

Macrina the Younger

as a Substitute for Eustathius the Philosopher/
Eustathius of Sebastea

Establishing Peter at the See of Sebastea



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Introduction

This study was meant to be a simple doctoral thesis in classical philology – simple in a sense that I intended to analyse the literary genres of Gregory of Nyssa’s writings. The study was to be technical, uncontroversial. I started with the most “obvious” – the dialogue *De anima et resurrectione*. I thought it was clear that it was a philosophical dialogue that followed the model of Plato’s *Phaedo*. At the very beginning of my research, I was intrigued by two problems: first, why Gregory wrote *De anima et resurrectione* in the form of a dialogue – one of the two dialogues in his entire literary legacy;¹ second, why he chose Macrina for the interlocutor. Of course, I could understand she was intended as a reminiscence of Diotima, but what puzzled me was the question: Why Gregory wrote a dialogue with Macrina rather than with his great, saint brother Basil?

Although I decided to focus on *De anima et resurrectione*, I started to analyse *Vita sanctae Macrinae* as a point of reference. I was struck by the inconsistencies in those writings, especially regarding Macrina herself: a simple ascetic brought up on the Holy Scripture in *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* and a philosopher of the highest Ancient level in *De anima*

¹ The second one is *Contra fatum*, GNO 3/2, 29–63.

et resurrectione. So, I looked for other sources to check which version was “the correct one”. To my amazement, I discovered that apart from the writings of Gregory of Nyssa and one epitaph by Gregory of Nazianzus there was literally no mention about Macrina in any other source. When I started to read the studies on Macrina I noticed a second remarkable fact: the only two authors who wrote about Macrina (Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory of Nazianzus) passed over a very important person, the initiator of ascetic/monastic life in Pontus and Basil’s inspirer – Eustathius of Sebastea. In Gregory of Nyssa’s version, Macrina appears in Basil’s life at the moments that – according to his own testimony – were marked by the influence of Eustathius. At that point of my research, I was already convinced that Macrina was a literary construct aimed at “covering” Eustathius and protect Basil from the accusation of having been inspired by a heretic – as according to all studies Eustathius was a Pneumatomachian condemned by the Council of Constantinople (381). More or less at that time, I wrote an article *Macrina the Younger – the invented saint*, published in “Studia Pelplińskie” 52 (2018), 323–343. It has become a basis for Part I. *Macrina the Younger* of this study. Later on, I discovered that the reason for inventing Macrina could have been different – she was to constitute a model of asceticism alternative to the one practiced by Eustathius and Basil. That model was not only to substitute Eustathian ideas in the minds of Sebasteans but also to make Peter, the youngest brother of Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, bishop of Sebastea. Thus, it was a kind of an electoral campaign.

I found myself at the crossroads: I needed to choose whether I wanted to focus on the literary form of Gregory’s writings and look for literary models of the figure of Macrina or whether I would dig deeper into history, including the research on Eustathius of Sebastea. Prof. Ewa Wipszycka-Bravo agreed to supervise my thesis, so I decided I had the best and unique opportunity to make a research on history under her supervision. Also my theological background turned out to be very useful when I was analysing the theological ideas of Eustathius of Sebastea and Basil the Great. Finally, therefore, my study is presented as an interdisciplinary one, drawing upon classical philology, history, and theology.

According to many recent studies on early monasticism and asceticism, Macrina the Younger was one of the most important persons of the 4th century Christianity in Pontus. Scholars treat *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* written by her brother Gregory of Nyssa as a source of information about her character and achievements. Anna Maria Silvas begins her book about Macrina with the following statement: “The holy woman known in Christian tradition as Saint Macrina the Younger (327–379) was the descendant of resolutely Christian forbears, the first-born among some famous siblings, and the leader of a family outstanding for its contribution to Christian history, piety, and culture.”² Further, “Macrina became a spiritual mother and teacher to her own mother, Emmelia, and to each of her four brothers”³ (including Basil the Great). She is considered also “the guide and teacher of the virgins she directed in her monastery,”⁴ “a pioneering monastic founder.”⁵ Susanna Elm stressed in her study about feminine asceticism in Late Antiquity: “Because of her significantly earlier experience and her uninterrupted presence, Macrina may well have been the dominant figure at Annesi; her share in developing what is known as Basilian monasticism ought not to be underrated.”⁶ The first part of my research (*Macrina the Younger*) questions the very foundations of the above-quoted theses.

On the other hand, Morwenna Ludlow states: “In recent years there has been an increasing emphasis on Gregory’s literary skill and consequently on his use of Macrina as a symbol or a tool to achieve various effects or to underline various theological points. This has coincided with a growing scepticism amongst feminist historians of religion over

² A. M. Silvas, *Macrina the Younger. Philosopher of God*, Turnhout: Brepols 2008, 1.

³ A. M. Silvas, *Macrina the Younger. Philosopher of God*, 2.

⁴ L. F. Mateo-Seco, *Vita Macrinae*, in: *Dictionary of Gregory of Nyssa*, eds. L. F. Mateo-Seco, G. Maspero, Leiden – Boston: Brill 2010, 469.

⁵ J. McGuckin, *Macrina*, in: *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, ed. W. M. Johnston Chicago – London: Fitzroy Dearborn 2000, vol. 2, 801.

⁶ S. Elm, *Virgins of God: The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1994, 104.

the reliability of male-authored texts about early Christian women.”⁷ That current, represented above all by Elizabeth A. Clark, bases on a cultural and ideological analysis which can lead to the conclusions similar to mine. But our starting point and methodology are different. My study focuses on a literary analysis, omitting sociological and anthropological issues such as feminism or patriarchy.

I shall show that *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* has essential features of a hagiography and as such cannot be treated as a reliable source describing real persons and events. Although it can contain a lot of true information, its aim was not to report history, but to exhort readers to live virtuously. The status of *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* as a hagiography undermines not only commonly accepted facts of Macrina’s biography, but a lot of results of studies on Basil, including the most famous: *Basil of Caesarea* by Philip Rousseau and *The Asketikon of St Basil the Great* by Anna Maria Silvas. Although they all were very useful to me I had to treat them with due caution and I found myself questioning a lot of them in a large measure.

The readings that helped me at the beginning of my research were studies in literature, especially the thorough and innovative analyses by Hippolyte Delehay, Averil Cameron and Timothy Barnes. In order to prove a fictional character of *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*, I compared it with the first hagiography of a non-martyr, namely *Vita Antonii* by Athanasius of Alexandria. Here, I based my inquiry mostly on the results of research of Ewa Wipszycka-Bravo and David Brakke.

There are hardly any studies on Eustathius of Sebastea. He appears in many studies about Basil the Great, but as far as I know there is only one monograph dedicated to Eustathius himself – *Eustathius of Sebaste* by William A. Jurgens.⁸ The publication is a part of the doctoral dissertation by Jurgens – unfortunately published only partially and extremely difficult to get access to. What is worse, the Biblioteca Gregoriana refuses any access to the whole text of his doctoral thesis. The findings

⁷ M. Ludlow, *Gregory of Nyssa, Ancient and (Post)modern*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2007, 206.

⁸ W. A. Jurgens, *Eustathius of Sebaste*, Romae: Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana 1959.

of Jurgens are well based on sources and at some point still valid. But in the case of Eustathius (as well as a lot of other personages of the 4th century) there are more hypotheses and presumptions than proofs and evidence. That is why my dating of Eustathius' life differs significantly from the one provided by Jurgens.

In my opinion, the best study of Eustathius' asceticism is the book by Tomislav Zdenko Tenšek, *L'ascetismo nel Concilio di Gangra. Eustazio di Sebaste nell'ambiente ascetico siriano dell'Asia Minore nel IV° secolo. Excerpta ex dissertatione ad Doctoratum in Facultate Theologiae Pontificiae Universitatis Gregoriana*, Romae: Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana 1991.

Recently, Federico Fatti wrote some important articles on the history of asceticism in Asia Minor; his research is always deeply rooted in the sources, providing brilliant and innovative ideas, but one of his papers constitutes a real milestone in the research not only on Eustathius, but on the Cappadocian Fathers as well, namely his paper *Eustazio di Sebaste, Eustazio filosofo: un'ipotesi sul destinatario di Bas. ep. 1 e sull'identità di Eunap. VS VI, 5, 1-6; 5; 8, 3-9*.⁹ According to Fatti, Eustathius the Philosopher, a Neoplatonist described by Eunapius in Book VI of *Lives of the Sophists*, converted to Christianity and became bishop of Sebastea and master to Basil the Great. In his article, Fatti focused on the importance of identification of two Eustathiuses, leaving aside certain inconsistencies which he was aware of and which I was able to clarify thanks to a thorough analysis of Eustathius' life carried out in this study. Fatti had a problem with the place of origin of two Eustathiuses as it is commonly accepted that Eustathius of Sebastea was born in Sebastea while Eustathius the Philosopher came from Cappadocia. I shall show below that Eustathius of Sebastea came from Cappadocia and his father was bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia. So, the place of origin of both Eustathiuses was the same. Fatti also left unsolved the problem

⁹ F. Fatti, *Eustazio di Sebaste, Eustazio filosofo: un'ipotesi sul destinatario di Bas. ep. 1 e sull'identità di Eunap. VS VI, 5, 1-6; 5; 8, 3-9*, in: *Church, Society and Monasticism. Acts of the International Symposium, Rome, May 31-June 3, 2006*, eds. E. López-Tello García, B. S. Zorzi, Sankt Ottilien: EOS Editions Sankt Ottilien 2009, 443-473.

of the year 358, when Eustathius was certainly already bishop of Sebastea, but in the same 358 Eustathius the Philosopher was sent by the Christian emperor to Persia and Eunapius apparently claims that it happened despite of his Hellenic faith. I shall present my solution to this aporia in Part II, Chapter I 1 of this study.

The identification of two Eustathiuses explains well, on one hand, certain mysteries in the life of Eustathius the Philosopher, and on the other helps us understand certain peculiar features of the movement Eustathius of Sebastea was a founder of. I think that Fatti's discovery is of crucial importance for understanding the teaching of the Cappadocian Fathers as it provides us with a direct link between them and Neoplatonism. If the master of Basil the Great was a Neoplatonic philosopher, it has to be taken for granted that not only Basil, but also Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory of Nazianzus must have been influenced by Neoplatonism, and more specifically by its Syrian branch initiated by Iamblichus – as Eustathius was a disciple of Aedesius, who in turn had been a disciple of Iamblichus. It also gives us a credible answer to my first initial question (why dialogue?): the literary form of the dialogue used by Gregory of Nyssa in *De anima et resurrectione* is a direct reference to the philosophical background of the person Gregory wanted to substitute with Macrina the Younger.

I was able to answer the second question (why a dialogue with Macrina and not with Basil?) only in the Part IV after having analysed the relationships between Basil and Eustathius on one hand, and Basil and Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory of Nazianzus on the other. Spoiling the suspense, I can hint that Gregory of Nazianzus was not such a close friend to Basil as it is commonly assumed, while Gregory of Nyssa was mentally much closer to his namesake friend than to his own brother. They apparently shared the same idea of family and ascetic life that Gregory of Nyssa promoted in *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* and that was directly opposed to the asceticism of Eustathius of Sebastea and Basil the Great.

It is difficult for me to list here all studies that played an important role during the long-lasting process of my writing, especially given the fact that my study covers many different subjects, including how

bishops were elected and ordained. Readers can find references to them in the footnotes. Here, I would like to mention two more authors: Raymond van Dam and Thomas Kopeček, whose remarks about the social structure of Cappadocia were of great value to me.

Last but not least, the sources. This study is based on sources. My starting point was to analyse *De anima et resurrectione* and *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*. I quote a lot, both in the original and in translation. I am convinced that it is pointless to summarize a source, it is better to quote it – not only to help the reader, but primarily to help myself. I prefer to quote even the same text several times. It happened many times that only after I looked at a text hundreds of times, I noticed a word or an expression that turned out to be crucial in understanding some important events. I can evoke the problem of Dianius as an example. It took me a lot of time to realize that Dianius from Letter 51 by Basil could have not been Dianius, bishop of Caesarea, but the enlightenment came when I was reading the very letter by Basil for the umpteenth time. When I face inconsistencies, I dig into the sources, not into secondary literature. Sources cause problems, but at the same time they can solve them.

Part I.

Macrina the Younger

Part I of this study focuses on the analysis of the literary genres of Macrina writings, on inconsistencies in those writings, and the contrast between those writings and other sources. All four writings about Macrina (*Vita Sanctae Macrinae*, *De anima et resurrectione*, Letter 19 by Gregory of Nyssa, and Epitaph 120 by Gregory of Nazianzus) were written according to the rules of different literary genres: hagiography, philosophical dialogue, rhetoric, epitaph. Those genres have their specific purposes (edification, polemic, apology, honouring), but none of them is aimed at recounting real events and describing actual people. Therefore, the information they contain cannot be trusted but needs to be confronted with external sources.

Chapter I.

Writings about Macrina the Younger

Macrina the Younger can be found in four Ancient writings: *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*, Letter 19, dialogue *De anima et resurrectione* by Gregory of Nyssa, and Epitaph 120 by Gregory of Nazianzus. In order to assess the information they contain it is necessary, above all, to establish their literary genre because depending on it we can treat the events they describe as facts or fiction.

1. *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* by Gregory of Nyssa

Vita Sanctae Macrinae is the most extensive Ancient writing about Macrina. It has been translated many times and widely studied; lately, it has aroused special interest of researchers of early Christian spirituality and feminist theologians looking for meaningful feminine characters in Antiquity.

The question about the literary genre of *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* is absolutely crucial, still it has been often omitted or treated as minor or secondary. But, depending on the answer the events and persons described in the writing can be considered real or fictitious.

I am convinced that *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* is not a family chronicle, as Anna-Maria Silvas called it,¹ but a hagiography. According to Pierre Maraval hagiography adopted and improved the kind of biography that already existed in Greek literature, i.e. a philosophical biography.² A philosophical biography was to present the life and doctrine of a philosopher³ “maintaining the moral priority over historical facts”⁴ and in some cases, especially in the Neoplatonic version, it presented the scope of edification and free use of fiction similar to Christian hagiography.

Although hagiography has never been a literary genre in the strict meaning of that term,⁵ both Timothy Barnes⁶ and Pierre Maraval⁷ admit that Gregory adopted a hagiographical approach when depicting Macrina. What makes hagiography distinct from history is, according to Hippolyte Delehaye, the religious character of the writing and the purpose of edification.⁸ At the beginning of *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*, Gregory declares that the benefit (κέρδος) brought about by the history of good things (τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἱστορίαν) is that the life of the one who had raised herself to the highest summit of human virtue (πρὸς τὸν ἀκρότατον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀρετῆς ὄρον) would not pass as useless

¹ A. M. Silvas, *Macrina the Younger. Philosopher of God*, 103.

² P. Maraval, *Introduction*, in: *Vie de sainte Macrine*, ed. P. Maraval, SC 178, 26.

³ G. J. M. Bartelink, *Introduction*, in: *Vie d'Antoine*, ed. G. J. M. Bartelink, SC 400, 47–48.

⁴ A. Spira, *Introduction. The Biographical Works of Gregory of Nyssa*, in: *The Biographical Works of Gregory of Nyssa, Proceedings of the Fifth International Colloquium on Gregory of Nyssa Mainz, 6–10 September 1982*, ed. A. Spira, Cambridge: The Philadelphia Patristic Foundation 1984, 5.

⁵ T. D. Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography and Roman History*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2010, 237.

⁶ T. D. Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography and Roman History*, 239.

⁷ P. Maraval, *Introduction*, in: *Vie de sainte Macrine*, ed. P. Maraval, SC 178, 24–26.

⁸ H. Delehaye, *Les légendes hagiographiques*, Bruxelles: Bollandistes 1906, 2: “Pour être strictement hagiographique, le document doit avoir un caractère religieux et se proposer un but d’édification. Il faudra donc réserver ce nom à tout monument écrit inspiré par le culte des saints, et destiné à le promouvoir. Ce qu’il importe d’accentuer dès le début, c’est la distinction entre l’hagiographie et l’histoire.”

(ἀνωφελής).⁹ The benefit of the story of virtue is, of course, spiritual and it does not need real events or even real persons to be attained. We can see the same purpose also in the 2nd century influential *Martyrium Polycarpi*, belonging to the so-called Smyranean hagiography.¹⁰ The explicit aim of that writing is that “we may become Polycarp’s followers” (ἵνα μιμηταὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοῦ γενώμεθα) and that its readers “glorify the Lord” (ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δοξάζωσιν τὸν κύριον).¹¹ That purpose is from the very beginning a characteristic feature of Christian hagiography.

Vita Sanctae Macrinae was not the first hagiography of an ascetic and non-martyr. The first one was *Vita Antonii* by Athanasius of Alexandria, and Gregory of Nazianzus testifies that it was well known among Cappadocians.¹² The similarity between those two writings is striking. It concerns even the literary form: both biographies are letters or rather they pretend to be letters written as a reply to specific persons who had asked the author to describe the life of a saint. One of the initial statements of *Vita Antonii* reads as follows:

<p>Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπητήσατε καὶ παρ’ ἐμοῦ περὶ τῆς πολιτείας τοῦ μα- καρίου Ἀντωνίου, μαθεῖν θέλοντες πῶς τε ἤρξατο τῆς ἀσκήσεως, καὶ τίς ἦν πρὸ ταύτης, καὶ ὁποῖον ἔσχε τοῦ βίου τὸ τέλος, καὶ εἰ ἀληθῆ τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ λεγόμενά ἐστιν,</p>	<p>Now, you have also asked me for an account of the life of the blessed Antony: you would like to learn how he came to practice asceticism, what he was previous to this, what his death was like,</p>
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⁹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 1, GNO 8/1, 371.

¹⁰ H. Delehay, *Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires*, Bruxelles: Bollandistes 1966², 15–46. For dating of the text and references to it in later Christian literature, see two articles by J. M. Kozłowski, *Pionius Polycarpi imitator: References to Martyrium Polycarpi in Martyrium Pionii*, “Science et Esprit” 67 (2015), 417–434; and *Tanto perfusus est sanguine, ut... Dependence of Passio Perpetuae 21,1–3 upon Martyrium Polycarpi 14,2 and 16,1*, “Eirene. Studia Graeca et Latina” 52 (2016), 387–395.

¹¹ *Ecclesiae Smyrnenensis de martyrio S. Polycarpi epistola circularis* 1 2, PG 5, 1029B; XX 1; PG 5, 1044C.

¹² Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 21 (*In laudem Athanasii*), 5, SC 270, 118.

ἵνα καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐκείνου ζῆλον
ἐαυτοὺς ἀγάγητε· μετὰ πολ-
λῆς προθυμίας ἐδεξάμην τὸ παρ'
ὑμῶν ἐπίταγμα.

and whether everything said
about him is true. You have in
mind to model your lives after
his life of zeal. I am very happy
to accede to your request.¹³

There is an analogous passage in *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*:

Τὸ μὲν εἶδος τοῦ βιβλίου ὅσον ἐν
τῷ τῆς προγραφῆς τύπῳ ἐπιστο-
λῆ εἶναι δοκεῖ, τὸ δὲ πλήθος ὑπὲρ
τὸν ἐπιστολιμαῖον ὄρον ἐστὶν εἰς
συγγραφικὴν μακρηγορίαν παρα-
τεινόμενον· ἀλλ' ἀπολογεῖται ὑπὲρ
ἡμῶν ἢ ὑπόθεσις, ἧς ἔνεκεν γράψαι
διεκελεύσω, πλείων οὐσα ἢ κατ'
ἐπιστολῆς συμμετρίαν. [...] Ἐπεὶ
οὖν ἐδοκίμασας φέρειν τι κέρδος
τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἱστορίαν, ὡς ἂν
μὴ λάθοι τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνον ὁ
τοιούτος βίος μηδὲ ἀνωφελῆς πα-
ραδράμοι διὰ σιωπῆς συγκαλυφ-
θεῖσα ἢ πρὸς τὸν ἀκρότατον τῆς
ἀνθρωπίνης ἀρετῆς ὄρον ἐαυτὴν
διὰ φιλοσοφίας ἐπάρασα, καλῶς
ἔχειν ᾤθηται σοὶ τε πεισθῆναι καὶ
δί' ὀλίγων, ὡς ἂν οἷός τε ᾧ, τὰ κατ'
αὐτὴν ἱστορῆσαι ἐν ἀκατασκεύῳ
τε καὶ ἀπλῶ διηγῆματι.

From the heading of this work,
you might think that it is a let-
ter, but it has extended itself into
a rather lengthy monograph. My
excuse is that you ordered me
to write on a subject that goes
beyond the scope of a letter. [...] You
suggested that a history of
her good deeds ought to be writ-
ten because you thought such a
life should not be lost sight of
in time and, that having raised
herself to the highest peak of
human virtue through philoso-
phy, she should not be passed
over in silence and her life ren-
dered ineffective. Accordingly, I
thought it right to obey you and
to write her life story as briefly
as I could in an artless and sim-
ple narrative.¹⁴

¹³ Athanasius, *Vita Antonii*, prologue, SC 400, 127; transl. R. T. Meyer, 17.

¹⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 1, GNO 8/1, 370–371; transl. V. Woods Callahan, 163–164.

Both prologues have certain things in common: they claim to be answers to somebody else's initiative and they both set the same target: the edification of the readers. The purpose of edification, expressed explicitly in both writings, and their religious character are features that set hagiography apart from other literary genres. Such a purpose determines which facts from the life of a saint are selected and how they are showed to the readers. The described persons and events do not have to be and do not aspire to be authentic, but they need to be hortatory, aiming to exhort the readers.

In order to make their accounts more reliable, the authors of both biographies stress that they were eyewitnesses to what they are writing about. Athanasius says that he is writing down his own memories:

Ἐβουλόμην γὰρ οὖν, δεξάμενος
 ὑμῶν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, μεταπέμ-
 ψασθαί τινας τῶν μοναχῶν, τῶν
 μάλιστα πικνότερον εἰωθότων
 πρὸς αὐτὸν παραγίνεσθαι. Τάχα
 τι πλέον μαθὼν πληρέστερον ὑμῖν
 ἐπιστείλω. ἐπειδὴ δὲ γὰρ καὶ ὁ
 καιρὸς τῶν πλωίμων συνέκλειε
 καὶ ὁ γραμματοφόρος ἔσπευδεν,
 διὰ τοῦτο ἄπερ αὐτὸς τε γινώσκω
 (πολλάκις γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐώρακα),
 καὶ ἃ μαθεῖν ἠδυνήθην παρὰ τοῦ
 ἀκολουθήσαντος αὐτῷ χρόνον οὐκ
 ὀλίγον καὶ ἐπιχέαντος ὕδωρ κατὰ
 χεῖρὸς αὐτοῦ, γράψαι τῇ εὐλαβείᾳ
 ὑμῶν ἐσπούδασα.

Well, when I received your letter I wanted to send for some of the monks, especially those who used to associate with him most closely. Thus I might have learned additional details and sent you a fuller account. But the sailing season is about over and the postman is growing impatient; therefore, I make haste to write to Your Reverence what I myself know—for I have seen him often—and whatever I was able to learn from him who was his companion over a long period and poured water on his hands.¹⁵

Gregory of Nyssa stresses his kinship with the described person, which legitimizes his story:

¹⁵ Athanasius, *Vita Antonii*, prologue, SC 400, 128, transl. R. T. Meyer, 18.

Τὸ δὲ διήγημα ἡμῖν οὐκ ἐξ ἀκοῆς
 ἐτέρων διηγημάτων τὸ πιστὸν
 εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ὧν ἡ πεῖρα διδάσκαλος
 ἦν, ταῦτα δι' ἀκριβείας ἐπεξῆει ὁ
 λόγος, εἰς οὐδὲν ἀκοὴν ἀλλοτρίαν
 ἐπιμαρτυρόμενος· οὐδὲ γὰρ ξένη
 τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἡ μνημονευθεῖ-
 σα παρθένος, ὡς ἀνάγκη εἶναι δι'
 ἐτέρων γινώσκειν τὰ κατ' ἐκείνην
 θαύματα, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ἡμῖν
 γονέων, ὥσπερ τις ἀπαρχὴ καρ-
 πῶν πρώτη τῆς μητρῶας νηδύος
 ἀναβλαστήσασα.

We did not have to rely on hear-
 say since experience was our
 teacher, and the details of our
 story did not depend on the tes-
 timony of others. The maiden we
 spoke of was no stranger to my
 family so that I did not have to
 learn the wondrous facts about
 her from others; we were born of
 the same parents, she being, as it
 were, an offering of first fruits,
 the earliest flowering of our
 mother's womb.¹⁶

There have been some attempts at questioning the authorship of *Vita Antonii* by Athanasius,¹⁷ but apart from internal evidence there are also external proofs that confirm Athanasius' authorship – when Athanasius was still alive he was regarded as the author.¹⁸ I assume that Athanasius was the author of *Vita Antonii* and that he created literary fiction in that writing. David Brakke noticed “the paucity of evidence for actual contact between Athanasius and the historical Antony,”¹⁹ while

¹⁶ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 1, GNO 8/1, 371, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 163.

¹⁷ M. Tetz, *Athanasius und die Vita Antonii. Literarische und theologische Relation*, “Zeitschrift für Neutestamentalische Wissenschaft” 73 (1982), 1–30; R. Draguet, *La Vie primitive de S. Antoine conservée en syriaque*, CSCO 184, Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO 1984; T. D. Barnes, *Angel of light or mystic initiate? The problem of the Life Antony*, “Journal of Theological Studies” 37 (1986), 353–368.

¹⁸ For the discussion on the subject see W. Harmless, *Desert Christians: An Introduction to the Literature of Early Monasticism*, Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press 2004, 111–133; E. Wipszycka, *Second Gift of the Nile. Monks and Monasteries in Late Antique Egypt*, transl. D. Jasiński, Warsaw: University of Warsaw 2018, 33–36.

¹⁹ D. Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1995, 205–207.

Ewa Wipszycka questions the probability that Athanasius knew Coptic, which was the only language he could use to talk with Antony or with the witnesses of his life.²⁰ Gregory of Nyssa himself confessed that he did not see his sister for many years²¹ and he knew her miracles only from the accounts of others.²² The emphasis present in both writings that the author was an eyewitness to the saint's life is obviously a literary topos and has little to do with reality.

Vita Sanctae Macrinae clearly follows the model of a saint established by *Vita Antonii*. Gregory's Macrina in many details mimics the characteristics and behaviour of Athanasius' Antony. Both Antony and Macrina were born to Christian families, were raised on the Bible, isolated from the influence of pagan culture and customs. The description of Antony's childhood reads as follows:

Ἀντώνιος γένος μὲν ἦν Αἰγύπτιος,
εὐγενῶν δὲ γονέων καὶ περιουσίαν
αὐτάρκη κεκτημένων. Χριστιανῶν
δὲ αὐτῶν ὄντων Χριστιανικῶς
ἀνήγετο καὶ αὐτός. Καὶ παιδίον
μὲν ὢν, ἐτρέφετο παρὰ τοῖς γο-
νεῦσι, πλεον αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ οἴκου
μηδὲν ἕτερον γινώσκων. ἐπειδὴ
δὲ καὶ αὐξήσας ἐγένετο παῖς καὶ
προέκοπτε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, γράμματα
μὲν μαθεῖν οὐκ ἠνέσχετο,

Antony was an Egyptian by birth. His parents were of good stock and well-to-do; and because they were Christians he himself was brought up a Christian. As a child he lived with his parents, knowing nothing but them and his home; and when he grew to be a boy and was advancing in age, he did not take to schooling,²³

²⁰ E. Wipszycka, *Second Gift of the Nile*, 49.

²¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 15, GNO 8/I, 387.

²² Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 30–31, GNO 8/I, 404–406; 36–38, GNO 8/I, 410–413.

²³ D. Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*, 255: “Thus, the young man's failure to learn letters γράμματα does not represent his total illiteracy, but his unwillingness to receive the secondary education from a grammaticos;” E. Wipszycka, *Second Gift of the Nile*, 51: “The word γράμματα may refer not

βουλόμενος ἐκτὸς εἶναι καὶ τῆς
πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας συνηθείας. τὴν
δὲ ἐπιθυμίαν πᾶσαν εἶχε, κατὰ τὸ
γεγραμμένον, ὡς ἄπλαστος οἰκεῖν
ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

desiring to shun even the com-
panionship of other children: his
one desire was, as the Scripture
states concerning Jacob, to lead a
simple life at home.²⁴

Antony wanted to lead a simple life (ὡς ἄπλαστος). D. Brakke explains: “Lack of education signifies a certain disposition: it denotes seclusion, in contrast to companionship and being ‘natural’ or ‘unformed’ (ἄπλαστος) in contrast to the artificiality produced by socialization into learned culture. Virtue, Antony claims in chapter 20, is the preservation of the soul in its ‘natural’ condition; here Antony remains in an ‘unformed’ state of innate wisdom, unsullied by the ambiguities and conventions of human discourse.”²⁵

Similarly, Macrina – as described by Gregory of Nyssa – was brought up by Christian parents, she was taught only the Bible absolutely isolated from other people:

Ἦν δὲ τῇ μητρὶ σπουδῇ παιδεῦ-
σαι μὲν τὴν παῖδα, μὴ μέντοι τὴν
ἔξωθεν ταύτην καὶ ἐγκύκλιον
παίδευσιν, ἣν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ διὰ τῶν
ποιημάτων αἰ πρώται τῶν παι-
δευομένων ἡλικίαι διδάσκονται.
Αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ᾤετο καὶ παντάπασιν
ἀπρεπὲς ἢ τὰ τραγικὰ πάθη,

Her mother was eager to have
the child given instruction, but
not in the secular curriculum,
which meant, for the most part,
teaching the youngsters through
poetry. For she thought that it
was shameful and altogether un-
fitting to teach the soft

only to ‘letters’, but also, in the metaphorical sense, ‘literature’, or ‘education’ (imparted in the form characteristic of the ancient Greek model of education, where the study of literature was fundamentally important).”

²⁴ Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* 1, SC 400, 130; transl. R. T. Meyer, 18.

²⁵ D. Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*, 255.

ὅσα ἐκ γυναικῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἔδωκεν, ἢ τὰς κωμικὰς ἀσχημοσύνας ἢ τῶν κατὰ τὸ Ἰλιον κακῶν τὰς αἰτίας ἀπαλήν καὶ εὐπλαστον φύσιν διδάσκεσθαι, καταμολυνομένην τρόπον τινὰ τοῖς ἀσεμνοτέροις περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν διηγήμασιν. Ἄλλ' ὅσα τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς εὐληπτότερα ταῖς πρώταις ἡλικίαις δοκεῖ, ταῦτα ἦν τῇ παιδί τὰ μαθήματα καὶ μάλιστα ἡ τοῦ Σολομῶντος Σοφία καὶ ταύτης πλέον ὅσα πρὸς τὸν ἠθικὸν ἔφερε βίον. Ἄλλὰ καὶ τῆς ψαλμωδομένης γραφῆς οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν ἠγγόει καιροῖς ἰδίους ἕκαστον μέρος τῆς ψαλμωδίας διεξιούσα τῆς τε κοίτης διανισταμένη καὶ τῶν σπουδαίων ἀπτομένη τε καὶ ἀναπαυομένη καὶ προσιεμένη τροφήν καὶ ἀναχωροῦσα τραπέζης καὶ ἐπὶ κοίτην ἰοῦσα καὶ εἰς προσευχὰς διανισταμένη, πανταχοῦ τὴν ψαλμωδίαν εἶχεν οἷόν τινα σύνοδον ἀγαθὴν μηδενὸς ἀπολιμπανομένην χρόνου.

and pliable nature either the passionate themes of tragedy (which are based on the stories of women and give the poets their ideas and plots), or the unseemly antics of comedy, or the shameful activities of the immoral characters in the Iliad, defiling the child's nature with the undignified tales about women. Instead of this, whatever of inspired Scripture was adaptable to the early years, this was the child's subject matter, especially the Wisdom of Solomon and beyond this whatever leads us to a moral life. She was especially well versed in the Psalms, going through each part of the Psalter at the proper time; when she got up or did her daily tasks or rested, when she sat down to eat or rose from the table, when she went to bed or rose from it for prayer, she had the Psalter with her at all times, like a good and faithful traveling companion.²⁶

Such a description of childhood is strictly connected to the purpose of the writings. Athanasius calls Antony "taught by God" (θεοδίδακτος)²⁷

²⁶ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 2, GNO 8/1, 373–374, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 165.

²⁷ Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* 66, SC 400, 308.

and not by people.²⁸ But his letters demonstrate that he must have read and understood the writings by Origen and Gnostics.²⁹ Apparently, Antony not only could read and write, but he was quite well educated.³⁰ In the dialogue *De anima and resurrectione*, Macrina not only mentions the philosophers by name,³¹ but engages in a discussion with Gregory on the highest scientific level (in the Ancient sense), using dialectic and rhetoric. So, isolation from culture is nothing more than a literary topos.

It is worth noting that – as E. Wipszycka stated – “people of Late Antiquity were not as obsessively preoccupied with the individual paths of religious experience as we are. The model path of salvation and its biblical justification were more important than the accidental (and thus unimportant) impulses resulting from the vicissitudes of individual lives.”³² That is why there is not a single hint of development in the descriptions of the saints: according to the hagiographies both Antony and Macrina were saintly from the earliest childhood, because they should be the models to be followed. Those accounts are not descriptions of real youth of little Antony or little Macrina.

Both Antony and Macrina undergo a conversion and start a new life in poverty, though they used to live virtuously since they were children.

Antony:

Ὡς δὲ, πάλιν εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ Κυ-
ριακὸν, ἤκουσεν ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ
τοῦ Κυρίου λέγοντος, Μὴ μερι-
μνήσητε περὶ τῆς αὔριου,

But once again as he entered the
church, he heard the Lord saying
in the Gospel: Be not solicitous
for the morrow.

²⁸ The importance of this expression has been stressed by Y. de Andia, *Antoine le Grand Théodidacte*, in: *Mystiques d'Orient de d'Occident*, Begrolles-en-Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine 1994, 41–56 and E. Wipszycka, *Second Gift of the Nile*, 58.

²⁹ S. Rubenson, *Letters of St. Antony: Monasticism and the Making of A Saint*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press 1995, 59–88; D. Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*, 256–258; E. Wipszycka, *Second Gift of the Nile*, 52–59.

³⁰ S. Rubenson, *Letters of St. Antony: Monasticism and the Making of A Saint*, 95–99; D. Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*, 214.

³¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *De anima et resurrectione*, GNO 3/3, 8 and 33–34.

³² E. Wipszycka, *Second Gift of the Nile*, 70.

οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος ἔτι μένειν, ἐξελ-
θὼν διέδωκε κάκεῖνα τοῖς μετρίοις.
Τὴν δὲ ἀδελφὴν παραθέμενος
γνωρίμοις καὶ πισταῖς παρθένοις,
δούς τε αὐτὴν εἰς παρθενίαν ἀνα-
τρέφεσθαι, αὐτὸς πρὸ τῆς οἰκίας
ἐσχόλαζε λοιπὸν τῇ ἀσκήσει,
προσέχων ἑαυτῷ καὶ καρτερικῶς
ἑαυτὸν ἄγων.

He could not bear to wait longer,
but went out and distributed
those things also to the poor. His
sister he placed with known and
trusted virgins, giving her to the
nuns to be brought up. Then he
himself devoted all his time to
ascetic living, intent on himself
and living a life of self-denial,
near his own house.³³

Macrina:

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πάσης ὑλωδεστέρας
ζωῆς ὑπόθεσις ἤδη αὐτοῖς περι-
κέκοπτο, πείθει τὴν μητέρα κα-
ταλιποῦσαν τὸν ἐν ἔθει βίον καὶ
τὴν κομπωδεστέραν διαγωγὴν καὶ
τὰς ἐκ τῶν ὑποχειρίων θεραπείας,
αἷς προσείθιστο κατὰ τὸν ἔμπρο-
σθεν χρόνον, ὁμότιμον γενέσθαι
τοῖς πολλοῖς τῷ φρονήματι καὶ
καταμιῆσαι τὴν ἰδίαν ζωὴν τῇ μετὰ
τῶν παρθένων διαγωγῇ, ὅσας
εἶχε μεθ' ἑαυτῆς ἐκ δουλίδων καὶ
ὑποχειρίων ἀδελφὰς καὶ ὁμο-
τίμους ποιησαμένη.

When there was no longer any
necessity for them to continue
their rather worldly way of life,
Macrina persuaded her mother
to give up her customary mode
of living and her more ostenta-
tious existence and the services
of her maids, to which she had
long been accustomed, and to put
herself on a level with the many
by entering into a common life
with her maids, making them
her sisters and equals rather
than her slaves and underlings.³⁴

Those descriptions should not be trusted. Ewa Wipszycka explains that phenomenon as follows: “The rules of ancient biographical literature

³³ Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* 3, SC 400, 134–136, transl. R. T. Meyer, 20.

³⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 7, GNO 8/1, 377–378, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 168.

gave the authors much liberty in conjuring up the details of people's lives as long as their writing did not violate the sense of probability: the emphasis on accuracy, so characteristic of twentieth-century biographers, was entirely foreign to the ancient way of describing the life of a person. The expectation which they had to meet was to offer a coherent portrayal – plausible, but not necessarily faithful through and through. It is worth realising at this point that descriptions of conversion in Christian literature before Athanasius were few and far between. The best-known example (and also the most detailed) is the story of Justin Martyr, who described his conversion in such a way that we would be hard pressed to believe its authenticity. We may learn from it what a philosopher's conversion was supposed to have looked like, but we are left in the dark as to the question of how Justin actually converted to Christianity."³⁵ E. Wipszycka quotes other examples of nearly identical conversions in the lives of Cyriakus and Hypatius; she also points out significant variances in the three accounts on the conversion of Simeon the Stylite as a proof that they must have been literary constructs rather than descriptions of real events.³⁶

The characteristic feature of the saints is peace and total absence of corporal sensations. In the case of Antony,

τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς πάλιν καθαρὸν τὸ ἦθος. οὔτε γὰρ ὡς ὑπὸ ἀνίας συνεσταλμένη ἦν, οὔτε ὑφ' ἡδονῆς διακεχυμένη οὔτε ὑπὸ γέλωτος ἢ κατηφείας συνεχομένη. οὔτε γὰρ ἔωρακῶς τὸν ὄχλον ἐταράχθη οὔτε ὡς ὑπὸ τοσοῦτων κατασπαζόμενος ἐγεγῆθει, ἀλλ' ὄλος ἦν ἴσος, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου κυβερνώμενος, καὶ ἐν τῷ κατὰ φύσιν ἐστῶς. [...]

the state of his soul was pure, for it was neither contracted by grief, nor dissipated by pleasure nor pervaded by jollity or dejection. He was not embarrassed when he saw the crowd, nor was he elated at seeing so many there to receive him. No, he had himself completely under control—a man guided by reason and stable in his character. [...]

³⁵ E. Wipszycka, *Second Gift of the Nile*, 163–164.

³⁶ E. Wipszycka, *Second Gift of the Nile*, 64–67.

ἔπεισε πολλοὺς αἰρήσασθαι τὸν
μονήρη βίον. καὶ οὕτω λοιπὸν γέ-
γονε καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι μοναστήρια,
καὶ ἡ ἔρημος ἐπολίσθη μοναχῶν,
ἐξελθόντων ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ
ἀπογραψαμένων τὴν ἐν τοῖς οὐρα-
νοῖς πολιτείαν.

He induced many to take up the
monastic life. And so now mon-
asteries also sprang up in the
mountains and the desert was
populated with monks who left
their own people and registered
themselves for citizenship in
Heaven.³⁷

Macrina and her companions led a life similar to that of angels:

Καθάπερ γὰρ αἱ διὰ θανάτου τῶν
σωμάτων ἐκλυθεῖσαι ψυχαὶ καὶ
τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον τοῦτον μεριμ-
νῶν συνεκλύονται, οὕτως κεχώρι-
στο αὐτῶν ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ἀπώκιστο
πάσης βιωτικῆς ματαιότητος καὶ
πρὸς μίμησιν τῆς τῶν ἀγγέλων
διαγωγῆς ἐρρυθμίζετο. Ἐν οἷς γὰρ
οὐ θυμὸς, οὐ φθόνος, οὐ μῖσος,
οὐχ ὑπεροψία, οὐκ ἄλλο τι τῶν
τοιούτων ἐνεωρᾶτο, ἢ τε τῶν μα-
ταίων ἐπιθυμία, τιμῆς τε καὶ δόξης
καὶ τύφου καὶ ὑπερηφανίας καὶ
πάντων τῶν τοιούτων, ἐκβέβλητο.
Τρυφὴ δὲ ἦν ἡ ἐγκράτεια καὶ δόξα
τὸ μὴ γινώσκεισθαι, πλοῦτος δὲ
ἡ ἀκτημοσύνη καὶ τὸ πᾶσαν τὴν
ὕλικὴν περιουσίαν οἷόν τινα κόνιν
τῶν σωμάτων ἀποτινάξασθαι.

Just as by death souls are freed
from the body and released from
the cares of this life, so their life
was separated from these things,
divorced from all mortal vani-
ty and attuned to an imitation
of the existence of the angels.
Among them was seen no anger,
no envy, no hatred, no arrogance,
or any such thing; neither was
there in them longing for foolish
things like honor and fame and
vanity, nor a contempt for oth-
ers; all such qualities had been
put aside.³⁸

³⁷ Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* 14, SC 400, 172–174, transl. R. T. Meyer, 32–33.

³⁸ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 11, GNO 8/1, 382, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 170–171.

It is an ideal that can be aspired to, but unattainable on earth. Both authors of the *Lives* were aware of its unattainableness, so Athanasius calls the way of Antony's living a heavenly state (ἡ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς πολιτείαν), while Gregory compares the lifestyle of Macrina to that of angels (πρὸς μίμησιν τῆς τῶν ἀγγέλων διαγωγῆς). Gerard J. M. Bartelink analysed the biblical references in *Vita Antonii* (more than 200) proving that the ideal personified by Antony had its deep biblical roots.³⁹ Eugenio Marotta noted that in the case of *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* the scriptural basis can be traced not only in the biblical references, but also in the structure and the fundamental motives of the writing.⁴⁰

David Brakke noticed the resemblance between the behaviour of young Antony and the lifestyle of young Mary as Athanasius described it in his first *Letter to Virgins* 12–14 (paragraph numbers according to Brakke).⁴¹ Antony replicates the behaviour that Athanasius admired in Mary: staying at home, being obedient to his parents, spending his time on prayer, attending church, listening to the Holy Scripture, eating simple food in moderate amounts, doing good deeds secretly.⁴² Macrina presents a similar behaviour.

The descriptions of the last days, deaths and funerals of Antony and Macrina are similar. In both cases they are long, detailed, and contain speeches of the heroes, kind of testaments for their companions, called farewell speeches.⁴³ André-Jean Festugière analysed the last prayer of Macrina from *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* and stated that it was a noble literary composition that had nothing to do with historical

³⁹ G. J. M. Bartelink, *Introduction*, SC 400, 48–53.

⁴⁰ E. Marotta, *La base biblica della Vita S. Macrinae di Gregorio di Nissa*, “*Vetera Christianorum*” 5 (1968), 86.

⁴¹ Athanase, *Lettres festales et pastorales en copte*, ed. L. Th. Lefort, CSCO 150, 77–80.

⁴² D. Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*, 254.

⁴³ M. Alexandre, *À propos du récit de la mort d'Antoine. L'heure de la mort dans la littérature monastique*, in: *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge (IIIe–XIIIe siècles)*, ed. J. M. Leroux, Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 1984, 263–282.

probability.⁴⁴ Both Antony and Macrina had no fear of death, they were dying cheerfully, full of joy at the thought of meeting God; both left some instructions regarding their funerals, which should be modest. In both cases the attention was focused on keepsakes that were given by the saints to the closest persons: bishop Athanasius received one sheepskin and the cloak on which Antony used to lie, bishop Serapion received another sheepskin, and other brothers kept the hair shirt;⁴⁵ Macrina left her iron cross to Vetiana and her iron ring to Gregory.⁴⁶ Antony distributed all his belongings as it “was fitting for a holy man, a monk and a martyr who shied away from everything that would have bound him to the world;”⁴⁷ Macrina as well had only a dress, a covering of her head and sandals.⁴⁸

In order to achieve its intended purpose (which was edification of the readers) from the very beginning of the genre hagiography used fictional elements. In the case of Antony we can examine some events described in *Vita Antonii* and some of them are obviously fictitious. Karl Heussi thinks that the entire episode from *Vita Antonii* 46, where Antony comes to Alexandria to support persecuted Christians, is a fake.⁴⁹ Ewa Wipszycka believes that Antony could have been in Alexandria, but she considers the ban on letting ascetics into a court anachronistic as ascetics were not a separate, distinctive group at that time.⁵⁰ She also thinks it was impossible that Antony served Christians who worked in the mines/quarries (μέταλλα) as there were no such μέταλλα near Alexandria: “Athanasius knew full well that there were no *metalla* near Alexandria where Antony could have found Christian exiles. This, however, did not matter to him. Athanasius was not intent on providing a minutely accurate

⁴⁴ A. J. Festugière, *Vraisemblance psychologique et forme littéraire chez les anciens*, “Philologus” 102 (1958), 38.

⁴⁵ Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* 91, SC 400, 370.

⁴⁶ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 30, GNO 8/1, 404.

⁴⁷ E. Wipszycka, *Second Gift of the Nile*, 97.

⁴⁸ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 29, GNO 8/1, 403.

⁴⁹ K. Heussi, *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums*, Tübingen: Mohr 1936, 94–96.

⁵⁰ E. Wipszycka, *Second Gift of the Nile*, 75–76.

rendering of Antony's biography in accordance with literary principles, nor was he obliged to do so. In describing the new model of sanctity, one which was supposed to replace that of a martyr, he tried to demonstrate that the saint visited all places where he could find martyrs and confessors: while they were being taken to trial, during interrogations, and in the places where they were eventually exiled or martyred."⁵¹

Athanasius intentionally described the exchange of letters between Antony and Constantine at variance with the reality. In Athanasius' version, Antony receives a letter from Constantine and his sons, and replies reluctantly, advising them how to hold power:

Ἐφθασε δὲ καὶ μέχρι βασιλέων ἡ περὶ Ἀντωνίου φήμη. Ταῦτα γὰρ μαθόντες Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Αὐγουστος, καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ Κωνσταντίος καὶ Κώνστας οἱ Αὐγουστοί, ἔγραφον αὐτῷ ὡς πατρὶ, καὶ ἤρχοντο λαμβάνειν ἀντίγραφα παρ' αὐτοῦ. [...] Καὶ ἀντέγραφεν, ἀποδεχόμενος μὲν αὐτοῦς, ὅτι τὸν Χριστὸν προσκυνοῦσι, συνεβούλευε δὲ τὰ εἰς σωτηρίαν· καὶ μὴ μεγάλα ἠγεῖσθαι τὰ παρόντα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μνημονεύειν τῆς μελλούσης κρίσεως, καὶ εἰδέναι, ὅτι ὁ Χριστὸς μόνος ἀληθῆς καὶ αἰώνιος ἐστὶ βασιλεὺς. Φιλάνθρωπους τε αὐτοῦς εἶναι ἠξίου, καὶ φροντίζειν τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τῶν πτωχῶν. Κάκεῖνοι δεχόμενοι ἔχαιρον.

The fame of Antony reached even to emperors; for when Constantine Augustus and his sons Constantius Augustus and Constans Augustus heard about these things, they wrote to him as to a father and begged him to write back. [...] And he wrote back, commending them for worshipping Christ, and giving them salutary advice not to think highly of the things of this world, but rather to bear in mind the judgment to come; and to know that Christ alone is the true and eternal King. He begged them to show themselves humane and to have a regard for justice and for the poor. And they were glad to receive his answer.⁵²

⁵¹ E. Wipszycka, *Second Gift of the Nile*, 75.

⁵² Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* 81, SC 400, 340–344, transl. R. T. Meyer, 86–87.

According to Ewa Wipszycka, “the data provided in *Vita Antonii* 81, which could make it possible to date the event, are considerably flawed. According to the *Vita Antonii*, the letter was written by three *augusti*: Constantine, Constantius and Constans, but the latter two were elevated to the rank of *augustus* only after their acclamation (9 September 337) following the death of their father Constantine (before that they had been *caesars*). It is also striking to note that two other figures are not mentioned in the account, even though they might have deserved notice. The first of these is Constantine’s eldest son, Constantine II, who died in the civil war which he began in order to defeat Constans. The other missing figure is Dalmatius, murdered in 337 (with the consent of Constantius, if not at his instigation). Both these men were subject to a certain kind of *damnatio memoriae*. The fact that the *Vita Antonii* mistook *caesars* for *augusti* can be easily explained by stating that Athanasius, who wrote the work many years after Constantine’s death, attributed to the emperors the rank to which they were subsequently elevated. We can be sure of one thing at least: Athanasius did not have the text of the said letter, for surely he would have found the names of all those rulers placed in the beginning of the document together with the titles which they had at the time when the letter was written (as was customary for all documents and letters issued by all members of the imperial college).”⁵³

There is the testimony of Sozomen, who presented a different version of the event:

Ἀμέλει τοι καὶ τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέων
δήμου συνεχῶς ἐκβοῶντος καὶ ἐν
λιταῖς ἰκετεύοντος περὶ τῆς Ἀθα-
νασίου καθόδου καὶ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ
μεγάλου μοναχοῦ πολλάκις περὶ
αὐτοῦ γράψαντος καὶ ἀντιβολουῖν-
τος μὴ

The people of Alexandria loudly
complained of the exile of Atha-
nasius, and offered up supplica-
tions for his return; and Antony,
the celebrated monk, wrote fre-
quently to the emperor to entreat
him to attach no credit

⁵³ E. Wipszycka, *Second Gift of the Nile*, 79–80.

πείθεσθαι τοῖς Μελιτιανοῖς, ἀλλὰ συκοφαντίας ἠγεῖσθαι τὰς αὐτῶν κατηγορίας, οὐκ ἐπίσθη ὁ βασιλεύς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν ἔγραψεν ἄνοϊαν καὶ ἀταξίαν ἐγκαλῶν, κληρικοῖς δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἱεραῖς παρθένοις ἡσυχίαν ἐπιτάττων· καὶ μὴ μετατεθήσεσθαι τῆς γνώμης ἰσχυρίζετο μηδὲ μετακαλεῖσθαι τὸν Ἀθανάσιον, ὡς στασιώδη καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ καταδεδικασμένον κρίσει. Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ἀντεδήλωσε μὴ οἷός τε εἶναι τῆς συνόδου ὑπεριδεῖν τὴν ψήφον. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὀλίγοι, φησί, πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν ἢ χάριν ἐδίκασαν, οὐ δήπου πιθανὸν τοσαύτην πληθὺν ἐλλογίμων καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπισκόπων τῆς ὁμοίας γενέσθαι γνώμης· τὸν γὰρ Ἀθανάσιον ὑβριστὴν τε εἶναι καὶ ὑπερήφανον καὶ διχονοίας καὶ στάσεων αἴτιον.

to the insinuations of the Melitians, but to reject their accusations as calumnies; yet the emperor was not convinced by these arguments, and wrote to the Alexandrians, accusing them of folly and of disorderly conduct. He commanded the clergy and the holy virgins to remain quiet, and declared that he would not change his mind nor recall Athanasius, whom, he said, he regarded as an exciter of sedition, justly condemned by the judgment of the Church. He replied to Antony, by stating that he ought not to overlook the decree of the Synod; for even if some few of the bishops, he said, were actuated by ill-will or the desire to oblige others, it scarcely seems credible that so many prudent and excellent bishops could have been impelled by such motives; and, he added, that Athanasius was contumelious and arrogant, and the cause of dissension and sedition.⁵⁴

Again, according to the analysis by Ewa Wipszycka, “in Sozomenus’ account the historical context of the letter is presented in a particularly precise manner. Chapter 31 of the second book of his *Ecclesiastical History*

⁵⁴ Sozomen, HE II 31, 2–3, GCS 50, 96, transl. NPNF II 2, 280.

implies that it was Antony who petitioned the emperor in defence of Athanasius and that the letter of Constantine was the emperor's response to the letter of Antony. It appears from Sozomenus's writing that the event took place between 335 (when Athanasius was deposed at the Council of Tyre) and 337 (the year of Constantine's death). I see no reason to doubt the veracity of Sozomenus's account. In his letter, Constantine demonstrates the attitude known to us from other sources. His attitude towards Athanasius is also thoroughly documented in other sources, as are the arguments used by the emperor to explain why he refuses to change his mind on the matter. It would be difficult to explain why Sozomenus (or someone before him) should have invented correspondence content which would show the emperor in an unfavourable light: after all, the latter refused to listen to the suggestions of two magnificent saints, a fact which would compromise the reputation of any ruler in the eyes of contemporaries, i.e. the people living in the mid-fifth century, when Sozomenus wrote his *History*. This version of events would not have been useful for praising the virtues of the saint either: to this end, one would rather expect stories of successful interventions."⁵⁵

Scholars have no doubts that the version of Sozomen is right.⁵⁶ The case was very well known so it is difficult to assume that Athanasius wanted to falsify history. Athanasius did not describe what happened, but what should have happened.⁵⁷ And it is not a surprise if we remember the purpose of hagiography: "the primary social function of the Athanasian Antony is to inspire imitation,"⁵⁸ "a hagiographical work may be historical, but it is not necessary. It can do all literary genres suitable for glorifying the saints from official relation modified

⁵⁵ E. Wipszycka, *Second Gift of the Nile*, 80–81.

⁵⁶ K. Heussi, *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums*, 86; T. D. Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire*, Cambridge MA – London: Harvard University Press 2001, 96–97.

⁵⁷ E. Wipszycka, *Wstęp*, in: Atanazy Aleksandryjski, *Żywot świętego Antoniego*, Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy PAX 1987, 39.

⁵⁸ D. Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*, 258.

for usage of the faithful to the exuberant poetical work, with no reference to the reality.”⁵⁹

Gregory of Nazianzus testifies that in the times when *Vita Antonii* was written such an understanding of hagiographies was obvious:

ἐκεῖνος Ἀντωνίου τοῦ θείου
βίον συνέγραφε, τοῦ μοναδικοῦ
βίου νομοθεσίαν, ἐν πλάσματι
διηγήσεως.

[Athanasius] himself wrote the
life of the divine Antony, and set
forth, in the form of a narrative,
the laws of the monastic life.⁶⁰

Timothy Barnes calls *Vita Antonii* in general a fictitious hagiography and an imaginative composition.⁶¹ David Brakke claims straight out that in *Vita Antonii* Athanasius created a “narrative world”, an “alternative reality” that was intended to give a certain message, clear and comprehensible for the readers.⁶² The very existence of Antony is confirmed by other sources (Sozomen, Rufinus, Jerome). Nevertheless, already in the first hagiography describing the life of a non-martyr real elements intertwine with the fictitious ones invented in order to accomplish the mission of the writing, which was to hearten the readers rather than to inform them about the vicissitudes of a saint’s life.

In the case of Macrina, none of the sources she appears in was aimed to refer real events, so even her very existence is not confirmed. Some scholars already noticed that what Gregory of Nyssa wrote about Macrina has the characteristics of a literary construct. Susanna Elm pointed out that the description of Macrina’s earliest years was “stylized and subject to rhetorical conventions.”⁶³ Pierre Maraval claimed that Gregory knew how to distort the reality in order to make his story

⁵⁹ H. Delehay, *Les légendes hagiographiques*, 2.

⁶⁰ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Orationes* 21 (*In laudem Athanasii*), 5, SC 270, 118, transl. NPNF II 7, 270.

⁶¹ T. D. Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography and Roman History*, 160.

⁶² D. Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*, 202.

⁶³ S. Elm, *Virgins of God*, 47.

more credible.⁶⁴ Georg Luck suggested that he had used the technique of a novelist to dramatize a very real event,⁶⁵ and that the description of Macrina's community in Annisa was very rhetorical.⁶⁶ Morwenna Ludlow observes: "By basing Macrina on different models, he is deliberately drawing attention to the artifice of his creation and forcing us to think hard about his intentions in his writings."⁶⁷ Averil Cameron went even farther: "Though the temptation to read the *Life of Macrina* as a real portrait has been strong, especially among those interested in women in Late Antiquity, for Gregory, the figure of Macrina is a literary trope."⁶⁸

2. Letter 19 by Gregory of Nyssa

Letter 19 has an odd title:

Πρὸς τινὰ Ἰωάννην περὶ τινῶν ὑποθέσεων καὶ περὶ τῆς διαγωγῆς καὶ καταστάσεως τῆς τοιαύτης ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ Μακρίνης.	To a certain John on certain sub- jects, especially on the way of life and the character of his sister Macrina. ⁶⁹
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"The certain John" must have been a symbolic person and not a real one. Addressing the letter "to a certain John" proves in my opinion that the writing was not to be a personal letter, but was thought by Gregory as a circular. Anna Maria Silvas rightly points out the formal style

⁶⁴ P. Maraval, *Encore les frères et soeurs de Grégoire de Nysse*, "Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses" 60 (1980), 163.

⁶⁵ G. Luck, *Notes on the Vita Macrinae*, in: *The Biographical Works of Gregory of Nyssa, Proceedings of the Fifth International Colloquium on Gregory of Nyssa Mainz, 6–10 September 1982*, ed. A. Spira, Cambridge: The Philadelphia Patristic Foundation 1984, 26.

⁶⁶ P. Maraval, *Introduction*, in: *Vie de sainte Macrine*, SC 178, 54.

⁶⁷ M. Ludlow, *Gregory of Nyssa, Ancient and (Post)modern*, 214.

⁶⁸ A. Cameron, *Dialoguing in Late Antiquity*, Washington DC: Center for Hellenic Studies 2014, 15.

⁶⁹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Epistulae* 19, GNO 8/2, 62, transl. A. M. Silvas, 174.

of the letter: Gregory most often uses the plural of modesty of himself and only occasionally slips into the singular. She claims that “he clearly intended this letter as a kind of bulletin of his affairs to someone well placed in church affairs, meant to correct any misinformation.”⁷⁰ The second purpose of the writing was to introduce Macrina to public consciousness.

Scholars have had trouble with the pronoun τοιοῦτος used in the title in relation to Macrina. Giorgio Pasquali commented it shortly: “non intellego”;⁷¹ Renato Crisculo translated it into Italian with the word “tal”;⁷² Pierre Maraval into French with “célèbre”;⁷³ and Anna Maria Silvas just omitted it in her translation into English explaining: “the τοιαύτης does not make much sense.”⁷⁴ However, I can see a reason for its use. It can mean “such wise”, but its first meaning is “such as this” and according to Liddell & Scott it can also refer to what goes before.

It is impossible to date Gregory’s writings with absolute certainty as there is no external evidence to confirm the dating, but it is possible that all four writings about Macrina (including Epitaph 120 by Gregory of Nazianzus) were written more or less at the same time, namely around 380 when, according to Letter 19, Gregory was elected bishop of Sebastea and spent a few months there. It is probable that *De anima et resurrectione* was the first writing about Macrina at all, and Letter 19 was a kind of an explanation who was Gregory’s interlocutor. Indeed, in one of the manuscripts (F) the dialogue precedes Letter 19.⁷⁵

It is important to realise that before *De anima et resurrectione* and Letter 19 were written nobody had ever mentioned Macrina – neither Gregory of Nyssa himself, nor Basil, nor Gregory of Nazianzus. *De anima et resurrectione* is probably the first writing about Macrina, so the pronoun

⁷⁰ A. M. Silvas, in: Gregory of Nyssa, *The Letters. Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, Leiden – Boston: Brill 2007, 173.

⁷¹ GNO 8/2, 62.

⁷² Gregorio di Nissa, *Epistole*, trad. R. Crisculo, 123.

⁷³ Grégoire de Nysse, *Lettres*, trad. P. Maraval, 243.

⁷⁴ A. M. Silvas, in: Gregory of Nyssa, *The Letters*, 174, footnote 275.

⁷⁵ GNO 8/2, 62.

“such” in Letter 19 specifies the person, referring to what goes before (*De anima et resurrectione*). *Vita Sanctae Macrina* could have been written as the last one.

However, Letter 19 is not a documentation as Anna Maria Silvas wanted.⁷⁶ Below, I shall analyse in detail the biographical “information” it contains; now, I just want to define the general character of the writing. Letter 19 is a masterpiece of rhetoric. It begins with an extensive comparison of a writer to a painter. Gregory himself is a painter who paints Macrina’s life with words (ἡ διὰ τοῦ λόγου γραφή),⁷⁷ but the painting is so grossly unreal that it even does not pretend to be a portrayal of a real person. The “description” of Macrina consists mostly of quotations from the Bible and epithets that in the Bible refer to God:

Ἦν ἡμῖν ἀδελφή τοῦ βίου διδάσκαλος, ἡ μετὰ τὴν μητέρα μήτηρ, τοσαύτην ἔχουσα τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν παρρησίαν ὥστε πύργον ἡμῖν ἰσχύος εἶναι καὶ ὄπλον εὐδοκίας, καθὼς φησιν ἡ γραφή, καὶ πόλιν περιοχῆς καὶ πᾶν ἀσφαλείας ὄνομα διὰ τὴν προσοῦσαν ἐκ τοῦ βίου αὐτῆ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν παρρησίαν. ὤκει δὲ τοῦ Πόντου τὰ ἔσχατα, τοῦ βίου τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐαυτὴν ἐξοικίσασα. χορὸς ἦν περὶ αὐτὴν παρθένων πολὺς, ἃς αὐτὴ διὰ τῶν πνευματικῶν ὠδίνων γεννήσασα

We had a sister who was for us a teacher of how to live, a mother in place of our mother. Such was her freedom towards God that she was for us a strong tower (Ps 60:4) and a shield of favour (Ps 5:13) as the Scripture says, and a fortified city (Ps 30:22, 59:11) and a name of utter assurance, through her freedom towards God that came of her way of life. She dwelt in a remote part of Pontus, having exiled herself from the life of human beings. Gathered around her was a great choir of virgins whom she had brought forth by her spiritual labourpains (1 Cor 4:15, Gal 4:19)

⁷⁶ A. M. Silvas, in: Gregory of Nyssa, *The Letters*, 174.

⁷⁷ Gregory of Nyssa, *Epistulae* 19, 3, GNO 8/2, 63.

καὶ εἰς τελείωσιν διὰ πάσης ἐπι-
μελείας προάγουσα, τὴν τῶν
ἀγγέλων ἐμιμεῖτο ζωὴν ἐν ἀνθρω-
πίνῳ τῷ σώματι. οὐκ ἦν διάκρισις
ἐν αὐτῇ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, ἀλλὰ
καὶ νύξ ἐνεργὸς ἐν τοῖς τοῦ φωτὸς
ἔργοις ἐδείκνυτο καὶ ἡμέρα τὴν
νυκτερινὴν ἡσυχίαν τῷ ἀταρά-
χῳ τῆς ζωῆς ὑπεκρίνετο· φωνῆεν
ἦν αὐτῇ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου
τὸ οἶκημα νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ταῖς
ψαλμωδίαις περιηχούμενον.

and guided towards perfection
through her consummate care,
while she herself imitated the
life of angels in a human body.
With her there was no distinc-
tion between night and day.
Rather, the night showed itself
active with the deeds of light
(Rom 12:12-13, Eph 5:8) and
day imitated the tranquillity of
night through serenity of life.
The psalmodies resounded in
her house at all times night and
day.⁷⁸

Moreover, Macrina is described as devoid of any corporal sensation; she knew no distinction between night and day, she lived the life that we expect after resurrection (καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ὑποπτεύομεν).⁷⁹ Gregory finished the portrayal with a meaningful rhetorical question:

καὶ πῶς ἂν τις ὑπ' ὄψιν ἀγάγοι
πραῖγμα ὑπερβαῖνον τὴν διὰ τῶν
λόγων γραφήν;

How anyone could present to the
eyes the reality that transcends
any verbal description?⁸⁰

The subsequent description of Gregory's arrival to his sister is similarly rhetorical and could have not been applied to a real person. Especially in the mouth of a Christian comparing somebody to a source of water (τινὰ κρήνην) and calling her "the entire good/every good" (πᾶν ἀγαθόν) must have sounded as a blasphemy if the expressions referred to a real human being.

⁷⁸ Gregory of Nyssa, *Epistulae* 19, 6-8, GNO 8/2, 64-65, transl. A. M. Silvas, 176-177.

⁷⁹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Epistulae* 19, 9, GNO 8/2, 65.

⁸⁰ Gregory of Nyssa, *Epistulae* 19, 9, GNO 8/2, 65.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐπέστην παρ' ὑμῶν τοῖς Καππαδόκαις, εὐθύς τις ἡμᾶς ἀκοή περὶ αὐτῆς δι-ετάραξε· δέκα δὲ ἦν ἡμερῶν ἡ διὰ τοῦ μέσου ὁδός, καὶ ταύτην πᾶσαν διὰ τῆς ἐνδεχομένης ἐπειξέως διανύσας γίνομαι κατὰ τὸν Πόντον καὶ εἶδον καὶ ὤφθην· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἴ τις διὰ μεσημβρίας ὁδεύων καὶ καταφρυγείς τῷ ἡλίῳ τὸ σῶμα, ἐπὶ τινα κρήνην ἀναδραμών, πρὶν ἐπιψαῦσαι τοῦ ὕδατος, πρὶν καταψῦξαι τὴν γλῶσσαν, ἀθρόως αὐτῷ τῆς πηγῆς ὑποξηρανθείσης κόνιν εὔροι τὸ ὕδωρ γενόμενον, οὕτω καὶ αὐτός, ἐνιαυτῷ δεκάτῳ τὴν ἀντὶ μητρός μοι καὶ διδασκάλου καὶ παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ ποθουμένην ἰδὼν, πρὶν ἀποπληρῶσαι τὸν πόθον, ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ κηδεύσας ὑπέστρεφον. ταῦτά μοι τῆς πατρίδος μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδόν μου τὴν ἐξ Ἀντιοχείας τὰ εἰσιτήρια.

Well then, after I left your region, I had halted among the Cappadocians, when unexpectedly I received some disturbing news of her. There was a ten days' journey between us, so I covered the whole distance as quickly as possible and at last reached Pontus where I saw her and she saw me. But it was the same as a traveller at noon whose body is exhausted from the sun. He runs up to a spring, but alas, before he has touched the water, before he has cooled his tongue, all at once the stream dries up before his eyes and he finds the water turned to dust. So it was with me. At the tenth year I saw her whom I so longed to see, who was for me in place of a mother and a teacher and every good, but before I could satisfy my longing, on the third day I buried her and returned on my way. Such was my first visit to my fatherland after my return journey from Antioch.⁸¹

Those who treat Letter 19 as a documentation are puzzled reading about ten years of separation, while in *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* Gregory tells about almost eight years.⁸² However, none of the writings was aimed to report history.

⁸¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Epistulae* 19, 10, GNO 8/2, 65, transl. A. M. Silvas, 177–178.

⁸² Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 17, GNO 8/1, 389.

3. *De anima et resurrectione* by Gregory of Nyssa

Although some prominent scholars have claimed that *De anima et resurrectione* is a record of a real conversation between Gregory of Nyssa and Macrina,⁸³ it is impossible for many reasons, and for many others – improbable. First of all, the dialogue is 123 pages long in the GNO edition – it is physically impossible to read or deliver it in one afternoon as *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* suggests it was.⁸⁴ It is significant that even the mention of a conversation in *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* is contradictory to the dialogue itself: in *The Life* it is Macrina who asks questions while in *De anima et resurrectione* Gregory asks questions and Macrina answers.

On the other hand, a dialogue means not only conversation between two people, but has been for ages an acknowledged literary genre.⁸⁵ A special type of that genre is a philosophical dialogue,⁸⁶ associated above all with Plato. It is difficult, if not impossible, to harmonise Plato's Socrates with the one we know from other sources (Xenophon, Aristophanes),⁸⁷ so it is generally assumed that Plato transmitted his own ideas through the persona of Socrates. The same happened in the literary construct produced by Gregory of Nyssa, written in accordance with the canons of the genre – the philosophical dialogue. Therefore, there is no doubt that Macrina serves here as “a mouthpiece for Gregory's theology”⁸⁸ and the dialogue is not a record of a real conversation.

⁸³ B. R. Voss, *Der Dialog in der frühchristlichen Literatur*, München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag 1970, 175–176; J. Quasten, *Patrology*, Allen: Christian Classics 1986, vol. 3, 261; J. M. Sauget, *Macrina la Giovane*, in: *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol. 8, Roma: Città Nuova 1996, 457; L. F. Mateo-Seco, *Macrina*, in: *Dictionary of Gregory of Nyssa*, 473.

⁸⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 17–18, GNO 8/1, 389–391.

⁸⁵ V. Höhle, *Der philosophische Dialog: Eine Poetik und Hermeneutik*, München: C. H. Beck 2006, 32.

⁸⁶ V. Höhle, *Der philosophische Dialog*, 54.

⁸⁷ C. Kahn, *Plato and the Socratic Dialogue: The Philosophical Use of a Literary Form*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996, 1–35.

⁸⁸ E. A. Clark, *Holy Women, Holy Words: Early Christian Women, Social History and the “Linguistic Turn”*, “Journal of Early Christian Studies” 6 (1998), 427; B. Altaner, *Précis de patrologie*, Paris: Éditions Salvator 1961, 438; P. Maraval, *Introduction*,

As Averil Cameron stated: “Gregory’s use of the dialogue form in *On the Soul* is clearly a deliberate literary choice, carefully adopting a Platonic model.”⁸⁹

Cameron’s statement is confirmed by the formal aspect of the dialogue. Katarzyna Jazdzewska has recently proved that the philosophical dialogue associated with Plato did not have indicators of the speakers.⁹⁰ There are “specific groups of texts, ranging from documentary to paraliterary, in which indications of speakers are routinely given. These include reports of real proceedings, the *Acta Alexandrinorum*, the acts of Christian martyrs and – here our evidence is more limited – accounts of Church congregations, in particular of debates concerning orthodoxy and heresy. The discussed texts follow, with various degrees of exactitude, the documentary as-if-verbatim format.”⁹¹ If *De anima et resurrectione* had been or had pretended to be a real conversation between Gregory and Macrina, it would have had indicators of the speakers’ characteristics for a documentary. But, the dialogue *De anima et resurrectione* in the GNO edition has no indicators of the speakers, while in the PG edition, the indicators of the speakers do not come from the manuscripts, but according to the editor were added by Zacharias Hasselmann.⁹²

SC 178, 36; A. Momigliano, *The Life of St. Macrina by Gregory of Nyssa*, in: *On Pagans, Jews, and Christians*, Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, Scranton, PA: Harper & Row 1987, 208; D. Krueger, *Writing and the Liturgy of Memory in Gregory of Nyssa’s Life of Macrina*, “Journal of Early Christian Studies” 8 (2000), 488; I. Ramelli, *Saggio introduttivo*, in: Gregorio di Nissa, *Sull’anima et resurrezione*, Milano: Rusconi 2007, 7; M. Ludlow, *Gregory of Nyssa, Ancient and (Post)modern*, 209–210.

