῖς οὖ τρέφεις;
ο τὸν χρυσὸν κατορύσασιν, τοῦ ἀγχομένου καταφρονεῖς;

2. Cf. similar enumerations in Gregory of Nazianzus and in Himerius (Guignet, pp. 112 ff.).
from Job 1:21 is adapted by him as follows: ὁ Κύριος ἐδωκεν, ὁ Κύριος ἀφελείτο* ἵνα τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐδωκεν, οὕτως καὶ ἐγένετο (XLVII, 115, 19 f.); παρόντων κατηγορεῖτω, μὴ ἄπονται συνοφαντεῖτω (90, 240, 3 f.); ἤνα μὴ ὡς Σοδόμα γενηθῶμεν καὶ Πομφροῶς ὁμοιωθῶμεν (117, 72, 26 f.); τούτῳ ἡμᾶς ἀπαγορεύειν παντάπασιν οὐκ ἡδ' ἀλλ' τοῦ χαλεποῦ χειμῶνος προσμένειν τὴν λύσιν παρεγγυά (117, 74, 1-3); καὶ μένει χρυσός, καὶ ἐνεργεῖ τὰ πορὸς (145, 198, 2); and 31, 90, 13 f.; 73, 180, 7; 131, 110, 21 f.; etc.

Chiasmus (see also Mitsakis p. 164) gives variety to the period, without destroying parallelism in structure. It is often used for antithetical purposes, and Guignet (p. 127 and al.) rightly remarks that the biblical pattern and Christian doctrine itself, with its antithetical ideas, helped to make Gorgianic figures popular among the Christian writers. Here are some examples from Theodoret: οὐ νοεῖτε...δ' λέγω ὡς λέγω νοεῖτε (XLVII, 112, 26); οὐκ εὐθεῖα σώματος, οὐκ ἄξιώματος ὅγκος (14, 46, 20 f.: assonances and puns are often to be found within chiastic arrangement); οὐ καλοῦσι τὴν σάρκα θεοτητα, οὕτω μὴν τὴν θεοτητα σάρκα προσαγορεύουσι (99, 16, 10 f.); etc.

Antithesis, i.e., an opposition of ideas, expressed by parallelism in structure, is particularly frequent in the letters written under strong feelings such as anger or disapproval: ἄνδρες ἡμέρων μὴν

οὖδὲν ἔχοντες, ἀμάτητι δὲ καὶ ἑπτὼν συζώντες (XXII, 93, 11 f.); ἐγὼ δὲ δούρομαι μὲν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τὸν κλάδωνα, τὴν δὲ ἡμερίαν ἀσπάζομαι (chiasic: 113, 62, 16 f.); τὴν μὲν καλνοτομηθέσαν δεξίας ἀκύθειαν, τὴν δὲ τῶν Εὐαγγελίων γυμνῆν ἐπιδείκτος ἀλήθειαν (136, 134, 21-23); etc. One more example is noteworthy: the gap between classical learning and Scriptural Knowledge is given emphasis by the recourse to antithesis in XII, 34, 19-21: ταῦτα (i.e., the sayings of Demosthenes and Thucydides) τῆς σῆς...γλώττης προφέρειν. Ὡμεῖς δὲ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων συγγράμμασιν ἐντραφέντες, ἀπερ ἐκεῖνων μεμαθηκαμεν, δυνάμεθα φθέγγεσθαι.

The above quoted instances prove Theodoret's undoubted tendency to employ Gorgianic Figures; on the other hand, their number is not such, that subject-matter is sacrificed to sophistic form.

1. Theodoret is writing to Palladius the philosopher.
CHAPTER THREE

The metaphor in Theodoret's letters

Theodoret makes abundant use of metaphor in his letters, and in this is influenced both by Sophistic writings and by the Scriptures. This tendency is standard practice in the oratorical works of the Christian Fathers; what is more striking is that in the letters of Theodoret as well as in his other works metaphors are common.

I will divide the metaphors employed by Theodoret in his letters into various categories, according to the customary scheme adopted by Campbell, Guignet, Burns and Mitsakis, loc.cit. (note 1, below). I will point out their presence in the fourth-century Fathers as well, in order to trace the effect of rhetorical training up to Theodoret's times and also beyond, as Romanos the Melodist will be taken into account when necessary.

2. Phocianus (Bibl., cod. 31) writes as follows à propos of the style of Theodoret's Ecclesiastical History: σαρής τε γὰρ καὶ υψηλός καὶ ἀφάντος, πλὴν ὅτι ἐνίοτε ταῖς μεταφοραῖς παραβὰλος καὶ ὦτερ ἀπερομάλως ἐχρῆσατο.
3. I will include examples from Theodoret's contemporaries, such as Milus, Isidore of Pelusium and Basil of Seleucia.
Classical sources will be quoted, whenever clear parallels occur. As for the metaphors possibly deriving from a Biblical background, they cannot be ignored either, as they are found already in the fourth century to have mingled with the pagan rhetorical tradition, in such a way that it is often difficult to distinguish between the double source, pagan and Judaeo-Christian.

1. **Metaphors based on athletics.**

These metaphors are very frequent in the Christian tradition and they can be found in significant numbers also in Theodoret's letters. The equation "martyr-athlete" had early been adopted by Christians, and Campbell (p. 104) and Guignet (p. 141 f.)

1. They are based on the authoritative use made of them by St. Paul: 1 Tim. 4.7-3; 6.12; 2 Tim. 2.5; 4.7-3; Heb. 12.1. I owe this and other remarks in this chapter to J. Nimso Smith, *Romans the Melodist and Christian Rhetoric*, M. Litt. Thesis, Edinburgh Univ., 1971. V.C. Pfitzner (Paul and the Agon Motif. Traditional Athletic Imagery in the Pauline Literature, Leiden, 1967) states that, after a study of the language of the popular moral philosophy of Paul's day as reflected in the Stoic diatribists, Paul proves himself to stand in the tradition of a popular metaphorical employment of the athletic image. The influence of Hellenistic Judaism on his use of this image is also demonstrated.


3. Guignet remarks that metaphors based upon athletics "bien que passées depuis longtemps déjà dans le domaine religieux, ce sont peut-être les plus caractéristiques de la sophistique".
quote a few instances from Basil's and from Gregory of Nazianzus' sermons respectively. Analogously Theodoret resorts to such images as the following: τοις...τῷ δοσιθαίς ἀθληταῖς ἔθελα προτεθεικαν ὀτὲ τοις ἄγωνοθετήσι φιλότιμος (71, 156, 1 f.);
ἐξου...τῶν ἄγνωρων καὶ τῶν πατρίων ὑπεραθλησον δογμάτων (107, 32, 5 f.); and 3, 24, 17 (ἁθληταί εὐσεβεῖας), 21, 70, 2f. (ἠθλον...ἄγωνικομένως), IV, 77, 13 (τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς νίκης λαβεῖν)² etc. The metaphor in 12, 42, 7 ff. is carefully developed; it is based on more than one term of comparison: ὁ...δεσπότης οὐκ ἥνεσχετο κρύψαι...ἁθλητὴν, ἔνα τὴν...μεσαλήν τῇ νικηφόρῳ κατακασμηση στεφάνῳ.
A passage from ep. 12 (42, 23 and ff.) is interesting: ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἷδα περίττον ποιῶν τὸν γενναίον τῆς δρετῆς ἄγωνικῆς καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἁθλητῶν παιδοτρίβην εἰς καρτερίαν ἀλέσφων (writing to Bishop Irenaeus). Παιδοτρίβης (literally: "trainer of athletes") is used by Plato in a comparison,³ and metaphorically by later writers;⁴ to the occurrences quoted by Lampe's Lexicon the following from St. Basil can be added

1. ἄγωνοθετήσι does not belong to Paul's language: "Nowhere does the picture of the ἄγωνοθετήσι appear, but it is never far removed from Paul's picture of his Agon" (Pfitzner p. 194).
2. Cf. 1 Cor. 9.24: οὐκ οὖδατε ὅτι οὗ ἐν σταδίῳ τρέχοντες πάντες μὲν τρέχοντες, εἰς δὲ λαμβάνει τὸ βραβεῖον;
3. R. 339c. Metaphors referring to gymnastics and sports are frequent in Plato (see P. Louis, Les metaphorès de Platon, Paris, 1945, pp.213 ff.).
(ep. 23, 29 ff. Courtonne I): ἐγὼ γὰρ σπουδάζοντα αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα δεξιόσαθα τὸν τῆς κατὰ θεὸν ἀγάπης στέφανον ὑπερεξῆμην, 
βουλομένος μετὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας θεοσεβείας ἀλείψας αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους ἅθλους καὶ ἕνα δὲ ἤν ὑμῖν αὐτὸς ἐπιλείπησα ἐπιστῆσαι αὐτῷ ἀλείπτην, καλῶς παιδοτριβοῦντα καὶ παλαιοτὴν ὀδηγοῦν ἀπεργαζόμενον... As for ἀλείψαμι, its metaphorical use (= "train, encourage") is frequent in the Christian writers. 2

2. Metaphors based on the Hippodrome.

The almost complete absence of this kind of metaphor from Teodoret's letters 3 ranks him alongside St. Basil. Romans too rarely employed such imagery; this has been pointed out 4 as an indication of the Church's disapproval, which issued in the official barring of the clergy from the Hippodrome (Codex Justinianus 1, 4, 34).

Cf. Chrys., quoted above (p. 207, n.2).

2. See Lampe, P.G. 35, s.v. ἀλείψαμι, B. -

3. One can read: κατέχων τὰς ἄνασ (47, 122, 26: referring to Constantine the ἐπάρχων); and χαλινωῦσας γλύττας (104, 23, 23). Χαλινῶ is metaphorically employed, among the Christian writers, by Gregory of Nazianzus (see Guignet p. 143), Basil (see Campbell p.105), Nilus (e.g. in 1.26, P.G. 79, 93 C: αὐτὸν τὸν... ἡμρα...); ἡ ἄγρυννος χαλινῶ καὶ σαμποδίζει ("bridles and hobbles") σύχη), Isidore of Pelusium (e.g. in ep. 3.66, P.G.78, 777A: χαλινωτέου τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς), and Romans (see Nimmo Smith p.19).

3. **Metaphors based on the sea.**

They often occur throughout Theodoret's letters, and far exceed any other kind of imagery in frequency and consistency. They appear to be firmly rooted in both pagan and Christian literature. "Il est parfois difficile de déterminer si elles ont une origine profane ou si elles existaient dans la tradition ecclésiastique au temps de Saint Grégoire" (Guignet p. 144). Campbell (p.97) considers marine metaphors (together with those based on athletic games, on the hippodrome and on war) to belong particularly to the Sophistic field. On the other hand, if they are not common in the Gospels (although the spiritualizing interpretation of the Gospel incidents around Galilee might promote their use), they are however to be found here and there in the Old Testament and in St. Paul. Let us consider the following examples from Theodoret: ἑκτεθομὲν… ὑμῶν τὴν ἀγωσσὴν ταύτα κυνὴν τὰ πηδάλια, ἡν ἐς υψῖν τὸ σκάφος. The 'Εκκλησίας ὀδοὺ (XV, 37, 17-19; cf. 123, 38, 21 ff.);

1. e.g., Fr. 23, 34 (a comparison: οὐκ ἄντες ὑμᾶς ἔδωκαν); Ps. 41(42). δ (ἀβυσσοί ἄβυσσον ἐπικαλεῖται ἐλι σωμῆς τῶν καταρακτῶν σου, πάντες οἱ μετεωρισοὶ σου καὶ τὰ κυματὰ σου ἐπ' ἐμὲ διήθεον).

2. e.g., Eph. 4, 14 (κυλίνδους ὅμοιοι καὶ περιφερόμενοι παντὶ ἀνέμῳ τῆς διδασκαλίας).

3. cf. 37, 100, 17: τῆς ἁρχῆς τὰ πηδάλια. Πηδάλιον, "rudder", a poetic word (Hom. only in Od., Eur. Com.), is not to be found often, as far as I know, in the Christian Fathers (but see Greg. Nyss., Melet., P.C. 46, 353 B; ποῦ τὸ καρπὸς τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν πηδάλιον, δι' οὗ τὰς τρικυμίας τὰς αἰσθητὰς ἀπαθῶς παραπλέομεν;) It does not belong to Romans' language, but it appears again in John of Thessalonica (VII century), metaphorically applied to Christ (π. τῶν ψυχῶν; Dorm. ΡΜΥ Α 9).

4. See Alcæus (18-19 Bergk) for the image of the ship of state; and Ar. V. 29 (πολλὰς σκαφοὺς). The image, as applied to the Church, is not uncommon: see, e.g., Greg. Nyss., loc. cit.: ποῦ ὅ καλὸς κυβερνητὴς, ὁ πρὸς τὸν ἄνω σχοῦν διευθυνὼν τὸ σκάφος;
The image of the port is very frequent, and as traditional as the previous ones\(^1\) in XXX, 96, a long ephiphrasis praising the sea\(^4\) gives way to the following metaphor (19 ff.):

\[
\text{λιμήν γὰρ ὑπάρχεις λιμένος, τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λιμένι χειμαζομένους δεχόμενος καὶ τῶν τῆς ἀναπλάτων}
\]

1. *τρικυμία* is classical (cf. *καμάνδι τ.* in A. Pr. 1015, etc.); not to be found in Romanos.


4. 3 ff.: "People usually think that the sea separates two continents, and that its task is to occupy the space between them. But if you wish to discover the truth of the matter, the sea joins together opposite coasts rather than keeps them apart; in fact, by offering to traders an easy and fast means of conveying goods, it makes the opposite continent hasten, so to speak, to meet ours, and ours dash toward the other, and spread the sails and ply the rudder", etc.
The metaphor of the post appears also in:

XXII, 93, 19 ﬁ. (λιμένι...εδόμη τα καὶ ευστόμη καὶ ἀπηνέμω); ² 104, 28, 27 and ﬀ. (ἐνα...τοῦ κυνηγόνου μεστόν διαπεράσαμεν πέλαγος καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀπηνέμους τοῦ Σωτῆρος μεθορμισθήμεν λιμένας); cf. 12, 42, 19-22;

113, 74, 24; 131, 122, 10 ﬁ.; etc. ³ The image of the helm (οἶας) ⁴ occurs a few times in Theodoret’s correspondence: e.g. τῆς ἡμετέρας πατρίδος κυνείν τοὺς οἰκός εἰληκε καὶ...ἐς οὐρίον φέρεσθαι

1. κῦμα is traditional too: see Plato and poets in Louis, p. 51; and Christian use in Nímmó Smith, p. 26. Other examples in Theodoret: 86, 232, 3 (διάφορα κύματα); 106, 30, 15 ﬁ. (παρακαλῶ τῆς τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν φρονίσαι γαλήνης καὶ τῆς συνοφράτες διαλύσαι τὰ κύματα).

2. Menander Rhetor (Περὶ Ἐκλειστοκών, in Spengel, III, pp. 351 ﬁ. ἐνώ δὲ τὰ λιμένας ἐγκωμιάζειν") writes (p. 352, 1-3):

λιμένας δὲ ἐπαινέσεις ἡ ὡς ἅλκος, ἡ ὡς νηφέως καὶ ὡς ἐπικεφαλεῖς, ὡς ὡς πολυσπάνος, etc.

3. Cf. Λ.Π. IX. 49 (anon.): τὸν λιμέν’ ἐδον.

4. The metaphorical image of ὀἶας is found already in A. Th. 3; it appears as a term of comparison in Plato (Criti. 109 c, Clitoph. 408 b). It is still in use in Romanos (47, 8’.4), through the fourth-century Christian writers (see, e.g., Greg. Naz., P.G. 36, 431 C: ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκῶν καθημενος, etc.).
τὸ σκάφος σοφῶς κυβερνῶν ¹ (XXXIX, 103,25 and ff.)

τοὺς ἁμετέρους ἐγχειρήσαμεν οἴκας (14, 52, 8);

παρακαλοῦμεν ἑξεσθαί τῶν οἰκῶν, φυγεῖν τὴν κυβέρνησιν, ὡς τῶν συμπλεξτῶν πολεμίων γεγεννημένων (127, 104, 9 ff.).

The metaphorical idea expressed by a sentence like ἀπολέται καὶ χαλέπα τοῦ βίου τὰ κλυδώνια (ep. 13, 44, 20), offers various developments; for example: καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος οίδα τὸ σκυθρωπὸν καὶ τοῦ κλύδωνος ἐπισταμαι τὸ σφοδρόν (XLVII, 111, 23 ff. – a consolatory letter); τὴν ἀλμυρὰν καὶ πικρὰν τοῦ βίου διεπέρασε δάλασαν, ² καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἁμμάντους καθωρισθῇ λυμένας, ³ καὶ τοῦ σφοδροῦ τούτοις καὶ χαλασμαν κλύδωνος... ὑπερέται γεγένηται (ibid. 115, 10 ff.); ἄποιχθη καὶ μόνος ὁ λογισμὸς ἀποσκεύασαι τῆς λύψης ταὐ τετράγματα ⁴ (7, 32, 11 ff.). The storm aroused by heresies and struggles within the Church is similarly represented: μόνη... τῆς Ἐκκλησίας χειμαζομένης, καὶ παγχαλέπῳ κλύδωνι περιπεσοῦσῃ (129, 108, 10 ff.).

3. λυμήν = death.
The words ζάλη, κλύδων, γαλήνη are very frequently used by Theodoret: e.g., oromoùta tois 'Εκκλησίας ἡ ζάλη (16, 56, 6; cf. 63, 142, 22); διὰ δὲ οὖρλῶν...φερόμενοι, οὔτω τὸν Κυβερνήτην ὁμοίει, καὶ τὸν χαλεποῦ κλύδωνος οὐ πεφρονίμεν (31,90, 17 f.; cf. 47, 122, 5-7); λυθήναι τὸν κλύδωνα, καὶ τὴν προτέραν γαλήνην τὰς 'Εκκλησίας ἀπολαβεῖν (63, 144, 3 f.); identical concept, but variatio in the use of words, in 82, 204, 9 f.: γαλήνης ἀπολαβαί τὰς 'Εκκλησίας, καὶ τὸν μακρὸν τοῦτον καὶ χαλεπὸν διαλυθήναι χειμῶνα; cf. 87, 232, 20 ff.; 93, 244, 17 f.; 96, 12, 13 f.; etc. Once again, attention can be drawn to Theodoret's use of patterns of thought and of terms which are basically similar, if not identical.

1. and similarly by Nilus: e.g., epp. I.166 (P.G. 79, 149A) is entirely built upon a marine metaphor: διὰ τοῦτο ὡσπερ τινὰς λιμένας ἐν πελάγει πανταχόθεν τὰς 'Εκκλησίας ὁ θεὸς ἔπηξεν, ἵνα καὶ ὁδὸν ἐγχώρετι, φεύγων τὴν τῶν βιωτίων φροντίδων ἀλήνην, καὶ ζάλην, κάντασθα ναταπλέοντες ἀπολαύσωμεν γαλήνης σωφρόνου, καὶ πολλῆς εὐφροσύνης. χειμῶν, ζάλη, τρικυμίαι are employed together in epp. I. 222 (P.G. 79, 164 C): ...πολύν ἐπάγει τῶν χειμῶνα, καὶ χαλεπὴν τὴν ζάλην, καὶ ἀφορήτους τὰς τρικυμίας.... These images are frequent in Romanos as well (Nimmo Smith pp. 25 f.).

2. See also ibid., 12 f.; and 14, 52, 23 f. (κατευνασθεσθεσθαί... τῆς ἀθυμίας τὴν ζάλην); cf. examples from Greg. Naz. in Guignet, p. 145.

3. Cf. the frequent metaphorical use of κυβερνήτης and κυβερνήτης in Plato (see Louis, p. 213).
The verb *βαπτίζομαι* (= sink) is used metaphorically in 54, 132, 4 ff.: τοῦτο...τῆς δειμωσίας βαπτιζόμενοι κύματοι; it is reasonable to think of the Christian writers as resorting to a common cultural ground of locutions and imagery, a good deal of which was deeply rooted in the Sophistic tradition.

The verb *περικλύζω* is also used in marine metaphors: δωρεάν *περικλύζειν* όμοιά δει (57, 134, 1).

2. 93-94: οὐ μὴν γὰρ ποτ’ ἀξέρει κύμα γ’ ἐν αὐτῷ, οὔτε μέγιστ’ ἀλίγαν’ λευκὴ 5’ ἡν ἀμφι γαλάνη (description of a port).
3. It also appears in the Gospels (Mt.8.26, cf. Mk. 4.39, Lk. 3.24), but not metaphorically.
5. Cf. *κακοῖς* π. Lib. *Decl.* 30.61. Χλύζω and its compounds are not infrequent in the Christian metaphorical language (see Nimmo Smith, pp. 25 f.).
In conclusion, Theodoret appears to employ all kinds of words and images based on the sea, and to give them extensive space throughout his letters. Their frequency is striking, but also a certain search for variety in structure is to be noticed.

Theodoret also displays a tendency to accumulate different metaphors, in order to illustrate the same concept. A skilful intermingling of military and marine metaphors is shown in 94, 246, 4 ff.: ἵνα ραβον καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας πολεμουμένης ὀπερμαχήσῃ τὸ ὑμέτερον μέγεθος καὶ καταλῦσῃ τὸ ψέδος καὶ ταῖς Ἐκσκλησίαις τὴν ποθουμένην πραταγούσῃ γαλήνην.

Further on in the same epistle (10 ff.), the metaphorical tissue is similarly prolonged: λύσατε...τὸν χειμώνα καὶ τὴν σκοτουμήνην εἰς αἱρέσιν καθαρὰν μεταβάλετε, καὶ τὰς ἡμῶν κινητεύοντας καλλινώσατε γλώσσας.

One more example of accumulated metaphors is worth mention: ep. 107, 32 is a short letter, entirely built on two metaphors, athletic and marine: Οὐχ ἔλαβον οἱ τῆς σῆς φιλοσείας

1. Cf. a similar remark about Plato (especially Lg. 905e - 906e) by Louis, p. 181.
2. This single metaphor occurs in the same terms, with variation in the structure of the sentence and in the verb, in 113, 76, 15 ff.: άντι τῆς σκοτουμῆνης καθαρὰν αἱρέσιαν ἐργάσασθαι.
3. Sea and athletic images are joined also in Milus, e.g. ep. I.10 (P.G. 79, 85 ε): Τινὲς τῷ θερέτι έκ λυμένων ἀναχαίνεις ἐναυάγησαν, τινὲς δὲ ἐν χειμώνι πλεύσαντες ἀκινδύνως ἐσώθησαν. Πόσοι δὲ ἀθληταὶ ἀνενδολάτον νίκην προσδοκήσαντες ἦττήθησαν; οἱ δὲ καὶ δευτερεῖον ἀπεγνωκότες τὰ πρωτεῖα ἐστεφανηφόρησαν;
Such an elaboration and superfluity of metaphors may represent Theodoret's compliance with the sophistic tradition;\(^2\) a tradition which, however, appears to have been christianised already by the fourth-century Fathers.

Before moving to the next category, I will quote a few examples of fishing and hunting imagery: άνθρώπους σαγηνεύει προς σωτηρίαν, εἰς ἄγγελον ζωήν τοὺς ἄγγελους ἄπαγον (76, 164, 15 f.);\(^3\) οὐδὲ γὰρ πολεμούμενος τοῦ θερεύειν ἀπέχων. Οἶδα γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ερείδας ἀποστόλους μετὰ τοῦ βιαλεσθαι τῇ πνευματικῇ σαγήνῃ χρησιμένους ἀν(99, 16, 21-23). Πάγη (= snare, trap)\(^5\) is to be found in the following passages: τὰς τῆς συναφαντὰς πάγας περιπεσεῖν (110, 38, 14): ζύα...

διαφύω τὰς τοῦ ἄλαστορος πάγας (= the nets of the devil -132,124,3).
4. Military metaphors.

These are regarded as deriving from pagan sources in the Christian Fathers. St. Paul apparently introduced metaphors and similes drawn from the military world to illustrate different aspects of Christian life. Here are some examples from the letters of Theodoret:

1. Cf. Nimmo Smith p. 37, where the presence of such metaphors in St. Paul is noted (2 Cor. 10.3, Eph. 6.11, 2 Tim. 2.3-4), but also their lack of elaborateness is stressed. It is noteworthy that such keywords used by Paul, as ὀπλα and στρατιωτη, are not, in Theodoret, as frequent and striking as rarer words, which Theodoret appears to like better (v. infra, φάλαγγα, στίφος, ύπερασπίζω). This may betoken the survival in him of the rhetorical sophistic tradition. Nilus, on the other hand, seems to be closer to Paul's position in the employment of this kind of metaphor (see, e.g., app. I. 52, P.G. 79, 105 B-C: θα γνῷ ημεῖς στρατευμέθα εν πίστει, καὶ εὐχαί, καὶ θεοτέρους ἔργους (τὰ γὰρ ὀπλα τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡμῶν, φησίν ὑ' Ἀπόστολοι, οὐ σαρκικά, ἀλλὰ κνευματικά τε καὶ δυνατά), οὕτω στρατεύονται, καὶ συναγωνίζονται ἡμῖν, etc.).

2. See C.J. Cadoux, The Early Christian Attitude to War, London, 1919, pp. 119 ff. (about the Canons of Hippolytos and the early Church-Orders) and 161 ff. (about the Christian use of military terms and phrases to illustrate the religious life).

3. Cf. similar examples from John Chrys. and Romanes in Nimmo Smith, p. 44.
(104, 23, 10); 
(112, 43, 19);

τόν εὐαγγελικόν δογμάτων ὑπερασπίζοντες

Παῦλος, τῆς ἀληθείας ὁ κήρυς, ἢ τοῦ παναγίου

Πνεύματος σάλπιγξ

καλάμῳ κατέσφαξεν

(113, 56, 4 f.);

καὶ μέ τοῦ ἀπόντα...

καὶ αὐτὸ τῶν τόξων ταύτην σφαγῆν ὑπεμείναμεν), 146, 174, 12 f.

(παμπάλλων προϊμένοι χρησμών τὰς ἀιμετέρας σφαγῶν), etc.

Εφαγί as "persecution, vexation" is used by Theodoret alone, according
to the P.G.L.

A few more examples of military metaphors are noteworthy:

τῶν ὑπὸ σκέψεως πολέμοις ἀνδραγαθίζεταί, καὶ τῶν

εὐαγγελικῶν δογμάτων ὑπερμαχεῖ (128, 106, 13-15); τῶν

ἀγώνων...τῶν θείων ἔχεσθαι..., καὶ τῶν ἀντιπόλων ὅσ

εὐσαλίων καταφρονεῖν (130, 110, 1-3); καὶ αὐτὸ τῶν

tοξευόντων γενήσονται (113, 110, 25); τὰς γλώττας ὀπλίσαντες

(146, 172, 21); τοὺς...θεράποντας τῷ ψεῦδει τοξεύοντες

(iibid., 22-23).

On the whole, Theodoret's use of military metaphor is quite

frequent and accurate; among the many common terms used, one or two

emerge, which are not trite.

1. Cf. ὑπερασπίζεται in Romani Cantica Dubia, ed. Mass

and Trypanis, On St. George II, Q'c


τῆς ἀληθείας. Theodoret resorts to πῦργος in 12, 40, 16

(τοῦ...ἀδιαμέστην πῦργον, τὸν Ἰοβ φημί).  

3. καλάμῳ is likely to be a reminiscence from the language of
documents.

4. Note the accurate employment of rather rare words: ἀνδραγαθίζομαι, classical (cf. Th. 2. 63 and 3. 40, Arist. W 1250 b 4), is not listed

in the P.G.L.
5. Metaphors from the Theatre.

Theodoret does not use this kind of metaphor any more than the fourth-century Fathers do: it is confined to the occurrence of the adjective θραγμος in the following instances: θραγμος ἢ δεντρο γλώττης...τα πάθη (33, 94, 6 f.); τα...νυν καθ' ἡμῶν ἑπιχειρηθέντα πᾶσαν θραγμον ὑπερβαίνει διήγησιν (36, 226, 5 f.); and to the use of θραγμον in 120, 82, 8 f.: ἡ καινὴ αὕτη καὶ παράδοτος θραγμον.2

Also the metaphorical use of χορὸς may be mentioned here: see, e.g., 126, 190, 16 (τὸν τὸν μαρτύρων διακοσμοῦσιν χορὸν).3

6. Metaphors based on natural phenomena.

They are quite numerous in Theodoret's letters, deriving both from the Sophist and from the biblical patterns, which had already mingled in the language of the fourth-century Fathers.4

a) Fire.

The metaphorical use of "fire" is too common, and Theodoret's use of it too trite, to deserve more than passing mention. In XXXVII, 102, 5, πῦρ πνέοντος is said of a too severe officer.

1. Nor does Romanos: see Nimmo Smith pp. 49 ff., who observes that θραγμον and δράμα were used in their modern meaning of "dramatic event" already by the fourth-century Fathers.

2. These and a few other examples have been mentioned already s.v. hyperbole (v. supra p. 189). Cf. John Chrys. in Burns, pp. 34 and 92.

3. Nilus seems to resort to a more varied terminology in the use of metaphors from the theatre: e.g., τοῦτο (i.e. φρυγάττενν and μεγαλαυχεῖν) δ' ἂν καὶ σκηνικοῖς πολλάκις πολύς ἄδιπποι διηνέονται (epp. I.33, F.G. 79, 120 B); and δραματουργεῖται in epp. I. 102, F.G. 79, 123 A.

The pattern of the following instance is very close to two occurrences in Gregory of Nazianzus: ἑρεθίζοντι τὸ φίλτρον,... καὶ τὸν σπιλεύρα ποιοῦσι πυρσὸν... ὑπὸ δὲ τούτου πυρπολούμενοι ... (61, 140, 6 ff.); cf. Greg. Naz., P.G. 36, 17 A: 

βούλοντο ἀν τὸν σπιλεύρα τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν κακὰν γενέσθαι φλάγια, ἐξάπτει τε καὶ ἀναρριμίζει, καὶ ἐς οὐρανὸν αἴρει...; and 35, 449 A: τάχιστα ἀν ἐν μικρῷ σπιλεύρῳ ὅ τὸς ἄλθες τὰς πυρσίς ἐξέλθει.

Also Theodoret's πυρεύρων τὸν ἕθλον (118, 76, 9 ff.) cf. 126, 102, 29 f.) can be compared with Greg. Naz., P.G. 35, 679 A (ἕθλον ἐξέκαυσεν). Such a close similarity of words and concepts (expressed through the same pattern of imagery) suggests that they belong to the same rhetorical tradition, in which the biblical component had found its place already.2

b) Heavenly Bodies, etc.

The image of the clearing of a cloudy sky is very common in the letters of Theodoret; νέφος and σκέδασμυς (ἠπο...οτί...) are the keywords for this image;3 τῷ...νέφος ὧν φιλανθρώποι...

1. cf. also 121, 34, 8 ff.: ἐφύλαξε τὸν τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας σπιλεύρας μᾶλλον δὲ οὐ σπιλεύρας, ἄλλα πυρσον μέγιστον....

2. The image of πῦρ is especially frequent in the New Testament: see Grimm's Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, Edinburgh, 1398. On the other hand, the same can be said of Plato: see Louis, p. 190.

3. Which is more likely to be connected with a classical derivation than with a Biblical one: see θανάτου...νέφος 11. 16. 350, cf. Od. 4.180; λάθας ν. Pl. 0. 7.45; σκότου ν. (cf blindness) S. OT 1314; ν. ὀλίμωψις, στεναγμὸν E. Med. 107, HF 1140; ἔλαμπον τὸ προσὸν νῦν νέφος ἐπὶ τοῦ προσῶπον Anaxander Fr. 58 Kock; etc. The word is frequently used in its metaphorical sense by the Fathers, but appears to be essentially preferred by Theodoret (see P.G.L.). See also John Chrys. (Burns p. 84).
The juxtaposition between light and darkness is expressed in different language in the following:

1. cf. also 94, 246, 10 ff., quoted above (p. 216) as an example of accumulation of metaphors. "Rapprochez ces différentes comparaisons; vous êtes frappé de leur parenté; elles sont toutes coulées dans le même moule"; what Guignet (p. 163) writes about Gregory of Nazianzus' comparisons is applicable to the images employed by Theodoret as well.


3. ζόφος: metaph. is in Flus. 2.436 (τῇ ψυχῇ...). The term is poetic and used in late prose.


"The lightning of the truth" is to be found in 11, 40, 7 (ταῦτα...
τῆς ἀληθείας ἀστραπῆς).

c) Springs and rivers.

Πηγή (= source) 2 and νάμα (= stream) are more than once associated throughout Theodoret's letters. 3 The elaborate ep. Χ, for example, addressed to the sophist Aerus, is built upon a subtle tissue of recurrent words, such as the two above mentioned and some more, belonging to the same field (1 ff.):

περισσῶν διψῶντας, καὶ τὰ τῶν λόγων κρύπτων πηγάς...

ταῦτα ἄγνοσθι προτιθέναι τὰ νάματα.....

Φασί δὲ καὶ τὰ φρέατα μὴ ἐξαντλοῦμενα 4

ἀποκρατεῖν....., ἐξαντλοῦμεν δὲ ἡδον.....παρέχειν τὰ νάματα).

We find λόγων πηγάς again at the beginning of another elaborate passage (XLIX, 119, 3 ff.):

1. Theodoret does not explicitly compare Christ with the sun, as Nilus does (epp. I. 41, F.G. 79, 101 Πηγάς.... ἔστι διψαίος ἐστιν etc.).

2. Πηγή is very deeply rooted in the biblical tradition (LXX; Ev. Ις 4.14; Αποκ. 3.10; etc.); but cf. also Trag. and Plato. See F.G.L.


4. The same proverb is in Basil: see above, p. 39 n.3.
Δύον πηγών ἐπὶ τῆς γλώττης, ὁσιότατε, φέρων, δυσὶ ἐφησθαί, καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ψευδάων ἐφέσθαι, ὃμοιον ποιῶν ὢσπέρ ἂν εἴ τις τῶν Αγίων ποταμῶν λιβάδου, εἴποι προσθεσθαι μικράς. Ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ βραχεία νοτὸς ὄφελεῖν φέρει πολλήν· ἡ δὲ σὴ θεσσεβεία κρουνοῦσι τοῖς ἄλλοις προσφέρει. This accurate rhetorical conceit is developed by the writer in such a way, as to make it fit the Gospel words of Mt. 5:6 as follows: Ἐπανύ
δὲ ὡμῶς τὴν καλὴν ἀπλοτίαν· καρπὸν γὰρ ἔχει τὸν θεῖον μακαρισμὸν· Μακάριοι γὰρ οἱ πενθόντες καὶ δισύντες τὴν δικαίωσὺν· οἱ αὐτῶν χορτασθήσονται. Some more examples of metaphors based upon springs and streams are noteworthy: e.g., τοσάττην αἰ πανηγύρεις αὐταὶ πηγάδους θυμήσον, ὥς πάντως διατρέχειν τῆς πνευματικῆς εὐφροσύνης τὰ νάματα (25,84,3-5); αἱ τῆς Δεσποτικῆς φιλανθρωπίας πηγαὶ τοῖς πιστευόντες διαβλέπουσι τάγαθα (25,84,10f.); τά...τῶν εὐσεβοῦντων γλώττας εἰς τὴν συνήθη ἀποστολὴν τὰ νάματα προχεῖν παρεσκεύασεν (142,154,17 f.). Finally, the image of irrigation appears in the following instances: it is said of Bishop Basil, τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἀρδεῖν προσφέροντα τοῖς πνευματικῶς χαοῖς (102,22,14 f.); in 146, 19, 8 ff., many metaphors of different content follow one another:

1. Cf. examples from John Chrys. in Burns, p. 84. See Nilus, app. I.
146, P. C. 79, 144B: πνευματικὰ τίνα πηγάζει δωρήματα.

καὶ Ἡσύστακτος, καὶ Μελέτιος, καὶ Φλαβίανός, τῆς Ἀνατολῆς ὁμίλων ὁ ἐφοράτως \footnote{1}{καὶ Ἐφραίμ, ἢ τοῦ Πνεύματος θύρα, \footnote{2}{ο τὸν ἱερὸν ἐθνοῦς ἀρχαὶ ὁμιλεῖ τοῖς τῆς χάριτος νόμοις, καὶ Ὀλίγης καὶ Ἀπατών τῆς ἀληθείας μεγαλόφωνοι κήρυκες.}

\textbf{d) Farming imagery}

To the category of metaphors based on nature, some more are to be added, which properly belong to farming imagery: e.g., ἔνα...τὰς τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐλπίδας ἐν ἡμῖν ἐγνατασπείρῃ (XLVII, 112, 14 f.).


cαρποῦ and καρπόω occur several times, as also do ἄνθος and derivatives: see, e.g., 47, 106, 3

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1. v. supra, p. 222 n. 4.
2. This metaphor, betokening divine inspiration, is to be found often in Theodoret; cf. also a well-known quotation from Montanus and Epiphanius (see P.G.L.). Clem. Alex. uses κινήρα similarly (see P.G.L.).
3. cf. ἐγν. ἐλπίδα τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων in Ph. 2, 673.
4. καρποῦ and καρπόω are as frequent in most Christian writers (see, e.g., John Chrys. in Burns, p. 91; and Romans in Mitsakis, p. 170), and the derivation from the numerous New Testament passages is obvious. Freq. in Nilus (e.g., epp. I, 155, P.G. 79, 1450, where the writer also quotes a passage from Gen. 49.15, which justifies his resort to this kind of metaphor).
Two ampler examples of farming metaphors are the following: εἶ δὲ έθεις δεξαμένη τὰ τοῦ σωτηρίου κηρύγματος σπέρματα, τοῖς δὲ γλάδους τούτους ἐβεβρέθη καρποῖς.1 (113, 56, 21-23); τὴν...πάλιν σπαρείσαν αὐρέσιν, εἶτα πρόρριζον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀράστων ἀνασπαθείσαν γεωργῶν, φυτεύσαν νῦν ἐπειράθεσαν (146, 132, 17-19). Αζέμα2 points out the derivation of this metaphorical context from the parable of the sower (Mt. 13.24 ff.). But it is worth noticing the insertion of a word such as πρόρριζον which is not to be found in the Gospel.