⁸⁹ A. Cameron, *Dialoguing in Late Antiquity*, 15. Some scholars, who claim that a true conversation was a source of inspiration for Gregory to write the dialogue, admit that *De anima et resurrectione* imitates the model of Plato’s *Phaedo*, c.f. M. Hoffmann, *Der Dialog bei den christlichen Schriftstellern der ersten vier Jahrhunderte*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag 1966, 130–135, D. Krueger, *Writing and the Liturgy of Memory*, 488.

⁹⁰ K. Jazdzewska, *Indications of Speakers in Ancient Dialogue: A Reappraisal*, “Journal of Hellenic Studies” 138 (2018), 250.

⁹¹ K. Jazdzewska, *Indications of Speakers in Ancient Dialogue: A Reappraisal*, 256.

⁹² *In opusculum sequens monitum*, PG 46, page without number before col. 11.

It is worth stressing that at the time when Gregory was writing, the dialogue as a literary genre already had a long and respectable tradition in Christian literature, starting with apologetic dialogues (Ariston of Pella, Justin and Minutius Felix) to the dialogues which Hoffman called dogmatic-polemic and philosophical⁹³ (Origen, Gregory Thaumaturgus, and above all Methodius of Olympus). The purpose of those writings was apologetic and polemic; none of them was intended to record a real conversation but to convince a sophisticated, well-educated reader that Christianity is the true and best philosophy. *De anima et resurrectione* has the same polemical aim: to defend Gregory's own concepts regarding the soul, resurrection and apokatastasis.

The title of Gregory's dialogue is not accidental. *De anima et resurrectione* connects two traditions: the first one is the tradition of the dialogues about death that started with Plato's *Phaedo*. The subsequent famous writing of that current was a lost piece by Aristotle's – Eudemus written to commemorate his deceased friend Eudemus of Cyprus. Katarzyna Jażdżewska notes that both of these writings were known in Antiquity as dialogues 'on the soul' (περὶ ψυχῆς) since while commemorating a deceased friend they discussed the fate of the soul after death, and contained a cosmic myth explaining the afterlife.⁹⁴ That is where the first component of the title of *De anima et resurrectione* comes from.

The second component of the title is a direct reference to the Christian dialogues: *De resurrectione* – the lost one by Origen,⁹⁵ and the one by Methodius of Olympus preserved in Old Church Slavonic. The very title and the content of Gregory's writing clearly indicates that Gregory was to present his own concepts on the topics discussed in the philosophical tradition and picked up by Christians within a new perspective. The literary genre of the dialogue provides but another clear point of reference to those two traditions.

⁹³ M. Hoffmann, *Der dialog*, 57–159.

⁹⁴ K. Jażdżewska, *Dio Chrysostom's Charidemus and Aristotle's Eudemus*, "Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies" 55 (2015), 680.

⁹⁵ M. Hoffmann, *Der Dialog*, 58.

We can, of course, ask why he chose a woman as a “mouthpiece”. This problem has been actually widely discussed already.⁹⁶ In my opinion, Gregory of Nyssa used the literary form of the dialogue as a direct reference to the philosophical background of the person that he wanted to substitute with Macrina the Younger – Eustathius of Sebastea, a Neoplatonic philosopher who converted to Christianity and became the spiritual master of Basil the Great. My reasoning will become clearer at the very end of this book when I have analysed the life of Eustathius, his relationship with Basil, the relationship between Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa on one hand and Basil of Caesarea on the other. At this point, I shall only hint that Macrina was for Gregory a deliberately chosen literary motif the aim of which was to create a myth of his family’s asceticism and sanctity. In the dialogue, Macrina plays the role of incarnated Wisdom similar to other wise women known from traditional dialogues. Gregory’s innovation consists in using a member of his own family as a speaker and teacher. Such a choice was a result of his attitude towards the family, similar to that of Gregory of Nazianzus and opposite to the one of Eustathius of Sebastea and Basil. The aim of all Macrina writings was to promote a member of the family, namely Peter, to the bishopric of Sebastea.

⁹⁶ E. A. Clark, *Holy Women, Holy Words*, 413–430; D. Krueger, *Writing and the Liturgy of Memory*, 483–510; W. E. Helleman, *Cappadocian Macrina as Lady Wisdom*, in: *Studia patristica. Vol. XXXVII. Cappadocian writers, other Greek writers. Papers presented at the Thirteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1999*, eds. M. Wiles, E. Yarnold, P. M. Parvis, Leuven: Peeters 2001 86–102; S. Wessel, *Memory and Individuality in Gregory of Nyssa’s De anima et resurrectione*, “Journal of Early Christian Studies” 18 (2010), 369–392; L. Karfiková, *Gregory of Nyssa, Witness of Macrina’s Life and Death*, “Theologica Olomucensia” 14 (2013), 15–26; A. Cameron, *Dialoguing in Late Antiquity*, 15; V. Burrus, *‘Begotten, Not Made’. Conceiving Manhood in Late Antiquity*, Redwood City: Stanford University Press 2000, 120–122; M. Ludlow, *Gregory of Nyssa, Ancient and (Post)modern*, 206–214.

4. Epitaphium 120 by Gregory of Nazianzus

The fourth and last Ancient writing about Macrina is an epitaph by Gregory of Nazianzus. It suggests that Macrina had been hidden and unknown before Gregory of Nyssa made her famous. The epitaph reads as follow:

Παρθένον αἰγλήεσσαν ἔχω κόνις,
εἴ τι ν' ἀκούεις
Μακρίναν, Ἐμμελίου πρωτότο-
κον μεγάλης·
ἢ πάντων ἀνδρῶν λάθεν ὄμματα,
νῦν δ' ἐνὶ πάντων
γλώσση καὶ πάντων φέρτερον εὖ-
χος ἔχει.

Me, the dust, I hold the radiant
virgin, if you hear about certain
Macrina – the first-born of
great Emmelia,
who hid herself from the eyes of
men, yet now she is on
every tongue and she has
achieved better fame.⁹⁷

The epitaph, which is obvious, must have been written after Macrina's death. Poetry as such could, of course, refer to real persons and historical events, but it is not necessary for this literary construct. Even the “information” that she led her life hidden from the eyes of all men is contradictory to *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* which states that during her life there were noble women who joined the community moved by Macrina's fame;⁹⁸ also a soldier came with his family to see the “school of virtue” (τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς φροντιστήριον).⁹⁹

Although initially an epigram was meant to commemorate the death of a real person, but Patricia Watson claims that “later, epigrams were detached from their original inscriptional context to become independent literary productions, a process which had begun by the end of the fourth century or earlier but which had its culmination during

⁹⁷ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epitaphia* 120, PG 38, 75–76 = Epigram VIII 163, in: *Anthologie palatine*, éd. P. Walz, Paris: CUF 1944, my own translation.

⁹⁸ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 28–29, GNO 8/1, 402.

⁹⁹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 36, GNO 8/1, 410.

the Hellenistic period.”¹⁰⁰ Moreover, “most of the sepulchral epigrams from this period are concerned with imaginary individuals, an impression of reality being created by appropriating the formulaic expressions of actual epitaphs.”¹⁰¹

Gregory’s poetic corpus includes 253 epigrams, which form the eighth book of the Palatine Anthology. They closely follow the well-established, traditional genre in order to adapt the classical literary tradition for Christians.¹⁰² Scholars even claim that Gregory is more classicizing in his epigrams than in the rest of his poetry.¹⁰³ There are different concepts as to the scope of those poems. Vassilios Vertoudakis, for instance, thinks that Gregory’s purpose could have been didactic.¹⁰⁴ But, knowing Gregory’s attitude towards his family, I think that John McGuckin is right when he states: “The composition of tombal verses marks the appearance of Christian nobility in Cappadocia, and on other occasions, when he is not criticizing the effort, Gregory is very much concerned to record the swath of that new Christian gens that appeared within his own generation. It is this, for example, that explains his much repeated epitaphial efforts for his mother, the one significant family member for whom he did not produce a funeral oration. Gregory’s collection of graveyard verses for every occasion is a compendium for Christian families on the rise; a crash course in genealogical good breeding.”¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ P. Watson, *A Gallery of Characters: Real Persons and Fictitious Types in Epigram*, in: *A Companion to Ancient Epigram*, ed. Ch. Henriksen, Hoboken: Wiley, 2019, 43.

¹⁰¹ P. Watson, *A Gallery of Characters: Real Persons and Fictitious Types in Epigram*, 48.

¹⁰² Ch. Simelidis, *Gregory of Nazianzus and the Christian Epigram in the East*, in: *A Companion to Ancient Epigram*, ed. Ch. Henriksen, Hoboken: Wiley 2019, 634.

¹⁰³ Ch. Simelidis, *Gregory of Nazianzus and the Christian Epigram in the East*, 636.

¹⁰⁴ V. P. Vertoudakis, *Το όγδοο βιβλίο της Παλατινής Ανθολογίας: Μια μελέτη των επιγραμμάτων του Γρηγορίου του Ναζιανζηνού*, Athens: A. Kardamitsa 2011, 80–81.

¹⁰⁵ J. McGuckin, *Gregory: the Rhetorician as Poet*, in: *Gregory of Nazianzus: Images and Reflections*, eds. J. Bjørtnes, T. Hägg, Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, University of Copenhagen 2005, 204–205.

Epitaph 120 is a proof that Gregory of Nazianzus was involved in the process of inventing Macrina. The reasons of his involvement will become clearer after the life of Eustathius and relationship between Eustathius and Basil has been expounded.

Chapter II.

Contradictions in the writings about Macrina and other sources

Inconsistencies and contradictions in the very writings about Macrina and between those writings and other sources are the most important evidence that none of the Macrina writings described the real history; moreover, none of them pretended to do so. I shall list here only some of the major contradictions, though there are a lot more contradicting details.

1. Two Macrinas

The most conspicuous inconsistency we face while thinking about Macrina is a huge difference between two Macrinas: one from *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* and the other from *De anima et resurrectione*. In *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*, Macrina was educated by her Christian parents and from the very beginning she read only the Bible; also, when she was a grown-up, she and her companions cared only about divine things and unceasing prayer.¹ Meanwhile, in *De anima et resurrectione*, Macrina not only names pagan philosophers,² but she carries out a discussion on the highest

¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 11, GNO 8/1, 382.

² Gregory of Nyssa, *De anima et resurrectione*, GNO 3/3, 8 and 33–34.

scientific level – obviously scientific in the Ancient meaning of the word; so, it is a philosophical discussion, full of dialectics and rhetorics. If we treated both writings as describing a historical person, we would have to admit that there were two different Macrinas or that Gregory was schizophrenic. And yet, Gregory was neither schizophrenic nor intellectually disabled, but Macrina in both writings constitutes a deliberate and elaborate literary construct. In *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*, she is a model of an ascetic saint, simple and focused on leading a virtuous life. In the dialogue, she is a philosopher, teacher and authority on elevated philosophical and theological topics.

2. Basil's conversion

The largest number of inconsistencies concern the conversion of Basil, namely his decision to start leading an ascetic life. It was a crucial moment of his career as the Ancients attached a lot of significance to the master-disciple relationship. According to *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*, when Basil returned to Annisa after his studies, he was proud and haughty because of his rhetorical skills. Then, Macrina “persuaded him to strive after philosophy” (κάκεϊνον πρὸς τὸν τῆς φιλοσοφίας σκοπὸν ἐπεσπάσατο):

Καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸ κατὰ τὰς ἀδελ-
φὰς πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν ἐκάστη μετ'
εὐσχημοσύνης ἢ μήτηρ ὠκο-
νομήσατο, ἐπάνεισιν ἐν τούτῳ
τῶν παιδευτηρίων πολλῶ χρόνῳ
προασκηθεὶς τοῖς λόγοις ὁ πολὺς
Βασίλειος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τῆς προει-
ρημένης. Λαβοῦσα τοίνυν αὐτὸν
ὑπερφυῶς ἐπηρμένον τῷ περὶ τοὺς
λόγους φρονήματι καὶ πάντα περι-
φρονοῦντα τὰ ἀξιώματα καὶ ὑπὲρ
τοὺς ἐν τῇ δυναστείᾳ λαμπροὺς
ἐπηρμένον τῷ ὄγκῳ,

After the mother had skilfully
arranged what seemed best for
each of Macrina's sisters, her
brother, the distinguished Basil,
came home from school where he
had had practice in rhetoric for
a long time. He was excessively
puffed up by his rhetorical abil-
ities and disdainful of all great
reputations, and considered him-
self better than the leading men
in the district,

τοσοῦτω τάχει κάκεινον πρὸς τὸν τῆς φιλοσοφίας σκοπὸν ἐπεσπάσατο, ὥστε ἀποστάντα τῆς κοσμικῆς περιφανείας καὶ ὑπεριδόντα τοῦ διὰ τῶν λόγων θαυμάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἐργατικὸν τοῦτον καὶ αὐτόχειρα βίον αὐτομολῆσαι, διὰ τῆς τελείας ἀκτημοσύνης ἀνεμπόδιστον ἑαυτῷ τὸν εἰς ἀρετὴν βίον παρασκευάζοντα.

but Macrina took him over and lured him so quickly to the goal of philosophy that he withdrew from the worldly show and began to look down upon acclaim through oratory and went over to this life full of labors for one's own hand to perform, providing for himself, through his complete poverty, a mode of living that would, without impediment, lead to virtue.³

Basil himself left us two different (not exclusive) stories about his conversion. In Letter 1, addressed to Eustathius the Philosopher, Basil confessed that he had quit his studies in Athens owing to the repute of his philosophy (κατέλιπον τὰς Ἀθήνας κατὰ φήμην τῆς σῆς φιλοσοφίας).⁴ The addressee was identified with Eustathius of Sebastea by Jean Gribomont; he dated this letter to 357 on the basis of the events that Eustathius of Sebastea was involved in.⁵ Before Gribomont published his famous article in 1959, it was commonly agreed that Letter 1 by Basil the Great was addressed to Eustathius the Philosopher,⁶ in accordance with its title: Εὐσταθίῳ φιλοσόφῳ. According to Federico Fatti, Eustathius of Sebastea and Eustathius the Philosopher could have been one and the same person.⁷ If it was so, Letter 1 must have been written

³ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 6, GNO 8/1, 377, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 167–168.

⁴ Basil the Great, *Epistulae* 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 3.

⁵ J. Gribomont, *Eustache le philosophe et les voyages du jeune Basile de Césarée*, "Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique" 54 (1959), 116–120.

⁶ Already Tillemont was convinced that the Eustathius whom Basil followed was the famous Eustathius the Philosopher, cf. L.-S. Le Nain de Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, vol. 9, Paris: Charles Robustel 1703, 810.

⁷ F. Fatti, *Eustazio di Sebaste, Eustazio filosofo*, 443–473.

in 358⁸ or later as it mentions Eustathius' travel to Persia,⁹ which took place in 358. In Letter 223, written in 375 and addressed to the very same Eustathius of Sebastea, Basil passed over his role as an inspirer of his asceticism and wrote: "I woke up like from the deep sleep" (ὡσπερ ἐξ ὕπνου βαθέος διαναστάς).¹⁰ It was the time when Basil and Eustathius were in a sharp conflict, but even there, where the figure of another inspirer would have been very useful for Basil, he does not mention Macrina.

These are not the only versions of Basil's conversion that can be found in Ancient literature. Rufinus wrote that it was Gregory of Nazianzus who literally forced Basil to lead a monastic life (*ad monasterium manu injecta perduceret*).¹¹ Terrence G. Kardong thinks that Rufinus apparently disliked Basil and wanted to discredit him with such inversion of roles.¹² However, Neil B. McLynn points out that Rufinus wrote his version a decade after Gregory of Nazianzus' death and was influenced by the literary construct of the friendship created by the latter: "The texts in which Gregory presents the details of his friendship with Basil need to be understood against the background of the 380s, and in relation to Gregory's position in Cappadocia after his return from Constantinople. After the humiliating loss of his position in the capital, he faced the very difficult task of constructing a commensurate (or at least compensating) authority at home, independently of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Various strategic can be detected in the works he produced in this period; but of all these, his appropriation of Basil was arguably the most successful. Barely a decade after Gregory's death Rufinus, who translated works by both men, could claim that it was

⁸ G. Fowden, *Pagan philosophers in late antique society: with special reference to Iamblichus and his followers*, Diss., Oxford 1979, 105.

⁹ Basil, *Epistulae* 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 4: οὕτω δύσερως ἦν ὥστε τὴν ἐπὶ Πέρσας βαδίζειν ἔδει καὶ συμπροϊέναι εἰς ὅτι μήκιστον τῆς βαρβάρων (ἦλθες γὰρ ἀκαεῖσε, τοσαύτη τις ἦν φιλονεικία τοῦ δαίμονος).

¹⁰ Basil, *Epistulae* 223, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 10.

¹¹ Rufinus of Aquileia, HE II 9, PL 21, 518B.

¹² T. G. Kardong, *Who was Basil's mentor? Part 1*, "American Benedictine Review" 60 (2009), 185.

Gregory who had led Basil from the rhetorical schools to the ascetic life and that he had lived with him for thirteen years (improving on reality by a factor of roughly ten).¹³ As a matter of fact, we know from letters by both Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus that it was Basil who was persuading his friend to lead an ascetic life (Letters 2 and 14 by Basil). Gregory of Nazianzus promised to come to Basil, who was staying near the Iris river, but found various excuses in order not to (Letter 1 by Gregory of Nazianzus).

3. Circumstances of the last meeting between Gregory and Macrina

All three writings about Macrina by Gregory of Nyssa describe the last meeting of the siblings. In each of them, the author himself gives a different reason why he decided to visit his sister. In *De anima et resurrectione* he comes to Macrina in order to share grief for Basil, and he does it hurriedly (κατὰ σπουδῆν):

Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου πρὸς
Θεὸν μετέστη ὁ πολὺς ἐν ἀγίοις
Βασίλειος, καὶ κοινὴ πένθους
ἀφορμὴ ταῖς Ἐκκλησίαις ἐγένετο,
περιῆν δὲ ἔτι τῷ βίῳ ἡ ἀδελφὴ καὶ
διδάσκαλος, ἐγὼ μὲν ἤειν κατὰ
σπουδῆν κοινωνήσων ἐκείνῃ τῆς
ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συμφορᾷς.

When Basil, the great saint, had passed over to God from the life of men, he gave the churches a common cause for grief. As our sister and teacher still remained in this life, I went in haste to share with her the sad news concerning our brother.¹⁴

In *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*, he just wanted to visit her and it was nine months after Basil's death:

¹³ N. McLynn, *Gregory Nazianzen's Basil: The Literary Construction of a Christian Friendship*, in: *Studia patristica. Vol. XXXVII, Cappadocian writers, other Greek writers. Papers presented at the Thirteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1999*, eds. M. Wiles, E. Yarnold, P. M. Parvis, Leuven: Peeters Press, 193.

¹⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *De anima et resurrectione*, GNO 3/3, 1, transl. C. P. Roth, 27.

Ἐνατος ἦν μετὰ τὸ πάθος τοῦτο μὴν ἢ μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦτο καὶ σύνοδος ἐπισκόπων κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχου πόλιν ἠθροίζετο, ἧς καὶ ἡμεῖς μετέσχομεν. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ πάλιν [387] πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστος ἀπελύθημεν, πρὶν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν παρελθεῖν, ἐνθύμιον ἐμοὶ τῷ Γρηγορίῳ γίνεται πρὸς αὐτὴν διαβῆναι.

About nine months after this disaster, there was a synod of bishops in the city of Antioch, in which I participated. And when each of us was leaving to return to his own diocese before the year was out, I, Gregory, thought often of visiting Macrina.¹⁵

According to *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*, during the journey he had a vision which he interpreted as a harbinger of a disaster and only afterwards he learned that Macrina was ill:

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τὸ πολὺ τῆς ὁδοῦ διανύσας μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἀπεῖχον ὁδόν, ὅψις τις ἡμῖν ἐξ ἐνυπνίου φανεῖσα φοβερὰς ἐποίει τὰς ἐλπίδας τοῦ μέλλοντος. Ἐδόκουν γὰρ λείψανα μαρτύρων διὰ χειρὸς φέρειν, εἶναι δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀύγην οἷα ἐκ καθαροῦ γίνεται κατόπτρου, ὅταν πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον τεθῆ ἀντιπρόσωπον, ὥστε μοι τὰς ὀψεις πρὸς τὴν μαρμαρυγὴν τῆς λαμπηδόνης ἀμβλύνεσθαι. Καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς μοι νυκτὸς εἰς τρεῖς γενομένης τῆς τοιαύτης ὀψεως συμβαλεῖν μὲν οὐκ εἶχον καθαρῶς τοῦ ἐνυπνίου τὸ αἴνιγμα,

When I had almost finished the journey and was about one day away from my destination, a vision, appearing in my sleep, aroused fearful forebodings about the future. I seemed to be carrying the relics of martyrs in my hand and a light seemed to come from them, as happens when the sun is reflected on a bright mirror so that the eye is dazzled by the brilliance of the beam. That same night, the vision occurred three times. I was not able to interpret its meaning clearly,

¹⁵ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 15, GNO 8/1, 386–387, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 173.

λύπην δέ τινα τῆ ψυχῆ προεώρων
καὶ ἐπετήρουν τῆ ἐκβάσει κρῖναι
τὴν φαντασίαν. Καὶ δὴ γενόμενος
πλησίον τῆς ἐσχατιᾶς, ἐν ἧ διῆ-
γεν ἐκείνη τὴν ἀγγελικὴν τε καὶ
ἐπουράνιον κατορθοῦσα ζωὴν,
ἠρόμην τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τινὰ περὶ
τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ πρῶτον, εἰ παρῶν
εἶη· φήσαντος δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτὸν
ἐξωρμηκέναι καὶ τετάρτην ἡμέ-
ραν ἄγειν, συνεῖς ὅπερ ἦν, ὅτι δι'
ἐτέρας ὁδοῦ γέγονεν αὐτῷ πρὸς
ἡμᾶς ἢ ὁρμή, τότε καὶ περὶ τῆς
μεγάλης ἐπυρθανόμην τοῦ δὲ
φήσαντος ἐν ἀρρωστίᾳ γεγενῆ-
σθαί τιτι σπουδαιότερον εἰχόμεν
ἐν ἐπείξει τὸ λειπόμενον τῆς ὁδοῦ
διανύων καὶ γὰρ μέ τις καὶ φό-
βος μηνυτῆς τοῦ μέλλοντος ὑπο-
δραμῶν διετάρασεν.

but I foresaw some grief for my
soul and I was waiting for the
outcome to clarify the dream.
When I came near the outskirts
of the place where that lady was
leading her angelic and celestial
life, I asked one of the workmen,
first, if my brother happened
to be there. He replied that he
had gone out to meet us about
four days earlier, and this was
true, but he had taken a differ-
ent road. Then, I inquired about
the Superior and, when he said
that she was ill, I was more eager
than ever to complete the trip,
for a certain fear, an omen of the
future, was disturbing me.¹⁶

By contrast, in Letter 19 he said that while sojourning in Cappadocia he was alarmed by some rumours about her and that is why he decided to go to Pontus.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐπέστην παρ' ὑμῶν
τοῖς Καππαδόκαις, εὐθύς τις ἡμᾶς
ἀκοὴ περὶ αὐτῆς διετάραξε·

Well then, after I left your re-
gion, I had halted among the
Cappadocians, when unexpect-
edly I received some disturbing
news of her.

¹⁶ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 15, GNO 8/1, 387–388, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 174.

δέκα δὲ ἦν ἡμερῶν ἢ διὰ τοῦ μέ-
σου ὁδός, καὶ ταύτην πᾶσαν διὰ
τῆς ἐνδεχομένης ἐπέιξεως διανύ-
σας γίνομαι κατὰ τὸν Πόντον καὶ
εἶδον καὶ ὤφθην.

There was a ten days' journey be-
tween us, so I covered the whole
distance as quickly as possible
and at last reached Pontus where
I saw her and she saw me.¹⁷

Those differences are understandable if we keep in mind that each of the writings had a different genre and different purpose. In *De anima et resurrectione*, the death of Basil serves as a pretext for a discussion about death, resurrection and immortality of the soul. In *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* Gregory “just felt like visiting Macrina” (ἐνθύμιον ἐμοὶ τῷ Γρηγορίῳ γίνε-
ται πρὸς αὐτὴν διαβῆναι), which was to stress his close relationship with his sister and make his story about her credible. In Letter 19, Gregory justifies himself and explains why he left his own diocese endangered by many heresies (Cappadocia) and went on a journey to Pontus.

Furthermore, Gregory himself gives us different information on the time that passed from his previous meeting with Macrina. In *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*, he counted the years and the result was almost eight (τὸ διάστημα ὅκτῳ μικροῦ δεῖν παραμετρούμενον ἔτεσιν);¹⁸ by contrast, in Letter 19 he affirms that he saw his beloved sister for the first time in ten years (ἐνιαυτῷ δεκάτῳ).¹⁹

Also the period from the death of Basil to Gregory's visit to Macrina is different in each writing. In *De anima et resurrectione*, he went to Macrina soon after Basil had died as he wanted to inform her as soon as possible about the misfortune (ἐγὼ μὲν ἦειν κατὰ σπουδὴν κοινωνήσων ἐκείνη τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συμφορᾶς).²⁰ Meanwhile, in *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*, Gregory decided to visit Macrina nine months after Basil's death.²¹ He even had enough time to go to the council of Antioch, which was mentioned neither in *De anima et resurrectione* nor in Letter 19.

¹⁷ Gregory of Nyssa, *Epistulae* 19, 10, GNO 8/2, 65, transl. A. M. Silvas, 88.

¹⁸ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 15, GNO 8/1, 387.

¹⁹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Epistulae* 19, 10, GNO 8/2, 65.

²⁰ Gregory of Nyssa, *De anima et resurrectione*, GNO 3/3, 1.

²¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 15, GNO 8/1, 386.

Gregory obviously did not pay attention to chronological details as none of the writings was intended to present actual events.

4. Number of siblings

In one and the same writing, namely *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*, Gregory seems to give two versions of the number of Emmelia's children. First, he says that the mother had four sons and five daughters (τεσσάρων γὰρ ἦν υἱῶν μήτηρ καὶ πέντε θυγατέρων),²² but when Emmelia is praying on her deathbed, she speaks about Macrina and Peter in such a way that many understand as if there were ten children:

Σοί, κύριε, καὶ ἀπάρχομαι καὶ ἀποδεκατῶ τὸν καρπὸν τῶν ὠδίνων. Ἀπαρχή μοι ἡ πρωτότοκος αὕτη καὶ ἐπιδέκατος οὗτος, ἡ τελευταία ὠδὶς. Σοὶ δὲ ἀφιέρωται παρὰ τοῦ νόμου ἀμφοτέρα καὶ σά ἐστιν ἀναθήματα. Οὐκοῦν ἔλθοι ὁ ἁγιασμὸς ἐπὶ τε τὴν ἀπαρχήν μου ταύτην καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον τοῦτο.

To you, O Lord, I offer the first and tenth fruit of my pains. The first fruit, my eldest daughter here, and this my tenth, my last-born son. Both have been dedicated to you by law and are your votive offerings. May sanctification, therefore, come to this first and tenth.²³

Drawing the conclusion that Emmelia must have had ten children, but one of them died in infancy,²⁴ seems unjustified to me. Both expressions used here in relation to children (ἀπαρχή and ἐπιδέκατον)

²² Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 5, GNO 8/1, 376.

²³ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 13, GNO 8/1, 385, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 172.

²⁴ J. E. Pfister, *A biographical note: The Brothers and Sisters of St. Gregory of Nyssa*, "Vigiliae Christianae" 18 (1964), 113; P. Maraval, *Encore les frères et soeurs de Grégoire de Nyssa*, 162; A. M. Silvas, *The Asketikon of St Basil the Great*, Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press 2005, 65; A. Radde-Gallwitz, *Basil of Caesarea. A guide to his life and doctrine*, Eugene: Cascade 2012, 22.

constitute technical terms in the Bible meaning the offering to God.²⁵ However, I would stress that even the number of nine children is rather symbolic (nine fruits of the Holy Spirit from Ga 5: 22–23) as there are no external testimonies to confirm it. Gregory of Nazianzus said only that all of the children of Emmelia and Basil led virtuous life, though some of them were priests, some virgins, and others were married.²⁶

* * *

Inconsistencies and contradictions in the very writings about Macrina and between those writings and other sources are substantial and significant. They are not an effect of a slip-up or a moment of inattention. Gregory of Nyssa juggles the events in order to achieve his goals. None of the writings about Macrina were aimed to report historical events; they are full of literary topoi, rhetoric, quotations from the Bible. All four sources about Macrina were written according to the rules of the literary genres the purpose of which is not to report history, but have other aims such as edification, polemics and honouring a person. Even if they contain some information that seems historical, they are often inconsistent and contradictory. On the other hand, there are no external sources that confirm Macrina's achievements. As described by Gregory of Nyssa, Macrina is obviously a literary construct.

²⁵ ἡ ἀπαρχή: Lev 2: 21; Deut 26: 2; τὸ ἐπιδέκατον: Num 18: 21, 26; Deut 12: 17; 14: 28; 26: 12.

²⁶ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 43 (*In laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi*), 9, SC 384, 134.

Chapter III.

Writings that do not mention Macrina

Had Macrina really been a pioneering monastic founder she should have appeared in the specific places in the specific writings, but she actually did not. I shall point out at least the most obvious sources in which Macrina is absent, though she should have been present had she been the inspirer and the prominent representative of ascetic and monastic life in Pontus.

1. Basil the Great

Many scholars have been wondering why Basil never mentioned his sister Macrina not only in his ascetic writings, but also in any of his letters.¹ Basil did not utter a single word about Macrina in his Letter 1

¹ P. Maraval, *Introduction*, SC 178, 36–37 and 53; S. Elm, *Virgins of God*, 82; J. R. Pouchet, *Basile le Grand et son univers d'amis d'après sa correspondance: une stratégie de communion*, Roma: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum 1992, 92, footnote 3; A. M. Silvas, *Macrina the Younger. Philosopher of God*, 37; A. Radde-Gallwitz, *Basil of Caesarea*, 28; R. van Dam, *Families and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 2003, 169; A. Meredith, *Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa on Basil*, in: *Studia Patristica. Vol. XXXII. Papers presented at the Twelfth International Conference on Patristic Studies held*

describing his conversion, although according to *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* it was Macrina who inspired him to lead an ascetic lifestyle.² In Letter 207, written in 375/376, he complained that there were very few women who led an ascetic life in Pontus – “among us” refers either to the entire diocese of Pontus or to the province of Pontus Polemoniacus as the letter is addressed to the clergy of Neocaesarea:

Εἰ δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες εὐαγγελικῶς
ζῆν προελόμεναι παρθενίαν μὲν
γάμου προτιμῶσαι, δουλαγωγῶ-
σαι δὲ τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ
ἐν πένθει ζῶσαι τῷ μακαριζομένῳ,
μακάριαι τῆς προαιρέσεως, ὅπου
ἂν ᾧσι τῆς γῆς. Παρὰ δὲ ἡμῶν μικ-
ρὰ ταῦτα στοιχειουμένων ἔτι καὶ
εἰσαγομένων πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν.

If women also choose to live according to the Gospel, and prefer virginity to marriage, by enslaving the arrogance of the flesh, and by living in a sorrow which is deemed blessed, they are blessed in their choice wherever they are in the world. But among us these instances are few, because mankind is still learning and being introduced to piety.³

He did not mention Macrina there though according to *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* Macrina should have been the leader of the group of women in Pontus for approximately 20 years. Basil passed Macrina over in Letter 223 written at the same time (375) to Eustathius of Sebastea alluding to many visits of Eustathius to the place near the river Iris where Basil stayed with his brother Gregory.

in Oxford 1995: *Athanasius and his opponents, Cappadocian Fathers, other Greek writers after Nicaea*, ed. E. A. Livingstone, Leuven: Peeters 1997, 167; P. Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*, New York: Columbia University Press 1998, 342.

² Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 6, GNO 8/I, 377.

³ Basil, *Epistulae* 207, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 185, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 185.

Finally, Basil did not address to Macrina even a single one of his more than 300 preserved letters, 13 of which were addressed directly to women and some of them concerned women.

If anybody suspects that Basil was a misogynist and that was a reason he did not say anything about his sister, I reply in advance: it is not true. In Letter 223, Basil confessed that he had received the faith from his mother and grandmother:

Ἄλλ' ἦν ἐκ παιδὸς ἔλαβον ἔννοι-
αν περὶ Θεοῦ παρὰ τῆς μακαρίας
μητρός μου καὶ τῆς μάμμης Μακ-
ρίνης, ταύτην ἀύξηθεῖσαν ἔσχον
ἐν ἑμαυτῷ· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλα ἐξ ἄλ-
λων μετέλαβον ἐν τῇ τοῦ λόγου
συμπληρώσει, ἀλλὰ τὰς παρα-
δοθείσας μοι παρ' αὐτῶν ἀρ-
χὰς ἐτελείωσα.

Nay, the conception of God
which I received in childhood
from my blessed mother and my
grandmother Macrina, this, de-
veloped, have I held within me;
for I did not change from one
opinion to another with the ma-
turity of reason, but I perfected
the principles handed down to
me by them.⁴

Basil emphasised their role in his life by belittling the accomplish-
ments of his father and grandfather. On the contrary, Gregory of Na-
zianzus said that Basil was taught by his father:

Τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα τῆς ἡλικίας
ὑπὸ τῷ μεγάλῳ πατρὶ, ὃν κοι-
νὸν παιδευτὴν ἀρετῆς ὁ Πόντος
τηνικαῦτα προῦβάλλετο, σπαργα-
νοῦται καὶ διαπλάττεται πλάσιν
τὴν ἀρίστην τε καὶ καθαρωτάτην,

In his earliest years he was
swathed and fashioned, in that
best and purest fashioning which
the Divine David speaks of as
proceeding day by day, in con-
trast with that of the night,
under his great father, acknowl-
edged in those days by Pontus,

⁴ Basil, *Epistulae* 223, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 12, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 2, 299.

ἦν ἡμερινὴν ὁ θεῖος Δαβίδ
καλῶς ὀνομάζει καὶ τῆς νυκτερι-
νῆς ἀντίθετον.

as its common teacher of virtue.⁵

The difference between those two accounts arises from two different attitudes to the family. Gregory of Nazianzus thought that the main obligation of a son was to be obedient to his father as he himself was. Basil was eager to abandon his family for the sake of asceticism.⁶ He refers to his mother and grandmother as it allows him to claim that he stands in the line of tradition that comes from Gregory Thaumaturgus. He regards his faith reliable because it was handed down to him by his grandmother:

Πίστεως δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας τίς ἂν
καὶ γένοιτο ἐναργεστέρα ἀπό-
δειξις ἢ ὅτι τραφέντες ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ
τήθῃ μακαρία γυναικὶ παρ' ὑμῶν
ὠρμημένη; Μακρίναν λέγω τὴν
περιβόητον, παρ' ἧς ἐδιδάχθημεν
τὰ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Γρηγορίου
ρήματα ὅσα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀκολου-
θία μνήμης διασωθέντα αὐτὴ τε
ἐφύλασσε καὶ ἡμᾶς ἔτι νηπίους
ὄντας ἔπλαττε καὶ ἐμόρφου τοῖς
τῆς εὐσεβείας δόγμασιν.

And what indeed could be a clearer proof of our faith than that we were brought up by our grandmother, a blessed woman who came from amongst you? I mean the illustrious Macrina, by whom we were taught the sayings of the most blessed Gregory (as many as she herself retained, preserved to her time in unbroken memory), and who moulded and formed us while still young in the doctrines of piety.⁷

⁵ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 43 (*In laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi*), 12, SC 384, 140, transl. NPNF II 7, 399.

⁶ Part IV, Chapter II 1.

⁷ Basil, *Epistulae* 204, 6, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 178, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 2, 169.

2. Gregory of Nazianzus

I find it puzzling that in his Epitaph 54 on Emmelia, from among the children of Emmelia Gregory of Nazianzus favoured the wife of a priest (Theosebia) over the leader of asceticism in Pontus (Macrina):

Ἐμμέλιον τέθνηκε. τίς ἔφρασεν; ἢ
 γε τοσούτων
 καὶ τοίων τεκέων δῶκε φάος
 βιώτῳ, νιέας ἠδὲ θύγατρας ὁμόζυ-
 γας ἀζυγέας τε,
 εὖπαις καὶ πολύπαις ἦδε μόνη
 μερόπων.
 τρεῖς μὲν τῆσδ' ἱερῆες ἀγακλέες, ἢ
 δ' ἱερῆος
 σύζυγος, οἱ δὲ πέλας ὡς στρα-
 τὸς εὐαγέων.

Emmelia is dead! Who would have thought it, she who gave to life the light of so many and such children, both sons and daughters married and unmarried? She alone among mortals had both good children and many children. Three of her sons were illustrious priests, and one daughter the companion of a priest, and the rest were like an army of saints.⁸

Even if we wanted to understand ἡ ἱερῆος σύζυγος not as a wife, but as a companion, who could be a sister as well, it would be rather Theosebia, honoured in Epitaph 123 and called there the child of famous Emmelia and the wife of great Gregory:

Καὶ σύ, Θεοσσέβιον, κλεινῆς τέκος
 Ἐμμελίοιο,
 Γρηγορίου μεγάλου σύζυγε,
 ἀτρεκέως
 ἐνθάδε τὴν ἱερὴν ὑπέδυσ χθόνα,
 ἔρμα γυναικῶν

And you, Theosebia, child of noble Emmelia, and in truth the companion of great Gregory, lie here in sacred earth, you who were the support of devout

⁸ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epitaphia* 54, PG 38, 37–38 = *Antologia palatina* VIII 161, transl. A. M. Silvas, in: *Macrina the Younger. Philosopher of God*, 81.

εὐσεβέων· βιότου δ' ὥριος ἐξελύθησ. | women and departed this life at
a seasonable age.⁹

In Letter 197, Gregory of Nazianzus calls Theosebia “the most beautiful and glorious among all the beauty of the Brethren” (Θεοσεβίαν, τὴν ἐν τοσοῦτῳ κάλλει τῶν ἀδελφῶν εὐπρεπεστάτην καὶ διαφανεστάτην) and “truly sacred, truly consort of a priest, and of equal honour and worthy of the Great Sacraments” (Θεοσεβίαν, τὴν ὄντως ἱερὰν καὶ ἱερέως σύζυγον καὶ ὁμότιμον καὶ τῶν μεγάλων μυστηρίων ἀξίαν).¹⁰ Jean Daniélou thought there were two Theosebias, both married to Gregories: one a daughter of Emmelia, sister of Gregory of Nyssa and Basil, married to certain Gregory, and another one, wife of Gregory of Nyssa.¹¹ Susanna Elm claims that there could have been only one Theosebia, sister of Gregory of Nyssa and Basil, and σύζυγος may mean here an associate or collaborator.¹² Thus, it is difficult to resolve whether she was a wife called sister because of her faith or she was a companion in ascetic life (σύζυγος). Anyway, Gregory of Nazianzus did write a consolation letter to Gregory of Nyssa after Theosebia (no matter, sister or wife) died,¹³ but he did not write any in connection with Macrina’s passing away. There is another consolation letter of him addressed to Gregory of Nyssa on the occasion of Basil’s death, in which he justifies himself that he had not come to Basil’s funeral due to “the serious and dangerous illness.”¹⁴ If soon after that Macrina, sister of Gregory of Nyssa and Basil, died (according to *Vita sanctae Macrinae*¹⁵), we could have expected a similar letter. Unless Gregory of Nazianzus suddenly recovered and attended

⁹ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epitaphia* 123, PG 38, 77 = *Antologia palatina* VIII 164, transl. A. M. Silvas, in: *Macrina the Younger. Philosopher of God*, 82.

¹⁰ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistulae* 197, 5–6, GCS 53, 143, transl. NPNF II 7, 462.

¹¹ J. Daniélou, *Le mariage de Grégoire de Nysse et la Chronologie de sa vie*, “Revue des études augustinienes” 2 (1956), 71–78.

¹² S. Elm, *Virgins of God*, 157, footnote 64; the same argument was repeated by A. M. Silvas, *Macrina the Younger. Philosopher of God*, 7, footnote 25.

¹³ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistulae* 197, 5–6, GCS 53, 143, PG 37, 321–324.

¹⁴ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistulae* 76, GCS 53, 65.

¹⁵ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 14–15, GNO 8/1, 385–387.

her funeral; but that would have been stressed in *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*; since Gregory named among the participants of the funeral an unknown bishop Araxios,¹⁶ he surely would have mentioned his famous friend if he had been present.

3. *Historiae Ecclesiasticae*

Macrina does not appear in any Ancient source describing the history of the Church of that period. Without doubt, Ancient historians focused on relationships between the Church and the state, doctrinal disputes, and bishops, but they also said something about monastic life. Rufinus regards Basil as a founder of monasticism in Pontus¹⁷ and he names his two brothers: Gregory of Nyssa and Peter,¹⁸ failing to mention their saint sister. In his case, however, it is not strange that he did not name Macrina as he generally did not mention women unless they were martyrs or members of the ruling family.

On the contrary, Sozomen was especially fond of the histories of ascetics; he not only mentions some saint/ascetic women by name, but also describes their holy lives: Eusebia, a deaconess (HE IX 2), a holy virgin Matrona (HE VII 21), a widow Olympias (VIII 9), a zealous woman Nicarete (HE VIII 23). Socrates Scholasticus was less focused on asceticism, but he dedicated an entire chapter of his history to Hypatia, a philosopher (HE VII 15). Nevertheless, in none of those texts there is any mention of Macrina, the alleged inspirer and leader of monastic life in Pontus according to *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*.

Macrina should have been mentioned at least twice in *Historia Ecclesiastica* by Sozomen. When describing the beginnings of monasticism in Pontus and the vicinities, he points to Eustathius of Sebastea as the initiator:

¹⁶ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 33, GNO 8/I, 407.

¹⁷ Rufinus of Aquileia, HE II 9, PL 21, 518C.

¹⁸ Rufinus of Aquileia, HE II 9, PL 21, 520C.

Ἀρμενίοις δὲ καὶ Παφλαγόσι καὶ τοῖς πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ οἰκοῦσι λέγεται Εὐστάθιος ὁ τὴν ἐν Σεβαστείᾳ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιτροπεύσας μοναχικῆς φιλοσοφίας ἄρξαι, καὶ τῆς ἐν ταύτῃ σπουδαίας ἀγωγῆς, ἐδεσμάτων τε, ὧν χρὴ μετέχειν καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι, καὶ ἐσθῆτος, ἧ δεῖ κεκρησθαι, καὶ ἡθῶν καὶ πολιτείας ἀκριβοῦς εἰσηγητὴν γενόμενον, ὡς καὶ τὴν ἐπιγεγραμμένην Βασιλείου τοῦ Καππαδόκου Ἀσκητικὴν βίβλον ἰσχυρίζεσθαι τινὰς αὐτοῦ γραφὴν εἶναι.

It is said that Eustathius, who governed the church of Sebaste in Armenia, founded a society of monks in Armenia, Paphlagonia, and Pontus, and became the author of a zealous discipline, both as to what meals were to be partaken of or to be avoided, what garments were to be worn, and what customs and exact course of conduct were to be adopted. Some assert that he was the author of the ascetic treatises commonly attributed to Basil of Cappadocia.¹⁹

According to Sozomen, it was Basil who continued Eustathius' work in Pontus:

καὶ Βασίλειος μὲν τὰς πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ περιῶν πόλεις συνοικίας τε μοναχῶν πολλὰς ἐκεῖσε κατέστησατο καὶ τὰ πλήθη διδάσκων ὁμοίως αὐτῷ φρονεῖν ἐπειθε.

The cities in the neighborhood of Pontus fell to the lot of Basil; and here he founded numerous monasteries, and, by teaching the people, he persuaded them to hold like views with himself.²⁰

According to Socrates Scholasticus, the founder of monasticism in Pontus was Basil.²¹ He mentioned by name his two brothers: Gregory of Nyssa and Peter, adding that only Peter followed Basil in the monastic lifestyle²² – again, no hint about Macrina.

¹⁹ Sozomen, HE III 14, 31, GCS 50, 123, transl. NPNF II 2, 293.

²⁰ Sozomen, HE III 14, 31, GCS 50, 123, transl. NPNF II 2, 293.

²¹ Socrates Scholasticus, HE IV 26, 12, GCS NF 1, 261.

²² Socrates Scholasticus, HE IV 26, 26, GCS NF 1, 262.

The complete absence of Macrina in *Historiae Ecclesiasticae* written in the 5th century seems to confirm that she obviously was not the founder and leader of asceticism or monasticism in Pontus. The founder and inspirer of monasticism in Pontus was Eustathius of Sebastea. He became also an inspiration for Basil to start leading ascetic life.

Part II. Eustathius of Sebastea

Part II concerns Eustathius of Sebastea himself. It begins with the analysis of the thesis by Federico Fatti that Eustathius the Philosopher, described by Eunapius, converted to Christianity and became bishop of Sebastea (and master to Basil the Great). Next, I shall analyse the sources that mention Eustathius of Sebastea and present my reconstruction of his life.

Chapter I.

Sources

1. Eustathius of Sebastea and Eustathius the Philosopher

No writings by Eustathius of Sebastea have been preserved unless Eustathius of Sebastea is regarded as the author of a letter by Eustathius the Philosopher to Emperor Julian.¹ According to Federico Fatti, Eustathius of Sebastea and Eustathius the Philosopher described by Eunapius in Book VI of *Lives of the Sophists* could have been one and the same person.² The letter itself, in which he describes his comfortable journey to the court, contains no information about Eustathius himself, whoever he was. Even the fact that he refers to Plato and Homer by name proves nothing as it was a frequent custom also among Christians (e.g. Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus). However, this letter together with two letters by Julian to Eustathius confirm a relationship between those two figures. The correspondence between Julian and Eustathius and Eustathius' visit to the court are dated to late 361 or

¹ *Epistulae* 83 (Bidez 36), in: Julian the Apostate, *Works*, vol. III, ed. E. Wilmer Cave Wright, 290–292.

² F. Fatti, *Eustazio di Sebaste, Eustazio filosofo*, 443–473.

early 362.³ There is also one letter by Libanius to Eustathius, dated by Otto Seek to winter 359–360.⁴

The main source for the account of life of Eustathius the Philosopher comes from Book VI of Eunapius' *Vitae Sophistarum*, constructed – let me quote here Nicola Denzey Lewis' words about the “fictive construction of Sosipatra” – “within the specific genre of late antique philosophical bioi,” so “the nature of the texts themselves invites caution.”⁵ The scope of *Lives of Sophists* was to juxtapose pagan saints to the Christian ones; it is not a historiography, but was written in a hagiographic style.⁶ The writing has been even called a pagan hagiography.⁷ According to David Buck, “Eunapius wrote a work of pagan hagiography with commemorative, didactic, and polemical purposes.”⁸

According to Eunapius, Eustathius was married to Sosipatra and they had three sons, of whom Antonius, who “attained to a ripe old age free from sickness” (γῆρας ἄνοσον καὶ βαθύ),⁹ died shortly before Serapion was destroyed (391).¹⁰ Depending on what one considers old age, scholars date his birth to around 320¹¹ or around 330.¹² This date,

³ G. Fowden, *Pagan philosophers in late antique society*, 105–106.

⁴ O. Seek, *Die Briefe des Libanius zeitlich geordnet*, Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung 1906, 364.

⁵ N. D. Lewis, *Living Images of the Divine: Female Theurgists in Late Antiquity*, in: *Daughters of Hecate. Women & Magic in the Ancient World*, eds. K. B. Stratton, D. S. Kalleres, Oxford Scholarship Online 2014, 275.

⁶ E. Wipszycka, *Wstęp*, in: *Zosimos, Nowa historia*, Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy PAX 1993, 16.

⁷ Matthias Becker summarized the studies on the topic in: *Eunapios aus Sardes Biographien über Philosophen und Sophisten. Einleitung, Übersetzung, Kommentar*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag 2013, 51–57.

⁸ D. F. Buck, *Eunapius of Sardis*, Diss., Oxford 1977, 159.

⁹ Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* VI 11, 12, ed. G. Giangrande, 40, transl. E. Wilmer Cave Wright, 425–427.

¹⁰ Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* VI 11, 1, ed. G. Giangrande, 38.

¹¹ O. Seek, *Die Briefe des Libanius zeitlich geordnet*, Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung 1906, 147.

¹² R. J. Penella, *Greek Philosophers and Sophists in the Fourth Century AD. Studies in Eunapius of Sardis*, Leeds: F. Cairns 1990, 54.

together with Eustathius' embassy to the Persian king Sapor dated to 358 and the above mentioned correspondence, are the only non-controversial dates regarding his life. Besides, there are two main problems with proper dating of Eustathius' life on the basis of *Vitae Sophistarum* by Eunapius.

First, *Vitae Sophistarum* presents the following prophesy by Sosipatra addressed to Eustathius, in which she foretold that he would die within 5 years after the wedding:

παῖδας μὲν ὑπὸ σοὶ τέξομαι τρεῖς,
πάντες δὲ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον δοκοῦν
ἀγαθὸν <οὐδὲν> ἀτυχήσουσι, πρὸς
τὸ θεῖον δὲ [οὐδὲ] εἶς. καὶ σὺ δὲ
προαπολείψεις ἐμέ, καλὴν μετα-
λαχὼν λῆξιν καὶ πρέπουσαν, ἐγὼ
δὲ ἴσως κρείσσονα. σοὶ μὲν γὰρ
περὶ σελήνην ἢ χορεία, καὶ οὐκέ-
τι λατρεύσεις καὶ φιλοσοφήσεις
τὸ πέμπτον, οὕτω γὰρ μοί φησιν
τὸ σὸν εἶδωλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ
σελήνην παρελεύσῃ τόπον σὺν
ἀγαθῇ καὶ εὐηνίῳ φορᾷ.

I shall bear you three children,
and all of them will fail to win
what is considered to be human
happiness, but as to the happi-
ness that the gods bestow, not
one of them will fail therein.
But you will go hence before me,
and be allotted a fair and fitting
place of abode, though I perhaps
shall attain to one even higher.
For your station will be in the
orbit of the moon, and only five
years longer will you devote your
services to philosophy—for so
your phantom tells me—but you
shall traverse the region below
the moon with a blessed and eas-
ily guided motion.¹³

The wedding would have been around 325–335, so Eustathius would have passed away around 330–340, though not only Eunapius, but also Ammianus Marcellinus confirm that Eustathius took part

¹³ Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* VI 8, 3, ed. G. Giangrande, 32–33, transl. E. Wilmer Cave Wright, 409–411.

in the diplomatic mission to the Persian king Sapor dated to 358.¹⁴ Among other possible solutions based on conjectures,¹⁵ Ariel Lewin claims that the phrase οὐκέτι λατρεύσεις καὶ φιλοσοφήσεις τὸ πέμπτον, even though inserted in a context that seems to indicate the death of Eustathius, does not refer to his passing, but is intended to indicate a change in the life of the philosopher. He compares it with an exemplary parallel passage from *Vitae Sophistarum* regarding Apollonius of Tyana,¹⁶ where a transformation during his life is mentioned.¹⁷

Second, in *Vitae Sophistarum* VI 9, 1 Eunapius says:

Σωσιπάτρα, μετὰ τὴν ἀποχώ-
ρησιν Εὐσταθίου, πρὸς τὰ αὐτῆς
ἐπανελθοῦσα κτήματα, περὶ τὴν
Ἀσίαν καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν Πέργαμον
διέτριβεν· καὶ ὁ μέγας Αἰδέσιος
θεραπεύων αὐτὴν ἠγάπα, καὶ τοὺς
παῖδας ἐξεπαίδευε.

After the passing of Eustathius,
Sosipatra returned to her own
estate, and dwelt in Asia in the
ancient city of Pergamon, and
the famous Aedesius loved and
cared for her and educated her
sons.¹⁸

The problem is that when Julian was proclaimed Caesar in November 355, Aedesius was no longer alive,¹⁹ so he could not have taken care of Eustathius' children after his death, as we know that Eustathius

¹⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae* XVII 5, 15, ed. and transl. J. C. Rolfe, 338–339.

¹⁵ G. Giangrande, *Osservazioni sopra il testo delle Vitae sophistarum di Eunapio*, “Bollettino dei classici greci e latini” 3 (1954), 83–84; R. J. Penella, *Greek Philosophers and Sophists*, 54, footnote 34; R. Goulet, *Eustathe de Cappadoce*, in: *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*, ed. R. Goulet, Paris: CNRS Éditions 2000, vol. 3, 371; M. Civiletti, in: Eunapio, *Vite di filosofi e sofisti*, Milano 2007, 395–399, note 230; M. Becker, *Eunapios aus Sardes Biographien*, 308–310.

¹⁶ Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* II 1, 3–4, ed. G. Giangrande, 3: Ἀπολλώνιος τε ὁ ἐκ Τυάνων, οὐκέτι φιλόσοφος· ἀλλ' ἦν τι θεῶν τι καὶ ἀνθρώπου μέσον.

¹⁷ A. Lewin, *Il filosofo Eustazio nelle Vitae Sophistarum di Eunapio di Sardi*, “Scripta Classica Israelica” 7 (1983), 96.

¹⁸ Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* VI 9, 1, ed. G. Giangrande, 33, transl. E. Wilmer Cave Wright, 411.

¹⁹ Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* VII 1, 11–14, ed. G. Giangrande, 42–43.

was still alive in 358 (embassy to Persia) and even 362 (correspondence with Julian). Apparently, ἀποχώρησις of Eustathius the Philosopher that Eunapius was writing about was mistranslated by Emily Wilmer Cave Wright as “passing”, but it really meant “going away”, a point already noticed by David Buck²⁰ and since then generally accepted.²¹ Garth Fowden noted that the *terminus ante quem* Eustathius abandoned his family is 351: Eunapius attests that the famous philosopher and theurgist Maximus – Emperor Julian’s master of esotericism – was in Pergamon, where he helped Sosipatra, abandoned by her husband.²² The episode must have happened before the arrival of Julian in Pergamon in late 351, by which time we know Maximus had left for Ephesus. As there is no account of Julian having met Sosipatra during his stay in Pergamon, Garth Fowden guesses she was already dead by then.²³

What is crucial for identifying two Eustathiuses is that in Eunapius’ story about Eustathius the Philosopher there are two facts that need special interpretation in order to combine them with Eunapius’ very account and/or with the facts from other sources. Both these facts could have been interpreted in such a way that they speak about a change in Eustathius’ life; Ariel Lewin even insists that “the ἀποχώρησις of Eustathius must be related to a separation from the world and from his wife, intended as a spiritual retreat.”²⁴

This interpretation is supported by a definitely negative attitude of Eunapius as regards the direction of the change taken by Eustathius, so it could have been conversion to Christianity that Eunapius hated most. Eunapius apparently felt obliged not to pass Eustathius completely

²⁰ D. F. Buck, *Eunapius of Sardis*, Diss., Oxford 1977, 142–143.

²¹ G. Fowden, *Pagan philosophers in late antique society*, 107; R. J. Penella, *Greek Philosophers and Sophists*, 54–55; A. Lewin, *Il filosofo Eustazio nelle Vitae Sophistarum di Eunapio di Sardi*, 97; R. Goulet, *Eustathe de Cappadoce*, 371; M. Civiletti, in: Eunapio, *Vite di filosofi e sofisti*, 399–401, footnote 232; F. Fatti, *Eustazio di Sebaste, Eustazio filosofo*, 451–452; M. Becker, *Eunapios aus Sardes Biographien*, 310–312.

²² Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* VI 9, 3, ed. G. Giangrande, 33–34.

²³ G. Fowden, *Pagan philosophers in late antique society*, 107.

²⁴ A. Lewin, *Il filosofo Eustazio nelle Vitae Sophistarum di Eunapio di Sardi*, 97.

over in his account about Neoplatonic philosophers as he must have been too well known, but he left in his text clear marks of his disdain. Let's look at the strange beginning of the history of Eustathius in Eunapius:

Περὶ δὲ Εὐσταθίου καὶ ἀσεβές ἐστι παραλιπεῖν τὰ ἐς ἀλήθειαν φέροντα· παρὰ πάντων γὰρ συνωμολογεῖτο τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ὀφθῆναι καὶ εἶναι κάλλιστον, καὶ εἰς πείραν λόγων ἐλθεῖν δεινότατον, τό τε ἐπὶ τῇ γλώσῃ καὶ τοῖς χεῖλεσιν αἰμύλιον οὐκ ἔξω γοητείας ἐδόκει.

With regard to Eustathius, it would be sacrilegious to leave out what would convey the truth. All men were agreed that he was not only observed to be a most noble character, but also most gifted with eloquence when put to the test, while the charm that sat on his tongue and lips seemed to be nothing less than witchcraft.²⁵

Federico Fatti points out that among all *Lives* this is the only presentation that leaves so much room for suspicion. Only here, Eunapius allows the reader to doubt the exemplarity of the hero from the very beginning. He alludes that others, unlike him, would have preferred not to mention such a hero at all. If, despite all perplexities, Eunapius decided to do so, it was because his intellectual honesty prevented him from ignoring what was good in Eustathius (“it would be impious not to tell the truth”). What was good lasted until the moment of Eustathius’ ἀποχώρησις, until the moment of his “death”; everything that happened afterwards – on this Eunapius agreed with the philosopher’s detractors – could easily be forgotten.²⁶

Fatti thinks that ἀποχώρησις could have meant “death” in a symbolic way. Eunapius was devoted to the bond of secrecy, which imposed on the disciples the most absolute silence with respect to the inmost truths of the school. So, for him, Eustathius was really dead. Civil death was

²⁵ Eunapius, *Vitae sophistarum* VI 5, 1, ed. G. Giangrande, 25, transl. E. Wilmer Cave Wright, 393–395.

²⁶ F. Fatti, *Eustazio di Sebaste, Eustazio filosofo*, 456–457.

precisely what occurred to the members of the Pythagorean school who, breaking the rule of silence, divulged the mysteries of the community to the profane. The comrades who remained faithful considered them dead to the sect, and ritualized their expulsion with a funeral stele bearing the names of the traitors.²⁷

Eunapius uses irony, I think, when he describes a group of Greek envoys who came to Eustathius to ask him to visit Greece claiming that there had been omens that had foretold his visit. Eunapius quotes his reply with a following comment:

καί πού τι καί παρὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπει-
ον κατὰ γε ἐμὴν ἐφθέγγετο κρίσιν·
ἀπεκρίνατο γὰρ ὡς μικρότερα ἦν
καὶ βραδύτερα τῶν ἐμῶν καλῶν τὰ
φανθέντα σημεῖα.

Then he said something that in my judgement was too high for a mere mortal, for this was his reply: "The omens revealed were too trivial and too tardy for such dignity as mine."²⁸

And immediately, in the next sentence, he humiliates him with a comparison to Sosipatra:

Οὕτως Εὐστάθιος ὁ τοσοῦτος Σω-
σιπάτρα συνώκησεν, ἥ τὸν ἄνδρα
τὸν ἑαυτῆς δι' ὑπεροχὴν σοφίας
εὐτελεῖ τινα καὶ μικρὸν ἀπέδειξε.

After this the renowned Eustathius married Sosipatra, who by her surpassing wisdom made her own husband seem inferior and insignificant.²⁹

According to Ariel Lewin, *Vitae Sophistarum* is marked by a controversy among the disciples of Aedesius: Eunapius was a pupil of Chrysantius,

²⁷ F. Fatti, *Eustazio di Sebaste, Eustazio filosofo*, 473.

²⁸ Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* VI 6, 4, ed. G. Giangrande, 27–28, transl. E. Wilmer Cave Wright, 399.

²⁹ Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* VI 6, 5, ed. G. Giangrande, 28, transl. E. Wilmer Cave Wright, 399–401.

and *Vitae* is conceived precisely in honour of them.³⁰ Nevertheless, it does not explain such a profound contempt Eunapius had for Eustathius. But, the conversion of the latter to Christianity would explain it perfectly.

Up to this point, the identification of two Eustathiuses seems to be consistent. I would like to add my solutions to certain issues that remained unclear for Federico Fatti. First, Fatti had a problem with the place of origin of two Eustathiuses – he thought that Eustathius of Sebastea came from Sebastea and his father Eulalius was bishop of Sebastea.³¹ I will show below without doubt that Eustathius of Sebastea came from Cappadocia and his father was bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia.³² So, the place of origin of both Eustathiuses was the same.

Fatti left unsolved also the problem of the year 358. In the very same 358, Eustathius, bishop of Sebastea, was sent by the bishops gathered in Ancyra as one of four envoys to Constantius, who at that time was in Sirmium.³³ The concept of Fatti is that before 343 Eustathius the Philosopher converted to Christianity and became Eustathius of Sebastea. But in the same 358, Eustathius the Philosopher was sent by the Christian emperor to Persia and Eunapius apparently claims that it happened despite of his Hellenic faith. Again, the expression τις Ἑλλην ἄνθρωπος was mistranslated by Wilmer Cave Wright as “a man of the Hellenic faith”, but it really meant “any educated Greek”.³⁴

Eunapius stated that Eustathius the Philosopher was “most gifted with eloquence” (εἰς πεῖραν λόγων ἐλθεῖν δεινότατον) so it “seemed to be nothing less than witchcraft” (οὐκ ἔξω γοητείας).³⁵ He compares his speech to “the musical Sirens” (τῶν μουσικῶν Σειρήνων)³⁶ and calls

³⁰ A. Lewin, *Il filosofo Eustazio nelle Vitae Sophistarum di Eunapio di Sardi*, 94.

³¹ F. Fatti, *Eustazio di Sebaste, Eustazio filosofo*, 455, footnote 40.

³² Part II, Chapter II 1.

³³ Sozomen, HE IV 13, 5, GCS 50, 156.

³⁴ Part II, Chapter II 9.

³⁵ Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* VI 5, 1, ed. G. Giangrande, 25, transl. E. Wilmer Cave Wright, 393–395.

³⁶ Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* VI 5, 2, ed. G. Giangrande, 25, transl. E. Wilmer Cave Wright, 395.

it “the power to enchant” (τὸ θελκτήριο).³⁷ Sapor was so enchanted that he was ready to get rid of his tiara and wear the philosopher’s cloak of Eustathius.³⁸ Katarzyna Jażdżewska noted that after Homer the verb θέλω had two meanings: (1) to enchant by means of a song (e.g. Orpheus enchanting beasts and trees); (2) to enchant by means of a discourse. In the latter meaning, it appears in Gorgias and Philostratus with reference to the persuading power of a delightful way of speaking.³⁹

Sozomen confirms as regards Eustathius of Sebastea:

<p>Τοιοῦτος δὲ τὰ περὶ τὸν βίον ὑπάρχων καὶ ἐπὶ λόγοις ἐθαυμά- ζετο· τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ἐγένετο λέγειν μὲν οὐ δεινός (οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν περὶ τούτου ἐπιστήμην ἐξήσκητο), τὸ δὲ ἦθος θαυμάσιος καὶ πεί- θειν ἰκανώτατος.</p>	<p>He was as renowned for his dis- courses as for the purity of his life. To confess the truth, he was not eloquent, nor had he ever studied the art of eloquence; yet he had admirable sense and a high capacity of persuasion.⁴⁰</p>
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Sozomen’s reservations could have referred to the fact that Eustathius of Sebastea was not a professional rhetor, but neither Eustathius the Philosopher was one – he is described by Eunapius in the section of philosophers not sophists, and Eunapius clearly attributes his proficiency in speaking to “magic” rather than professional training.

If we want to identify both Eustathiuses, Eustathius the Philosopher must have converted to Christianity in the late 330s as according to my dating⁴¹ Eustathius was ordained priest at that time. Garth Fowden

³⁷ Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* VI 5, 5, ed. G. Giangrande, 26, transl. E. Wilmer Cave Wright, 397.

³⁸ Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* VI 5, 9, ed. G. Giangrande, 27, transl. E. Wilmer Cave Wright, 397.

³⁹ K. Jażdżewska, *Entertainers, Persuaders, Adversaries: Interactions of Sophists and Rulers in Philostratus’ Lives of Sophists*, in: *Intellectual and Empire in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, ed. Ph. Bosman, Abingdon: Routledge 2019, 164.

⁴⁰ Sozomen, HE III 14, 36, GCS 50, 124, transl. NPNF II 2, 294.

⁴¹ Part II, Chapter II 3.

dates the departure of Eustathius from his family to the late 340s,⁴² but Federico Fatti to 329–334.⁴³ Anyway, these are mere speculations as the only certain date is the *terminus ante quem*, which is 351. For dating the life of Eustathius of Sebastea his identification with Eustathius the Philosopher does not change anything. We only need to change the traditional dating of Basil's Letter 1 from 357 to (at least) 358 just like Fowden did,⁴⁴ because it mentions Eustathius' travel to Persia.

The identification of both Eustathiuses has this huge advantage that it explains perfectly some odd aspects of Eustathius of Sebastea's asceticism condemned at the Council of Gangra (in 358 according to my dating⁴⁵). They are actually not so odd if we assume that Eustathian asceticism had its roots in Neoplatonism.

• **Abandoning the family**

Federico Fatti sees an analogy between the fact that Eustathius the Philosopher left his wife Sosipatra and their three children and the habit of abandoning families by Eustathian ascetics under the pretext of asceticism⁴⁶ condemned by Canon 1 of the Council of Gangra.⁴⁷ Ariel Lewin interprets the ἀποχώρησις of Eustathius as a spiritual retreat characteristic of Neo-Platonists. It was intended to facilitate the separation of the soul from the body and getting closer to the vision of the divine world. Nor is there anything strange in the separation of Eustathius from his wife after the birth of the children: for Neo-Platonists the passions of love were banned, unions were permitted only for reproduction, and chastity was considered the supreme virtue.⁴⁸ Fatti even noted that some believed that Pythagoras' wife and children were only symbolical and that

⁴² G. Fowden, *Pagan philosophers in late antique society*, 107.

⁴³ F. Fatti, *Eustazio di Sebaste, Eustazio filosofo*, 452–453.

⁴⁴ G. Fowden, *Pagan philosophers in late antique society*, 105.

⁴⁵ Part II, Chapter II 12.

⁴⁶ F. Fatti, *Eustazio di Sebaste, Eustazio filosofo*, 452–453.

⁴⁷ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, Canon 1, ed. P. P. Joannou, 89.

⁴⁸ A. Lewin, *Il filosofo Eustazio nelle Vitae Sophistarum di Eunapio di Sardi*, 97.

the numerous children that the master recommended to have were not real, but rather spiritual children.⁴⁹

- **Wearing a tribon**

Wearing a tribon was one of the most characteristic features of Eustathian asceticism, unaccepted by the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Already in the early 350s, Eustathius was deposed by his father Eulalius “for dressing in a style unbecoming the sacerdotal office.”⁵⁰ In the Synodical Letter, the Council of Gangra stated that Eustathians “wear strange dresses to the downfall of the common mode of dress” (ξένα ἀμφιάσματα ἐπὶ καταπτώσει κοινότητος τῶν ἀμφιασμάτων συνάγοντες).⁵¹ Those strange dresses were tribons – the garment reserved for philosophers.⁵² Fatti explains that a tribon expressed a universe of values and a type of authority which had little to do with the Christian community and its leadership. The contents that it conveyed belonged precisely to the pagan society and its spiritual guides rather than to a bishop and his acolytes. Already in the time of Origen, a tribon was beginning to seem inadequate for an ordained member of the hierarchy.⁵³

- **Vegetarian diet**

Fatti noted that the Neoplatonic school of Iamblichus had a special devotion to Pythagoras as the fullest symbol of the ascetic function of philosophy that promised the experience of the divine on condition of performing certain spiritual exercises and keeping certain observances. In the school of Iamblichus, who even wrote *De vita Pythagorica*, these observances were scrupulously adhered to.⁵⁴ According to Iamblichus, Pythagoras had some general rules for all,

⁴⁹ F. Fatti, *Eustazio di Sebaste, Eustazio filosofo*, 471.

⁵⁰ Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 43, 1, GCS NF 1, 180, transl. NPNF II 2, 72.

⁵¹ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, Sinodical letter, ed. P. P. Joannou, 87, transl. O. L. Yarbrough, 450.

⁵² Part III, Chapter II 2.

⁵³ F. Fatti, *Eustazio di Sebaste, Eustazio filosofo*, 461–462.

⁵⁴ F. Fatti, *Eustazio di Sebaste, Eustazio filosofo*, 463–464.

but “privately, for those philosophers who had reached the most sublime heights of knowledge, he ruled out once and for all those foods which were unnecessary and unjust, telling them never to eat any living creature, drink wine, sacrifice living things to the gods or hurt them in any way: they were to be treated with scrupulous justice.”⁵⁵

The example of Pythagoras was considered normative by all those who believed in his philosophy. The same dietary advice was already followed, in the middle of the second century AD, by the famous thaumaturge Apollonius of Tyana (in Cappadocia) – a character that Iamblichus uses as the source for *De vita Pythagorica*.⁵⁶ Fatti observes that Apollonius was a strictly observant Pythagorean, or at least he was remembered as such. For Apollonius not eating meat was one of the most important features of the Pythagorean life. The Eustathians, even though Christians, adhered to the vegetarian style of life⁵⁷ – the fact confirmed by Canon 2 of the Council of Gangra.⁵⁸

• **Avoiding shrines of the martyrs**

Again, Federico Fatti sees a connection between the attitude of condemning “the assemblies in honor of the martyrs or the services held in martyria and in memory of the martyrs,”⁵⁹ condemned by Canon 20 of the Council of Gangra, and the teaching of Pythagoras, for whom the deceased had something contaminating.⁶⁰ As an example of keeping with that tradition he evokes a story told by Eunapius. Iamblichus once did not want to take a road, because “a dead body has lately been carried along this way. After saying

⁵⁵ Iamblichus, *De vita Pythagorica* XXIV 107, eds. L. Deubner, U. Klein, 62, transl. G. Clark, 48.

⁵⁶ F. Fatti, *Eustazio di Sebaste, Eustazio filosofo*, 469.

⁵⁷ F. Fatti, *Eustazio di Sebaste, Eustazio filosofo*, 470.

⁵⁸ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, Canon 2, ed. P. P. Joannou, 90.

⁵⁹ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, Canon 20, ed. P. P. Joannou, 97, transl. O. L. Yarbrough, 454.

⁶⁰ F. Fatti, *Eustazio di Sebaste, Eustazio filosofo*, 465.

this he turned into another road which seemed to be less impure” (ἤτις ἐφαίνετο καθαρωτέρα).⁶¹ Matthias Becker, however, points out that the view that ritual impurity is caused by death was present in the Greek religion since the Ancient times. During public processions of the dead even an encounter with a group of mourners and visual contact with the dead caused contamination.⁶² The custom of avoiding shrines of the martyrs by Eustathians must have been a relic of the pagan/Neoplatonic roots of Eustathian asceticism. Otherwise it is hardly understandable.