The care displayed in the construction and wording of such instances offers further evidence for Theodoret's Sophistic and rhetorical training. Yet he does not over-elaborate. The political or doctrinal goal is always put first.

In conclusion, all the traditional kinds of metaphor based on nature can be found in Theodoret's letters, in compliance with the tradition established by the fourth-century Fathers.

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1. This metaphor opens the way to a rather long development, which follows immediately thereafter, the derivation of which from the New Testament is evident (9-11): τοιαῦτα γὰρ τὰ ἐκείνου βλαστήματα καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους καὶ θῦρας καὶ πάνω καὶ λόπας ἐβλαστήσαν; cf. Mt. 7.16 ff. (καὶ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς. Μὴ τι συλλέγουσιν ἀπὸ ἀκανθῶν στάφυλας ἢ ἀπὸ τριβόλων σέκα; etc.) and Heb. 6.3 (γῇ ἐκφέρουσα δὲ ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους ἀδοκίμος).
2. cf. ἔρειεν καρποῖς (but in a non-metaphorical sense) in Jul. Or. 7.230 d.
7. **Metaphors based upon medicine.**

The following instances are noteworthy:\(^1\) διδάσκει... της πόλεως τα παθήματα καὶ λήψεται πάντως ἀλεξίαμα φάρμακα\(^2\) (XVII, 39, 7); θεραπεύσει τα τῆς πόλεως τραύματα (43, 114, 22f.); λαβεῖν τοῖς τῶν Ἐκκλησίαν ἔλκει θεραπείαν (113, 56, 9). Heresy is obviously assimilated to illness: οἱ τὴν Ἀρείου βλασφημίαν νοσοῦντες (112, 48, 12 f.); ἡλευθέρωσα τῇ Μαρκίωνος νόσου\(^3\). In 146, 174, 20f., σηπεδῶν\(^4\), applied again to Marcion's heresy, is substituted for the too general term νόσου.

Some further specific terms are to be found: e.g., ἦνα μὴ χωλεῖ̄ν τῶν ἐγκυμισμῶν ὁ ἐπαίνος (57, 100, 20 f.), cf. 49, 126, 3

1. On Theodoret's knowledge of medicine, see Canivet, Histoire, pp. 307 f.

2. "...extension métaphorique des infirmités du corps aux turpitudes de l'âme ou aux aberrations de l'esprit" (Guignet p. 140). Vocabulary related to medicine is spread in the same way throughout all the Christian writings of these centuries (see Nimmo Smith pp. 39 ff.).

3. νόσος and νός are very often metaphorically used both in the classical tradition (see, e.g., Plato, in Louis pp. 197 f.) and in the New Testament.

The equation sin = illness is an obvious one: cf. Nilus, ep. I.

182 (P.G. 79, 152 D): Νόσον χαλεπωτάτην, καὶ συκότος καλέν τὴν ἀσθέταν, οὐχ ἀμαρτάνει τοῦ κληθοῦ. Chrys. hom. 73, 3 in Je.

(P.G. 8, 433 B).
"Amavmos" ("make dim, blind; weaken") appears twice, in very similar contexts: τῆς ἐφτασὶ τῆς θυμηδαν ἡμαβρωσε (38, 102, 20 f.); τῆς πανηγυρεῖσθ ἡμῖν τῆς θυμηδαν ἡμαβρωσε (40, 104, 21).

Finally, Theodoret resorts at least twice in the letters to ἐπιφθή, which is technical for "charm, healing incantation": τῆν ἄθυμλαν ταῖς τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος ἐπιφάνεις ἀπελάθουντα (XLII, 106, 1); νικήσας τῆς ἄθυμλας τὸ πέθος τῷ λόγῳ καὶ εἰς καρδιν προσενεγκεῖν τῷ ψυχῇ τῶν θείων λόγων τῆν ἐπιφάνην2 (14, 46, 9-11).

8. Metaphors based upon childbirth.

A complex metaphor is made use of in 14, 46, 12 f.: εὐθὺς ἐν σπαργάνων οἶνον των ἄθηλν3 ἐλκομεν τῆς ερπᾶς Γραφῆς τῆν μέληταν.4

In 33, 234, 19, we read: ψευδεῖς καθ' ἡμῖν σπαίνουσα λόγουι.

About ὀδήνσω ("to be in travail of, to bring forth") Guignet (p. 139) writes: "Une métaphore également fréquente chez quelques sophistes, comme Himérius, c'est celle où entre le radical du verbe ὀδήνσω...

Rapprochez...l'expression d'Himérius (Disc. XVIII, ligne 32) τῆς...τῶν λόγων ὀδήνσας, de l'exclamation de Grégoire (36, 24 B): οὖ κατέχεις τὴν ὀδήνα τοῦ λόγου." Thus such combination of ὀδήνσω/5

1. Χωλεύειν is applied to truth by Gregory of Nazianzus (P.G.35,4438).

2. These examples can be added to the one in Romanos pointed out by Nimmo Smith, p. 93.

3. cf. Plato (Louis p. 201); and Romanos (Mitsakis p. 170).

4. μελήτην is the reading proposed by Aséma (II, p. 46, n.2) instead of μελέτην (mss.). It is justified by the way in which Theodoret accumulates and intermingles metaphors.

5. or, later, ὀδήν (LXX; I Ep. Thess. 5.3).
...with λόγοι can be specifically traced back to a sophistic tradition. But it is worth mentioning the large metaphorical use of διadding (Ex. 15, 14, al.) and in the New Testament the influence of which may have been even more predominant on Theodoret.

Conclusion about metaphor in Theodoret's letters.

Metaphors are extensively represented in the whole of the letters of Theodoret, thus helping to furnish the Sophistic-rhetorical requirement for ornamentation. In doing this, Theodoret follows a well-established tradition, within which biblical and pagan sources had mingled, at least since the synthesis made by the fourth-century Fathers.

I would not say that Theodoret resorts to metaphors in order to throw light on abstract or abstruse concepts: he rather appeals to them as to a traditional, necessary kind of expression. His use of metaphors gives emphasis to emotions as well as conferring efficacious brevity to otherwise too long explicative sentences.

1. see especially Gal. 4.19: πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τεκνία μου, οὖς πάλιν διακο, μέχρις οὗ μορφωθῇ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν.

2. cf. what Campbell (p.103) writes à propos of Basil: "The frequent use of διακο in him recalls a convention of Christian oratory very wide-spread in the fourth century".

3. according to one of the aims of metaphors given by Campbell, p.96. Cf. also, for Plato's use of metaphors, Louis, p. 179.

4. It is sufficient here to consider an image like the one in 69, 150, 11 (ἀφετα τὸ πάθος): to strangle the emotion). or the elaborate one in 14, 46, 12 f., cit. p. 223 (ἐκ σπαργάδων οἷον τινα θνηθὴν ἐλκομεν τῆς ἄρα Γραφῆς τῆν μέληταν).
The categories given by Campbell (p. 97) as typically sophitic in their subject-matter (i.e., athletics, hippodrome, sea, war) are represented in large measure in Theodoret's letters, with the exception of hippodrome metaphors.

An undoubted accuracy in the choice of words\(^1\) proves the writer's care for Atticism and his rhetorical training - even when these words fit into images of Biblical derivation.\(^2\)

To the above mentioned categories, a few more are to be added, which are connected as well with the previous tradition: metaphors from the theatre, restrained and yet striking; metaphors based on nature, which cover a large sphere, and sometimes place greater emphasis on the writer's tendency to repetition;\(^3\) metaphors based on farming; medical imagery; metaphors based on childbirth; and some scattered metaphors, which cannot enter any of the above mentioned categories.\(^4\)

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1. see, e.g., παιδοτρίβης, πηδάλια, ἀνέφαγαθίζω.

2. "The abundance of metaphor in the LXX and NT has much contributed to its usage by Christian authors, who were greatly influenced by the Second Sophistic" (Mitsakis p. 169).

3. see, e.g., the above quoted metaphors based on νέφος, πηγαλ., and νάματα, etc.

4. Such are, for example, the frequent use of γυμνός (21, 70, 15; 33, 94, 13; 144, 160, 16); θήγω (= sharpen) and θηγάνη (whetstone) in 146, 174, 15 f.; also τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀγάλματα (XIX, 91, 8).
Among the characteristics especially Sophistic, three can be found in Theodoret's epistolary style: redundancy of metaphors; prolonged development given to some metaphors; and also metaphors stressing pathos, such as images conveying storm and stress, both personal and in the Church.

On the other hand, one comes to the conclusion that neither extravagance nor excessive care for elaboration of detail can be found in any of Theodoret's metaphors. To that extent we can agree with Sister Wagner's statement (p. 171) that "with few exceptions, he does not follow the Sophistic practice of establishing a meticulous correspondence between the objects of the comparison or prolonging the development of the figure". But I would not say that "in general, Theodoret's metaphors and comparisons in his letters are quite casual". I would say rather, that alongside many which were the common coin of late literary style and can scarcely have been felt any longer as metaphors, there are still a good many which are artistically conceived and elaborated.

1. see Campbell p. 97.
2. see, e.g., epp. 94, p. 246, and 107, p. 32.
3. see, e.g., 61, 140, 6 ff.; 113, 56, 21-23; and the whole ep. X, p. 32.
4. letters dealing with his personal troubles as well as with problems of the Church are particularly rich in metaphors: see epp. 86; 94; 99; 107; 112; 113; 146.
CHAPTER FOUR

The comparison in Theodoret’s letters

"A comparison is a metaphor completed by a grammatical form that calls attention to the resemblance."¹ Here are some examples of comparisons in Theodoret’s letters, classified according to the usual categories.

1. Sea, rivers and springs.

XVIII, 90, 10 ff.: (φελόδους ἐξεύθεν τοῦ τὴν γῆν ἐργαζομένου...
...
) οὖδὲ γὰρ οἱ κρουνοὶ προσφέρετον σύναιται τῶν ὕδατων
tὰ νόμιμα, παρά τῶν πηγῶν μὴ δεχόμενοι; XLIX, 119, 4–6:
(τῶν ἰμετέρων ψεκάσων ἐφίππεθος) ὦμοιον ποιῶν ἀσπερ ἄν
eὶ τὶς τῶν Ἁγγυτίαν ποταμῶν λιβάδος εἰποὶ προσδεῖσθαι
μικράς;³ a rather long and carefully developed comparison⁴ is in
II, 33, 13 ff.: καθάπερ τὸ παρὰ τοῦ λιμένα φρυγιώροδομένον
πῦρ τοῦ ναυτιλλομένοις νῦκτωρ ἐπιδείκνυσι τοῦ λιμένος

2. Cf. Hagesias fr. 2 Müller for the location: ὦμοιον πεποίηκας,

Ἀλεξανδρε...δὴ ἄν εἰ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν τῆς κατ' οὐρανὸν μερίδος

ἐμβάλαι τὴν σελήνην.

3. The same concept is expressed through a slightly varied comparison

in Greg. Naz., P.G. 36, 504 C: οὔτε γὰρ ἤλασσα δεῖται τῶν

ἐλαφροῦντων ἐἰς ἀκριβον ποταμῶν..., οὔτε τῶν εἰσοδοθῶν

tι πρὸς εὐφημίαν ὁ νῦν ἐπανομένος.

4. See also Nilus, ep. II. 231 (P.G. 79, 163 B): ἰσοπερ θαλάττης

αἰρομένης ἐἰς ψυχή, καὶ κυμάτων πάντων ἐρωτουμένων
tὸ σκάφος ὁποδρόχιον γίνεται, οὔτω καὶ ψυχή.
to στόμα, οὔτως ὡς τῆς σῆς ἀγωγόνης ἀκτίς...ἀνεφάνη μεγάλη παραψυχή: 1 77, 124, 22 and ff.: καὶ ἱερενήτης ἁριστος, ἐν τῇ καλῷ τοῦ κελμῖνος, καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῶν ναυτῶν ὑπομονήσεως δεῖται. 2 Two short metaphors of different nature are associated in 142, 154, 2-4: ὅπερ γὰρ ἐστὶ πλούς μὲν τρόπις (ship’s keel), οὐκέ τε θεμέλιος, τοῦτο τοῖς εὑσεβεῖν προαιρομένοις ἢ τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν δαγμάτων ἀλήθεια. In 76, 164, 16 ff., as we have already seen, an antithetical comparison is made between a fisherman and God (following a fishing metaphor, 15-16): ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἰχθευλικὸς τῶν θερευομένων τὴν ζωὴν ἀφαιρεῖται ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος ἀπαλλευτῆς, ὁπερ ἐν ζωγραφή, τῶν πικρῶν ἀλευθεροῖ τοῦ θανάτου δεσμῶν.
2. Natural phenomena.
One very carefully developed and elaborate comparison has to be mentioned here: 146, 196, 15 ff.: εἰ γάρ ὁ ἄρη ὄλος δι’ ὄλου τὸ φῶς εἰσδεχόμενος οὐκ ἀπελλυσε τὸ εἶναι ἄρη, οὔ τε μὴν τοῦ φωτὸς διαφθείρει τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὀρμαίνῃ τὸ φῶς, τῇ δὲ ἀφῇ τὸν ἀέρα γνωσκόμεν— ὢ νὰρ ψυχρός ἡμῖν, ὁ θερμός, ὁ ύγρός, ὁ ἄθρος προσπέλασει— ἀνυμένας ἐσχάτης σύγχυσιν ἀποκαλεῖν τὴν τῆς θεσπιστῆς καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ξύσιν. Thus a subtle comparison serves a theological

2. The same image can offer various developments and interpretations: see, for example, the different turn given to the image of the pilot by Chrys., in Burns p. 94.
Comparisons with the bee occur with remarkable frequency – especially if compared with the rather restrained number of comparisons on the whole. The short ep. IV starts\(^3\) as follows (77, 6 ff.):  
\[\text{o} \text{ι} \text{κερδαίνειν ελάδτες...μιμούνται την μέλισσαν, η[τις] καὶ ἐκ πικρῶν βοτανῶν γλυκυτάτην ἀρυμένη νοτίδα τὸ ἱδιστὸν μέλι τοῖς ἄνθρωποις προσφέρει.}\]

1. Cf. Guignet p. 159: "Sans doute, la multitude des comparaisons est, absolument parlant, un indice de sophistique, de même que leur choix parmi celles que parait imposer la tradition classique...; mais il faut tout de même bien reconnaître que, là encore, les intentions du rhéteur ont pu se rencontrer avec celles du pasteur"; and he continues, showing the help given by the use of comparison to the illustration of abstract concepts.

2. cf. Plato (Louis p. 187: "parmi les insectes, l'abeille a une place de choix").

3. "One convention of the sophists was to begin a discourse occasionally with an elaborate comparison. The display of skill thus afforded was a kind of "try-out" for both speaker and auditors" (Campbell p. 111): for both the sender and the addressee, we should say, in our case.


And 62, 140, 15 ff.: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀπειλθος φησθαι πολεῖν καὶ παρ' τῶν ἄλλων συλλέγων τὸ χρήσιμον. καὶ γὰρ τὰς μελίττας φασὶν ὅπως ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσωθῆμον μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ ἄπὸ τῶν πικρῶν βοτανῶν, καὶ τὰ καιρία συλλέγειν καὶ τὴν γλυκεῖαν ὀρθῶν ἀρέσκεσθαι.

Apparently, a hint of personal experience follows: εἶδον δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ πέτρας ἄγανοις ἐνυμανόδας καὶ τὴν νοτίδα τὴν ὀλγήν ἀνιμωμένας.
The imagery in VII, 79, 4 ff. (to the sophist Aerius) is of a preciosity suitable to Theodoret's correspondent: ἧδ μὲν, δὲ ἄριστε, συγγνωμενος, ἀεὶ τὴν ἐκ ρητορικῆς καὶ φιλοσοφίας πεποιημένην πανδαισίαν προσφέρεις, καὶ τῆς Ἀττίδος μελέτης χαριστερα ὑφαίνων τὰ τοῦ ἄγου κηρία, καὶ γλυκύτερα νάματα ἐνειεῖς, ἐστίδα ὡς εὐωδας φιλοτέμως. And once again, while writing to the sophist Isocasius, Theodoret resorts to the same kind of imagery, and treats it in the same refined way, also enlarging the image by the resort to a metaphorical glimpse of nature1 (XVII, 94, 19 and ff.): πρὸς τοὺς ἀττικοὺς ὑμὸν πάλιν τρέχουσι λειμμανάς αἱ ημέτεραι μέλιται, τῇ πελρα μαθόθοι τῶν ἄνθεων ἐκεῖνων τὸ χρήσιμον. 'Εμφασάτω τοῖς ναῦσιν αὐτῶς ἡ ημέτερα παλάδεως τοῦ μέλιτος και διδαχῶς τῇ κηρίᾳ μετ' ἐπιστήμης ὑφαίνειν.2 This is a very striking example, and much more characteristic of a rhetor; Theodoret is actually writing to a rhetor. The number and elaborateness of these occurrences in Theodoret reflects a widely spread tendency in the language of the Fathers,3 as well as in that of pagan writers, such as Plutarch.

1. Chrys. (in Burns p. 98) compares the Sacred Scriptures to a meadow rich in "many and varied flowers".

2. This passage could actually be regarded as a metaphor. Note that the writer is sending pupils to the sophist. V. supra p. 163.

3. Cf. Chrys. (Burns p. 99), Gr. Naz. (Guignet p. 169). To the references given by Azema (II, 140 f., n.4) and by Canivet (Histoire, p.130), the following can be added, which are to be found in two other fifth-century Christian writers: πληρὴ...τὰ τῶν γραφῶν κηρία τοῦ μέλιτος, Pas.Sel. Or. 37.1 (F.G.85, 389A); and μελίσσας τινὲς τοὺς προφητας Μιλησίους, μελισσουργεῖτον δ' αὐτῶν τὴν θεάν εἶναι γοαφήν, Nilus epp. 1,262 (F.G. 79,1808). That Nilus had in mind the Biblical tradition is displayed by what follows (ibid.): καλὸν τοῖς ὑπάρχει, πείθεσθαι τὸ σολομόντις φάσκοντι: "Τίς μου, φάγε μέλι, ὅποιον ἀν γλυκανθείς τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς σάρυγγα" (Prov. 24.3) Ἡρῴδειν δὲ λέγει γλυκείαν, καὶ μελιτῶδη τὴν άναγνώσαν καὶ τὴν μελέτην τῶν λογίων τοῦ Πνεύματος.
The comparison with the chameleon occurs twice in the letters, and once it is associated with that of the polyp: 125, 98, 1-3: ὅποιον πολύποδον. οὕτως πρὸς τὰς πέτρας τὴν ωκείαν ἐναλλάττουσι χρόνιον, ἢ χαμαίλεοντες πρὸς τὰ φύλλα τὸ χρῶμα, ὡς οὕτως (i.e. those who rehabilitated Eutyches and condemned Theodoret).

Finally we may mention the comparison in 77, 122, 4-6, referring to sheep and shepherd: οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ πολυμένες τῶν νενοσθεντῶν ἀμελοῦσι προβάτων, ἀλλὰ χωρίζουσι μὴν αὐτὰ τῶν ἄλλων, πάν ἐκ δειδοὶ αὐτοῖς θεραπεῖας προσφέρουσι. Τοῦτο καὶ ἡμῖν ποιητέων. The New Testament imagery is very likely to have occurred to the writer's mind.


Boulenger (p. 70) points out that this is a commonplace: cf. Theognis, 215-16; Greg. Nas. (F.G. 36, 521 A); Julian, Kiprakon 349 D; Paroem. Gr. II, pp. 203-204; etc.

2. cf., e.g., Jo. 10.11 ff., the quotation of which actually occurs earlier in the same letter (p. 163, 8 ff.).
4. War.

Whereas military metaphors have been discovered not to be infrequent throughout Theodoret’s letters, only one relevant comparison occurs, which belongs to this category: 77, 162, 12 ff.: οὕτω καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀριστοὶ σῶν ἐν εἰσήνῃ δείκνυσι τὴν οἰκείαν ἀνδρείαν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τὸς ἀλλοι διεγείρων, καὶ αὐτοὶ προκινδυνεύων τῆς στρατιᾶς. "Ἀτοποι γὰρ τῆς μὲν στρατηγικῆς αὐτὸν ἀπολάμβανεν τιμῆς, ἐν δὲ τῷ τῆς χρείας καὶ τὸς κυνήγους ἀποδιδόμεναν. This ecphrastic development serves the aim of illustrating the behaviour of the prophets.

5. Medicine and disease.

Comparisons based upon medical imagery are rather frequent.¹ In VII, 79, 14, wine is compared to a physician (τὸν στόμαχον ὡς ἀπρόθεσμον ὑπὸ θεραπεύοντα δυνάμενον). Ep. 15, a consolatory letter, has come late, as good physicians wait for the most suitable time in order to help the sick with their art: ² οὕτω γὰρ τῷ ἀποθέμενοι.

1. Cf. Basil (Campbell p. 123) and Chrys. (Burns p. 100).

2. The Sophistic training was able to offer the opportunity for completely different developments of comparisons and metaphors from the point of view of content and concept, but still making use of the same ingredients: cf. this comparison in Theodoret with the one developed by Basil (Ps. 14, 103 B-C), quoted by Campbell, p. 123: "Just as if a physician coming to those who are ill, instead of restoring them to health, should take away the feeble traces of their strength...".
Lastly, the comparison in 111, 42, 22 and ff., is less usual and more recherche: Theodoret writes that he laughs at the multitude of his accusers, because ὑπὸ ἑαυτῶν αἰκιδέμενα σώματα τῆς ὀλίγης ὁδόν ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρου διαδόθησαν, νεκρωθεὶσης λοιπὸν τῆς αἰκιδιομένης σαρκὸς.

6. Miscellaneous.

Here are some examples of miscellaneous comparisons: IX, 81, 22 ff.: those who strive in order to increase their inheritance serve as a term of comparison for ἀνευμένης σαρκὸς: ὅτι τὸν πατέραν κλῆρον διαδέχομον ὡς στέργουσι τοῖς δοθέωσιν, ἀλλὰ αὐξεῖν αὐτὰ σπουδάζοντο. ταύτην δὲ δεῖ τὴν σπουδὴν ἐλευθεροτικῶς γίνεσθαι. Reference to the relationship between father and son, et similia, occurs more than once: 45, 113, 6 ff.: ὅτι καθήπου πατέρα ἔκλαττοχα ἐπὶ πατέρα φιλόστοργον διετέθηκαν περί τὴν ὑμετέραν μεγαλοπρέπειαν ἀπαντεῖ τοῖς ἑπαν ὀλίγων, ὕμνημα τὸ μεγάθεος ἀκριβῶς (writing to the patrician Anastolius); cf. XLV, 111, 2 ff. (to Theodotus, bishop of Antioch): ... ἀποστότοι ἐμείλα τῆς σὴς,
In XXXIX, 103, 20-21, the magistrates are obviously compared to fathers, as well as to physicians and pilots. But the comparison in 2, 22, 1 ff. is far from being as trite in order to stress the concept that love makes judgments unobjective (p. 20, 20: κλέπτει ...) πόθος το δίκαιον). Theodoret writes as follows: ό γὰρ
οἱ πάτερες ὑμᾶς λέγειν τὰ δουλεία παιδία νομίζουσι καὶ
παιδεῖς ἀσαύτῳ τὸ τῶν πατέρων εἰδεχθέις οὐχ ὀρθῶς ὀφεῖν καὶ ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφον βλέπει, οὐχ ἢ ἡ φύσις, ἀλλὰ ἢ ἡ
διάθεσις διέκυσιν.

A double comparison is given place in 49, 124, 19 ff.,
to express a concept analogous to the previous one: τὰ κάτοπτρα
τῶν εἰσορθῶν τὰς ὅψεις ἐκμάττεσθαι πέφυκεν. Οἱ τούτων
εἰς ταῦτα βλέποντες τὰς οἰκείας ὄρθις μορφᾶς. Ταῦτα δὲ
tοῦτο καὶ αὐτοὶ κόραι ποιοῦσι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὸν γὰρ ἄλλοτρος
χαρακτήρας ἐν σειτίς ἐκτυπώσι. Τοιοῦτο τι καὶ ἢ σῆ
πέκουσεν ὁσίοτης. Οὐ γὰρ τὸ ἡμέτερον ἐφάρμακαν εἰδεχθέις,
ἀλλὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ὄραν εἴδον καὶ τεθαύμασεν. The comparisons
are ingenious and sophistically refined in the correspondence of details.

Here is another example: the ἄγαμος between the writer and the clergy
of Berrhoea is such, that ἦν παρέχει συνάφειαν γλῶττα πρὸς ἀκοὴν —
ἡ μὲν γὰρ προφέρει τοῦς λόγους, ἡ δὲ δέχεται τούτους —,
tαῦτα καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν πρὸς υἱὸς (75, 162, 6-3).
The comparison with the work of goldsmiths is used in
1, 20, 3 ff.: καὶ καθάπερ οἱ χρυσοχόοι τῇ βασάνῳ προσφέρουσι
tὸν χρυσὸν, ἵνα ἐκεῖν ἐξέλοντες εἰ ἀκιδῆλος τε καὶ ἀπεφθος,
oὕτως ἐγὼ τῇ σῇ θεοσεβείᾳ τὸ σύγγραμα προσεπάνωνα 1.

And in 146, 196, 27 and ff., a similar image is used to illustrate
a theological concept: καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ χρυσὸς τῷ πυρὶ
προσομοιῶθαν μεταλαμβάνει μὲν τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ γραφαὶ καὶ
ἐνεργεῖας, τὴν δὲ οἰκείαν οὐκ ἀπόλυση φύσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
μένει χρυσὸς, καὶ ἐνεργεῖ τὰ πυρὸς. Οὕτω καὶ τὸ
Δεσποτικὸν σῶμα, κτλ.

In 146, 193, 10 ff., Theodoret compares his enemies to
prostitutes: ... προσομοιῶν τι ταῖς γυναιξὶ ταῖς ἀκολόγοις
πολούντες. Καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι δημοσίᾳ πωλοῦσαι τὴν ἡπαν, ταῖς
ἐπαρικοῖς ὀνειδεῖς τὰς σάφρονας περιβάλλουσι, καὶ τὰ τῆς
οἰκείας ἁσέλγειας οὐράτα ταῖς τὴν ἁσέλγειαν βαδιστομένας
περιτιθέσι. The ekphrasis about Putiphare's wife 2 follows.

Conclusion about comparison in Theodoret's letters.
The employment of comparisons in Theodoret's letters is
remarkable. Even if they are not numerous, their qualities are Sophistic,
especially thanks to the accuracy displayed in their development, and in
the care given to the effort of making the two terms of comparison as
close as possible. One feels that, especially in the few miscellaneous
comparisons, Theodoret is more consciously trying to find words and images
which will express his thoughts clearly.

1. For the imagery of the goldsmith etc., cf. Plato (χρυσοχοεῖν,
R. 450b; θαυματικεῖν; Lach. 183a-b; Gorr. 436d, a, 437 a-e, etc. – see
not in P.G.L.
CHAPTER FIVE

The language of Theodoret's correspondence, its Atticism.

1. The traditional meaning of Atticism. Theodoret's theoretical position in relation to Atticism, according to passages from his letters.

From the latter part of the first century B.C. grammarians and rhetoricians proclaimed the notion that no change was to be allowed in the language, to prevent it from decay, and that the Koine was to be rejected in favour of Greek used by classical Greek writers, the only correct one.

The increased weight of this "Atticistio" theory, based on the conscious imitation of ancient linguistic models, strongly influenced not only the teaching of Greek in schools, but also all literary prose. During the first and second centuries A.D., the old figure of rhetor appears in a new guise, that of the ἑρωδία. In this Second Sophistic movement - in which abstract vacuity of themes and mechanical repetition of τὸ πολ. are exaggerated - there is present again the paedagogic assumption made by the original Sophists, who aimed to arm the pupil with the weapons of eloquence. Atticism finds its place here, in that the employment of "Attic" words and forms became a mark of cultural acceptability. As R. Browning remarks, "ancient authority replaced spontaneity".

Hence arose a purist intransigence and the compulsory reference to "golden" models, which sometimes lead to a fanatically archaising manner.

In the second century the Atticist lexicographer Phrynichus, in writing to Cornelianus (Prol., ed. Rutherford, p. 55), especially admired "the choice of fine and acceptable words" (τὸ περὶ τὴν τῶν καλῶν καὶ δοκήμων ὅνομάτων κρίσιν) as a display of the recipient's παιδεία. Atticists, he states, would rather be willing to speak ancient and accurate words than new and disreputable ones (ποτέρως ἄν ἐθέλοιεν διαλέγεσθαι ἀρχαίως καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἡ νεοχμὼς καὶ ἀμελῶς). The fourth-century Cappadocian Fathers have been shown to adhere to the same principle of imitation of the classical language. The great fourth-century Fathers, most of them men with a traditional education, like Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom, all unhesitatingly rejected the spoken language of their time as a vehicle for writing and preaching, and chose the archaising literary language which was the lingua franca of the educated classes.

1. The employment and diffusion of purist and Atticistic lexica was largely promoted by the literary mode of Atticism. They served to indicate terms used and not used by classical authors (ἐλλαγμοὶ) and to offer exact combinations and arrangements of words.
2. see works by Campbell, Guignet, etc.
3. St. Paul already resorts to ἀρχαῖα ρήματα. "Ideo assumit Paulus verba etiam de his qui foris sunt, ut sanctificet eos" (Orig., Hom. 31 in Luc. A 5, quoted by Bertelink, Observations de Saint Basile, p. 96, n. 5). From the time of St. Paul, we have to reckon, in the case of Christian authors, with the joint influence of classical and Biblical models.
4. Browning pp. 54 ff.
The task of the present chapter is to establish whether the language of Theodoret's correspondence still shows clear signs of having been influenced by the same cultural notion which moved the Atticists. Phrynichus had stated (ibid.): ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ πρὸς τὰ διημαρτυρέμεναι ἀφομίμενον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰ δοκιμώτατα τῶν ἀρχαίων; was Theodoret too, three centuries later, "concerned with the most respectable usage of the ancients"? In other words; does he deserve a place along the line of Atticism, the survival of which is proved even later throughout Byzantine literature? 1 It will be my aim to give evidence for this on the basis of a linguistic study; i.e. of the analysis of Theodoret's vocabulary in his letters. 2

History tells of the action of an Hellenic Christian party, gathered around Eudokia in fifth-century Constantinople. "There were many intellectuals who, though they had accepted Christianity, saw no reason to reject Hellenic thought and culture. Of course, the conflation of Hellenism with Christianity had been achieved in the age of Origen, Clement and the Cappadocians, and even earlier; but now persons such as the empress Eudokia and her close friend Kyros the prefect became agents of a classical revival, not only at the court but also among the literati of the capital": so Constantelos 3 about

1. The following quotation from Agathias (Hist. 3,1,4) shows that the Atticist goal of μῦθος was still sought at a later date than Theodoret:δέσι γὰρ πρὸς πάλαι σφοδρὰ σχολαίτερον ἀναλέγεσθαι μυθιστικά ἑκατ' ἀπαντά τε τὰ ἐκμαθητεύμενα ἀναμμαθεῖν εἰς τὸ ἀκριβῆ. χαὶ ἀνακυκλώνεσθαι, κτλ. R. Keydell says in his edition of Agathias (Historiae, Berlin 1967, p. XXXVI): "Agathias hat sich bemüht, nach Möglichkeit "attisch" zu schreiben, doch ist ihm das nicht immer gelungen."

2. The present chapter is not meant to be exhaustive of all the Attic or Atticising words used by Theodoret, in his correspondence, nor of each single category of words (poetic, Biblical, Patristic etc.) to which he resorted. Those which appear to be most meaningful have been selected and listed below. For the influence exerted by the Atticist movement on Greek prose, the standard work is the one by W. Schmid, Der Atticismus, cit.

the religious and cultural climate of the middle of this century. Theodoret breathes this air. His own words show his concern for Atticism, especially evidenced by some letters he wrote to the sophists Isocasius and Aerius. One of these letters is meant to introduce pupils to Isocasius.  

For the same reason he praises the recipient of ep. XXXI, who is very likely to be one or the other of the sophists mentioned above: "Εγώ μὲν καὶ λόγων λαμπρῶν ἀμοιλος καὶ ἔργων ἔρημος ἀγαθὸν. Αὐτὸς δὲ φιλιας νόμιοις πληροίς, φίλοις ἐπαίνουσι υφαίνον, καὶ τῇ δυνάμει τῶν λόγων τοῦτος αἰτρῶν εἰς υψος, καὶ δεικνύσι πόσην ἔχουσι ρώμην οἰ λόγοι, ὅτι καὶ τὰ λύαν

2. Note that opp. 335 and 337 of Basil to Libanius serve the same purpose of introduction.
3. cf. ep. XLIV to the same (A.I, p. 103, 4 ff.): τοῖς παρ' ὑμᾶς φοιτῶντας νοῦς οὗ μόνον τὴν ἑλλάδα φωνῆν ἐκπαιδεύετε καὶ τὴν ἀττικὴν εὐγλωττίαν διδάσκετε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀξιόυστης προμυθείας...
σμικρὰ μεγάλα δεικνύειν ἵσχούσιν. ¹ δὲν τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ κράτος πανταγγέλθειν συναγαγών, τοῦτον τούτων προσφέρεις καρποῖς, νῦν μὲν ἐν συνουσίαις διαλεγόμενοι, νῦν δὲ διὰ γραμμάτων θεογγόμενοι, καὶ τὴν ἀττικὴν εὐγλωττίαν τιθελ ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι, καὶ πλέον τῇ τῶν λόγων ἡσυχῇ τοῦς ἐντυγχάνοντας θέλων ἢ αὐτοῦ μῦθου Σειρῆνες τόν Ὀδυσσέα ταῖς φθαῖς κατεκηλίσαν.

The “sweet-sounding” Attic language is thus regarded as a highly appreciable ornament of letter-writing. In spite of Theodoret’s own profession of modesty, his concern for Atticism is demonstrated through the very language and style employed here. It will be interesting to see whether this concern is evidenced not only in the few letters addressed to the sophists, but also in epistles of every kind, even the ones having theological and doctrinal content.

2. Theodoret’s employment of Attic, Atticistic, poetic and archaising words.

In this study, the most interesting words employed in the epistolary language of Theodoret will be listed according to the following categories:

a) words which are Attic in that they belong predominately to the usage of one Attic author or class of authors, whether or not they were also used by Second Sophistic writers;

b) words employed extensively by Second Sophistic writers:

1. Cf. ep. 339 of Basil to Libanius: τῷ οὖν ἁν εἶποι σοφιστῆς αὐτῷ, καὶ σοφιστῆς τοιούτῳ, ὥς ἔρχον εἶπα τῆς τέχνης ὑμολογεῖσαι καὶ τὰ μεγάλα μικρὰ ποιεῖν, ὅπως βούλεται, καὶ τοῖς μικροῖς περιτείρων μέγεθος: This was already in Aristides, Τέχνην ἄντικοις B in Spengel II, p.534,23-25; καὶ τὰ μεγάλα μικρὰς λέγον, τὰ δὲ μικρὰ μεγάλος γλυκύτητα ἐργάζον. Τὸ ὁδὲ τὰ μικρὰ μεγάλος ὅνομαζειν λέγομεν ὅτι γλυκύτητα παρέχει τῷ λόγῳ....
c) poetic words often assignable to specific authors or specific passages;

d) rare words.

A study in Theodoret's language cannot ignore words borrowed from the Septuagint and the New Testament: like his predecessors the Cappadocian Fathers, Theodoret often embodies words and expressions from the Bible in his own Atticising language. An appendix will consider these borrowings, and will include a list of terms which, though they have a Septuagint or New Testament history, occur in other literature also. ¹

A second appendix will devote attention to Patristic (but non-Biblical) words, pertaining to strictly theological arguments.

Finally, titles of address will be taken into consideration, in that they mostly follow the customary practice of Greek Christian epistolography.

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¹ Parallels with Asterius the Sophist will be established in quite a few occurrences.
(d) Words which are Attic in that they belong predominantly to the usage of one Attic author or class of authors, whether or not they were also used by the Second Sophistic writers.