Fatti points out one more important issue that can be an argument for identifying two Eustathiuses. It forces us to rethink the complex historical-religious question of the semantic shift by which the notion of “philosophy”, in late Antiquity, became Christian. Traditionally, this shift is interpreted as an indicator of a process of cultural appropriation: when adopted by new users, the concept of philosophy assumed a distinctly different meaning from that it had previously possessed, giving voice to the radical otherness of the new Christian culture.⁶³ It is significant that, as Malingrey claims, it was the three Cappadocian Fathers who integrated the term φιλοσοφία into the Christian language as a designation of the ascetic way of life.⁶⁴ The conversion of Eustathius from a Neoplatonic philosopher to a Christian ascetic who kept the philosophical look and customs and integrated them into ecclesiastical life explains why the above-mentioned semantic change occurred in that specific place (Cappadocia) and time (4th century).

⁶¹ Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* V 1, 13–14, ed. G. Giangrande, 12, transl. E. Wilmer Cave Wright, 367.

⁶² M. Becker, *Eunapios aus Sardes Biographien über Philosophen und Sophisten*, 227.

⁶³ F. Fatti, *Eustazio di Sebaste, Eustazio filosofo*, 456.

⁶⁴ A.-M. Malingrey, *Philosophia. Étude d’un groupe de mots dans la littérature grecque, des Présocratiques au IVe siècle après J.-C.*, Paris: Libraire C. Klincksieck 1961, 234.

2. Eustathius of Sebastea – sources and chronology

The main sources for the life of Eustathius of Sebastea are four *Ecclesiastical Histories* – by Sozomen, Socrates Scholasticus, Theodoret and Philostorgius – and the letters of Basil the Great. From among four *Ecclesiastical Histories*, it is Sozomen who left the most detailed information about Eustathius. It is generally assumed that he wrote his *Ecclesiastical History* after and on the basis of the one by Socrates Scholasticus, but “not only does Sozomen introduce more details about episodes and characters dealt with by Socrates, he also includes a category of material found only in an abbreviated form in Socrates’ history. This is descriptions of the lives and virtues of various sorts of Christians: monks, holy men, martyrs as well as bishops.”⁶⁵ That is why it is no surprise that Sozomen will be the most important source of information about Eustathius’ life.

The historians who wrote in the first half of the 5th century significantly differ in their attitude towards Eustathius. It is understandable, because “although the Church historians had many sources in common and at least to some extent knew each other, there are remarkable differences in their selection and use of sources. This is highly influenced by their respective ideas on Church history and Church politics.”⁶⁶ For Sozomen, Eustathius occupies an exceptional position in the history of Ancient monasticism. He considers him as the father of Anatolian asceticism.⁶⁷ For Socrates, Eustathius was definitely a heretic.

There are some mentions about Eustathius of Sebastea in Philostorgius, Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Epiphanius of Salamis. All of them need to be treated with caution. Even *Historia Arianorum* by Athanasius is a polemical rather than historical writing. It seems that Athanasius was not very interested in details and

⁶⁵ T. Urbainczyk, *Observations on the Differences between the Church Histories of Socrates and Sozomenus*, “Historia” 46 (1997), 362.

⁶⁶ H. Leppin, *The Church Historians (I): Socrates, Sozomenus, and Theodoretus*, in: *Greek & Roman Historiography in Late Antiquity*, ed. G. Marasco, Leiden – Boston: Brill 2003, 229.

⁶⁷ F. Fatti, *Eustazio di Sebaste, Eustazio filosofo*, 443.

considered Eustathius of Sebastea as a heretic, although in the circumstances when he mentions him he was not accused of heresy but charged with disciplinary issues.

In Ancient sources, there are four main accounts about the career of Eustathius of Sebastea. Two of them (by Socrates Scholasticus HE II 43 and Sozomen HE IV 24) are lists of charges brought against Eustathius during the Council of Constantinople (359/360), while the third one comes from Letter 263 by Basil the Great and the fourth is a parallel account in Letter 244 – both written by Basil during his conflict with Eustathius. Although all four lists were not intended as an objective description of Eustathius' life, they contain some important information about him. The circumstances of all four lists are important to understand why they differ from one another. The two that were compiled by historians refer to the disciplinary issues that were brought as charges for the deposition of Eustathius in 360. Basil, on the other hand, wanted to list changes in Eustathius' confessions.

There are serious problems with the chronology of the described events. The most discussed issue concerns dating the Council of Gangra that I shall describe below.⁶⁸ Here, I only want to mention that according to the most popular interpretation Socrates states that the Council of Gangra took place after the Council of Constantinople (359/360), whereas Sozomen sets it in the early 340s. Usually, scholars deal with inconsistencies by choosing one of the reports and discrediting the other on the basis of some more or less rational reasons. However, they all presume that the charges listed by Sozomen are put in a chronological order. Still, it is not so obvious and not even necessary for his narration as he did not intend to present the events one by one in a chronological order; the list could have been random or arranged by importance of the charges. There is evidence of such an attitude in other charges described by Sozomen. He enumerates the following reasons for deposing Silvanus during the same Council of Constantinople (359/360):

⁶⁸ Part II, Chapter II 12.

Καθεῖλον δὲ Σιλβανὸν ὡς ἀρχηγὸν γενόμενον ἀπονοίας τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν τε Σελευκείᾳ καὶ Κωνσταντινουπόλει καὶ Θεόφιλον προστήσαντα τῆς ἐν Κασταβάλοις ἐκκλησίας, Ἐλευθερουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονηθέντα πρότερον παρὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων Παλαιστίνης καὶ ἐπομοσάμενον παρὰ γνώμην ἐτέραν μὴ ὑπεισιέναι ἐπισκοπήν.

The reason they assigned for the deposition of Silvanus was that he had constituted himself the leader of a foolish party in Seleucia and Constantinople; he had, besides, constituted Theophilus as president of the church of Castabala, who had been previously ordained bishop of Eleuthero-
ropolis by the bishops of Palestine, and who had promised upon oath that he would never accept any other bishopric without their permission.⁶⁹

There is no doubt that the accusation of being “the leader of a foolish party in Seleucia and Constantinople” refers to two councils: Seleucia (359) and Constantinople (359/360). Tarsus is located more than 900 km away from Constantinople, but in the vicinity of Seleucia. Silvanus must have ordained Theophilus before the Council of Seleucia or between the two councils. The charge listed as the second one apparently occurred first in the chronological order.

The second evidence is a list of charges against Cyril of Jerusalem:

Κύριλλον τὸν Ἱεροσολύμων καθεῖλον ὡς Εὐσταθίῳ καὶ Ἐλπιδίῳ κεκοινωνηκότα, ἐναντία σπουδασασι τοῖς ἐν Μελιτινῇ συνελθοῦσι, μεθ’ ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς συνεληλύθει, καὶ ὡς μετὰ τὴν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ καθαίρεσιν κοινωνίας μετασχόντα

Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, was deposed as he stayed in communion with Eustathius and Elpidius, in defiance of those assembled in Melitina, among whom was Cyril himself; and because after his deposition in Palestine he had established contact

⁶⁹ Sozomen, HE IV 24, 13, GCS 50, 181, transl. NPNF II 2, 321.

σὺν Βασιλείῳ καὶ Γεωργίῳ [καὶ] τῷ Λαοδικείας ἐπισκόπῳ. ἐπειδὴ <γὰρ> ἐπετράπη τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπισκοπὴν, περὶ μητροπολιτικῶν δικαίων διεφέρετο πρὸς Ἀκάκιον τὸν Καισαρείας ὡς ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου ἡγούμενος· ἐντεῦθεν τε εἰς ἀπέχθειαν κατέστησαν καὶ ἀλλήλους διέβαλλον, ὡς οὐχ ὑγιῶς περὶ θεοῦ φρονοῖεν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ πρὶν ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ ἐκάτερος ἦν, ὁ μὲν τὰ Ἀρείου δογματίζων, Κύριλλος δὲ τοῖς ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ τὸν υἱὸν εἰσηγουμένοις ἐπόμενος. οὕτως δὲ ἔχων γνώμης Ἀκάκιος σὺν τοῖς τὰ αὐτοῦ φρονοῦσιν ἐπισκόποις τοῦ ἔθνους φθάνει καθελὼν Κύριλλον ἐπὶ προφάσει τοιαύδε· λιμοῦ καταλαβόντος τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων χώραν, ὡς εἰς ἐπίσκοπον ἔβλεπε τὸ τῶν δεομένων πλῆθος τῆς ἀναγκαίας τροφῆς ἀπορούμενον, ἐπειδὴ χρήματα οὐκ ἦν οἷς ἐπικουρεῖν ἔδει, κειμήλια καὶ ἱερὰ παραπετάσματα ἀπέδοτο.

with Basil and George, bishop of Laodicea.⁸⁰ When Cyril was first installed in the bishopric of Jerusalem, he had a dispute with Acacius, bishop of Cæsarea, concerning his rights as a Metropolitan, which he claimed on the ground of his bishopric being an apostolic see. This dispute excited feelings of enmity between the two bishops, and they mutually accused each other of unsoundness of doctrine concerning the Godhead. In fact, they had both been suspected previously; the one, that is, Acacius, of favoring the heresy of Arius; and the other, of siding with those who maintain that the Son is in substance like unto the Father. Acacius being thus inimically disposed towards Cyril, and finding himself supported by the bishops of the province, who were of the same sentiments as himself,

⁷⁰ The last part of the sentence in NPNF has been translated as follows: “and because he had also received Basil and George, bishop of Laodicea, into communion after their deposition in Palestine.” Although grammatically possible (the Greek text does not specify whose deposition it was), we know nothing about any deposition of Basil of Ancyra and George of Laodicea in Palestine, but we know that Cyril himself was deposed by Acacius, bishop of Caesarea. The circumstances of this deposition are described subsequently.

ἐκ τούτων δὲ λόγος τινὰ ἐπιγνώ-
ναι οἰκεῖον ἀνάθημα γυναῖκα ἐκ
τῶν ἐπὶ θυμέλης ἡμφιεσμένην,
πολυπραγμονῆσαι τε ὅθεν ἔχοι καὶ
εὐρεῖν ἔμπορον αὐτῇ ἀποδόμε-
νον, τῷ δὲ ἐμπόρῳ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον.
αἰτίαν δὲ ταύτην προῖσχύμενον
καθελεῖν αὐτὸν Ἀκάκιον.

contrived to depose Cyril under the following pretext. Jerusalem and the neighboring country was at one time visited with a famine, and the poor appealed in great multitudes to Cyril, as their bishop, for necessary food. As he had no money to purchase the requisite provisions, he sold for this purpose the veil and sacred ornaments of the church. It is said that a man, having recognized an offering which he had presented at the altar as forming part of the costume of an actress, made it his business to inquire whence it was procured; and ascertained that a merchant had sold it to the actress, and that the bishop had sold it to the merchant. It was under this pretext that Acacius deposed Cyril.⁷¹

The exact date of Cyril's deposition is unknown, but it is generally agreed that he was deposed "in 357 or thereabouts."⁷² The Council of Melitene took place most probably in 358.⁷³ So the first charge ("he was associated with Eustathius and Elpidius, although they had opposed

⁷¹ Sozomen, HE IV 25, 1-4, GCS 50, 181-182, transl. NPNF II 2, 321 with alterations.

⁷² R. P. C. Hanson, *The search for the Christian Doctrine of God. The Arian controversy 318-381*, Grand Rapids: T&T Clark 2007, 400.

⁷³ *Sanctorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. J. D. Mansi, vol. 3 (347-409), Florentiae: expensis Antoni Zatta 1759, 291; C. A. Frazee, *Anatolian Asceticism in the Fourth Century: Eustathios of Sebastea and Basil of Caesarea*, "Catholic Historical Review" 66 (1980), 23.

those assembled in Melitina, among whom was Cyril himself” – presumably 358) refers to the event chronologically subsequent to the second (“after his deposition in Palestine he established contact with Basil and George, bishop of Laodicea” – presumably 357). And it is absolutely obvious that the explanation which follows both charges refers to the events that occurred before the deposition (before 357). It is not impossible that Cyril took part in the Council of Melitene (358) after he had been deposed (357) as we know from Theodoret that despite his previous deposition he attended the Council of Seleucia (359):

Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀκάκιος μικράς τι-
νας εὐρών ἀφορμὰς καθεῖλε τὸν
Κύριλλον καὶ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων
ἐξήλασεν. ὁ δὲ Κύριλλος τὴν μὲν
Ἀντιόχειαν παρελήλυθε ποιμένος
αὐτὴν ἐστερημένην εὐρών, εἰς δὲ
Ταρσὸν ἀφικόμενος τῷ θαυμασίῳ
συνῆν Σιλβανῷ. οὗτος γὰρ κατ’
ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνης ἡγεῖτο
τῆς ἐκκλησίας. τοῦτο μαθὼν ὁ
Ἀκάκιος ἐπέστειλε τῷ Σιλβανῷ
καὶ τὴν καθαίρεσιν τοῦ Κυρίλλου
μεμήνηκεν. ὁ δὲ, καὶ τὸν Κύριλ-
λον αἰδούμενος καὶ τὸ πλῆθος
ὑφορώμενος (ἤδιστα γὰρ τῆς τοῦ
Κυρίλλου διδασκαλίας ἀπήλαυε),
τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς οὐκ ἐκώλυ-
σε λειτουργίας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ συνῆλ-
θον εἰς τὴν Σελεύκειαν, ἐκοινῶνει
μὲν τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βασίλειον καὶ
Εὐστάθιον καὶ Σιλβανὸν καὶ τοῖς
λοιποῖς ὁ Κύριλλος τοῦ συνεδρίου.

Acacius seized some small occa-
sion, deposed Cyrillus, and drove
him from Jerusalem. But Cyril-
lus passed by Antioch, which he
had found without a pastor, and
came to Tarsus, where he dwelt
with the excellent Silvanus, then
bishop of that see. No sooner did
Acacius become aware of this
than he wrote to Silvanus and
informed him of the deposition
of Cyrillus. Silvanus however,
both out of regard for Cyrillus,
and not without suspicion of
his people, who greatly enjoyed
the stranger’s teaching, refused
to prohibit him from taking a
part in the ministrations of the
church. When however they
had arrived at Seleucia, Cyrillus
joined with the party of Basilus
and Eustathius and Silvanus and
the rest in the council.

ὁ δὲ γε Ἀκάκιος ἀφίκετο μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς τοὺς συνελθλυθότας ἐπισκόπους (πεντήκοντα δὲ ἦσαν καὶ ἑκατόν), ἔφασκε δὲ μὴ πρότερον αὐτοῖς κοινωνήσῃν τῶν βουλευμάτων πρὶν ἔξω γενέσθαι τοῦ συλλόγου τὸν Κύριλλον, ἅτε δὴ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης γεγυμνωμένον.

But when Acacius joined the assembled bishops, who numbered one hundred and fifty, he refused to be associated in their counsels before Cyrillus, as one stripped of his bishopric, had been put out from among them.⁷⁴

Both Socrates and Sozomen wanted to refer the reasons why Eustathius had been deposed by the Council of Constantinople (359/360) and they could have listed them from the most important to less relevant or vice versa. In the case of Socrates, his list of charges against Eustathius is much shorter. Actually, it consists of two charges: that he was deposed by his own father and was condemned by the Council of Gangra. So, in that case, the problem of chronology is much less important. On the other hand, Basil should have been more eager to stick to the chronological order as he presents (alleged) changes in Eustathius' confessions. Although, with such a goal he could have omitted or misinterpreted certain events.

⁷⁴ Theodoret, HE II 22, GCS 44, 157–158, transl. NPNF II 3, 87.

Chapter II. The life of Eustathius of Sebastea

1. Eustathius' father and homeland

Both Socrates Scholasticus and Sozomen confirm that Eustathius' father was called Eulalius and was bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia: ὑπὸ Εὐλάλιου τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς καὶ ἐπισκόπου Καισαρείας τῆς ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ ἤδη πρότερον καθήρητο,¹ Εὐλάλιος ὁ πατὴρ καὶ τῶν εὐχῶν ἀφώρισεν, ἐπίσκοπος ὦν τῆς ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ ἐκκλησίας Καισαρείας.² In 1703, Louis-Sébastien Tillemont stated that there was no place in the hierarchy of Caesarea for any bishop named Eulalius and that Eustathius' father came from Antioch.³ Following Friedrich Loofs, many scholars claim that Eulalius was bishop of Sebastea.⁴ William A. Jurgens tried to connect the report

¹ Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 43, 1, GCS NF I, 180.

² Sozomen, HE IV 24, 9, GCS 50, 180.

³ L. S. Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir a l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, 79.

⁴ F. Loofs, *Eustathius von Sebaste und die Chronologie der Basiliius-Briefe. Eine patristische studie*, Halle: Max Niemeyer 1898, 95; K. Suso Frank, *Monastische Reform im Altertum. Eustathius von Sebaste und Basiliius von Caesarea*, in: *Reformatio Ecclesiae. Beiträge zu kirchlichen Reformbemühungen von der Alten Kirche bis zur Neuzeit. Festgabe für Erwin*

of the sources with the theory of Louis-Sébastien Tillemont reaching a rather odd concept: “Probably Eustathius was born at Caesarea; for Basil refers to Caesarea as Eustathius’ «own country». And while it is dangerous to urge half of an admittedly erroneous proposition in favor of any theory which is expected to be taken seriously, Socrates and Sozomen, as we have just pointed out, do say that Eustathius’ father Eulalius was bishop of Caesarea. If we amend the thought of their remark to indicate that he was, while not bishop of Caesarea, yet of Caesarea in the sense that it was his native place, we have testimony which may assist in urging Caesarea as Eustathius’ birthplace.”⁵

It is true that we know the name of Eulalius from the lists of bishops who took part in the Council of Nicaea (325) as bishop of Sebastea in Armenia Minor.⁶ However, Eulalius seems to have been a very popular name at that time. Gregory of Nazianzus even had a nephew by the name of Eulalius.⁷ The same or another Eulalius became bishop of Nazianzus in 383.⁸ According to Theodoret, a Eulalius was bishop of Antioch.⁹ Hilary lists Eulalius, bishop of Amasea, among the bishops who under-signed a decree at the Council of Serdica (343).¹⁰ Sozomen speaks about Eulalius, bishop of Amasea in Pontus around 379.¹¹ Socrates Scholasticus lists two other Eulaliuses (except for the one from Sebastea) among

Iserloh, ed. R. Bäumer, Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh 1980, 38; C. A. Frazee, *Anatolian Asceticism in the Fourth Century: Eustathios of Sebastea and Basil of Caesarea*, 17; J. Gribomont, *Eustathe de Sébaste*, in: J. Gribomont, *Saint Basile, Évangile et Église. Mélanges*, Bégrolles-en Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine 1984, 95–96; W.-D. Hauschild, *Eustathius von Sebaste*, in: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, band 10, Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 1982, 547.

⁵ W. A. Jurgens, *Eustathius of Sebaste*, 16.

⁶ H. Gelzer, H. Hilgenfeld, O. Cuntz, *Patrum nicaenorum nomina Latine, Graece, Coptice, Syriace, Arabice, Armeniace*, Lipsiae: B. G. Teubner 1898, 26–27 (in Latin), 65 (in Greek), 88 (in Coptic: Eularios), 105, 129 (in Syriac), 199 (in Armenian).

⁷ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistulae* 15, GCS 53, 17.

⁸ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistulae* 182, GCS 53, 131.

⁹ Theodoret, HE V 40, 5; GCS 44, 348.

¹⁰ Hilary, *Collectanea antiariana parisina*, CSEL 65, 74.

¹¹ Sozomen, HE VII 2, 6; GCS 50, 303.

the participants in the Council of Nicaea (325): Eulalius of Iconium, and among the bishops from Bithynia *Εὐλάλιος χωρεπίσκοπος*,¹² which means “country-bishop appointed to superintend churches at a distance from the city where the bishop resided.”¹³ And Bithynia also had its own Caesarea.

However, Eustathius came from Caesarea in Cappadocia and his father was bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia. The conclusive evidence is based on Basil's accounts. In Letter 263, Basil says that Eustathius returned from Alexandria to his hometown (*εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ*) and was ordained by Hermogenes:

Ἐπειδὴ ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἐρμωγένει τῷ Καισαρείας κρίνοντι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ κακοδοξίᾳ ὁμολογίαν ἔδωκε πίστεως ὑγιοῦς. Καὶ οὕτω τὴν χειροτονίαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δεξάμενος Εὐστάθιος...

On returning to his own country, gave a confession of sound faith to the most blessed bishop Hermogenes of Caesarea, who was judging him on the charge of false doctrine. And having thus received ordination at his hands...¹⁴

Moreover, in two of his letters Basil says that Eustathius was ordained by Hermogenes, bishop of Caesarea, then went to Constantinople and returned to his homeland: *ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος*,¹⁵ *εἰς τὴν πατρίδα*.¹⁶ In both letters, *ἡ πατρίς* means Cappadocia. The textual analysis of Basil's writings confirms that understanding. Except for two quotations from the Bible, references to paradise/heaven and four cases where the meaning of *ἡ πατρίς* is uncertain, Basil always and with no exception attributes *ἡ πατρίς* (in singular with the article) to Cappadocia and never

¹² Socrates Scholasticus, HE I 13; GCS NF 1, 49–50.

¹³ G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1961, 1536.

¹⁴ Basil, *Letter* 263, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 123–124, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 4, 93–97.

¹⁵ Basil, *Epistulae* 263, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 123.

¹⁶ Basil, *Epistulae* 244, 9, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 82.

to any other country/homeland of anybody. Twenty-six times it is ἡ πατρις itself with the article and no possessive and sixteen times ἡ πατρις ἡμῶν/ἐαυτῶν (with the article and the possessive).¹⁷ As Yves Courtonne explains, the custom of avoiding proper names and replacing them with a periphrasis is one of the characteristics of the rhetoric of that era.¹⁸

Tillemont stated that “il ne se trouve aucun évêque de Cesarée de se nom”, but he was convinced that such bishop must have lived “jusques après le Concile de Nicée” only because he believed that Eustathius was a disciple of Arius in Alexandria.¹⁹ But, as I will show below,²⁰ there are no reliable sources to confirm the latter thesis. If we remove that premise, nothing will force us to maintain that Eulalius was bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia in the early 330s. Actually, we do not know a lot about bishops of Caesarea in Cappadocia until Eusebius, the predecessor of Basil, who died in 370. According to the preserved lists of bishops, Leontius took part in the Council of Nicaea (325) as bishop of Caesarea;²¹ Sozomen names Dianius as bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia among the participants in the Council of Antioch (341).²² Hilary testifies that Dianius of Caesarea took part in the Council of Serdica (343).²³ According to many scholars, the very same Dianius is mentioned by Basil in Letter 51²⁴ as the one who signed the formula of faith approved at the Council of Constantinople (359/360):

¹⁷ M. Przyszychowska, *Fatherland* (πατρις) in the writings of Basil of Caesarea, “Polish Journal of Political Science” 5/3 (2019), 7–27.

¹⁸ Y. Courtonne, in: Saint Basile, *Lettres*, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 3, note 2.

¹⁹ L. S. Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, vol. 9, 79.

²⁰ Part II, Chapter II 2.

²¹ H. Gelzer, H. Hilgenfeld, O. Cuntz, *Patrum nicaenorum nomina*, 24–25 (in Latin), 65 (in Greek), 86 (in Coptic), 105, 129 (in Syriac), 197 (in Armenian).

²² Sozomen, HE III 5, 10, GCS 50, 107.

²³ Hilary, *Collectanea antiariana parisina*, CSEL 65, 75.

²⁴ R. van Dam, *Families and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia*, 35.

Περὶ μέντοι τὰ τελευταῖα τοῦ βίου
(οὐ γὰρ ἀποκρύψομαι τάληθές)
ἐλυπήθημεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ λύπην οὐκ
ἀνεκτὴν, μετὰ πολλῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ
πατρίδι φοβουμένων τὸν Κύριον,
ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπογραφῇ τῆς πίστεως, τῆς
ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Γεώργιον ἀπὸ Κων-
σταντινουπόλεως κομισθείσης.

However, at the end of his life
(for I will not conceal the truth),
I, together with many Godfear-
ing people of our fatherland,
suffered intolerable grief on his
account, for he subscribed to
the creed brought from Con-
stantinople by George and his
associates.²⁵

It is hardly possible that the person mentioned in the letter was bishop of Caesarea before Eusebius, the predecessor of Basil. Basil asks: "Tell me, did I anathematize the most blessed Dianius?" (Ἐγὼ δέ, εἰπέ μοι, τὸν μακαριώτατον Διάνιον ἀνεθεμάτισα).²⁶ Basil could have not anathematized anyone being a deacon as excommunication was a prerogative of a bishop²⁷ and the letter indicates that Basil had been reconciled with that Dianius before he died so he could not have anathematized him posthumously. Dianius from Letter 51 was someone who signed the confession of faith brought from Constantinople by the associates of George (τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Γεώργιον ἀπὸ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κομισθείσης)²⁸ when Basil was already bishop. It is not even certain that Dianius mentioned in Letter 51 was a bishop as Basil applied the term μακαριώτατος to any respectable person as well as to a layman (Eupsychius)²⁹ and to a woman (Julitta).³⁰ It is significant that in 353 Nerses was ordained bishop of Armenia by the bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia

²⁵ Basil, *Epislulae* 51, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 132, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 1, 325.

²⁶ Basil, *Epistulae* 51, 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 132, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 1, 323.

²⁷ P. Norton, *Episcopal elections 250–600. Hierarchy and popular will in Late Antiquity*, New York: Oxford University Press 2007, 3.

²⁸ Basil, *Epistulae* 51, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 132.

²⁹ Basil, *Epistulae* 263, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 123.

³⁰ Basil, *Homilia in martyrem Julittam*, PG 31, 237.

and *P'awstos Buzandac'i's* (the source written in the 5th century) claims that the bishop's name was Eusebius, not Dianius.³¹

Older studies placed Eulalius after Leontius and before Hermogenes,³² but they did that on the presumption that Hermogenes gave Eustathius episcopal rather than sacerdotal orders.³³ It is hardly possible as according to Basil it was Hermogenes who ordained Eustathius, while according to Sozomen and Socrates Eulalius excommunicated him when he was a priest. We also know from Basil that immediately (εὐθύς) after Hermogenes had died Eustathius ran to Constantinople to Eusebius of Nicomedia.³⁴ There are two possibilities for locating Eulalius. First, he could have been bishop of Caesarea after Hermogenes and before Dianius, but it must have been before the Council of Antioch (341), in which Dianius took part as bishop of Caesarea. A second possibility: at some point after 343 and before 357.

2. Disciple of Arius?

According to Jurgens, our first historical contact with Eustathius is in Alexandria, where he was a disciple of Arius.³⁵ Jurgens refers only to the letters of Basil to confirm that Eustathius of Sebastea was a student of Arius. Actually, also Athanasius mentions Eustathius, whom he describes as “Eustathius now in Sebastea” (Εὐστάθιος ὁ νῦν ἐν Σεβαστείᾳ), in a group of people who were admitted into the clerical order thanks to their connections with Arius after Eustathius of Antioch had been expelled. Basil the Great also somehow connected Eustathius' ordination

³¹ Fatti is convinced that Letter 51 by Basil concerns Dianius, bishop of Caesarea, so he suggests that the source confused the name, F. Fatti, *Giuliano a Cesarea. La politica ecclesiastica del principe apostata*, Roma: Herder 2009, 65, note 69.

³² P. B. Gams, *Series episcoporum Ecclesiae catholicae*, Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt 1873, 440; M. Le Quien, *Oriens christianus, in quatuor patriarchatus digestus*, vol. 1, Parisiis: Typographia Regia 1740, 370–372.

³³ M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, vol. 1, 422.

³⁴ Basil, *Epistulae* 100, 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 219; 200, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 165.

³⁵ W. A. Jurgens, *Eustathius of Sebaste*, 17.

with Arius, but even those two seemingly similar versions differ significantly. The version of Athanasius reads as follows:

Εὐστάθιος τις ἦν ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ἀντιοχείας, ἀνὴρ ὁμολογητῆς καὶ τὴν πίστιν εὐσεβῆς. [...] καὶ λοιπὸν οὓς οὐκ ἐδέχετο διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν εἰς κλῆρον, τούτους μετὰ τὸ ἐξορισθῆναι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὐ μόνον εἰσήγαγον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πλείστους ἐπισκόπους κατέστησαν, ἵν' ἔχῃσι συνωμότας ἑαυτῶν εἰς τὴν ἀσέβειαν. ἐκ τούτων ἐστὶ Λεόντιος ὁ ἀπόκοπος ὁ νῦν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ καὶ ὁ πρὸ αὐτοῦ Στέφανος Γεώργιος τε ὁ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ καὶ ὁ γενόμενος ἐν Τριπόλει Θεοδόσιος Εὐδόξιός τε ὁ ἐν Γερμανικείᾳ καὶ Εὐστάθιος ὁ νῦν ἐν Σεβαστείᾳ.

There was one Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch, a Confessor, and sound in the Faith. [...] And immediately after the banishment of the Bishop, those whom he would not admit into the clerical order on account of their impiety were not only received into the Church by them, but were even appointed the greater part of them to be Bishops, in order that they might have accomplices in their impiety. Among these was Leontius the eunuch, now of Antioch, and his predecessor Stephanus, George of Laodicea, and Theodosius who was of Tripolis, Eudoxius of Germanicia, and Eustathius, now of Sebastia.³⁶

In Letter 263 “To the Westerners”, written in 377, Basil also mentions Eustathius’ ordination:

Ἔστι τοίνυν εἷς τῶν πολλῆν ἡμῶν κατασκευαζόντων λύπην, Εὐστάθιος ὁ ἐκ τῆς Σεβαστείας τῆς κατὰ τὴν μικρὰν Ἀρμενίαν,

Now one of those who causes us much sorrow is Eustathius of Sebaste in Lesser Armenia,

³⁶ Athanasius, *Historia Arianorum ad Monachos* 4, in: *Athanasius Werke*, vol. II, 184–185; transl. NPNF II 4, 271.

ὃς πάλαι μαθητευθεὶς τῷ Ἀρείῳ, καὶ ὅτε ἤκμαζεν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας τὰς πονηρὰς κατὰ τοῦ Μονογενοῦς συνθεὶς βλασφημίας ἀκολουθῶν ἐκείνῳ καὶ τοῖς γνησιωτάτοις αὐτοῦ τῶν μαθητῶν ἐναριθμούμενος, ἐπειδὴ ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἑρμογένει τῷ Καισαρείας κρίνοντι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ κακοδοξίᾳ ὁμολογίαν ἔδωκε πίστεως ὑγιῶς. Καὶ οὕτω τὴν χειροτονίαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δεξάμενος Εὐστάθιος μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου κοίμησιν εὐθὺς πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Εὐσέβιον ἔδραμεν, οὐδενὸς ἔλαττον καὶ αὐτὸν τὸ δυσσεβὲς δόγμα τοῦ Ἀρείου πρεσβεύοντα.

who, taught of old by Arius at the time when Arius flourished at Alexandria, as the author of those wicked blasphemies against the Only-begotten, following him and being numbered among his most faithful disciples, on returning to his own country, gave a confession of sound faith to the most blessed bishop Hermogenes of Caesarea, who was judging him on the charge of false doctrine. And having thus received ordination at his hands, after the decease of the latter, he ran to Eusebius of Constantinople, a man who himself less than no one sponsored the impious doctrine of Arius.³⁷

Athanasius and Basil differ in establishing a connection between Eustathius' ordination and Arianism. In Athanasius' story, Eustathius was ordained because of his Arianism, while Basil states that in Alexandria Eustathius was among the most faithful disciples of Arius, but after he had returned to Caesarea he confessed the orthodox faith and on that basis was ordained priest. I do not question the very fact of ordination, but I do doubt the connection between Eustathius of Sebastea and Arius.

Although Richard Hanson dates *Historia Arianorum* precisely to 358,³⁸ but according to Archibald Robertson "the date of the *History* is at first

³⁷ Basil, *Epistulae* 263, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 123, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 4, 93-94.

³⁸ R. P. C. Hanson, *The search for the Christian Doctrine of God*, 420.

sight a difficulty. The fall of Liberius is dealt with in Part V., which must therefore have been written not earlier than 358 (the exact chronology of the lapse of Liberius is not certain), while yet in §4 Leontius, who died in the summer or autumn of 357, is still bishop of Antioch. We must therefore suppose that the *History* was begun at about the time when the *Apologia de Fuga* was finished (cf. the bitter conclusion of that tract) and completed when the lapse of Liberius was known in Egypt. A more accurate determination of date is not permitted by our materials.”³⁹ Since 358, Eustathius was an active member of the Homoiousian alliance and played an important role during the Synod of Ancyra in 358. It seems that Athanasius himself did not consider Homoiousians as Arians.⁴⁰ On the contrary, he thought they were not far from the Nicaean creed:

πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀποδεχομένους τὰ
μὲν ἄλλα πάντα τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ
γραφέντων, περὶ δὲ μόνον τὸ ὁμο-
ούσιον ἀμφιβάλλοντας χρῆ μὴ ὡς
πρὸς ἐχθροὺς διακεῖσθαι. καὶ γὰρ
καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐχ ὡς πρὸς Ἀρειομα-
νίτας οὐδ' ὡς μαχομένους πρὸς
τοὺς πατέρας ἐνιστάμεθα, ἀλλ' ὡς
ἀδελφοὶ πρὸς ἀδελφοὺς διαλεγό-
μεθα τὴν αὐτὴν μὲν ἡμῖν διάνοιαν
ἔχοντας, περὶ δὲ τὸ ὄνομα μόνον
διστάζοντας. καὶ γὰρ ὁμολογοῦ-
ντες ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς
εἶναι καὶ μὴ ἐξ ἐτέρας ὑποστάσεως
τὸν υἱὸν κτίσμα τε μὴ εἶναι μηδὲ
ποίημα αὐτόν,

Those, however, who accept everything else that was defined at Nicaea, and doubt only about the coessential, must not be treated as enemies; nor do we here attack them as Ario-maniacs, nor as opponents of the Fathers, but we discuss the matter with them as brothers with brothers, who mean what we mean, and dispute only about the word. For, confessing that the Son is from the essence of the Father, and not from other subsistence, and that He is not a creature nor work, but His genuine and natural offspring,

³⁹ NPNF II 4, 266–267.

⁴⁰ J. Grzywaczewski, *Postawa św. Atanazego i św. Hilarego wobec decyzji synodu w Ancyrze (358)*, “Vox Patrum” 64 (2015), 171–188.

<p>ἀλλὰ γνήσιον καὶ φύσει γέννημα ἀιδίως τε αὐτὸν συνεῖναι τῷ πατρὶ λόγον ὄντα καὶ σοφίαν οὐ μακρὰν εἰσιν ἀποδέξασθαι καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου λέξιν.</p>	<p>and that He is eternally with the Father as being His Word and Wisdom, they are not far from accepting even the phrase, ‘coessential’.⁴¹</p>
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Unfortunately, this understanding was theoretical only. In *Historia Arianorum* Athanasius put into his list of priests and bishops ordained thanks to their involvement in Arian “impiety” people who took part in the Homoiousian alliance: “Leontius the eunuch, now of Antioch, and his predecessor Stephanus, George of Laodicea, and Theodosius who was of Tripolis, Eudoxius of Germanicia, and Eustathius, now of Sebastia.”⁴² He mixed up here Homoiousians, who opposed Arians (George of Laodicea, Eustathius of Sebastea), and genuine Arians (Leontius of Antioch, Stephanus, Eudoxius of Germanicia). It is possible that there were personal issues that made Athanasius think of Homoiousians as Arians and enemies. Mark DelCogliano showed that George of Laodicea and Athanasius continued mutual animosity that had commenced in the times of a conflict between Alexander and Arius. Both George of Laodicea and Athanasius brought different charges against each other also regarding their theology. That was the reason why Athanasius accused George of Arianism. However, as DelCogliano points out: “It is true that George was sympathetic to the Alexandrian theological trajectory to which Arius belonged and was willing to disagree, as Arius had, with his bishop. But he was no ‘Arian.’”⁴³ DelCogliano defines the charges against George adduced by Athanasius as a “polemical jab.”⁴⁴ When Eustathius allied

⁴¹ Athanasius, *De synodis Arimini in Italia et Seleucia in Isauria* 41, 1–2, in: *Athanasius Werke*, vol. II, 266–267, transl. NPNF II 4, 472.

⁴² Athanasius, *Historia Arianorum ad Monachos* 4, in: *Athanasius Werke*, vol. II, 184–185; transl. NPNF II 4, 271.

⁴³ M. DelCogliano, *George of Laodicea: A Historical Reassessment*, “The Journal of Ecclesiastical History” 62/4 (2011), 672.

⁴⁴ M. DelCogliano, *George of Laodicea: A Historical Reassessment*, 673.

with George of Laodicea and Basil of Ancyra he automatically became an enemy to Athanasius.

Athanasius might have not known the real involvement of some people and he was probably not interested in details. The example of such an approach is his “account” of the actions at the Council of Seleucia (359). Athanasius names Eustathius among those excommunicated by that Council because “the accusers pressed, and the accused put in pleas, and thereby were led on further by their irreligion and blasphemed the Lord”.⁴⁵ Socrates lists Eustathius among the deposed who “should not be restored to communion, until they made such a defence as would clear them from the imputations under which they lay.”⁴⁶ However, Sozomen does not name him among the excommunicated.⁴⁷

Athanasius mentions Eustathius once again in connection with the Council of Sardica (343):

οὔτοι μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν τῇ κατὰ
Σαρδικὴν γενομένῃ μεγάλῃ συ-
νόδῳ καθηρέθησαν Εὐστάθιος τε
ὁ νῦν ἐν Σεβαστείᾳ Δημόφιλός
τε καὶ Γερμίνιος καὶ Εὐδόξιος καὶ
Βασίλειος συνήγοροι τῆς ἀσεβείας
ὄντες εἰς τοῦτο προήχθησαν.

These were degraded in the great Synod of Sardica; Eustathius also now of Sebastea, Demophilus and Germinius, Eudoxius, and Basil, who are supporters of that impiety, were advanced in the same manner.⁴⁸

At that time, Eustathius was not even a bishop so he could have not been deposed. Athanasius probably put the name of Eustathius among the deposed as the one whom he associated with George of Laodicea listed by Sozomen among the deposed at the Council of Serdica.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Athanasius, *De synodis Arimini in Italia et Seleucia in Isauria* 12, 5, in: *Athanasius Werke*, vol. II, 240, transl. NPNF II 4, 456.

⁴⁶ Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 40, 45, GCS NF I, 176, transl. NPNF II 2, 70–71.

⁴⁷ Sozomen, HE IV 22, 25, GCS 50, 176.

⁴⁸ Athanasius, *Epistula ad episcopos Aegypti et Libyae* VII 4, in: *Athanasius Werke*, vol. I/1, 45, transl. NPNF II 4, 226.

⁴⁹ Sozomen, HE III 12, 3, GCS 50, 116.

As Richard Hanson explains: “The Easterners branded all the Westerners as Sabellians. The Westerners stigmatized all the Easterners as Arians. Both charges were equally ridiculous.”⁵⁰ It is possible that despite his own attempts to distinguish the nuances of Eastern theology, Athanasius remained mentally in the schemes commonly used in the West.

The only other mentions that Eustathius was a disciple of Arius come from late letters of Basil. In Letter 244 written in the summer of 376 to Patrophilus, bishop of Aegae, Basil accuses Eustathius of having followed Arius. “This Patrophilus was a friend of Eustathius of Sebaste and of Basil. After Basil’s break with Eustathius, he wrote to Basil expressing his surprise that Basil should regard Eustathius as an enemy after having been for so long his friend and champion. Basil replied in the present letter explaining his position, and asking Patrophilus to inform him whether he will remain in communion with him or join his enemies.”⁵¹

Καίτοι εἰ δεῖ ἄλλον τὰς ὑπὲρ
ἄλλου εὐθύνας ὑπέχειν, ὁ ἐμοὶ
ἐγκαλῶν ὑπὲρ Ἀπολιναρίου ἀπο-
λογείσθω ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ Ἀρείου τοῦ
ιδίου διδασκάλου καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀετίου
τοῦ ιδίου ἐαυτοῦ μαθητοῦ.

If one man must render account
on behalf of another, let him
who accuses me on behalf of
Apollinarius make his defence
to us on behalf of Arius, his own
teacher, and on behalf of Aetius,
his own disciple.⁵²

Later on in the same letter:

Ἀρείῳ κατηκολούθουν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς·
μετέθεντο πρὸς Ἑρμογένην τὸν
κατὰ διάμετρον ἐχθρὸν ὄντα τῆς
Ἀρείου κακοδοξίας,

They followed Arius in the
beginning; they changed to
Hermogenes,

⁵⁰ R. P. C. Hanson, *The search for the Christian Doctrine of God*, 296.

⁵¹ R. J. Deferrari, in: Basil, *Letters*, vol. 3, 448, footnote 1.

⁵² Basil, *Epistolulae* 244, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 77, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 457.

ὡς δηλοῖ αὐτὴ ἡ πίστις ἢ κατὰ Νίκαιαν παρ' ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκφωνηθεῖσα ἐξ ἡ κατὰ Νίκαιαν παρ' ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκφωνηθεῖσα ἐξ ἀρχῆς. Ἐκοιμήθη Ἑρμογένης, καὶ πάλιν μετέστησαν πρὸς Εὐσέβιον, ἄνδρα κορυφαῖον τοῦ κατὰ Ἀρειοῦ κύκλου, ὡς οἱ πειραθέντες φασίν.

who was diametrically opposed to the infamous teachings of Arius, as the creed originally proclaimed by that man at Nicaea shows. Hermogenes fell asleep, and again they changed to Eusebius, the chorus leader of the Arian circle, as those who have had experience of him say.⁵³

Eustathius accused Basil of leaning to the teaching of Apollinaris. In this context, in Letter 223, written in 375 to the very Eustathius, Basil reminds him his alleged connections with Arius.

Ἐμοὶ δὲ οὔτε πατὴρ ὁ παρὰ σοὶ διαβαλλόμενος οὔθ' υἱός. Οὔτε γὰρ διδάσκαλός μου γέγονεν οὔτε μαθητής. Εἰ δὲ δεῖ τὰς τῶν γεννησάντων ἀμαρτίας ἐγκλήματα τοῖς τέκνοις γίνεσθαι, πολὺ δικαιότερον τὰ Ἀρείου κατὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ γίνεσθαι. καὶ εἴ τις Ἀέτιον ἐγέννησε τὸν αἰρετικόν, ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀναβαίνει τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ ἐγκλήματα. Εἰ δ' οὐ δίκαιον ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἐγκαλεῖσθαι τινα,

But for me, he who is being slandered by you is neither father nor son. For he was neither my teacher nor disciple. But if the iniquities of the parents must become charges against their children, it is much more just that the deeds of Arius should be against his disciples; and in the case of him who begot Aetius, the heretic, that the charges of the son should revert upon the head of the father. But if it is not just that anyone be accused on account of these,

⁵³ Basil, *Epistolulae* 244, 9, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 82, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 471.

πολλῶ δὴ πον δικαιότερον ἡμᾶς
ἐπὶ τοῖς μηδὲν ἡμῖν προσήκουσι
μὴ λόγων ἔχειν εὐθύνας, εἴ γε καὶ
ἡμαρτον ὄλως, εἴ τι καὶ γέγραπται
αὐτοῖς ἄξιον κατακρίσεως.

surely it is much more just that
we should not undergo correc-
tion on account of those who
have nothing to do with us, even
if they sinned utterly, even if
something has been written by
them worthy of condemnation.⁵⁴

Basil's accusations are an example of defending by attacking. They were also, as Gribomont stated, "colored by rancor."⁵⁵ Basil himself says some more about the source of those accusations – the reports of slanderers:

“Ὅθεν οὐδὲ τὰς περὶ τῶν δογμάτων
διαβολὰς προσιέμην, καίτοι πολ-
λῶν διαβεβαιουμένων μὴ ὀρθὰς
ἔχειν περὶ Θεοῦ τὰς ὑπολήψεις,
ἀλλὰ τῷ προστάτῃ τῆς νῦν αἰρέ-
σεως μαθητευθέντας τὰ ἐκείνου
λάθρα κατασπείρειν διδάγματα.
ᾧν ἐπειδὴ οὐδέποτε αὐτήκοος
ἐγενόμην, συκοφάντας ἡγούμην
τοὺς ἀπαγγέλλοντας.

Wherefore I did not admit even
the accusations about their
teachings, although many had
insisted that they had no or-
thodox conceptions about God,
but being made disciples by the
champion of the present here-
sy, they were covertly dissemi-
nating his teachings; and since
I had never been an ear-witness
of them, I considered those who
made these reports slanderers.⁵⁶

The only reports that Eustathius was a disciple of Arius come from Athanasius – who in my opinion was not eager to go into details of who and why was deposed in the Asian Church and used stereotypes when

⁵⁴ Basil, *Epislulae* 223, 5, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 11, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 305–307.

⁵⁵ J. Gribomont, *Eustathe le philosophe et les voyages du jeune Basile de Césarée*, 115.

⁵⁶ Basil, *Epislulae* 223, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 11, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 297.

thinking of Eastern theology – and from late letters of Basil, in which he defended himself from Eustathius’ charges of Apollinarism by attributing him Arius’ legacy. Already Friedrich Loofs and Tomislav Tenšek considered that message unreliable.⁵⁷ There are no trustworthy sources to confirm that Eustathius knew Arius, listened to him in Alexandria and was his disciple. On the contrary, Basil says that Eustathius was orthodox from the very beginning and suddenly changed when he accused Basil of Apollinarism:

<p>ὁ δοκῶν ἐκ παιδὸς εἰς γῆρας βαθὺ ἐπιμέλειαν ἑαυτοῦ πεποιῆσθαι ἐκ τοιούτων προφάσεων οὕτω ῥαδί- ως ἐξηγριώθη...</p>	<p>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...⁵⁸</p>
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Moreover, even when Basil and Eustathius came into conflict, Basil admitted that had never been an ear-witness of any Arian statements of Eustathius.⁵⁹

Although Basil claims that Eustathius changed his beliefs and as a proof he listed the confessions signed by Eustathius: Ancyra (358), Seleucia (359), Constantinople (359/360), Zela (?), Lampsacus (364), Rome (366), Cyzicus (between 366 and 376); all those confessions were Homoiousian except for the one from Constantinople, which was Homoian,⁶⁰ and the one from Rome, which was Nicaean.

⁵⁷ F. Loofs, *Eustathius von Sebaste und die Chronologie der Basiliius-Briefe*, 96; T. Z. Tenšek, *L'ascetismo nel Concilio di Gangra*, 50.

⁵⁸ Basil, *Epislulae* 244, 4, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 77–78, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 459.

⁵⁹ Basil, *Epislulae* 223, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 111.

⁶⁰ F. Loofs (*Eustathius von Sebaste und die Chronologie der Basiliius-Briefe*, 78) thinks that Eustathius could not have signed anything in Constantinople (359/360) as he was deposed at that Council, but apparently during the Council the issues of faith were examined first and the disciplinary ones afterwards. Eustathius could have signed the creed of Rimini during one of the sessions that took place at the end of December of 359 and was deposed at the beginning of January 360.

3. Ordination to priesthood (late 330s)

William A. Jurgens dates Eustathius' ordination to priesthood to the period of the 330s, after Eustathius of Antioch was banished around 330.⁶¹ But the only account of the fact that Eustathius was refused the ordination by Eustathius of Antioch because of his Arian inclination is the one by Athanasius.⁶² As I stated above,⁶³ I question the connection between Eustathius and Arius. I think that Athanasius was personally prejudiced against (among others) George of Laodicea – one of the most important Homoiousians and an ally of Eustathius. Moreover, Athanasius thought about the affairs in the Eastern Church on the basis of stereotypical presumptions. The account of Athanasius loses its reliability also because Athanasius and Basil differ in establishing a connection between Eustathius' ordination and Arianism. In Athanasius' story Eustathius was ordained because of his Arianism,⁶⁴ while Basil states that in Alexandria Eustathius was among the most faithful disciples of Arius, but after he had returned to Caesarea he confessed the orthodox faith and on that basis was ordained priest.⁶⁵

So, in my opinion, the first credible information on Eustathius would be the fact told by Basil that he was ordained priest by Hermogenes of Caesarea.

Εὐστάθιος ὁ ἐκ τῆς Σεβαστείας τῆς κατὰ τὴν μικρὰν Ἀρμενίαν, [...] ἐπειδὴ ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἑρμο- γένει τῷ Καισαρείας	Eustathius of Sebaste in Lesser Armenia [...] on returning to his own country, gave a confession of sound faith to the most blessed bishop Hermogenes of Caesarea,
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⁶¹ W. A. Jurgens, *Eustathius of Sebaste*, 18–19.

⁶² Athanasius, *Historia Arianorum ad Monachos* 4, in: *Athanasius Werke*, vol. II, 184–185.

⁶³ Part II, Chapter II 2.

⁶⁴ Athanasius, *Historia Arianorum ad Monachos* 4, in: *Athanasius Werke*, vol. II, 184–185.

⁶⁵ Basil, *Epistulae* 263, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 123.

κρίνοντι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ κακοδοξίᾳ
ὁμολογίαν ἔδωκε πίστεως ὑγιоῦς. | who was judging him on the
charge of false doctrine.⁶⁶

Jurgens thinks that “we must presume that the ordination of which Basil speaks was ordination to the priesthood”⁶⁷ and he is right as χειροτονία can signify “ordination for priest” and if Basil himself wanted to use it in a sense of ordination of the bishop he would have used the expression χειροτονία τῶν ἐπισκόπων as he did in Letter 190.⁶⁸ What is more important, Basil himself distinguishes the ordination that Eustathius received from Hermogenes from another event when he became bishop, which happened evidently after he had been ordained by Hermogenes and banned from Constantinople by Eusebius and slightly before the Council of Ancyra.⁶⁹

Hermogenes himself is known only from Basil’s letters. In Letter 81 Basil mentions him again as follows:

ἐξελεξάμην τὸ τιμιώτατον σκεῦος,
τὸν ἔκγονον τοῦ μακαρίου Ἑρ- | I have chosen that most worthy
μογένους, τοῦ τὴν μεγάλην καὶ | vessel, the offspring of the bless-
ἄρρηκτον πίστιν γράψαντος ἐν τῇ | ed Hermogenes – who, in the
μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ. | great Synod, wrote the great and
invincible creed.⁷⁰

There is a problem with Basil’s description of Hermogenes as the one “who, in the great Synod, wrote the great and invincible creed.” It is assumed that Basil means the Council of Nicaea (325), but according to the preserved lists of bishops who took part in the Council

⁶⁶ Basil, *Epislulae* 263, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 123, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 4, 93–94.

⁶⁷ W. A. Jurgens, *Eustathius of Sebaste*, 19. M. Le Quien thinks that Hermogenes gave Eustathius episcopal rather than sacerdotal ordination, *Oriens Christianus*, vol. 1, 422.

⁶⁸ Basil, *Epislulae* 190, 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 142.

⁶⁹ Basil, *Epislulae* 263, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 123 (τυχῶν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς); 244, 9, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 82 (Παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν ἐπισκοπήν).

⁷⁰ Basil, *Epislulae* 81, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 183, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 2, 93.

of Nicaea (325) it was Leontius who was there as bishop of Caesarea.⁷¹ According to Adolf Harnack, after it had been agreed in the negotiations that a new anti-Arian symbol should be created, several of the orthodox synodals hurried to recreate their baptismal confessions and submitted these new versions to the assembly. These templates were then given to an editor (or an editorial committee), whose task was to create a new symbol from them.⁷² Roy Joseph Deferrari guesses that “Hermogenes may have been present in lower orders, and may have written the creed;”⁷³ William Jurgens attributes to Hermogenes a position of a secretary of the Council,⁷⁴ but these are pure speculations.

Anyway, neither do we know when Hermogenes became bishop of Caesarea nor when he died. We know from Basil that immediately (εὐθύς) after Hermogenes had died Eustathius ran to Constantinople to Eusebius of Nicomedia.⁷⁵ Eusebius was bishop of Constantinople between 338 and 341, so Eustathius must have been ordained before 341 and needed some time to come to Constantinople and fall into disfavour with Eusebius. That is why I assume he was ordained priest in the late 330s.

4. Deposition by Eusebius of Nicomedia (between 338 and 341)

There are three accounts on Eustathius’ deposition by Eusebius of Nicomedia. In one of them, Eusebius is called of Constantinople and the other states that Eustathius was bishop of Constantinople, so we can assume that it happened when he was bishop of Constantinople, namely between 338 and 341. One of the accounts comes from Sozomen:

⁷¹ H. Gelzer, H. Hilgenfeld, O. Cuntz, *Patrum nicaenorum nomina*, 24–25 (in Latin), 65 (in Greek), 86 (in Coptic), 105, 129 (in Syriac), 197 (in Armenian).

⁷² A. Harnack, *Kritischer Epilog*, “Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft” 24 (1925), 203.

⁷³ R. J. Deferrari, in: Basil, *The Letters*, vol. 2, 93, footnote 2.

⁷⁴ W. A. Jurgens, *Eustathius of Sebaste*, 19.

⁷⁵ Basil, *Epistulae* 263, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 123.

ὑπὸ Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπισκόπου καθηρέθη ἐπὶ διοικήσεσιν αἷς ἐπετρέπη καταγνώσθεις.

He had been [...] deposed by Eusebius, bishop of Constantinople, for unfaithfulness in the discharge of certain duties that had devolved upon him.⁷⁶

In Letter 263, Basil describes Eusebius as “of Constantinople” (ἐπὶ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως):

Εὐστάθιος μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου κοίμησιν εὐθὺς πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Εὐσέβιον ἔδραμεν, οὐδενὸς ἔλαττον καὶ αὐτὸν τὸ δυσσεβὲς δόγμα τοῦ Ἀρείου πρεσβεύοντα. Εἶτα ἐκεῖθεν δι’ ἃς δήποτε αἰτίας ἀπελαθεὶς ἐλθὼν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἀπελογήσατο πάλιν.

After the decease of the latter, he ran to Eusebius of Constantinople, a man who himself less than no one sponsored the impious doctrine of Arius. Then after being driven for some cause or other from that place, he returned.⁷⁷

In Letter 244, Basil does not ascribe any bishopric to Eusebius:

Ἐκοιμήθη Ἑρμογένης, καὶ πάλιν μετέστησαν πρὸς Εὐσέβιον, ἄνδρα κορυφαῖον τοῦ κατὰ Ἀρειὸν κύκλου, ὡς οἱ πειραθέντες φασίν. Ἐκεῖθεν ἐκπεσόντες, δι’ ἃς δήποτε αἰτίας, πάλιν ἀνέδραμον εἰς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ πάλιν τὸ Ἀρειανὸν ὑπέκρυπτον φρόνημα.

Hermogenes fell asleep, and again they changed to Eusebius, the chorus leader of the Arian circle, as those who have had experience of him say. Falling away from this man for some reason or other, they again ran back to their fatherland, and again concealed their Arian sentiments.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Sozomen, HE IV 24, 9, GCS 50, 180, transl. NPNF II 2, 320.

⁷⁷ Basil, *Epistolulae* 263, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 123, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 4, 95.

⁷⁸ Basil, *Epistolulae* 244, 9, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 82, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 471.

Basil does not state any cause of Eustathius' deposition. We do not even know what duties he was entrusted with. Although Socrates uses a verb that in Christian literature used to be associated with deposition from any level of the Church hierarchy (καθηρέθη), Basil does not mention any degradation or condemnation, but only states that Eustathius was expelled (ἐκεῖθεν ἀπελαθείς) and banished from that place (ἐκεῖθεν ἐκπεσόντες).

5. The Council of Serdica (343)?

The only (apparent) account of the deposition of Eustathius of Sebastea at the Council of Serdica that took place most probably in 343⁷⁹ comes from Athanasius of Alexandria.

Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν τῇ κατὰ
Σαρδικὴν γενομένῃ μεγάλῃ συ-
νόδῳ καθηρέθησαν· Εὐστάθιος τε
ὁ νῦν ἐν Σεβαστείᾳ Δημόφιλος
τε καὶ Γερμίνιος καὶ Εὐδόξιος καὶ
Βασίλειος συνήγοροι τῆς ἀσεβείας
ὄντες εἰς τοῦτο προήχθησαν.

These were degraded in the great
Synod of Sardica; Eustathius also
now of Sebastea, Demophilus
and Germinius, Eudoxius, and
Basil, who are supporters of that
impiety, were advanced in the
same manner.⁸⁰

The mention refers to the Council of Serdica only apparently. Athanasius names here as “advanced in the same manner” four bishops whom he considers to be Arians although three of them (Eustathius, Demophilus and Germinius) were Homoiousians. “In the same manner” refers to how the Council of Serdica treated the bishops, but it does not necessarily mean that the Council itself treated them in that way. As we have no other confirmation of that fact I think it should be treated as a part of Athanasius' polemic rather than a historical report.

⁷⁹ M. DelCogliano, *The Date of the Council of Serdica. A Reassessment of the Case for 343*, “Studies in Late Antiquity” 1/3 (2017), 282–310.

⁸⁰ Athanasius, *Epistula ad episcopos Aegypti et Libyae* VII 4, in: *Athanasius Werke*, vol. I/1, 45, transl. NPNF II 4, 226.

6. Deposed by his father Eulalius, bishop of Caesarea (early 340s)

When listing the causes why Eustathius was deposed by the Council of Constantinople (359/360), both Socrates and Sozomen give as the first reason that he had been earlier deposed by his own father. Socrates states:

Ὑπὸ Εὐλάλιου τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς
καὶ ἐπισκόπου Καισαρείας τῆς ἐν
Καππαδοκίᾳ ἤδη πρότερον κα-
θήρητο, ἐπειδὴ ἀνάρμοστον τῆ
ιερωσύνη στολήν ἠμφίεστο.

He had been long before deposed by Eulalius, his own father, who was bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, for dressing in a style unbecoming the sacerdotal office.⁸¹

And Sozomen similarly:

πρῶτον μὲν ὡς ἡνίκα πρεσβύτερος
ἦν προκατεγνώκει αὐτοῦ Εὐλάλιος
ὁ πατήρ καὶ τῶν εὐχῶν ἀφώρισεν,
ἐπίσκοπος ὦν τῆς ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ
ἐκκλησίας Καισαρείας.

He was deposed because, when a presbyter, he had been condemned, and put away from the communion of prayers by Eulalius, his own father, who was bishop of the church of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia.⁸²

As I explained above,⁸³ the charges in Socrates's account do not have to be put chronologically. Therefore, it is not necessary to treat Sozomen's *πρῶτον* in the temporal meaning, but rather as a beginning of a list of charges: "first, in the first place."

It comes as no surprise that Basil does not mention this deposition. He does list only the changes of confession and omits any disciplinary issues. But, if Socrates is right that Eustathius was deposed "for dressing

⁸¹ Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 43, 1, GCS NF I, 180, transl. NPNF II 2, 72.

⁸² Sozomen, HE IV 24, 9, GCS 50, 180, transl. NPNF II 2, 320.

⁸³ Part II, Chapter I 2.

in a style unbecoming the sacerdotal office,"⁸⁴ Basil could have passed the charge over for one more reason. As a disciple of Eustathius, Basil was wearing a similar robe.⁸⁵

Obviously, Eustathius was deposed from the sacerdotal office (not a bishopric) for disciplinary (not doctrinal) reasons. Assuming that Eulalius was bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia,⁸⁶ there are two possible dates of the deposition of Eustathius by Eulalius. The deposition could have occurred sometime before 341, after Eustathius had been ordained by Hermogenes, had gone to Constantinople, had been deposed by Eusebius, and had returned to Caesarea, but before Dianius became bishop of Caesarea as he is mentioned as such among the participants in the Council of Antioch (341).⁸⁷ Or at some point between 343, when Dianius participated in the Council of Serdica as bishop of Caesarea, and more or less 357, when Eustathius was ordained bishop of Sebastea.

According to my calculations, Eustathius became priest in the late 330s. We do not know the reason of his first deposition (by Eusebius, between 338 and 341), but nothing suggests it was in any way connected to his asceticism. Basil passes over the charges and Sozomen states that Eustathius was deposed "for unfaithfulness in the discharge of certain duties" (ἐπὶ διοικήσεσίν τισιν αἴς ἐπετράπη).⁸⁸ So, if my deduction is correct, the deposition by Eulalius could have been the first deposition of Eustathius based on the charges connected to his way of practicing asceticism. If, before his conversion, Eustathius was a Neoplatonic philosopher and as such was wearing a tribon, it is safe to guess that he did not change his way of dressing rather than to assume that after some time he returned to his previous habits. Eulalius could have excommunicated Eustathius at the very beginning of his Christian-ascetic practice, so the most possible date would be slightly before 341 or around 343.

⁸⁴ A charge concerning the way of dressing appears later on in Canon 12 of the Council of Gangra, *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, Canon 12, ed. P. P. Joannou, 94.

⁸⁵ Part III, Chapter II 2.

⁸⁶ Part II, Chapter II 1.

⁸⁷ Sozomen, HE III 5, 10, GCS 50, 107.

⁸⁸ Sozomen, HE IV 24, 9, GCS 50, 180, transl. NPNF II 2, 320.

I definitely do not agree with Michael Le Quien and William Jurgens that the deposition by Eulalius and the Council of Gangra was one and the same event which, by the way, Jurgens dates to 343. Le Quien thought that Eulalius had been bishop of Caesarea and participated in the Council of Gangra as a suffragan.⁸⁹ Jurgens argued as follows: "Is it not most probable then that the Eulalius who signed at Gangra was Eulalius of Sebaste? And is it not quite probable that the excommunication of Eustathius by his father, and his condemnation at Gangra are one and the same event? Basil, although he knew Eustathius very well, was unaware that he had been excommunicated by his father, and was unaware likewise that he had been condemned at Gangra. It is easier to believe Basil ignorant of one of Eustathius' condemnations than it is to believe him ignorant of two. We are of the opinion that Eustathius' condemnation by his father for not wearing clerical garb and his condemnation at Gangra for the same offense, a council at which his father was present, are one and the same condemnation."⁹⁰

First, as I have already indicated above, Eulalius was a very common name at that time.⁹¹ Second, if according to Jurgens Eulalius was bishop of Sebastea and was present at the Council of Gangra, it would have been pointless to address the letter to the bishops of Armenia. Third, I do not think that Basil did not know of Eustathius' depositions. The scope of his lists of charges was to show Eustathius' changes of confessions; Basil passed over all councils that condemned Eustathius on the basis of ascetical issues, not only the depositions by Eulalius and the Council of Gangra, but by other councils as well: of Melitene, Antiochia and Neocaesarea. And the reason for that concealment did not have to be ignorance but rather the fact that Basil was a follower of Eustathius' asceticism. Regarding the depositions by Eulalius and the Council of Gangra, there is no reason not to believe Socrates and Sozomen, who unanimously state that the first occurred when Eustathius

⁸⁹ M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, vol. I, 422.

⁹⁰ W. A. Jurgens, *Eustathius of Sebaste*, 23.

⁹¹ Part II, Chapter II 1.

was a priest: “for dressing in a style unbecoming the sacerdotal office” (Socrates), “when a presbyter” (Sozomen), while Sozomen states that at the Council of Gangra he “had been deprived of his bishopric.”⁹²

7. Bishop of Sebastea (357)

It seems that after having been deposed by his father, Eustathius started to act outside Cappadocia – in other provinces of the Diocese of Pontus. 14–16 years were enough for him to gain a good reputation in Sebastea, where (rather than in his homeland Caesarea) he was finally ordained bishop, and a much worse one in Paphlagonia, Pontus Polemoniacus and Armenia Minor outside Sebastea, where in 358 he was condemned by three councils (of Gangra, Melitene and Neocaesarea).

It is not certain when exactly Eustathius was ordained bishop of Sebastea. Certainly, he was already bishop of Sebastea at the Council of Ancyra (358). Jean Gribomont was convinced that Eustathius had been ordained before 356.⁹³ Tomislav Tenšek thinks that on the basis of information contained in Philostorgius HE III 27 we need to move the date of Eustathius’ ordination back to 351.⁹⁴ Let’s look at the text itself:

Ὅτι φησὶ τοὺς περὶ Βασίλειον καὶ
Εὐστάθιον, δι’ ἔχθρας γεγονότας
τῷ Ἀετίῳ, διαβολὰς ἀτόπους συρ-
ράψαι καὶ τὸν Γάλλον ἐπὶ ταύ-
ταις παροξῦναι ὥστε ἐκεῖνον, ὡς
ἐπισκόποις πιστεύσαντα καὶ πρὸς
ὄργην ἐκταραχθέντα,

He says that Basil and Eustathius
and their group fabricated some
absurd accusations against Aetius
out of their hostility to him and
used them to anger Gallus. He
accordingly, because he trusted
bishops and was moved to anger,

⁹² Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 43, 1, GCS NF I, 180; Sozomen, HE IV 24, 9, GCS 50, 180.

⁹³ J. Gribomont, *Eustathe de Sebaste*, in: *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, vol. 4/2, Paris: G. Beauchesne et ses fils 1961, 1708.

⁹⁴ T. Z. Tenšek, *L’ascetismo nel Concilio di Gangra*, 35.

κελεῦσαι τὸν Ἀέτιον ἀναζη-
τηθῆναι καὶ ἀμφοῖν τοῖν σκε-
λοῖν κατεαγῆναι.

ordered Aetius to be interrogated
and both his legs to be broken.⁹⁵

For some reasons, this report cannot be trusted. Thomas Kopecek thinks that this account is an anachronism, most probably concocted by Philostorgius on purpose: “Philostorgius’ account of the debate was an anachronistic doublet of a later debate involving precisely the same three men. This debate was held, according to Philostorgius, in Constantinople at the end of A. D. 359. Schladebach suggested that Philostorgius was motivated to the anachronism by a desire to explain (a) the hatred which Basil and Eustathius came to have for Aetius and (b) Gallus’ initial antipathy toward him.”⁹⁶

However, if we agreed with Kopecek we should also consider as another anachronism a passage of HE III 16 which reads as follows:

Ὅτι Ἀέτιος, φησί, τοῖς περὶ Βασι-
λειον τὸν Ἀγκύρας καὶ Εὐστάθιον
τὸν Σεβαστείας εἰς τοὺς περὶ τοῦ
ὁμοουσίου λόγους καταστάς, καὶ
πάντων ἀνθρώπων αὐτοὺς διελέγ-
ξας ἀφωνοτάτους, ὡς οὗτος τερα-
τολογεῖ, εἰς μῖσος αὐτοῖς ἄσπον-
δον κατέστη.

Aetius, he says, held a debate
with Basil of Ancyra, Eustathius
of Sebaste, and their party about
the term “consubstantial,” reduc-
ing them to utter silence by his
refutation and incurring thereby
their undying hatred, or so runs
the fable our author spins.⁹⁷

What is interesting, in both above-quoted passages in the Greek original of Philostorgius’ epitome it is not stated that the participants in the debate were Basil and Eustathius themselves, but some persons from their environment – τοὺς περὶ Βασιλείον καὶ Εὐστάθιον,

⁹⁵ Philostorgius, HE III 27, GCS 21, 52, transl. P. R. Amidon, 60–61.

⁹⁶ T. A. Kopecek, *A history of Neo-Arianism*, Cambridge: The Philadelphia Patristic Foundation 1979, vol. 1, 108.

⁹⁷ Philostorgius, HE III 16, GCS 21, 47, transl. P. R. Amidon, 55.

the fact noticed already by Richard Paul Vaggione.⁹⁸ On the contrary, in HE IV 12, when referring to the debate in Constantinople 359/360, Philostorgius talks about Basil and Eustathius themselves:

Προειστήκεισαν δὲ τῶν μὲν κατ'
οὐσίαν ὅμοιον πρεσβευόντων Βα-
σίλειός τε καὶ Εὐστάθιος...

Basil and Eustathius headed the
group representing the doctrine
of “like in substance”.⁹⁹

I think that it is highly probable that the Eustathius Philostorgius is talking about in HE III 16 and 27 is Eustathius of Antioch. Sometimes he adds the bishopric to the name ὁ τῆς Σεβαστείας Εὐστάθιος (HE III 16; IV 8), Εὐστάθιος ὁ Ἀντιοχείας (HE II 7), but very often uses the name without the bishopric. It seems that Philostorgius confused the two Eustathiuses. An example of such confusion can be found in HE III 18, when Philostorgius uses the name “Eustathius” without any addition, but it is clear he is talking about Eustathius of Antioch, while somewhat earlier in HE III 16 Philostorgius refers to Eustathius of Sebastea by name.

On the other hand, there is an evidence in Sozomen that still during the bishopric of Leontius there were many followers of Eustathius of Antioch in Antioch:

Ὅν ὡς ἑτερόδοξον παρηγεῖτο
Ἀθανάσιος, τοῖς δὲ καλουμένοις
Εὐσταθιανοῖς ἐκοινώνει ἐν ἰδι-
ωτῶν οἰκίαις ἐκκλησιάζων. [...]
τοὺς Εὐσταθίου ἐπαινέτας πολ-
λοὺς ὄντας.

Leontius obtained the bishop-
ric. Athanasius avoided him as
a heretic, and communed with
those who were called Eustathi-
ans, who assembled in a private
house. [...] The Eustathians, who
were very numerous.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ R. P. Vaggione, *Eunomius of Cyzicus and the Nicene Revolution*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 2000, 159–160, footnote 47.

⁹⁹ Philostorgius, HE IV 12, GCS 21, 64, transl. P. R. Amidon, 71.

¹⁰⁰ Sozomen, HE III 20, 4. 7, GCS 50, 134–135, transl. NPNF II 2, 298–299.

They could have had the abovementioned debates with Aetius. So, I think, that when Philostorgius talks about τοὺς περὶ Βασίλειον καὶ Εὐστάθιον in HE III 16 and HE III 27 with reference to the events in the early 350s he refers to the followers of Eustathius of Antioch, although in the first passage he names Eustathius of Sebastea. His mistake is understandable as only a few years later, in 358, another man named Eustathius enters this system and together with the same Basil of Ancyra acts against Aetius – Eustathius of Sebastea.

As regards chronology, I rely on Basil as his account was meant to show Eustathius' changes of confession made one by one in a chronological order. Basil states very clearly that immediately (εὐθύς) after he had been ordained bishop, he attended the Council of Ancyra:

Καὶ τυχὼν τῆς ἐπίσκοπῆς, ὡς ἔτυχεν, εὐθύς φαίνεται γράψας ἀναθεματισμὸν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀγκύραν γενομένῳ αὐτοῖς συλλόγῳ.

And when he somehow obtained the bishopric, he seems immediately to have written an anathema of consubstantiation at their synod convened at Ancyra.¹⁰¹

Bishops gathered in Ancyra just before Easter 358.¹⁰² Apparently, Eustathius must have become bishop of Sebastea in 357 or at the very beginning of 358.

8. The Council of Ancyra (358)

In 358, Basil of Ancyra and George of Laodicea (the latter not personally, but he wrote a letter to the participants) called an anti-Aetius council to Ancyra. Homoiousians were in the East a bastion of orthodoxy that defended Trinitarian theology against Anomoeans. Richard Hanson

¹⁰¹ Basil, *Epistulae* 263, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 123–124, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 4, 93–97.