- ἀγχολότροφοι τοῦ βίου μεταβολῆ: 60, 138, 9; 146, 184, 7.
  cf. ᾨ. μεταβολῆ, "sudden change", Th. 2.53.
- ἀδολεσχω: 146, 178, 23. Cf. Pl.Phd. 70c, X. Οε. 11.3, etc.
- ἀδώρος, "incorruptible": XXXIX, 103, 13 (τὸδι
  ἀδώροτάτος καὶ χρημάτων κρείττοις, said of ἀρχοντες).
  Cf. Th. 2.65 (ἀδώροταίς χρημάτων), Bas. ep. 96
  (Courtenene I, 209, 20).
- αἰσθητός, opp. νοητός: 4, 30, 5 f. (Ήμας καί τοῖς νοητοῖς
  καὶ τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ἐπέκλυσεν ἀγαθοῦς). Cf. Pl. Phlt. 235e,
  Arist. εν 1174 b 34, Phld. Flet. 81, Phw. 2. 1114 d, etc.
- ἀψαλωμένος, "pure": 11, 40, 6, al. (τὸ τῆς πίστεως ᾨ.).
  Cf. Soph., Eur., Ar., Th., Pl.: metaph., ᾨ. ἄρετή J.
  AJ Proceem. 4; πενίξ ᾨ. A.P.6. 191; elsewhere in
  late prose. Freq. in Agath. Hist. 2, 23, 3 (τὸ ᾨ.
  ἀκέινο τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνθρώπων); 3, 14, 3.
- ἀποτελεστήν. 83, 218, 16 (σύντομον ᾨ. τὶθημι, "I add
  this concise conclusion"). ἀποτελεςτῆν, "flag-end"
  esp. of verse or poem, in Th. 2. 17, Phryn. Com. 36. Cf.
  Schmid II, 179.
- ἀλλιτωρ, "the devil": 101, 18, 13. ᾨ., "avenging spirit or
  deity", freq. in Trag. (e.g. A. Pers. 354, Ar. 1501, 1503, 8.
  CC 733); also to be found in: Com., D.13.296 ("wretch"), Phlt.,
  Plb. 1

- ἁμαχως, "with whom no one fights, irresistible": (τῷ ἁμαχῷ δεξιᾷ, of God). Cf. ἀκροπές, Pl. In 6(5).41. Freq. in Atticistic writers, such as Dio Chrys., Aristid., Ael., Philostr.;¹ Schmid (I, 105) remarks that the adjective occurs twice in St. Paul's epistles,² and oftener in Attic authors.

- ἀναμωχης,³ "cessation": XXXVI, 101, 14. Cf. Th. 4. 117 (ὁ ἁμαχῶν) Agath. (Hist. 5, 102) employs the word with the meaning of "truce": cf. Th. 1.40, 5.32.


- ἀντιβολη: XVIII, 90, 4, al. With the meaning of "entreat, supplicate", freq. in Com. (Ar. Nuc. 110, etc.). Noted as specially elegant by Longinus (Schmid IV, 131). Also in Agath. Hist. 1, 15, 2; 4, 9, 8.


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1. ἁμαχως also in Agath. Hist. 2, 25, 3.
2. "not contentious", 1 Ti. 3.3, Tit. 3.2.
3. ἀναμωχης is a corrupt form for ἀνομωχης (redupl. form = ἀνοχης).
4. Most of the compound words with δεξιο- , for which Theodoret shows a predilection, can be traced back to Xenophon first among the Attic writers: see the following examples.
- διέπαινος: 11, 40, 11; 14, 46, 6; al. Cf. X. Cyr. 3.3.6, D. 61.15, etc.
- διέρραστος: 17, 64, 11, al. Cf. X. Cyr. 5.2.9, Symp. 3.14 (comp.), Plu. Comp. Thea. Rom. 1, Luc. B. Mar. 1.2.
- διέλξητος: 12, 42, 3; 133, 126, 7. Cf. X. Cyr. 5.2.10, Paus. 1.9.5, Philostr. Ep. 9 (Schmid IV, 254).
- ἀπεφευ: 1, 20, 10 (ἀυξδηλός τε καὶ ἄ. χρυσός, "genuine and refined gold"). Cf. ἀπεφευς χρυσός Thgn. 449, Hist. 1.50; ἄ. χρυσόν Th. 2.13.
- ἀποχεροβλήτως: "living by the work of one's hand": 42, 108, 17. Cf. Hist. 3.42, X. Cyr. 3.3.37. Theodoret alone makes use of this term among the Fathers, as far as one can gather. The term occurs once again in him (Interpretatic in Pr. 24, 12 - P.C. 80, 1040 G, as Asema (Il, 109, n. 2) points out.
- ἀσπαλευτής, "angler", 76, 164, 17. Cf. Pl. Soph. 218 ε (οὐν ἀσπαλευτής), 221 c,d, 222a.2

1. ἀυξδηλός (Pl., Arist.) is referred to gold in Hierocles Platonicius (V A.D.) in Carmen Aureum, Praef. p. 417 Mullach. Neither ἀυξδηλός nor ἀπεφευ are to be found in P.G.1. Because they do not belong to the biblical language, they must be derived from classical sources.
2. Later than Theodoret, Aeneas of Gaza employs the Platonic word (Thdr. p. 16 Boissonada).
Theodoret makes use of the strictly Attic meaning of the verb ("daunt, intimidate") as it appears in Pl. and Dem., and not of the later, non-Attic meaning ("to be afraid of"): see Schmid I, 253. So Agath. Hist. 1, 11, 4.

- (τὸ) ἐπικήρον: XXXVII, 101, 25. Cf. the same employment, as an adjective-substantive abstract, in Th.

2. 631 and Agath. Hist. 1, 14, 3.

- δύναμις: δ. τῶν λόγων: XXXI, 97, 4. Cf. δ. τοῦ λέγειν

Arist. Rh. 1362 b 22, δυνάμεις τῶν λόγων

Asterius Soph. 39, 21.

- δυσάλλωτος: "difficult to be conquered": 29, 36, 12. Cf. Aesch., Pl., Luc., Philostr. (Schmid IV, 233). One of the compound words, which Theodoret likes to resort to.


Pl. Ale. 2, 140 e (ἡλιθέους καὶ ἐ.), D. 18. 243. 3

- ἐπικήρος: τὸ...τῆς φύσεως ἐπικήρον; 15, 54, 15;

ἡ...φύσις τὸ ἐπικήρον ἔχει; 17, 62, 10. Cf. τὸ τῆς φύσεως καὶ δυσάλλες: Pl. Ax. 367 b. Also θυμίτων...

tοῦτο καὶ ἐπικήρον (i.e. τὸ σωμάτιον), III, 76, 2;

cf. τὸ θυμίτων καὶ ἐ. Phild. Hort. 38. 4

1. ἐπικήροι, "active, efficacious", is among the poetic words (cf. Aesch., Eur.) employed by Philostr. (Schmid IV, 237).


XVII, 1962.

3. Schmid quotes ἐμβρονταί and ἐμβροντηταί, but not the adjective. The same in E.G.L. (usually with reference to heresy, as in this example from Theodoret).

4. ἐπικήρος is not to be found in E.G.L. or in Sophocles 'Greek Lexicon of Roman and Byzantine Periods', Boston, 1870.
- ἐὐαρέσχημον, "easy to count, few in number": 34, 220, 7.
temper (metaph. from music), Pl. R. 400d, Frt. 326 b, etc.;
eὐ. τρόπων D.61. 19.1
- ἐὐθέλεγκτος: ref. to ὑπευδολογία, 1, 146, 176, 12. Cf. Pl.
  Thet. 157 b, Arist. Rh. 1418 b 19 ("easy to refute or detect").2
  Also Agath. Hist. 1,5,2.
- λειψανον: πόλεως τε και χάρας...ἀπολέσθαι τα λείψανα,
  42, 108, 3. Cf. Trag. (e.g. λ. Αριστ. E. Med.1387),
  Ar., Pl.

1. cf. ἐὐαρμοστος, "harmonious (of character)", Bas.
  Hom. in Pa. I (P.G. 29, 2130).
2. ἐὐθέλεγκτος is not mentioned in P.C.L. or in Sophocles' Lexicon.
3. Theodoret also employs δυσστηρία (ibid., line 13), which
   is only in Pollux 1. 52. Neither εὐ. nor δυσ. are Biblical.
- λιβάδα: τῶν δακρύων...λιβάδα, "stream of tears", XXIII, 94, 9. Cf. δακρύων λιβάδας E. ΙΤ 1106.1

- μημιόνω: "speak at length, be tedious" (abs.): ἀλλὰ γὰρ περιττὸν περὶ τούτου μημιόνων, 147, 206, 4. Cf. Hdt. 3. 60, Ar. Λυγ. 1132, Fl. Ρν. 437a; D.H. Comp. 23; Demetr. Б115c. 71.

- νάμα: τῶν ὁδάτων τὰ νάματα, XVIII, 90, 11. Cf. Trag., Ar., Fl. (e.g. χρησίμων καὶ ποταμῶν νάματα, Criti. 111d), Xen. See Schmid I, 126.2

- νεκροσυλία, "robbery of the dead" 146, 174, 27. Only in Fl. Ρν. 469 e.3

- οἰκοδομία, "building, edifice": XIII, 85, 10. Cf. Th. 2. 65 (pl.), Fl. Λγ. 758 e, 759 a, al., Agath. Hist. 2, 157.4

1. Asterius (36, 5) resorts to the more common πηγάλ δακτύλων.
2. Also in Asterius 43, 6.
3. F.G.L. quotes, in addition to this passage in Theodoret, Bas. Ισ. 272 (F.G. 30, 596 C).
4. The synonym οἰκοδομία is freq. in LXX and NT. The occurrence of the word in Asterius is to be connected to the Biblical source.
— **Δυνημί: ΧΧΙΙ, 101, 24.** Cf. Schmid I, 54 and 129: "Δυνημί wird von den Atticisten hervorgezogen...als das gewähltere Wort für nützen."

— **Οριγνόμαι,** "aim at, grasp at": ούχ οριγνόμαι...τῶν αὑτοῦ, 21, 70, 22. Cf. E. Bk. 1255, Pl. Ax. 366a; Isocor. Ἐρ. 6.9.

— **Οροθεδω,** 131, 110, 23. Cf. Schmid I, 196 and II, 135:

"Οροθεδων 'Αττικῶν φοβεῖσθαι ή θυμεῖν 'Ελληνικῶς."

— **Ωχεμαί:** τοῦ ἐπὶ τοιαύτης διχομένους ἐπίπλοδος, 14, 50, 17 f. Cf. λεπτή τις ἐπίπλος ἐστ' ἐφ' ἢ διχομέθα. Ar. Ἐρ. 1244; ἐπὶ λεπτῶν ἐπίπλοδων ἐχείσθαι ἡ ἀρα. Id. Ἐρ. 150, cf. Pl. Ἐκ. 699b; νεὼς ἐκπεσόν...ἐπ' ἐπίπλοδος ὀχεῖται τινος Plu. 2. 1103 c.

— **Παγχαλειος:** 14, 46, 15; 147, 202, 7. C. inf.: cf. Pl. Ὁβ. 236d, Ἕλετ. 291 c, Φιλβ. 16 c.


— **Πανωλεθρία:** τοῦ...Ἀχαϊβ...πανωλεθρία παρέδωκε, 136, 132, 21. Used in dat. as by early writers: cf. Hdt. 2. 120, Th. 7.87. See Αγαθ. Ἡστ. 4, 29, 7 (πανωλεθρία διαφημεῖται).

— **Παραψωχή:** XIV, 86, 10 (a substitute for the more common παραψωχή). Cf. Ευρ., Ισαεύς, Δεμ.; Schmid II, 141 and IV, 646.
- περινοστείν, "go about, wander through": 29, 33, 5; 31, 90, 13.
  al. Cf. Ar., Pl., Dem., later prose; Agath. Hist. 3, 2, 6;
  3, 15, 9; al.
- πολυθρόλητον, "well-known, notorious": 31, 90, 11
  (π. Κάρκηνόν), 110, 42, 1, al. Cf. Pl. R. 566b,
  Phdr. 160 b, Plb. 9. 31.4, Plot. 1. 4. 5. 1
- προκινδυνεύω, "brave the first danger": στρατηγία...
  προκινδυνεύειν της στρατιάς; 77, 163, 15. Cf.
  Th. 7. 56, D. 2. 24, 18. 203, and 4. 1 (e. gen.), etc.
  See Agath. Hist. 5, 23, 3: Γερμανός...σφειδός; ἐπειδὴ
  τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ προκινδυνεύειν, οὐ στρατηγικός:
  ἐπιλέγων καὶ διατάτων, ἀλλὰ στρατιωτικάτερον συμπληκτόμενοι.

- δὕμη : referred to ot λόγοι; XXXI, 97, 5. Cf. ἰ. τοῦ
  λέγειν Pl. Lk. 711 e, ἰ. λόγου
- σήμαντρον: τοῦ λάκκου τὰ σήμαντρα; "the seals
  of the den", 146, 194, 16 f. Theodorot is referring to the
  well-known episode of Daniel 2 to illustrate the concept of
  the resurrection of the dead. The application of the word
  σήμαντρον to λάκκος is unique. 3

3. σήμαντρον (Edt., Bur., Xen.) is not found in LXX or in
  New Testament. Just above in the same letter 146 (194, 3 f.)
  Theodorot refers το ι. to the perpetual virginity of the Virgin Mary.
- σηπεδών: referred to heresy, 146, 176, 21. Originally a medical term (Hp. Epid. 3, 4, al.), is also in Pl. (Phad. 96 b, 110 e).


- σκυθρηματίς: σκυθρηματίν πραγμάτων, 12, 42, 4. Cf. παρά σκυθρηματίν τῶν έργων in Aelianus, quoted by Schmid II, 150. In 112, 46, 26 τὰ σκυθρηματία (without a noun) is equivalent to αὐτόν λύπατ, a usage un-noticed by L&J.²


1. P.G.L., in addition to this example from Theodoret, mentions Chrys. Hom. 73,3 in Jo. (P.G. 8, 433 b) τῆς διαρρήκτης ἡ σηπεδών. Cf. Asterius 92, 2: τὴν σ. τῆς διαρρήκτης.

The word does not derive from the biblical language.

συγκλος: ταραχοποιη μαλαγκλοδων άνθρωπων,

139, 146, 1 f. cf. ξυγκλους ἄνθρωποι; "promiscuous crowd", Th. 7.5; also Pl. R. 569a. The same turn of phrase in Mil. Magn. 6 (P.G. 79, 977 B), Bes. Sel. V. Theol. 1. (P.G. 85, 497 B). See also Agath. Hist. 1, 63: οτ δε Ἀλαμανος, ει γε χρη Ἄσινιφ Κουανδράτῳ ἐμεσθαί, ξυγκλους εἰσιν ἄνθρωποι καὶ μιγάσαι, καὶ τοῦτο δύναται αὐτός ἡ ἐπωνυμία.


- ταραχώδης, "disturbing, causing trouble": ταραχώδων δαίμων,

112, 45, 6. Cf. Hdt., Thuc., Xen., Isocr. etc.

Also Agath. Hist. 1, 10, al.


- φιλόκονοι: of persons, 144, 160, 12. Cf. S. Α. 879,

Pl. Phdr. 243d, X. Mem. 3.4.9, etc.


1. ταραχοποιη Aesop. 76 b. Not uncommon in Fathers:

see P.G.L.

- φορά: τελειοτήτην ἐξομεν τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῆν φοράν

("output of goods"), 73, 160, 1. The word (which is an Attic, non-biblical one)\(^1\) is employed in the first meaning given by Schmid I, 139: "der Ertrag, das aus einzelnen Teilen zusammengesetzte größere Ganze."


- ψυχαγωγεῖσθαι, "persuade, allure": XX, 92, 12. Attic (Schmid I, 293, etc.). Cf. the same metaph. sense in Pl.

1. Put cf. the same turn of sentence in Asterius 27, 2: τῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν φοράς.
b) Words employed extensively by Second Sophistic writers.

The main history of the words included in this category falls in the period of the Second Sophistic. The fact that some are found also in Classical writers, both prose and verse, as well as in later verse, I have not considered sufficient reason for excluding them from this category. Theodoret's language, like that of Agathias a century later, unites many stylistic traditions, rendering the establishment of entirely exclusive categories virtually impossible.

- ἀδεξαμοπρός, "uncorrupted": ἀδεξαμοπρός κριτηρίου, 38, 104, 2.
  Cf. from Aristotle down.

- ἀθύρωσ, "open, unchecked": ἀθύρωστα θόματα, 111, 44, 3.
  Cf. ἀθύρωσ γλύττα Ph. 1.673, ἀθύρωστομία Α.Ρ.5.251
  (Paul. Sil.), Fluv. 2.11c (already ὅθ' ἀθύρωστομος ἀχόδος
  S. Ph. 182) ἀθύρωστον θόμα W.1. in Ar. Μεγ. 338, cf.
  Phryn. Com. 32).

- ἀκαρηθή, ἐν ἀκαρηθείς ἀνθρώποι, "in a moment", 146, 194, 14.

The expression was considered to be an Atticism: "ἀκαρηθή'
Ἀττικῆς, μικρὸν Ἑλληνικῆς (Moeris p. 40, quoted by

- ἁλλινής τάς ἁλλινεὶς ὅμων ἁπάς, "your impartial ears",
  89, 236, 13. Cf. the same expression in P. Oxy. 904.9 (V. A.D.).

ἀλλινής is found in P., New Testament and Atticistic writers
(Schmid Ι, 51, 299; ΙΙ, 171; ΙΙΙ, 162). Also in A.Ρ. (e. g. d. πάλιν
12, 153 - Μελ.).

1. Given the other reminiscences from Ar., isn't this a good testimonium
   for reading ἀθύρωστον in Ar. Μελ., according to the reading of
   the oldest ms.

2. A rather frequent metaphor in Christian writers: e. g. Chrys. Res. Chr. 1
   (2, 439a), Catech. 1, 3 (2, 231 c); Isid. Pel. appd. 3, 290 (F.G.
   78, 965 Β) ἄθρωστον ὑπελέγετο γλύτταν.

3. ὁξικος as a synonym for ὁξις, Schmid (1, 104)
   remarks that, in this sense, it does not appear to be found in the
   New Testament, and that Attic writers do not use it so often, at any
- ἀλπικός "unforgetting": ἡ μνήμη. VI, 78, 15 f. Cf. the same turn of phrase in Ph. 1.6.19, al.¹
- ἀμηγεπ κ "somehow or other": 139, 146, 14. To be found frequently in Pl., also in Ar.; one of the affected Atticistic forms which Luc. (Lex. 21, Rh. Pr. 16) especially reproves. Schmid (I, 401, al.) ranks the word among the "attischen Idiotismen, die damals (at the time of Lucianus) bei den Rhetoren Mode waren". Cf. Agath. Hist. 1, 10, 1.
- ἀναθυσάνω = ἀναβλύζω: 37, 100, 13. Cf. Str. Chr. 16.22 Müller. A later example is provided by Procop. Aed. 2.3, al.²
- ἁπόνυησις = λ. λυμήν, XXII, 93, 19. Cf. the same expression in Ph. 1.110. ³ belongs to the postclassical usage: D. Chrys. 6.33.

¹ Cf. ἁ. μ. also in Chriss. Hom.60.2 in Gen. (4, 579 B), Cyr. Ps. 119.16 (F.G. 69, 1273 A).
² F.G.L. records the use of this verb only by [Est.] Hex. (F.G. 13, 761 C).
- βουκολέω (metaph.): ἐβουκόλησε με πρόθυν τὴν παρουσίαν τῆς σῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας μνησικός ὁ θεοφιλέστατος ἀρχιδίκονος, XIV, 86, 2 ff. Cf. ἔλαψι βουκολομαί, "I feed myself on hopes", Alciph. 3.5, Luc. Trag. 29;

- γηρωκόμος, "tending old age": 137, 136, 17. The form is typical of later prose: J. AJ 1.13.3, Alciph. 3.16, Lib. Decl. 49.25 (whereas γηροκόμος is found in Hes. Th. 605).