¹⁰² D. Fairbairn, *The Synod of Ancyra (358) and the Question of the Son's Creaturehood*, "Journal of Theological Studies" 64 (2013), 111.

explains: “The statement which emerged from this council (it can hardly be called a formal encyclical), and which was certainly composed by Basil himself, marks the emergence of a new and coherent theological point of view. This is the theology of those whom Epiphanius, quite undeservedly, calls ‘Semi-Arians’, but who are usually today thought of as Homoiousians, a designation which is more accurate but still a little misleading.”¹⁰³ Actually Homoiousians did not use the term ὁμοιούσιος, but they emphasized that the Son is similar to the Father by substance (ὅμοιος κατ’ οὐσίαν). It is important to notice that such an expression appeared in the course of the conflict with Anomoeans as a direct opposition to “dissimilar by substance” (ἀνόμοιος κατ’ οὐσίαν).

Neither Socrates nor Theodoret mention the Council of Ancyra, but we do have accounts by Sozomen and Epiphanius, and Hilary quotes its confession.¹⁰⁴ Epiphanius confirms that the leaders of the Homoiousian alliance were Basil of Ancyra and George of Laodicea.¹⁰⁵ The letter by George of Laodicea as quoted by Epiphanius does not mention either Aetius or Eudoxius,¹⁰⁶ but Sozomen rightly understood it as an exhortation to depose personally Eudoxius of Antioch and to excommunicate Aetius.¹⁰⁷

Epiphanius attributes the first victory to the allies of Aetius:

καὶ ἐκρατύνθη τότε τὸ μέρος
τούτων τῶν Ἡμιαρείων, τῶν περὶ
Βασίλειον φημί καὶ Γεώργιον καὶ
Σιλουανὸν καὶ λοιπούς· * ἔχοντες
μεθ’ ἐαυτῶν σαρκὸς δεξιάν, Κων-
σταντίον τὸν βασιλέα, οἱ περὶ Εὐ-
δόξιον καὶ Γεώργιον τὸν Ἀλεξαν-
δρέα καὶ Εὐζώϊον τὸν Ἀντιοχέα.

And at that time the party of
these Semi-Arians – I mean Bas-
il, George, Silvanus and the rest
of them – were in the ascendant.
But the others – Eudoxius, George
of Alexandria, and Euzoeus of
Antioch –

¹⁰³ R. P. C. Hanson, *The search for the Christian Doctrine of God*, 349.

¹⁰⁴ Hilary, *De Synodis* 13–28, PL 10, 490–501.

¹⁰⁵ Epiphanius, *Panarion* 73, 1, 6, GCS 37, 268.

¹⁰⁶ Epiphanius, *Panarion* 73, 12, 1–22, 4, GCS 37, 284–295.

¹⁰⁷ Sozomen, HE IV 13, 6, GCS 50, 156.

καὶ οἱ μὲν περὶ Βασίλειον καὶ Γεώργιον τὸν Λαοδικέα ἐταπεινώθησαν, καίπερ πολλὰ ἰσχύσαντες, ἐξ ὧν πάλιν ἕτεροι διηρέθησαν τῆς αὐτῆς αἰρέσεως καὶ συνόδου, καὶ γέγονε τὸ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν σύστημα εἰς τρία τάγματα. Ἀκάκιος γὰρ ὁ Παλαιστινὸς ὁ Καισαρείας ἅμα Μελιτίῳ καὶ Οὐρανίῳ τῷ Τυρίῳ καὶ Εὐτυχίῳ τῷ Ἐλευθεροπολίτῃ, διὰ τὸν πρὸς Κύριλλον τὸν Ἱεροσολυμίτην ζῆλόν τε καὶ μῖσος, ἀνθίστατο τοῖς περὶ Βασίλειον καὶ Γεώργιον τὸν Λαοδικέα καὶ Σιλουανὸν τὸν Ταρσέα, Ἐλεύσιόν τε τὸν Κυζίκου, Μακεδόνιον τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλιτην, Εὐστάθιον τὸν Σεβαστείας καὶ Ἀνιανὸν τὸν Ἀντιοχέα, τότε κατασταθέντα, κατ' αὐτῶν τε ἑαυτὸν στρατεύσας ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀκάκιος πολλὴν φύρσιν εἰργάσατο.

opposed them, and had on their side an arm of flesh, the emperor Constantius. In spite of their great influence the party of Basil and George of Laodicea were humiliated. Still others of them broke with this faction and confederacy, and the Arian movement was divided into three groups. For because of his envy and hatred of Cyril of Jerusalem, this same Acacius of Caesarea in Palestine, along with Melitius, Uranius of Tyre, and Eutychius of Eleutheropolis opposed Basil, George of Laodicea, Silvanus of Tarsus, Eleusius of Cyzicus, Macedonius of Constantinople, Eustathius of Sebaste and the newly consecrated bishop of Antioch, Anianus. And by ranging himself against them, Acacius caused a great deal of confusion.¹⁰⁸

It seems that delegates of both parties went to Constantius and finally the Homoiousians convinced him to act against Anomoeans. Sozomen describes the events as follows:

καὶ αἰροῦνται περὶ τούτου πρεσβεύειν πρὸς βασιλέα

In order to proffer this request to the emperor, they sent to him a deputation composed of the following bishops:

¹⁰⁸ Eriphanius, *Panarion* 73, 23, 3-4, GCS 37, 296, transl. F. Williams, 468.

αὐτός τε Βασίλειος ὁ Ἀγκύρας
ἐπίσκοπος καὶ Εὐστάθιος ὁ Σεβα-
στείας καὶ Ἐλεύσιος ὁ Κυζίκου καὶ
Λεόντιος πρεσβύτερος ἐκ θαλαμη-
πόλου βασιλικοῦ. ὡς δὲ ἀφίκοντο
εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, καταλαμβάνουσιν
Ἀσφάλιον τινα πρεσβύτερον ἐξ
Ἀντιοχείας, εἰσάγαν σπουδαστὴν
τῆς Ἀετίου αἰρέσεως, ἥδη πράξα-
ντα ἐφ' ᾧ παρεγένετο καὶ γράμ-
ματα παρὰ βασιλέως κομισάμενον
ἐκδημεῖν μέλλοντα. καταμηνυ-
θείσης δὲ τῆς αἰρέσεως διὰ τῶν ἐξ
Ἀγκύρας πρέσβων καταψηφίζε-
ται Κωνστάντιος τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν
Εὐδόξιον καὶ ἀνακομίζεται παρὰ
Ἀσφαλίου τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιστολήν.
γράφει δὲ τάδε.

Basil, bishop of Ancyra; Eus-
tathius, bishop of Sebaste; Ele-
usius, bishop of Cyzicus; and
Leontius, the presbyter of the
imperial bed-chamber. On their
arrival at the palace, they found
that Asphalius, a presbyter of
Antioch, and a zealot of the
Aëtian heresy, was on the point
of taking his departure, after
having terminated the business
for which he undertook the jour-
ney and having obtained a letter
from the emperor. On receiv-
ing, however, the intelligence
concerning the heresy conveyed
by the deputation from Ancyra,
Constantius condemned Eudox-
ius and his followers, withdrew
the letter he had confided to As-
phalius, and wrote the following
one.¹⁰⁹

Both Sozomen and Philostorgius state that in the end the allies of Aetius were deposed and banished.¹¹⁰ Homoiousians won the battle although it was already the beginning of a war. What is significant for my story is that both authors mention Eustathius of Sebastea as an important figure of the Homoiousian alliance.

¹⁰⁹ Sozomen, HE IV 13, 5–6, GCS 50, 156, transl. NPNF II 2, 308.

¹¹⁰ Sozomen, HE IV 13, 6, GCS 50, 156; Philostorgius, HE IV 8, GCS 21, 62.

9. The legation to Persia (358)

At this point, the life of Eustathius of Sebastea intertwines with one of the most known events from the life of Eustathius the Philosopher if it is assumed that they were one and the same person.¹¹¹ Although Eunapius is far from describing the events in the chronological order and often mixes up facts, it seems that it was with respect to this embassy that he writes:

Τούτων δὲ ὁμῶς κατεχόντων, οὕτως πάντες ἦσαν ἡρημένοι καὶ κατακεκλημένοι, ὥστε μὴ κατοκνήσαι τινα Ἑλληνα ἄνθρωπον ἐς τὰ ὦτα τοῦ βασιλέως παραβαλεῖν· καὶ τοί γε εἰώθεσαν πρότερον οἱ βασιλεύοντες τοὺς κατὰ στρατιὰν ἐπαινουμένους ἐπὶ τὰς πρεσβείας χειροτονεῖν, ἥτοι γε στρατοπεδάρχας ἢ ὅσοι γε μετ' ἐκείνους ἐς τὸ ἄρχεῖν ἐξηρημένοι· τότε καὶ ἀνάγκης τυραννούσης, ὁ φρονιμώτατος ἀπάντων περιεσκοπεῖτο καὶ συνωμολογεῖτο Εὐστάθιος.

In this similar crisis all men were so held captive and enchanted by Eustathius, that they did not hesitate to commend a man of the Hellenic faith to the ears of the emperor; although the earlier emperors had been accustomed to elect for embassies men who had won distinction in the army, or military prefects, or men who were next in rank to these and had been selected for office. But at that time, at the imperious call of necessity, Eustathius was sought out and admitted by general consent to be the most prudent of all men.¹¹²

Ammianus Marcellinus does not mention his confession; it is only Eunapius who states that surprisingly “a man of the Hellenic faith”¹¹³

¹¹¹ Part II, Chapter I 1.

¹¹² Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* VI 5, 3–4, ed. G. Giangrande, 25–26, transl. E. Wilmer Cave Wright, 395.

¹¹³ Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* VI 5, 3, ed. G. Giangrande, 25, transl. E. Wilmer Cave Wright, 395.

(in Wilmer Cave Wright's translation) was commended to the emperor. But, the expression τις Ἑλλήν ἄνθρωπος does not have to be connected with religion. What is more important, the direct context does not imply a religious meaning. Indeed, some 10 verses above Eunapius mentions that the Caesar "was wrapped up in the books of the Christians,"¹¹⁴ but this is actually an explanation why he sent for Eustathius. Nevertheless, here τις Ἑλλήν ἄνθρωπος is not contrasted with Christians,¹¹⁵ but with "men who had won distinction in the army, or military prefects, or men who were next in rank to these and had been selected for office."¹¹⁶ It could have meant "any educated man" in opposition to those who made a military career in the army and were chosen for embassies. "Greek" here does not mean nationality, but education.¹¹⁷ Ἑλλήν meant pagan for Christians, but Eunapius was not a Christian so he did not use that noun in the "Christian" meaning.

This understanding is confirmed by the use of the noun Ἑλλήν in other places of *Vitae Sophistarum*. Eunapius uses it four more times. In the story on Aedesius, the Greeks (Ἕλληνες) and the neighbouring people attended his school in Pergamon.¹¹⁸ The Greeks (Ἕλληνες) sent an embassy to Eustathius because the entire Ἑλλάς wanted to see him.¹¹⁹ Ἑλλάς could have meant here not Greece as such, but an international community of educated people.¹²⁰ Maximus calls himself and his interlocutor "genuine Greeks" (ἄκροὶ Ἕλληνες) when talking

¹¹⁴ Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* VI 5, 2, ed. G. Giangrande, 25, transl. E. Wilmer Cave Wright, 395.

¹¹⁵ In opposition to M. Becker, *Eunapios aus Sardes Biographien über Philosophen und Sophisten*, 280–281.

¹¹⁶ Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* VI 5, 3, ed. G. Giangrande, 26, transl. E. Wilmer Cave Wright, 393–395.

¹¹⁷ M. Becker, *Eunapios aus Sardes Biographien über Philosophen und Sophisten*, 281; A. Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium. The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition*, New York: Cambridge University Press 2008, 31–40.

¹¹⁸ Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* VI 4, 6–7, ed. G. Giangrande, 24–25.

¹¹⁹ Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* VI 6, 2, ed. G. Giangrande, 28.

¹²⁰ A. Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, 35.

to Chrysanthius,¹²¹ although they were both from Asia Minor: Chrysanthius from Sardes in Lidia and Maximus from Ephesus. When describing Anatolius Azutrion, a praetorian prefect of Illyricum, Eunapius calls him Ἐλληγν, although he was originally from Beirut.¹²²

If we assume that it was Eustathius of Sebastea who was sent to Persia as (according to Eunapius and Ammianus Marcellinus) Eustathius the Philosopher, the following sequence of events could have happened:

Bishops gathered in Ancyra just before Easter in 358.¹²³ Eustathius was sent by the bishops as one of the delegates to Constantius and Homoiousians managed to win the Caesar over. My speculation is as follows: During that speech Constantius or rather his counsellor Musonianus was impressed by the rhetorical skills of Eustathius and thus he was sent as a member of the delegation to Persia. The Persians besieged Antioch, and the empire was threatened with a war, so Constantius sent Eustathius as ambassador to king Shapur II to Persia.¹²⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus could have called him Eustathius the Philosopher as he was wearing a tribon¹²⁵ and was chosen for a legate “at the suggestion of Musonianus as a master of persuasion.”¹²⁶ As Ammianus was neither Christian nor interested in ecclesiastical issues he could have ignored the fact that Eustathius was a bishop. Eustathius had enough time to go to Persia, spend there some time¹²⁷ and come back to Sirmium.

¹²¹ Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* VII 3, 12, ed. G. Giangrande, 47, transl. E. Wilmer Cave Wright, 441.

¹²² Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* X 6, 3, ed. G. Giangrande, 74.

¹²³ D. Fairbairn, *The Synod of Ancyra (358) and the Question of the Son's Creaturehood*, 111.

¹²⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae* XVII 5, 15 and XVII 14, 1–2, ed. J. C. Rolfe, vol. 1, 338 and 401–403; Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* VI 5, 3–4, ed. G. Giangrande, 25.

¹²⁵ Eunapius (*Vitae Sophistarum* VI 5, 8, ed. G. Giangrande, 27) confirms that at his embassy to Persia Eustathius was wearing a philosopher cloak (τὸ τριβώνιον) and wearing a tribon was one of the characteristics of Eustathius of Sebastea as well.

¹²⁶ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae* XVII 5, 15, ed. and transl. J. C. Rolfe, 339.

¹²⁷ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae* XVII 14, 2, ed. J. C. Rolfe, 402: *Diu igitur ibi morati*.

The next time we meet him in person he attends the Council of Seleucia¹²⁸ in the summer of 359.¹²⁹

★ ★ ★

In the same 358, there were three more councils important for Eustathius: of Melitene, Neocaesarea and Gangra. I shall describe them in a random order as it is impossible to establish the exact dates of all of them. But my dating is not random. All of them were held before the Council of Constantinople (359/360) as they appear in the charges brought against Eustathius during that council. And they could not have been held earlier as already after the Council of Ancyra Eustathius became so important that his case was examined by different councils. All three councils were held in the Diocese of Pontus.



The map of Diocese of Pontus ca 400 AD

It seems that Eustathian asceticism became very popular in the entire diocese. In the case of Gangra, the bishops gathered there sent a letter to Armenia Minor in order to inform about their concerns/decisions.

¹²⁸ Part II, Chapter II 14.

¹²⁹ D. Fairbairn, *The Synod of Ancyra (358) and the Question of the Son's Creaturehood*, 125.

10. The Council of Melitene (358)

Two sources mention Eustathius in the context of the Council of Melitene. Basil states that Eustathius was deposed by the Council of Constantinople (359/360) because of his former deposition by the Council of Melitene:

Ἐν δὲ τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει συνέθετο πάλιν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν αἰρετικῶν προταθεῖσι. Καὶ οὕτως ἀπελάθεις τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ Μελιτηνῇ προκαθηρῆσθαι ὁδὸν ἑαυτῷ τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως ἐπένοήσε τὴν ὡς ὑμᾶς ἄφιξιν.

And at Constantinople he again agreed with the proposals of the heretics. And when he had accordingly been expelled from his episcopacy on account of his former deposition at Melitine, he conceived of the visit to you as a means of restoring himself.¹³⁰

Basil suggests that Eustathius was deposed from bishopric so the Council of Melitene must have taken place after Eustathius' ordination to the see of Sebastea. According to the very same Basil he received the bishopric and "immediately" after that went to Ancyra, so it seems very probable that the Council of Melitene was held in 358.¹³¹

The account by Sozomen reads as follows:

Καὶ ὅτι ἀνατρέπειν ἐπιχειρεῖ τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς ἐν Μελιτινῇ

He had likewise endeavored to reverse the decrees of those convened at Melitina;

¹³⁰ Basil, *Epistulae* 263, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 123–124, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 4, 95.

¹³¹ The date given as well by Mansi, *Sanctorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. J. D. Mansi, vol. 3 (347–409), 291–292.

συνελθοῦσι καὶ πλείστοις ἐγκλή-
μασιν ἔνοχος ὢν δικαστῆς ἡξίου
εἶναι καὶ ἑτεροδόξους τοὺς ἄλ-
λους ἀπεκάλει.

and, although he was guilty of many crimes, he had the assurance to aspire to be judge over the others, and to stigmatize them as heretics.¹³²

William Jurgens emphasizes the inconsistencies between those two accounts, namely that Basil talks about Eustathius' deposition and Sozomen that he attempted to reverse the decrees of Melitene. He thinks that Eustathius was not deposed in Melitene.¹³³ I think that the inconsistency between the accounts by Basil and Sozomen is only apparent. As seen in the case of the Council of Ancyra, Sozomen has a tendency to present his own interpretation of the documents he summarizes. It appears from other mentions about the Council of Melitene that the gathering of bishops examined disciplinary issues. Sozomen reports regarding Elpidius:

Τὸν δὲ Ἐλπίδιον ὡς Βασιλείῳ ἐπὶ
ταραχῇ συμμίζαντα καὶ καθηγη-
τὴν γενόμενον ἀταξίας καὶ παρὰ
τὰ δόξαντα τῇ ἐν Μελιτινῇ συνό-
δῳ Εὐσέβιον μὲν ἄνδρα καθηρη-
μένον πρεσβυτερίῳ ἀποκαταστή-
σαντα, Νεκταρίαν δὲ τινα διὰ
παραβάσεις συνθηκῶν καὶ ὄρκων
ἀκοινωνήτον γενομένην διακονίας
ἀξιώσαντα,

Elpidius was deposed because he had participated in the malpractices of Basil, and had occasioned great disorders; and because he had, contrary to the decrees of the council of Melitina, restored to his former rank in the presbytery a man named Eusebius, who had been deposed for having created Nectaria a deaconess, after she had been excommunicated on account of violating agreements and oaths;

¹³² Sozomen, HE IV 24, 9, GCS 50, 180, transl. NPNF II 2, 320.

¹³³ W. A. Jurgens, *Eustathius of Sebaste*, 36–39.

μη μετὸν αὐτῆ τιμῆς κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

and to confer this honor upon her was clearly contrary to the laws of the Church.¹³⁴

Sozomen mentions Melitene also regarding Cyril of Jerusalem:

Κύριλλον τὸν Ἱεροσολύμων καθεῖλον ὡς Εὐσταθίῳ καὶ Ἐλπιδίῳ κεκοινωνηκότα, ἐναντία σπουδᾶσσι τοῖς ἐν Μελιτινῇ συνελθοῦσι, μεθ' ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς συνελήλυθει.

Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, was deposed as he stayed in communion with Eustathius and Elpidius, in defiance of those assembled in Melitina, among whom was Cyril himself.¹³⁵

If the Council had examined confessions or created a new one Basil would have mentioned it in the list of Eustathius' confessions. Melitene appears in his letter as a cause for Eustathius' deposition in Constantinople (359/360). There is no reason not to believe Basil that Eustathius was deposed in Melitene, although that deposition could have been ineffective. I am leaving here open the problem whether Meletius was ordained bishop of Sebastea and when (358 or 360, after Beroe or not)¹³⁶ as it is not crucial for the story about Eustathius. On the basis of available sources it can be stated that Eustathius was deposed in Melitene, but it is difficult to determine whether he was replaced by Meletius in 358.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ Sozomen, HE IV 24, 16, GCS 50, 181; transl. NPNF II 2, 321.

¹³⁵ Sozomen, HE IV 25, 1, GCS 50, 181, transl. NPNF II 2, 321 with alterations.

¹³⁶ Sozomen and Socrates differ in their accounts: Sozomen (HE IV 25, 6, GCS 50, 182) says that Eustathius was replaced by Meletius after the Council of Constantinople (359/360), while Socrates (HE II 44, 1-2, GCS NF I, 181-182) claims that Meletius became bishop of Sebastea before the Council of Constantinople (359/360) and even before the Council of Seleucia (359).

¹³⁷ Against textbooks and C. A. Frazee, *Anatolian Asceticism in the Fourth Century: Eustathios of Sebastea and Basil of Caesarea*, 23.

11. The Council of Neocaesarea (358)

In my opinion, the Council of Neocaesarea that concerned Eustathius was held in 358,¹³⁸ and similarly to Melitene and Gangra it referred only to the disciplinary issues. Actually, we hardly know anything about that gathering except for two mentions in Sozomen and Socrates. The one by Sozomen reads as follows:

<p>Ἐν Νεοκαισαρείᾳ τοῦ Πόντου ὑπὸ συνόδου ἀκοινώνητος ἐγένετο.</p>	<p>He had been excommunicated by a council held at Neocæsarea, a city of Pontus.¹³⁹</p>
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Socrates names the city Caesarea, but it is assumed that he refers to Neocaesarea:¹⁴⁰

<p>Εὐστάθιος μέντοι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ δι' αὐτὸν γενομένῃ ἐν Γάγγραις τῆς Παφλαγονίας συνόδῳ κατεκρίθη, διότι μετὰ τὸ καθαιρεθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ κατὰ Καισάρειαν συνόδῳ πολλὰ παρὰ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς τύπους ἔπραττεν.</p>	<p>Eustathius indeed was subsequently condemned by a Synod convened on his account at Gangra in Paphlagonia; he having, after his deposition by the council at Cæsarea, done many things repugnant to the ecclesiastical canons.¹⁴¹</p>
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It seems that the deposition pronounced at this Council could have been as ineffective as the one at Melitene.

¹³⁸ The date given also by Mansi, *Sanctorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. J. D. Mansi, vol. 3 (347-409), 291-292.

¹³⁹ Sozomen, HE IV 24, 9, GCS 50, 180, transl. NPNF II 2, 320.

¹⁴⁰ *Sanctorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. J. D. Mansi, vol. 3 (347-409), 291-292.

¹⁴¹ Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 43, 2, GCS NF 1, 180, transl. NPNF II 2, 72-73.

12. The Council of Gangra (358)

The discussion about the date of the Council of Gangra started with Louis-Sébastien Tillemont in 1703 and has never reached the point of certainty and general agreement. Scholars have proposed different dates: 340,¹⁴² around 341,¹⁴³ 342,¹⁴⁴ 343,¹⁴⁵ around 355,¹⁴⁶ 372 or 373,¹⁴⁷ and 376.¹⁴⁸

The early dating (340–343) is based on two presumptions: first, that Eusebius named in the synodical letter is Eusebius of Nicomedia, who died around 341,¹⁴⁹ but as there is no bishopric mentioned nothing obliges us to believe that Eusebius of Nicomedia was present at the council. Timothy Barnes and Avshalom Laniado think that it is much more

¹⁴² L. S. Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, vol. 9, 652; F. Loofs, *Eustathius von Sebaste und die Chronologie der Basilien-Briefe*, 81–84; K. Suso Frank, *Monastische Reform im Altertum. Eustathius von Sebaste und Basilien von Caesarea*, 39; C. A. Frazee, *Anatolian Asceticism in the Fourth Century: Eustathios of Sebaste and Basil of Caesarea*, 19; T. Z. Tenšek, *L'ascetismo nel Concilio di Gangra*, 23; A. M. Silvas, *Asketikon of St Basil the Great*, 59.

¹⁴³ J. Gribomont, *Le monachisme au IV^e siècle en Asie Mineure: De Gangres au Messalianisme*, in: *Studia Patristica. Vol. II. Papers presented to the Second International Conference on Patristic Studies held at Christ Church, Oxford, 1955*, eds. K. Aland, F. L. Cross, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag 1957, 401; R. Pouchet, *Basile le Grand et son univers d'amis d'après sa correspondance*, 88; J. Driscoll, *Eustazio di Sebaste e il primo ascetismo cappadocce*, in: *Basilio tra Oriente e Occidente. Convegno Internazionale «Basilio il Grande e il monachesimo orientale». Cappadocia 5–7 ottobre 1999*, eds. S. Chialà, L. Cremaschi, Magnano: Comunità di Bose 2001, 16.

¹⁴⁴ E. Schwartz, *Die Kanonensammlungen der alten Reichskirche*, "Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung" 25 (1936), 36.

¹⁴⁵ W. A. Jurgens, *Eustathius of Sebaste*, 23; A. Laniado, *Note sur la datation consentie en syriaque du concile de Gangres*, "Orientalia Christiana Periodica" 61 (1995), 197; F. Fatti, *Monachesimo anatolico. Eustazio di Sebastia e Basilio di Cesarea*, in: *Monachesimo orientale. Un'introduzione*, ed. G. Filoramo, Brescia: Morcelliana 2010, 58.

¹⁴⁶ T. D. Barnes, *The date of the Council of Gangra*, "Journal of Theological Studies" 40 (1989), 121–124.

¹⁴⁷ H. Wace, *A Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature to the End of the Sixth Century A. D., with an Account of the Principal Sects and Heresies*, Hendrickson Publishers 1999, 550.

¹⁴⁸ R. Ceillier, *Histoire générale des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques*, Paris 1734, vol. 4, 736.

¹⁴⁹ C. A. Frazee, *Anatolian Asceticism in the Fourth Century*, 19.

likely that the council was chaired by a bishop of Gangra (and therefore metropolitan of Paphlagonia) of the same name, unknown elsewhere.¹⁵⁰

The second presumption is the date attributed to the council by the Syriac translation. In the French translation by Dominique Gonnet, the statement reads as follows: “Fin des canons du synode de Gangres dans le consulat de Placidus et Romulus dans l’année 390 selon le comput des Antiochiens, [(canons) qui sont au nombre de vingt].”¹⁵¹ The two indications are inconsistent: the consulate of Placidus and Romulus was in 343, and the year 390 of the era of Antioch coincides with 341/342. Avshalom Laniado is right that the indication with the names of the consuls was less prone to negligence of a copyist and that is why it is more reliable.¹⁵² However, he is wrong in stating that the indication of the date was preserved in two manuscripts. Friedrich Schulthess based the critical edition of Syriac canones on seven manuscripts, six of which include the canons of the Council of Gangra.¹⁵³ According to the editor, the stemma originates from one Greek (lost) original and then splits into two basic families. One of these families groups three codices: AFH.¹⁵⁴ Of this family, manuscript H does not contain the canons of Gangra, one manuscript provides an indication of the date (F–Borg. Sir. 82 of Vaticana = former K. VI 4 from Museo Borgia), and neither manuscript A (Add. 14, 528 from the British Museum – indicated by Laniado as the second one with the date) from the same family nor any other from the second family provides it.¹⁵⁵ Timothy Barnes is right that the above-quoted sentence is a “product of later guesswork”¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁰ T. D. Barnes, *The date of the Council of Gangra*, 124; A. Laniado, *Note sur la datation consentie en syriaque du concile de Gangres*, 199.

¹⁵¹ *Die Syrischen Kanones der Synoden von Nicaea bis Chalcedon nebst einigen zugehörigen Dokumenten*, ed. F. Schulthess, Berlin 1908, 63, transl. D. Gonnet (at my request).

¹⁵² A. Laniado, *Note sur la datation consentie en syriaque du concile de Gangres*, 196–197.

¹⁵³ *Die Syrischen Kanones*, IX.

¹⁵⁴ *Die Syrischen Kanones*, X.

¹⁵⁵ *Die Syrischen Kanones*, 63. The Syriac text consulted by Dominique Gonnet (HiSo-MA–Sources Chrétienues).

¹⁵⁶ T. D. Barnes, *The date of the Council of Gangra*, 124.

as it is present in one manuscript only while even the second one from the same family does not contain it.

The presumption that has never been articulated clearly is that the charges listed by Sozomen are put in a chronological order. On the basis of the latter some scholars date Gangra to 341 following the chronological order of the charges listed by Sozomen and others to the period after 360 following their interpretation of the account by Socrates. As I have explained above,¹⁵⁷ Sozomen might have not listed his charges in a chronological order. Moreover, regarding the date of Gangra the account of Socrates is not so obviously opposed to Sozomen's as it would seem at the first glance. The report of Socrates reads as follows:

Εὐστάθιος δὲ ὁ τῆς ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ Σεβαστείας οὐτε εἰς ἀπολογία ἐδέχθη, διότι ὑπὸ Εὐλαλίου τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς καὶ ἐπισκόπου Καισαρείας τῆς ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ ἤδη πρότερον καθήρητο, ἐπειδὴ ἀνάρμοστον τῆ ἱερωσύνη στολήν ἠμφίεστο. Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι εἰς τόπον Εὐσταθίου Μελέτιος κατέστη ἐπίσκοπος, περὶ οὗ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν. Εὐστάθιος μέντοι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ δὲ αὐτὸν γενομένη ἐν Γάγγραις τῆς Παφλαγονίας συνόδῳ κατακρίθη. [...] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐγένετο.

Eustathius bishop of Sebastia in Armenia was not even permitted to make his defense; because he had been long before deposed by Eulalius, his own father, who was bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, for dressing in a style unbecoming the sacerdotal office. Let it be noted that Meletius was appointed his successor, of whom we shall hereafter speak. Eustathius indeed was subsequently condemned by a Synod convened on his account at Gangra in Paphlagonia; [...] This, however, was done afterwards.¹⁵⁸

Indeed, Sozomen says that after the Council of Constantinople (359/360) Eustathius was replaced by Meletius (HE IV 25), while Socrates

¹⁵⁷ Part II, Chapter I 2.

¹⁵⁸ Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 43, 1-2. 7, GCS NF 1, 180, transl. NPNF II 2, 72-73.

says that the Council of Gangra took place after Meletius had been ordained to the bishopric of Sebastea (HE II 43). But it does not mean that according to Socrates the Council of Gangra gathered after the Council of Constantinople (359/360). Socrates clearly asserts that Meletius became bishop of Sebastea BEFORE the Council of Constantinople (359/360) and even before the Council of Seleucia (359):

Ἦδη δὲ λοιπὸν καὶ περὶ Μελετίου λεκτέον. Οὗτος γάρ, ὡς μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν εἶπον, τῆς Ἀρμενίων Σεβαστείας ἐπίσκοπος προεβλήθη, Εὐσταθίου καθαιρεθέντος, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Σεβαστείας εἰς Βέροϊαν τῆς Συρίας μετηνέχθη. Γενόμενος δὲ ἐν τῇ κατὰ Σελεύκειαν συνόδῳ καὶ τῇ πίστει τῶν περὶ Ἀκάκιον ὑπογράψας ὡς εἶχεν ἐπὶ τὴν Βέροϊαν ἀνεχώρησεν. Γενομένης δὲ τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει συνόδου οἱ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ πυθόμενοι τὸν Εὐδόξιον καταπεφρονηκέναι μὲν τῆς αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίας, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν πλοῦτον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀποκεκλικέναι, μεταπεμψάμενοι τὸν Μελέτιον ἐκ τῆς Βεροίας εἰς τὴν Ἀντιοχείας ἐκκλησίαν ἐνθρονίζουσιν.

It becomes us now to speak of Meletius, who, as we have recently observed, was created bishop of Sebastia in Armenia, after the deposition of Eustathius; from Sebastia he was transferred to Beroëa, a city of Syria. Being present at the Synod of Seleucia, he subscribed the creed set forth there by Acacius, and immediately returned thence to Beroëa. When the convention of the Synod at Constantinople was held, the people of Antioch finding that Eudoxius, captivated by the magnificence of the see of Constantinople, had contemned their church, they sent for Meletius, and invested him with the bishopric of the church at Antioch.¹⁵⁹

What is more, he is convinced that after Meletius had been ordained to the see of Sebastea, he was bishop of Beroe and as such took part in the Council of Seleucia (359) and Constantinople (359/360).

¹⁵⁹ Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 44, 1-3, GCS NF I, 181-182, transl. NPNF II 2, 73.

According to Socrates, he was appointed to the see of Antioch in 360. So, when Socrates says that the Council of Gangra took place after Meletius had been ordained to the bishopric of Sebastea, he does not refer to the decision of the Council of Constantinople (359/360), but (probably) to the Council of Melitene (358). So, when he indicates that Gangra took place AFTER Meletius had been appointed to the see of Sebastea replacing Eustathius, he refers to the events BEFORE the Council of Constantinople (359/360). Actually, the account of Socrates confirms my dating of Gangra to after Melitene (358) and before Constantinople (359/360).

The Council of Gangra could have been held in 358. My arguments are as follows:

My first argument is based on the fact that Eustathius was born and raised in Caesarea of Cappadocia. The synodical letter is addressed by the bishops gathered in Gangra “to their most honored lords and fellow ministers in Armenia” (κυρίοις τιμιωτάτοις ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ συλλειτουργοῖς),¹⁶⁰ which obviously refers to Armenia Minor, the province of which Sebastea was the capital city. If it were assumed that Eustathius was from Sebastea as well as his father, it could be possible that the bishops from Gangra informed his home Church about his exaggerated asceticism. However, I have established that Eustathius came from Caesarea in Cappadocia,¹⁶¹ was ordained priest there¹⁶² and in the early 340s was excommunicated by his father, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia.¹⁶³ So, the fact that the synodical letter of the bishops gathered in Gangra was addressed specifically to the clergy of Armenia proves that at the time of the Council of Gangra Eustathius was already bishop of Sebastea (most probably since 357). Since both Sozomen and Socrates list Gangra among the causes of his deposition in Constantinople (359/360), the Council of Gangra must have taken place earlier. It is very likely that it took place in 358.

¹⁶⁰ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, Synodical letter, ed. P. P. Joannou, 94, transl. O. L. Yarbrough, 449.

¹⁶¹ Part II, Chapter II 1.

¹⁶² Part II, Chapter II 3.

¹⁶³ Part II, Chapter II 6.

Second, Sozomen states that Eustathius was deposed from bishopric in Gangra:

Ἐπειτα δὲ ὡς οὐ δέον διδασκῶν τε καὶ πράττων καὶ φρονῶν ἀφῆρέθη τῆς ἐπίσκοπῆς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Γάγγραις συνελθυθέντων.

He had also been deprived of his bishopric by those who were convened in Gangra, on account of his having taught, acted, and thought contrary to sound doctrine.¹⁶⁴

The synodical letter and the canons of Gangra really depose all those who do not obey the synodical restrictions although the council left the door for change open:

Διὰ οὖν ταῦτα ἠναγκάσθη ἡ παραγενομένη ἐν Γάγγραις ἁγία σύνοδος καταψηφίσασθαι αὐτῶν καὶ ὄρους ἐκθέσθαι, ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ εἶναι τῆς ἐκκλησίας· εἰ δὲ μεταγνοῖεν καὶ ἀναθεματίζοιεν ἕκαστον τούτων τῶν κακῶς λεχθέντων, δεκτοῦς αὐτοῦ γίνεσθαι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐξέθετο ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἕκαστον, ὃ ὀφείλουσιν ἀναθεματίσαντες δεχθῆναι. Εἰ δὲ τις μὴ πεισθεῖ τῶν λεχθειῶν, ὡς αἰρετικὸν αὐτὸν ἀναθεματισθῆναι καὶ εἶναι ἀκοινωνήτον καὶ κεχωρισμένον τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

Because of these things, the holy synod convened in Gangra was compelled to vote in condemnation of them and to set forth definitions, to the effect that they are outside the church. But if they repent and anathematize each of the things recounted as evil, they will be acceptable. And to this end the holy synod has set forth everything they must anathematize in order to be received. But if anyone should not comply with the things listed [herein], such a one is anathematized as a heretic and will be excommunicated and separated from the church.

¹⁶⁴ Sozomen, HE IV 24, 9, GCS 50, 180, transl. NPNF II 2, 320.

καὶ δεήσει τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν εὕρισκομένων παρ' αὐτοῖς τοιοῦτον παραφυλάξασθαι.

And it will be necessary for the bishops to be on guard against such behavior in all things discovered among them.¹⁶⁵

It is difficult to determine whether the canons of Gangra were intended to condemn Eustathius himself or his disciples. The synodical letter is ambiguous:

Ἐπειδὴ συνελθοῦσα ἡ ἁγιωτάτη σύνοδος τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐν τῇ κατὰ Γάγγραν ἐκκλησίᾳ διὰ τινὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς χρείας, ζητούμενων καὶ τῶν κατ' Εὐστάθιον, εὕρισκε πολλὰ ἀθέσμως γινόμενα ὑπὸ τούτων αὐτῶν τῶν περὶ Εὐστάθιον, ἀναγκάιως ὥρισε καὶ πᾶσι φανερόν ποιῆσαι ἐσπούδασεν εἰς ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κακῶς γινομένων.

Inasmuch as the most holy synod of bishops, having convened in the church at Gangra on account of certain pressing matters of ecclesiastical business, when the affairs concerning Eustathius were also investigated, discovered that many things were being done unlawfully by Eustathius's followers, it has out of necessity established guidelines [concerning these things] and has hastened to make [them] known to all in order to put an end to the things being done evilly by him.¹⁶⁶

Although the letter states that the Council examined the matters which concern Eustathius (ζητούμενων καὶ τῶν κατ' Εὐστάθιον), the charges seem to refer to his disciples – the partisans of Eustathius

¹⁶⁵ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, synodical letter, ed. P. P. Joannou, 88–89, transl. O. L. Yarbrough, 451.

¹⁶⁶ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, synodical letter, ed. P. P. Joannou, 85–86, transl. O. L. Yarbrough, 450.

who violated ecclesiastical discipline (πολλὰ ἀθέσμως γινόμενα ὑπὸ τούτων αὐτῶν τῶν περὶ Εὐστάθιον).¹⁶⁷ But, as the canons do not depose anybody by name, it must be assumed that they did refer to Eustathius and his followers as well if they did not obey the rules. It is significant that Sozomen notes that for some time after Gangra Eustathius changed his way of dressing:

Διὰ δὴ ταῦτα τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἐπισκόπους συνελθεῖν ἐν Γάγγραις τῇ μητροπόλει Παφλαγόνων καὶ ἀλλοτρίους αὐτοὺς ψηφίσασθαι τῆς καθόλου ἐκκλησίας, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τοὺς ὅρους τῆς συνόδου ἕκαστον τῶν εἰρημένων ἀποκηρύξωσιν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ λόγος Εὐστάθιον ἐπιδεικνύμενον, ὡς οὐκ ἀνθαδείας ἔνεκεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς κατὰ θεὸν ἀσκήσεως εἰσηγοῖτο ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιτηδεύοι, ἀμεῖψαι τὴν στολὴν καὶ παραπλησίως τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱερεῦσι τὰς προόδους ποιήσασθαι.

The bishops of the neighborhood of Gangrae, the metropolis of Paphlagonia, assembled themselves together, and declared that all those who imbibed these opinions should be aliens to the Catholic Church, unless, according to the definitions of the Synod, they would renounce each of the aforesaid customs. It is said that from that time, Eustathius exchanged his clothing for the stole, and made his journeys habited like other priests, thus proving that he had not introduced and practiced these novelties out of self-will, but for the sake of a godly asceticism.¹⁶⁸

It is also important that the group of Eustathius' disciples had enough influence to attract the attention of the council. And this is but another argument not to date the Council of Gangra to the beginning of Eustathius' career.

¹⁶⁷ T. Z. Tenšek, *L'ascetismo nel Concilio di Gangra*, 68: "Comunque occorre notare che l'epistola sinodica è assai poco chiara; essa dice che le deviazioni sono apparse a seguito di Eustazio (κατ'Εὐστάθιον) da coloro che erano attorno ad Eustazio (ὑπὸ τούτων αὐτῶν τῶν περὶ Εὐστάθιον)."

¹⁶⁸ Sozomen, HE III 14, 36, GCS 50, 124, transl. NPNF II 2, 293-294.

13. Charged with perjury by the Council of Antioch (before 360)

Socrates is the only one who mentions that Eustathius was judged by the Council of Antioch. The remark is odd as it appears in the list of charges of the Council of Constantinople (359/360); Eustathius was deposed there on the basis of disciplinary issues and all of the charges refer to discipline.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ συνόδου
ἐπιορκίας ἦλω.

He had been convicted of perjury
by the council of Antioch.¹⁶⁹

The term “perjury” (ἐπιορκία) is quite rare in Sozomen: he uses it 4 times only including the above quoted text and he sometimes uses the verb ἐπιορκέω. Perjury may refer to doctrinal matters as “Arius had perjured himself (ἐπιώρκησεν) by declaring to the Emperor Constantine that he maintained the doctrines of the Council of Nicaea.”¹⁷⁰ But it seems that Sozomen applies the term “perjury” (ἐπιορκία) to any case of swearing falsely. He ascribes perjury to Basil of Ancyra as well and it has nothing to do with the doctrine:

Προσέθεσαν δὲ ὅτι καὶ Γερμανίῳ
τὸν ἐν Σιρμιῳ κληρὸν ἐπανέστησε
καί, κοινωνῶν αὐτῷ καὶ Οὐάλεντι
καὶ Οὐρσακίῳ, γράφων διέβαλ-
λεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τοὺς τῆς Ἀφρικῆς
ἐπισκόπους,

They further deposed that Basil
had excited the clergy of Sirimi-
um against Germanius; and that,
although he stated in writing
that he had admitted Germanius,
Valens, and Ursacius into com-
munion, he had placed them as
criminals before the tribunal of
the African bishops;

¹⁶⁹ Sozomen, HE IV 24, 9, GCS 50, 180, transl. NPNF II 2, 320.

¹⁷⁰ Sozomen, HE IV 12, 2, GCS 50, 154, transl. NPNF II 2, 308.

ἐγκαλούμενός τε ἤρνεϊτο καὶ
ἐπιώρκει καὶ φωραθεὶς ἐπεχείρει
σοφίζεσθαι τὴν ἐπιорκίαν.

and that, when taxed with this deed, he had denied it, and perjured himself; and that, when he was afterwards convicted, he strove to justify his perjury by sophistical reasoning.¹⁷¹

So, the perjury Sozomen is talking about could have referred to any kind of accusation that Eustathius refuted by swearing (falsely) and then was condemned for that by the Council of Antioch. Assuming that the condemnation was connected with the public/ascetic activity of Eustathius, it could have occurred after 357, but it is not so obvious. Eustathius could have sworn that he had fulfilled all the duties devolved upon him by Eusebius, bishop of Constantinople (before 341) and then could have been caught perjuring.

14. The Council of Seleucia (359)

While the Westerners were debating in Rimini, the Easterners gathered in Seleucia. Undoubtedly, Homoiousians had an advantage at the starting point as they had a great influence on Constantius. The main player in ecclesiastical politics at that time was Basil of Ancyra. Sozomen says that his opinion was pivotal when the place for the council was decided (HE IV 16). The emperor wanted to conciliate between moderate Arians and Homoiousians excluding radicals on both sides of the spectrum – Aetius and Eunomius on one side, and Athanasius and his followers on the other.¹⁷² Before the council, Mark of Arethusa wrote a confession of faith dated to 22 May 359 and called “dated creed.”¹⁷³ The key statements of the creed consisted in the expression that the

¹⁷¹ Sozomen, HE IV 24, 6, GCS 50, 179, transl. NPNF II 2, 320.

¹⁷² R. P. C. Hanson, *The search for the Christian Doctrine of God*, 362.

¹⁷³ It has been preserved in Greek in Athanasius (*De Synodis Arimini in Italia et Seleucia in Isauria* 8, in: *Athanasius Werke*, vol. II, 235–236) and Socrates Scholasticus (HE II 37, 19–24, GCS NF 1, 154–155).

Son is like the Father in all respects (ὁμοιον κατὰ πάντα) and in placing a prohibition on using the term οὐσία with reference to God. The council was intended to approve the creed and to examine some disciplinary issues. Sozomen says that Cyril of Jerusalem and Eustathius of Sebastea insisted to focus first on matters of discipline:

Ἐντεῦθεν οἱ μὲν πρότερον τὸ δόγμα ἐξετάζειν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς βίους ἀνακρίνειν τῶν κατηγορουμένων ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὧν ἦν Κύριλλος Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ Εὐστάθιος ὁ Σεβαστείας, ἀναγκαῖον ἔλεγον.

Thus some were of the opinion that it was necessary to commence with the discussion of doctrinal topics, while others maintained that inquiries ought first to be instituted into the conduct of those among them against whom accusations had been laid, as had been the case with Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste, and others.¹⁷⁴

However, the bishops commenced with an examination of the doctrine. Homoiousians were divided: already before the Council Basil of Ancyra had signed the dated creed, while others, led by Silvanus of Tarsus, wanted to sign the creed of Antioch *in encaeniis* (341).¹⁷⁵ Acacius

¹⁷⁴ Sozomen, HE IV 22, 4, GCS 50, 172, transl. NPNF II 2, 317; cf. Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 39, 11–13, GCS NF 1, 170.

¹⁷⁵ The second of four creeds produced by a council of ninety bishops gathered at Antioch (341) on the occasion of the dedication of a church built by Constantius. The creed called “dedication creed” or *in encaeniis* has been preserved in Socrates Scholasticus (HE II 10, 10–18, GCS NF 1, 100–101) and in Athanasius (*De synodis Arimini in Italia et Seleucia in Isauria* 23, in: *Athanasius Werke*, vol. II, 249–250). The key statements of the creed say that the Son is “unchanging and unaltering, exact image of the Godhead and the substance and will and power and glory of the Father” (τῆς θεότητος οὐσίας τε καὶ βουλῆς καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπαράλλακτον εἰκόνα) and that the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit “are three in hypostasis but one in agreement” (εἶναι τῇ μὲν ὑποστάσει

presented his own creed, and when it was rejected he and his allies left the gathering. The creed signed by most and probably by Eustathius himself was the creed of Antioch *in encaeniis* (341).¹⁷⁶ Then, on demand of Acacius, the bishops charged with disciplinary issues were excluded from the gathering. We do not know whether Eustathius was among them. Athanasius names Eustathius among those excommunicated by that Council because

τῶν δὲ κατηγορουμένων φευγόντων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πλέον ἐν ἀσεβείαις ἐξαγομένων καὶ βλασφημούντων εἰς τὸν κύριον.

the accusers pressed, and the accused put in pleas, and thereby were led on further by their irreligion and blasphemed the Lord.¹⁷⁷

Although Sozomen does not name him among the excommunicated,¹⁷⁸ Socrates lists Eustathius among the deposed who “should not be restored to communion, until they made such a defense as would clear them from the imputations under which they lay.”¹⁷⁹ It is possible that Eustathius of Sebastea was among those who were temporarily suspended:

Τοὺς δὲ πλείους ἀκοινωνήτους ἐποίησαν, ἄχρις ἂν πρὸς τὰ ἐπαγόμενα ἐγκλήματα ἀπολογήσωνται,

Many persons were likewise put out of communion until they

τρία, τῇ δὲ συμφωνίᾳ ἔν). The creed anathemized the flagship Arian statement that “either time or occasion or age exists or did exist before the Son was begotten” (ἢ χρόνον ἢ καιρὸν ἢ αἰῶνα ἢ εἶναι ἢ γεγονέναι πρὸ τοῦ γεννηθῆναι τὸν υἱόν). The English translation of the creed can be found in R. P. C. Hanson, *The search for the Christian Doctrine of God*, 286–287.

¹⁷⁶ Sozomen, HE IV 22, 17, GCS 50, 174; Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 39, 20–21, GCS NF I, 171.

¹⁷⁷ Athanasius, *De synodis Arimini in Italia et Seleucia in Isauria* 12, 5, in: *Athanasius Werke*, vol. II, 240, transl. NPNF II 4, 456.

¹⁷⁸ Sozomen, HE IV 22, 25, GCS 50, 176.

¹⁷⁹ Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 40, 45, GCS NF I, 176, transl. NPNF II 2, 70–71.

καὶ τὰπραχθέντα τῇ ἐκάστου πα-
ροικία ἔγραψαν.

could purge themselves of the
crimes imputed to them.¹⁸⁰

Whether he had been deposed or suspended or not, Eustathius appeared at the Council of Constantinople (359/360) as bishop of Sebastea.

15. The Council of Constantinople (359/360)

It is not certain that Eustathius was a delegate of the Council of Seleucia to the emperor as William Jurgens wants.¹⁸¹ Nevertheless, Basil does state that he was present in Constantinople:

Κάκειῖθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Σελεύκειαν
ἐλθὼν ἔγραψε μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ
ὁμοδόξων ἅ πάντες ἴσασιν. Ἐν
δὲ τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει συνέ-
θετο πάλιν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν αἰρετι-
κῶν προταθεῖσι.

And going thence into Seleu-
cia, in conjunction with those
who held the same opinions as
himself, he did what all know.
And at Constantinople he again
agreed with the proposals of the
heretics.¹⁸²

And that he signed a creed in Constantinople:

Παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν ἐπισκο-
πήν, ἵνα τὰ ἐν μέσῳ παραλεί-
πω, ὅσας ἐξέθεντο πίστεις; Ἐπ’
Ἀγκύρας ἄλλην, ἐτέραν ἐν Σε-
λευκείᾳ, ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει,
τὴν πολυθρύλητον.

Arriving at the episcopacy—to
pass over the events of the inter-
val—how many creeds they have
set forth! At Ancyra one, another
at Seleucia, another at Constan-
tinople, the celebrated one.¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ Sozomen, HE IV 22, 26, GCS 50, 176, transl. NPNF II 2, 318.

¹⁸¹ W. A. Jurgens, *Eustathius of Sebaste*, 43.

¹⁸² Basil, *Epistulae* 263, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 123, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 4, 95.

¹⁸³ Basil, *Epistulae* 244, 9, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 82–83, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 471.

Sozomen confirms that the participants in the council included ten deputies of Seleucia and ten deputies of Rimini, but not exclusively. There were also supporters of Acacius and “many other bishops, who, from various motives, had repaired to the city” (καὶ ἄλλων, οἵπερ ἔτυχον ἐνδημοῦντες).¹⁸⁴ As a deputy of Seleucia or present there for other reasons, Eustathius apparently signed in Constantinople the creed of Rimini.

Ἐτοιμαζόμενός τε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ
πρὸς ὑπατικὴν πομπήν, καθὰ Ῥω-
μαίοις ἔθος ἐν τῇ νουμηνία τοῦ
παρ’ αὐτοῖς Ἰαννουαρίου μηνός,
πᾶσαν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ πολὺ τῆς
ἐπιλαβούσης νυκτὸς ἀνάλωσε
μεταξὺ τῶν ἐπισκόπων διαγιγνώ-
σκων, εἰσότε δὴ τῇ διακομισθείᾳ
ἐξ Ἀριμήνου γραφῆ καὶ οἱ ἐκ Σε-
λευκείας ἀφιγμένοι ὑπέγραψαν.

The next day preparations were made for the pompous ceremony of proclaiming him consul, which, according to the Roman custom, took place in the beginning of the month of January, and the whole of that day and part of the ensuing night the emperor spent with the bishops, and at length succeeded in persuading the deputies of the council of Seleucia to receive the formulary transmitted from Ariminum.¹⁸⁵

This creed was similar to the “dated creed” with some significant exceptions.¹⁸⁶ According to the preserved text the creed omitted “in all respects” (κατὰ πάντα) in the statement that the Son is like the Father (ὅμοιον).¹⁸⁷ The anathemas that followed the creed were clearly anti-Arian, so the Homoiousians could have regarded it as orthodox.¹⁸⁸ Under

¹⁸⁴ Sozomen, HE IV 23, GCS 50, 177, transl. NPNF II 2, 319.

¹⁸⁵ Sozomen, HE IV 23, GCS 50, 178, transl. NPNF II 2, 319.

¹⁸⁶ R. P. C. Hanson, *The search for the Christian Doctrine of God*, 380.

¹⁸⁷ Athanasius, *De Synodis Arimini in Italia et Seleucia in Isauria* 30, in: *Athanasius Werke*, vol. II, 258–259; Theodoret, HE II 21, GCS 44, 145–146; Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 41, 15, GCS NF 1, 178.

¹⁸⁸ R. P. C. Hanson, *The search for the Christian Doctrine of God*, 378–379.

the pressure of Constantius, all bishops signed the creed, “even those who earlier had championed the doctrine of ‘other in substance.’”¹⁸⁹

Thomas Kopecek claims that there were two councils of Constantinople: one in December 359 and another in January 360,¹⁹⁰ while Richard Hanson distinguishes them even by venues: one in Nice and the other in Constantinople.¹⁹¹ Sozomen and Socrates with one voice admit that the Council of Constantinople was held upon Acacius’ request. I think that it is likely that one and the same gathering first examined the issues of faith and then the disciplinary ones. Some sessions took place at the end of December of 359 and the final one, at which depositions were made, in early January of 360.

Philostorgius is the only one to stress the importance of Basil of Ancyra and Eustathius of Sebastea, who “headed the group representing the doctrine of ‘like in substance’” (προειστήκεισαν δὲ τῶν μὲν κατ’ οὐσίαν ὅμοιον πρεσβευόντων Βασίλειός τε καὶ Εὐστάθιος)¹⁹² and debated with Aetius. Philostorgius also states that the first debate was won by Aetius, but Constantius called Basil of Ancyra and Aetius to his palace and demanded explanations. Finally, he expelled Aetius and ordered the bishops to sign the formula of Rimini.¹⁹³

In January 360, all Homoiousian leaders were deposed, although the depositions were based on disciplinary charges:

Οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἀκάκιον καὶ Εὐδόξι-
ον ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει περὶ τὸ
ἀντικαθαιρεῖν καὶ αὐτοὶ τινὰς τοῦ
ἐτέρου μέρους ἀγῶνα ἐτίθεντο.

Acacius, Eudoxius, and those at
Constantinople who took part
with them, became exceedingly
anxious that they also on their
side might depose some of the
opposite party.

¹⁸⁹ Philostorgius, HE IV 12, GCS 21, 65, transl. P. R. Amidon, 74.

¹⁹⁰ T. A. Kopecek, *A history of Neo-Arianism*, vol. 2, 299–300.

¹⁹¹ R. P. C. Hanson, *The search for the Christian Doctrine of God*, 376–380.

¹⁹² Philostorgius, HE IV 12, GCS 21, 64, transl. P. R. Amidon, 71.

¹⁹³ Philostorgius, HE IV 12, GCS 21, 64–65.

Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι οὐδέτεροι διὰ θρησκείαν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἐτέρας προφάσεις τὰς καθαιρέσεις πεποιήνται. Διακρινόμενοι γὰρ οἷα περὶ πίστεως ἐν τῷ καθαιρεῖν ἀλλήλους τὴν ἀλλήλων πίστιν οὐ διεμέμφοντο.

Now it should be observed that neither of the factions were influenced by religious considerations in making depositions, but by other motives: for although they did not agree respecting the faith, yet the ground of their reciprocal depositions was not error in doctrine.¹⁹⁴

Among the deposed was Eustathius of Sebastea. The general character of the depositions is a cause why the charges listed by Sozomen and Socrates that I have been using as a source for the life of Eustathius until 360 focus on disciplinary matters and do not mention doctrinal issues.

16. Macedonians (after 360)

Philostorgius says that “those deposed were also banished: Basil to Illyricum and the others each to a different place” (ὑπερορίζονται δὲ καὶ οἱ καθαιρεθέντες, Βασίλειος μὲν εἰς Ἰλλυριούς, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄλλος ἀλλαγῶσε),¹⁹⁵ but William Jurgens is right when he observes: “However Basil may have been exiled, Macedonius went to live in a suburb of his see when Constantinople was given to Eudoxius. Surely Philostorgius cannot have imagined that the suburbs of Constantinople were a place of exile! We must doubt also that Eleusius and Eustathius were exiled; for we find them shortly in close association with Macedonius. It may be, however, that they were forbidden entry to the territory of their former sees.”¹⁹⁶ Actually, Basil of Caesarea confirms that the deposed refused to accept the decrees of the council:

¹⁹⁴ Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 42, 1–2, GCS NF I, 179, transl. NPNF II 2, 72.

¹⁹⁵ Philostorgius, HE V 1, GCS 21, 66, transl. P. R. Amidon, 75

¹⁹⁶ W. A. Jurgens, *Eustathius of Sebaste*, 45.

Ὅτι καὶ παμψηφὶ παρὰ τῶν συνελθόντων εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν καθαιρεθέντες οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τὴν καθαίρεσιν αὐτῶν, σύνοδον ἀθετούντων προσαγορεύοντες καὶ μὴ καταδεχόμενοι ἐπισκόπους αὐτοὺς λέγειν, ἵνα μὴ τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν ἐξενεχθεῖσαν ψῆφον κυρώσωσι. Καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν προσετίθεισαν τοῦ μὴ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἐπισκόπους, διότι αἰρέσεως, φησί, πονηρᾶς προεστήκασιν.

Even when they were unanimously deposited by those assembled at Constantinople, they did not accept their deposition, calling the body a gathering of rebellious men, and refusing to speak of them as bishops, hoping thus to prevent them from ratifying the vote cast against them. And they added, as the reason for their not being bishops, the fact that, as their accuser says, they were the leaders of a wicked heresy.¹⁹⁷

It seems that the group was consolidating under the command of Macedonius, who was staying near Constantinople (εἷς τι περὶ Πύλας χωρίον τῆς Βιθυνίας διέτριβεν).¹⁹⁸ Basil of Ancyra lost his leadership and Macedonius became the most important figure of the Homoiousians.

Μακεδόنيος δὲ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐκβληθεὶς καὶ μὴ φέρων τὴν καταδίκην οὐδαμῶς ἡσυχάζειν ἠνείχετο, ἀλλ' ἀπέκλινε μὲν πρὸς τοὺς τοῦ ἐτέρου μέρους, οἱ ἐν τῇ Σελευκείᾳ καθεῖλον τοὺς περὶ Ἀκάκιον, διεπρεσβεύετο δὲ πρὸς τε Σωφρόνιον καὶ Ἐλεύσιον ἀντέχεσθαι μὲν τῆς πρότερον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκτεθείσης πίστεως,

Macedonius on being ejected from Constantinople, bore his condemnation ill and became restless; he therefore associated himself with the other faction that had deposed Acacius and his party at Seleucia, and sent a deputation to Sophronius and Eleusius, to encourage them to adhere to that creed which was first promulgated at Antioch,

¹⁹⁷ Basil, *Epistulae* 251, 2; ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 90, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 4, 11.

¹⁹⁸ Sozomen, HE IV 26, 1, GCS 50, 182.

μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἐν Σελευκείᾳ βεβαιωθείσης, καὶ παρασήμῳ ὀνόματι ὁμοιούσιον τὴν πίστιν ἐπιφημισθῆναι παρήνευσεν. Συνέρρεον οὖν πολλοὶ παρ' αὐτῶ τῶν γνωρίμων αὐτῶ, οἱ νῦν Μακεδονιανοὶ χρηματίζουσιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ· ὅσοι τε ἐν τῇ κατὰ Σελεύκειαν συνόδῳ τοῖς περὶ Ἀκάκιον διεκρίθησαν, φανερώς τὸ ὁμοιούσιον ἐδογματίσαν, τὸ πρότερον οὐκ ἐκτρανοῦντες αὐτό. [...] Τούτοις δὲ προσφεύγει καὶ Εὐστάθιος ὁ τῆς Σεβαστείας ἐκβληθεὶς δι' ἃς προφάσεις μικρῶ πρότερον εἴρηκα.

and afterwards confirmed at Seleucia, proposing to give it the counterfeit name of the 'homoiousian' creed. By this means he drew around him a great number of adherents, who from him are still denominated 'Macedonians.' And although such as dissented from the Acacians at the Seleucian Synod had not previously used the term homoiousios, yet from that period they distinctly asserted it. [...] To this party Eustathius joined himself, who for the reasons before stated had been ejected from the church at Sebastia.¹⁹⁹

Both Socrates and Sozomen name Eustathius among the supporters of Macedonius and confirm that after Constantius had died (3 November 361) the Homoiousians gathered at different councils.²⁰⁰ One of those councils held in different places was the Council of Zela, mentioned by Basil in Letter 251.²⁰¹ Eustathius probably was not restored to his see by Julian. Socrates informs that Emperor Jovian (363) "recalled from exile all those prelates whom Constantius had banished, and who had not been re-established by Julian."²⁰² Anyway, he did not appear among those who signed the Nicæan Creed in the letter addressed to Jovian (363) although it was signed by other Homoiousians: Basil of Ancyra, Silvanus

¹⁹⁹ Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 45, 1-5, GCS NF 1, 182-183, transl. NPNF II 2, 73-74.

²⁰⁰ Sozomen, HE V 14, 1-2, GCS 50, 213, transl. NPNF II 2, 336; cf. Socrates Scholasticus, HE III 10, 4, GCS NF 1, 205.

²⁰¹ Basil, *Epistulae* 251, 4, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 92.

²⁰² Socrates Scholasticus, HE III 24, 4, GCS NF 1, 225, transl. NPNF II 2, 94.

of Tarsus, Sophronius of Pompeiopolis.²⁰³ The next time we meet Eustathius is when he signed the creed at the Council of Lampsacus (364).

17. From the Council of Lampsacus (364) to the Council of Sicily (365 or 366)

The Council of Lampsacus was a Homoiousian gathering which appealed to withdraw all creeds except for the one from Antioch *in encaeniis* (341) and “decreed that the doctrine of the Son being in substance like unto the Father, should have the ascendancy” (κρατεῖν δὲ τὸ ὁμοιον δοξάζειν τὸν υἱὸν τῷ πατρὶ κατ’ οὐσίαν).²⁰⁴ We know from Basil that Eustathius signed the decrees of Lampsacus.²⁰⁵ Unfortunately, Valens was at that time under the influence of Eudoxius, the Anomoean bishop of Constantinople.

Προσελθοῦσιν οὖν τοῖς ἐκ Λαμψάκου πρεσβευταῖς παρεκελεύσατο μὴ διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς Εὐδόξιον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀντεῖπον καὶ τὴν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει γενομένην ἀπάτην καὶ τὰ βεβουλευμένα κατὰ τῶν ἐν Σελευκείᾳ δεδογμένων Εὐδοξίῳ ἐμέμφοντο, κινηθεῖς πρὸς ὀργὴν τοὺς μὲν ὑπερορίαν οἰκεῖν προσέταξε,

When the deputies of the council of Lampsacus presented themselves before Valens, he merely exhorted them not to be at variance with Eudoxius. The deputies replied by reminding him of the artifices to which Eudoxius had resorted at Constantinople, and of his machinations to annul the decrees of the council of Seleucia; and these representations kindled the wrath of Valens to such a pitch, that he condemned the deputies to banishment,

²⁰³ Socrates Scholasticus, HE III 25, 18, GCS NF I, 227; Sozomen, HE VI 4, 3, GCS 50, 240.

²⁰⁴ Sozomen, HE VI 7, 4, GCS 50, 246, transl. NPNF II 2, 350.

²⁰⁵ Basil, *Epistulae* 244, 9, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 82; *Epistulae* 251, 4, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 92.

τὰς δὲ ἐκκλησίας παραδίδοσθαι
τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Εὐδόξιον.

and made over the churches to
the partisans of Eudoxius.²⁰⁶

William Jurgens thinks that “the exile, to which Sozomen testifies, can hardly have been effective.”²⁰⁷ But, the banishment is confirmed by Philostorgius:

Συναχθέντες δὲ οἱ ἐπίσκοποι ἐν
Λαμψάκῳ (πόλις δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἑλ-
λησπόντου) ἀνακεφαλαιοῦνται
τὰ τῆς πίστεως ὀρθὰ δόγματα· καὶ
παραθέντες τὴν πίστιν Λουκιανοῦ
τοῦ μάρτυρος, ἀνεθεμάτισαν τὸ
ἀνόμοιον· καὶ ὑπογράψαντες τῇ
πίστει τῇ προεκτεθείσῃ ὑπὸ τῶν
ἀγίων πατέρων τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ, εἰς
πάσας τὰς ἐκκλησίας διεπέμψαντο.
οὐ μετ’ οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὑπαχθέντος τοῦ
βασιλέως Οὐάλεντος τῇ αἰρέσει
τοῦ ἀνομοίου, ἤρξαντο πάλιν οἱ
ἐπίσκοποι ἐλαύνεσθαι καὶ ἐξορίζε-
σθαι, Εὐδοξίου σὺν Ἀετίῳ καὶ Εὐ-
νομίῳ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν αἰρετικῶν,
τῶν τὸ ἀνόμοιον πρεσβευόντων,
στρατηγούντων.

The bishops gathered in Lampsacus (a city of the Hellespont) and drafted a summary of the orthodox doctrines of the faith. And setting out the creed of the martyr Lucian, they condemned the doctrine of “unlike.” They subscribed the creed published by the holy fathers in Nicaea and sent it to all the churches. But when the emperor Valens was drawn into the Anomoean sect almost immediately afterwards, the bishops once again began to be harried and banished; Eudoxius along with Aetius, Eunomius, and the other sectarians representing the Anomoean doctrine were behind this.²⁰⁸

Actually, if the Homoiousians had not been banished, they would not have needed to ask Liberius for help, which they did. After the Council of Lampsacus, Homoiousians evidently were persecuted to the extent

²⁰⁶ Sozomen, HE VI 7, 9, GCS 50, 246, transl. NPNF II 2, 351.

²⁰⁷ W. A. Jurgens, *Eustathius of Sebaste*, 53.

²⁰⁸ Philostorgius, HE VIII 8a, GCS 21, 110, transl. P. R. Amidon, 117.

that they feared for their own lives. That is why they decided to ally with Pope Liberius. Among the delegates to the Pope was Eustathius of Sebastea.²⁰⁹ Homoiousians signed the Homoousian creed explaining that “they considered the terms ‘like in all respects’ and homoousios to have precisely the same import” (μηδέν τε διαφέρειν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου τὸ <κατὰ πάντα> ὅμοιον).²¹⁰ They received a letter by Liberius admitting all Homoiousians to the ecclesiastical communion.²¹¹ The Homoiousian legates confirmed the Nicæan creed at the Council of Sicily. The bishops gathered in Sicily agreed to meet at the council of Tarsus to confirm the Homoousian creed and gave the delegates another letter of admission.

18. After the Council of Tyana (366)

The planned council of Tarsus was prevented by Eudoxius, but the Eastern bishops, gathered in Tyana in Cappadocia, read the letters of admission by Liberius and other Western bishops²¹² and according to Basil Eustathius was restored to the bishopric of Sebastea, probably for the first time effectively after the Council of Constantinople (359/360).²¹³ According to Basil, Eustathius at some point signed Homoiousian creed again:

Ἦς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι,
τοσοῦτον δὲ ἀκούω ὅτι τὸ ὁμο-
ούσιον κατασιγάσαντες, τὸ κατ’
ούσίαν ὅμοιον νῦν περιφέρουσι

Of this last I only know so much
as what I hear—that having sup-
pressed “consubstantiality” they
now add “like in substance,”

²⁰⁹ Socrates Scholasticus, HE IV 12, 2–3, GCS NF I, 238, transl. NPNF II 2, 100; cf. Sozomen, HE VI 10, 4, GCS 50, 249.

²¹⁰ Socrates Scholasticus, HE IV 12, 6, GCS NF I, 238, transl. NPNF II 2, 100–101. The letter of the delegates to Liberius: Socrates Scholasticus, HE IV 12, 10–20, GCS NF I, 239–240; Sozomen, HE VI 11, 1–3, GCS 50, 250–251.

²¹¹ The letter by Liberius: Socrates Scholasticus, HE IV 12, 22–30, GCS NF I, 241–242.

²¹² Sozomen, HE VI 12, 2–3, GCS 50, 251–252.

²¹³ Basil, *Epistulae* 263, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 123–124, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 4, 95–97.

καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα
βλασφημίας μετ' Εὐνομί-
ου συγγράφουσι.

and they subscribe with Eunomi-
us to the blasphemies against the
Holy Spirit.²¹⁴

The above quoted letter comes from 376, so the councils Basil refers to (of Nice in Thrace and of Cyzicus) must have been held between 366 and 376, but there is no other source saying anything about their circumstances or character. After the Council of Sicily, Eustathius disappears from the pages of *Historiae Ecclesasticae*, but we know from Basil's letters that he was alive and active. In order to examine his activity at that time, it is necessary to analyse his relationship with Basil as his last years were marked by a sharp conflict between them.

²¹⁴ Basil, *Epistulae* 244, 9, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 82–83, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 471.

Part III.

Eustathius of Sebastea and Basil of Caesarea

Part III is a study on the relationship between Eustathius of Sebastea and Basil the Great. I shall try to resolve the most vital controversies in regard to it, such as whether and to what extent Basil was a disciple of Eustathius, whether his influence was limited to ascetical issues or extended to doctrinal questions. I shall present my hypothesis on the causes of the conflict between Eustathius and Basil, which I think was provoked by their fight for power, specifically as regards ordaining bishops in Armenia Minor.

Chapter I.

Friendship and hatred

1. Basil's homeland

The question of Basil's homeland is crucial for establishing the time when he met Eustathius. Socrates Scholasticus says that the homeland of Basil was Caesarea in Cappadocia: he was “elevated to the bishopric of Caesarea in Cappadocia, which was his native country (τῆς ἐαυτοῦ πατρίδος).”¹ Basil himself recognized Cappadocia as his fatherland as well. Except for a quotation from Bible, references to paradise/heaven and 4 cases where the meaning of ἡ πατρίς is uncertain, Basil always and with no exception refers ἡ πατρίς (with the article) to Cappadocia and never to any other country/homeland of anybody.² As Y. Courtonne explains the custom of avoiding proper names and replacing them with periphrases is one of the characteristics of the rhetoric of that era.³ A fatherland (πατρίς) meant to Basil the place where somebody was born and raised as he wrote in one of his letters:

¹ Socrates Scholasticus, HE IV 26, 11, GCS NF I, 261.

² M. Przyszychowska, *Fatherland (πατρίς) in the writings of Basil of Caesarea*, 7–27.

³ Y. Courtonne, in: Saint Basile, *Lettres*, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. I, 3, note 2.

Τίς οὔτω φιλόπολις ὃς τὴν ἐνε-
γκοῦσαν καὶ θρεψαμένην πατρίδα
ἴσα γονεῦσι τιμῶν, ὡς αὐτὸς σύ.

What man is so patriotic, hon-
ouring equally with his parents
the fatherland which gave him
birth and reared him, as are you
yourself.⁴

But, there is another opposite tradition. According to Gregory of Nazianzus, the family of Basil's father came from Pontus and the family of his mother was from Cappadocia – it is worth noting that Gregory refers to the homeland of the families rather than specifically of Basil's father and mother:

Πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ὁ Πόντος ἡμῖν ἐκ
τοῦ πατρὸς προβάλλει τὰ διηγῆ-
ματα καὶ οὐδενὸς ἐλάττω τῶν πά-
λαι περὶ αὐτὸν θαυμάτων, ὧν πλή-
ρης πᾶσα συγγραφή τε καὶ ποιήσις.
πολλὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμὸν ἔδαφος τοῦτο,
οἱ σεμνοὶ Καππαδόκαι, τὸ μηδὲν
ἤττον κουροτρόφον ἢ εὐῖππον.
"Θθεν τῷ πατρώῳ γένει τὸ μητρῶον
ἡμεῖς ἀντανίσχομεν.

On his father's side Pontus offers
to me many details, in no wise
inferior to its wonders of old
time, of which all history and
poesy are full; there are many
others concerned with this my
native land, of illustrious men
of Cappadocia, renowned for its
youthful progeny, no less than
for its horses. Accordingly we
match with his father's family
that of his mother.⁵

Gregory of Nazianzus says that Basil was first taught by his father, "acknowledged in those days by Pontus as its common teacher of virtue (κοινὸν παιδευτὴν ἀρετῆς ὁ Πόντος τηνικαῦτα προῦβάλλετο)."⁶ Gregory

⁴ Basil, *Epistulae* 96, 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 208, transl. R. J. Deferrari vol. 2, 157.

⁵ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 43 (*In laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi*), 3, SC 384, 123, transl. NPNF II 7, 396.

⁶ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 43 (*In laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi*), 12, SC 384, 140, transl. NPNF II 7, 399.

does not admit straightforwardly that Basil was brought up in Pontus, but the suggestion is clear enough to convince some scholars that Basil came from the province of Pontus (as well as his father).⁷ Pontus must have meant the province, not the entire diocese here, because in the same oration Gregory of Nazianzus uses the name in the narrow sense referring to the province of Pontus Polemoniachus when he describes that Basil fled from Caesarea to Pontus when the conflict with Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea at that time, broke out.⁸

Also Gregory of Nyssa, Basil's brother, mentions Pontus as his own fatherland.⁹ However, the context of those mentions is pivotal. Both statements about Pontus as his homeland come from his writings about Macrina. So, pointing out at Pontus as the fatherland of Basil (and Gregory of Nyssa) could have been a well-thought-out literary device, a part of the process of creating Macrina.¹⁰ Gregory must have done this change because of Peter, whom he wanted to be elected bishop of Sebastea. Gregory chose Pontus as the family property closest to that city. Besides, as Sebastea was at that time a metropolis independent from Caesarea all of Peter's connections with Caesarea were erased and

⁷ Ph. Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: University of California Press 1998, 1: "Basil belonged to a relatively prosperous and locally prominent family in Pontus, near the Black Sea coast of Asia Minor;" A. M. Silvas *The Asketikon of St Basil the Great*, 1: "Basil was born in c. AD 329 to an aristocratic Christian family of Neocaesarea, the capital of Pontos Polemoniakos;" A. M. Silvas *The Asketikon of St Basil the Great*, 62: "Basil lived at 'home' with his father, that is, in the city where his father pursued his career. All of this points to Neocaesarea, the metropolis of Pontos Polemoniakos, not to Caesarea metropolis of Cappadocia, as the family's residence;" A. M. Silvas, *Macrina the Younger. Philosopher of God*, 10: "The family seat was not Caesarea of Cappadocia but the city of Neocaesarea, the metropolis of Pontus Polemoniachus;" R. van Dam, *Families and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia*, Philadelphia 2003, 9: "Basil had been raised in Pontus."

⁸ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 43 (*In laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi*), 29, SC 384, 190.

⁹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Epistulae* 19, 10, GNO 8/2, 65; *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 15, GNO 8/1, 387.

¹⁰ Part IV, Chapter III 3.

his every possible link with Sebastea was underlined. The version with Pontus as the homeland of Basil could have seem credible even in Basil's own hometown since "Gregory was rewriting the history of Basil's religious development, revealing a phase previously unknown to his congregation in Caesarea."¹¹

In Letter 210 to the learned in Neocaesarea, Basil himself admits his acquaintance with the region of Pontus from his childhood (διὰ τὴν ἐκ παιδός μοι πρὸς τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο συνήθειαν), because he was brought up there by his grandmother (ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐτράφην παρὰ τῆ ἐμαντοῦ τήθη).¹² The context of the letter is crucial. During the conflict with Atarbius, bishop of Neocaesarea, in 376, Basil addressed a letter to the laity of the city and by referring to his grandmother legitimized himself as a lawful heir of "the tradition of the truly great Gregory Thaumaturgus and of those who followed after him up to the blessed Musonius."¹³

There is a hint that indicates that Basil was really brought up in Cappadocia; in Letter 37, without an address, written on behalf of a foster brother Basil declares:

Ἐγὼ γὰρ πολλοὺς φίλους καὶ
συγγενεῖς ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος
ὁμολογῶ, καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν πατρι-
κὴν τάξιν τετάχθαι διὰ τὸ σχῆμα
τοῦτο εἰς ὃ ἔταξεν ἡμᾶς ὁ Κύριος.
Σύντροφον δὲ τῆς θρεψαμένης με
υἷον τοῦτον ἔχω ἕνα,

For I admit that I have many
friends and relatives in my coun-
try, and that I myself have been
appointed to the position of a
father by reason of this station
to which the Lord has appointed
me. But I have only one foster
brother, this man who is the son
of the woman who nursed me,

¹¹ N. McLynn, *Gregory Nazianzen's Basil: The Literary Construction of a Christian Friendship*, 180.

¹² Basil, *Epistulae* 210, 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 190.

¹³ Basil, *Epistulae* 210, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 191-192.

καὶ εὐχομαι τὸν οἶκον ἐν ᾧ ἄνε- τράφην ἐπὶ τῆς ὁμοίας καταστάσε- ως διαμεῖναι.	and I pray that the household in which I was brought up may re- main at its old assessment.” ¹⁴
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Πατρικὴ τάξις refers either to the presbyterate, or to the episcopate¹⁵ – Basil acquired both in Caesarea in Cappadocia. As his wet-nurse lived in Cappadocia, he must have been nursed here, not in Pontus.

2. The history of the relationship between Basil and Eustathius

According to Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil “when sufficiently trained at home [...] set out for the city of Caesarea, to take his place in the schools there” (Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἰκανῶς εἶχε τῆς ἐνταῦθα παιδεύσεως, [...] ἐπὶ τὴν Καισαρέων πόλιν ἐπείγεται, τῶν τῆδε μεθέξων παιδευτηρίων).¹⁶ At some point, in Caesarea, Basil met Eustathius the Philosopher, later bishop of Sebastea. Eustathius himself was ordained priest by Hermogenes, bishop of Caesarea, and Eustathius’ father Eulalius was bishop of Caesarea later on. It must be assumed that he came from Caesarea or at least spent his youth there. Basil himself confirms that he and Eustathius knew each other from his childhood (ἐκ παιδός): he had “an intimacy with the man which dates from childhood” (τῆς ἐκ παιδὸς συνηθείας τῆς ὑπαρχούσης μοι πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα)¹⁷ and he “from boyhood had performed such a service for a certain person” (ὁ τοιῶσδε δουλεύσας ἐκ παιδὸς τῷ δεῖνι);¹⁸ in both cases meaning Eustathius of Sebastea whom the letters

¹⁴ Basil, *Epistulae* 37, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 80; transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 1, 193–195.

¹⁵ J. R. Pouchet, *Basile le Grand et son univers d’amis d’après sa correspondance*, 186.

¹⁶ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 43 (*In laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi*), 13, SC 384, 142, transl. NPNF II 7, 399.

¹⁷ Basil, *Epistulae* 102, 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 3, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 2, 191.

¹⁸ Basil, *Epistulae* 244, 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 74, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 449.

concern. According to the classical Ancient division of human life *παῖς* was a second stage of life from the age of seven to fourteen.¹⁹

According to Gregory of Nazianzus, after finishing a school in Caesarea, Basil went to Constantinople, where he was trained in sophistry and philosophy, and then went to Athens.²⁰ Philip Rousseau and Paul Jonathan Fedwick state that Basil was in Athens between 349 and 355.²¹ The point of reference that is usually used to date his studies is that he became acquainted with Julian who studied in Athens in the summer and autumn of 355. But, as Jean Gribomont noted, Basil's meeting with Julian is attested only by mutual correspondence of doubtful authorship.²²

In Letter 1 addressed to Eustathius the Philosopher, Basil admits that he left Athens because of the repute of his philosophy (*κατὰ φήμην τῆς σῆς φιλοσοφίας*).²³ Basil and Eustathius remained in touch when Basil was studying in Athens as his letter is an answer to that of Eustathius'.²⁴ Letter 1 was written most probably in 358²⁵ as it mentions Eustathius' travel to Persia²⁶ which took place in 358, assuming, of course, that Eustathius the Philosopher and Eustathius of Sebastea are one and the same person.²⁷

¹⁹ H.-I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, transl. G. Lamb, New York: The New American Library 1964, 147.

²⁰ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio 43 (In laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi)*, 14, SC 384, 146.

²¹ P. J. Fedwick, *A Chronology of the Life and Works of Basil of Caesarea*, 6; Ph. Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea*, 28.

²² J. Gribomont, *Eustathe le philosophe et les voyages du jeune Basile de Césarée*, 120.

²³ Basil, *Epistulae* 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 3; transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 1, 3.

²⁴ Basil, *Epistulae* 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 3, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 1, 3: "You revived my spirit and consoled me wonderfully by your letter" (*θαυμαστῶς πως ἀνεκαλέσω καὶ παρεμυθήσω τοῖς γράμμασι*).

²⁵ G. Fowden, *Pagan philosophers in late antique society*, 105.

²⁶ Basil, *Epistulae* 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 4: οὕτω δύσερως ἦν ὥστε τὴν ἐπὶ Πέρσας βαδίζειν ἔδει καὶ συμπροϊέναι εἰς ὅτι μήκιστον τῆς βαρβάρων (ἤλθες γὰρ κάκεῖσε, τοσαύτη τις ἦν φιλονεικία τοῦ δαίμονος).

²⁷ Part II, Chapter I 1.

It is significant that even in the panegyric in honour of Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus mentions that his departure caused a conflict between two friends:

Ἐνταῦθά τι κατηγορήσω μὲν
 ἑμαυτοῦ, κατηγορήσω δὲ τῆς θείας
 ἐκείνης καὶ ἀλήπτου ψυχῆς, εἰ καὶ
 τολμηρόν. Ὁ μὲν γάρ, τὰς αἰτί-
 ας εἰπὼν τῆς περὶ τὴν ἐπάνοδον
 φιλονεικίας, κρείττων ὤφθη τῶν
 κατεχόντων· καὶ βία μὲν, συνεχω-
 ρήθη δ' οὖν ὁμῶς τὴν ἐκδημίαν·
 ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπελείφθην Ἀθήνησι· τὸ
 μὲν τι μαλακισθεῖς, εἰρήσεται γὰρ
 τ' ἀληθές, τὸ δὲ τι προδοθεὶς παρ'
 ἐκείνου, πεισθέντος ἀφεῖναι μὴ
 ἀφιέντα καὶ παραχωρῆσαι τοῖς ἔλ-
 κουσι. Πρᾶγμα, πρὶν γενέσθαι, μὴ
 πιστευόμενον· γίνεται γὰρ ὡσπερ
 ἑνὸς σώματος εἰς δύο τομὴ καὶ ἀμ-
 φοτέρων νέκρωσις, ἢ μόσχων συ-
 ντρόφων καὶ ὁμοζύγων διάζευξις
 γοερὸν μυκωμένων ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις
 καὶ οὐ φερόντων τὴν ἀλλοτρίωσιν.

And here I will bring an accu-
 sation against myself, and also,
 daring though it be, against that
 divine and irreproachable soul.
 For he, by detailing the reasons
 of his anxiety to return home,
 was able to prevail over their de-
 sire to retain him, and they were
 compelled, though with reluc-
 tance, to agree to his departure.
 But I was left behind at Athens,
 partly, to say the truth, because
 I had been prevailed on—part-
 ly because he had betrayed me,
 having been persuaded to forsake
 and hand over to his captors one
 who refused to forsake him. A
 thing incredible, before it hap-
 pened. For it was like cutting one
 body into two, to the destruc-
 tion of either part, or the sever-
 ance of two bullocks who have
 shared the same manger and the
 same yoke, amid pitiable bellow-
 ings after one another in protest
 against the separation.²⁸

²⁸ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 43 (*In laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi*), 24, SC 384, 178–180, transl. NPNF II 7, 403–404.

Anna Maria Silvas claims that the reason why Basil left Athens was the death of his brother Naucratius – the cause of “the anxiety to return home.”²⁹ But Basil himself testifies that he left Athens because of Eustathius. It is easy to explain why Gregory of Nazianzus passed over the reason of Basil’s departure. He never mentioned Eustathius in any of his writings – he clearly opposed his way of practicing asceticism. The way that was followed by Basil and became a bone of contention between Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil.³⁰

Basil left Athens and returned to his homeland (Caesarea) via Constantinople. In Letter 1, he states:

Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέλαβον τὴν πατρίδα
καὶ σὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ μέγα ὄφελος
ζητήσας οὐχ εὗρον, ἐντεῦθεν μοι
λοιπὸν αἱ πολλαὶ καὶ ποικίλαι
ἀφορμαὶ τῶν ἀδοκῆτων ἐπιγεγό-
νασι κωλυμάτων.

Yet when I reached the father-
land, and searching there for
you, my great help, found you
not, from that time on and ever
since I have encountered many
varied experiences which have
put unexpected obstacles in my
way.³¹

According to Gregory of Nazianzus Basil went from Athens to Caesarea,³² so clearly to him πατρίς meant Caesarea. It is significant that Basil expected to meet Eustathius in Caesarea, not anywhere else – Basil must have thought that it was his usual place of stay, though at the time when he was writing his letter Eustathius must have already been bishop of Sebastea (since 357). So, Basil must have reached Caesarea before Eustathius’ ordination and stayed there for quite a long time. He excuses himself why he stayed in Caesarea, enumerating the “obstacles” that prevented him from meeting Eustathius:

²⁹ A. M. Silvas, *The Asketikon of St Basil the Great*, 69.

³⁰ Part IV, Chapter II 2.

³¹ Basil, *Epistulae* 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 3, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 1, 5.

³² Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 43 (*In laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi*), 25, SC 384, 182.

Ἦ γὰρ ἀσθενεῖν πάντως ἔδει καὶ
διὰ τοῦτο ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἢ ἐπὶ
τὴν ἐῶαν βαδίζοντι συναπαίρειν
μὴ δύνασθαι.

For either I had to be sick and
consequently to miss seeing
you or I found myself unable to
join you as you set out for the
Orient.³³

Most scholars claim that he was teaching rhetoric in Caesarea,³⁴ while Jean Gribomont refutes that possibility.³⁵ Whatever Basil did, Gregory of Nazianzus confirms that “the city of Caesarea took possession of him (τὸν ἢ Καισαρέων κατέχει πόλις).”³⁶ So, Basil must have spent some time there and then travelled to Syria and Egypt following Eustathius.³⁷ When he was writing his Letter 1 in Alexandria, Eustathius apparently was nearby – in the same country (ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς χώρας) but they could not meet because of Basil’s prolonged sickness.³⁸

On the way from Egypt, Basil visited Palestine, Coele-Syria and Mesopotamia, where he had an opportunity to observe the life of the ascetics.³⁹ Basil confessed in a letter to Eustathius of Sebastea:

Τούτου γοῦν ἔνεκεν θεασάμενός
τινας ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος ζηλοῦν τὰ
ἐκείνων ἐπιχειροῦντας, ἐνόμισά
τινα βοήθειαν εὐρηκέναι πρὸς τὴν
ἐμαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν.

On this account, then, having
perceived some in my fatherland
trying to imitate the example of
those men, I believed that

³³ Basil, *Epistulae* 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 3–4; transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 1, 5.

³⁴ L. S. Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir a l’histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, 121; P. Maran, *Vita s. Basilii Magni*, PG 29, XII; Ph. Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea*, 62; P. J. Fedwick, *The Church and the Charisma of Leadership in Basil of Caesarea*, Eugene: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies 2001, 135.

³⁵ J. Gribomont, *Eustathe le philosophe et les voyages du jeune Basile de Césarée*, 121.

³⁶ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 43 (*In laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi*), 25, SC 384, 182, transl. NPNF II 7, 404.

³⁷ Basil, *Epistulae* 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 4.

³⁸ Basil, *Epistulae* 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 4.

³⁹ Basil, *Epistulae* 223, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 10.

I had found an aid to my own
salvation.⁴⁰

Again, Gregory of Nazianzus gives us the external reference confirming that it was Caesarea, not Pontus. Gregory describes a conflict between Basil and the then bishop of Caesarea and states that some ascetics “who have separated themselves from the world and consecrated their life to God” (οἱ κόσμου χωρίσαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τῷ Θεῷ τὸν βίον καθιερώσαντες)⁴¹ went over to Basil’s side. With Gregory’s advice Basil “set out from the place into Pontus, and presided over the abodes of contemplation there.”⁴² According to Federico Fatti, in 362, Basil, already a priest, tried to become bishop of Caesarea and did his best to depose the newly appointed bishop – Eusebius. Basil “was then the leader of the Eustathian monks in the city.”⁴³ When Basil arrived to Caesarea from his journey to Athens, Egypt, Palestine, Coele-Syria and Mesopotamia, Eustathius must have been already ordained bishop of Sebastea. The monks he met in Caesarea could have been Eustathius’ disciples and apparently Basil joined them.

Between Basil’s return to Caesarea from his “ascetical” journey and the conflict with Eusebius (elected bishop in 362⁴⁴) an event took place that was not mentioned by Gregory of Nazianzus, namely the Council of Constantinople (359/360). Philostorgius stresses the importance of Basil of Ancyra and Eustathius of Sebastea, who “headed the group representing the doctrine of ‘like in substance’” (προειστήκεισαν δὲ τῶν

⁴⁰ Basil, *Epistulae* 223, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 11, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 295.

⁴¹ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 43 (*In laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi*), 28, SC 384, 188, transl. NPNF II 7, 405.

⁴² Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 43 (*In laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi*), 29, SC 384, 190, transl. NPNF II 7, 405.

⁴³ F. Fatti, *An extraordinary Bishop. Eusebius of Caesarea in Cappadocia*, in: *Episcopal Elections in Late Antiquity*, eds. J. Leemans, P. Van Nuffelen, S. W. J. Keough, C. Nicolay, Berlin 2011, 347–348.

⁴⁴ F. Fatti, *Giuliano a Cesarea. La politica ecclesiastica del principe apostata*, Roma 2009, 68.

μὲν κατ' οὐσίαν ὁμοιον πρεσβευόντων Βασιλείος τε καὶ Εὐστάθιος)⁴⁵ and debated with Aetius. There is no doubt that as a deacon Basil was present at the Council of Constantinople as a member of the Homoiousian group; his presence is confirmed not only by Philostorgius (HE IV 12), but also by Gregory of Nyssa, who states: “We should admit the charges, since we were present at the time of the contest and did not tangle with the contestants” (δεξαίμεθα <ἄν> τὰς αἰτίας, ὅτι παρόντες τῷ καιρῷ τῶν ἀγώνων τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις οὐ συνεπλάκημεν).⁴⁶

It is clear that Basil and Eustathius cooperated not only on the ascetic, but also the dogmatic level. Basil himself testifies that he was a kind of Eustathius' dogmatic think-tank: before Eustathius went to Lampsacus (364) he had consulted Basil.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Εὐσινόης, ὅτε, μετὰ πλειόνων ἐπισκόπων μέλλοντες ὀρμᾶν ἐπὶ Λάμψακον, προσεκαλέσασθέ με, οὐ περὶ πίστεως ἦσαν οἱ λόγοι; Οὐχὶ δὲ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ὅσοι ταχυγράφοι παρῆσαν ἐμοὶ ὑπαγορεύοντι τὰ πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν; Οὐ τῶν σῶν μαθητῶν οἱ γνησιώτατοι πάντα μοι τὸν χρόνον συνῆσαν;

And at Eusinoe, when you, about to set out for Lampsacus with several bishops, summoned me, was not our conversation about faith? And all the time were not your short-hand writers present as I dictated objections to the heresy? Were not the most faithful of your disciples in my presence the whole time?⁴⁷

The writing against the heresy (τὰ πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν) that Basil is mentioning was most probably *Adversus Eunomium*. Eusinoe is usually identified with Eusene – a town in Pontus, not far from the coast, somewhat to the northwest of Amisus (Samsun).

⁴⁵ Philostorgius, HE IV 12, GCS 21, 64, transl. P. R. Amidon, 71.

⁴⁶ Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium* I 82, GNO 1, 50, transl. S. G. Hall, 89.

⁴⁷ Basil, *Epistulae* 223, 5, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 14, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 303.

After having been ordained bishop of Caesarea, Basil received a letter from Eustathius (not preserved) and in his answer praises Eustathius as his supporter and shield fellow (*παραστάτην καὶ συνασπιστήν*), who provides him with spiritual help in the battles for the faith.⁴⁸ In 372, Eustathius and Basil together with 30 other bishops signed a letter to the Italians and Gauls asking them for help against heresy.⁴⁹ In 373, Eustathius signed the confession of faith formulated by Basil.⁵⁰ But shortly after that the relationship between Basil and Eustathius changed from a close and devoted friendship to open hatred. Eustathius charged Basil with Sabellianism and supporting Apollinaris of Laodicea; Basil gave as good as he got and accused Eustathius of Arianism and denying the deity of the Holy Spirit.⁵¹ Both charges could have been only slanders. In order to validate them I shall analyse in detail the ascetical similarities between Basil and Eustathius and try to answer the question whether Eustathius was a Pneumatomachos. Then, I shall present the thesis that the true reason of the conflict was administrative: Basil acted as metropolitan of Pontus and appointed bishops in Armenia Minor, which Eustathius must have perceived as encroaching onto his territory.

⁴⁸ Basil, *Epistulae* 79, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 180–181.

⁴⁹ Basil, *Epistulae* 92, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 198–203.

⁵⁰ Basil, *Epistulae* 125, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 30–34.

⁵¹ L. Ayres, *Nicaea and Its Legacy: An Approach to Fourth-Century Trinitarian Theology*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2004, 225.

Chapter II. Ascetical issues

It is obvious, but not always taken into account that we have no direct access to Eustathius' ascetical ideas. The only preserved sources are the synodical letter and canons of the Council of Gangra (358 according to my dating) that condemned some aspects of asceticism attributed to Eustathius, but it is not clear whether the canons of Gangra referred to Eustathius himself or to his disciples. The synodical letter is ambiguous; although it states that the Council examined the matters which concern Eustathius (ζητουμένων καὶ τῶν κατ' Εὐστάθιον), the charges seem to refer to his disciples – the partisans of Eustathius, who violated ecclesiastical discipline (πολλὰ ἀθέσμως γινόμενα ὑπὸ τούτων αὐτῶν τῶν περὶ Εὐστάθιον).¹

1. Exceptions

The case became even more complicated as individualism was one of the main characteristics of that asceticism – the feature that was emphasized by the synodical letter of the Council of Gangra:

¹ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, synodical letter, ed. P. P. Joannou, 86.

Ἐκαστος γὰρ αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ κανόνου τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ ἐξῆλθεν, ὡσπερ νόμους ἰδιάζοντας ἔσχεν οὔτε γὰρ κοινὴ γνώμη αὐτῶν ἀπάντων ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ὅπερ ἂν ἐνεθυμήθη, τοῦτο προσέθηκεν ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἑαυτοῦ βλάβη.

For each of them, upon leaving the rule of the church, became, as it were, a law unto himself. For there is not a common opinion among the whole lot of them, but each puts forward whatever he thinks, to the slander of the church and to his own harm.²

The individualism of Eustathian asceticism needs to be explained carefully. Anna Maria Silvas thinks that “Basil inculcates an obedience diametrically opposed to the independent if not to say arrogant manner of the enthusiasts.”³ To prove her thesis she evokes places where Basil speaks about personal obedience to the superior of the community.

Let's take a look at Basil's idea of obedience, which is something different from the blind carrying out of orders of a superior. The analysis by Jean Gribomont has shown that in Basil both being a superior and being obedient in the community are special charismas.⁴ Basil treats the community as a single body the purpose of which is to fulfil God's will towards the community and each of its member. Obedience to a superior is a foundation of the life of a community – a member must obey the decisions of a superior regarding his activities and duties.⁵ Basil claims:

Ἡ γὰρ ἐγκράτεια οὐκ ἐν ἀποχῇ ἀλόγων βρωμάτων ἐστίν,

Self-control does not consist in abstinence from irrational foods,

² *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, synodical letter, ed. P. P. Joannou, 88, transl. O. L. Yarbrough, 450–451.

³ A. M. Silvas, *The Asketikon of St Basil the Great*, 25.

⁴ J. Gribomont, *Obéissance et Évangile selon Saint Basile le Grand*, “La Vie spirituelle. Supplément” 5 (1952), 203.

⁵ Basil, *Regulae brevius tractatae* 74, 96, 105, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 125; *Regulae fusius tractatae* 7.

ἐν ᾗ συμβαίνει ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀποστό-
λου κατηγορουμένη ἀφειδία σώ-
ματος, ἀλλ' ἐν τελείᾳ ἀναχωρήσει
τῶν ἰδίων θελημάτων.

resulting in the severity to the
body condemned by the Apostle,
but in complete secession from
one's own will.⁶

He warns about a danger of giving new adepts a possibility to choose between communities as “they suffer harm through pride of intellect, because they are not conforming to what is being taught them, but are becoming accustomed to sit as habitual judges and critics of the community.”⁷ Nevertheless, he allows to leave a community:

Τούς γε μὴν ἅπαξ καθομολογη-
σαμένους ἀλλήλοις τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ
αὐτὸ ζωὴν ἀδιαφόρως ἀναχωρεῖν
οὐχ οἷόν τε διότι τὸ μὴ ἐπιμένειν
τοῖς δεδογμένοις δύο αἰτίας ἔχει,
ἢ τὴν ἐκ τῆς συνοικήσεως βλά-
βην, ἢ τὸ ἄστατον τῆς γνώμης
τοῦ μεταβαλλομένου.

Certainly, those who have made
an irrevocable and reciprocal
promise to live together cannot
leave at will, inasmuch as their
not persevering in what they
have pledged comes from one
of two causes: either from the
wrongs suffered in living the
common life or from an unstead-
iness of resolution in him who is
changing his course.⁸

Basil adds some conditions to be fulfilled if the reason of leaving is the misbehaviour of brothers, such as making an open charge, but if it does not help “he may withdraw. In acting thus, he will not be separating himself from brethren but from strangers.”⁹ The possibility of disobedience is also allowed if the superior orders something contrary to the divine commandments:

⁶ Basil, *Regulae brevius tractatae* 128, PG 31, 1168, transl. A. M. Silvas, in: A. M. Silvas, *The Asketikon of St Basil the Great*, 343.

⁷ Basil, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 35, PG 31, 1005, transl. M. M. Wagner, 302.

⁸ Basil, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 36, PG 31, 1008, transl. M. M. Wagner, 305.

⁹ Basil, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 36, PG 31, 1009, transl. M. M. Wagner, 305.

Ὡστε εἰ μὲν τί ἐστὶ κατ' ἐντολὴν τοῦ Κυρίου λεγόμενον, ἢ πρὸς τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ Κυρίου κατευθυνόμενον, κἂν θανάτου ἀπειλὴν ἔχη, ὑπακούειν χρή εἰ δέ τι παρ' ἐντολὴν ἐστὶν, ἢ τὴν ἐντολὴν παραβλάπτει, κἂν ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, ἢ τις τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπιτάσῃ, κἂν ζωῆς ἐπαγγελίαν ἔχη, κἂν θανάτου ἀπειλὴν, οὐδαμῶς ἀνέχεται χρή.

Therefore, whatever is said in accordance with the Lord's commandment or is directed to the Lord's commandment, we must obey, even if it seems to hold a threat of death; but we must in no way pay heed to anything that is contrary to the commandment or hinders the commandment, not even if an angel from heaven or one of the apostles should enjoin it, whether promising life or threatening death.¹⁰

Although obedience to the superior is one of the most important features of Basil's community, the final resort is always a conscience and individual judgement of everyone. On the other hand, communities can differ one from another depending on the charisma of their leader as his role is to discern God's will and each superior can do it individually.¹¹

However, the synodical letter of the Council of Gangra does not refer to that kind of obedience. It clearly concerns Church regulations (τοῦ κανόνος τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ) and indicates that certain ascetical behaviours act to the detriment of the Church (ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας). Acting against the regulation was what the synodical letter describes with an expression "as if he had his own laws" (ὥσπερ νόμους ἰδιάζοντας ἔσχεν). Those exceptions, own laws seem to be very pious as they stress the need of piety and prudence. The Council of Gangra condemns that motivation, which at first glance seems to be praiseworthy; the canons

¹⁰ Basil, *Regulae brevius tractatae* 303, PG 31, 1297; transl. A. M. Silvas, in: A. M. Silvas, *The Asketikon of St Basil the Great*, 442.

¹¹ J. Gribomont, *Obéissance et Évangile selon Saint Basile le Grand*, 214: "Le rôle du προσετώς n'ira jamais pourtant jusqu'à incarner l'autorité divine, à donner une valeur religieuse aux actions indifférentes; il consiste seulement à discerner, selon une ligne prophétique, quelle est sur chacun la volonté de Dieu."

described it as: “under pretence of asceticism” (διὰ νομιζομένην ἄσκησιν),¹² “for the sake of asceticism” (προφάσει τῆς ἀσκήσεως),¹³ “for the sake of piety” (προφάσει θεοσεβείας),¹⁴ “under pretence of piety” (διὰ νομιζομένην θεοσεβείαν),¹⁵ “because of his perfect understanding in the matter” (ἐπικυροῦντος ἐν αὐτῷ τελείου λογισμοῦ),¹⁶ “from a presumptuous disposition” (ὑπερηφάνῳ διαθέσει).¹⁷

The individualism the synodical letter speaks about could have referred to two aspects: acting independently of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and individual interpretation of the Holy Scripture at variance with the official interpretation of the Church. Those two characteristics make all attempts at looking for a consistent ascetical system in Basil’s writings – a system that would prove Eustathius’ influence on Basil – foredoomed to failure. And that is probably why scholars differ so much in estimating that influence – from stating that Basil was a more or less a faithful imitator of Eustathius¹⁸ to claiming that his asceticism was “aimed at weaning Pontic ascetic communities from the vestiges of Eustathius’ influence.”¹⁹ Looking for differences between Basil’s teaching and the ideas condemned in Gangra is pointless – those differences could be the best proof that Basil followed Eustathius’ prin-

¹² *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, Canon 12 and 13, ed. P. P. Joannou, 94; canon 18, ed. P. P. Joannou, 96.

¹³ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, Canon 15, ed. P. P. Joannou, 95.

¹⁴ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, Canon 16, ed. P. P. Joannou, 96.

¹⁵ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, Canon 17, ed. P. P. Joannou, 96.

¹⁶ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, Canon 19, ed. P. P. Joannou, 97.

¹⁷ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, Canon 20, ed. P. P. Joannou, 97.

¹⁸ F. Loofs, *Eustathius von Sebaste und die Chronologie der Basilienus-Briefe*, 97; D. Amand, *L’ascèse monastique de Saint Basile: Essai historique*, Éditions de Maredsous 1949, 60; S. Elm, *Virgins of God*, 135; J. Gribomont, *Le dossier des origines du Messalianisme*, in: *Epektasis. Mélanges patristiques offerts au Cardinal Jean Daniélou*, eds. J. Fontaine, Ch. Kannengiesser, Paris: Beauchesne 1972, 624; J. Gribomont, *St. Basile et le monachisme enthousiaste*, “*Irénikon*” 62 (1980), 135; L. Ayres, *Nicaea and Its Legacy*, 225; T. G. Kardong, *Who was Basil’s mentor? Part I*, 197.

¹⁹ A. M. Silvas, *The Asketikon of St Basil the Great*, 37; cf. K. Suso Frank, *Monastische Reform im Altertum. Eustathius von Sebaste und Basilius von Caesarea*, 43; J. Driscoll, *Eustazio di Sebaste e il primo ascetismo cappadoce*, 23.

ciple of individualism. The only way to find out whether Basilian asceticism displayed Eustathian features is to check whether it positively contained any of those condemned ideas. That is why I will not point out the characteristics that differ Basil from the asceticism condemned in Gangra, but only the ones that are similar.

Anna Maria Silvas claims that Basil “promotes collaboration with local church authorities that distributions of property are to be entrusted to ‘those who preside over the local churches’, that is, the local bishop or his deputy.”²⁰ The evoked quotation comes from *Regulae brevius tractatae* 187. If Basil had put a full stop there, Silvas would be perfectly right, but this is not the end of the phrase. Basil adds: “if he is faithful and capable of prudent administration” (ἐὰν ᾗ πιστὸς, καὶ φρονίμως οἰκονομεῖν δυνάμενος).²¹ This is the core of Eustathian asceticism. Hierarchs could have been obeyed if they were devout and prudent. If not, Basil gives an ascetic the right to act independently, according to his own judgment, although this acting would be against Church regulations (τοῦ κανόνος τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ) as the rule established in Gangra allows no exceptions:

Εἴ τις καρποφορίας ἐκκλησιαστικὰς ἐθέλοι ἔξωθεν τῆς ἐκκλησίας λαμβάνειν ἢ διδόναι παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἢ τοῦ ἐγκεχειρισμένου τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ μὴ μετὰ γνώμης αὐτοῦ ἐθέλοι πράττειν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

If anyone wishes to receive or give church funds outside the church, contrary to the will of the bishop or the one entrusted with such matters, and wishes to act without his consent, let such a one be anathema.²²

Basil orders that “all bound slaves who flee to religious communities for refuge should be admonished and sent back to their

²⁰ A. M. Silvas, *The Asketikon of St Basil the Great*, 26.

²¹ Basil, *Regulae brevius tractatae* 187, PG 31, 1208, transl. A. M. Silvas, in: *The Asketikon of St Basil the Great*, 376.

²² *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, Canon 7, ed. P. P. Joannou, 92, transl. O. L. Yarbrough, 452.

masters”²³ – seemingly in accordance with Canon 3 of the Council of Gangra, which stated:

<p>Εἴ τις δοῦλον προφάσει θεοσεβείας διδάσκει καταφρονεῖν δεσπότη καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν τῆς ὑπηρεσίας, καὶ μὴ μετ’ εὐνοίας καὶ πάσης τιμῆς τῷ ἑαυτοῦ δεσπότη ἐξυπηρετεῖσθαι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.</p>	<p>If, under pretext of piety, anyone teaches a slave to despise his master and to withdraw from service and not to serve his master to the utmost with good will and all honor, let such a one be anathema.²⁴</p>
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However, Basil adds an exception – as the Council of Gangra named it – “under pretext of piety”:

<p>Εἰ μέντοι κακὸς ὁ δεσπότης τύχοι, παράνομά τινα ἐπιτάσσων, καὶ πρὸς παράβασιν ἐντολῆς τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Δεσπότη τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸν δοῦλον βιαζόμενος, ἀγωνίζεσθαι χρῆ, ὅπως μὴ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ βλασφημηθῆ διὰ τὸν δοῦλον ἐκεῖνον ποιήσαντά τι, ὃ μὴ ἀρέσκει Θεῷ.</p>	<p>If, however, it should be the case of a wicked master who gives unlawful commands and forces the slave to transgress the command of the true Master, our Lord Jesus Christ, then it is our duty to oppose him, that the Name of God be not blasphemed by that slave’s performing an act displeasing to God.²⁵</p>
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Basil’s teaching on the acceptance of married persons and slaves into the ascetic community has been considered by some scholars as very similar to the positions condemned by the Council of Gangra.²⁶ On

²³ Basil, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 11, PG 31, 948, transl. M. M. Wagner, 261.

²⁴ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, Canon 3, ed. P. P. Joannou, 90, transl. O. L. Yarbrough, 451.

²⁵ Basil, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 11, PG 31, 948, transl. M. M. Wagner, 262.

²⁶ W. K. Lowther Clarke, *St Basil the Great: A Study in Monasticism*, Cambridge: University Press 1913, 162; T. G. Kardong, *Who was Basil’s mentor? Part 1*, 197.

the contrary, Anna Maria Silvas sees in those rules “new measures” that constitute Basil’s answers to the concerns of the Council of Gangra with only some exceptions that for her are of no importance.²⁷ In my opinion, those exceptions are the main characteristics of Eustathian asceticism as the regulations of the Council of Gangra provided for no exceptions.

Another example of an exception allowed by Basil is related to Canon 6 of the Council of Gangra:

Εἴ τις παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἰδίᾳ ἐκ-
κλησιάζοι, καταφρονῶν τῆς ἐκκλη-
σίας, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐθέλοι
πράττειν, μὴ συνόντος τοῦ πρεσβυ-
τέρου κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου,
ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

If anyone assembles outside the church on his or her own initiative and, despising the church, desires to perform church functions in the absence of a presbyter who conforms to the judgment of the bishop, let such a one be anathema.²⁸

It is obvious that according to the Council there could have been no exception, but Basil did allow an exception – he says it is absolutely impermissible to celebrate the Eucharist in a private home unless it is absolutely necessary (ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ ἐν ἀνάγκῃ).²⁹ Again, the need was to be ascertained by individual judgment, most probably of the superior of the community.

In the Epilogue, the bishops gathered in Gangra summarized that concept of asceticism:

Ταῦτα δὲ γράφομεν οὐκ ἐκκόπτο-
ντες τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ
κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς ἀσκεῖσθαι

We write these things not to cut off those in the church of God who wish to practice asceticism

²⁷ A. M. Silvas, *The Asketikon of St Basil the Great*, 31.

²⁸ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, Canon 6, ed. P. P. Joannou, 91-92, transl. O. L. Yarbrough, 452.

²⁹ Basil, *Regulae brevius tractatae* 310, PG 31, 1304.

βουλομένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς λαμβάνον-
 τας τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς ἀσκήσεως
 εἰς ὑπερηφάνειαν καὶ κατὰ τῶν
 ἀφελεστέρως βιούντων, ἐπαιρομέ-
 νους τε καὶ παρὰ τὰς γραφὰς καὶ
 τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικούς κανόνας
 καινισμοὺς εἰσάγοντας.

according to the Scriptures but
 [to cut off] those who under-
 take the practice of asceticism to
 the point of arrogance, both by
 exalting themselves over those
 who lead a simpler life and by
 introducing novel ideas that are
 not found in the Scriptures or
 in the writings approved by the
 church.³⁰

Basil's asceticism is obviously based on the Scriptures, but in some circumstances it refuses to obey ecclesiastical canons "under the pretence of asceticism". In *De iudicio Dei*, Basil straightforwardly describes the scope of his ascetical writing: that we turn away from the habits of our own will and from "discernment of human tradition" (τῆς τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων παραδόσεων παρατηρήσεως) and that we behave according to the Gospel.³¹ No mention about ecclesiastical supervision.

2. Style of dressing

Style of dressing was clearly one of the crucial indicators of Eustathian asceticism. Canon 13 of the Council of Gangra condemns women who assumed men's clothing, but there are no indicators that Basil recommended that custom to anyone. The question of the way of dressing of Eustathius and Basil themselves is much more complicated.

In the Synodical Letter, the Council stated that Eustathians "wear strange dresses to the downfall of the common mode of dress" (ξένα ἀμφιάσματα ἐπὶ καταπτώσει κοινότητος τῶν ἀμφιασμάτων συνάγοντες).³²

³⁰ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, Epilogue, ed. P. P. Joannou, 98, transl. O. L. Yarbrough, 454.

³¹ Basil, *De iudicio Dei*, PG 31, 676.

³² *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, Synodical letter, ed. P. P. Joannou, 87, transl. O. L. Yarbrough, 450.

Ἀμφιάσμα means nothing specific but “a garment”. Canon 12 of the Council of Gangra refers again to men’s clothing and reads as follows:

Εἴ τις διὰ νομιζομένην ἄσκησιν περιβολαίῳ χρῆται, καὶ ὡς ἂν ἐκ τούτου τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἔχων καταψηφίζοιτο τῶν μετ’ εὐλαβείας τὰς βήρους φορούντων καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ κοινῇ καὶ ἐν συνηθείᾳ οὔσῃ ἐσθῆτι κεχρημένων, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

If, because of presumed asceticism, any man wear the periboleum and, claiming that one has righteousness because of this, pronounces judgment against those who with reverence wear the berus and make use of other common and customary clothing, let him be anathema.³³

The term περιβόλαιον does not mean any specific robe or garment, but according to Liddell-Scott Lexicon “that which is thrown round, covering”; according to Lampe Lexicon it was a cloak. In the text, it is opposed to βῆρος. “Birrus/byrrus – a waterproof cloak of Gallic origin: modern authors have speculated that it was similar to the sagum, lacerna or paenula, but there is insufficient evidence to support any of these, and the birrus has not been unequivocally identified in artistic representations. It may have had a hood (cucullus) and seems to have been made in a range of different qualities. The word appears quite late, being unused in extant literature before the second century AD, but was quite common throughout the Roman world by AD 300. In the Church Fathers the birrus is worn by the clergy.”³⁴ Federico Fatti specifies that from the 250s birrus used to be an attribute of a bishop.³⁵ Although the canon itself does not mention clergy, the term βῆρος indicates that the problem

³³ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, Canon 12, ed. P. P. Joannou, 94, transl. O. L. Yarbrough, 452–453.

³⁴ L. Cleland, G. Davies, L. Llewellyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress from A to Z*, London – New York: Routledge 2007, 19.

³⁵ F. Fatti, *Nei panni del vescovo. Gregorio, Basilio e il filosofo Eustazio*, in: *Le trasformazioni delle élites in età tardoantica. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Perugia, 15-16 marzo 2004)*, ed. R. Lizzi Testa, Roma: L’ERMA di Bretschneider 2006, 203.

of inappropriate dressing concerned priests or bishops. That interpretation is confirmed by Sozomen's account. He states that Eustathius himself or his followers "did not retain the customary tunics and stoles (χιτῶνας συνήθεις καὶ στολᾶς) for their dress, but used a strange and unwonted garb (ξένη καὶ ἀήθει ἐσθῆτι)"³⁶ and after the Council of Gangra

ἐντεῦθεν δὲ λόγος Εὐστάθιον ἐπιδεικνύμενον, ὡς οὐκ ἀνθαδείας ἔνεκεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς κατὰ θεὸν ἀσκήσεως εἰσηγοῖτο ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιτηδεύοι, ἀμεῖψαι τὴν στολὴν καὶ παραπλησίως τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱερεῦσι τὰς προόδους ποιήσασθαι.

Eustathius exchanged his stole, and made his journeys habited like other priests, thus proving that he had not introduced and practiced these novelties out of self-will, but for the sake of a godly asceticism.³⁷

A similar charge is found in Socrates' account about the deposition of Eustathius by his father – according to my dating in the early 340s. Socrates claims that Eulalius deposed him because of wearing a stole, which was inappropriate for priesthood (ἀνάρμοστον τῇ ἱερωσύνῃ στολήν).³⁸ Στολή was "generally, equipment, outfit, especially clothes, so garments in general."³⁹ Up to this point no source has specified what kind of dress Eustathius wore. There is also no clear distinction between Eustathius himself and his followers. The only account that specifies a type of that dress is the one by Socrates:

Αὐτός τε φιλοσόφου σχῆμα φορῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας αὐτῷ ξένη στολῆ χρῆσθαι ἐποίει.

He himself wore the habit of a philosopher, and induced his followers to adopt a new and extraordinary garb.⁴⁰

³⁶ Sozomen, HE III 14, 33, GCS 50, 123, transl. NPNF II 2, 293.

³⁷ Sozomen, HE III 14, 36, GCS 50, 124, transl. NPNF II 2, 294 with alterations.

³⁸ Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 43, 1, GCS NF 1, 180.

³⁹ L. Cleland, G. Davies, L. Llewellyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress from A to Z*, 182.

⁴⁰ Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 43, 4, GCS NF 1, 180, transl. NPNF II 2, 72.

It must have been Socrates' interpretation of Gangra's decrees unless he had some additional documentation. Some scholars assert that Socrates thought of the dress of an ascetic/a habit as the term φιλοσοφία was at that time frequently used in the technical sense of an ascetic or monastic life.⁴¹ However, Socrates uses the noun φιλόσοφος exclusively with reference to pagan philosophers.⁴² On the basis of the above-quoted excerpt, some scholars claim that Eustathius wore τρίβων – a short cloak traditionally linked to the outfit of philosophers.⁴³ Socrates clearly associated τρίβων specifically with pagan philosophers. He used that term only three times; in all of those cases τρίβων is for him an attribute of a pagan philosopher. Describing the actions of Julian he states:

Ἐτίμα δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ παιδείαν
ἐσπουδακότας, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς
ἐπαγγελλομένους φιλοσοφεῖν.

To those who were eminent for
literary attainments, he extend-
ed the most flattering patronage,
and especially to those who were
professional philosophers;

⁴¹ W. A. Jurgens, *Eustathius of Sebaste*, 22; R. Goulet, *Eustathe de Cappadoce*, 375.

⁴² Meropius and Metrodoros (HE I 19, 3, GCS NF I, 61), Ancient philosophers in general (HE I 7, 9, GCS NF I, 17; HE II 35, 8, GCS NF I, 150; HE III 7, 20, GCS NF I, 199; HE III 23, 13, GCS NF I, 220; HE IV 25, 5, GCS NF I, 259; HE IV 26, 8, GCS NF I, 260; HE VII 2, 3, GCS NF I, 348; HE VII 27, 4, GCS NF I, 376), Maximus (HE III 1, 16, GCS NF I, 188; HE V 21, 2, GCS NF I, 295), Socrates (HE III 16, 20, GCS NF I, 212; HE III 23, 12, GCS NF I, 220), Plato and Xenophon (HE III 23, 13, GCS NF I, 220), Empedocles (HE I 22, 2, GCS NF I, 66), pagan philosophers around Julian and Julian himself as a pagan (HE III 1, GCS NF I, 187–193), Marc Aurelius (HE III 23, 14, GCS NF I, 220), Themistius (HE IV 32, 2, GCS NF I, 268), Andragathius (HE VI 3, 1, GCS NF I, 313), Theon and Hypatia (HE VII 15, 1, GCS NF I, 360).

⁴³ F. Fatti, *Monachesimo anatolico. Eustazio di Sebastia e Basilio di Cesarea*, 56–57; A. Urbano, 'Dressing a Christian': *The Philosopher's Mantle as Signifier of Pedagogical and Moral Authority*, in: *Studia Patristica. Vol. LXII. Papers Presented at the Sixteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford 2011. Volume 10: The Genres of Late Antique Literature; Foucault and the Practice of Patristics; Patristic Studies in Latin America*, ed. M. Vinzent, Leuven – Paris – Walpole MA: Peeters 2013, 225.

Διὸ καὶ τοὺς πανταχῆ <τοιού-
τους> ἤγεν ἢ φήμη βρυάζοντας
ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλεία. οἱ φοροῦντες τοὺς
τρίβωνας πολλοὶ ἐκ τοῦ σχήματος
μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκ παιδείας ἐδείκνυντο,
πάντες δὲ ἦσαν βαρεῖς τοῖς χρισ-
τιανίζουσιν, ἄνδρες ἀπατεῶνες καὶ
ἀεὶ τοῦ κρατοῦντος οἰκειούμενοι
τὴν θρησκείαν.

in consequence of which, abun-
dant of pretenders to learning
of this sort resorted to the palace
from all quarters, wearing their
palliums, being more conspicu-
ous for their costume than their
erudition. These impostors, who
invariably adopted the religious
sentiments of their prince, were
all inimical to the welfare of the
Christians.⁴⁴

Describing Jovian's actions against pagans, he states:

Οἱ τε τριβνοφόροι τοὺς τρίβωνας
ἀπετίθεντο <τότε> καὶ εἰς τὸ κοι-
νὸν σχῆμα μετημφιέννυντο.

The philosophers also laid aside
their palliums, and clothed
themselves in ordinary attire.⁴⁵

The most interesting here is that he calls pagan philosophers "those who wear tribon" (οἱ τριβνοφόροι).

For the third time, Socrates uses the term *τρίβων* with reference to Silvanus, bishop of Troas, formerly of Philippopolis:

Σιλβανὸς ῥήτωρ μὲν ἐγεγόνει
πρότερον Τρωίλου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ.
Ἄκρως δὲ χριστιανίζειν ἐσπουδα-
κῶς καὶ τὸν ἀσκητικὸν βίον ἀσκῶν
τρίβωνα φορεῖν οὐ προήρητο.

Silvanus was formerly a rhetori-
cian, and had been brought up in
the school of Troilus the sophist;
but aiming at perfection in his
Christian course, he entered on
the ascetic mode of life, and set
aside the rhetorician's pallium.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Socrates Scholasticus, HE III 1, 55–56, GCS NF 1, 192, transl. NPNF II 2, 94.

⁴⁵ Socrates Scholasticus, HE III 24, 6, GCS NF 1, 225, transl. NPNF II 2, 94.

⁴⁶ Socrates Scholasticus, HE VII 37, 1, GCS NF 1, 386, transl. NPNF II 2, 173–174.

So, it can be stated with certainty that Socrates interpreted the text of Gangra's regulations or knew it from other sources that Eustathius wore τρίβων. He could have used the expression φιλοσόφου σχῆμα instead of naming τρίβων, as in the Roman world "dress was not limited to clothing, but also included hairstyles, shaving habits, jewellery, and other accessories."⁴⁷ Anyway, in Socrates it is clearly an insult since he treated pagan philosophers as enemies of the Christians.

The question is whether it was Socrates' interpretation only or what bishops gathered in Gangra condemned was indeed wearing τρίβων by priests/bishops. Arthur P. Urbano claims: "Socrates writes that Eustathius dressed in the philosopher's mantle (αὐτός τε φιλοσόφου σχῆμα φορῶν) and prescribed an otherwise undescribed 'strange raiment' (ξένη στολῆ) for his followers. This latter, called the περιβόλαιον in the Acts of the Council of Gangra, was probably not the same tribon worn by Eustathius. Socrates seems to distinguish Eustathius' dress from that of his followers. Instead, Eustathius probably reserved the tribon for himself as a marker of both pedagogical and moral authority in his role as leader of the community."⁴⁸ I am not convinced that Socrates distinguished between Eustathius' dress and the one of his disciples. The bishops gathered in Gangra must have considered τρίβων as a strange garment (ξένη στολή) for priests. Federico Fatti thinks that bishops condemned it as "foreign" to the Church, because it expressed a universe of values, and a type of authority, which had little to do with those of Christianity and its leaders.⁴⁹ In the Cappadocian environment, some 50 years before Socrates (at least among Cappadocian Fathers), τρίβων usually had no pejorative connotation, but was a distinction of a rhetor as a profession.⁵⁰ Only once, Gregory of Nazianzus says that God wanted to punish the arrogance of the Greeks who considered those who wore τρίβων and a beard

⁴⁷ A. Urbano, 'Dressing a Christian', 214.

⁴⁸ A. Urbano, 'Dressing a Christian', 225.

⁴⁹ F. Fatti, *Eustazio di Sebaste, Eustazio filosofo*, 460–461.

⁵⁰ In such a meaning Gregory of Nazjanzus used that term in *Oratio 43 (In laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi)*, 17, SC 384, 158; *Epistulae* 98, 1, GCS 53, 80; *Carmina moralia*, PG 37, 697.

as good (οἱ τῷ τριβῶνι καὶ τῇ ὑπῆγη τὸ σεμνὸν ὑποδύονται).⁵¹ In a praising tone, he states that Basil wore “a single tunic and a well-worn cloak” (ἐν χιτῶνιον καὶ τριβῶνιον).⁵² Gregory expresses no astonishment or indignation because of that fact. Between the Council of Gangra (358) and the death of Basil (378/379) people could have got used to bishops dressed in τριβῶν of the philosophers/rhetors. Or, τριβῶν could have been perceived as inappropriate for priests/bishops only in certain circles. Moreover, τριβῶν apparently was not such a technical term as we think and had some synonyms. In the 5th–6th century, Hezychius defined τριβῶν as στολή with signs as ornament (στολή ἔχουσα σημεῖα ὡς γάμμα) and τριβῶνιον (a diminutive used by Gregory of Nazianzus in reference to Basil) as πᾶλλιον, περιβόλαιον.⁵³ Here we are – περιβόλαιον is the term used by the Council of Ganga in Canon 12.

Basil himself never mentions τριβῶν either as his own dress or the one recommended for ascetics. In Letter 223 to Eustathius of Sebastea, he admits that he himself uses a thick cloak and a girdle (τὸ παχὺ ἱμάτιον καὶ ἡ ζώνη).⁵⁴ Ἱμάτιον – “an outer garment, it tends to be worn over a tunic, although men frequently wear it alone, revealing part of the chest, shoulders and one arm. [...] It became the Roman pallium and continued to be associated with the Greek world and intellectual activity.”⁵⁵ So it may definitely describe the same thing as the term τριβῶν.

In Letter 2, Basil mentions χιτῶν as the only dress of an ascetic, claiming that “the tunic ought to be of such thickness that it will

⁵¹ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio 25 (In laudem Heronis philosophi)*, 5, SC 284, 166.

⁵² Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio 43 (In laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi)*, 61, SC 384, 258.

⁵³ Hesychius of Alexandria, *Lexicon*, ed. I. C. Cunningham and P. A. Hansen, Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 2009. Byzantine lexicons define the one who wears τριβῶν (τριβωνοφόρος) as someone who wears στολή with signes as ornament (ὁ φορῶν στολήν ἔχουσαν σημεῖα ὡς γαμμάτια), cf. Photius, *Lexicon (N–Φ)*, ed. C. Theodoridis, Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 2013; Suda, *Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, Leipzig: Teubner 1928–1934; *Etymologicum magnum*, ed. T. Gaisford, Oxonii: ex Typographo Academico 1848.

⁵⁴ Basil, *Epistulae 223*, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 11.

⁵⁵ L. Cleland, G. Davies, L. Llewellyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress from A to Z*, 92.

require no auxiliary garment to keep the wearer warm.”⁵⁶ He praises the virtues of ascetic life claiming that the soul “is dragged down no more by thought of food nor anxiety concerning coats” (πρὸς περιβολαίων μέριμναν).⁵⁷ On the other hand, when Basil distances himself from “anxiety concerning coats” he wants to stress his own modest and ascetical approach to dress. In a long disquisition, he explains that a way of dressing is extremely important for an ascetic:

Χρήσιμον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἰδίωμα προκηρυττούσης ἕκαστον, καὶ προδιαμαρτυρομένης τὸ ἐπάγγελμα τῆς κατὰ Θεὸν ζωῆς ὥστε ἀκόλουθον καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν παρὰ τῶν συντυγχανόντων ἡμῖν ἀπαιτεῖσθαι. Οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως τὸ ἀπρεπὲς καὶ ἄσχημον ἐν τοῖς τυχοῦσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς μεγάλα ὑπισχνουμένοις διαφαίνεται. Δημότην μὲν γὰρ, ἢ τινα τῶν τυχόντων διδόντα πληγὰς ἢ λαμβάνοντα δημοσίᾳ, καὶ φωνὰς ἀπρεπεῖς ἀφιέντα, καὶ ἐν καπηλείοις διαιτώμενον, καὶ ἄλλα παραπλήσια τούτοις ἀσχημονοῦντα, οὐκ ἂν τις ῥαδίως οὐδὲ παρατηρήσειεν, μονοῦντα, οὐκ ἂν τις ῥαδίως οὐδὲ παρατηρήσειεν, ἀκόλουθα εἶναι τῇ ὅλῃ προαιρήσει τοῦ βίου καταδεχόμενος τὰ γινόμενα.

This distinctiveness in dress is also useful as giving advance notice of each of us, by proclaiming our profession of the devout life. Actions in conformity with this profession are, in consequence, expected from us by those whom we meet. The standard of indecorous and unseemly conduct is not the same for ordinary folk as for those who make profession of great aspirations. No one would take particular notice of the man in the street who would inflict blows on a passerby or publicly suffer them himself, or who would use obscene language, or loiter in the shops, or commit other unseemly actions of this kind. These things are accepted as in keeping with the general course of life in the world.

⁵⁶ Basil, *Epistulae* 2, 6, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. I, 11, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. I, 21–23. Similar requirements of the ascetic way of dressing are comprised in Basil, *Regulae brevius tractatae* 90, PG 31, 1145.

⁵⁷ Basil, *Epistulae* 2, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. I, 8.

τὸν δὲ ἐν ἐπαγγέλματι ἀκριβείας, κἂν τὸ τυχὸν παρίδη τῶν καθηκόντων, πάντες ἐπιτηροῦσι, καὶ ἀντ' ὀνειδούς αὐτῷ προφέρουσι, ποιῶντες τὸ εἰρημένον ὅτι, Στραφέντες ῥήξουσιν ὑμᾶς. Ὡστε οἰονεὶ παιδαγωγία τίς ἐστι τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις, πρὸς τὸ καὶ ἄκοντας αὐτοῦς ἀπὸ τῶν φαύλων εἶργεσθαι, ἢ διὰ τοῦ σχήματος ἐπαγγελία. Ὡς οὖν ἐστὶ τι στρατιώτου ἴδιον ἐν τῷ ἐνδύματι, καὶ ἄλλο τοῦ συγκλητικοῦ, καὶ ἄλλο ἄλλου, ἀφ' ὧν εἰκάζεται αὐτῶν, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον, τὰ ἀξιώματα, οὕτως εἶναι τινα καὶ Χριστιανοῦ ιδιότητα καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσθῆτος εὐπρεπὲς καὶ ἀκόλουθον σώζουσιν τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου παραδεδομένην κοσμιότητα.

On the other hand, everyone takes notice of him who is bound by promise to strive for perfection, if he neglects the least part of his duty, and they heap reproaches upon him for it, fulfilling the words: and turning upon you, they tear you. A mode of dress, therefore, which denotes one's profession serves to fulfill the office of pedagogue, as it were, for the weak, to keep them from wrongdoing even against their will. As one style of dress bespeaks the soldier, another, a senator, a third, some other high position, so that the rank of these dignitaries can generally be inferred, so also it is right and proper that there be some mark of identity for the Christian which would bear out even as to his garments the good order spoken of by the Apostle.⁵⁸

Basil clearly accepts and justifies here a specific dress that distinguishes an ascetic from other people; a dress that apparently was condemned by the Council of Gangra with reference to priests/bishops.⁵⁹ Federico Fatti is right that Basil wore *τρίβων*, because he was a follower

⁵⁸ Basil, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 22, 3, PG 31, 980; transl. M. M. Wagner, 283–284.

⁵⁹ J. Gribomont, *St. Basile et le monachisme enthousiaste*, “*Irénikon*” 62 (1980), 132; C. A. Frazee, *Anatolian Asceticism in the Fourth Century: Eustathios of Sebastea and Basil of Caesarea*, 18.

of Eustathius,⁶⁰ though in the sources it is called τριβώνιον, πάλλιον or περιβόλαιον.

3. Assemblies in honour of the martyrs

There is a point of Eustathian asceticism that needs further explanation. Canon 20 of the Council of Gangra refers to the assemblies in honour of the martyrs:

Εἴ τις αἰτιᾶται ὑπερηφάνῳ διαθέσει κεχρημένος καὶ βδελυσσόμενος τὰς συνάξεις τῶν μαρτύρων ἢ τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς γινομένας λειτουργίας καὶ τὰς μνήμας αὐτῶν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

If, assuming an arrogant disposition and loathing, anyone condemns the assemblies [in honor?] of the martyrs or the services held in them [martyria?] and in memory of [the martyrs], let such a one be anathema.⁶¹

Basil's position as to the celebrations in honour of the martyrs has been interpreted by scholars in two diametrically opposed ways. On the basis of the same text from *Regulae fusius tractatae* 40, Tomislav Tenšek says that it is obvious that Basil was under the influence of Eustathius,⁶² while Karl Suso Frank claims that Basil's disquisition was directed against the Eustathians.⁶³ What Basil actually claims reads as follows:

Περὶ τῶν ἐν συνόδοις πραγματειῶν. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τὰς ἐν τοῖς μαρτυρίοις γινομένας ἀγορασίας οἰκείας ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος δείκνυσιν.

Concerning business transactions at public assemblies. Scripture tells us that commercial transactions in martyrs'

⁶⁰ F. Fatti, *Monachesimo anatolico. Eustazio di Sebastia e Basilio di Cesarea*, 56–57.

⁶¹ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, Canon 20, ed. P. P. Joannou, 97, transl. O. L. Yarbrough, 454.

⁶² T. Z. Tenšek, *L'ascetismo nel Concilio di Gangra*, 104.

⁶³ K. Suso Frank, *Monastische Reform im Altertum. Eustathius von Sebaste und Basilius von Caesarea*, 48.

Οὐ γὰρ ἄλλου τινὸς ἔνεκεν ἐν τοῖς μαρτυρίοις ἢ ἐν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὰ τόποις φαίνεσθαι ἐπιβάλλει Χριστιανοῖς, ἢ προσευχῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ τοῦ εἰς ὑπόμνησιν ἐλθόντας τῆς τῶν ἁγίων ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας μέχρη θανάτου ἐνστάσεως πρὸς τὸν ζῆλον τὸν ὁμοιον προτραπήναι.

sanctuaries are inappropriate for us; for it does not befit Christians to appear at these shrines or in their environs for any other purpose than to pray and, by recalling to memory the saints' conflict unto death in behalf of piety, to be animated to alike zeal.¹⁸

The Council of Gangra used the term *σύναξις* in Canons 5 and 6 – apparently in the meaning of liturgical assemblies. However, in Canon 20, the word *σύναξις* seems to mean something different than liturgy, as it is juxtaposed by the conjunction “or” (ἢ) with “service” (*λειτουργία*) and “commemoration” (*μνήμη*). Basil himself seems to avoid the term *σύναξις*; apart from quoting twice Ps. 38:7, where the term appears, he uses it only three times in his writings: all of them in his late letters. In Letter 188, written in 374 to Amphiloch, *σύναξις* appears in the negative context – in the definition of “illegal assembly” (*παρασυναγωγή*).⁶⁴ It is difficult to determine whether the second use of *σύναξις* in Basil has anything to do with public celebrations or not. In Letter 243, written in 376 to the bishops of Italy and Gaul, Basil complains that there is no more

οὐ τὸ μακάριον ἐκεῖνο τῶν ψυχῶν ἀγαλλίαμα ὃ ἐπὶ ταῖς συνάξεσι καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν πνευματικῶν χαρισμάτων ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐγγίνεται τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς Κύριον.

that blessed joy of souls which arises in the souls of those who believe in the Lord at the gatherings and because of the holy community of spiritual gifts.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Basil, *Epistulae* 188, 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 121, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 11.

⁶⁵ Basil, *Epistulae* 243, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 70, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 441 with alterations.

Just above the quoted excerpt Basil lists other phenomena of religious life that are missing: gatherings of Christians (σύλλογοι Χριστιανῶν), precedence of teachers (διδασκάλων προεδρία), teachings of salvation (διδάγματα σωτήρια), assemblies (πανηγύρεις), evening singing of hymns (ὕμνων δία νυκτερινά). The term automatically associated with public celebrations is πανήγυρις – the name that in Classic Greek meant a general or national assembly, especially a festal assembly in honour of a national god. Therefore, it is probable that σύναξις does not mean here a public celebration but rather a small gathering in the circle of spiritual believers.

The last appearance of the term occurs in Letter 156, written in 373 to Evagrius the presbyter, when Basil expresses his sadness that Evagrius refused to take part in their religious service (μετασχεῖν αὐτῶν τῆς συνάξεως) with Dorotheus.⁶⁶ The context says nothing about the nature of that service.

However, it would be an abuse to claim that Basil did not use the term σύναξις in order to avoid being associated with Eustathians. The frequency of his usage of this word does not differ significantly from that of Gregory of Nazianzus – four times and Gregory of Nyssa – twice, while John Chrysostom used it around a hundred times. Socrates Scholasticus used the term σύναξις 12 times in the meaning of ecclesiastical celebrations, Epiphanius 11 times, though Sozomen only twice. No geographical pattern can be traced; it seems that some authors were eager to use it more and some less often.

In the 4th century, several names were used for an ecclesiastical assembly and it is usually impossible to determine what kind of gathering was meant in every single case. There were no technical terms for different kinds of assemblies. From what Basil says, it can be deduced that ecclesiastical gatherings not always/not only meant the Eucharist, but also

⁶⁶ Basil, *Epistulae* 156, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 84.

τοῦ προσεύχεσθαι ὑπὲρ ἀλλή-
λων, καὶ μετὰ πλειόνων προσκυ-
νεῖν καὶ προσκλαίειν τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ
ἐξιλάσκεσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν
ἀμαρτιῶν, εὐχαριστεῖν δὲ ὑπὲρ
τῶν ἐνεργεσιῶν, οἰκοδομεῖν δὲ διὰ
τοῦ λόγου τῆς παρακλήσεως.

praying for one another, adoring
God together, imploring His aid
with tears, making amends for
their sins, thanking Him for His
benefactions and strengthening
their faith by hearing words of
exhortation.⁶⁸

Different names could have been applied to all kinds of ecclesiastical gatherings: *σύναξις*, *λειτουργία*, *ἐκκλησιάζω*, *πανήγυρις*, *σύλλογος*, *μνήμη*, *σύνοδος*, *τὰ ἅγια*, *συναγωγή*, *τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας*. For instance, summarizing in HE III 14 the decrees of the Council of Gangra Sozomen employs the expression *ἐν οἰκίαις ἐκκλησιάζοντας* instead of *συναξεις* used by the Council, obviously treating both as synonyms.

The case becomes even more complicated as all of those expressions could have meant “assembly, gathering”, but

- first, not necessarily ecclesiastical or liturgical; it could have been any kind of gathering,
- second, each of those names has also a different meaning, used as well by the very same authors who applied them to ecclesiastical gatherings. Here are some examples (all of them according to Lampe’s Lexicon):

πανήγυρις – 1. festal assembly, festival, 2. time of rejoicing, festivity, 3. festal oration, laudatory speech, 4. assembly, 5. market, trading-fair;

ἐκκλησιάζω – 1. attend an assembly, 2. address a church meeting, preach, 3. preach to, teach, 4. be member of, belong to the Church, 5. be received, approved by Church;

σύναξις – A. a bringing together, combination, sum, B. gathering, assembly for public worship and instruction, religious service, C. of the day on which a *σύναξις* was held, feast day, festival, D. those assembled for a service, congregation,

⁶⁷ Basil, *Regulae fusiis tractatae* 40, PG 31, 1020, transl. M. M. Wagner, 313–314.

E. form of worship or prayer obligatory upon monks and nuns, perh. sometimes referring to eucharist but also to an office, F. shrine;

λειτουργία – A. public service, B. service, C. service to God;

μνήμη – A. memory; 1. remembrance, of blessed memory, 2. commemoration, 3. faculty of memory, plur., powers of memory, 4. act of memory, recollection, 5. record, 6. mention, 7. representation, B. mina;

συναγωγή – assembly, A. of persons; 1. act of gathering together, assembling, 2. assemblage, concourse, crowd, of a social gathering, multitude of nations, 3. union with God, B. of things; 1. bringing or drawing together, 2. collection; of thoughts, i.e. recollection, combination, 3. ? content, or poss. scheme; 4. conclusion, summary, C. in connexion with public worship; 1. Jewish; a. act of assembling for worship, b. assembly of persons for worship, congregation, c. the congregation of Israel, d. the Jewish community, e. place of worship, synagogue, f. synagogue of the Samaritans, 2. Christian; a. coming together, meeting for worship, b. assembly of persons for worship, Christian congregation, c. the whole Christian body, Church, d. = σύναξις, public worship, e. place of worship, Christian church, 3. as term of contempt; a. heret. congregation, b. party, sect, c. meeting-house, conventicle;

σύνοδος – A. companion on a journey, fellow traveller, of things that go together, equivalent, B. of persons, coming together, meeting, C. of things, coming together.

Assuming that in Canon 20 of the Council of Gangra all three names (σύναξις, λειτουργία, μνήμη) meant certain kinds of liturgical gatherings, it is obvious that in *Regulae fusius tractatae* 40 Basil does not refer to Gangra's canon at all. What Gangra concerned was condemning and abhorring the very sense of honouring the martyrs. Basil's remarks refer to some misbehaviours during the feasts in honour of the martyrs.

The cult of the martyrs was deep-rooted in the tradition of Asia Minor.⁶⁸ Known from the end of the 2nd century it became very popular when the persecutions had ended. To such an extent that the manifestations of that cult could seem to be the major phenomenon of the religious life of the 4th century. However, the forms of expressing such beliefs were very much dependent on the traditional ways in which the pagans honoured their deceased: they cared about the burial, often monumental, celebrated banquets at the tomb on the day of the funeral and every year on its anniversary. The funeral banquet, in honour of deceased, especially the martyrs, was accepted by the Church as a lesser evil to replacing it with the pagan festivals of the same kind; however, at the end of the 4th century, certain Fathers of the Church were concerned with repressing the resulting abuses, not only Basil, but Ambrose and Augustine as well.⁶⁹ On the other hand, the custom of avoiding shrines of the martyrs by Eustathians must have been a remnant of the pagan/Neoplatonic roots of Eustathius. Otherwise it is hardly understandable. It could have been specifically inherited from the Pythagorean tradition for which the deceased had something contaminating⁷⁰ or it could have been a reminiscence of the Ancient Greek conviction that death causes ritual impurity.⁷¹

4. Was Basil an Eustathian?

The letters by Basil confirm that Basil and Eustathius had a long-lasting and close relationship from the very childhood of Basil until the conflict began in 372. According to Sozomen, some people even claimed that Eustathius was the actual author of the ascetical book attributed to Basil:

⁶⁸ H. Delehay, *Les origines du culte des martyrs*, Bruxelles: Bollandistes 1912, 173–210.

⁶⁹ H.-I. Marrou, *L'Église de l'Antiquité tardive (303–604)*, Éditions du Seuil 2014, Chapitre X, *Le culte des martyrs* (ebook).

⁷⁰ F. Fatti, *Eustazio di Sebaste, Eustazio filosofo*, 465.

⁷¹ M. Becker, *Eunapios aus Sardes Biographien über Philosophen und Sophisten*, 227.

Ἀρμενίοις δὲ καὶ Παφλαγόσι καὶ τοῖς πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ οἰκοῦσι λέγεται Εὐστάθιος ὁ τὴν ἐν Σεβαστείᾳ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιτροπεύσας μοναχικῆς φιλοσοφίας ἄρξαι, καὶ τῆς ἐν ταύτῃ σπουδαίας ἀγωγῆς, ἐδεσμάτων τε, ὧν χρὴ μετέχειν καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι, καὶ ἐσθῆτος, ἧ δεῖ κεχρηῆσθαι, καὶ ἡθῶν καὶ πολιτείας ἀκριβοῦς εἰσηγητὴν γενόμενον, ὡς καὶ τὴν ἐπιγεγραμμένην Βασιλείου τοῦ Καππαδόκου Ἀσκητικὴν βίβλον ἰσχυρίζεσθαι τινὰς αὐτοῦ γραφὴν εἶναι.