- γλίχομαι, "long for": ἀπὸρα γλυκομένος, 81, 194, 10. C. inf., cf. Th. 8.15; Pl. Grk. 439 d; D. 6.11.13, 207; also Isocr. and Atticistic writers. Schmid III, 103:

- διαμάχη; 16, 58, 19. Cf. Pl. Leg. 633 d, J. BJ 6.2.8 (pl.), Ph. 1.7, al., Plu. 2. 74 c, etc.


- διχόνομαι, "discord, disagreement": 63, 143, 19. From Pl. Alc. 1. 126 c down to later writers; cf. Schmid I, 141.

- δισείς: ἀλετεία 8., 116, 70, 21. 8. is employed from Aristotle down (Ph., Plu., etc.). Freq. in Fathers.

1. See already β. πάθος A. Ag. 669; β. τὸ ἄμιλον

- ἐνιζάνω: εἰδον...καὶ πέτρας ἁγῶνις ἐνιζάνουσας (i.e. τὰς μελίττας).


72, ὁ ὁλίγον ὑπὸ τοῦ μέλιτος Luc. VH 1.24.


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2. The opposite ἄυκληρία appears only in the Fathers.

(Bas., Greg., Nyss., etc.).

1. see above, p. 234 n. 4.
— εὐφόρατος, "easy to detect": τὸ τῆς συμφωνίας εὐφόρατον,
146, 174, 7. cf. εὐ. συμφωνία Lib. Decl. 49.79.
eὐ. also in Agath. Hist. 1, 7, 3.

— εὐωχία, "feasting": ἠμέτ'...λόγων πενίᾳ συζύγες, καὶ
tὴν σὴν εὐωχίαν ἀμελησαθαί ποθοῦντες,
VII, 79, 8 f.; τοιαύτην μοι λόγων εὐωχίαν κωμίσαντι,
XXXI, 97, 15. This metaphorical usage finds a
striking parallel in Agath. Hist. λόγων εὐωχίαν: A.P. 4,
3A, 6. Again εὐωχία is referred to "speech, words"
by Methodius Olympius, Symp. 9.5 (P.G. 13, 192 B).¹ A
classical foundation for this metaphor is likely to have been offered
by the employment of the Attic verb εὐωχέωμαι² in Pl. R. 352b:
εὐωχοῦ τοὐ λόγου "enjoy the speech".

— ἑκατάθεια: 145, 162, 19. Cf. X. Cyr. 7.5.74 and later
prose-writers (Plu., Luc.). See Agath. Hist. 1, 3, 2;
2, 12, 3; and Fathers, e.g. 2 Clem. 16.2, etc.

— καταγέλα, "hurricane": ταῖς καταγέλαις καὶ τρικυμίαις
βαλλόμεθα; 123, 38, 21. κ. from Aristotle down, cf.
Schmid III, 244. Asterius (39, 9) offers a good parallel:
al καταγέλαις καὶ αἱ θύελλαι.

¹. It is interesting that εὐωχία also occurs in Asterius,
though in different contexts, and not always metaphorically: η
ἐκεῖνων περιουσία ἐμοὶ εὐωχία, 39, 19; ἢ ἐν
εὐωχίαις αἰσχρολογία, 136, 26.
². cf. Schmid I, 122; IV, 175.
- μεγαλόφωνος: 146, 190, 12. One of those primarily medical terms ("loud-voiced", Hp. Epid. 6.4.19) which spread from Aristotle down, mostly in a figurative meaning, e.g.


Vit. Auct. 26, Plu. 2.71 d (adv.).

- παρανάλομα: "waste": 80, 190, 13 ("victim" of slander).

The closest parallel is Rh. 2.519 ( (μὴ π. γένηται τελευτησαντοι αὐτοῦ) , 600 (ἐπ' οὖθεν λυσιτελεῖ π. γενναδεμενοι.)¹

- περιβομβέω, "buzz, hum round": τὰς πάντων ἄκοας²

perιβομβοῦσι, 32, 200, 27. Cf. ποιητοῦ λόγοι π. ἄκοας,² Max. Tyr. 23.4. π. also is Luc., Alciph., and Agath. (Hist. 1, 175 (v.l.); 3, 13, 10).

- πολίχυνη, diminutive of πόλις: XV, 36, 21; 139, 146, 14. Cf. Th. 7.4, Gall. Del. 41, Plu. Tim. 11, etc. Cf. πολίχυνοι Fl., Isoc. (Schmid IV, 103. 219, al.), and Agath. Hist. 1, 10, 1; 5, 12, 3.

1. π. is "waste", of corpse exposed to beasts, in Agath. Hist.
2. 22, 6.
3. For ἄκοας v. supra, p. 258 n. 3.

3. For the Attic usage of diminutives, see Schmid I, 401, III, 276, IV, 305. 434. 689.
- πρόωρος, "before the time, untimely": πρόωροι τελευτῶσιν,
14, 48, 17. Cf. Ph. 2.314 (τένθος), Luc. Δ. 21 (γῆρας),
A.P. 7.643 (τα πρόωραν ἔφεσε μονραν...);,
13.27 (λέγουσα τὸν πρόωρον ὥς ἀπέρθετο).
- σκαπάνη, "digging tool": προτιμήσαι φιλλας καὶ πατρίδος
ἀγρόν καὶ ζεύγη καὶ σκαπάνας,
XXXIV, 100, 1.
Cf. Alciph. 3.24, A.P. 5, 240, 2 (Mac.); 9, 644, 2 (Agath.).
- στομμιλια, "wordiness, persiflage": X, 82, 19. Aristophanic
(Ra. 1069), it is found in Phlb.9.20.6, A.P. 7, 222 (Phld.).
- τερθερελα, "use of extreme subtlety, hair-splitting": 16, 60, 18.
From Isoc. down. Freq. in Fathers, e.g. Theodoret himself, Bran.
1 (4.44).
- τριπεθητος, "thrice longed for": 13, 66, 6; 103, 22, 26; al.
From Bion and Moschus to late prose (Luc. Hist. Conscr. 31, etc.).
Freq. in Christian writers (Cyr., Eus.).
- τυρεύω, metaph. "contrive by trickery and intrigue": τὰ
tυρευθέντα; 3, 26, 12. Cf. Ph. 2.66; ἢ ἐπὶ τινὶ
tυρευθέσα ἐπιβουλή.
- υπέρογκος, υπηλα καὶ υπέρογκα...φρονήματα,
"haughty and inflated thoughts", XLIII, 106, 19 f. cf. υπέρογκον
φρόνημα
Flu. Luc. 21, υπέρογκον φρονεῖν
Iamblichus Protr. 14 (IV A.D.).

1. Also the verb στομμιλλω, -ομαι is frequent in Ar.
2. υπέρογκος is also in LXX, Ex. 18, 22.
In S. ά1.129 ὄγκος = pride, hybris.
"drowsy, indolent": νωθεν...καλ ὑπνηλθόν.
Hom. 1.2 in Jo. (3, 43), Hom. 6.3 in Eph. (11, 43): νωθρόν...
καλ ὑπνηλθόν.

- φιλοστραγγα: ΧΧΙΧΙ, 93, 11; ΧΧΧΙ, 109, 13; al. Cf. Xen. and later prose-writers.

c) Poetic words often assignable to specific authors or specific passages.

- ἄγχιτερμον: τῆς θαλάττης...κ., "near the sea", 76, 164, 1. Cf. Trag.; only once in prose: X. Hist. 10.7.
  Agath. employs it (Hist. 4, 157; 4, 29, 3).

1. The language of Agathias' Histories, like that of Theodoret, contains a strong poetic element, and I have accordingly cited some parallels from the Histories.
2. ἄγχιτερμον is not mentioned in P.G.L.: one among the many words not strictly belonging to the ecclesiastical language.
- ἄλω, "be perplexed": 122, 36, 12. Cf. Hom., Trag., later prose. Also in Agath. Hist. 1, 10, 1; 2, 27, 3; 3, 16, 7; A.P. 7, 552, 7.


- ἀπονύστησις = later form for ἄπονύζω, "wash clean": ἀπονύστησις πόδας, 70, 152, 23. Cf. κεφάλατε πόδας τε ἄ.

- ἄλω, "without hearing or learning": ἀ. ἐμείτα τῆς σή...ἐπιθεμέλιας; XLV, 111, 2. Cf. the same active meaning in Od. 4. 675 (ἀ. μυθων), 5. 127 (οὐδὲ δὴν ἥν ἦν ἄ.


- ἄρω, its employment in 62, 140, 13 (τὰς μελέτατα...τὴν γλυκεῖαν δρόσου ἄρω"...draw the sweet dew") can be compared with Lyr. Alex. Adesp. 7. 13 Powell: μέλισσαι νεκταρ ἄρω"...
- ἀχαλίνωτος, referred to γλέτται, "unbridled tongues",
  82, 204, 4 f., cf. 33, 204, 20. Cf. ἀχαλίνωτα στόματα
  1. Pl. 11, 177, 5 (Lucilius).

- ἄχλος; τὴν ἀχλήν...ἐσκέδασε, 72, 156, 17 f. Cf.
  ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν σκέδασ' ἀχλήν II. 20. 341, al.;
  ἀχλὴν ἀνά τὴς ψυχῆς ἀφελεῖν D.C. 38, 19;
  διάνοια ἄχλους γέμουσα Plu. 2. 42 c.

- γάννυμα (= codd. for γάννυμα), III, 76, 10, al. Cf.
  Hom., Trag., Ar.; Pl. Phdr. 234 d. Freq. in later prose,
  e.g. Plu. 2. 1098 f., Jul. Gr. 1. 40 b, al. Also in Agath.
  Hist. 2, 28, 5; 3, 4, 4.

- γεραιῶν; διηλῖν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ φιλὸν καὶ ἀγαπῶ
  (Schmid I, 324, III, 139).

- εὐγλωτία, "fluency of speech, eloquence": XXXI, 97, 9;
  XLIV, 108, 5. Cf. E. Fr. 206, 4, Ar. Euk. 337. To be found
  in Ael., Philostr. (Schmid III, 199, IV, 299), Iamblichus
  Protr. 20, Agath. Hist. 1, 16, 1.

1. The synonym ἄχαλινος, referred to στόματα, is already
  in E. Ep. 386, cf. Pl. Lk. 701 c; ἄχαλινα λέγειν
  A.Pl. 4. 223.
- εὐορμός: λιμένι...εὐορμφ τε καὶ εὐστομῷ καὶ

ἀπηνέμφ. 2  

XXII, 93, 19. Cf. ἐν δὲ λίμην εὐορμός

Od. 4. 358, 9. 136, Hes. Ἅγ. 207, cf. II. 21.23;

εὐορμητατοι λιμένες

Ph. 2.567.

- εὐσπλαγχνία, "good heart, firmness": 36, 93, 24. Cf. [X.]

Rh. 192, P. Masc. 97 D 69 (VI A.D.). 3 The word is frequent in the Fathers, but mainly with reference to God, whereas Theodoret applies it to bishop Pompeianus, the recipient. 4

- θεήλατος, "sent or caused by a god": Θ. τιμωρία, 8. Αντ. 273 (Ξργον),

992 (πρᾶγμα), 992 (μάντευμα), 992 (μάντευμα), 986  

al. This non-biblical word is frequent in Christian writers, mainly, as here, referred to punishments sent by God. Cf. Agath. Hist.

2, 3, 6 (Θ. πολυκλ.)

1. is in Poll. 1. 100, together with ἀπηνέμος.
2. V. supra, p. 238.
3. The corresponding adjective εὐσπλαγχνος is found in the New Testament (Ep. Eph. 4.32, I Ep. Pet. 3.3) and in Papyri. Cf. Zilliacus p. 79: "Dass es sich hier (e.g. in Papyri) um eine poetische reminiscenz handelt, dürfte ausser Zweifel stehen".
4. In Asterius εὐσπλαγχνία occurs always with reference to God (33, 11; 175, 17.20; 136, 24.).
- Θέλω, "enchant": πλέον τῇ τῶν λόγων ἡδονῇ τοῦ ἔντυγχανοντος Θέλων ἐκ τοῦ μέσου Σειρῆνος τῶν Ωδοσέα ταῖς φθοῖς κατεκήλησαν,\(^1\)


XXXI, 97, 10 f. Cf. Od. 12. 39 ff.: Σειρῆνας...αἵ βα

te πάντας ἄνθρωποι Θέλουσιν. Even if the

verb is not exclusively Homerice,\(^2\) the reference to Sirens

justifies the connection with this particular Homeric episode.


Philostr. (Schmidt IV, 303).

- Θηγάνη, "whetstone", and Θήγω "wet, sharpen", in a

figurative sense: εἰ τῇ τοῦ ψεύδος Θηγάνη ταῖς γλώττας

καθ’ ἡμῶν παραθήκαιεν, 146, 174, 15 f.

Cf. λόγοι τεθηγμένοι

A. Fr. 313; σὸν γὰρ μ’ ἀρέσκει γλώσσα σοῦ τεθηγμένη

S. Al. 534; Θηγάνη

λάλης


- Θυμήρης, "well-pleasing": 6, 32, 5 (neut.); 14, 46, 4

(τῇ Θυμῆρῃ); 17, 64, 3 (— ἐστεροῖ). Cf. Hom.

(only in neut. as adv., Od. 10. 362)\(^3\), A.R.1.705 (θε ἐπος),

Luc. Am. 43, Hdn. 3. 5. 9, LXX Wi. 3. 14 (comp.). Theodoret alone

appears to have employed the word among Christian writers.\(^4\)


1. The metonomy of Sirens to mean charm and felicity of words is

frequent: cf., e.g., Symm. Ep. 139 (P.G. 66, 1529 A): ἐμὲ γε τοι καὶ

παρὰν μὲν ὄρεις τῇ γλυκεῖᾳ Σειρῆνι τῶν λόγων.

2. and yet always poet. (see especially Trag.).

3. The form Θυμαρὴς is found in 11. 9. 336, Od. 23. 232, al.

4. Θυμήρης is again in Thdt. 18. 30. 26 (P.G. 1.)
- ἵππος: ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἱππεῖ τῆς ἡλίκιας, ἱππών
λαμπάνω καθέρπατων, 137, 136, 18 f. Cf. Od. 11.319
(πρὶν σφιεν...ἱππῶν ἄνθρακα), A. Th. 534,
Theoc. 15.35, A.R. 2.43, etc. One can notice a strict parallel
especially with Ἐ σ. Ἰμπ. 4.23: παρὰ τῇ ἐκ τοίς ἵππος
καθέρπει.

- καλλίνικος: βασιλεῖς, 79, 136, 1; 80, 83, 21, al.
This adjective, to be found in Archil., Eur., especially Pind.,
is attributed by late prose-writers to Kings (e.g. Fl. 2.71.4,
Str. 16. 2.4).

- κατευνάζω "quite, calm": κατευνασθήσασθαι...
τῆς ἀθυμίας τὴν γάλην, 14, 52, 23. Cf. in particular
the metaphorical employment of this poetic verb² in Ἀ.Π.
7, 278, 7 (Arch. Εὐς): μορφάν οὗτος 'Αἰδής με
κατεύνασεν: 5, 220, 1 (Ἀγάθ.); εἰ καὶ νῦν πολυθε
σε κατεύνασε...

- κορυφῶ metaph.: κορυφοῦσαι τῆς ‘Εκκλησίας ή
γάλη, 16, 56, 6. Cf. Ἡμ., Pind., late prose-writers,
e.g. J. Μ. 6.2.9 (κορυφοῦμένου τοῦ πολέμου),
pοθοῦ κορυφοῦμενον σάλον Aristaenetus 1.10 Hercher.

- μετάρσιος (= μετέωρος): 146, 194, 21. Cf. Schmid I,
126: "von Hause aus ein poetisches Wort, findet sich auch
bei Herodotus und Isocrates"; ibid., II, 202, IV, 315. To
be found in Agath. A.Π. 5, 273, 1; Hist. 1, 9, 6.

1. ἱππό (contr. from ἱππό): Lyr. (Alc. 45), Att., and prob. Ion.
2. cf. S. Ἰτ. 95, al., E Rh. 614, A.R. 1, 1155.
- μαλαφόνος, "murderous": τὰς μαλαφόνους τῶν 'Ιουδαίων
   •χετρας, 3, 26, 16, cf. 138, 140, 2. Cf. Hom.¹, Trag., Xen. (Schmid IV, 316). Also in Agath. Hist. 1, 75; 1,12,9;
   3, 6, 3.²

- μυσαρδός, "abominable": μυσαρδόν καλ δυσεμβέλες...τὸ δόγμα,
   104, 24, 24. Cf. Hdt., Eur. (e.g. αἷμα μπρός Or. 1624,
   cf. LXX Le. 13.23), Ar., Theoc., Plu.

- μυσάττομαι: 113, 76, 2. Cf. Eur., Xen., late prose-
   writers (Schmid III, 211; IV, 316).

- νάτον ἱκτη (i.e. θάλασσα) τὰ νάτα τοὺς πλεῦν
   βουλομένους παρέχουσα;
   III, 96, 12. Cf. ἐπ'
   εὐφέα νάτα θαλάσσης

- ὀμόφρον, "agreeing": 117, 74, 16. Cf. ὀμόφρονα θυμὸν
   ἔχουσιν
   11. 22. 263; Hes. Th. 60, Thgn. 81, etc.
   To be found also in 1 Ep. Pet. 3.8.³ Cf. Romans 53.14.¹
   (Mitsakis p. 172), Agath. Hist. 4, 2, 3; A.F. 7, 551, 7, al.

1. In 11, always epith. of Ares, 5.34, 455, 844, al.

2. μαλαφόνια is employed in Agath. Hist. 2, 7, 5; cf. P. Cairo
   Masp. 67223, 9 (byz.), and Zilliacus p. 80.

3. Which is more likely to explain Asterius' employment of the word:
   ἐν καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ εἶπεν, ἐν παντὶ τῷ ὀμόφρονι αὐτοῦ... (195,9).
- πολύμυνησος: 3, 26, 24 (referred to Moses). Pindaric (M. 2.5), freq. in Aristid. (Schmid II, 205) and in the Fathers.

- προθεσομενος, "foretell": 131, 114, 11. Cf. Aesch. (Fr. 213) and late prose (e.g. Plu. 2.421 b, Luc. Alex. 19).

- πυρπολεω: of friendship, 61, 140, 3. The verb, in its proper sense, is in Od., Ar. (freq.), Hdt., Xen. 1 Metaph., of love, in Ach. Tat. 1.11. It occurs once in LXX: τὴν ἑρᾶν ψυχὴν...πυρπολούμενος, 4 Ma. 7.4. 2

- δεινον, "roaring of waves, storm" (metaph.): 54, 132, 5; 123, 90, 1. Cf. ἀμφὶ δὲ κῦμα βέβρυχεν δεινὸν (adj.) Od. 5.412; subst., freq. in Trag., also Th. 4.10 ("surf"). Cf. Agath. Hist. 1, 3, 3; 2, 16, 2. 3

1. To be found in Agath. Hist. 2, 23, 10; 3, 24, 6; 2, 6, 6; 4, 19, 5 ("waste with fire").

2. πυρπολεω is frequently employed by Theodoret: e.g. πυρπολούμεθα...