It is said that Eustathius, who governed the church of Sebaste in Armenia, founded a society of monks in Armenia, Paphlagonia, and Pontus, and became the author of a zealous discipline, both as to what meals were to be partaken of or to be avoided, what garments were to be worn, and what customs and exact course of conduct were to be adopted. Some assert that he was the author of the ascetic treatises commonly attributed to Basil of Cappadocia.⁷³

This thesis is unverifiable on the basis of the preserved sources as there are no writings by Eustathius. William Clarke noted: “Basil owed much to Eustathius, and the teaching and practices of the latter must have been to some extent represented in Basil’s *Ascetica* so much so that those who recalled Eustathius’ teaching and championed his memory could say that the ideas were really his. It was but a short step to take when they or others went on to ascribe the actual writing to him. Just how much is Eustathian it is impossible to say.”⁷³ David Amand says that it is very likely that a great part of Eustathius’ ascetic ideas and his monastic rules were preserved in the softened, humanized and more systematic form in the rules of Basil.⁷⁴ Charles Frazee states that it was Eustathius’ life “which provided Basil’s inspiration and his brotherhoods were the model for Basil’s communities.”⁷⁵ Tomislav

⁷² Sozomen, HE III 14, 31, GCS 50, 123, transl. NPNF II 2, 293.

⁷³ W. K. Lowther Clarke, *St Basil the Great: A Study in Monasticism*, 161.

⁷⁴ D. Amand, *L’ascèse monastique de Saint Basile: Essai historique*, 60.

⁷⁵ C. A. Frazee, *Anatolian Asceticism in the Fourth Century: Eustathios of Sebastea and Basil of Caesarea*, 16.

Tenšek presents a similar position: he points out that there is no proof that Eustathius ever wrote anything, but he left behind “a spiritual tradition and experience.”⁷⁶

What can be stated with certainty is that Basil’s asceticism had some characteristics condemned by the Council of Gangra. In my opinion – crucial ones. Although in many points Basil’s rules gave recommendations different or sometimes even directly opposed to some attitudes condemned in Gangra, it does not mean he was less Eustathian. It only proves that he followed Eustathius’ principle of individualism and independent interpretation of the way asceticism should be practiced.

Basil stresses that it is necessary for an ascetic to read and contemplate the Holy Scripture;⁷⁷ he himself used to read and interpret the Bible on his own and apply it to his life according to his own judgment.⁷⁸ It is significant that the basis for his moral rules is only and exclusively the Holy Scripture; Basil never refers to any tradition, never quotes any saints or other holy writers. Although it is generally assumed that he, together with Gregory of Nazianzus created *Philocalia* – a collection of texts by Origen, it is very likely that they were not the authors of this book. Marguerite Harl analysed the sources and it seems that there is no convincing proof of their authorship.⁷⁹ The result of Harl’s research seems to me consistent with the general attitude of Basil – he was focused on the Holy Scripture and even if he used other intellectual tools (such as dialectics) during dogmatic disputes, he did it only because it was necessary to refute heretical theses.⁸⁰

What Basil approves in general is not so important for stating whether he was an Eustathian or not – the most important is that he allows exceptions if an ascetic recognized that something is against piety, i.e. against his version of piety. That is why I do agree with Jean

⁷⁶ T. Z. Tenšek, *L'ascetismo nel Concilio di Gangra*, 31–32.

⁷⁷ Basil, *Epistulae* 2, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 8–9.

⁷⁸ Basil, *Epistulae* 223, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 10.

⁷⁹ M. Harl, *Introduction*, in: Origène, *Philocalie* 1–20, SC 302, Paris 1983, 19–20.

⁸⁰ Basil, *De fide* 1–2, PG 31, 677–680.

Gribomont's statement that Basil was much closer to the condemned ascetics than to the bishops gathered in Gangra.⁸¹ The visible attribute of that closeness was Basil's dress, apparently the same as was condemned by Canon 12 of the Council of Gangra.

⁸¹ J. Gribomont, *St. Basile et le monachisme enthousiaste*, 135.

Chapter III.

Was Eustathius a Pneumatomachos?

It is commonly accepted that Eustathius of Sebastea became a Pneumatomachos in the last years of his life. At first glance, the statements about Eustathius' participation in the Pneumatomachian heresy seem to be clear and unquestionable. On a closer inspection, the case becomes less obvious.

1. Neither God, nor creature

In the 5th century *Historia Ecclesiastica* by Socrates Scholasticus, there is a statement that is usually interpreted as if Eustathius was a Pneumatomachos. The very account by Socrates reads as follows:

Ὡς δὲ ὁ Μακεδόνιος τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα συναναλαβεῖν εἰς τὴν θεολογίαν τῆς Τριάδος ἐξέκλι-
νεν, τότε καὶ Εὐστάθιος· Ἐγὼ, ἔφη, οὔτε Θεὸν ὀνομάζειν αἰροῦμαι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον οὔτε κτίσμα καλεῖν ἂν τολμήσαιμι.

When Macedonius began to deny the Divinity of the Holy Spirit in the Trinity, Eustathius said: 'I can neither admit that the Holy Spirit is God, nor can I dare affirm him to be a creature.'

Διὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ
Πνευματομάχους ἀποκαλοῦ-
σιν αὐτοὺς οἱ τοῦ ὁμοουσί-
ου φρονήματος.

For this reason those who hold
the homoousion of the Son call
these heretics Pneumatomachi.¹

A closer look reveals that the above-quoted text is not so unambiguous as it seems. It is certain that Eustathius belonged to the Homoiousian alliance, as did Macedonius. Mark DelCogliano has defined the meaning of an ecclesiastical alliance as follows: “In recent scholarship, the notion of an ‘alliance’ or ‘ecclesial alliance’ has been used instead of ‘church party’ to name groups or networks that arise because of some common value or are formed for the promotion of a specific agenda in the ecclesiastical sphere. These values or agendas may or may not be theological. Such groups are characterised by features such as the performance of ecclesiastical communion, sufficient doctrinal agreement with respect to both principles and terminologies, the struggle with common enemies, the activity of mutual defence, the exercise of public ecclesio-political support, loyalty to revered figures, local ecclesiastical traditions, and personal friendship. No single feature, value or agenda is necessary to constitute an ecclesial alliance, and individuals or individual Churches may be part of a larger ecclesial alliance for different reasons.”²

According to Socrates, at a certain point in time Macedonius started to deny the divinity of the Holy Spirit. And then, there is the above-quoted phrase about the reaction of Eustathius, usually interpreted as if he shared Macedonius’ convictions:

Ὡς δὲ ὁ Μακεδόνιος τὸ ἅγιον
πνεῦμα συναναλαβεῖν εἰς τὴν θεο-
λογίαν τῆς Τριάδος ἐξέκλινεν, τότε
καὶ Εὐστάθιος·

But when Macedonius began to
deny the Divinity of the Holy
Spirit in the Trinity, Eustathius
said:

¹ Socrates Scholasticus HE II 45, 3–7, GCS NF I, 182–183, transl. NPNF II 2, 73–74.

² M. DelCogliano, *George of Laodicea: A Historical Reassessment*, 669.

Ἐγώ, ἔφη, οὔτε Θεὸν ὀνομάζειν
αἰροῦμαι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον οὔτε
κτίσμα καλεῖν ἂν τολμήσαιμι.

‘I can neither admit that the
Holy Spirit is God, nor can
I dare affirm him to be a
creature.’³

The sentence that describes the change in Macedonius’ beliefs begins with *δέ*, correctly translated into English as “but”. “*δέ* serves to mark that something is different from what precedes, but only to offset it, not to exclude or contradict it; it denotes only a slight contrast, and is therefore weaker than *ἀλλά*, but stronger than *καί*. *δέ* is adversative and copulative; but the two uses are not always clearly to be distinguished.”⁴ The adversative character of *δέ* is weakened here by *καί* placed at the beginning of the second part of the sentence. However, it is worth noting that Socrates is extremely cautious in his appraisal of Pneumatomachians. He adds that “those who hold the homoousion of the Son call these heretics Pneumatomachi.”⁵

The statement of Eustathius in Socrates is his only quotation in entire literature.⁶ Although it seems heretical from today’s perspective, at the time and place it was voiced it was perfectly orthodox and consistent with the teaching of Basil the Great. The sentence quoted by Socrates, understood by scholars as a proof that Eustathius was a Pneumatomachos, was Basil’s own requirement to find somebody orthodox. In his two letters written in 372 or 373, he calls to receive in communion those who do not call the Holy Spirit a creature:

Μηδὲν τοίνυν πλέον ἐπιζητῶμεν,
ἀλλὰ προτείνώμεθα τοῖς βουλομέ-
νοις ἡμῖν συνάπτεσθαι

Let us then seek nothing more,
but merely propose the Creed of
Nicaea to the brethren who wish

³ Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 45, 6, GCS NF I, 183, transl. NPNF II 2, 74.

⁴ H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* 2834, Harvard: University Press 1956, 644.

⁵ Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 45, 7, GCS NF I, 183, transl. NPNF II 2, 74.

⁶ Apart from the letter by Eustathius the Philosopher to Emperor Julian, *Epistula* 83 (Bidez 36), in: Julian the Apostate, *Works*, vol. III, ed. E. Wilmer Cave Wright, 290–292.

ἀδελφοῖς τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίστιν,
 κἂν ἐκεῖνη συνθῶνται, ἐπερω-
 τῶμεν καὶ τὸ μὴ δεῖν λέγεσθαι
 κτίσμα τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον
 μηδὲ κοινωνικοὺς αὐτῶν εἶναι
 τοὺς λέγοντας.

to join us; and if they agree to
 this, let us demand also that the
 Holy Spirit shall not be called a
 creature, and that those who do
 so call Him shall not be commu-
 nicants with them.⁷

The letters had been written before the conflict between Basil and Eustathius broke out, but it is obvious that the problem of the Holy Spirit had been already discussed in the Church.

2. Pneumatomachians

The problem of the divinity of the Holy Spirit is strictly connected with the Arian view of the Son as a created being. Although at the beginning of the Arian and later on Eunomian controversy the debate was focused on the divinity of the Son, the question of the status of the Holy Spirit was always present and discussed. I do agree with Christopher Beeley, who points out the continuity of Basil's teaching on the Holy Spirit; he claims: "The early *Contra Eunomium* is in some respects Basil's strongest statement of the Spirit's divinity, and it provides the blueprint for his later work, including the *De Spiritu Sancto*."⁸ *Adversus Eunomium* was written in the early period of Basil's writing and was finished in 366,⁹ while *De Spiritu Sancto* is one of his last writings, written after 374.¹⁰ Basil himself noticed that the Pneumatomachian ideas had their roots in Arius and were developed by his followers, i.e. Aetius and Eunomius:

⁷ Basil, *Epistulae* 113, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 17, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 2, 225; cf Basil, *Epistulae* 114, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 19.

⁸ Ch. Beeley, *The Holy Spirit in the Cappadocians: Past and Present*, "Modern Theology" 26 (2010), 91.

⁹ B. Sesboüe, *Introduction*, in: Basile de Césarée, *Contre Eunome*, ed. B. Sesboüe, SC 299, Paris 1982, 44.

¹⁰ B. Pruche, *Introduction*, in: Basile de Césarée, *Sur le Saint-Esprit*, SC 17, Paris 2002, 56–57.

Κατὰ μικρὸν δὲ προϊόντα τὰ
πονηρὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας σπέρματα
ἃ πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀρείου τοῦ
προστάτου τῆς αἰρέσεως κατεβλή-
θη, ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ ἐκεί-
νου κακῶς διαδεξαμένων ἐπὶ λύμη
τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν ἐξετράφη καὶ ἡ
ἀκολουθία τῆς ἀσεβείας εἰς τὴν
κατὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος βλασφημί-
αν ἀπέσκηψεν.

Coming forth little by little, the
baneful seeds of impiety, which
had been sown before by Ar-
ius, the author of the heresy,
and later by those who wickedly
succeeded to his opinions, have
been nurtured to the harm of
the churches, and the succession
of impiety has broken forth into
blasphemy against the Spirit.¹¹

The term πνευματομάχος appeared in Asia Minor for the first time around 372. Earlier, Athanasius used the participle πνευματομαχοῦντες with reference to those who claimed that the Holy Spirit was created, but the Son was not.¹² It seems that it was Basil who around 372 invented the noun ὁ πνευματομάχος. He used it 5 times in his writings: twice in the *De spiritu Sancto* (XI 27 and XXI 52), once in *Contra Sabellianos et Arium et Anomoeos* (PG 31, 613), in Letter 140, 2 and in Letter 263, 3. In all 4 cases except for the last one, Basil uses the term πνευματομάχοι in the Arian/Eunomian context.

I think that Pneumatomachians might have not been a distinct heresy. In Asia Minor, it was only another epithet for Anomoeans invented by Basil the Great. Actually Basil himself seems to admit that in Letter 244, dated to 376:

Ἀκούω ὅτι τὸ ὁμοούσιον κατασι-
γάσαντες, τὸ κατ' οὐσίαν ὅμοιον
νῦν περιφέρουσι καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸ
Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα βλασφημίας μετ'
Εὐνομίου συγγράφουσι.

I only know so much as what
I hear—that having suppressed
“consubstantiality” they now add
“like in substance,” and they sub-
scribe with Eunomius

¹¹ Basil, *Epistulae* 125, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 33, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 2, 267.

¹² Athanasius, *Epistulae quattuor ad Serapionem* 1, 32 and 3, 2.

to the blasphemies against the Holy Spirit.¹³

At that time, Basil himself entered into the Nicaean alliance and was eager to use “Western” rhetoric and label all “Arians” his ecclesiastical adversaries.

The case of *De Spiritu Sancto* is especially important for my research. I disagree with the scholars who claim that a part (Chapters X–XXVII) of *De Spiritu Sancto* by Basil is either a record of his dispute with Eustathius held in June 372¹⁴ or a later reaction to Eustathius’ theses.¹⁵ The only name of an opponent that Basil himself mentions in *De Spiritu Sancto* is Aetius (II 4). When Basil refers to the debate with Eustathius, he never gives any details and there is no reason to assume that the discussion concerned the divinity of the Holy Spirit. In Letter 98, Basil only summarizes the debate in one sentence:

Προσεδοκάτο δὲ καὶ ἑτέρα συντυχία τοῦ αἰδεσιμωτάτου ἐπισκόπου Εὐσταθίου, ἢ καὶ γενομένη ἡμῖν. Διὰ γὰρ τὸ παρὰ πολλῶν καταβοᾶσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς περὶ τὴν πίστιν παραχαράσσοντά τι,

Another meeting, too, with the most reverend bishop Eustathius was expected by us, and this actually took place. For since he was being denounced by many on the ground that he was falsifying

¹³ Basil, *Epistulae* 244, 9, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 82–83, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 471.

¹⁴ H. Dörries, *De spiritu sancto. Der Beitrag des Basilii zum Abschluß des trinitarischen Dogmas*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1956, 81–94; J. Gribomont, *Eustathe de Sebaste*, in: J. Gribomont, *Saint Basile, Évangile et Église. Mélanges*, vol. 2, 103. This hypothesis has been already rejected by B. Pruche (*Introduction*, SC 17, 74, footnote 3): “De telles affirmations, qui reposent sur de simples hypothèses de travail, paraissent fragiles. Car l’identification des chapitres dix à vingt-sept du livre sur le Saint-Esprit avec un « protocole de Sébaste » se réclame du fait que Basile aurait employé des tachygraphes et qu’on « pouvait penser que c’était là une habitude chez lui ». A l’appui de ce dire on ne peut guère fournir que la vague allusion d’une seule lettre (Lettre 223; PG 32, 829 A).”

¹⁵ B. Pruche, *Introduction*, SC 17, 117.

ἀφικόμεθα αὐτῷ εἰς λόγους
καὶ εὔρομεν σὺν Θεῷ πρὸς
πᾶσαν ὀρθότητα εὐγνωμό-
ως ἀκολουθοῦντα.

the faith in some way, we entered
into conference with him, and
we found him, by God's grace,
candidly in harmony with all
orthodoxy.¹⁶

In Letter 99, Basil describes the debate in detail, but again without specifying the charges against Eustathius:

Ἐσπουδάσαμεν εἰς λόγους ἐλθεῖν
τῷ προειρημένῳ ἀδελφῷ Εὐστα-
θίῳ. Καὶ προετεινάμεν αὐτῷ τὰ
περὶ τῆς πίστεως ἐγκλήματα ὅσα
προφέρουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ περὶ τὸν
ἀδελφὸν Θεόδοτον, καὶ ἠξιώσα-
μεν, εἰ μὲν ἔπεται τῇ ὀρθῇ πί-
στει, φανερὸν ἡμῖν καταστῆσαι,
ὥστε ἡμᾶς εἶναι κοινωνικούς· εἰ δὲ
ἀλλοτρίως ἔχει, ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι
ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔξομεν πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἀλλοτρίως. Πολλῶν τοίνυν γενο-
μένων λόγων πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ
πάσης ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ
περὶ τούτων σκέψει δαπανηθείσης,
καταλαβούσης λοιπὸν τῆς ἐσπέ-
ρας διεκρίθημεν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων εἰς
οὐδὲν ὁμολογούμενον πέρας τὸν
λόγον προαγαγόντες.

We made a special effort to enter
into conference with our brother
Eustathius just mentioned. And
we presented to him the charg-
es regarding his faith, such as
our brother Theodotus and his
followers bring against him,
and we asked him, in case he
followed the orthodox Faith, to
make this fact manifest to us so
that we might be in communion
with him; but if he was other-
wise disposed, we asked him to
know clearly that we too should
be otherwise disposed toward
him. Thereupon, after we had
conversed much with each other,
and after the whole of that day
had been consumed in the exam-
ination of these matters, evening
having now fallen,

¹⁶ Basil, *Epistulae* 98, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 212–213, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 2, 169.

Τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς πάλιν, ἔωθεν συγκα-
θεσθέντες, περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν διελε-
γόμεθα, ἐπελθόντος ἤδη καὶ τοῦ
ἀδελφοῦ Ποιμενίου, τοῦ πρεσβυ-
τέρου τῆς Σεβαστείας, καὶ σφοδ-
ρῶς ἡμῖν τὸν ἐναντίον γυμνάζο-
ντος λόγον. Κατὰ μικρὸν οὖν ἡμεῖς
τε ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν ἐγκαλεῖν
ἀπελυόμεθα κάκεινους εἰς τὴν τῶν
ἐπιζητουμένων ὑφ' ἡμῶν συγκατά-
θεσιν προσηγάγομεν, ὥστε χάριτι
τοῦ Κυρίου εὐρεθῆναι ἡμᾶς μηδὲ
εἰς τὸ μικρότατον πρὸς ἀλλήλους
διαφερομένους. Οὕτω τοίνυν περὶ
ἐνάτην πού ὥραν ἀνέστημεν ἐπὶ
τάς προσευχὰς εὐχαριστήσαντες
τῷ Κυρίῳ, τῷ δόντι ἡμῖν τὸ αὐτὸ
φρονεῖν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ λέγειν.

we parted from each other with-
out having brought our discus-
sion to any conclusion to which
we could both agree. But after
we had again assembled on the
morning of the following day, we
were entering upon a discussion
of the same subject, when our
brother, Poimenius, presbyter of
Sebasteia, entered our confer-
ence also, and began vigorously
to press the opposing doctrine
against us. Little by little we for
our part, accordingly, kept clear-
ing away the charges upon the
strength of which they seemed
to accuse us, and we brought
them to such an assent regarding
the subjects of our investigation
that by the grace of the Lord we
found ourselves to be differing
from one another not even in the
smallest point. Thus, therefore,
somewhere about the ninth hour
we arose for prayer, thanking the
Lord who had given us to think
and speak the same things.¹⁷

I disagree with Johannes Zachhuber and Philip Rousseau in their appraisal of the roots of the conflict. Zachhuber states that the connection between Basil and Eustathius “seems to have been conditioned

¹⁷ Basil, *Epistulae* 99, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 215, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 2, 173--175.

by their common devotion to monasticism in the first place". He suggests that the substance of their friendship "was always the common ascetic ideal, while doctrinal concurrence was presumed – until, finally, it was discovered to be missing."¹⁸ Also Rousseau claims: "Basil's disenchantment with Eustathius focused on his Trinitarian theology, and in particular on his attitude to the Holy Spirit, whose divinity he seemed to oppose."¹⁹ Doctrinal issues could have been only appearances and the real cause of the conflict could have been different. It seems to be a fight for power, specifically for jurisdiction and the right to ordain bishops in Armenia.

3. Basil on Eustathius' heresy

It is worth noting that in his Letter 223, dated to 375 (more or less the time when *De Spiritu Sancto* was written), to Eustathius himself Basil did not even mention any heretical convictions of Eustathius at all (either Pneumatomachian or otherwise) – he defended himself against Eustathius' accusations of Sabelianism and clearly stated that the reason of the conflict was NOT doctrinal. He admitted that he had forced Eustathius to sign the confession of faith only because of the pressure of others:

Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὑπογραφῆ τινι πίστε-
ως προελήφθησαν ἢν ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς
προετείναμεν, οὐκ αὐτοὶ ἀπιστοῦ-
ντες αὐτῶν τῷ φρονήματι, ὁμο-
λογῶ γάρ, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς
ὑπονοίας ἃς πολλοὶ τῶν ὁμοψύχων
ἡμῶν ἀδελφῶν εἶχον θεραπεῦσαι
βουλόμενοι,

And when they were forestalled
by an outline of faith which we
offered them—not because we
ourselves mistrusted their mind
(for I confess it), but merely
because we wished to allay the
suspicions against them which
most of our brethren of like
mind held—

¹⁸ J. Zachhuber, *Basil and the Three-Hypostases Tradition: Reconsidering the Origins of Cappadocian Theology*, "Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum" 5 (2001), 72.

¹⁹ Ph. Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea*, 239.

ἵνα μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς ὁμολογίας ἐκεί-
νης δόξῃ αὐτοῖς ἐμπόδιον ἀπαντᾶν
πρὸς τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν νῦν κρατούντων
παραδεχθῆναι, ἀπείπαντο τὴν
πρὸς ἡμᾶς κοινωνίαν, καὶ ἡ ὑπό-
θεσις τῆς ἀπορρηξέως, τὸ γράμμα
τοῦτο, ἐπενοήθη.

in order that nothing from that
confession might seem to meet
them as an obstacle to their
being accepted by those now
in power, they have renounced
communion with us; and as an
excuse for the break this letter
was devised.²⁰

Although in Letters 244 and 263 Basil claims that Eustathius had changed his beliefs and as a proof listed the confessions signed by Eustathius: Ancyra (358), Seleucia (359), Constantinople (359/360), Zela (?), Lampsacus (364), Rome (366), Cyzicus (between 366 and 376); all those confessions were Homoiousian except for the one from Constantinople, which was Homoian,²¹ and the one from Rome, which was Nicæan. The creed signed in Constantinople was regarded heretical by Homoiousians and Homoiousians as well as by Anomeans, although all bishops signed it under the pressure of Constantius, who was present at the Council. Filostorgius testifies that after the Council “those sent into exile repudiated their own subscriptions that they had put to the Ariminum creed and once again announced their adherence, some to the consubstantialist doctrine and others to that of ‘like in substance’.”²²

Therefore the question is: Why Basil calls Eustathius “the leader of the Pneumatomachian heresy” (πρωτοστάτης τῆς τῶν Πνευματομάχων

²⁰ Basil, *Epistulae* 223, 7, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 16--17, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 311.

²¹ Friedrich Loofs (*Eustathius von Sebaste und die Chronologie der Basilien-Briefe*, 78) thinks that Eustathius could not have signed anything in Constantinople (359/360) as he was deposed at that Council, but during the council the issues of faith were examined first and the disciplinary ones later on. Eustathius could have signed the “dated creed” during one of the sessions that took place late in December of 359 and was deposed at the beginning of January 360.

²² Philostorgius, HE V 1, GCS 21, 6, transl. P. R. Amidon, 75, cf. Sozomen, HE V 14, 1-2, GCS 50, 213.

αίρέσεως)?²³ The answer seems quite obvious to me. Letter 263 was addressed to “the Westerners”. The accusation of Pneumatomachian heresy could have been a similar slander as in the case of contacts with Arius.²⁴ Letter 263 concerns three persons who stayed in communion with the Church, but Basil considered them hidden heretics:

Οἱ δὲ τὴν δорὰν τοῦ προβάτου περιβεβλημένοι καὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἡμερον προβαλλόμενοι καὶ πραεῖαν, ἔνδοθεν δὲ σπαράσσοντες ἀφειδῶς τὰ Χριστοῦ ποίμνια καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐξ ἡμῶν ὠρμηθῆναι εὐκόλως ἐμβάλλοντες βλάβην τοῖς ἀπλουστέροις, οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ χαλεποὶ καὶ δυσφύλακτοι.

Those who have clothed themselves in the skin of a sheep, and present a gentle and mild appearance, but inwardly are rending unsparingly the flocks of Christ, and, because they have come from amongst ourselves, easily inflict injury on the simpler folk, these are they who are harmful and difficult to guard against.²⁵

Those “hidden heretics” are: Eustathius of Sebastea, Apollinaris of Laodicea, and Paulinus of Antioch. Paulinus of Antioch was the rival of Meletius of Antioch and their conflict was the cause of the Meletian schism. Meletius was a close friend of Basil, who tried to bring him back to the see of Antioch after he had been exiled. Around 375, Basil got a message that Paulinus had received letters of support “from the West,” which confirmed his right to the Antiochean see.²⁶ Letter 263 is a reaction to that information. Both sides of the conflict charged each other of heresy: Paulinus charged Meletius of having been ordained bishop

²³ Basil, *Epistulae* 263, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 124, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 4, 97.

²⁴ Part II, Chapter II 2.

²⁵ Basil, *Epistulae* 263, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 122, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 4, 91–93.

²⁶ Basil, *Epistulae* 214, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 202–203; Basil, *Epistulae* 216, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 208.

by Arians.²⁷ Basil accused Paulinus of “being inclined toward the teachings of Marcellus,”²⁸ but the conflict was clearly administrative rather than doctrinal. Apparently, charging someone of heresy was customary in such kind of conflicts.

Since 372 Basil was in conflict with Eustathius and in my opinion the reason of the conflict was likewise not doctrinal, but administrative. Basil demanded his rights to ordain bishops in Armenia Minor.²⁹ Eustathius accused Basil of being well disposed towards Apollinaris and circularized Basil’s old letter to Apollinaris together with a collection of quotations without naming their author, but apparently attributed to Apollinaris. Basil himself had never read those heretical statements in Apollinaris’ books, he “had merely heard others relate them.”³⁰ Basil himself explains in a letter to Meletius why he accused Apollinaris:

Ἦδειν ὅτι ξενίσει τὴν ἀκοὴν τῆς
τελειότητός σου τὸ νῦν ἐπιφυνὲν
ἔγκλημα τῶ πάντα εἰπεῖν εὐκό-
λῳ Ἀπολιναρίῳ. Καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ
αὐτὸς τὸν πρὸ τούτου χρόνον
ἤμην ἐπιστάμενος ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ νῦν
οἱ Σεβαστηνοὶ διερευνησάμενοί
ποθεν αὐτὰ ἤνεγκαν εἰς τὸ μέσον
καὶ περιφέρουσι σύνταγμα ἐξ οὗ
μάλιστα καὶ ἡμᾶς καταδικάζουσιν,
ὡς τὰ αὐτὰ φρονοῦντας. [...]

I knew that the charge which has now sprung up against Apollinaris, that man who is so ready to say anything, would surprise the ears of your Perfection. For in fact not even I myself was aware until the present time that the situation was as it is; but now the Sebastenes, having sought out these matters from some source, have brought them before the public, and they are circulating a document from which they bring accusations

²⁷ Socrates Scholasticus, HE V 5, 4, GCS NF I, 277.

²⁸ Basil, *Epistulae* 263, 5, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 125, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 4, 99.

²⁹ Part III, Chapter IV 2.

³⁰ Basil, *Epistulae* 131, 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 44-45, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 299.

Γράφοντες γάρ τισι τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ προσθέντες τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν διαβολὴν ἐπήγαγον ταῦτα, ῥήματα μὲν αἰρετικῶν ὀνομάσαντες, τὸν δὲ πατέρα τῆς συγγραφῆς ἀποκρυψάμενοι, ἵνα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡμεῖς νομισθῶμεν εἶναι οἱ λογογράφοι. Πλὴν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν τοῦ μέχρι ῥήματα συνθεῖναι προῆλθεν αὐτῶν ἡ ἐπίνοια, ὡς γε ἑμαυτὸν πείθω. Ὅθεν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ καὶ τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν κρατοῦσαν βλασφημίαν ἀπόσασθαι καὶ δεῖξαι πᾶσιν ὡς οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ἐστι κοινὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖνο λέγοντας, ἡναγκάσθημεν μνησθῆναι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὡς προσεγγίζοντος τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ τοῦ Σαβελλίου.

chiefly against us as well, on the ground that we hold the same views as those expressed in the document. [...] For when writing to some of their own adherents, and after making this false accusation against us, they added the words mentioned above, calling them the expressions of heretics, but concealing the name of the father of the document, in order that to people at large we might be considered the author. However, their intelligence could not have carried them to the point of actually composing these statements, as I am convinced. Hence, for the sake of repudiating the charge of blasphemy that is prevalent against us, and of showing to all that we have nothing in common with those who say such things, we have been forced to mention this man's name as one who is approaching the impiety of Sabellius.³¹

Letter 263 was written in 377.³² Demosthenes, vicar of the diocese of Pontus appointed in 375, treated Basil with outright hostility

³¹ Basil, *Epistulae* 129, 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 39–40, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 283–287.

³² F. Loofs, *Eustathius von Sebaste und die Chronologie der Basiliius-Briefe*, 53.

and favoured Eustathius.³³ Therefore, Basil decided to ask for support from the West. Basil was counting on Western bishops that they would support his version as it was not reliable in Asia Minor because of personal issues:

Ἀνάγκη δὲ τούτων ὀνομαστὶ μνη-
σθῆναι, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ γνωρίσητε
τοὺς τὰς ταραχὰς παρ' ἡμῖν ἐρ-
γαζομένους καὶ ταῖς Ἐκκλησίαις
ὑμῶν φανερόν καταστήσητε. Ὁ
μὲν γὰρ παρ' ἡμῶν λόγος ὑποπτὸς
ἐστὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὡς τάχα διὰ τι-
νας ἰδιωτικὰς φιλονεικίας τὴν μι-
κροψυχίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐλομένων.

We must mention these by name,
in order that you also may know
who they are that cause distur-
bances among us; and do you
make the matter clear to our
churches. For statements made
by us are suspected by the many,
on the ground that we perhaps
through certain personal quar-
rels hold ill-will towards them.³⁴

Basil obviously could not have asked “the Westerners” for help if he confessed that the conflict between him and Eustathius concerned jurisdiction rather than doctrinal matters. As Nina Garsoïan points out – it was impossible for any bishop to usurp the right to ordain bishops on the territory of another without accusing him of heresy.³⁵ And it was very easy for Basil to put the label of “a Pneumatomachian” onto Eustathius; that epithet used to be associated with Eunomians/Arians and the Westerners treated Homoiousians as exactly the same Arians as they did with Eunomians.

³³ Basil, *Epistulae* 237, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 56–57.

³⁴ Basil, *Epistulae* 263, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 122–123, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 4, 93.

³⁵ N. G. Garsoïan, *Nersês le Grand, Basile de Césarée et Eustathe de Sébaste*, “Revue des Études Arméniennes” 17 (1983), 153.

4. Basil as a Homoiousian

In Letter 244, dated to 376, Basil accused Eustathius of professing “like in substance” (τὸ κατ’ οὐσίαν ὁμοιον) and “subscribing with Eunomius to the blasphemies against the Holy Spirit.”³⁶ At that time, Basil himself entered into the Nicæan alliance and was eager to use “Western” rhetoric and label “Arians” his ecclesiastical adversaries. Nevertheless, the charge of using “like in substance” voiced by Basil seems ridiculous. Basil himself interpreted “like in substance” as consistent with the Nicæan creed. Although some scholars doubt that Basil belonged to the Homoiousian alliance,³⁷ there are clear pieces of evidence of that both in external sources and in the very writings by Basil.

There is no doubt that Basil attended the Council of Constantinople (359/360) as a member of the Homoiousian group; his presence is confirmed not only by Philostorgius (HE IV 12), but also by Gregory of Nyssa, who states: “We should admit the charges, since we were present at the time of the contest and did not tangle with the contestants” (δεξαίμεθα <ἂν> τὰς αἰτίας, ὅτι παρόντες τῷ καιρῷ τῶν ἀγώνων τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις οὐ συνεπλάκημεν).³⁸

What is more important, the Homoiousian convictions can be traced in the very writings by Basil. In famous Letter 9, he admits straightforwardly:

Τὸ ὁμοιον κατ’ οὐσίαν, εἰ μὲν προσκείμενον ἔχει τὸ ἀπαραλλάκτως, δέχομαι τὴν φωνὴν ὡς εἰς ταὐτὸν τῷ ὁμοουσίῳ φέρουσαν, κατὰ τὴν ὑγιᾶ δηλονότι τοῦ ὁμοουσί-ου διάνοιαν.

I accept the phrase “like in substance,” provided the qualification “invariably” is added to it, on the ground that it comes to the same thing as “identity of substance,” according,

³⁶ Basil, *Epistulae* 244, 9, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 82–83, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 471.

³⁷ J. Zachhuber, *Basil and the Three-Hypostases Tradition*, 72.

³⁸ Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium* I 82, GNO 1, 50, transl. S. G. Hall, 89.

be it understood, to the sound conception of the term.³⁹

Although the above-quoted text comes from 361 or 362, Basil never changed his way of thinking. There are no similarly straightforward statements in Basil, but even in *De Spiritu Sancto* – the text written after 374, which according to Benoît Pruche has as a scope to justify the equivalence between “equal in honour” (ὀμότιμος) and “consubstantial” (ὁμοούσιος)⁴⁰ – Basil states that what is concurrent with the substance (σύνδρομον ὃν τῆ οὐσία) is alike (ὅμοιον) and equal:

Ὁ ἑωρακῶς ἐμέ, ἑώρακε τὸν Πατέρα, οὐ τὸν χαρακτῆρα, οὐδὲ τὴν μορφήν· καθαρὰ γὰρ συνθέσεως ἡ θεία φύσις· ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοῦ θελήματος, ὅπερ σύνδρομον ὃν τῆ οὐσία, ὅμοιον καὶ ἴσον, μᾶλλον δὲ ταύτῳ ἐν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ θεωρεῖται.

He that hath seen me hath seen the Father; not the express image, nor yet the form, for the divine nature does not admit of combination; but the goodness of the will, which, being concurrent with the essence, is beheld as like and equal, or rather the same, in the Father as in the Son.⁴¹

Even in this late writing Basil still interpreted ὁμοούσιος in the Homoiousian way, although he was not eager to talk about that openly. He admitted himself that he “definitely decided not to make his own convictions public” (ἄλλως τε μηδὲ πάνυ δημοσιεύειν τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐγνωκότας),⁴² probably for political reasons.

Basil (like all Homoiousians) was first of all anti-Anomoean. Since he interpreted ὁμοούσιος as ὅμοιος κατ’ οὐσίαν, he could accept both expressions (ὁμοούσιος and ὁμοιούσιος).⁴³ Exactly like Eustathius of

³⁹ Basil, *Epistulae* 9, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 39, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 1, 99.

⁴⁰ B. Pruche, *Introduction*, SC 17, 109.

⁴¹ Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto* VIII 21, SC 17 bis, 318, transl. NPNF II 8, 14.

⁴² Basil, *Epistulae* 9, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 39, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 1, 99.

⁴³ It is interesting that Basil understood οὐσία in the Aristotelian way (he stresses

Sebastea. Both of them were inclined to sign the Homoiousian or the Nicæan creed depending on political circumstances because both of them understood those creeds as expressing the same content. However, Basil himself admitted that he preferred the expression ὁμοιος κατ' οὐσίαν⁴⁴ as, in my opinion, it more directly opposed ἀνόμοιος of Aetius and Eunomius.⁴⁵ Already Adolf Harnack noticed hidden Homoiousian convictions behind the orthodox credo of the 4th century; he even insisted

its significance as “being”) so the term can refer to both the common substance and to the particular being. K. Kochańczyk-Bonińska (*Defining substance in Basil the Great's dispute with Eunomius about the incomprehensibility of God*, “E-patologos” 4/1 (2019), 98) explains: “The unique properties that individuate particulars do not rupture the unity of nature. This point is fundamental to Basil's theological project. Unfortunately, he uses the same family of terms to speak both of the distinguishing marks and the propria that belong to and reveal the divine substance. The difference is that the propria are predicated of a common ousia, whereas the distinguishing terms refer to that which is unique to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.”

⁴⁴ Basil, *Epistulae* 9, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 39.

⁴⁵ It is true that neither Aetius nor Eunomius used the very term ἀνόμοιος in their writings, but they used synonyms (Aetius, *Syntagmation* 4, ed. L. R. Wickham, 541: τὸ ἐν οὐσίᾳ ἀσύγκριτον; *Syntagmation* 10, ed. L. R. Wickham, 541: ἀνομοιομερής; Eunomius, *Liber apologeticus* 18, ed. R. P. Vaggione, 56: παρηλλαγμένως τὰς οὐσίας; *Liber apologeticus* 26, ed. R. P. Vaggione, 70: μήτε μὴν ὁμοούσιον <μηδὲ ὁμοιούσιον>). T. A. Kopecek (*A history of Neo-Arianism*, vol. 1, 202–203) claims that Aetius avoided the term ἀνόμοιος in order to come into agreement with Acacius and Eudoxius. But it seems that the Anomoeans did use the term ἀνόμοιος during debates. Already in the synodical letter of the Council of Ancyra (358), quoted by Epiphanius (*Panarion* 73, 9, 7, ed. K. Holl, vol. 3, 281) there is an anathema against those who claim that the Son is unlike the invisible God in essence (ἀνόμοιον λέγοι [καὶ] κατ' οὐσίαν τὸν υἱόν). Theodoret (HE II 23; transl. NPNF II 3, 88) describes an event that occurred after the Council of Seleucia (359): Eudoxius was charged in front of Constantius of creating the creed containing the statement that the Son is unlike (ἀνόμοιος) God the Father. “Constantius ordered this exposition of the faith to be read, and was displeased with the blasphemy which it involved. He therefore asked Eudoxius if he had drawn it up. Eudoxius instantly repudiated the authorship, and said that it was written by Aetius. [...] Aetius, totally ignorant of what had taken place, and unaware of the drift of the enquiry, expected that he should win praise by confession, and owned that he was the author of the phrases in question.”

that it was a Homoiousian – Basil of Ancyra – who was the real father of the official doctrine of the Trinity in the form in which the Churches have held to it.⁴⁶

Christopher Beeley observes: “Basil’s reputation as an ardent defender of the divinity of the Holy Spirit and its consubstantiality with God the Father depends to a great extent on Gregory’s [of Nazianzus] Letter 58 to Basil and his Oration 43 *In Praise of Basil*. In Letter 58, Gregory describes his recent defence of Basil against charges that Basil has failed to confess the Spirit’s full divinity. Most readers have taken Gregory’s account at face value, ignoring the sarcasm with which Gregory is in fact criticizing Basil’s for his refusal to confess the Spirit’s divinity – a rhetorical force that is confirmed by Basil’s angry reply. Similarly, in his memorial oration for Basil, Gregory depicts Basil in terms of his own, strongly Trinitarian position, chiefly in order to bolster his position in Basil’s former community; the piece is not an example of unadulterated historical accuracy.”⁴⁷

In the very writings by Basil, there is not even a single statement either that the Holy Spirit is ὁμοούσιος with the Father and the Son or that the Holy Spirit is God. In all places evoked by scholars as a proof that Basil called the Holy Spirit God, he speaks about the Spirit’s equality of honour with the Father and the Son like in Letter 90 dated to 372:

<p>Δαλείσθω καὶ παρ’ ὑμῖν μετὰ παρρησίας τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐκεῖνο κήρυγμα τῶν Πατέρων, τὸ καταστρέφον</p>	<p>Let us also pronounce with boldness that good dogma of the Fathers, which overwhelms</p>
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⁴⁶ A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, transl. N. Buchanan, vol. 4, Boston: Little, Brown, and Company 1898, 100. Scholars still differ in their opinions on the possible influence of Athanasius and/or the Homoiousians on Basil and on how much he was Nicæan in his writings on the Holy Spirit. For the summary of different points of view see: D. A. Giulea, *Basil of Caesarea’s Authorship of Epistle 361 and His Relationship with the Homoiousians Reconsidered*, “Vigiliae Christianae” 72 (2018), 43–44.

⁴⁷ Ch. Beeley, *The Holy Spirit in the Cappadocians: Past and Present*, “Modern Theology” 26 (2010), 92.

μὲν τὴν δυσώνυμον αἵρεσιν τὴν Ἀρείου, οἰκοδομοῦν δὲ τὰς Ἐκκλησίας ἐν τῇ ὑγιαίνουσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ ἐν ᾗ ὁ Υἱὸς ὁμοούσιος τῷ Πατρὶ ὁμολογεῖται καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον ὁμοτίμως συναριθμεῖται τε καὶ συλλατρεύεται.

the accursed heresy of Arius, and builds the churches on the sound doctrine, wherein the Son is confessed to be consubstantial with the Father, and the Holy Spirit is numbered with them in like honour and so adored.⁴⁸

Similar statements appear in the confession of faith (Letter 125 by Basil) signed by Eustathius of Sebastea in 373.

Χρὴ αὐτοὺς ἀναθεματίζειν τοὺς λέγοντας κτίσμα τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον καὶ τοὺς νοοῦντας οὕτω καὶ τοὺς μὴ ὁμολογοῦντας αὐτὸ φύσει ἅγιον εἶναι, ὡς ἔστι φύσει ἅγιος ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ φύσει ἅγιος ὁ Υἱός, ἀλλ' ἀποξενοῦντας αὐτὸ τῆς θείας καὶ μακαρίας φύσεως. Ἀπόδειξις δὲ τοῦ ὀρθοῦ φρονήματος τὸ μὴ χωρίζειν αὐτὸ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ (δεῖ γὰρ ἡμᾶς βαπτίζεσθαι μὲν ὡς παρελάβομεν, πιστεύειν δὲ ὡς βαπτιζόμεθα, δοξάζειν δέ, ὡς πεπιστεύκαμεν, Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα), ἀφίστασθαι δὲ τῆς κοινωνίας τῶν κτίσμα λεγόντων, ὡς φανερώς βλασφημούντων,

We must anathematize those who call the Holy Spirit a creature, both those who think so, and those who will not confess that He is holy by nature, even as the Father is holy by nature, and as the Son is holy by nature, but deprive Him of His divine and blessed nature. And the proof of orthodox opinion is not to separate Him from the Father and the Son (for we must be baptized as we have received the words of baptism, and we must believe as we are baptized, and we must give glory as we have believed, to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost), but to abstain from communion with those,

⁴⁸ Basil, *Epistulae* 90, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 196, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 2, 127.

ἐκείνου διωμολογημένου (ἀναγκαία γὰρ ἡ ἐπισημείωσις διὰ τοὺς συκοφάντας) ὅτι οὔτε ἀγέννητον λέγομεν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, ἕνα γὰρ οἶδαμεν ἀγέννητον καὶ μίαν τῶν ὄντων ἀρχήν, τὸν Πατέρα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὔτε γεννητόν, ἕνα γὰρ Μονογενῆ ἐν τῇ παραδόσει τῆς πίστεως δεδιάγμεθα· τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεσθαι διδάχθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι ὁμολογοῦμεν ἀκτίστως. Ἀναθεματίζειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς λειτουργικὸν λέγοντας τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, ὡς διὰ τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης εἰς τὴν τοῦ κτίσματος κατάγοντας τάξιν.

as open blasphemers, who call Him a creature; since this point is agreed upon (for comment is necessary because of the slanders), that we neither speak of the Holy Spirit as unbegotten—for we recognize One unbegotten and One Beginning of all existing things, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ—nor speak of Him as begotten—for we have been taught One only begotten in the tradition of our Faith; and having been taught that the Spirit of Truth proceeds from the Father, we confess it to be from God without any act of creation. And we must anathematize also those who speak of the Holy Ghost as ministering, on the ground that by this expression they lower Him to the order of creatures.⁴⁹

It is worth noting how Basil differentiates the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son even in his confession included in his letter to Amphilochius of Iconium of January 376, avoiding to call the Holy Spirit God – the term reserved for the Father and the Son:

⁴⁹ Basil, *Epistulae* 125, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 33–34, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 2, 267–269.

Χρῆ οὖν τῷ κοινῷ τὸ ἰδιάζον προστιθέντας, οὕτω τὴν πίστιν ὁμολογεῖν· κοινὸν ἢ θεότης, ἴδιον ἢ πατρότης· συνάπτοντας λέγειν· πιστεύω εἰς Θεὸν Πατέρα. Καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὁμολογίᾳ τὸ παραπλήσιον ποιεῖν, τῷ κοινῷ συνάπτειν τὸ ἴδιον καὶ λέγειν· εἰς Θεὸν Υἱόν. Ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ Ἁγίου κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον τῆς ἐκφωνήσεως τὴν προφορὰν σχηματίζοντας λέγειν· πιστεύω καὶ εἰς τὸ θεῖον Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, ὥστε δι' ὅλου καὶ τὴν ἐνότητα σώζεσθαι ἐν τῇ τῆς μιᾶς θεότητος ὁμολογίᾳ, καὶ τὸ τῶν προσώπων ἰδιάζον ὁμολογεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ ἀφορισμῷ τῶν περὶ ἕκαστον νοουμένων ἰδιωμάτων.

Therefore, we must add the particular to the general and thus confess the faith; the Godhead is something general, the pater-nity something particular, and combining these we should say: I believe in God the Father. And again in the confession of the Son we should do likewise—combine the particular with the general, and say: I believe in God the Son. Similarly too in the case of the Holy Spirit, we should frame on the same principle our utterance of the reference to Him and say: I believe also in the divine Holy Spirit, so that throughout the whole, both unity is preserved in the confession of the one Godhead, and that which is peculiar to the Persons is confessed in the distinction made in the characteristics attributed to each.⁵⁰

Only in Letter 8 and Letter 360 in the corpus of Basil's letters there are clear statements that the Holy Spirit is God (Letter 8: δέον ὁμολογεῖν Θεὸν τὸν Πατέρα, Θεὸν τὸν Υἱόν, Θεὸν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον; Letter 360: ὁμολογῶ καὶ συντίθημι πιστεύειν εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, Θεὸν τὸν Πατέρα, Θεὸν τὸν Υἱόν, Θεὸν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον), but

⁵⁰ Basil, *Epistulae* 236, 6, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 53–54, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 403.

as Yves Courtonne claims – the authorship of the first is uncertain⁵¹ and the other (to Julian) is certainly apocryphal.⁵² As Christopher Beeley points out, it was Gregory of Nazianzus who first dared call the Holy Spirit God.⁵³ The first time the expression Θεὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον appears in his Oration 13 dated to 372,⁵⁴ but even when he used it in 380 as bishop of Constantinople he noticed the audacity of his own words and added εἰ μὴ τραχύνη – “if you don’t mind!” to the phrase Θεὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.⁵⁵

Summing up, there are no reliable sources to confirm that Eustathius was a Pneumatomachos. The only charges of the Pneumatomachian heresy come from Basil and appear in a context that allows to advance a thesis that they arose due to political rather than doctrinal reasons. As a matter of fact, Eustathius was a Homoiousian just like his former friend and later adversary – Basil of Caesarea.

⁵¹ Basil, *Epistulae* 8, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 22.

⁵² Basil, *Epistulae* 360, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 220.

⁵³ Ch. Beeley, *The Holy Spirit in the Cappadocians: Past and Present*, 100.

⁵⁴ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 13 (*In consecratione Eulalii Doarensium episcopi*), 4, PG 35, 856.

⁵⁵ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 33 (*Contra Arianos et de seipso*), 16, PG 36, 236, transl. Ch. Beeley, *The Holy Spirit in the Cappadocians*, 100.

Chapter IV.

Real reasons of the conflict

Many scholars claim that Basil and Eustathius remained close friends until Eustathius became a Pneumatomachian.¹ Except for one letter to Julian (if we assume that Eustathius the Philosopher and Eustathius of Sebastea were one and the same person²) no writings by Eustathius have been preserved; the only source that gives evidence of Eustathius' inclination to that heresy is Basil. What is important – late Basil. At earlier stages, Eustathius was accused of Arianism by Athanasius, but that charge was based on general Western conviction that Homoiousians were Arians. Apparently Basil shared the Homoiousian ideas with Eustathius as well as the ascetical ones and his charges could have had a political background. Although it cannot be stated with certainty it is highly probable that Eustathius' Pneumatomachianism was a product of Basil's propaganda.

¹ W. A. Jurgens, *Eustathius of Sebaste*, 81–82; Ph. Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea*, 239; J. Zachhuber, *Basil and the Three-Hypostases Tradition*, 72; L. Ayres, *Nicaea and Its Legacy*, 225; A. M. Silvas, *The Asketikon of St Basil the Great*, 86; T. G. Kardong, *Who was Basil's mentor? Part I*, 198; P. Maraval, *Introduction*, in: Grégoire de Nysse, *Lettres*, SC 363, 29.

² Part II, Chapter I 1.

1. Ecclesiastical structure in Asia Minor

The starting point to find out the real reasons of the conflict between Basil and Eustathius is the fluid structure of ecclesiastical subordination and the vague procedure of electing bishops at that time. Although some attempts were made at regulating that situation, they remained at such point of generalization that to all intents and purposes the structure depended on local relationships and personalities. Canon 4 of the Council of Nicaea (325) stated:

Ἐπίσκοπον προσήκειν μάλιστα
 μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρ-
 χίᾳ Καθίστασθαι. εἰ δὲ δυσχερὲς
 εἴη τὸ τοιοῦτον ἢ διὰ κατεπείγου-
 σαν ἀνάγκην, ἢ διὰ μῆκος ὁδοῦ, ἔξ
 ἅπαντος τρεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναγο-
 μένους, συμψήφων γινομένων καὶ
 τῶν ἀπόντων, καὶ συντιθεμένων
 διὰ γραμμάτων, τότε τὴν χειρο-
 τονίαν ποιῆσθαι. τὸ δὲ κῦρος τῶν
 γινομένων δίδοσθαι καθ' ἐκάστην
 ἐπαρχίαν τῷ μητροπολίτῃ.

It is by all means proper that a bishop should be appointed by all the bishops in the province; but should this be difficult, either on account of urgent necessity or because of distance, three at least should meet together, and the suffrages of the absent [bishops] also being given and communicated in writing, then the ordination should take place. But in every province the ratification of what is done should be left to the Metropolitan.³

Regretfully, the very same council did not specify whether ecclesiastical provinces should always follow civil administrative divisions; whether metropolitans should be bishops residing in the capitals of civil provinces; whether the ecclesiastical administration should follow the civil one only up to the level of provinces or should spread up to dioceses. Canon 6 seemed to approve the *status quo* that at some points was not harmonized with civil administrative divisions:

³ *Concilium Nicaenum*, Canon 4, ed. J. D. Mansi, vol. 2, 669, transl. NPNF II 14, 11.

Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατεῖτω, τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύαις καὶ Πενταπόλει, ὥστε τὸν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐπίσκοπον πάντων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο σύνηθές ἐστιν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. καθόλου δὲ πρόδηλον ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι εἴ τις χωρὶς γνώμης τοῦ μητροπολίτου γένοιτο ἐπίσκοπος, τὸν τοιοῦτον ἢ σύνοδος ἢ μεγάλη ὤρισε μὴ δεῖν εἶναι ἐπίσκοπον. ἐὰν μέντοι τῇ κοινῇ πάντων ψήφῳ εὐλόγῳ οὔσῃ καὶ κατὰ τὸν κανόνα τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν δύο ἢ τρεῖς δι' οἰκείαν φιλονεικίαν ἀντιλέγωσι, κρατεῖτω ἢ τῶν πλειόνων ψήφος.

Let the ancient customs in Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis prevail, that the Bishop of Alexandria have jurisdiction in all these, since the like is customary for the Bishop of Rome also. Likewise in Antioch and the other provinces, let the Churches retain their privileges. And this is to be universally understood, that if anyone be made bishop without the consent of the Metropolitan, the great Synod has declared that such a man ought not to be a bishop. If, however, two or three bishops shall from natural love of contradiction, oppose the common suffrage of the rest, it being reasonable and in accordance with the ecclesiastical law, then let the choice of the majority prevail.⁴

Although it seems evident that a metropolitan bishop had the final word when new bishops were to be appointed, but the problem is that the Council did not define which bishoprics were metropolises, except for Alexandria, Rome and Antioch.

Barnes shows that the administrative system created by Diocletian is not easy to be established in details.⁵ Peter Norton summarises:

⁴ *Concilium Nicaenum*, Canon 6, ed. J. D. Mansi, vol. 2, 669–771, transl. NPNF II 14, 15.

⁵ T. D. Barnes, *The new empire of Diocletian and Constantine*, Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press 1982, 209–211.

“The structures put in place by Diocletian and his successors had divided the empire (from the top down) into prefectures, dioceses, and provinces, which with some exceptions were administered respectively by Praetorian prefects, vicars and governors. [...] Thus by the middle of the fourth century we find four Praetorian prefectures, those of (1) the East (Oriens), which ran from Thrace through Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine and Egypt to Libya; (2) Illyricum, which covered Greece and the eastern Balkan regions; (3) Italy which comprised the western Balkans, Italy and Africa; and (4) the Gauls, which covered Gaul, Spain and Britain. These were broken down into 13 dioceses, which were themselves composed of 119 provinces (after Constantine’s reforms).”⁶

However, the structure did undergo certain changes. At some point around 371, Valens divided the province of Cappadocia into two provinces: Cappadocia Prima and Cappadocia Secunda. Gregory of Nazianzus left a detailed description of the problems that the new civil division caused for the ecclesiastical hierarchy:

Τῆς γὰρ πατρίδος ἡμῶν εἰς δύο
 διαιρεθείσης ἡγεμονίας καὶ μητ-
 ροπόλεις, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς
 προτέρας τῇ νέᾳ προσαγαγούσης,
 ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων ἐστασιά-
 σθη. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἡξίου τοῖς δημοσί-
 οῖς συνδιαιρεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ ἡμέτε-
 ρα· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μετεποιεῖτο τῶν
 νεωστὶ προσελθόντων, ὡς αὐτῶ
 διαφερόντων ἤδη κάκεινου κεχω-
 ρισμένων. Ὁ δὲ τῆς παλαιᾶς εἶχετο
 συνηθείας καὶ τῆς ἐκ τῶν πατέρων
 ἄνωθεν διαιρέσεως.

When our country had been
 divided into two provinces and
 metropolitan sees, and a great
 part of the former was being
 added to the new one, this again
 roused their factious spirit. The
 one thought it right that the
 ecclesiastical boundaries should
 be settled by the civil ones: and
 therefore claimed those newly
 added, as belonging to him, and
 severed from their former met-
 ropolitan. The other clung to the
 ancient custom, and to the divi-
 sion which had come down

⁶ P. Norton, *Episcopal elections 250–600*, 118.

Ἐξ ὧν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ, τὰ μὲν συνέβαινε ἤδη, τὰ δὲ ὠδίνετο. Ὑπεσπῶντο σύνοδοι παρὰ τοῦ νέου μητροπολίτου, πρόσοδοι διηρηπάζοντο· πρεσβύτεροι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, οἱ μὲν ἀνεπείθοντο, οἱ δὲ ὑπηλάττωντο. Ἐξ ὧν συνέβαινε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν χεῖρον ἔχειν διισταμένων καὶ τεμνομένων. [...] Ὁ δὲ πλεῖον αὐτὸν ἐξέμηνεν, αἱ Ταυρικαὶ πρόσοδοι καὶ παρόδιοι, αὐτῶ μὲν ὀρώμεναι, ἐκεῖνῳ δὲ προσγενομένοι, καὶ τὸν ἅγιον Ὁρέστην ἐκκαρποῦσθαι μέγα ἐτίθετο· ὡς καὶ τῶν ἡμιόνων λαβέσθαι ποτὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἰδίαν ὁδὸν ὀδεύοντος, εἴργων τοῦ πρώσω μετὰ ληστρικοῦ συντάγματος. Καὶ ἡ σκῆψις, ὡς εὐπρεπής! Τὰ γὰρ πνευματικὰ τέκνα, καὶ αἱ ψυχαί, καὶ ὁ τῆς πίστεως λόγος, καὶ ταῦτα τὰ τῆς ἀπληστίας ἐπικαλύμματα, πρᾶγμα τῶν εὐπορίστων, καὶ τό, μὴ χρῆναι δασμοφορεῖν κακοδόξοις· πᾶς γὰρ ὁ λυπῶν, κακοδόξος.

from our fathers. Many painful results either actually followed, or were struggling in the womb of the future. Synods were wrongfully gathered by the new metropolitan, and revenues seized upon. Some of the presbyters of the churches refused obedience, others were won over. In consequence the affairs of the churches fell into a sad state of dissension and division. [...] What however enraged him [i.e. Anthimus, bishop of Tyana] most was, that the revenues of the Taurus, which passed along before his eyes, accrued to his rival [i.e. Basil, bishop of Caesarea], as also the offerings at Saint Orestes', of which he was greatly desirous to reap the fruits. He [i.e. Anthimus, bishop of Tyana] even went so far as, on one occasion when Basil was riding along his own road, to seize his mules by the bridle and bar the passage with a robber band. And with how specious a pretext, the care of his spiritual children and of the souls entrusted to him, and the defence of the faith – pretexts which veiled that most

common vice, insatiable avarice – and further, the wrongfulness of paying dues to heretics, a heretic being anyone who had displeased him.⁷

Two things are of crucial importance in the above-quoted description: first, it was not obvious that the ecclesiastical structure should follow the civil one; second, it was apparently customary to accuse a political rival of heresy. Actually, it worked both ways: doctrinal enemies accused each other of immoral behaviour and political enemies – of heresy. Both kinds of charges could have been similarly fake. The example of such (most probably) false accusation are depositions made by the Council of Constantinople (359/360), where Homoiousian bishops were charged with and deposed for disciplinary offences. Gregory of Nazianzus reveals a mechanism that must have been very common. Not only charges of Apollinarism formulated by Eustathius against Basil, but also charges of Arianism and Pneumatomachianism formulated by Basil against Eustathius could have been elements of a political conflict.

2. Ordaining bishops in Armenia Minor

In 370, Basil became bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, the capital city of the civil province of Cappadocia. Under Diocletian, the large province of Cappadocia was divided into four main units: Pisidia, Cappadocia, Armenia Minor, and Pontus Polemoniacus.⁸ At the times of Basil, the civil province of Cappadocia was part of a bigger unit: the diocese of Pontus with the headquarters in Amaseia. Apparently, the ecclesiastical subordination in the region did not follow the civil one since Basil could have demanded to ordain bishops in the neighboring provinces that in

⁷ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 43 (*In laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi*), 58, SC 384, 248–252; transl. NPNF II 7, 414.

⁸ T. D. Barnes, *The new empire of Diocletian and Constantine*, 216.

the past were parts of the large province of Cappadocia. There are no sources that could reveal the politics of Basil's predecessors, but it seems possible that bishops of Caesarea in Cappadocia considered themselves metropolitans over a much larger territory than the civil province of Cappadocia.⁹ The metropolitan power of Caesarea over Armenia must have been a relic of the times when Armenia had just received Christianity and Gregory the Illuminator had been sent to Caesarea in Cappadocia to be ordained by bishop Leontius.¹⁰

There were only a few episcopal sees in Armenia Minor in the 4th century; the list of bishops who took part in the Council of Nicaea (325) names two episcopal sees in Armenia Minor: Sebastea and Satala; Sebastea as the first, so apparently more important.¹¹ After 325, at least three more sees were established in Armenia Minor: in Nicopolis, Melitene, and Colonia. Basil's correspondence reveals that he acted as a metropolitan over Armenia. It is significant that already at the beginning of his bishopric Basil calls Theodot, bishop of Nicopolis in Armenia Minor, the bishop who was assigned to (τοῦ δοθέντος ἐπισκόπου) him εἰς συνεργίαν – it could mean for co-operation, but also for assistance, as if Theodot were a kind of auxiliary bishop that today would be called suffragan.

The situation in Armenia Minor was additionally complicated by the conflict between Basil and Anthimus of Tyana that broke out after the civil province of Cappadocia had been divided around 371. Anthimus openly fought for his own independence and the metropolitan

⁹ H. Chadwick, *Orthodoxy and heresy from the death of Constantine to the eve of the first Council of Ephesus*, in: *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 13: *The Late Empire, AD 337–425*, eds. A. Cameron, P. Garnsey, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2008, 576: "As metropolitan of Cappadocia Basil could influence episcopal appointments in neighboring sees."

¹⁰ V. M. Kurkjian, *A history of Armenia*, New York: Armenian General Benevolent Union of America 2014, 270.

¹¹ H. Gelzer, H. Hilgenfeld, O. Cuntz, *Patrum nicaenorum nomina Latine, Graece, Coptice, Syriace, Arabice, Armeniace*, 26–27 (in Latin), 65 (in Greek), 88 (in Coptic: Sadolon), 105, 129 (in Syriac), 198 (in Armenian).

status of Tyana, the civil capital of Cappadocia Secunda.¹² At some point before 372, Anthimus ordained a certain Faustus a bishop in Armenia in place of Cyril.¹³ It seems that ordaining bishops in Armenia was an important prerogative of the metropolitan of Cappadocia.

In 371, Basil began ordaining bishops in Armenia (δοῦναι ἐπισκόπους τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ)¹⁴. Basil himself claims that he was supposed to do it under an imperial decree (τῷ βασιλικῷ προστάγματι).¹⁵ Gregory of Nazianzus describes the confrontation between Basil and Valens, but according to his version the effect was that Valens decided not to persecute or expel Basil¹⁶ – nothing about any manifestation of kindness and all the more so any privilege.

It is hardly imaginable that Valens could have given the privilege to ordain bishops to any other bishop as the ordination of bishops was beyond any civil authority. Peter Norton explains: “Imperial intervention in elections was not a widespread phenomenon. It is all too easy to over-estimate the capability or desire of the emperors to interfere on a wholesale basis in elections. The emperors appear to have concerned themselves at most with the occupants of the great sees, the patriarchates, whom they would have considered in the same way as they would their Praetorian prefect, or any other senior civil or military official. It was the job of these men to arrange affairs on a lower level properly.”¹⁷

Thus, it is probable that Basil had a rather good relationship with the vicar of Pontus and thanks to that he tried to enhance the degree of his influences out of his own initiative rather than any ordinance. He could have hoped to succeed as long as he had a vicar’s support.

¹² R. van Dam, *Emperor, bishops and friends in late antique Cappadocia*, “Journal of Theological Studies” 37 (1986), 65.

¹³ Basil, *Epistulae* 99, 4, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 218; *Epistulae* 120, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 26.

¹⁴ Basil, *Epistulae* 99, 4, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 217.

¹⁵ Basil, *Epistulae* 99, 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 214.

¹⁶ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 43 (*In laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi*), 52–54, SC 384, 234–240.

¹⁷ P. Norton, *Episcopal elections 250–600*, 239.

Raymond van Dam points out: “To explain Basil’s success in gaining favours from both emperor and prefect even after confrontations with them it is therefore unnecessary to invent any *ad hominem* hypotheses about the social class of the bishop, his political skills, or his moral qualities (although these may well have been contributing factors). We are dealing here not so much with aspects of Basil’s personality, as rather with structural features of a Roman empire whose central administration had to rely upon local men of authority, whoever they were, in order to function efficiently.”¹⁸

Peter Norton claims that people played an important role in the choice of bishops¹⁹ and it is confirmed by Basil’s correspondence:

Ἐδεξάμην δὲ καὶ ψηφίσματα παρὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Σατάλων, παρὰ- κλησιν ἔχοντα δοθῆναι αὐτοῖς παρ’ ἡμῶν ἐπίσκοπον.	I have received, too, a voted de- cision from the church of Satala, with the request that a bishop be given them by us. ²⁰
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A new bishop was elected by the people of Satala and the task of Basil was to ordain him. It is clear that a degree of influence on ecclesiastical affairs of both civil and ecclesiastical authorities was dependent on their effectiveness in persuading people: both the laity and the clergy.

It is not by coincidence that the conflict between Basil and Eustathius started just after Basil had intervened in Satala – the territory that Eustathius must have considered his own.²¹ Because of his power base, Basil initially succeeded. The things changed in 375, when Demosthenes became a new vicar of Pontus.²² Basil himself testifies that the vicar

¹⁸ R. van Dam, *Emperor, bishops and friends in late antique Cappadocia*, 60.

¹⁹ P. Norton, *Episcopal elections 250–600*, 6.

²⁰ Basil, *Epistulae* 99, 4, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 218, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 2, 181; cf. *Epistulae* 102, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 2–4.

²¹ J. Gribomont, *Eustathe de Sébaste*, in: *Saint Basile, Évangile et Église. Mélanges*, vol. 2, 100: “L’occasion du conflit fut une intervention de Basile dans la province d’Eustathe.”

²² J. R. Pouchet, *Basile le Grand et son univers d’amis d’après sa correspondance*, 374.

(βικάριος) of Pontus treated him with outright hostility and took sides with the henchmen of Eustathius.²³ By the way, he gives us a detailed description of how the elections of bishops looked like in reality:

Πείθειν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπειρᾶτο
δέξασθαι τὸν Εὐστάθιον καὶ δι'
αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον. Ὡς
δὲ εἶδεν αὐτοὺς ἐκόντας οὐκ ἐν-
διδόντας, νῦν πειρᾶται βιαιοτέρα
χειρὶ ἐγκαταστῆσαι τὸν διδόμενον.
Ἵποθρυλεῖται δέ τις καὶ συνόδου
προσδοκία, καθ' ἣν προαιροῦνται
καλέσαντες ἡμᾶς ἢ λαβεῖν κοινω-
νοὺς ἢ χρήσασθαι τῇ συνηθείᾳ.

[Demosthenes] tried to persuade them [the Nicopolitans] to accept Eustathius, and through him to take their bishop. And since he saw that they did not yield willingly, he now tries with a stronger hand to establish him who is being given them. And some expectation of a synod is being noised about, at which they propose, after summoning us, either to receive us into communion or merely to enjoy our acquaintance.²⁴

During his bishopric, Eustathius became such an important figure that he demanded his right to ordain bishops in other sees of Armenia Minor. Eustathius was bishop of Sebastea since 357 (with some interruptions that are difficult to establish precisely as it is impossible to find out which of his depositions were effective). Nothing is known about his conflicts with previous bishops of Caesarea in Cappadocia. In the early 370s, Theodot of Nicopolis began to fight Eustathius under the pretext of his unorthodoxy. That the reason of the conflict was fake is evident from the fact that Theodot refused to take note of Basil's testimony on Eustathius' orthodoxy.²⁵ Since ecclesiastical subordination in Armenia

²³ Basil, *Epistulae* 237, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 56–57.

²⁴ Basil, *Epistulae* 237, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 57, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 411.

²⁵ Basil, *Epistulae* 99, 1–3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 214–217.

Minor was so vague, the bishops of Sebastea and Nicopolis could have fought for a metropolitan status. Basil himself confessed in a letter written in 375 to the very Eustathius that the reason of the conflict was the struggle for power:

Νομιζέτωσαν οἱ χρηστοὶ ἐμπό-
διον αὐτοῖς εἶναι πρὸς τὴν τῆς
δυναστείας ἀνάληψιν τὴν πρὸς
ἡμᾶς κοινωνίαν.

Our excellent friends have decid-
ed that communion with us was
a hindrance to their recovery of
dominion!⁶

According to William Jurgens, the primary cause of the break in friendship between Basil and Eustathius was that “which Basil has categorized as Eustathius’ ambition for power.”²⁶ Jurgens thinks that Eustathius wanted to regain the favour of the emperor and that is why he signed the heretical (Pneumatomachian) creed. If it had been so, Basil as well would have had to sign the heretical creed in order to gain the emperor’s grace. Apparently, the political reality was much more complicated and dependent on relationships at a much lower level. And charges of heresy used to be an integral part of the struggle for power in the Church of the 4th century.

²⁶ W. A. Jurgens, *Eustathius of Sebaste*, 81–82.

Part IV.

Peter of Sebastea – a quiet hero in the background

It is doubtful that Basil and Gregory had a sister named Macrina. In accordance with the custom of the time, the first daughter should have gotten the name after her maternal grandmother as it was in the family of Gregory of Nazianzus: his sister Gorgonia was named after their maternal grandmother and Gorgonia's daughter Nonna as well.¹ Macrina the Younger would have received her name contrary to the custom after her paternal grandmother, Macrina the Elder. It is worth noting that Basil (the first son) got his name according to the custom, after his father, as Gregory of Nazianzus did. Whether she did actually exist or not, Macrina described by Gregory of Nyssa is certainly a literary construct. Now, time has come to ask: why? For what reason could anybody invent a saint?

¹ F. Fatti, "In ossequio alle leggi dell'encomio". *Retorica e ideologia in Gregorio Nazianzeno*, in: *Comunicazione e ricezione del documento cristiano in epoca tardoantica. XXXII Incontro di Studiosi dell'Antichità Cristiana (Roma, 8-10 maggio 2003)*, Roma: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum 2004, 635.

Chapter I.

Model of asceticism

In my opinion, Macrina was invented in order to substitute Eustathius of Sebastea and Basil as his follower in the history of asceticism.

Pierre Maraval thought that Macrina was an intermediary between Eustathius and Basil, but Gregory overrated the role of Macrina to such an extent that he left Eustathius out altogether.² Already in 1959, Jean Gribomont noticed the contradiction between the descriptions of Basil's conversion and claimed that *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* passes over Eustathius as since 375 he was openly a Pneumatomachos.³ So his suggestion is clear: Eustathius was substituted by Macrina in order to cover the heretic inspirer of Basil. Federico Fatti specifies that the Council of Constantinople (381) anathematized all heretic doctrines, including Pneumatomachians, and it was very dangerous to declare somebody a disciple of the heresiarch.⁴ I myself thought that it was the most probable

² P. Maraval, *Introduction*, in: *Vie de sainte Macrine*, SC 178, Paris 1971, 52.

³ J. Gribomont, *Eustache le philosophe et les voyages du jeune Basile de Césarée*, 123. The idea is present also in P. Maraval, *Introduction*, SC 178, 52 and S. Elm, *Virgins of God*, 135.

⁴ F. Fatti, *Monachesimo anatolico. Eustazio di Sebastia e Basilio di Cesarea*, 84–85.

explanation,⁵ until I discovered that it was more than likely that Eustathius had never signed any heretical creed and his unorthodoxy had been only Basil's propaganda.⁶

1. Gregory of Nyssa's disdain for Basil

Federico Fatti thinks that Eustathius was blotted out from the life of Basil by Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory of Nazianzus because they wanted all credits for creating monasticism in Cappadocia and Pontus to go to Basil.⁷ However, if Gregory of Nyssa really wanted to promote Basil, he could have done it directly by writing *Vita Sancti Basilii* instead of *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* and a dialogue with his brother Basil instead of the dialogue with his sister Macrina. On the contrary, in *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* Basil is shown as a braggart when he returned from the school of rhetorics (from Athens?):

<p>Λαβοῦσα τοίνυν αὐτὸν ὑπερφυῶς ἐπηρμένον τῷ περὶ τοὺς λόγους φρονήματι καὶ πάντα περιφρονοῦ- ντα τὰ ἀξιώματα καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐν τῇ δυναστείᾳ λαμπροὺς ἐπηρμένον τῷ ὄγκῳ.</p>	<p>He was excessively puffed up by his rhetorical abilities and dis- dainful of all great reputations, and considered himself better than the leading men in the district.⁸</p>
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In that story, it was Macrina who “took him over and lured him quickly to the goal of philosophy” (κάκεῖνον πρὸς τὸν τῆς φιλοσοφίας σκοπὸν ἐπεσπάσατο).⁹ Basil appears in *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* six more times:

⁵ M. Przystychowska, *Macrina the Younger – the invented saint*, “Studia Pelplińskie” 52 (2018), 338.

⁶ Part III, Chapter III 1–3.

⁷ F. Fatti, *Monachesimo anatolico. Eustazio di Sebastia e Basilio di Cesarea*, 71–72.

⁸ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 6, GNO 8/1, 377, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 167.

⁹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 6, GNO 8/1, 377, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 167.

twice he is a point of reference for other siblings: “The second of the four brothers after the great Basil was named Naucratius;”¹⁰ Peter “was no less esteemed than the great Basil for the excellent qualities of his later life;”¹¹ twice his death is recalled to show Macrina’s *apatheia* in the face of a misfortune;¹² and once it serves as a pretext to start a conversation on “the higher philosophy.”¹³ The only passage that seemingly describes Basil’s career mentions that he ordained Peter for a priest as his one and only achievement:

Ἐν τούτῳ ὁ πολὺς ἐν ἀγίοις Βασίλειος τῆς μεγάλης Καισαρέων ἐκκλησίας ἀνεδείχθη προστάτης· ὃς ἐπὶ τὸν κληρὸν τῆς ἐν τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ἱερωσύνης τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἄγει ταῖς μυστικαῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἱερουργίαις ἀφιερῶσας. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνότερόν τε καὶ ἀγιώτερον προῆει ὁ βίος τῆ ἱερωσύνης τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἐπαυξηθείσης. Ὁκτῶ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο διαγενομένων ἐτῶν τῷ ἐνάτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ ὁ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ὀνομαστὸς Βασίλειος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τὸν θεὸν μετοικίζεται.

At this time, Basil, distinguished among the holy, was made Bishop of Caesarea. He led his brother to the holy vocation of the priesthood, and consecrated him in the mystical services himself. And through this also, their life progressed to a loftier and higher degree, seeing that their philosophy was enhanced by the consecration. Eight years later, Basil, renowned throughout the entire world, left the world of men and went to God.¹⁴

¹⁰ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 8, GNO 8/I, 378, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 168.

¹¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 12, GNO 8/I, 384, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 172.

¹² Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 14, GNO 8/I, 385–386.

¹³ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 17, GNO 8/I, 389.

¹⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 14, GNO 8/I, 385–386, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 173.

Jean Daniélou claims that at the beginning Basil was a disciple of Eustathius and then changed and ordered his younger brother Gregory of Nyssa to write *De virginitate* as a counterpoise to the asceticism of Eustathius.¹⁵ Daniélou bases his assertion on the fact that Gregory holds Basil up as an example of virtue. However, it is rather a rhetorical device. Gregory does not mention Basil by name – and he does it on purpose. Although he claims that “our most reverend bishop and father” is the only one that could be “capable of teaching these things,” he wants everyone to choose their own teacher:

Καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴ τοσοῦτον τὰ ἐν τοῖς
διηγήμασιν ὑποδείγματα δύνα-
ται πρὸς κατόρθωσιν ἀρετῆς ὅσον
ἡ ζῶσα φωνὴ καὶ τὰ ἐνεργούμενα
τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὑποδείγματα, ἀνα-
γκαίως πρὸς τῷ τέλει τοῦ λόγου
τοῦ θεοσεβεστάτου ἐπισκόπου καὶ
πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἐπεμνήσθημεν, ὡς
μόνου δυνατῶς ἔχοντος τὰ τοιαῦτα
παιδεύειν. Ἡ δὲ μνήμη οὐκ ἐπ’
ὀνόματος γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τινων
γνωρισμάτων τὸ ἐκεῖνον εἶναι τὸν
δηλούμενον ὁ λόγος ἤνιξατο, ἵνα
μὴ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα καθομιλοῦ-
σι τῷ λόγῳ ἀνόνητος ἢ συμβουλὴ
εἶναι δόξη, τῷ παρελθόντι τὸν βίον
προσφοιτᾶν τοὺς νέους κελεύουσα,
ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦτο βλέποντες μόνον,
οἷον εἶναι προσήκει τὸν τοῦ τοιού-
του βίου καθηγητήν,

Since descriptions aimed at es-
tablishing virtue are not as pow-
erful as the living voice and the
actual examples of what is good,
we have, perforce, referred at the
end of the discourse to our most
reverend bishop and father as
the only one capable of teaching
these things. We did not men-
tion him by name, but the treatise
refers to him enigmatically,
so that the advice bidding the
young to follow in the footsteps
of one who has gone before them
may not seem incomprehensible
to those who have access to the
treatise. Asking only who the
fitting guide is for such a life, let
them select for themselves those
who, by the grace of God,

¹⁵ J. Daniélou, *Saint Grégoire de Nysse dans l'histoire du monachisme*, in: *Théologie de la vie monastique*, Paris: Aubier 1961, 132. Similar conclusions by J. Gribomont, *Le dossier des origines du Messalianisme*, 624.

<p>ἐκλέγωνται ἑαυτοῖς εἰς ὁδηγίαν τοὺς ἀεὶ παρὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτος εἰς προστασίαν τῆς κατ' ἀρετὴν πολιτείας ἀναδεικνυμένους· ἢ γὰρ εὐρήσουσι τὸν ζητούμενον ἢ οἷον χρῆ εἶναι οὐκ ἀγνοήσουσιν.</p>	<p>point the way to the safeguard- ing of a life of virtue. For either they will find the one they seek or they will not be ignorant of what kind of person he must be.¹⁶</p>
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Gregory felt obliged to refer to Basil, but he did it in such a way that it was rather diminishing than honouring – like in *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*. As Anthony Meredith noticed, “it is instructive to compare Gregory of Nyssa’s account of Basil with his warm appraisal of their sister Macrina, whose name, significantly, occurs nowhere in the correspondence of Basil. Again the difference in tone may be purely accidental, but the suggestion that there was a sort of ‘axis’ in the family, with the masterful Basil on one side, Gregory, Macrina and Peter on the other, may not be beside the point.”¹⁷

It would be really difficult to claim that this could be a way of praising anybody. There must have been other reasons for inventing Macrina.

2. Countermodel to the asceticism condemned in Gangra

Macrina’s way of practicing asceticism is clearly opposed to the asceticism condemned in Gangra – the fact already pointed out by Robert Wiśniewski.¹⁸ *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* is evidently anti-Eustathian:

¹⁶ Gregory of Nyssa, *De virginitate* 2, GNO 8/I, 248–249, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 7

¹⁷ A. Meredith, *Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa on Basil*, in: *Studia Patristica. Vol. XXXII. Papers presented at the Twelfth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1995: Athanasius and his opponents, Cappadocian Fathers, other Greek writers after Nicaea*, ed. E. A. Livingstone, Leuven: Peeters 1997, 167.

¹⁸ R. Wiśniewski, *Makryna albo o poszukiwaniu modelu taumaturgii kobiecej*, “Chrześcijaństwo u schyłku starożytności. Studia źródłoznawcze” 3 (2000), 309.

- Emmelia, Macrina's mother is a saint although she was married: "Her mother was extremely virtuous, following the will of God in all things and embracing an exceptionally pure and spotless way of life, so that she had chosen not to marry. However, since she was an orphan and flowering in the springtime of her beauty, and the fame of her loveliness had attracted many suitors, there was danger that, if she were not joined to someone by choice, she might suffer some unwished-for violence, because some of the suitors maddened by her beauty were preparing to carry her off. For this reason, she chose a man well known and recommended for the dignity of his life, and thus she acquired a guardian for her own life"¹⁹ in accordance with Canon 1 of the Council of Gangra;
- Naucratus used to go hunting to procure food for the old people (*Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 8, GNO 8/1, 379), so the community evidently did not condemn eating meat in accordance with Canon 2 of the Council of Gangra;
- Macrina's mother had maids (*Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 7, GNO 8/1, 378) and Naucratus had housemen (*Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 8, GNO 8/1, 378), who were treated as "sisters and equals rather than slaves and underlings," but were not taught to despise their masters in accordance with Canon 3 of the Council of Gangra;
- Liturgy is always celebrated in church with no exceptions (*Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 16, GNO 8/1, 388; 22, GNO 8/1, 395; 34, GNO 8/1, 409) in accordance with Canon 6 of the Council of Gangra;
- Macrina gave all her wealth into the hands of the priest (*Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 20, GNO 8/1, 393) in accordance with Canon 8 of the Council of Gangra;
- *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* stresses the significance of marriage even if somebody chooses virginity (*Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 5, GNO 8/1, 375) in accordance with Canon 9 of the Council of Gangra;

¹⁹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 2, GNO 8/1, 372, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 164.

- Married people could visit the monastery and spend there some time (*Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 37, GNO 8/1, 410); they were never treated arrogantly in accordance with Canon 10 of the Council of Gangra;
- Although the ascetics lived very modestly, they organized feasting (εὐωχία) for the guests (*Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 38, GNO 8/1, 412) in accordance with Canon 11 of the Council of Gangra;
- Macrina wore women's clothes such as a veil – τῆς κεφαλῆς ἡ κάλυπτρα (*Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 29, GNO 8/1, 403) in accordance with Canon 13 of the Council of Gangra;
- In *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* no woman abandons her husband or wishes to withdraw from marriage in accordance with Canon 14 of the Council of Gangra; only unmarried women and widows can become members of the community;
- In accordance with Canons 15 and 16 of the Council of Gangra, neither the mother (Emmelia) abandoned her children nor the daughter (Macrina) abandoned her mother under the pretext of asceticism, but they lived together: "She settled upon a safeguard for her noble decision, namely, a resolve never to be separated for a moment from her mother, so that her mother often used to say to her that the rest of her children she had carried in her womb for a fixed time, but this daughter she always bore, encompassing her in her womb at all times and under all circumstances;"²⁰
- The family worshipped martyrs (*Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 15, GNO 8/1, 387; 34, GNO 8/1, 408) in accordance with Canon 20 of the Council of Gangra.

Although it cannot be determined which of those condemned points were realized by Eustathius himself and which by his followers, it is evident that the ascetic life pictured in *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* opposes Eustathian asceticism and is not inspired by Eustathius as Jeremy Driscoll

²⁰ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 5, GNO 8/1, 376, transl. V. Woods Calahan, 166.

wanted.²¹ As shown above, Basil remained faithful to the crucial indicators of Eustathian ascetic life.²² One of this pivotal features was individualism, which is absolutely absent in *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*. In Macrina's asceticism there is no place for exceptions based on individual judgment of an ascetic.²³ Macrina knows the Bible well and sings Psalms all day long, but she does not interpret the Holy Scripture on her own. Neither there is any place for disobedience to the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Even poverty must be limited according to the decision of the priest; when the decision was being made how Macrina would be buried, it turned out that she did not possess anything but a dress, a covering for her head and sandals. When Gregory asked her companion whether Macrina would oppose if he brought some of the things that he had got ready for the funeral, the companion answered:

Προσέσθαι γὰρ ἂν αὐτὴν καὶ ζῶσαν τὴν τοιαύτην παρὰ σοῦ τιμὴν κατ' ἀμφότερα, διὰ τε τὴν ἱερωσύνην τὴν ἀεὶ τιμίαν αὐτῆ καὶ διὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς φύσεως μηδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἀλλότριον ἑαυτῆς τὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ νομίσει.

If she were alive, she would accept such a gift from you for two reasons: on account of your priesthood, which she always honored, and, on account of your kinship, she would not have thought that what belonged to her brother was not also hers.

²¹ J. Driscoll, *Eustazio di Sebaste e il primo ascetismo cappadoce*, 16: “*La Vita di Macrina di Gregorio di Nissa ci permette di delineare lo stile di vita della madre di Basilio, di sua sorella Macrina, e di suo fratello Nauczazio: si tratta di una vita ascetica ispirata da Eustazio.*”

²² Part III, Chapter II 4.

²³ My analysis opposes that of A. M. Silvas, who claimed (*Macrina the Younger. Philosopher of God*, 43): “A careful comparison of the VSM and the Small Asketikon reveals an overwhelming agreement between the Annisa community and the form of ascetic community taught in the Small Asketikon. That is, most of the features of the community at Annisa in 379 were already in place by about 365. Many of the hyper-ascetic correctives of the council of Gangra were operative even then. Yet the Small Ascetikon itself is the culmination of considerable prior development in the conception of the ascetic life.”

Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ταῖς σαῖς χερ-
σὶ περικοσμηθῆναι τὸ
σῶμα διεκελεύσατο.

It was for this reason that she
ordered her body to be prepared
by your hands.²⁴

Although she was a superior of the community, Macrina did not even had access to her own money, but she gave all her wealth into the hands of the priest.²⁵

²⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 29, GNO 8/1, 403, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 184.

²⁵ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 20, GNO 8/1, 393.

Chapter II. Basil and Gregories

1. The attitude towards the family

Macrina's asceticism opposes Basil's asceticism not only in excluding individualism and exceptions based on individual judgment, but in one more crucial aspect: the attitude towards the family. Raymond van Dam put it this way: "By not marrying, not having children, and not accepting a position as a municipal magistrate or a teacher, Basil declined to take on the usual obligations of male adulthood in Greek cities. His friend Gregory of Nazianzus had adopted a similar life, although with one important difference, since he had assumed responsibility for looking after his elderly parents. As the oldest son, Basil might have been expected likewise to look after his mother. Instead, Macrina, who never married, exonerated Basil by staying with and caring for their mother."¹

Not only Macrina, but also Naucratus and Peter took care of their mother. Macrina "furnished food for her mother from her own labor, and, in addition, she shared her mother's worries," "she was a sharer of her mother's toils, taking on part of her cares and lightening

¹ R. van Dam, *Families and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia*, 37.

the heaviness of her griefs.”² Naucratius “also zealously carried out his mother’s wishes if she asked anything for herself, and, in these two ways, he charted his life’s course, controlling his young manhood by his labor and caring for his mother,”³ “he lived this way for five years, philosophizing and making his mother’s life a blessed one because of the way that he regulated his own life through moderation and put all his energy into fulfilling her every wish.”⁴ Peter “was above all a co-worker with his sister and mother in every phase of their angelic existence.”⁵

When Macrina was lying on her death-bed and Gregory was complaining about his difficulties and persecutions she reminded him of the most important gift of God – the family:

<p>Οὐ παύση, φησίν, ἀγνωμόνως ἐπὶ τοῖς θείοις ἀγαθοῖς διακείμενος; οὐ θεραπεύσεις τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἀχάριστον; οὐκ ἀντιπαραθήσεις τοῖς τῶν πατέρων τὰ σά; καίτοι γε κατὰ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον ἐν τούτῳ δὴ μάλιστα μεγαλαυχοῦμεν, ἐν τῷ εὖ γεγονέναι καὶ ἀπὸ εὐγενῶν φῦναι δοκεῖν.</p>	<p>Will you ever stop ignoring the good things that come from God? Will you not remedy the thanklessness of your soul? Compare your lot with that of our parents, although, as far as this world is concerned, it is true that we are proud of being well born and coming from a good family.⁶</p>
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Arnaldo Momigliano noted: “In this complex experimentation with religious figures, the life of Macrina is therefore eccentric. It is the life of a sister surrounded by mother, brothers, and sisters;

² Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 5, GNO 8/1, 376, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 167.

³ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 8, GNO 8/1, 379, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 169.

⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 9, GNO 8/1, 379, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 169.

⁵ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 12, GNO 8/1, 384, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 172.

⁶ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 21, GNO 8/1, 394, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 178.

it is at the same time the story of an aristocratic clan fully conscious of its own distinction.”⁷

The attitude towards the family distances Gregory of Nyssa from Basil (his own brother!) and brings him closer to Gregory of Nazianzus and his younger brother Peter. Gregory of Nazianzus never mentioned Eustathius – he clearly opposed his way of practicing asceticism. The way that was followed by Basil.⁸ The main difference between those two kinds of asceticism did not lie in strict morals or in the attitude towards the poor, or in the zealotness in reading the Holy Scripture and in praying, or in renouncing the pleasures and comforts – in all those points both ascetics were similar. The difference lay in the attitude towards one’s own family. Gregory of Nazianzus admits that himself:

Τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἡ Καισαρέων κατέχει πόλις, ὡς τινα δεύτερον οἰκιστήν τε καὶ πολιούχον· ἔπειτα ἐκδημίαι τινές, ἐπειδὴ γε ἡμᾶς οὐκ εἶχε, τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑπολαμβάνουσι, καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ τῆς προκειμένης φιλοσοφίας. Ἐμὲ δὲ πατέρων εὐλάβεια καὶ γηροκομία καὶ συμφορῶν ἐπανάστασις κατασχοῦσα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπήγαγεν· οὐ καλῶς μὲν ἴσως οὐδὲ δικαίως, ἀπήγαγε δ’ οὖν.

The city of Caesarea took possession of him, as a second founder and patron, but in course of time he was occasionally absent, as a matter of necessity due to our separation, and with a view to our determined course of philosophy. Dutiful attendance on my aged parents, and a succession of misfortunes kept me apart from him, perhaps without right or justice, but so it was.⁹

Raymond Van Dam noted: “For all his love of solitude and ascetic isolation, Gregory had always remained a family man. Basil had rejected his father’s vocation as a teacher in order to become an ascetic and

⁷ A. Momigliano, *The Life of St. Macrina by Gregory of Nyssa*, 217.

⁸ F. Fatti, *Nei panni del vescovo. Gregorio, Basilio e il filosofo Eustazio*, 177–238.

⁹ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio 43 (In laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi)*, 25, SC 384, 182, transl. NPNF II 7, 404.

finally a bishop. In the process, he had estranged himself not only from his father's family in Pontus, but also from his siblings and other relatives. Although Gregory had likewise been reluctant to imitate his father's career as a cleric, he had never distanced himself from his parents, his family, and his relatives. His devotion to his father in particular was always a dominant influence in his life."¹⁰

2. Literary constructs by Gregory of Nazianzus

Gregory of Nazianzus was not such a close friend of Basil's as it is commonly assumed. The picture of the idyllic friendship was a product of Gregory's rhetoric, "it would be Gregory's own writings that contributed to the formation of this image of an ideal friendship."¹¹ Gregory was rewriting the history of his relationship with Basil in order to regain the position in Cappadocia after he had returned from Constantinople (381).¹² He also treated the friendship with Basil as part of the classical culture he was committed to.¹³

Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa apparently shared the same idea of the family that according to Susanna Elm could have had its roots in philosophy: "As he made clear, the ideal Christian Greek philosopher was first and foremost embodied by Gregory himself. But, as is evident from the shared assumptions of Neoplatonist philosophy, such a man also needed an appropriately sacred 'genesis'. And since a philosopher's divine inspiration was prefigured in his origins, it was made manifest not only in himself, but also, of course, in his entire

¹⁰ R. van Dam, *Families and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia*, 58.

¹¹ R. van Dam, *Families and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia*, 155–156.

¹² N. McLynn, *Gregory Nazianzen's Basil: The Literary Construction of a Christian Friendship*, 193.

¹³ D. Konstan, *How to Praise a Friend. St. Gregory of Nazianzus's Funeral Oration for St. Basil the Great*, in: *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity*, eds. T. Hägg, P. Rousseau, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: University of California Press 2000, 161; R. van Dam, *Families and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia*, 171–172.

family.”¹⁴ Honouring members of the family was the pivotal part of constructing his own image as a philosopher.¹⁵ Gregory of Nazianzus realized that plan by praising his brother Cesarius, his father Gregory and his sister Gorgonia in the funeral orations (*Oratio* 7, 18 and 8).

The description of Gorgonia, who died in 375, was evidently one of the models for Macrina. Georg Luck demonstrated a lot of parallels between *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* and Gregory of Nazianzus’ Oration 8 for his sister Gorgonia (PG 35, 789–817): both women led very simple lifestyle which must have been unusual in their social circle, they were naturally beautiful without any external ornaments, both were charitable and were teachers for others, after an accident (Gorgonia) and during an illness (Macrina) both refused to consult a doctor as it required to undress oneself, and both were miraculously healed thanks to their own prayers.¹⁶ Susanna Elm claims that Gregory of Nazianzus’ oration was “the earliest hagiographic text in praise of a Christian woman.”¹⁷

¹⁴ S. Elm, *Gregory’s women: Creating a philosopher’s family*, in: *Gregory of Nazianzus: Images and Reflections*, eds. J. Bjørtnes, T. Hägg, Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, University of Copenhagen 2005, 186.

¹⁵ S. Elm, *Gregory’s women: Creating a philosopher’s family*, 191.

¹⁶ G. Luck, *Notes on the Vita Macrinae*, 23–25.

¹⁷ S. Elm, *Gregory’s women: Creating a philosopher’s family*, 187.

Chapter III. Inventing a saint

Taking all above into account, I think that Macrina was invented by Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory of Nazianzus to substitute her for Eustathius of Sebastea in the first place and Basil as his follower as well.

1. Previous fictitious characters

Macrina became part of a long tradition of fictitious women guiding men into the mysteries of philosophy and true wisdom: Diotima from Plato's *Symposium*, Rhoda from *The Shepherd of Hermas*, 11 women from Methodius of Olympus' *Symposium*. Neither was she the first fictional ascetic. In the mid-370s, Jerome wrote *Vita Beati Pauli monachi Thebani*, the life of the first hermit. Since 1877, many scholars have claimed that it was the life of a completely fictional character.¹ The hagiography was written in Latin, but it was translated into Greek and disseminated

¹ S. Rebenich, *Inventing an Ascetic Hero. Jerome's Life of Paul the First Hermit*, in: *Jerome of Stridon. His Life, Writings and Legacy*, eds. A. Cain, J. Lössl, New York: Routledge 2009, 14–16; T. D. Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography and Roman History*, 172.

widely in the East as well as in the West.² *Vita Beati Pauli* by Jerome sets up the precedent of substitution of one leader and master for another.³ It is very likely that it was aimed at presenting a model of monastic life alternative to the one presented in *Vita Antonii*: in opposition to Athanasius' Antony, Paul was familiar with the classical tradition. The aim of Jerome's *Vita* was not to question the history, but to promote the ideal of an educated Christian holy man.⁴ Stefan Rebenich explains: "The question of the historicity of Paul of Thebes, which has fascinated so many modern scholars, was less important. Jerome wanted only to portray a convincing exemplum of a monastic lifestyle, if necessary with the help of rhetorical *inventio*."⁵ Rebenich notes as well that "the audience of the *Vita Pauli* consisted of the educated Christian upper classes of the Western part of the empire, the intensely pious among which were eagerly seeking ascetic exempla."⁶ I would add that seeking ascetic exempla was something natural in Ancient society not only in the West and providing ideals of philosophers, martyrs or ascetics used to be in Antiquity a well-trying tool for exerting influence on people. The lives of saint monks were intended to "set forth, in the form of a narrative, the laws of the monastic life."⁷ *Verba docent, exempla trahunt*.

² J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome, his Life, Writings and Controversies*, London: Harper & Row 1975, 60; K. Jazdzewska, *Hagiographic Invention and Imitation: Niketas' Life of Theoktiste and Its Literary Models*, "Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies" 49 (2009), 269.

³ Jerome attested that openly at the very beginning of his *Vita Beati Pauli monachi Thebani* (SC 508, 144–146; transl. NPNF II 6, 404): "It has been a subject of widespread and frequent discussion what monk was the first to give a signal example of the hermit life. [...] So then inasmuch as both Greek and Roman writers have handed down careful accounts of Antony, I have determined to write a short history of Paul's early and latter days."

⁴ S. Rebenich, *Inventing an Ascetic Hero*, 20–23.

⁵ S. Rebenich, *Inventing an Ascetic Hero*, 25.

⁶ S. Rebenich, *Inventing an Ascetic Hero*, 21.

⁷ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 21 (*In laudem Athanasii*), 5, SC 270, 118, transl. NPNF II 7, 270.

2. Circumstances of inventing Macrina

The main goal of *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* is to create a model of asceticism and communal life alternative to the Eustathian one. But, there could have been a direct, very mundane and practical scope of that invention. To discover the intentions hidden behind the story about Macrina we need to realize where and when it was invented. Already Franz Diekamp stated that Letter 19 (about Macrina) was written by Gregory of Nyssa in 380, when he was elected bishop of Sebastea and spent a few months there.⁸ As the Macrinian asceticism opposes the Eustathian one it is obvious that Saint Macrina was invented for the monks or/and people of Sebastea who lived for some 20 years under the influence of Eustathius and his ascetical ideas.

Probably in 380, Gregory was asked by some believers from Sebastea for help in electing a bishop, apparently after Eustathius had died. Why did they ask Gregory for help? Sebastea belonged for ages to the sphere of influence of Caesarea in Cappadocia, but Gregory was not bishop of Caesarea, while on the other hand the long lasting conflict between Eustathius (bishop of Sebastea) and Basil (bishop of Caesarea) ended with Eustathius' victory. With the help of Demosthenes, vicar of the Diocese of Pontus, Eustathius successfully gained an administrative independence for the Church of Armenia Prima so he could have been regarded as a metropolitan independent from Caesarea.⁹

The Sebasteans asked Gregory for help because they must have known him before. In 375, Gregory was accused of misappropriation of funds and banished from Nyssa. He was arrested and kept outside the province of Cappadocia, possibly in Amasea, the capital city of the Diocese of Pontus, where Demosthenes was preparing a hearing. As Gregory was sick he was forced to move into a quiet place;¹⁰ I think

⁸ F. Diekamp, *Die Wahl Gregors von Nyssa zum Metropoliten von Sebaste im Jahre 380*, "Theologische Quartalschrift" 90 (1908), 393.

⁹ Basil, *Epistulae* 237, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 56–57.

¹⁰ Basil, *Epistulae* 225, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 21–22.

it could have been Sebastea as Demosthenes and Eustathius were allies and Demosthenes could have expected that Eustathius would watch over Gregory in his community/convent.¹¹

As Macrina's community so strictly and in detail opposed the Eustathian ideal, Gregory must have known the latter very well; he could have seen it and lived there for a long time. If Gregory stayed in Sebastea during his exile, it would explain well why the people of Sebastea asked him for help after Eustathius had died and even elected him bishop of their city. We know from Letter 19 by Gregory that he was not willing to accept the duty; finally, it was his youngest brother Peter who became bishop of Sebastea.

3. Electoral campaign for Peter

The question is: How did it happen that suddenly in 380¹² Peter appeared as bishop of Sebastea, if according to *Vita sanctae Macrinae* he spent his entire life with his mother and sister Macrina as a monk and superior of a male branch of a monastic community.¹³ It was hardly possible to impose a bishop from the outside as it was people who elected bishops and the metropolitan was supposed to ordain the elected one.¹⁴ I think that when Gregory had been elected bishop of Sebastea (no information that he was ordained) he stayed there for a few months and prepared an extensive electoral campaign in order to secure the see for Peter. The most important part of that campaign was inventing Macrina and rewriting the family history in such a way that at the end of the day it was Peter

¹¹ Already Johan Leemans suggested that Gregory could have spent his exile in Sebastea although he did not provide any reason for it, cf. J. Leemans, *On the date of Gregory of Nyssa's first homilies on the forty martyrs of Sebaste (Mart Ia and Ib)*, "The Journal of Theological Studies" 52 (2001), 97.

¹² A. M. Silvas (in: Gregory of Nyssa, *Letters*, 47) thinks that Peter became bishop of Sebastea after the Council of Constantinople (381), but Theodoret (HE V 8, 4, GCS 19, 287) claims that he took part in the the Council of Constantinople (381), so he must have been already a bishop.

¹³ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 37, GNO 8/I, 411.

¹⁴ P. Norton, *Episcopal elections 250–600*, 6.

who turned out to be the most prominent offspring of their parents. Let's have a look at how he was described in *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*:

Ἦν δὲ αὐτῇ ὁ μάλιστα πρὸς τὸν μέγαν τοῦτον τοῦ βίου σκοπὸν ὑπηρετῶν ἀδελφός τις ὁμογάστριος, Πέτρος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, ἐφ' ᾧ ἔληξαν τῆς μητρὸς ἡμῶν αἱ ὠδίνες. Οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ τελευταῖος τῶν γονέων βλαστός, ὃς ὁμοῦ τε υἱὸς καὶ ὄρφανός ὠνομάσθη ἅμα γὰρ τῷ παρελθεῖν τοῦτον εἰς φῶς καταλείπει ὁ πατήρ τὸν βίον. Ἄλλ' ἡ πρεσβυτάτη τῶν ἀδελφῶν, περὶ ἧς ὁ λόγος, μικρὰ τῆς θηλῆς αὐτὸν παρὰ τὴν πρώτην γένεσιν μετασχόντα εὐθύς ἀποσπάσασα τῆς τιθηνουμένης δι' ἑαυτῆς ἀνατρέφεται καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑψηλοτέραν ἡγάγε παιδευσιν, τοῖς ἱεροῖς τῶν μαθημάτων ἐκ νηπίων αὐτὸν ἐνασκήσασα, ὡς μὴ δοῦναι τῇ ψυχῇ σχολὴν πρὸς τι τῶν ματαίων ἐπικλιθῆναι. Ἄλλὰ πάντα γενομένη τῷ νέῳ, πατήρ, διδάσκαλος, παιδαγωγός, μήτηρ, ἀγαθοῦ παντὸς σύμβουλος, τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν ἀπειργάσατο, ὡς πρὶν ἐξελθεῖν τὴν ἡλικίαν τῶν παίδων ἔτι ἐν μειρακιώδει τῇ ἀπαλότῃ τῆς ὥρας ἀνθοῦντα πρὸς τὸν ὑψηλὸν τῆς φιλοσοφίας σκοπὸν ἐπαρθῆναι καὶ τινι φύσεως εὐκληρίᾳ πρὸς πᾶσαν τέχνης ἰδέαν

Macrina had a brother who was a great help towards this fine goal of life; he was named Peter and he was the youngest of us, the last offspring of our parents called at once both son and orphan, for as he came into the light of life his father departed from it. His eldest sister, the subject of our story, took him almost immediately from his nurse's breast and reared him herself and led him to all the higher education, exercising him from babyhood in sacred learning so as not to give him leisure to incline his soul to vanities. She became all things to the boy; father, teacher, attendant, mother, the counselor of every good, and she held him in check so that, even before his flowering in the tenderness of youth, he was raised to the high goal of philosophy, and, by some good fortune of nature, he had such skill in every form of handicraft that without instruction he arrived at a complete mastery of skills upon which most people expend much time and energy.

τὴν διὰ χειρὸς ἐνεργουμένην ἐπι-
 τηδείως ἔχειν, ὡς μηδενὸς κατηγο-
 ρουμένου διὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας
 ἐκάστου τὴν ἐπιστήμην κατωρ-
 θωκέναι, ὧν χρόνω καὶ πόνω τοῖς
 πολλοῖς ἢ μάθησις παραγίνεται.
 Οὗτος τοίνυν τῆς περὶ τοὺς ἔξω-
 θεν τῶν λόγων ἀσχολίας ὑπεριδῶν,
 ἱκανὴν δὲ διδάσκαλον παντὸς
 ἀγαθοῦ μαθήματος τὴν φύσιν ἔχων
 αἰεὶ τε πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν βλέ-
 πων καὶ σκοπὸν ἀγαθοῦ παντὸς
 ἐκείνην ποιούμενος εἰς τοσοῦτον
 ἐπέδωκεν ἀρετῆς, ὡς μηδὲν ἔλατ-
 τον τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου δοκεῖν
 ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἀρετὴν προτε-
 ρήμασιν. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ μετὰ
 ταῦτα βίῳ· τότε δὲ ἀντὶ πάντων ἦν
 τῇ ἀδελφῇ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ συνεργῶν
 αὐταῖς πρὸς τὴν ἀγγελικὴν ἐκεί-
 νην ζωήν.

So, scorning extraneous in-
 structions and having nature as
 an adequate teacher of all good
 learning and always looking to
 his sister and making her the
 focal point of every good, he
 became so virtuous that he was
 no less esteemed than the great
 Basil for the excellent qualities
 of his later life. But then, he was
 above all a co-worker with his
 sister and mother in every phase
 of their angelic existence.¹⁵

As I have already mentioned the only passage that seemingly de-
 scribes Basil's career mentions as his only achievement that he ordained
 Peter for a priest.¹⁶ When Emmelia is praying on her deathbed, she men-
 tions only two of her children: Macrina and Peter calling them the pri-
 mal offering (ἀπαρχή) and the tithe (ἐπιδέκατον),¹⁷ which are technical
 terms in the Bible meaning the offering to God. And Gregory adds:

¹⁵ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 12, GNO 8/I, 383–384, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 171–172.

¹⁶ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 14, GNO 8/I, 385–386.

¹⁷ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 13, GNO 8/I, 385, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 172.

Οἱ δὲ πληρώσαντες τὸ διατεταγ-
 μένον, ὑψηλότερον εἶχοντο τῆς
 φιλοσοφίας, ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον
 διαμιλλώμενοι βίον καὶ τὰ φθά-
 σαντα τῶν κατορθωμάτων τοῖς
 ἐφεξῆς ἀποκρύπτοντες.

These two, having fulfilled her
 command, attained to a higher
 level of philosophy, always strug-
 gling in their individual lives
 and eclipsing their early success-
 es by their later ones.¹⁸

Although we know for certain that Basil was raised in Cappadocia,¹⁹ in *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* the entire family lives in Pontus and Gregory even calls Pontus his fatherland.²⁰ Gregory must have done this change because of Peter. If he was to be elected bishop of Sebastea, he must have lived as close to the city as possible. Besides, as Sebastea was now an independent metropolis all of Peter's connections with Caesarea were erased and his every possible link with Sebastea was underlined.

¹⁸ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 13, GNO 8/1, 385, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 173.

¹⁹ M. Przysszychowska, *Fatherland (πατρίς) in the writings of Basil of Caesarea*, 11–12.

²⁰ Gregory of Nyssa, *Epistulae* 19, 10, GNO 8/2, 65; *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 15, GNO 8/1, 387.

Conclusion

The starting point for this study were two questions: first, why Gregory wrote *De anima et resurrectione* in the form of a dialogue – one of the two dialogues in his entire literary legacy? Second, why did he write a dialogue with Macrina rather than with his great, saint brother Basil? Those two questions led me to the large-scale research concerning the literary genres of Macrina writings, the life of Eustathius of Seabastea, the relationships between Basil and Eustathius on one hand and Basil and Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory of Nazianzus on the other, the administrative issues of the Church in Asia Minor, and many others problems.

Part I of this study focuses on the analysis of the literary genres of Macrina writings, on inconsistencies in those writings, and the contrast between those writings and other sources. All four writings about Macrina (*Vita Sanctae Macrinae*, *De anima et resurrectione*, Letter 19 by Gregory of Nyssa, and Epitaph 120 by Gregory of Nazianzus) were written according to the rules of different literary genres: hagiography, philosophical dialogue, rhetoric, epitaph. Those genres have their specific purposes (edification, polemic, apology, honouring), but none of them is aimed at recounting real events and describing actual people. Of course, they can do that if it helps to achieve the aim intended by the author, but they can also distort reality and use fictitious elements

in order to edify the reader (hagiography – *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*), present the point of view of the author (rhetoric – Letter 19), fight the doctrines of the opponents (philosophical dialogue – *De anima et resurrectione*), or honour somebody (Epitaph 120). Therefore, the information they contain cannot be trusted but needs to be confronted with external sources.

Inconsistencies and contradictions in the very writings about Macrina and between those writings and other sources are the most important evidence that none of the Macrina writings described the real history; moreover, none of them pretended to do so. Those inconsistencies concern two different characters of Macrina, the conversion of Basil, namely his decision to start leading an ascetic life, the circumstances of the last meeting of between Gregory and Macrina and the number of Basil's siblings. Besides, had Macrina really been a pioneering monastic founder she should have appeared in the specific places in the specific writings, but she actually did not. Basil never mentioned his sister Macrina not only in his ascetic writings, but also in any of his letters. Except for Epitaph 120 Macrina does not appear either in any writing by Gregory of Nazianzus or in any Ancient source describing the history of the Church of that period. Without doubt, Ancient historians focused on the relationships between the Church and the state, doctrinal disputes, and bishops, but they also said something about monastic life (especially Sozomen).

The outcome of Part I is a thesis that Macrina was a literary construct aimed at “covering” Eustathius of Sebastea – the true inspirer of asceticism in Pontus.

Part II concerns Eustathius of Sebastea himself: it begins with the analysis of the thesis by Federico Fatti that Eustathius the Philosopher, described by Eunapius, converted to Christianity and became bishop of Sebastea (and master to Basil the Great). The conversion of Eustathius from a Neoplatonic philosopher to a Christian ascetic who kept the philosophical look and customs and incorporated them into ecclesiastical life explains well some peculiar aspects of Eustathius of Sebastea's asceticism condemned at the Council of Gangra (358 according to my dating). The literary form of dialogue used by Gregory of Nyssa in

De anima et resurrectione is a direct reference to the philosophical background of the person Gregory wanted to substitute with Macrina the Younger. Next, I analyse the sources that mention Eustathius of Sebastea and present my reconstruction of his life.

Part III is a study on the relationship between Eustathius of Sebastea and Basil the Great. I tried to resolve the most vital controversies in regard to it, such as whether and to what extent Basil was a disciple of Eustathius, whether his influence was limited to ascetical issues or extended to doctrinal questions. I searched for the causes of the conflict between Eustathius and Basil and I reached a conclusion that the change of their friendship into open hatred could have been provoked by their fight for power, specifically as regards ordaining bishops in Armenia Minor. In the 4th century, the structure of ecclesiastical subordination was still fluid, a range of influences depended in a great measure on the personality of people who held offices, both secular and ecclesiastical. Their political aspirations did cause a lot of conflicts. I am inclined to claim that the doctrinal conflict between Eustathius and Basil was only a cover for their administrative struggle.

In Part IV, I tried to answer the question why Macrina the Younger had been invented. Apparently, Gregory of Nazianzus was not such a close friend of Basil's as it is commonly assumed. The picture of the idyllic friendship was a product of Gregory's rhetoric. Those two bishops had different views not only on asceticism but also on the way ecclesiastical politics should have been conducted. I think that Gregory of Nyssa was mentally much closer to Gregory of Nazianzus than to his own brother Basil. Macrina the Younger invented by both Gregories after the death of Basil was to substitute Eustathius of Sebastea, the real inspirer of asceticism in Pontus, exactly as Paul invented by Jerome was to substitute Anthony at the position of the first eremite. Jerome wanted to create a model of monastic life alternative to the one presented in *Vita Antonii* by Athanasius, and Macrina could have been invented in order to perform a similar function. The main goal of *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* is to create a model of asceticism and communal life strictly opposing the Eustathian one, which had been condemned by the Council of Gangra.

Macrina writings were written most probably in Sebastea around 380, when Gregory of Nyssa was elected bishop of Sebastea and spent a few months there, but he was not willing to accept the duty. The alternative model of asceticism had one important aim: it constituted an extensive electoral campaign in order to secure the see for Peter. The most important part of that campaign was inventing Macrina and rewriting the family history in such a way that at the end of the day it was Peter who turned out to be the most prominent offspring of their parents. The campaign succeeded and Peter did become bishop of Sebastea.

Appendix I. *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*

Vita Sanctae Macrinae, PG 46, 960–1000; transl. V. Woods Callahan, 163–191.¹ Paragraph numbers according to SC 178, in round brackets numbers of columns of PG edition, in square brackets numbers of pages of GNO edition.

(1) Τὸ μὲν εἶδος τοῦ βιβλίου, ὅσον ἐν τῷ τῆς προγραφῆς τύπῳ, ἐπιτολή εἶναι δοκεῖ· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ὑπὲρ τὸν ἐπιστολιμαῖον ὄρον ἐστίν, εἰς συγγραφικὴν μακρηγορίαν παρατεινόμενον· ἀλλ' ἀπολογεῖται ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἡ σύνθεσις, ἧς ἔνεκεν γράψαι παρακελεύσω, πλείων οὔσα, ἢ κατ' ἐπιστολῆς συμμετρίαν. Πάντως δὲ οὐκ ἀμνημονεῖς τῆς συντυχίας, ὅτε κατ' εὐχὴν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπιφοιτᾶν

1. From the heading of this work, you might think that it is a letter, but it has extended itself into a rather lengthy monograph. My excuse is that you ordered me to write on a subject that goes beyond the scope of a letter. In any case, you will recall our meeting in Antioch, where we happened to come across each other as I was on my way to Jerusalem to fulfill a vow to see the evidence of our

¹ Many thanks to The Catholic University of America Press for providing me with a free of charge licence for attaching Virginia Woods Callahan's translation to my book.

μέλλων, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου διὰ σαρκὸς ἐπιδημίας ἐν [371] τοῖς τόποις ἰδεῖν, συνέδραμόν σοι, κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχου πόλιν, καὶ παντοίων ἀνακινουμένων ἡμῖν λόγων· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἦν ἐν σιωπῇ τὴν συντυχίαν εἶναι· πολλὰς τῶ λόγῳ τὰς ἀφορμὰς τῆς σῆς συνέσεως ὑποβαλλούσης. Οἷα δὲ φιλεῖ πολλάκις ἐν τούτοις γίνεσθαι, εἰς μνήμην βίου τινὸς εὐδοκίμου προῆλθε ῥέων ὁ λόγος· γυνὴ δὲ ἦν ἢ τοῦ διηγήματος ἀφορμῆ· εἶπερ γυνὴ οὐκ οἶδα γὰρ εἰ πρέπον ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς φύσεως αὐτὴν ὀνομάζειν, τὴν ἄνω γενομένην τῆς φύσεως. Τὸ δὲ διήγημα ἡμῖν οὐκ ἐξ ἀκοῆς ἐτέρων διηγημάτων τὸ πιστὸν εἶχεν· ἀλλ' ὧν ἢ πεῖρα διδάσκαλος ἦν, ταῦτα δι' ἀκριβείας ἐπέξῃει ὁ λόγος, εἰς οὐδὲν ἀκοὴν ἀλλοτρίαν ἐπιμαρτυρόμενος. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ξένη τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἢ μνημονευθεῖσα παρθένος, ὡς ἀνάγκη εἶναι δι' ἐτέρων γινώσκειν τὰ κατ' ἐκείνην θαύματα, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ἡμῖν γονέων, ὡσπερ τις ἀπαρχὴ καρπῶν, πρώτη τῆς μητρῶας νηδύος ἀναβλαστήσασα. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐδοκίμασας φέρειν τι κέρδος τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἱστορίαν· ὡς ἂν μὴ λάθοι τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνον ὁ τοιοῦτος βίος, μῆδὲ ἀνωφελὴς παραδράμοι διὰ σιωπῆς συγκαλυφθεῖσα ἢ πρὸς τὸν

Lord's sojourn in the flesh in that region of the world. We talked of all sorts of things (indeed, seeing you precipitated so many topics of conversation that it was not likely to be a silent encounter) and, as often happens, the flow of our conversation turned to the life of an esteemed person. We spoke of a woman, if one may refer to her as that, for I do not know if it is right to use that natural designation for one who went beyond the nature of a woman. We did not have to rely on hearsay since experience was our teacher, and the details of our story did not depend on the testimony of others. The maiden we spoke of was no stranger to my family so that I did not have to learn the wondrous facts about her from others; we were born of the same parents, she being, as it were, an offering of first fruits, the earliest flowering of our mother's womb. At that time, you suggested that a history of her good deeds ought to be written because you thought such a life should not be lost sight of in time ineffective. Accordingly, I thought it right to obey [164] you and to write her life story

ἀκρότατον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀρε-
τῆς ὄρον ἑαυτὴν διὰ φιλοσοφίας
ἐπάρασα, καλῶς ἂν ἔχειν ὤθηθην,
σοί τε πεισθῆναι, καὶ δι' ὀλίγων,
ὡς ἂν οἶός τε ᾧ, τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν
ἱστορῆσαι, ἐν ἀκατασκευῷ τε καὶ
ἀπλῶ διηγήματι.

(2) Μακρίνα ἦν ὄνομα τῆ παρθέ-
νω· εὐδόκιμος δέ τις πάλαι κατὰ
τὸ γένος ἦν ἡ Μακρίνα, μήτηρ τοῦ
πατρὸς (961) ἡμῶν γεγεννημένη,
ταῖς ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ ὁμολογίαις τῷ
καιρῷ τῶν διωγμῶν ἐναθλήσα-
σα, ἡ ἐπωνομάσθη παρὰ τῶν [372]
γονέων ἡ παῖς. Ἄλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν
ἦν ἐν φανερωῖ τὸ ὄνομα, τὸ παρὰ
τῶν γινωσκόντων ὀνομαζόμενον.
Ἔτερον δὲ κατὰ τὸ λεληθὸς αὐτῆ
ἐπεκέκλητο· ὃ πρὶν ελθεῖν διὰ τῶν
ὠδίνων εἰς φῶς, ἔκ τινος ἐπιφα-
νείας ἐπωνομάσθη. ἦν γὰρ δὴ
τοιαύτη κατ' ἀρετὴν καὶ ἡ μήτηρ,
ὡς πανταχοῦ τῷ θεῷ βουλήματι
χειραγωγεῖσθαι· διαφερόντως δὲ
τὴν καθαρὰν τε καὶ ἀκηλίδωτον
τοῦ βίου διαγωγὴν ἡσπασμένη, ὡς
μηδὲ τὸν γάμον ἐκουσίως ἐλέσθαι.
Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ ὀρφανὴ μὲν ἐξ ἀμφο-
τέρων ἦν· ὑπερήνθει δὲ τῆ ὥρᾳ τοῦ
σώματος· καὶ πολλοὺς ἡ φήμη τῆς
εὐμορφίας πρὸς τὴν μνηστείαν συ-
νήγειρε· κίνδυνος δὲ ἦν, εἰ μὴ κατὰ
τὸ ἐκούσιόν τινι συναρμοσθεῖν,

as briefly as I could in an artless
and simple narrative. and, that
having raised herself to the high-
est peak of human virtue through
philosophy, she should not be
passed over in silence and her life
rendered

2. The maiden's name was Ma-
crina. She had been given this
name by her parents in memory
of a remarkable Macrina earlier
in the family, our father's moth-
er, who had distinguished her-
self in the confession of Christ
at the time of the persecutions.
This was her official name which
her acquaintances used, but she
had been given another secretly
in connection with a vision which
occurred before she came into
the light at birth. Her mother
was extremely virtuous, following
the will of God in all things and
embracing an exceptionally pure
and spotless way of life, so that
she had chosen not to marry.
However, since she was an orphan
and flowering in the spring-
time of her beauty, and the fame
of her loveliness had attracted
many suitors, there was dan-
ger that, if she were not joined
to someone by choice, she might

παθεῖν τι τῶν ἀβουλήτων ἐξ ἐπι-
 ρείας, πρὸς ἀρπαγὰς παρεσκευ-
 ασμένων τῶν ἐπιμεμηρότων τῷ
 κάλλει· διὰ τοῦτο ἐλομένη τὸν ἐπὶ
 σεμνότητι βίου γνωριζόμενον τε
 καὶ μαρτυρούμενον, ὥστε φύλακα
 κτήσασθαι τῆς ἰδίας ζωῆς, εὐθύς ἐν
 ταῖς πρώταις ὠδίσι, ταύτης γίνεται
 μήτηρ· καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρῆν ὁ καιρός,
 καθ' ὃν ἔδει λυθῆναι τὴν ὠδίνα τῷ
 τόκῳ, εἰς ὕπνον τραπεῖσα, φέρειν
 ἐδόκει διὰ χειρὸς τὸ ὡς τι ὑπὸ τῶν
 σπλάγχχνων περιεχόμενον· καὶ τινα
 ἐν εἶδει καὶ σχήματι μεγαλοπρε-
 πεστέρῳ, ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ἐπι-
 φανέντα, προσειπεῖν τὴν βαστα-
 ζομένην ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος Θεέκλην·
 Θεέκλης ἐκείνης, ἧς πολὺς ἐν ταῖς
 παρθένοις ὁ λόγος. Ποιήσαντα δὲ
 τοῦτο καὶ μαρτυρούμενον εἰς τρίς,
 μεταστῆναι τῶν ὄψεων, καὶ δοῦναι
 τῇ ὠδίτι τὴν εὐκολίαν, ὡς ὁμοῦ τε
 τοῦ ὕπνου αὐτὴν διαστῆναι, καὶ τὸ
 ἐνύπνιον ὕπαρ ἰδεῖν. Τὸ μὲν οὖν
 ὄνομα τὸ κεκρυμμένον ἐκεῖνο ἦν.
 Δοκεῖ δέ μοι μὴ τοσοῦτον πρὸς τὴν
 ὀνοματικὴν κλησιν [373] ὀδηγῶν
 τὴν γειναμένην ὁ ἐπιφανεῖς τοῦτο
 προφθέγγασθαι· ἀλλὰ τὸν βίον
 προειπεῖν τῆς νέας, καὶ τὴν τῆς
 προαιρέσεως ὁμοιότητα διὰ τῆς
 ὁμωνυμίας ἐνδείξασθαι.

suffer some unwished-for vio-
 lence, because some of the suit-
 ors maddened by her beauty were
 preparing to carry her off. For
 this reason, she chose a man well
 known and recommended for
 the dignity of his life, and thus
 she acquired a guardian for her
 own life. In her first pregnancy,
 she became Macrina's mother.
 When the time came in which
 she was to be freed from her
 pain by giving birth to the child,
 she fell asleep and seemed to be
 holding in her hands the child
 still in her womb, and a person
 of greater than human shape and
 form appeared to be addressing
 the infant by the name of Thec-
 la. (There was a Thecla of much
 fame among virgins.) After doing
 this and invoking her as a witness
 three times, he disappeared from
 sight and gave ease to her pain
 so that as she awoke from her
 sleep she saw the dream realized.
 This, then, was her secret name.
 It seems to me that the one who
 appeared was not so much indi-
 cating how the child should be
 named, but foretelling the life
 of the child and intimating that
 she would choose a life similar
 to that of her namesake.

(3) Τρέφεται τοίνυν τὸ παιδίον· οὔσης μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ τιθήνης ἰδίας, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις τιθηνουμένης. Ὑπερβᾶσα δὲ τὴν τῶν νηπίων ἡλικίαν, εὐμαθῆς ἦν τῶν παιδικῶν μαθημάτων· καὶ πρὸς ὅπερ ἂν ἡ τῶν γονέων κρίσις ἤγε μάθημα, κατ' ἐκεῖνο ἢ φύσις τῆς νέας διέλαμπεν. Ἦν δὲ τῇ μητρὶ σπουδῆ, παιδεῦσαι μὲν τὴν παιῖδα· μὴ μὲν τοι τὴν ἔξωθεν ταύτην καὶ ἐγκύκλιον παιδευσιν, ἦν, ὡς τὰ πολλὰ, διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων αἱ πρῶται τῶν παιδευομένων ἡλικίαι διδάσκονται. Αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ὤετο, καὶ παντάπασιν ἀπρεπές, ἢ τὰ τραγικὰ πάθη, ὅσα ἐκ γυναικῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἔδωκεν, ἢ τὰς κωμωδικὰς ἀσχημοσύνας, ἀπαλὴν καὶ εὐπλαστον φύσιν διδάσκεισθαι, καταμολυνομένην τρόπον τινὰ τοῖς ἀσεμνοτέροις περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν διηγήμασιν. Ἄλλ' ὅσα τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς ἀληπτότερα ταῖς πρώταις ἡλικίαις δοκεῖ, ταῦτα ἦν τῇ παιδί τὰ μαθήματα καὶ μάλιστα ἡ τοῦ Σολομῶντος Σοφία· καὶ ταύτης πλέον, ὅσα πρὸς τὸν ἠθικὸν ἔφερε βίον. Ἄλλὰ καὶ τῆς ψαλμωδομένης Γραφῆς οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ἡγνόμεναι καιροῖς ἰδίαις ἕκαστον μέρος τῆς ψαλμωδίας [374] διεξιούσα· τῆς τε κοίτης

3. So the child grew, nursed chiefly by her mother although [165] she had a nurse of her own. Upon leaving infancy, she was quick to learn what children learn, and to whatever learning the judgment of her parents directed her, the little one's nature responded brilliantly. Her mother was eager to have the child given instruction, but not in the secular curriculum, which meant, for the most part, teaching the youngsters through poetry. For she thought that it was shameful and altogether unfitting to teach the soft and pliable nature either the passionate themes of tragedy (which are based on the stories of women and give the poets their ideas and plots), or the unseemly antics of comedy, or the shameful activities of the immoral characters in the Iliad, defiling the child's nature with the undignified tales about women. Instead of this, whatever of inspired Scripture was adaptable to the early years, this was the child's subject matter, especially the Wisdom of Solomon and beyond this whatever leads us to a moral life. She was especially well versed in the Psalms, going

διανισταμένη, καὶ τῶν σπουδαίων ἀπτομένη τε καὶ ἀναπαυομένη, καὶ προσιεμένη τροφήν, καὶ ἀναχωροῦσα (964) τραπέζης, καὶ ἐπὶ κοίτην ἰοῦσα, καὶ εἰς προσευχὰς διανισταμένη, πανταχοῦ τὴν ψαλμωδίαν εἶχεν, οἷόν τινα σύνοδον ἀγαθὴν μηδενὸς ἀπολιμπανομένην χρόνου.

(4) Τούτοις συναυξανομένη καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐπιτηδεύμασι, καὶ τὴν χεῖρα πρὸς τὴν ἐριουργίαν διαφερόντως ἀσκήσασα, πρόεισιν εἰς δωδέκατον ἔτος· ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα τὸ τῆς νεότητος ἄνθος ἐκλάμπειν ἄρχεται. Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, ὅπως οὐδὲ κεκρυμμένον τῆς νέας τὸ κάλλος ἐλάμβανεν. Οὐδέ τι κατὰ τὴν πατρίδα πᾶσαν ἐκείνην τοιοῦτον θαῦμα ἐδόκει, οἷον ἐν συγκρίσει τοῦ κάλλους ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς εὐμορφίας εἶναι· ὡς μηδὲ ζωγράφων χεῖρας ἐφικέσθαι δυναθῆναι τῆς ὥρας· ἀλλὰ τὴν πάντα μηχανωμένην τέχνην, καὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἐπιτολμῶσαν, ὡς καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν στοιχείων τὰς εἰκόνας διὰ τῆς μιμήσεως ἀνατυποῦσθαι, τὴν τῆς μορφῆς ἐκείνης εὐκληρίαν μὴ ἰσχυῖσαι δι' ἀκριβείας μιμήσασθαι. Τούτου χάριν πολὺς ἔσμός τῶν μνηστευόντων τὸν γάμον αὐτῆς τοῖς γονεῦσι περιεχεῖτο.

through each part of the Psalter at the proper time; when she got up or did her daily tasks or rested, when she sat down to eat or rose from the table, when she went to bed or rose from it for prayer, she had the Psalter with her at all times, like a good and faithful traveling companion.

4. Growing up with these and similar pursuits and becoming extraordinarily skilled in the working of wool, she came to her twelfth year in which the flowering of youth begins especially to shine forth. Here, it is worth marveling at how the young girl's beauty did not escape notice, although it had been concealed. Nor did there seem to be anything in all that country comparable to her beauty and her loveliness, so that the hand of the painters could not reproduce its perfection, and the art that devises all things and dares the greatest things, even to the fashioning of planets through imitation, was not powerful enough to imitate the excellence of her form. Consequently, a great stream of suitors for her hand crowded round her parents.

Ὁ δὲ πατὴρ (ἦν γὰρ δὴ σώφρων καὶ κρίνειν τὸ καλὸν ἐπεσκεμμένος) εὐδόκιμόν τινα τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γένους γνώριμον ἐπὶ σωφροσύνη, ἄρτι τῶν παιδευτηρίων ἐπανήκοντα, τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποκρίνας, ἐκείνῳ κατεγγυᾶν ἐγνώκει τὴν παῖδα, εἶπερ εἰς ἡλικίαν ἔλθοι. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐν ἐλπίσιν ἦν ταῖς χρηστοτέραις [375] καὶ καθάπερ τι τῶν κεχαρισμένων ἔδων, τὴν διὰ τῶν λόγων εὐδοκίμησιν προσῆγε τῷ πατρὶ τῆς νέας, ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἀγῶσι τὴν τῶν λόγων ἐπιδεικνύμενος δύναμιν. Ὁ δὲ φθόνος ἐπικόπτει τὰς χρηστοτέρας ἐλπίδας, ἀναρπάσας αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ζωῆς ἐν ἐλεεινῇ τῇ νεότητι.

(5) Οὐκ ἠγνόει δὲ τὰ τῷ πατρὶ δεδομένα ἢ κόρη. Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ νεανίου τὸ κεκριμένον ἐπ' αὐτῇ διεκόπη· γάμον ὀνομάσασα τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς κρίσιν, ὡς γεγεννημένου τοῦ κεκριμένου, μένειν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς τὸ λοιπὸν ἡξίου. Καὶ ἦν ἡ κρίσις τῆς ἡλικίας παγιωτέρα. Πολλάκις γὰρ αὐτῇ τοὺς περὶ τοῦ γάμου προσαγόντων λόγους τῶν γεννησαμένων, διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς κατὰ φήμην τοῦ κάλλους μνηστεύειν ἐθέλοντας, ἄτοπον εἶναι ἔλεγε καὶ παράνομον, μὴ

Her father (he was wise [166] and considered outstanding in his judgment of what was good) singled out from the rest a young man in the family known for his moderation, who had recently finished school, and he decided to give his daughter to him when she came of age. During this period, the young man showed great promise and brought to the girl's father (as a cherished bridal gift, as it were) his reputation as an orator, displaying his rhetorical skill in lawsuits in defense of the wronged. But envy cut short this bright promise by snatching him from life in his piteous youth.

5. The girl was not unaware of what her father had decided, and when the young man's death broke off what had been planned for her, she called her father's decision a marriage on the grounds that what had been decided had actually taken place and she determined to spend the rest of her life by herself; and her decision was more firmly fixed than her age would have warranted. When her parents talked of marriage (many men wanted to marry

στέργειν τὸν ἅπαξ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆ κυρωθέντα γάμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον ἀναγκάζεσθαι βλέπειν· ἐνὸς ὄντος ἐν τῇ φύσει τοῦ γάμου ὡς μία γένεσις καὶ θάνατος εἷς· τὸν δὲ συναρμοσθέντα κατὰ τὴν τῶν γονέων κρίσιν μὴ τεθνάναι δισχυρίζετο, ἀλλὰ τὸν τῷ θεῷ ζῶντα, διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς ἀναστάσεως, ἀπόδημον κρίνειν, καὶ οὐ νεκρόν· ἄτοπον δὲ εἶναι τῷ ἐκδημοῦντι νυμφίῳ μὴ φυλάσσειν τὴν πίστιν. Τοῖς τοιούτοις λόγοις ἀπρωθυμένη τοὺς παραπειθεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντας, ἐν ἐδοκίμασεν ἑαυτῆ τῆς ἀγαθῆς κρίσεως φυλακτήριον, τὸ μηδέποτε τῆς ἰδίας μητρὸς, μηδὲ ἐν ἀκαρεῖ τοῦ χρόνου διαζευχθῆναι, ὡς [376] πολλάκις τὴν μητέρα πρὸς αὐτὴν εἶπεῖν, ὅτι τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν τέκνων τεταγμένῳ τινὶ χρόνῳ ἐκυφόρησεν, ἐκείνην δὲ διαπαντὸς φέρει πάντοτε τρόπον τινὰ τοῖς σπλάγχνοις ἑαυτῆς περιέχουσα. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἦν ἐπίπονος, οὐδὲ ἀκερδῆς τῆ μητρὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἢ συνδιαγωγῆ. Ἄντι γὰρ πολλῶν αὐτῆ θεραπευνίδων ἦν ἢ παρὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς θεραπείας· καὶ ἦν ἀντίδοσις τις (965) ἀγαθῆ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀλλήλαις ἀντιπληρουμένη. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς νέας, ἢ δὲ τὸ σῶμα τῆς μητρὸς ἐθεράπευεν, ἐν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι τὴν ἐπιζητουμένην

her on account of the reputation of her beauty), she used to say that it was out of place and unlawful not to accept once and for all a marriage determined for her by her father and to be forced to look to another, since marriage is by nature unique, as are birth and death. She insisted that the young man joined to her by her parent's decision was not dead, but living in God because of the hope of the resurrection, merely off on a journey and not a dead body, and it was out of place, she maintained, for a bride not to keep faith with an absent husband. Thrusting aside the arguments of those trying to persuade her, she settled upon a safeguard for her noble decision, namely, a resolve never to be separated for a moment from her mother, so that her mother often used to say to her that the rest of her children she had carried in her womb for a fixed time, but this daughter she always bore, encompassing her in her womb at all times and under all circumstances. Certainly, the companionship of her [167] daughter was not burdensome or disadvantageous for the mother,

ὑπηρεσίαν ἀποπληροῦσα· καὶ ἐν
 τῷ ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶ πολλάκις τῇ
 μητρὶ παρασκευάζειν τὸν ἄρτον.
 Ὅπερ οὐ κατὰ τὸ προηγούμενον
 αὐτῇ διεσπουδάσθη. Ἀλλ' ἐπει-
 δὴ ταῖς μυστικαῖς ὑπηρεσίαις τὰς
 χεῖρας ἑαυτῆς ἔχρησε, πρέπειν
 ἠγησαμένη τῷ ἐπιτηδεύματι τοῦ
 βίου τὴν περὶ τοῦτο σπουδὴν, ἐκ
 τοῦ περιόντος τῇ μητρὶ παρεχο-
 ρήγει τὴν ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων πόνων
 τροφήν. Καὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῇ συνδιωκονόμεν
 τὴν ἐπικειμένην φροντίδα. Τεσσά-
 ρων γὰρ ἦν υἱῶν μήτηρ καὶ πέντε
 θυγατέρων καὶ τρισὶν ἄρχουσιν
 ὑπετέλει, διὰ τὸ ἐν τοσοῦτοις ἔθνε-
 σιν αὐτῆς κατεσπάρθαι τὴν κτῆσιν.
 Ποικίλως τοίνυν τῆς μητρὸς ταῖς
 φροντίσι διὰ τοῦτο μεριζομένης·
 ἤδη γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ἐξεληλύθει τὸν
 βίον· ἐν πᾶσι τοῦτοις κοινωνὸς ἦν
 τῇ μητρὶ τῶν πόνων, συνδιαιρου-
 μένη τὰς φροντίδας, καὶ τὸ βαρὺ
 τῶν ἀλγηδόνων ἐπικουφίζουσα·
 [377] καὶ ὁμοῦ μὲν τῇ παιδαγωγίᾳ
 τῆς μητρὸς ἄμωμον διεφύλασ-
 σεν ἑαυτῇ τὸν βίον ἐν μητρῶοις
 ὀφθαλμοῖς διὰ παντὸς εὐθυνόμε-
 νόν τε καὶ μαρτυρούμενον· ὁμοῦ
 τε παρέσχε πρὸς τὸν ἴσον σκοπόν,
 τὸν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν λέγω, μεγά-
 λην τῇ μητρὶ διὰ τοῦ βίου ἑαυτῆς
 τὴν ὑφήγησιν, κατ' ὀλίγον αὐτὴν

because the care she received
 from her daughter surpassed that
 of many of her maidservants and
 there was an exchange of kindly
 offices between them. The older
 woman cared for the young wom-
 an's soul and the daughter for her
 mother's body, fulfilling in all
 things every desirable service,
 often even making bread for her
 mother with her own hands. Not
 that this was her principal con-
 cern, but when she had anointed
 her hands with mystic services,
 thinking that it was in keeping
 with her way of life, in the re-
 maining time she furnished food
 for her mother from her own
 labor, and, in addition, she shared
 her mother's worries. Her mother
 had four sons and five daughters
 and was paying taxes to three
 governors because her proper-
 ty was scattered over that many
 provinces. In a variety of ways,
 therefore, her mother was dis-
 tracted by worries.

(By this time her father had
 left this life.) In all of these
 affairs, Macrina was a sharer
 of her mother's toils, taking on
 part of her cares and lighten-
 ing the heaviness of her griefs.
 In addition, under her mother's

πρὸς τὴν ἄϋλόν τε καὶ λιτοτέραν
ζωὴν ἐφελκομένη.

(6) Καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸ κατὰ τὰς ἀδελ-
φὰς πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν ἐκάστη μετ'
εὐσχημοσύνης ἢ μήτηρ ὠκονο-
μήσατο, ἐπάνεισιν ἐν τούτῳ τῶν
παιδευτηρίων πολλῶ χρόνῳ προα-
σκηθεὶς τοῖς λόγοις, ὁ πολὺς Βασί-
λειος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς τῆς προειρημένης.
Λαβοῦσα τοίνυν αὐτὸν ὑπερφυῶς
ἐπηρμένον τῷ περὶ τοὺς λόγους
φρονήματι, καὶ πάντα περιφρο-
νοῦντα τὰ ἀξιώματα, καὶ ὑπὲρ
τοὺς ἐν τῇ δυναστείᾳ λαμπροὺς
ἐπηρμένον τῷ ὄγκῳ, τοσοῦτῳ τάχει
κάκεινον πρὸς τὸν τῆς φιλοσοφίας
σκοπὸν ἐπεσπάσατο, ὥστε ἀπο-
στάντα τῆς κοσμικῆς περιφανείας,
καὶ ὑπεριδόντα τοῦ διὰ τῶν λόγων
θαυμάζεσθαι, πρὸς τὸν ἐργατικὸν
τοῦτον καὶ αὐτόχειρα βίον αὐτο-
μολῆσαι, διὰ τῆς τελείας ἀκτημο-
σύνης, ἀνεμπόδιστον ἑαυτῷ τὸν
εἰς ἀρετὴν βίον παρασκευάζοντα.
Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐκείνου βίος, καὶ τὰ

direction, she kept her life blame-
less and witnessed in everything
by her, and, at the same time,
because of her own life, she pro-
vided her mother with an impres-
sive leadership to the same goal;
I speak of the goal of philosophy,
drawing her on little by lit-
tle to the immaterial and sim-
pler life.

6. After the mother had skilful-
ly arranged what seemed best
for each of Macrina's sisters, her
brother, the distinguished Basil,
came home from school where he
had had practice in rhetoric for
a long time. He was excessively
puffed up by his rhetorical abil-
ities and disdainful of all great
reputations, and considered him-
self better than the leading men
in the district, but Macrina took
him over and lured him so quick-
ly to the goal of philosophy that
he withdrew from the worldly
show and began to look down
upon acclaim through oratory
and went over to this life full
of labors for one's own hand
to perform, providing for him-
self, [168] through his complete
poverty, a mode of living that
would, without impediment, lead

έφεξῆς έπιτηδεύματα, δι' ὧν ὀνομαστός ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ὑφ' ἡλίῳ γενόμενος, ἀπέκρυσσε τῇ δόξῃ πάντας τοὺς ἐν ἀρετῇ διαλάμπσαντας, μακρᾶς ἂν εἶη συγγραφῆς καὶ χρόνου πολλοῦ· ἐμοὶ δὲ πρὸς τὸ προκείμενον πάλιν ὁ λόγος τετράφθω.

(7) Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πάσης ὑλωδεστέρας ζωῆς ὑπόθεσις ἤδη αὐτοῖς περιέκοπτο, πείθει τὴν μητέρα καταλιποῦσαν τὸν ἐν ἔθει βίον, καὶ τὴν κομπωδεστέραν διαγωγὴν, καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν ὑποχειρίων [378] θεραπείας, αἷς προσείηστο κατὰ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον, ὁμοτίμον γενέσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς τῷ φρονήματι, καὶ καταμιῆσαι τὴν ἰδίαν ζωὴν τῇ μετὰ τῶν παρθένων διαγωγῇ, ὅσας εἶχε μεθ' ἑαυτῆς ἐκ δουλίδων, καὶ ὑποχειρίων ἀδελφᾶς, καὶ ὁμοτίμους ποιησαμένη· μᾶλλον δὲ μικρόν τι βούλομαι παρενθεῖναι τῷ διηγήματι, καὶ μὴ παραδραμεῖν ἀνιστόρητον πρᾶγμα τοιοῦτον, δι' οὗ μᾶλλον τὸ ὑψηλὸν τῆς παρθένου καταμνῆται.

(8) Ἦν τῶν τεσσάρων ἀδελφῶν, ὁ δεύτερος μετὰ τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον, Ναυκράτιος ὄνομα, φύσεως εὐκληρία, καὶ σώματος κάλλει,

to virtue. But his life and the outstanding activities through which he became famous everywhere under the sun and eclipsed in reputation all those conspicuous in virtue, would make a long treatise and take much time, and my attention must be turned back to the subject at hand.

7. When there was no longer any necessity for them to continue their rather worldly way of life, Macrina persuaded her mother to give up her customary mode of living and her more ostentatious existence and the services of her maids, to which she had long been accustomed, and to put herself on a level with the many by entering into a common life with her maids, making them her sisters and equals rather than her slaves and underlings. But here, I want to insert something into the narrative and not to leave unrecorded an incident which testifies so well to Macrina's exalted character.