3. This non-Biblical word is un-noticed by P.C.L.
Trag. "στενάζω" sowie στενά in der Klassischen Literatur sind unzweideutig poetisch" (Zilliacus p. 76).

- τέρμα: τοῦ βίου τὸ τέρμα καταλαμβάνουσιν,
18, 64, 25. Cf. τ. βίου or τοῦ βίου A. Fr. 362,
S. Or. 1530, E. Alex. 643.

- τρίκυμία, "group of three waves": 2 XXIII, 94, 13; al.
Freq. in Trag. (e.g. καυμέν τ. A. Fr. 1015); also Pl. and later prose (e.g. ἐν ἀπάσαι: τ. τῆς τύχης Luc.
Dem. Rec. 33).

- τρισάθλιον, "thrice-unhappy": 3 42, 110, 3. Cf. S. Or. 372,

- τρισμακάριος, "thrice-blessed": 3 17, 62, 16; 147, 224, 6, al.
The adjective is derived from Com.: Ar. Aech. 400, V. 1293,
N. 166, Philem. 93.1 Kock. To be found also in Papyri (e.g. P. Cairo Masp. 67295, 15). Freq. in Christian writers.

- τυμβωρύχος, "grave-robber": 80, 190, 13. Cf. Ar. Rx. 1149;
L.c. J. Tr. 52. 4

1. Cf. Asterius 213, 19; τρέμειν καὶ στένειν (from LXX, Ge. 4, 12, 14).
2. v. supra, a.v. Metaphors, pp. 210 ff. Cf. Asterius 27, 24 (ἐν τῇ τρίκυμίᾳ καὶ τῇ πελάγει λιμένα μοι ἱνεγκαί);
159, 6 (αὐ τ. τῶν αὐρεόσεων).
3. On Theodoret's tendency to use poetic compounds with τρί-
common in late prose, see Wagner p. 174; cf. Zilliacus p. 31.
4. cf. τυμβωρύχα in Clem., Gr. Nyss., etc.
- ὑπομαχέω: ὑπεμαχομαι τῶν τέκνων, 77, 170, 15.
  Agath. Hist. 3, 10, 11.

  Fl. (e.g. Criti. 116 εἰ ὑποτέρων ἤπαυν ἄνδρον,
  which is echoed by Lib. Ep. 1457.1: ὑποτέρου...ἄνδρα). 1

- ὑπορρέω: τό τῆς νεότητος ἄνδρος ὑπορρέα καὶ μαραθμέα,
  III, 76, 3. Cf. Theec. 7. 121: τό τοι καλὸν ἄνδρος
  ὑπορρέα — apparently a genuine reminiscence.

- φαιδρύνω: τόν...ἀγριάν τῇ σῇ οἶκησει φαιδρύνσεσθαι,

- φρίττω, "shudder": 136, 134, 11 (pf. πεφρίκασι).
  Also found in LXX and NT (but not in the form πεφρίκασι). 3

  Once in LXX (I Es. 8. 91).

1. ὑποτερος is not Biblical, nor is it mentioned in F.G.L.
2. v.l. for ἀπο-
3. It is employed by Asterius 131, 4 (λόγους Χριστὸν ἐφρίξαν).
- χάσων, χαίνω: περί τὰ παρόντα κεχνύτας,
(e.g. πρὸς ταῦτα κεχνῶσ Ar. Nux 996), Dio Chrys.,
Luc. (Schmid I, 96. 240).

- ψυχορραγέω: τὰ...βουλευτήρια ψυχορραγοῦντα, XXXIII, 98, 18.
Cf. Eur., A.R., Eflu. etc. Also in Asterius 153, 16 (οὖ
γὰρ καὶ τὸν Ἐκείνα ψυχορραγοῦντα ἔσωσας),

d) Rare words.

- ἀσπαστήριος, "welcoming": ἀσπαστήριος οἴκως,
146, 174, 19. The word, un-noticed by LSJ, is mentioned
both by F.G.L. and by Sophocles' Lexicon with this only
example by Theodoret.

- δυσάγγελος: δ. φήμη, 21, 68, 14. Theodoret appears
to be the only writer to resort to the word after Nonn.

D. 20, 184 (ἀγγέλον ἰριν ἐπεμπε δυσάγγελον).

cεχνύσι...ἀνθρώποις), 3, 122 (ibid., 440 C: πρὸς τὰ
αιῶνα ἀγαθ...κεχνύνει).
- ἱσσετηρία. 23, 80, 13. Cf. Poll. 1. 52. ¹

- εὐστομος, ἀπήνεμος, referred to λυμήν. XXII, 93, 19.
  Cf. Poll. 1.100. ²

- θηριῶδης, "savageness": XXII, 93, 12. Cf. Sch. E. Or. 518, v.l. Arist. EN 1145 a 24. It is perhaps not accidental that Theodoret employs this word when referring to Libya:³ cf. Hdt. 4. 181, ἡ θηριῶδης Λιβύη. ⁴


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¹ V. supra, p. 251.
² V. supra, pp. 259 and 263.
³ Ibl. supra, lines 9 ff.
⁴ The adjective θηριῶδης is Attic: Schmid III, 131, IV, 131.
  Cf. Agath. Hist. 4, 6, 2.
3. The language of Theodoret's correspondence: Conclusion.

The above-provided lists of words or expressions employed by Theodoret in his correspondence offer an idea of the weight of the Atticistic tradition in his language. We have seen which terms are derived chiefly from the usage of the classical prose-writers, and which from the post-classical ones. In the third place, words belonging to a purely or mainly poetic background have been stressed, as Theodoret displays a liking for vocabulary derived especially from Tragedy and Comedy, but also from Homer and Lyric-poetry. Finally, concern for accuracy and elaborateness of language is shown by his employment of words rarely attested elsewhere. Most of these (and, generally, quite a large number of terms in the whole of Theodoret's language) are compound. Some other Atticistic features of his language may be enumerated: he also, for example, frequently resorts to abstract nouns, such as πρόθεσις (143,15), μετάληψις (ibid., 143,18), διχόνωσ (ibid., 143,19) εὐτροπία (70,152,25), ὑδείς (ibid., 154,3). He displays a liking for diminutives. His usage in regard to phonetics

1. See, e.g., εὔπνοικαζητος, μμοισωκότος, διμόπλοτος; compound nouns and adjectives with ὑσ-, ἄνο- etc.
and morphology is affected by Attic models as well. He is generally consistent in spelling double tau instead of double sigma, although it is not always easy to state what is due to the writer and what to the copyist. Dual is used in 3, 24, 24 (πότερος αὐτοῖς) and 91, 242, 1 (ταύν ὁκοντων, cf. 146, 198, 23). Lambda is preferred to theta (XLI, 105, 6), and the common to the copyist. 1, 20, 9) is uncontracted, as usually in Attic.

Elision and crasis 6 are found in such forms as τοῦρον (XXXVIII, 103, 6), τάλλα (XLI, 106, 11), τοῦνομα (XLIII, 107, 21), προϋπεμψεν (XLVII, 115, 22), προδρομος (1120, 14), προοπτον (3, 26, 14), etc. His Atticism is also displayed in his tendency to accumulate negations, as well as to use pleonastic particles, especially ματ. 7 He employs the interjection when he addresses the recipient, although this had disappeared in the koine. 8

1. A few instances will suffice: ὑπότενυ (XLVII, 116, 6), γλώττα (33, 94, 6, al.), λύττα (45, 118, 23), φοίτω (77, 166, 14), θάλατα (33, 96, beg.; but θάλασσα XLVII, 115, 10), ταραττομένου (63, 142, 25), etc. "Eine unbestrittene attische Regel ist der Gebrauch von ττ statt σσ (...). Eine Ausnahme bildet nur das thukydidische θαλάσσα ..." (Söhhling pp. 20 ff.).


4. See Radermacher, p. 42 n. 2.

5. For the alternative -ρο- -σσ-, see Böhling pp. 19 f.: "...die Grammatiker sich nicht darüber einig sind, ob die Konsonantenfolge ρο oder σσ attischer ist.... in der neueren Komödie kommen κρο und ζσ nebeneinander vor, aber κρo bevorzugt (...). Beide Formen begegnen auch bei Philostratos (...)."

6. See Böhlig pp. 29 ff.

7. See above, s.v. "Polysyndeton" (Figures of Vivacity).

8. See Introduction to Graecarum Affectionum Curatio, by Gaivet, p. 64.
Yet, in spite of what has been so far remarked, and in spite of his probably conscious effort to attain variety and a certain degree of elaborateness, Theodoret is not a hyper-Atticist. Moderation and an altogether rather restrained style appear to be his distinctive marks, which are due to the Biblical and Patristic influences. Theodoret’s language is an amalgam. Quotations from the Holy Scriptures, which increase in number in the later letters (where the doctrinal concern is predominant), are close reproductions of their originals in most cases: sometimes, however, Theodoret introduces a variation in comparison with the Biblical text, and likes to resort to a rarer word than the corresponding Biblical term.

In conclusion, Theodoret, as appears from his correspondence, must have been supported by a traditional Sophistic-rhetorical education; at the same time, he uses to the full the ecclesiastical-theological language developed in the fourth century, and his writings must in this respect have served as a reservoir on which later writers could draw.

1. See below, Appendixes One and Two.
2. We can rightly refer to Theodoret what is said of the later writer Agathias (A. Cameron, Agathias, Oxford, 1970, p. 65: "Nor did 'Atticism' any longer refer simply to Attic Greek; it covered the deliberate choice of a whole range of features having in common only that they were rare and could pass for classical."
3. See, e.g., 
(3, 26, 12), referring to Act. Ap. 23, 16–17; the addition of the words εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς to Job 1, 21 in ep. 15, 56, 2 (see p. 56 II Λαμπάς, n. l); αὐτώς καὶ προβολοὺς καὶ ἐθνικὰς καὶ πόνους καὶ λύσεις ἑξαλάτησεν (41, 106, 10 f.), cf. Ep. Heb. 6, 3 (LXX Ge. 3, 18): ἐξελεφθεῖσα δὲ αὐτόκειτο καὶ προβολοὺς ἀνεκκινούς καὶ κατάρας ἐγενο..  
4. Note the links with contemporary and later writers, which have been underlined whenever they emerged. In particular, Theodoret has been proved in the previous chapters to share rather strikingly both language and imagery with Romanos, and language with Agathias also.
APPENDIX ONE

Terms derived from the Septuagint and the New Testament

Quite a large number of words employed by Theodoret in his correspondence, while appearing in the Bible, also belong to the Κοινή and play a large part in the language of the Fathers. It would be needless as well as impossible to try and distinguish which words Theodoret may have borrowed from either line of descent. In the present section, however, I wish to give a brief record of some words of undoubted (or very likely) Biblical derivation. Their presence is of course to be expected in a Christian writer. Yet their number is not overwhelming if compared with that of words borrowed from classical and Atticistic sources.

1. See, e.g., such terms as: μακαοθελα (136,134,9), cf. Pl. ἄρχοντας (70,154,3), cf. Pl., Arist., LXX, NT; δοκιμωρία (101,20,3), cf. Hdt., Xen., LXX, D.S., NT; military terms such as παντευκρία (16,53,2) and καταμοντίζω (ibid., 52,4) which are attested in class. as well as in LXX; synonyms in various combinations, e.g. ομοπλασύ καὶ θρήνως (32,102,21), ἐν δύσμοις καὶ θρήνως (79,186,16; 81,193,15), cf. Pl. ἄρχοντας (398d θρήνων τε καὶ δύσμοιν), and, LXX ἦς. 33 (31,15) (ἀρνητὶ ἐν Παμήνη ἡμοίῳ θρήνου καὶ κλαυθμοῦ καὶ δύσμοιν-κτ. 2,13); etc.
The occurrence of most of these words in Asterius the Sophist, who often uses language derived straight from the Bible, offers a criterion to apply to Theodoret himself.

For example, Theodoret employs the adjective ἄθικος, "innocent" (96,10,13); so does Asterius (69,15; 166,27). ἄθικος is found in classical writers (Eur., Ar., Pl., etc.); but the meaning with which it is employed both by Theodoret and by Asterius properly belongs to LXX (ἀ. χερσίν Ps.23 (24),4) and NT (ἀ. ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος Ev.Mt. 27,24). Its occurrence in Asterius offers evidence, as also in many among the following cases, for a Biblical derivation in Theodoret.¹

- ἄλλος, "of another tribe": 123,106,12. As Theodoret refers this adjective to the Philistines, derivation from the same context in LXX Jd. 14,1, sl. is justified.

¹ Yet sometimes, as said above, it is impossible to ascertain any precise attribution. Ἀληθεύων, for example (Thdt. 33,206,7, Asterius 19,4) is frequent in Hdt. and Att. as well as in LXX (see Hatch-Redpath, A Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek Versions of the Old Testament, Oxford, 1897, 2 vols.).

- ἀσάλευτος, "unmoved, unshaken": τὴν...γεγενημένην ἐπούλαν...ἀσάλευτον διαμετέχα, 44,116,19 f. This adjective is classified among the expressions which do not belong to Attic prose, but to the poetic language (Schmid I, 149). On the other hand, it occurs three times in LXX (e.g., ἔσται ἀσάλευτον πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν Ex.13.16) and twice in NT (ἀ.πρόφασ Act.Ap.27.41, ἀ.βασιλεία Ep. Hebr. 12.28). The fact that ἀσάλευτος occurs twice in Asterius (209,14; 223,11.22) makes us once again inclined to recognise the weight of a Biblical influence.


- βυθὸς, "the depth", esp. of the sea: θαλάτης βυθὸς, 119,30,17. Cf. not only A. Fr. 432, Arist. ἩΑ 537a3 (ἐν τῷ β. τῆς θαλάτης), but also LXX Ps. 67 (68).22 (ἐπιστρέψω ἐν βυθῶς θαλάσσης); 2 Ep.Corr.11.25 (νυχθήμερον ἐν τῷ βυθῷ πεπολύμα). Asterius employs it several times (114,9; 127,7; 151,17; 225,13).

- γόης, "sorcerer, juggler, cheat": οἱ ἀνδροφόνοι καὶ γόητες, 135,130,27. The word is Attic; but Theodoret's expression sounds rather like an echo of 2 Ep.Ti.3.13 (πονηροὶ... ἀνθρωποὶ καὶ γόηται). Vg. Asterius 169,26: οὗτοι δὲ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ οἱ κοινωνικοὶ τῶν κοινωνικῶν φονεῖ καὶ γόητα καὶ δαίμονιντα καλεῖ.


- δικαιοσύνη: έπεσουσα (i.e. God) δικαιοσύνη, 130, 103, 22. The verb is largely attested in classical writers (Horn., Hdt., Att.), but some occurrences in the Biblical language are relevant for comparison with Theodoret: e.g. LXX Ge. 30, 20 (δεικνύουσα δικαιοσύνη μου δικαιοσύνη). Cf. Asterius 64, 13; 250, 19.


2. θεόπνευστος is also in Ps.-Phoc. 129 (Θεοπνευστά), Plu. 2, 904 f (Θεοπνευστά). In Ps.-Phoc. 1, 10, τοις της Θεοπνευστής λόγοις έστιν άριστος, the reference is doubtless to the Jewish Scriptures. On Jewish influence in the pseudo-Phocylides, see M. Hadas, Hellenistic Culture: Fusion and Diffusion, London and New York, 1959, p. 103, al.
- καύχημα, "a beast": μηδεμίαν ἐχων ἄλλην καυχήματος ἀφορμήν, 139, 144, 21. This abstract noun, very rare in secular writers, occurs several times both in LXX and in NT (e.g. Ep. Rom. 4, 2: ἐχει καύχημα). Cf. Asterius 137, 3 (βοήθημα καὶ κ.


- μυκτηρίζομαι, "be mocked, outwitted": ὁ θεὸς οὐ μυκτηρίζεται, 124, 96, 3. Cf. LXX Je. 20, 7; and Ep. Gal. 6, 7: μὴ πλανᾶσθε, θεὸς οὐ μυκτηρίζεται (quoted by Athana III, p. 96, n. 2).


- σκοτομήν, "moonless night": 94, 246, 11. Cf. LXX Es. 10 (11), 2.


2. οἰκτός, mainly poetic, but also belonging to prose, is found in P. Cairo Masp. 67003, 12; 67295 III, 13 (byz.; see Zilliacus p. 30). Cf. Asterius 175, 19.
This passage, referring to the Last Judgement, offers a striking similarity with Romano the Melodist, 34. νη. 4: τὸν ἄγιον τὸν ἴδιον ἐκαστὸς δύνατος ἐπιδεέξει γηθόμενος, ὥστε τὰ ἔργα γεγυμνωμένα καὶ τεταρτηλισμένα/ φανεροῦνται ἐναντίον τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ βασιλεῶς. J. Nimmo Smith (p.141) writes about this passage in Romanos: "This is derived from Hebr. 4.13, where the verb τραχηλίζω is used to mean "exposed", "laid open". It was used in the same sense by others of the Church Fathers, including those of the fourth century A.D.". In this case, Theodoret provides a link in a tradition which subsequently continues in Romanos.

- φιληδόνοι: τοῖς φιληδόνοις, "to those who are fond of pleasure", VIII,31,3. A late-prose term (cf. Plb., Plu., Luc., etc.). It is not at all improbable that Theodoret is echoing 2 Ep. Ti.3.4 (ἐσονταί γὰρ οἱ ἁνθρώποι...φιληδόνοι μαθόν ἡ φιλήθεοι).

- φιλόστοργοι: πατέρα φιλόστοργον, 45,113,6. The adjective, freq. of family affections, is in Xen., Theoc., etc. But the influence from the following Biblical examples may have been important: LXX 4 Ma.15.13, ἥ...γονεύσι φιλόστοργε, cf. φιλόστοργος 2 Ma.9.21; and Ep.Rom.12.10, τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι.

1. Cf. the corresponding adverb in Clem. Str. 3.4 (P.G.B,1136A):

ζησιν ὡς βούλονται βούλονται δὲ φιληδόνως.
And φιληδόνωσι in Asterius 90,5: ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων τῆς φιληδονίας ταραττόμενοι.
The above-mentioned instances should suffice to demonstrate that Theodoret provides a further step in the tradition fully established by the fourth-century Fathers,1 of including words and expressions from the Biblical language in his Atticising Greek. It is noteworthy that in most cases it is a question of echoes of the Pauline epistles, which are more literary than the Gospels. In conclusion, the number of Attic and Atticistic words is on the whole too relevant in Theodoret’s epistolary language, to allow us to put a decisive emphasis on the Biblical component.

1. We have seen how much Theodoret presents in common with Asterius. With regard to this, I should like to add to the occurrences quoted above (such as εὐχαί p. 262, φορά p. 257) a few more similarities and parallels which are striking. The verb λυμα(νομα, for example (Thdt.XXVII,101,25; cf. Hdt.,Eur., Xen., Isocr., Dem.), occurs frequently in Asterius (106,23; 170,10; 221,24) but not in other Christian writers. Ζωγράφεω is metaphorically employed in rather similar contexts by Theodoret (XLI, 105, 2: θαυμαστῶς ἡμῖν ἐξωγράφησα...τοῖς τῶν λόγων χρησάμενοι χρώμασι τοῖς θεοφιλέστατον Δαμιανὸν τὸν πρεσβύτερον) and by Asterius (147,4: πολεμιστᾶς...ἔως ἀπειλής καὶ ἐπαγγελλάς τὸν πόλεμον ζωγραφήσαντας, cf. 258, 15; see also 224,5). As for the verb παρρησιάζομαι (Thdt.XLV, 109,15: δέδωκεν παλιν ἢ φόβος εὐχαίρως π. πρὸς πατέρας), a close association is to be found with a passage from Asterius (263, 26 ff.), where the same notion is expressed:
(Note 1 ctd.)

"ὢ παρρησία παιδός: τῷ δεσπότῃ δὲ φίλῳ λαλεῖ καὶ τῷ θεῷ δὲ πατρὶ ὁμιλεῖ. 'Ο γὰρ εὖνοις παῖς ὧς τέκνον παρρησιάζεται ἀπὸ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κύριον..." (See also the special studies of the term παρρησία: E. Petersen, "Zur Bedeutungsgeschichte von Farrhesia" in Festschr. Reinhold Seeberg, I, 1929, pp. 233-297; G. Scarpat, Farrhesia. Storia del Termine e delle sue Traduzioni in Latino, Brescia, 1964). The employment of words which are not so much dependent on a Biblical background as connected with classical usage is more striking as regards Asterius, whereas it appears to be in complete accordance with Theodoret's Attiústic trend.
APPENDIX TWO

Patristic vocabulary in the letters of Theodoret.

In this Appendix I have noted the occurrences in Theodoret's letters, of non-Biblical words pertaining to theological and ecclesiastical matters. All of them are terms in widespread use among the Christian writers. In a few cases their meanings differ from those they had in classical writers, in that they apply to a different context.

I have quoted above such words as δυσκαληρία ¹, ἐμβρόντητος ², πολυόμυντος ³. Regardless of their different origins, all these words have in common the fact that they became popular among the Chuch Fathers, each one with reference to a precise notion (e.g. a dogma) or to a particular situation (e.g. a heresy), or else to express the character of a definite emblematic person (or category of persons) or of God. Here are a few noteworthy instances of such Patristic terms (being mainly adjectives and nouns):

- ἀποίμαντος, "untended": referred to the flock of Christ, 77, 170, 20.

Almost unknown among secular writers, ⁴ it becomes frequent in the Fathers: cf., e.g., τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ πολύμυνιον, ἡ ὀν Greg.Naz. ep. 152 (P.G. 37. 257B).

1. V. supra, p. 261 n. 2.
2. V. supra, p. 250 n. 3.
3. V. supra, p. 272. Some references to Patristic usage of classical, Atticistic and poetic terms have been given already (see, e.g., Θεύλατος P. 263, πυρσολέω P. 272, τρισμακρῖνος P. 273).
4. It occurs in A.P. 6.239 (Apollonid.), referred to ἀγέλη, of bees.
- αὐτοκείροτοντος: "self-appointed": 78, 176, 15.
Another term having very little history in the classics,¹ and, on
the other hand, more frequently employed by the Church writers.
- γεωδής: "earthy": (τὰ ἡμέτερα σώματα)...τοῦ γεωδέους
ἀπαλλαττομένα κοῦρα γίνεται καὶ μετάρροια, 146, 194, 20f.
It is frequently said by the Fathers, of resurrected bodies. The
word is ultimately Platonic: cf. Phl. 31c, of the bodily
contamination which pollutes the soul.
- διακύπτω: διακύπτειν πρὸς τοὺς πένητας, 34, 96, 7.
With this metaphorical meaning ("look to, concern oneself with") it is
elsewhere employed by Theodoret and other Christian writers.²
- δυσώνυμος: "bearing an ill name, hateful": δυσωνύμων
Μανιχαϊών, 113, 53, 13, cf. δυσωνύμων αἴρετικῶν, ibid. 64, 1.
A poetic adjective (Hom., Trag., A.R.), it occurs in the Fathers
with reference to heresies.
- εὐμήχανος: "skilful in contriving":³ of God, 17, 64, 15.
Cf. εὐμήχανία, of God, in Chrys. Hom. 31, 2 in Mt. (7, 775 D), al.

2. Whereas the verb is found in its proper sense ("stoop and peep in")
in Hdt. 3. 145, Ar. No. 930, al. Cf. διὰ τῆς θυρίδος 8.
("look out") in LXX 4 Ki. 9, 30, and similar expressions in Patristic
writers.
- εὖ φρονέω, "think rightly, be sane": τίς οὖν ἄρα εὖ φρονέων ἴνα σχέσῃ ἢν..., 3,28,20. A good parallel for the use of this Attic expression among the Fathers is provided by Dion. Ar. E.H. 3,3,6 (F.G. 3, 433 A): οὐκ ἂν τις εὖ φρονέων εἶποι.

- κούφος, "light, subtle, immaterial": κούφο γίνεται καὶ μετάσχοι, of spiritual bodies, 146, 194, 21. Cf. τὸ...οὐράνιον σῶμα λεπτὸν τε καὶ κούφον καὶ ἀεικύλητον Greg. Nyss. Infant. (F.G. 46,1738); τροπικῶς τὴν...γραφὴν τοῦ...ἀγγέλου νεφέλας καλέν διὰ τὸ κούφον αὐτῶν καὶ μετάσχοιν Oecumenius Apost. 1,7.

κύμα : τὴν ἀμαρτίαν κύματα, "the fruits of sin", 38,102,22. Such figurative usage of a scientific-technical term is common among the Fathers: cf. κύμα, of virtue, Gr. Nyss. V. Mos. (F.G. 44, 3280); of true and false beliefs, Cyr. Ador. 8 (I,261 B, 262 C); etc.

- λασπλάνος, "misleader of the people": δαμόνων προφέρειν λασπλάνων οὖνματα, XIII,35,13. The term is found in J. A.J 3,3,5, and becomes frequent in the language of the Fathers, with reference to demons, pagan gods, pagan or heretic ideas. Cf., e.g., λ. αἱρετικὸς τῆς Ἀρείου κακοδοξίας, Bas. ep.91 (Couronne I, p.193, line 32).

1. For μετάσχοιν, v. supra, p. 270.
3. And see also Agath. Hist. 2,10,6: ἀφοσίως τε καὶ ἀδίκιας τούτῳ κυματα.
- μαρμάρυς, "flashing, sparkling": ἀφθαρσία μαρμάρυς, referred to Christ, 146.192.15. A typical example of application of a poetic word to the divinity of Christ: freq. in Fathers.
- μεγαλόδωρός, "munificent": 4.30.3; 120.32.17; al. A common epithet of God: cf., e.g., Bas. Hom. in. Pa. 114 (F.G. 29.492A). 2
- μαμοσσόκκος, "looking for blemishes in sacrificial victims", hence "fault-finder": 16.57.18. Ph. 1.320 is the only precedent for the use of this word, which becomes quite usual in Christian writers.
- νύμφοποτόλος, "escorting the bride": 3 142.220.11. The adjective is applied by the Fathers to those who lead the Church or individuals to Christ, and is referred to St. Paul not only here, but elsewhere in Theodoret (e.g. Carit. 3,1302) and in Gr. Nyss. Virg. 21 (F.G. 46, 400 B). 4
- ομόπιστος, "sharing the same faith": ομοπιστους...καὶ ομοσκήνους, 63.143.13 f. 5 ομόπιστος is typical of the ecclesiastical language, and denotes those who share in the orthodox Christian faith, as opposed to heretics. The word occurs four times in Asterius (93.14; 203.14.17.13).

2. μεγαλόδωρος is found in pagan writers, related to τύχη in Democrit. 176, cf. Max. Tyr.17.2; see also μεγαλόδωροτατε δαιμόνων in Ar. Fax 393, cf. Flb. 10.5.6.
5. Cf. a similar turn of phrase in Gr. Exc. in Pa. 77 (F.G.17,144D): τοις όμοπιστοις τοις τὴν αὐτὴν οἰκουσί σκηνήν.
πάνσοφος, "all-wise": 144,160,16 (referred to God); 83,210,21; 147,210,7 (referred to St. Paul). Freq. in the Fathers, in relation both to God and to men. 1 Cf., though in a different context, τὸ πάνσοφον ὑμῖν καὶ σὺν[λε]στατον καὶ φιλάγαθον σύνειδος, P. Cairo Masp. 67003, A.D. 567 (Zilliacus p.17).

- ῥημάτιον, dim. of ῥῆμα "pet phrase, phrasicle": ἄρκει δὲ καὶ τὰ ὀλίγα ταύτα ῥημάτια, 21,73,5.

This Aristophanic word is rare in the Fathers (e.g. Eus. V.C. 4.26, P.G. 20, 117 A, al.): it is therefore likely that Theodoret is following Patristic usage.

- φιλάνθρωπος, of God: 6, 20, 22, cf. 40, 106, 1; 73, 130, 27 (ἀνφιλανθρωπία 63,142,22). It is frequently applied to God in Patristic language. 4

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1. Whereas it is related to things in Trag. (e.g. ἐν κόσμῳ έν αἰνήν έν έφημεν, e.g. E HF 135, etc.).


3. Note here the antithesis φιλάνθρωπος Ἀδεσπότης τοῦ φιλοχρίστου λαοῦ.

4. It is to be noted, however, that the word φιλανθρωπία is already in the Bible. Cf. A.-M. Malinrrey, ed. of St. J. Chrysostom's "Sur la Providence de Dieu", pp. 130 f., note 1: "Le mot φιλανθρωπία dans le sens d' "amour bienfaisant" de Dieu pour l'homme se trouve une fois chez Saint Paul, Tite, III, 4. Dans cette ligne, le mot est repris par Origène.... C'est donc une nuance nouvelle du mot dans le vocabulaire chrétien qui le rapproche du terme ἀγάπη. Cependant, il y a toujours, dans les emplois du mot φιλανθρωπία avec ce sens, un accent mis sur l'efficacité de l'amour qui s'exprime en sollicitude, ἀγάπη, et en bonté efficiente, ἀγάπη..."
APPENDIX THREE

Titles of address in the letters of Theodoret.

The titles of address which Theodoret employs in his letters reflect the social ceremonials and relationships of his age. In most cases, he follows the customary usage, and in this respect does not differ from the practice of other Christian Greek epistolographers. Some titles, however, will invite particular attention, because of their specific applications to a definite category of people, and of their being rarer than others.

1. Ecclesiastical titles.

Θεοσέβεια and συνότης are the most common, referred to bishops, but also to presbyters and monks. In smaller number, συνότης and αγιοσύνη are found with reference to bishops, Pope Leo included (ep. 113). Also συνέλογεύται.

1. In the case of letters without address, the social class or category to which the recipient belongs can be inferred by taking into consideration the titles by which he is addressed. Cf., e.g., ep. 1, 20, 6 (and see Αζώμα II, p. 20 n.1).

2. See L. Dinneen, Titles of address in Christian Greek Epistolography to 527 A.D., The Cath. Univ. of America Patrit Stud. 18, Washington, 1929. 3. In accordance with the customary practice; see Dinneen, pp. 9ff.

Cf. Θεοσέβεταιος, σύνεσταιος, etc., below.

4. Θεοσέβεια: XXX, 96, 19; 35, 96, 25; 102, 20, 15; etc. συνότης: XX, 92, 11; XLI, 105, 7; 24, 32, 13; 125, 92, 11; etc.

5. Θεοσέβεια: XXIX, 95, 19; 62, 142, 10; 75, 160, 13 (to the clergy of Berceae); etc. συνότης: 20, 68, 9.

6. Θεοσέβεια: XLIII, 107, 16; also to a deaconess (17, 62, 18).

συνότης: XLIII, 107, 20.

7. Not found in Basil’s letters.
occurs with a certain frequency, whereas ἐλάβεται and Θεολόγι are rare. Deaconess Cassiana is addressed with Θεοφίλη (17, 62, 3).

Finally, ἄγχιστον (which appears to be rarely employed by other writers), is applied to a monk (XLVIII, 107, 10), but also to magistrates (VIII, 81, 5).

The following adjectives are frequently employed to address bishops or clergy in general:

Θεοφίλοστατος (I, 14, 12; XIV, 86, 3; 20, 68, 6 (voc.), cf. 50, 126, 13; etc.), often combined with a synonym, such as ὑμητατος (e.g. XXIII, 94, 9 f.) or ἀγνητατος (e.g. XX, 92, 6: ὁ Θ. καὶ ἀγνητατος... ἀνθρωπός τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ Κυρίς Ἰάκωβος); ἐλαβέστατος (II, 75, 6; 11, 40, 8 etc.); Θεοσεβέστατος (V, 78, 10; etc.).

A bishop is addressed Πάτερ in ep. XLVΔΣΗΠΟΤΑ, "master", is frequently used (16, 56, 10, al.; 24, 82, 9; 25, 96, 19; 36, 100, 41; 60, 138, 71; 125, 98, 166; etc.).

See, e.g., XLIX, 119, 12; 35, 98, 10; 113, 58, 15 (to Leo); also 1. referred to priests (e.g. 51, 128, 1) and to a deaconess (101, 13, 21).

2. ἐλάβεται: IV, 77, 9 (to the archimandrite Agathon); XXIX, 95, 23 (to a priest). Θεολόγης: 2, 22, 4 (probably ref. to a bishop). ἐλαβεται is not uncommon in festal letters (6, 32, 3; 26, 84, 15; 39, 104, 11; 56, 132, 20); also recorded in papyri (Dinneen, p. 20).

3. See Dinneen, p. 20.

4. The biblical phrase ἀνθρωπός τοῦ θεοῦ is also in Bas. etc.

5. Cf. Basil, who thus addresses Pope Damasus (ep. 70) as well as the bishops of Alexandria (ep. 66) and Constantinople (app. 98 and 128); see Dinneen, pp. 12.
Expressions such as Ὄ φίλη κεφαλή (1,20,13; 11,42,11) et similia are applied not only to laymen, but also to bishops.

2. Secular titles.

a) Titles of the emperor and the empress:

No letters of Theodoret are addressed to the emperor; he nevertheless refers to him by using αὐτοῦ τὴν εὐσέβεσταν (79,136,2) and ἡν αὐτοῦ γαληνότητα (ibid.136,6). Ep. 43 is addressed to the empress Pulcheria: ἐκείνῳ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ κράτος (p.112,21); ἡ ὑμετέρα γαληνότης (114,22).

b) Titles of laymen:

A good number of Theodoret's correspondents are holders of high office or, at any rate, men of high social position. In most cases they are addressed ἁγιαλοπρέπεια or μέγεθος:

1. See below.

2. See, e.g., καὶ σου τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ θεῷ φιλην...κεφαλήν 11,40,12, cf. 66,138,12 f.; τὴν σεβασμέναν ὑμᾶν κεφαλήν 12,42,9; ἡ εσχά σου καὶ θεοφιλής κεφαλή 104,24,22; ἡ σεβασμά μοι κεφαλή 61,140,9.

3. Cf. Dinneen,p.23: γαληνότητας, "most serene", is used only in referring to the imperial power.

4. Such is the case for the comes Irenaeus (XIV,36,2); quaestor Domitianus (XL,104,24); Isocasius the sophist (XXXVIII,103,2); Sallustius governor of Euphrateria (37,106,16); Uranius governor of Cyprus (76,162,25); etc.

5. This title occurs only once in Basil (ep.225), but is very frequent in Theodoret: XXXIX,104,5 (the ex-prefect Antiochus); 23,30,16 (Areobindus the patrician); 97,14,8 (comes Sporacus); etc. On these personalities, see Azema, I, pp. 25 ff.
these titles are interchangeable, as they are often used inside the same letter.¹ *Μέγαλοφυία* as well occurs rather frequently;² it is apparently used only by Basil and Theodoret.³ *Ευγένεια* is found seldom.⁴ Not very frequent either are the following: ἀρετή,⁵ λαμπρότης,⁶ μεγαλόνοια.⁷

"Ἀριστοκή is commonly resorted to in the vocative," eight as well as the expression ἐντάτη κεφαλή (I, 24, 13), κυρία κεφαλή (XIII, 35, 22), etc.

1. See, e.g., ep. 34, 96, 8 and 15 (to the *comes* Patricius).
2. See, e.g., 79, 136, 12 (Anatolius the patrician), al.; 94, 24, 6, 3 (the prefect Protaogenes); etc.
3. See Dinneen, p. 46.
4. See IX, 31, 26 (to three magistrates); 13, 44, 24 (to Cyrus, whose rank it is not possible to state precisely; cf. Azéma I, p. 46).
5. See, e.g., XXXI, 97, 19 (probably addressed to a sophist); XXXVI, 101, 4; XLII, 117, 21.
6. ἀρετή is usually addressed to governors: XXXVIII, 102, 2; 37, 100, 13 and 18, al.; 76, 164, 10.
7. See, XLIV, 103, 13 (to Isocasius the sophist); 46, 120, 21 (to the advocate Peter). *Μικρόλογοι* is frequent in Basil (who also employs it twice for a bishop; Dinneen, p. 40).
8. See, e.g., VII, 79, 4 (To Aerius the sophist); XII, 33, 21 (to Palladius the philosopher); XXXVII, 102, 17 (to Neom the governor); 67, 143, 6 (to the advocate Marana); 76, 164, 6 (to Uranus, governor of Cyprus).
The vocative ὁ θαυμάστε (with a tinge of irony, e.g. in XIII,35,12) occurs 1 as well as θαυμασωτάτε 2 for laymen of distinction.

Παύσεις 3 and σοφία 4 are typical for men of letters or, at any rate, of a presumably high cultural standard.

c) Titles for ladies of high standing.

Σεμνοπρέπεια is used only when addressing ladies 5 in consolatory letters: 7,32,3 (to Theonilla), 8,34,13 and 69,150,24 (to Eugraphia); 14,46,9 and 100,16,25 (to Alexandrina). Θαυμασία is oftener used for ladies (3,36,2 and 69,150,4, al. to Eugraphia; 14,43,10 to Alexandra) than for laymen (such as the governor Sallustius, 37,102,3).

1. See algo XLII,106,1; 76,166,6.
2. See, e.g., 21,74,22 (to Eusebius the advocate, who is also called ἰολότης — ibid., 70,20); 59,136,16 (to Claudianus).
3. See XII,35,3 (to Palladius the philosopher); XXVII, 95,1 (to Isoscadius), cf. XXVIII,95,9 (to the same).
4. See XXVII,95,13 (to Isoscadius); XXXVIII,103,7 (to the same); 42,110,14 (to the praetorian prefect Constantine).
5. Very little or nothing is known about these correspondents of Theodoret: see Azema I, p. 55.