8. The second of the four brothers after the great Basil was named Naucratus, surpassing the others in the excellence of his

καὶ ῥώμη, καὶ τάχει, καὶ τῇ πρὸς
 πᾶν ἐπιτηδειότητι διαφέρων τῶν
 ἄλλων. (968) Προελθὼν οὗτος εἰς
 δεύτερον ἔτος, καὶ δοὺς τῶν οἰκεί-
 ων πόνων ἐπὶ δημοσίας ἀκοῆς τὰς
 ἀποδείξεις, ὥστε ἅπαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ
 σεισθῆναι τῶν ἀκουόντων τὸ θέ-
 ατρον, θεία τινὶ προμηθεία τῶν ἐν
 χερσὶν ἀπάντων ὑπεριδῶν, πρὸς
 τὸν μονήρη καὶ ἀκτήμονα βίον
 ἀπῆλθεν ἐν μεγάλῃ τινὶ τῆς δια-
 νοίας ὀρμῇ, οὐδὲν ἐπαγόμενος μεθ'
 ἑαυτοῦ πλὴν ἑαυτοῦ· εἶπετο δέ τις
 αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν Χρυσάφιος
 τοῦνομα, τῷ τε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχειν
 ἐκεῖνον ἐπιτηδείως, καὶ τῷ τὴν
 αὐτὴν προαίρεσιν περὶ τὸν βίον
 ἐνστήσασθαι. Διῆγε τοίνυν καθ'
 ἑαυτὸν ἐσχατιάν τινα καταλαβὼν,
 πρὸς τῷ Ἴριδι. Ποταμὸς δὲ ὁ Ἴρις
 ἐστὶ, μέσον διαρρέων τὸν Πόν-
 τον· ὃς ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀρμενίας
 τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχων, διὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων
 τόπων ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον
 τὸ ρεῖθρον ἐκδίδωσι. Περὶ τοῦτον
 εὐρῶν τινα τόπον ὁ νεανίας ὕλη
 βαθεία κομῶντα, καὶ [379] λόφον
 τινὰ τῆς ὑπερτεταμένης τοῦ ὄρους
 ῥαχίας ἐγκεκρυμμένον, ἐν αὐτῷ
 διῆγε, τῶν ἀστικῶν θορύβων καὶ
 τῶν ἀπὸ στρατείας τε καὶ τῆς ἐν
 δικαστηρίοις ῥητορικῆς ἀσχολημά-
 των πόρρω γενόμενος. Καὶ πάντων
 τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον περιηχούντων

nature and the beauty of his
 body and strength and swift-
 ness and adaptability. When he
 was twenty-one years old and
 had given such displays of his
 talent in a public audience that
 the whole theater was moved,
 through divine providence and
 some great inspiration of thought,
 he was impelled to despise all
 the opportunities at hand, and
 he turned to a life of monasti-
 cism and poverty, taking no one
 with him, but going alone. One
 of his housemen named Chrysa-
 phius followed him because he
 was used to taking care of him
 and because he had decided upon
 the same choice of life. So Nau-
 cratius went off to live by him-
 self, having found a remote point
 on the Iris River. The Iris flows
 through the middle of Pon-
 tus, has its source in Armenia,
 makes its way through our re-
 gions, and empties into the Black
 Sea. Here, the young man found
 a spot bristling with deep for-
 est and hidden in a hollow with
 a rocky cliff overhead, far from
 the noises of the [169] city, mil-
 itary activities, and the busi-
 ness of rhetoric in the lawcourts.
 Having freed himself from all

τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ζωὴν ἑαυτὸν ἐλευθερώσας, τοὺς πρεσβύτας τινὰς πενία καὶ ἀρρωστία συζῶντας, ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶν ἐθεράπευε· πρέπειν δοκιμάσας τῷ ἰδίῳ βίῳ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀσχολίαν διὰ φροντίδος ἔχειν. Θηρεύων τοίνυν ἰχθύας ἤγρευεν ὁ γεννάδας· καὶ διὰ τὸ πρὸς πᾶν εἶδος θηρευτικῆς ἐπινοίας ἐπιτηδείως ἔχειν, ἐπόριζε διὰ τῆς θήρας τοῖς στέγουσι τὴν τροφήν· καὶ τὴν νεότητα τοῖς τοιούτοις ἅμα κατεδάμαζε πόνοις· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς μητρώοις θελήμασιν, εἴ ποτέ τι παρ' αὐτῆς προσταχθεῖη, προθύμως ὑπηρετῶν, δι' ἀμφοτέρων κατῴρθου τὸν βίον· τοῖς τε πόνοις κατακρατῶν τῆς νεότητος, τῇ τε περὶ τὴν μητέρα σπουδῇ, διὰ τῶν θείων ἐντολῶν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐοδούμενος.

(9) Πέμπτον διήγαγεν ἔτος τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον φιλοσοφῶν, καὶ μακαριστὴν ποιῶν τὴν μητέρα τῇ ἰδίᾳ ζωῇ, οἷς τε κατεκόσμη διὰ σωφροσύνης τὴν οἰκείαν ζωὴν, οἷς τε παρεῖχε πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν ἑαυτοῦ τῷ θελήματι τῆς γεννησαμένης. Εἶτα βαρὺ τι καὶ τραγικὸν πάθος ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς, οἷμαι, τοῦ ἀντικειμένου τῇ μητρὶ συνηνέχθη, [380] ὁ παντὶ τῷ γένει πρὸς συμφορὰν τε καὶ πένθος ἐπήρκεσεν. Αἰφνιδίως

the usual distractions of human life, with his own hands, he cared for a group of old people living together in poverty and infirmity, judging it to be in keeping with his life to be occupied with such an activity. Having special skills in matters pertaining to all kinds of hunting, he used to go hunting to procure food for the old people and, at the same time, he tamed his youthful vigor. He also zealously carried out his mother's wishes if she asked anything for herself, and, in these two ways, he charted his life's course, controlling his young manhood by his labor and caring for his mother; and thus he made his way to God by following divine injunctions.

9. He lived this way for five years, philosophizing and making his mother's life a blessed one because of the way that he regulated his own life through moderation and put all his energy into fulfilling her every wish. Then, there occurred for the mother a grave and tragic experience, planned, I think, by the Adversary, which brought the entire family to misfortune and lamentation. He was

γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ζωῆς ἀναρπάζεται, οὐ νοσήματος προελπισθῆναι τὸ πάθος παρασκευάσαντος, οὐκ ἄλλου τοιούτου τινὸς τῶν συνήθων καὶ γνωρίμων ἐπαγαγόντος τῷ νέῳ τὸν θάνατον· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ θήραν ὀρμήσας, δι' ἧς παρεῖχε τοῖς γηρωκομουμένοις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, νεκρὸς τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ ἐπανάγεται, αὐτὸς τε ἐκεῖνος, καὶ ὁ κοινωνὸς αὐτῷ τοῦ βίου Χρυσάφιος. Πόρρω δὲ ἦν τῶν γινομένων ἢ μήτηρ, τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀφεστῶσα τῆς συμφορᾶς. Καὶ τις ἀφίκετο παρ' αὐτὴν μηνύων τὸ πάθος· ἢ δὲ τελεία μὲν τοῖς κατ' ἀρετὴν ἄπασιν ἦν, πλὴν ἐκράτει κάκείνης κατὰ τὸ ἴσον ἢ φύσις. Ὀκλάσασα γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν, ἄπνους τε καὶ ἄφθογγος παραχρῆμα ἐγένετο, τοῦ λογισμοῦ τῷ πάθει παραχωρήσαντος, καὶ ἔκειτο ὁμοῦ τῇ προσβολῇ τῆς πονηρᾶς ἀκοῆς, καθάπερ τις ἀθλητῆς γενναῖος, ἀπροσδοκῆτω κατασεισθεῖσα πληγῇ.

(10) Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐφάνη τῆς μεγάλης Μακρίνης ἢ ἀρετῆ· ὅπως τῷ πάθει τὸν λογισμὸν ἀντιστήσασα, (969) ἑαυτὴν τε ἄπτωτον διεφύλαξε, καὶ τῆς μητρικῆς ἀσθενείας ἔρεισμα γενομένη, πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ τῆς λύπης αὐτὴν ἀνενεώσατο, τῷ καθ' ἑαυτὴν στερεῶ τε

unexpectedly snatched from life. It was not illness, which prepares one to anticipate the disaster, nor any of the usually anticipated things that brought the young man to death. He went out to hunt, which was his means of furnishing provisions for the old people. He was brought home dead, he and Chrysaphius, his companion. His mother was a three-day journey away from the scene and someone came to her to report what had taken place. She was perfectly schooled in virtue, but nature won out even over her. She became breathless and speechless on the spot and fainted, reason giving way to passion, and she lay there under the impact of the terrible news like a noble athlete felled by an unforeseen blow.

10. At this point, the great Macrina's excellence was evident. By setting reason against passion, she kept herself in hand, and, becoming a bulwark of her mother's weakness, she lifted her [170] out of the abyss of grief, and, by her own firmness and unyielding

καὶ ἀνευδότη, καὶ τὴν τῆς μητρὸς ψυχὴν πρὸς ἀνδρείαν παιδοτριβήσασα. Οὐκοῦν οὐ παρεσύρη πρὸς τὸ πάθος ἢ μήτηρ, οὐδὲ ἔπαθε δυσγενές τι καὶ γυναικεῖον, ὥστε βοῆσαι πρὸς τὸ κακὸν, ἢ περιρρήξασθαι τὸ ἱμάτιον, ἢ ἐπικωκῦσαι τῷ πάθει, ἢ ταῖς γοεραῖς μελωδίαις ἀνακινῆσαι τοὺς θρήνους. Ἄλλὰ [381] ἡσυχῇ διεκαρτέρει τοῖς λογισμοῖς, ταῖς τῆς φύσεως προσβολαῖς διωθουμένη, λογισμοῖς τοῖς ἰδίους καὶ τοῖς παρὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κακοῦ θεραπείαν προσαγομένοις. Τότε γὰρ δὴ μάλιστα ἡ ὑψηλὴ τε καὶ ἐπηρμένη τῆς παρθένου ψυχὴ διεφάνη· ὅτι καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ μὲν φύσις τὸ ἴδιον ἔπασχεν· ἀδελφὸς γὰρ ἦν, καὶ ἀδελφῶν ὁ κεχαρισμένος, ὁ τῷ τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ τοῦ θανάτου ἀναρπασθείς. Ὅμως ὑψηλοτέρα γενομένη τῆς φύσεως, συνεπῆρε τοῖς ἰδίους λογισμοῖς τὴν μητέρα, καὶ ὑπεράνω τοῦ πάθους ἔστησε· τῷ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ὑποδείγματι, πρὸς ὑπομονὴν τε καὶ ἀνδρείαν παιδαγωγήσασα· ἄλλως δὲ καὶ ὁ βίος αὐτῆς ἀεὶ δι' ἀρετῆς ὑψούμενος, οὐ παρεῖχε τῇ μητρὶ καιρὸν ἐπὶ τῷ λείποντι δυσχεραίνειν μᾶλλον, ἢ τῷ ὀρωμένῳ ἀγαθῷ ἐπαγάλλεσθαι.

spirit, she trained her mother's soul to be courageous. Consequently, her mother was not carried away by her misfortune, nor did she react in an ignoble and womanish fashion so as to cry out against the evil or tear her clothes or lament over her suffering or stir up a threnody of mournful melodies. Instead, she conquered her natural impulses and thrust them aside with her own arguments or those suggested by her daughter for the healing of the pain. Then, especially, did the maiden's lofty and exalted soul shine forth because her nature had been subject to the same experience. It had been her brother, and her dearest brother, whom death snatched away in such a manner. Nevertheless, transcending her nature, she lifted her mother up with her own line of reasoning and put her beyond what had happened, directing her by her own example to patience and fortitude. In particular, Macrina's life, always exalted by virtue, did not give the mother an opportunity to grieve for the one who was absent and caused her to rejoice rather in the good that was present.

(11) Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐπαύσατο τῇ μητρὶ, ἢ τε τῆς παιδοτροφίας φροντὶς καὶ ἢ τῆς παιδεύσεώς τε καὶ καταστάσεως τῶν τέκνων μέριμνα, καὶ αὐτῆς πλείους τῆς ὑλωδεστέρας ζωῆς ἀφορμαὶ, εἰς τὰ τέκνα κατεμερίσθησαν· τότε, καθὼς προεῖρηται, γίνεται σύμβουλος τῆς μητρὸς ἢ τῆς παρθένου ζωῆ πρὸς τὴν ἐμφιλόσοφον ταύτην καὶ ἄλλον τοῦ βίου διαγωγὴν· καὶ ἀποστήσασα τῶν ἐν συνηθείᾳ πάντων, πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον τῆς ταπεινοφροσύνης μέτρον μετήγαγεν· ὁμότιμον αὐτὴν γενέσθαι τῷ πληρώματι τῶν παρθένων παρασκευάσασα, ὡς καὶ τραπέζης μιᾶς, καὶ κοίτης, καὶ πάντων τῶν πρὸς τὴν ζωὴν κατὰ τὸ ἴσον συμμετέχειν αὐταῖς, πάσης τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν διαφορᾶς ὑφαιρεθείσης αὐτῶν τῆς ζωῆς. Καὶ τοιαύτη τις ἦν ἢ τοῦ βίου τάξις, καὶ τοσοῦτον τὸ ὕψος τῆς φιλοσοφίας, καὶ ἡ σεμνὴ τῆς ζωῆς πολιτεία ἐν [382] τῇ καθ' ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτα διαγωγῇ, ὡς ὑπερβαίνειν τὴν ἐκ τῶν λόγων ὑπογραφὴν. Καθάπερ γὰρ αὐτὴ διὰ θανάτου τῶν σωματίων ἐκλυθεῖσαι ψυχαὶ, καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον τοῦτον μεριμνῶν συνεκλύονται, οὕτως κεχώριστο αὐτῶν ἢ ζωῆ, καὶ ἀπώκιστο πάσης βιωτικῆς ματαιότητος, καὶ πρὸς μίμησιν τῆς τῶν ἀγγέλων διαγωγῆς ἐρρυθμίζετο.

11. When the care of rearing the children and the responsibility of educating them and establishing them in life was over, and most of the resources connected with the more material life were divided up among younger members of the family, then, as I said before, Macrina's life became for her mother a guide towards the philosophical and unworldly way of life, and, turning her aside from all that she was used to, she led her to her own standard of simplicity. She prepared her to put herself on a level with the community of virgins so that she shared with them the same food and lodging and all other things one needs in daily life, and there was no difference between her life and theirs. The arrangement of their life, the high level of their philosophy, the lofty regimen of their activities night and day was such that it transcends description. Just as by death souls are freed from the body and released from the cares of this life, so their life was [171] separated from these things, divorced from all mortal vanity and attuned to an imitation of the existence of the angels. Among them was

Ἐν οἷς γὰρ οὐ θυμός, οὐ φθόνος, οὐ μῖσος, οὐχ ὑπεροψία, οὐκ ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων ἐνεωρᾶτο· ἢ τε τῶν ματαίων ἐπιθυμία, τιμῆς τε καὶ δόξης, καὶ τύφου, καὶ ὑπερηφανίας, καὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων ἐκβεβλεμένων. Τρυφή δὲ ἦν ἡ ἐγκράτεια, καὶ δόξα τὸ μὴ γινώσκεισθαι. Πλοῦτος δὲ ἦν ἡ ἀκτημοσύνη, καὶ τὸ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑλικὴν περιουσίαν, οἷόν τινα κόνιν τῶν σωμάτων, ἀποτινάξασθαι. Ἔργον δὲ τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὴν ζωὴν ταύτην σπουδαζομένων οὐδέν, ὅτι μὴ πάρεργον. Μόνη δὲ ἡ τῶν θείων μελέτη, καὶ τὸ τῆς προσευχῆς ἀδιάλειπτον, καὶ ἡ ἄπαυστος ὑμνωδία· κατὰ τὸ ἴσον συμπαρατεινομένη τῷ χρόνῳ, διὰ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας πάσης· ὥστε αὐταῖς καὶ ἔργον (972) εἶναι τοῦτο καὶ ἔργον, ἀνάπαυσιν. Τὴν τοίνυν τοιαύτην διαγωγὴν τίς ἂν ὑπ' ὄψιν ἀγάγοι λόγος ἀνθρώπινος; Παρ' οἷς μεθόριος ἦν ἡ ζωὴ τῆς τε ἀνθρωπίνης καὶ τῆς ἀσωμάτου φύσεως. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐλευθερωθῆναι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων παθημάτων τὴν φύσιν κρεῖττον ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπον ἦν· τὸ δὲ ἐν σώματι φαίνεσθαι καὶ σχήματι περιειληφθαι καὶ τοῖς αἰσθητικοῖς ὀργάνοις συζῆν, ἐν τούτῳ τῆς ἀγγελικῆς τε καὶ ἀσωμάτου φύσεως τὸ ἔλαττον εἶχον. Τάχα δ' ἂν τις τολμήσας εἴποι

seen no anger, no envy, no hatred, no arrogance, or any such thing; neither was there in them longing for foolish things like honor and fame and vanity, nor a contempt for others; all such qualities had been put aside. Continence was their luxury and not being known their fame; their wealth consisted in their poverty and the shaking off of all worldly abundance like dust from the body. They were not occupied with the concerns of this life; that is, they were not preoccupied. Rather, their one concern was the Divine; there was constant prayer and an unceasing singing of hymns distributed throughout the entire day and night, so that this was for them both their work and their rest from work. What human word could bring this kind of life before your eyes? Their existence bordered on both the human and the incorporeal nature. On the one hand, a nature freed from human cares is more than human, whereas, to appear in the body and to be embraced by form and to live with the senses is to have a nature less than angelic and incorporeal. Perhaps some daring person might say the difference

[383] μηδὲ πρὸς τὸ καταδεέστερον τὴν παραλλαγὴν εἶναι· ὅτι σαρκικὴ συζῶντες, καθ' ὁμοιότητα τῶν ἄσωμάτων δυνάμεων, οὐκ ἐβαροῦντο τῷ ἐφορκίῳ τοῦ σώματος· ἀλλ' ἀνωφερῆς τε καὶ μετέωρος ἦν αὐτῶν ἡ ζωὴ, ταῖς οὐρανίαις συμμετεωροποροῦσα δυνάμεσι· χρόνος ἦν τῆς τοιαύτης διαγωγῆς οὐκ ὀλίγος· καὶ συνηύξετο τῷ χρόνῳ τὰ κατορθώματα, ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ καθαρώτερον ταῖς τῶν ἐφευρισκομένων ἀγαθῶν προσθήκαις τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἐπιδιδούσης.

(12) Ἦν δὲ αὐτῇ, ὁ μάλιστα πρὸς τὸν μέγαν τοῦτον τοῦ βίου σκοπὸν ὑπηρετῶν, ἀδελφός τις ὁμογάστριος, Πέτρος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, ἐφ' ᾧ ἔληξαν τῆς μητρὸς ἡμῶν αἱ ὠδῖνες. Οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ τελευταῖος τῶν γονέων βλαστός· ὃς ὁμοῦ τε υἱὸς καὶ ὄρφανός ἐνομάσθη· ἅμα γὰρ τῷ παρελθεῖν τοῦτον εἰς φῶς, καταλείπει ὁ πατήρ τὸν βίον. Ἄλλ' ἡ πρεσβυτάτη τῶν ἀδελφῶν, περὶ ἧς ὁ λόγος, μικρὰ τῆς θηλῆς αὐτὸν παρὰ τὴν πρώτην γένεσιν μετασχόντα, εὐθὺς ἀποσπάσασα τῆς τιθηνομένης, δι' ἑαυτῆς ἀνατρέφεται καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑψηλότεραν ἤγαγε παιδείουσι, τοῖς ἱεροῖς τῶν μαθημάτων ἐκ νηπίων αὐτὸν ἐνασκήσασα, ὡς μὴ δοῦναι

was negligible because, although living in the flesh because of their affinity to the bodiless powers, they were not weighed down by the allurements of the body, but, borne upwards in midair, they participated in the life of the celestial powers. Not a little time was spent in this way and, in time, their successes increased and always their philosophy gave them additional aids for discovering goods leading them to greater purity.

12. Macrina had a brother who was a great help towards this fine goal of life; he was named Peter and he was the youngest of us, the last offspring of our parents called at once both son and orphan, for as he came into the light of life his father departed from it. His eldest sister, the subject of our story, took him almost immediately from his nurse's breast and reared him herself and led him to all the higher education, [172] exercising him from babyhood in sacred learning so as not to give him leisure to incline his soul to vanities. She became all things to the boy; father, teacher,

τῆ ψυχῆ σχολὴν πρὸς τι τῶν ματαίων ἐπικλιθῆναι. Ἄλλὰ πάντα γενομένη τῷ νέῳ, πατὴρ, διδάσκαλος, παιδαγωγός, μήτηρ, ἀγαθοῦ παντὸς σύμβουλος, τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν ἀπειργάσατο, ὡς πρὶν ἐξελθεῖν τὴν ἡλικίαν τῶν παιδῶν ἔτι ἐν μειρακίῳ, τῆ ἀπαλότῃ τῆς ὥρας ἀνθοῦντα, πρὸς τὸν [384] ὑψηλὸν τῆς φιλοσοφίας σκοπὸν ἐπαρθῆναι. Καί τινι φύσεως εὐκληρίᾳ πρὸς πᾶσαν τέχνης ιδέαν τὴν διὰ χειρὸς ἐνεργουμένην ἐπιτηδείως ἔχειν, ὡς μηδενὸς καθηγουμένου, διὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας ἐκάστου τὴν ἐπιστήμην κατωρθωκέναι, ὧν χρόνῳ καὶ πόνῳ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἢ μάθησις γίνεται. Οὗτος τοίνυν τῆς περὶ τοὺς ἔξωθεν τῶν λόγων ἀσχολίας ὑπερδῶν, ἱκανὴν δὲ διδάσκαλον παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ μαθήματος τὴν φύσιν ἔχων, αἰεὶ τε πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν βλέπων, καὶ σκοπὸν ἀγαθοῦ παντὸς ἐκείνην ποιούμενος, εἰς τοσοῦτον ἐπέδωκεν ἀρετῆς εἶδος, ὡς μηδὲν ἔλαττον τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου δοκεῖν ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἀρετὴν προτερήμασιν ἐν τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα βίῳ. Τότε δὲ ἀντὶ πάντων ἦν τῆ ἀδελφῆ καὶ τῆ μητρὶ, συνεργῶν αὐταῖς πρὸς τὴν ἀγγελικὴν ἐκείνην ζωὴν. Ὅς ποτε καὶ σιτολειψίας χαλεπῆς γεγενημένης, καὶ πολλῶν πανταχόθεν κατὰ φήμην τῆς εὐποιίας

attendant, mother, the counselor of every good, and she held him in check so that, even before his flowering in the tenderness of youth, he was raised to the high goal of philosophy, and, by some good fortune of nature, he had such skill in every form of handicraft that without instruction he arrived at a complete mastery of skills upon which most people expend much time and energy. So, scorning extraneous instructions and having nature as an adequate teacher of all good learning and always looking to his sister and making her the focal point of every good, he became so virtuous that he was no less esteemed than the great Basil for the excellent qualities of his later life. But then, he was above all a co-worker with his sister and mother in every phase of their angelic existence. Once, when there was a terrible famine and many people came pouring in to our region because of the fame of its prosperity, he furnished so much nourishment through his foresight that the large numbers going to and fro made the hermitage seem like a city.

πρὸς τὴν ἐσχατιάν, ἐν ᾗ κατώκουν, ἐπιρρεόντων· τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐπινοιῶν τὰς τροφὰς ἐπλεόνασεν, ὡς τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἐπιφοιτῶντων, πόλιν εἶναι τὴν ἐρημίαν δοκεῖν.

(13) Ἐν τούτῳ εἰς γῆρας λιπαρὸν προελθοῦσα ἡ (973) μήτηρ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν μετανίστατο, ἐν ταῖς ἀμφοτέρων τῶν τέκνων χερσὶ τὸν βίον ἑαυτῆς ἀναπαύσασα. Ἦς ἄξιον τὴν τῆς εὐλογίας ἱστορῆσαι φωνήν, ἣ ἐπὶ τῶν τέκνων ἐχρήσατο, τῶν τε μὴ παρόντων ἐκάστου κατὰ τὸ πρόσφορον ἐπιμνησθεῖσα, ὡς μηδὲ ἓνα γενέσθαι τῆς εὐλογίας ἀπόκληρον, καὶ διαφερόντως τοὺς παρόντας αὐτῇ τῷ θεῷ διὰ προσευχῆς παραθεμένη. Παρακαθημένων γὰρ αὐτῇ κατὰ τὸ πλάγιον [385] ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τῆς κλίνης τῶν δύο τούτων, ἐκατέρᾳ χειρὶ ἐφαψαμένη τῶν τέκνων, ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εἶπεν ἐν τελευταίαις φωναῖς· Σοί, Κύριε, καὶ ἀπάρχομαι καὶ ἀποδεκατῶ τὸν καρπὸν τῶν ὠδίνων. Ἀπαρχή μοι ἡ πρωτότοκος αὕτη, καὶ ἐπιδέκατος οὗτος ἡ τελευταία ὠδὶς. Σοὶ δὲ ἀφιέρωται παρὰ τοῦ νόμου ἐκάτερα, καὶ σὰ ἐστὶν ἀναθήματα. Οὐκοῦν ἔλθοι ὁ ἁγιασμὸς ἐπὶ τε τὴν ἀπαρχὴν μου ταύτην, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον τοῦτο· δεῖξασα ταῖς δεικτικαῖς φωναῖς τὴν θυγατέρα

13. At this time, our mother, having come to a rich old age, went to God, taking her departure from life in the arms of these two of her children. Worth recording is the blessing she gave to each of her children, suitably remembering each of the absent ones so that none would be without a blessing, and through prayer entrusting especially to God the two who were with her. As they were sitting beside her bed, she touched each of them with her hand and said to God in her last words: 'To you, O Lord, I offer the first and tenth fruit of my pains. The first fruit, my eldest daughter here, and this my tenth, my last-born son. Both have been dedicated to you by law and are your votive offerings. May sanctification, therefore, come to this first and tenth.' And she indicated specifically [173] her daughter and her son. Having finished her blessing, she ended her life, instructing her children to place

καὶ τὸν παῖδα. Ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ
εὐλογεῖν παυσαμένη, καὶ τοῦ ζῆν
ἐπαύσατο, τοῖς παισὶν ἐπισκήψασα
τὸ τῆ πατρῶα σορῶ καὶ τὸ ἐκείνης
ἐναποθέσθαι σῶμα. Οἱ δὲ πληρώ-
σαντες τὸ διατεταγμένον, ὑψηλό-
τερον εἶχοντο τῆς φιλοσοφίας, ἀεὶ
πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον διαμιλλώμενοι βίον
καὶ τὰ φθάσαντα τῶν κατορθωμά-
των τοῖς ἐφεξῆς ἀποκρύπτοντες.

(14) Ἐν τούτῳ ὁ πολὺς ἐν ἀγίοις
Βασίλειος τῆς μεγάλης Καισαρέων
ἐκκλησίας ἀνεδείχθη προστάτης
ὁς ἐπὶ τὸν κληρὸν τῆς ἐν τῷ πρε-
σβυτερίῳ ἱερωσύνης τὸν ἀδελ-
φὸν ἄγει, ταῖς μυστικαῖς ἑαυτοῦ
ἱερουργίαις ἀφιερῶσας. Καὶ ἐν
τούτῳ πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνό-
τερόν τε καὶ ἀγιώτερον προῆει ὁ
βίος, τῆ ἱερωσύνη τῆς φιλοσοφίας
ἐπαυξηθείσης. Ὁκτῶ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο
διαγενομένων ἐτῶν, τῷ ἐννάτῳ
ἐνιαυτῷ, [386] ὁ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν
οἰκουμένην ὀνομαστὸς Βασίλειος,
ἐξ ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τὸν θεὸν μετοι-
κίζεται, κοινὴ πένθους ἀφορμὴ τῆ
πατρίδι καὶ τῆ οἰκουμένη γενό-
μενος. Ἡ δὲ πόρρωθεν ἐκ φήμης
ἀκούσασα τὴν συμφορὰν, ἔπαθε
μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπὶ τῆ τοσαύτῃ ζη-
μιά (πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἔμελλεν ἄπτε-
σθαι κάκεινης τὸ πάθος, οὗ καὶ οἱ
ἐχθροὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπήσθοντο;).

her body in our father's tomb.
These two, having fulfilled her
command, attained to a higher
level of philosophy, always strugg-
ling in their individual lives and
eclipsing their early successes
by their later ones.

14. At this time, Basil, distin-
guished among the holy, was
made Bishop of Caesarea. He
led his brother to the holy vo-
cation of the priesthood, and
consecrated him in the mystical
services himself. And through
this also, their life progressed
to a loftier and higher degree,
seeing that their philosophy
was enhanced by the consecra-
tion. Eight years later, Basil,
renowned throughout the entire
world, left the world of men and
went to God, and his death was
a common source of grief for his
country and the world. When
Macrina heard the report of his
distant death, she was greatly
disturbed by such a loss. (How
could this fail to touch her when
even the enemies of truth were
affected by it?) But, just as they

καθάπερ δὲ τὴν τοῦ χρυσοῦ φασι δοκιμασίαν ἐν διαφόροις γίνεσθαι χωνευτηρίοις, ὡς εἶ τι τὴν πρώτην διαφύγοι χωνείαν, ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ διακριθῆναι, καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῇ τελευταίᾳ πάντα τὸν ἐμμεμιγμένον ῥύπον τῇ ὕλῃ ἀποκαθαίρεσθαι· τὴν δὲ ἀκριβεστάτην εἶναι βάσανον τοῦ δοκίμου χρυσοῦ, ἧ διὰ πάσης διεξελθὼν χωνείας μηδένα ῥύπον ἀποποιήσκει· τοιοῦτόν τι καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνης συνέβη· ταῖς διαφόροις τῶν λυπηρῶν προσβολαῖς τῆς ὑψηλῆς διανοίας βασανισθείσης, πανταχόθεν ἀναδειχθῆναι τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀκιβδηλευτόν τε καὶ ἀταπεινώτον. Πρότερον μὲν ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ ἄλλου μεταστάσει· μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἐν τῷ χωρισμῷ τῆς μητρός· ἐκ τρίτου δὲ, ὅτε τὸ κοινὸν τῆς γενεᾶς καλόν, Βασίλειος, τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ζωῆς ἐχωρίζετο. Ἐμεινε τοίνυν, καθάπερ τις ἀθλητῆς ἀκαταγώνιστος, οὐδαμοῦ τῇ προσβολῇ τῶν συμφορῶν ἀποκλάσασα.

(15) Ἐννατος ἦν μετὰ τὸ πάθος τοῦτο μῆν, ἢ μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦτο, καὶ σύνοδος ἐπισκόπων κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχου πόλιν ἡθροίζετο, ἧς καὶ ἡμεῖς μετέσχομεν. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ πάλιν [387] πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστος ἀπελύθημεν, (976) πρὶν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν παρελθεῖν, ἐνθύμιον ἐμοὶ τῷ

say gold is tested in many furnaces, that if it gets through the first firing and is tested in the second and, in the last is finally cleansed of all extraneous matter (this is the most accurate proof of true gold if, after all this firing, no impurity remains), something similar happened in her case. When her lofty understanding had been tried by the different attacks of grief, the genuine and undebased quality of her soul was revealed in every way; previously, by the departure of her other brother, then, by the separation from her mother, and, in the third instance, when Basil, the common honor of the family, departed from human life. She remained like an undefeated athlete, in no way overcome by the onslaught of misfortunes.

15. About nine months after this disaster, there was a synod of bishops in the city of Antioch, in which I participated. And when each of us was leaving to return to his own diocese before the year was out, I, Gregory, thought often of visiting

Γρηγορίῳ γίνεται πρὸς αὐτὴν διαβῆναι. Πολὺς γὰρ ἦν ὁ διὰ μέσου χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ τὰς ἐπισκέψεις αἱ τῶν πειρασμῶν περιστάσεις ἐκώλυσαν, ἃς ὑπέμενον πανταχοῦ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς αἰρέσεως ἐπιστατούντων ἐξελαυνόμενος. Καὶ ἀριθμοῦντί μοι τὸν διὰ μέσου χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ τὴν κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς συντυχίαν οἱ πειρασμοὶ διεκώλυσαν, οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐφαίνετο τὸ διάστημα ὀκτῶ μικροῦ δεῖν παραμετρούμενον ἔτεσιν. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τὸ πολὺ τῆς ὁδοῦ διανύσας, μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἀπεῖχον ὁδόν, ὅψις τις ἡμῖν ἐξ ἐνουπνίου φανεῖσα, φοβερὰς ἐποίει τὰς ἐλπίδας τοῦ μέλλοντος. Ἐδῶκουν γὰρ λείψανα μαρτύρων διὰ χειρὸς φέρειν· εἶναι δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν αὐγὴν, οἷα ἐκ καθαροῦ γίνεται κατόπτρου, ὅταν πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον τεθῆ ἀντιπρόσωπον, ὥστε μοι τὰς ὀψεις πρὸς τὴν μαρμαρυγὴν τῆς λαμπηδόνης ἀμβλύνεσθαι. Καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς μοι νυκτὸς εἰς τρεῖς γενομένης τῆς τοιαύτης ὀψεως, συμβαλεῖν μὲν οὐκ εἶχον καθαρῶς τοῦ ἐνουπνίου τὸ αἴνιγμα· λύπην δὲ τινα τῇ ψυχῇ προεώρων, καὶ ἐπετήρουν τῇ ἐκβάσει κρῖναι τὴν φαντασίαν. Καὶ δὴ γενόμενος πλησίον τῆς ἐσχατιᾶς, ἐν ἧ διῆγεν ἐκείνη τὴν ἀγγελικὴν τε καὶ ἐπουράνιον κατορθοῦσα ζωὴν, ἠρόμην τῶν ἐπιτηδείων

Macrina. For a long time had elapsed during which [174] the circumstances of my trials had prevented our coming together, since I was exiled time and again by the leaders of heresy. When I counted up the time during which these troubles prevented our coming face to face, it added up to almost eight years. When I had almost finished the journey and was about one day away from my destination, a vision, appearing in my sleep, aroused fearful forebodings about the future. I seemed to be carrying the relics of martyrs in my hand and a light seemed to come from them, as happens when the sun is reflected on a bright mirror so that the eye is dazzled by the brilliance of the beam. That same night, the vision occurred three times. I was not able to interpret its meaning clearly, but I foresaw some grief for my soul and I was waiting for the outcome to clarify the dream. When I came near the outskirts of the place where that lady was leading her angelic and celestial life, I asked one of the workmen, first, if my brother happened to be there. He replied that he had gone out

τινὰ περὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ πρῶτον, εἰ παρῶν [388] εἶη· φήσαντος δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, αὐτὸν ἐξωρμηκέναι, καὶ τετάρτην ἄγειν, συνεῖς ὅπερ ἦν, ὅτι δι' ἑτέρας ὁδοῦ γέγονεν αὐτῷ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἢ ὁρμή, τότε καὶ περὶ τῆς Μεγάλης ἐπυυθανόμην· τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος, ἐν ἀρρωστίᾳ γεγενῆσθαι τινι, σπουδαιότερον εἰχόμην, ἐν ἐπέιξει τὸ λειπόμενον τῆς ὁδοῦ διανύων. Καὶ γὰρ μέ λύπη τις καὶ φόβος μηνυτῆς τοῦ μέλλοντος ὑποδραμῶν διετάρασεν.

(16) Ὡς δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐγενόμην τὸν τόπον, καὶ προκατήγγειλε τῇ ἀδελφότητι τὴν παρουσίαν ἢ φήμη· τότε σύνταγμα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄπαν, ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρῶνος πρὸς ἡμᾶς προεχέθη· σύνηθες γὰρ αὐτοῖς τιμᾶν τῇ ὑπαντήσει τοὺς καταθυμίους. Ὁ δὲ ἐν γυναιξὶ τῆς παρθενίας χορὸς εὐκόσμως κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν εἴσοδον ἡμῶν ἀνέμενεν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τέλος εἶχεν ἢ εὐχή τε καὶ ἢ εὐλογία, καὶ αἱ μὲν μετὰ τὸ ὑποσχεῖν τῇ εὐλογίᾳ τὴν κεφαλὴν εὐσχημόνως ἀναποδίξουσαι πρὸς ἑαυτὰς ἀνεχώρουν, ὑπελείπετο δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὐδεμία· εἰκάσας ὅπερ ἦν, μὴ ἐν ἐκείναις εἶναι τὴν καθηγουμένην, προηγησαμένου τινὸς ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον, ἐν ᾧ ἦν ἢ Μεγάλη, καὶ τὴν θύραν

to meet us about four days earlier, and this was true, but he had taken a different road. Then, I inquired about the Superior and, when he said that she was ill, I was more eager than ever to complete the trip, for a certain fear, an omen of the future, was disturbing me.

16. As I made my way (rumor had announced my presence beforehand to the community), a line of men streamed toward us. It was customary for them to welcome guests by coming out to meet them. However, a group of women from the convent waited modestly at the entrance of the church for us. When the prayer and blessing were finished and the women had responded to the blessing by bowing their heads, they removed themselves from our presence and went off to their own quarters. Since not one of them remained with me, I correctly surmised that their Superior was not among them. An attendant led

διαπετάσαντος, ἐντὸς τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐκείνης ἐγενόμην μονῆς· ἡ δὲ σφοδρῶς ἤδη τῇ ἀρρωστίᾳ κατείχετο· ἀνεπαύετο δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ κλίνης τινὸς ἢ στρωμνῆς, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους, σανίδος ὑποτεταμένης τῷ σάκκῳ, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐτέρας πάλιν σανίδος ὑπερειδούσης, ἧς ἡ ἐργασία τοιαύτη τις ἦν, ὡς ἀντὶ προσκεφαλαίου τῇ κεφαλῇ γίνεσθαι, ἐν λοξῷ [389] τῷ σχήματι τοὺς τένο- ντας ὑποβαίνουσα, καὶ καταθυμίως ἀνέχουσα ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς τὸν ἀύχένα.

(17) Ἐπεὶ οὖν εἶδεν ἐγγὺς τῶν θυρῶν με γενόμενον, ὀρθώσασα ἑαυτὴν ἐπ' ἀγκῶνος, προσδραμεῖν μὲν οὐχ οἶα τ' ἦν, ἐν τῷ πυρετῷ ἤδη τῆς ἰσχύος ὑπολυθείσης· πῆξασα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον οἶόν τε ἦν, ἔξω ἑαυτὴν τοῦ χαμεινίου προτεινά- σα, τὴν τῆς ὑπαντήσεως ἐπλήρου τιμήν· κάγῳ προσδραμὼν, καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ὑπολαβὼν χαμαὶ τὸ (977) πρόσωπον κεκλιμένον, ἀνώρθωσά τε αὐτὴν πάλιν, καὶ ἀπέδωκα τῷ συνήθει τῆς κατακλίσεως σχήματι. Ἡ δὲ προτεινάσα τῷ θεῷ τὴν χεῖρα· Καὶ ταύτην ἐπλήρωσάς μοι, φησί, τὴν χάριν ὁ θεός· καὶ οὐκ ὑστέ- ρησάς με ἐκ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας μου· ὅτι ἐκίνησας τὸν σὸν οἰκέτην εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν τῆς παιδίσκεης σου. Καὶ

me to the house where the Superior was and opened the door, and I entered that sacred place. She was already very ill, but she was not resting on a couch or bed, [175] but upon the ground; there was a board covered with a coarse cloth, and another board supported her head, designed to be used instead of a pillow, supporting the sinews of her neck slantwise and conveniently supporting the neck.

17. When she saw me standing at the door, she raised herself on her elbow; her strength was already so wasted by fever that she was not able to come towards me, but she fixed her hands on the floor and, stretching as far forward as she could, she paid me the honor of a bow. I ran to her and, lifting her bowed head, I put her back in her accustomed reclining position. But she stretched out her hand to God and said: 'You have granted me this favor, O God, and have not deprived me of my desire, since you have impelled your servant to visit your handmaid.' And in order not to disturb me, she tried to cover up her groans and

ὡς ἂν μηδεμίαν ἐπαγάγοι τῇ ἐμῇ
 ψυχῇ δυσθυμίαν, τὸν στεναγμὸν
 κατεπράυνε, καὶ τὴν συνοχὴν τοῦ
 ἄσθματος κρύπτειν πως ἐβιάζετο.
 διὰ πάντων τε πρὸς τὸ εὐθυμότε-
 ρον μεθηρμόζετο, τῶν καταθυμίων
 λόγων αὐτὴ τε κατάρχουσα, καὶ
 ἡμῖν τὰς ἀφορμὰς, δι' ὧν ἡρώτα,
 παρασκευάζουσα. Τῆς δὲ περὶ τοῦ
 μεγάλου Βασιλείου μνήμης τῇ
 ἀκολουθίᾳ τοῦ λόγου παρεμπεσού-
 σης, ἐμοὶ μὲν ἐπώκλαζεν ἡ ψυχὴ,
 καὶ συνέπιπτεν ἐν κατηφείᾳ τὸ
 πρόσωπον· ἡ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχε
 τῷ ἡμετέρῳ συνταπεινωθῆναι πά-
 θει, [390] ὥστε ἀφορμὴν ποιησαμέ-
 νη τῆς ὑψηλοτέρας φιλοσοφίας τὴν
 περὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου μνήμην, τοιούτους
 διεξῆλθε λόγους φυσιολογοῦσά
 τε τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, καὶ τὴν θεϊάν
 οἰκονομίαν τὴν διὰ τῶν σκυθρω-
 πῶν κεκρυμμένην τῷ λόγῳ διακα-
 λύπτουσα· τὰ τε περὶ τῆς μελλού-
 σης ζωῆς, καθάπερ θεοφορομένη
 τῷ ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι διεξιούσα·
 ὥστε μοι τὴν ψυχὴν ἔξω μικροῦ
 δεῖν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως εἶναι
 δοκεῖν συνεπαρθεῖσαν τοῖς λεγο-
 μένοις, καὶ ἐντὸς τῶν οὐρανίων
 ἀδύτων τῇ χειραγωγίᾳ τοῦ λό-
 γου καθισταμένην.

(18) Καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ
 Ἰὼβ ἱστορίας ἀκούομεν, ὅτι

to conceal somehow the diffi-
 culty she had in breathing, and,
 through it all, she adjusted her-
 self to the brighter side. She
 initiated suitable topics of con-
 versation and gave me an op-
 portunity to speak by asking me
 questions. As we spoke, we re-
 called the memory of the great
 Basil and my soul was afflicted
 and my face fell and tears poured
 from my eyes. But she was so far
 from being downcast by our sor-
 row that she made the mention-
 ing of the saint a starting point
 towards the higher philosophy.
 She rehearsed such arguments,
 explaining the human situation
 through natural principles and
 disclosing the divine plan hid-
 den in misfortune, and she spoke
 of certain aspects of the fu-
 ture life as if she was inspired
 by the Holy Spirit, so that my
 soul almost seemed to be lifted up
 out of its human sphere by what
 she said and, under the direction
 of her discourse, take its stand
 in the heavenly sanctuaries.

18. And just as we hear in the sto-
 ry of Job, that when the man

πανταχόθεν τῆ σηπεδόνι τῶν τραυματίων ὄλω τῷ σώματι διὰ ἰχώρων ὁ ἀνὴρ συντηκόμενος, οὐ πρὸς τὸ ἀλγύνον τὴν αἴσθησιν τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἐπεκλίνετο, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τῷ σώματι, τὸ ἀλγοῦν εἶχεν· ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἐνέργειαν οὐκ ἠμβλύνετο, οὐδὲ διέκοπτε τὸν λόγον τοῖς ὑψηλοτέροις ἐμβατεύοντα· τοιοῦτόν τι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης ἐύρων ἐκείνης, τοῦ πυρετοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς καταφρύγοντος, καὶ πρὸς τὸν θάνατον συνελάννοντος, καθάπερ δρόσω τινὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐαυτῆς ἀναψύχουσα, οὕτως ἀπαραπόδιστον εἶχεν ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν ὑψηλῶν θεωρίᾳ τὸν νοῦν, οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς τοσαύτης ἀρρωστίας παραβλαπτόμενον. Καὶ εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἄπειρον ἐξετείνετο μῆκος ἢ συγγραφὴ, πάντα ἂν καθεξῆς διηγησάμην· ὅπως ἐπήρθη τῷ λόγῳ περὶ τε τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῖν φιλοσοφοῦσα, καὶ τῆς διὰ σαρκὸς ζωῆς τὴν αἰτίαν διεξιούσα· καὶ ὅτου χάριν ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ὅπως θνητὸς· καὶ ὅθεν ὁ θάνατος· καὶ τίς ἡ ἀπὸ τούτου πρὸς τὴν ζωὴν πάλιν ἀνάλυσις. Ἐν οἷς ἅπασιν ὡσπερ [391] ἐμπνευσθεῖσα τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος πάντα διεξῆει σαφῶς τε καὶ ἀκολούθως, ἐν εὐκολίᾳ πάσῃ τοῦ λόγου ῥέοντος καθάπερ ἐκ πηγῆς τινος,

was wasting away and his whole body was covered with erupting and putrefying sores, he did not direct attention to his pain but kept the pain inside his body, neither blessing [176] his own activity nor cutting off the conversation when it embarked upon higher matters. Such a thing as this I was seeing in the case of this Superior also; although the fever was burning up all her energy and leading her to death, she was refreshing her body as if by a kind of dew, she kept her mind free in the contemplation of higher things and unimpeded by the disease. If my treatise were not becoming too long, I would put down everything in order: how she was lifted up by her discourse on the soul; how she explained the reason for life in the flesh, why man exists; how he is mortal, whence death comes; and what release there is from death back again into life. In all of this, she went on as if inspired by the power of the Holy Spirit, explaining it all clearly and logically. Her speech flowed with complete ease, just as a stream of water goes down a hill without obstruction.

ἀπαραποδίστως πρὸς τὸ πρανὲς
φερομένου τοῦ ὕδατος.

(19) Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεπεράνθη ὁ λόγος· Ὡρα σοι, φησὶν, ἀδελφέ, πολλῶ τῷ κόπῳ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας πεπονθηκότι, βραχὺ τι διαναπαῦσαι τὸ σῶμα. Κάμοι μεγάλη μὲν καὶ ἀληθῆς ἀνεσις ἦν τὸ προσορᾶν τε αὐτὴν καὶ τῶν μεγάλων ἐπακροᾶσθαι λόγων· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο κεχαρισμένον ἦν καὶ φίλον αὐτῇ, ὡς ἂν διὰ πάντων πείθεσθαι τῇ διδασκάλῳ δοκοίην, ἔν τινι τῶν παρακειμένων κηπίων χαρίεσσάν τινα καταγωγὴν παρεσκευασμένην εὐρῶν, ὑπὸ τῆν τῶν ἀναδενδράδων σκιὰν ἀνεπαυόμην· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν δυνατὸν τῶν εὐφραϊνόντων (980) τὴν αἴσθησιν ἔχειν τῆς ψυχῆς ἔνδοθεν τῇ τῶν σκυθρωπῶν ἐλπιδι συγχεομένης. Τῶν γὰρ ἐνυπνίων ἡ ὄψις ἐκκαλύπτει μοι διὰ τῶν φαινομένων ἐδόκει τὸ αἴνιγμα. Ἦν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ προκειμένον θέαμα, μάρτυρος ἀγίου λείψανον, ὃ τῇ μὲν ἀμαρτία νεκρῶτο, τῇ δὲ ἐνοικούσῃ τοῦ πνεύματος χάριτι κατελάμπετο. Καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τινα διεξήειν τῶν προακηκοῦτων μου τὸ ἐνύπνιον· κατηφέστερον δὲ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ προσδοκίᾳ τῶν λυπούντων διακειμένων, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως στοχασαμένη τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν διανοίας,

19. When the conversation was finished, she said: 'Now, brother, it is time for you to rest your body awhile because the trip must have been tiring.' For me, just seeing her and hearing her noble words was truly a great source of relaxation, but, since it was pleasing and desirable to her, in order to seem obedient to her as my teacher in all things, I found a pleasant resting place in one of the gardens nearby and rested in the shade of the vine-clad trees. However, I was unable to enjoy myself because my soul was overwhelmed by the anticipation of sorrows. For the vision in my dream seemed to have been explained by what I had seen. Truly, this was what had appeared, the remains of a holy martyr had been 'dead to sin,' but illuminated by the grace of the indwelling spirit. I explained this to one of those to whom I had previously told the dream. Guessing, I know not how, that we were dejected by the grief that was to come, Macrina sent a message

ἀγγελίαν τινὰ τῶν εὐθυμοτέρων πρὸς ἡμᾶς διαπεμφαμένη, θαρρεῖν ἐνεκελεύετο, καὶ τὰς ἀμείνους ὑπὲρ [392] αὐτῆς ἔχειν ἐλπίδας· ἐπησθετο γὰρ τῆς πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον ῥοπῆς. Ταῦτα δὲ οὐ πρὸς ἀπάτην ἐλέγετο, ἀλλ' ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας ὁ λόγος ἦν, κἂν ἡμεῖς πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἠγνοήσαμεν. Τῷ ὄντι γὰρ καθάπερ τις δρομεὺς παραδραμῶν τὸν ἀντίπαλον, καὶ ἤδη πρὸς τὸ τέρματι τοῦ σταδίου γενόμενος, προσεγγίζων τε τῷ βραβεῖω, καὶ τὸν ἐπινίκιον στέφανον βλέπων, ὡς ἤδη τετυχηκῶς τοῦ προκειμένου ἐπαγάλλεται τε αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ, καὶ τοῖς εὐνουστέροις τῶν θεατῶν τὴν νίκην εὐαγγελίζεται· ἀπὸ τοιαύτης ἡμῖν διαθέσεως ἀκακίην τὰ χρηστότερα περὶ ἑαυτῆς ἐλπίζειν ἐδίδου· ἤδη πρὸς τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἀνω κλήσεως βλέπουσα, καὶ μονονουχὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου φθεγγομένη, ὅτι Ἀπόκειται μοι λοιπὸν ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος, ὃν ἀποδώσει μοι ὁ δίκαιος Κριτῆς· ἐπειδὴ τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα ἠγώνισμαι, καὶ τὸν δρόμον τετέλεκα καὶ τὴν πίστιν τετήρηκα. Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀγγελίαν εὐθυμοὶ κατασταντες, τῆς τῶν προκειμένων ἀπολαύσεως ἤμεν. Ποικίλα δὲ ἦν ταῦτα καὶ πάσης πεπλήρωτο θυμηδίας ἢ παρασκευῆ, οὕτω τῆς

bidding us to cheer up and to be more hopeful about her condition for she perceived a turn for the better. This was not said to deceive us, but was actually the truth, although we did not [177] recognize it at the time. For just as a runner who has outrun his rival and comes to the end of the course when he nears the judges' stand and sees the victor's crown, as if he has already obtained the prize, he rejoices within himself and announces his victory to the cheering onlookers, in the same way, Macrina led us to hope for greater good for herself, for she was already looking towards the prize of her high calling and, in her words, almost echoed the words of the apostle: 'Now there is laid up for me the crown of Justice which the just Judge will give me since I have fought the good fight, finished the race, kept the faith.' Reassured by this message, we began to enjoy what was put before us and the offerings were varied and pleasurable since the great lady was very thoughtful also in such matters.

μεγάλης ἐκείνης καὶ μέχρι τούτων
τῆ σπουδῆ κατιούσης.

(20) Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς
ἤμεν αὐτῆς, οὐ γὰρ εἶα τὴν εὐ-
σχολον ὥραν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν διάγειν,
ἀναλαβοῦσα τῶν ἐκ νεότητος αὐτῆ
βεβιωμένων τὴν μνήμην, καθάπερ
ἐπὶ συγγραφῆς πάντα κατεξῆς διε-
ξήρητο· καὶ ὅσα τῆς τῶν πατέρων
ζωῆς διὰ μνήμης εἶχε, καὶ τὰ πρὸ
τῆς ἐμῆς [393] γενέσεως, καὶ τὸν
μετὰ ταῦτα βίον· σκοπὸς δὲ αὐτῆ
τοῦ διηγήματος ἦν ἡ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν
εὐχαριστία. Τῶν γὰρ γονέων ἀπε-
δείκνυ τὸν βίον, οὐ τοσοῦτον ἐκ
περιουσίας λαμπρὸν τοῖς τότε καὶ
περίβλεπτον ὄντα, ὅσον ἐκ θείας
φιλανθρωπίας ἐπαυξηθέντα, τῶν
μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς γονέων διὰ τὴν εἰς
Χριστὸν ὁμολογίαν δεδημευμένων·
τοῦ δὲ κατὰ μητέρα προπάτορος ἐκ
βασιλικῆς ἀγανακτήσεως ἀνηρη-
μένου, καὶ πάντων τῶν προσόντων
εἰς ἑτέρους μετακεχωρηκότων
δεσπότας· καὶ ὅμως εἰς τοσοῦτον
διὰ πίστεως τὴν ζωὴν αὐξηθῆναι,
ὡς μὴ εἶναι τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς ἐν
τοῖς τότε χρόνοις ὀνομαζόμενον.
Πάλιν δὲ τῆς περιουσίας αὐτῶν
κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν τέκνων ἐν-
νεαχῆ διατμηθείσης, οὕτως ἐκά-
στω δι' εὐλογίας πληθυνθῆναι τὴν
μοῖραν, ὡς ὑπὲρ τὴν τῶν γονέων

20. When we returned to her
presence (for she did not allow
us to idle away the time by our-
selves), she took up the story
of her life from infancy as if she
were putting it all into a mono-
graph. She told what she remem-
bered of our parents' life, both
what happened before my birth
and afterwards. What she con-
centrated on in her story was
thanksgiving to God, for what she
stressed in the life of our parents
was not so much their being out-
standing among their contempo-
raries because of their prosperity,
but their having been enhanced
by divine favor. Our father's par-
ents had been deprived of their
possessions because of the con-
fession of Christ; our mother's
grandfather was killed by the an-
ger of the emperor and all his
property handed over to other
masters. Nevertheless, their life
was so exalted on account of their
faith that no one had a great-
er reputation among the men
of that time. Later, when their
property was divided nine ways
in accordance with the number

εὐκληρίαν τὴν ἐκάστου τῶν τέκνων εἶναι ζωήν· αὐτῆς δὲ ἐκείνης τῶν μὲν ἐπωνομασθέντων αὐτῆ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἰσομοιρίαν ὑπολειφθῆναι μηδέν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ταῖς χερσὶ τοῦ ἱερέως κατὰ τὴν θείαν ἐντολὴν οἰκονομηθῆναι· τὸν δὲ βίον αὐτῆς (981) τοιοῦτον ἐκ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ χορηγίας γενέσθαι, ὡς μηδέποτε λῆξαι τὰς χεῖρας εἰς ἐντολὴν ἐνεργούσας, μηδὲ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ἀποβλέψαι ποτὲ· μηδὲ διὰ τινος ἀνθρωπίνης εὐεργεσίας γενέσθαι αὐτῆ τὰς πρὸς τὴν εὐσχήμονα διαγωγὴν ἀφορμὰς· ἀλλὰ μήτε τοὺς αἰτοῦντας ἀποστραφῆναι, μήτε τοὺς διδόντας ἐπιζητήσαι, λεληθότως τοῦ Θεοῦ καθάπερ τινὰ σπέρματα τὰς βραχείας ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἀφορμὰς εἰς πολύχουν καρπὸν ταῖς εὐλογίαις ἐπαύξοντος.

(21) Ἐμοῦ δὲ τοὺς ἰδίους [394] πόνους, ἐν οἷς ἤμην, διεξιόντος, πρότερον μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως Οὐαλέντος διὰ τὴν πίστιν ἐλαύνοντος, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τῆς ἐν ταῖς Ἐκκλησίαις συγχύσεως πρὸς ἄθλους ἡμᾶς καὶ καμάτους ἐκκαλουμένης, Οὐ παύση, φησὶν ἡ Μεγάλη, ἀγνωμόνως ἐπὶ τοῖς θείοις ἀγαθοῖς διακείμενος; Οὐ θεραπεύσεις τῆς ψυχῆς

of the children, the share of each had been so bountifully increased that the children lived more prosperously than their parents. Macrina did not accept the amount that was assigned to her in the equal distribution, but gave it all into [178] the hands of the priest in accordance with the divine command. By divine dispensation, her existence was such that she never stopped using her hands in the service of God, nor did she look to men for help or any opportunity for living a life of comfort. She never turned away anyone who asked for something, nor did she look for benefactors, but God, in His blessings, secretly made her little resources of activity grow as seeds, as it were, into a full-flowering harvest.

21. I told her about the difficulties in which I had been involved; first, how the Emperor Valens drove me into exile for the faith, then, the confusion in the churches which called me to disputes and disagreements. She said: "Will you ever stop ignoring the good things that come from God? Will you not remedy

τὸ ἀχάριστον; Οὐκ ἀντιπαραθή-
σεις τοῖς τῶν πατέρων τὰ σά; Καί-
τοι γε κατὰ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον ἐν
τούτῳ δὴ μάλιστα μεγαλαυχοῦμεν,
ἐν τῷ εὖ γεγονέναι καὶ ἀπὸ εὐ-
γενῶν φῦναι δοκεῖν. Πολύς, φησί,
κατὰ τὴν παιδείου ἐν τοῖς τότε
χρόνοις ὁ πατὴρ ἐνομιζέτο, ἀλλὰ
μέχρι τῶν ἐγγχωρίων δικαστηρίων
ἢ κατ' αὐτὸν ἴστατο δόξα. Μετὰ
ταῦτα δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν διὰ τῆς σο-
φιστικῆς αὐτοῦ καθηγουμένου,
οὐκ ἐξῆλθε τὸν Πόντον ἢ φήμη·
ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν ἦν ἐκείνῳ τὸ ἐν τῇ
πατρίδι περιβλεπτόν. Σὺ δέ, φησί,
πόλεσι, καὶ δήμοις, καὶ ἔθνεσιν
ὀνομαστὸς εἶ· καὶ σὲ πρὸς συμμα-
χίαν τε καὶ διόρθωσιν Ἐκκλησίαι
πέμπουσι, καὶ καλοῦσι· καὶ οὐχ
ὀρᾶς τὴν χάριν; Οὐδὲ ἐπιγινώ-
σκεις τῶν τηλικούτων ἀγαθῶν τὴν
αἰτίαν, ὅτι σε τῶν γονέων αἱ εὐχαὶ
πρὸς ὕψος αἴρουσιν, οὐδεμίαν, ἢ
ὀλίγην οἴκοθεν ἔχοντα πρὸς τοῦτο
παρασκευήν; [395]

(22) Ταῦτα διεξιούσα, ἐγὼ μὲν
παρατείνεσθαι πλέον τὸ ἡμερήσιον
ἐπόθουν μέτρον, ὡς ἂν μὴ λήξειε
καταγλυκαίνουσα ἡμῶν τὴν ἀκο-
ήν· ἀλλ' ἢ φωνὴ τῶν ψαλλόντων
πρὸς τὰς ἐπιλυχνίους εὐχαριστίας

the thanklessness of your soul?
Compare your lot with that of our
parents, although, as far as this
world is concerned, it is true that
we are proud of being well born
and coming from a good family.
Our father in the past was well
thought of because of his educa-
tion, and his reputation was es-
tablished in the local law courts.
Later, although he surpassed
the rest in rhetoric, his fame did
not go beyond the Pontic region,
but he was satisfied to be looked
up to in his own land. Whereas
you,' she continued, 'are known
in the cities, among the peoples
and the tribes; churches send you
forth and summon you as ally
and advocate, and do you not see
the grace in it? Do you not realize
the cause of such blessings, name-
ly, that the prayers of your par-
ents are lifting you to the heights,
since you have little or noth-
ing within yourself by which
to achieve this?'

22. As she went on this way,
I kept wishing that the day might
be lengthened so that we could
continue to enjoy the sweet-
ness of her words. But the sound
of the choir was calling us

ἐξεκαλεῖτο, κάμει πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκπέμψασα, πάλιν ἡ Μεγάλη διὰ τῶν προσευχῶν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἀνεχώρει. Καὶ ἡ μὲν νύξ ἐν τούτοις ἦν. Ὡς δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ἐμοὶ μὲν πρόδηλον ἐκ τῶν ὀρωμένων ἦν, ὅτι ὁ ἔσχατος αὐτῇ τῆς κατὰ σάρκα ζωῆς ὄρος ἡ ἐνεστῶσα ἡμέρα ἦν, πᾶσαν τὴν ἐγκειμένην τῇ φύσει δύναμιν τοῦ πυρετοῦ δαπανήσαντος. Ἡ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀσθενὲς ἡμῶν τῆς διανοίας βλέπουσα, παράγειν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς κατηφεστέρας ἐλπίδος ἐμηχανᾶτο, πάλιν τοῖς καλοῖς ἐκείνοις λόγοις διαχέουσα τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ λυπούμενον ἐν λεπτῶ λοιπὸν καὶ συνεχομένῳ τῷ ἄσθματι. Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ποικίλως διετίθετό μοι πρὸς τὸ φαινόμενον ἡ ψυχῆ· τῆς μὲν φύσεως εἰς σκυθρωπότητα, κατὰ τὸ εἶκος, βαρουμένης, διὰ τὸ μηκέτι προσδοκᾶν τῆς τοιαύτης φωνῆς καὶ αὐτὴς ἀκούσεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅσον οὐδέπω τὸ κοινὸν καύχημα τῆς γενεᾶς ἐλπίζειν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου μεταστήσεσθαι, τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς, οἷον ἐνθουσιώσης ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων, καὶ ὄντως ἐκβεβηκέναι τὴν κοινὴν φύσιν ὑπονοούσης. Τὸ γὰρ μηδὲ ἐν ἐσχάταις ἀναπνοαῖς οὐσαν παθεῖν τινα ξενικὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐλπίδι τῆς μεταστάσεως, μηδὲ δειλιάσαι πρὸς τὸν χωρισμὸν τῆς ζωῆς, ἀλλ' ὑψηλῇ τῇ διανοίᾳ τοῖς

to vespers and, having sent me off to the church, the Superior withdrew to God in prayer and the night was devoted to it. When dawn came, it was clear to me that this day was to be the last for her in the life of the flesh, for the fever had [179] consumed all her natural strength. When she saw our concern about her weakness, she tried to rouse us from our downcast hopes by dispersing again with her beautiful words the grief of our souls with her last slight and labored breathing. At this point, especially, my soul was in conflict because of what it was confronted by. My disposition was naturally made gloomy by the anticipation of never again hearing such a voice, but actually I had not yet accepted the idea that she was going to leave this mortal life, and my soul was so exalted by appearances that I secretly thought that she had transcended the common nature. For the fact was that, in her last breath, she experienced nothing strange in the expectation of the change and displayed no cowardice towards the departure from life. Instead, she philosophized with high intelligence

ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτῇ περὶ τοῦ τῆδε βίου κεκριμένοις μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης ἐμφιλοσοφεῖν [396] ἀναπνοῆς, οὐκέτι μοι ἐδόκει τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων εἶναι· ἀλλ' οἷον ἀγγέλου τινός, οἰκονομικῶς ἀνθρωπίνην (984) ὑπελθόντος μορφῆν, ᾧ μηδεμιᾶς οὔσης πρὸς τὸν ἐν σαρκὶ βίον συγγενείας, ἢ οἰκειώσεως, οὐδὲν ἀπεικὸς ἐν ἀπαθείᾳ τὴν διάνοιαν μένειν· μὴ καθελκούσης τῆς σαρκὸς πρὸς τὰ ἴδια πάθη. Διὰ τοῦτό μοι ἐδόκει τὸν θεῖον ἐκεῖνον καὶ καθαρὸν ἔρωτα τοῦ ἀοράτου νυμφίου, ὃν ἐγκεκρυμμένον εἶχεν ἐν τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπορρήτοις τρεφόμενον, ἐκδηλὸν ποιεῖν τότε τοῖς παροῦσι, καὶ δημοσιεύειν τὴν ἐν καρδίᾳ διάθεσιν· τῷ ἐπείγεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ποθούμενον, ὡς ἂν διὰ τάχους σὺν αὐτῷ γένοιτο τῶν δεσμῶν ἐκλυθεῖσα τοῦ σώματος. Τῷ ὄντι γὰρ, ὡς πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὁ δρόμος ἐγίνετο, οὐδενὸς ἄλλου τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἠδέων πρὸς ἑαυτὸ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐπιστρέφοντος.

(23) Καὶ τῆς μὲν ἡμέρας ἤδη παρωχῆκει τὸ πλεόν, καὶ ὁ ἥλιος πρὸς δυσμὰς ἐπεκλίνετο. Τῇ δὲ οὐκ ἐνεδίδου ἢ προθυμία, ἀλλ' ὅσον τῇ ἐξόδῳ προσήγγιζεν, ὡς πλεόν

on what had been decided upon by her about this life from the beginning up to her last breath, and this made her appear to belong no longer to the world of men. It was as if an angel had by some providence taken on human form, an angel who had no relation with or similarity to the life of the flesh and for whom it was not at all unreasonable to remain detached since the flesh was not part of her experience. For this reason, she seemed to me to be making clear to those present the divine and pure love of the unseen Bridegroom which she had secretly nourished in the depths of her soul, and she seemed to be communicating the disposition in her heart to go to the One she was longing for, so that, once loosed from the chains of the body, she might quickly be with Him. Truly, her race was towards the Beloved and nothing of the pleasure of life diverted her attention.

23. The day was almost over and the sun was beginning to set, but the zeal in her did not decline. Indeed, as she neared her end and saw the beauty of the Bridegroom

θεωροῦσα τοῦ νυμφίου τὸ κάλλος, ἐν σφοδροτέρᾳ τῇ ἐπείξει πρὸς τὸν ποθούμενον ἴετο· τοιαῦτα φθεγγομένη, οὐκέτι πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς παρόντας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον, εἰς ὃν ἀτενὲς ἀφεώρα τοῖς ὄμμασι. Πρὸς γὰρ ἀνατολὴν τέτραπτο αὐτῇ τὸ χαμεῦνιον· καὶ ἀποστᾶσα τοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς διαλέγεσθαι, δι' εὐχῆς ὠμίλει τὸ λοιπὸν τῷ θεῷ, χερσὶ τε ἱκετεύουσα, καὶ ὑποφθεγγομένη λεπτῇ τῇ φωνῇ· ὥστε ἡμᾶς ἐπαίειν μετρίως τῶν λεγομένων· τοιαύτη δὲ ἦν ἡ εὐχή, [397] ὡς μηδὲ ἀμφιβάλλειν, ὅτι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἐγίνετο, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου ἠκούετο.

(24) Σὺ, φησὶν, ἔλυσας ἡμῖν, κύριε, τοῦ θανάτου τὸν φόβον. Σὺ ζωῆς ἀληθινῆς ἀρχὴν ἡμῖν ἐποίησας τὸ τέλος τῆς ἐνταῦθα ζωῆς. Σὺ πρὸς καιρὸν ἡμῶν ὑπνω διαναπαύεις τὰ σώματα, καὶ πάλιν ἀφυπνίζεις ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ σάλπιγγι. Σὺ δίδως παρακαταθήκην τῇ γῆ τὴν μετέραν γῆν, ἣν ταῖς σαῖς χερσὶ διέμορφωσας· καὶ πάλιν ἀνακωμίζῃ ὃ δέδωκας, ἀφθαρσίᾳ καὶ χάριτι μεταμορφώσας τὸ θνητὸν ἡμῶν καὶ ἄσχημον. Σὺ ἐρρῦσω ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς κατάρας καὶ τῆς ἀμαρτίας, ἀμφοτέρω ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν γενόμενος.

more clearly, she rushed with greater impulse towards the One she desired, no longer speaking to those of us who were present, but to that very One toward whom she looked with steadfast eyes. [180] Her couch was turned to the East and, stopping her conversation with us, for the rest of the time she addressed herself to God in prayer, beseeching Him with her hands and speaking in a low soft voice so that we barely heard what she said. This was her prayer and there is no doubt that it made its way to God and that it was heard by Him.

24. She said: 'O Lord, You have freed us from the fear of death; You have made the end of life here the beginning of a true life for us. For a time, You give rest to our bodies in sleep and You awaken us again with the last trumpet. The dust from which You fashioned us with Your hands You give back to the dust of the earth for safekeeping, and You who have relinquished it will recall it after reshaping with incorruptibility and grace our mortal and graceless

Σὺ συνέθλασας τὰς κεφαλὰς τοῦ
 δράκοντος, τοῦ διὰ τοῦ χάσματος
 τῆς παρακοῆς τῷ λαιμῷ διαλαβό-
 ντος τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Σὺ ὠδοποίησας
 ἡμῖν τὴν ἀνάστασιν, συντρίψας
 τὰς πύλας τοῦ ἄδου, καὶ καταρ-
 γήσας τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ
 θανάτου διάβολον. Σὺ ἔδωκας τοῖς
 φοβουμένοις σε σημειώσιν τὸν τύ-
 πον τοῦ ἁγίου σταυροῦ εἰς καθαι-
 ρεσιν τοῦ Ἀντικειμένου καὶ ἀσφά-
 λειαν τῆς ἡμετέρας ζωῆς. Ὁ Θεὸς
 ὁ αἰώνιος, ᾧ ἐπερρίφην ἐκ κοιλίας
 μητρός μου· ὃν ἠγάπησεν ἡ ψυχὴ
 μου ἐξ ὅλης δυνάμεως, ᾧ ἀνέθηκα
 καὶ τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ
 νεότητός μου, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν.
 Σὺ μοι παρακατάστησον φωτεινὸν
 ἄγγελον τὸν χειραγωγοῦντά με
 πρὸς τὸν τόπον [398] τῆς ἀναψύξε-
 ως, ὅπου τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς ἀναπαύσεως,
 παρὰ τοὺς κόλπους τῶν ἁγίων πα-
 τέρων· ὁ διακόψας τὴν φλογίνην
 ῥομφαίας, καὶ ἀποδοὺς τῷ παρα-
 δείσῳ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν συσταυ-
 ρωθέντα σοι, καὶ ὑποπεσόντα τοῖς
 οἰκτιρμοῖς σου· κάμου μνήσθητι
 ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου· ὅτι καὶ γὰρ σοὶ
 συνεσταυρώθην, καθηλώσασα ἐκ
 τοῦ φόβου σου τὰς σάρκας μου· καὶ
 ἀπὸ τῶν κριμάτων σου φοβηθεῖσα.
 Μὴ διαχωρισάτω με τὸ χάσμα τὸ
 φοβερόν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν σου.
 Μηδὲ (985) ἀντιστήτω ὁ βάσκανος

substance. You redeemed us from
 the curse and from sin, having
 taken both upon Yourself; You
 crushed the heads of the ser-
 pent who had seized us with his
 jaws in the abyss of disobedience.
 Breaking down the gates of hell
 and overcoming the one who had
 the empire of death, You opened
 up for us a path to the resur-
 rection. For those who fear You,
 You gave as a token the sign
 of the holy cross for the de-
 struction of the Adversary and
 the salvation of our life. O God
 everlasting, towards whom I have
 directed myself from my mother's
 womb, whom my soul has loved
 with all its strength, to whom
 I have dedicated my body and my
 soul from my infancy up to now,
 prepare for me a shining angel
 to lead me to the place of refresh-
 ment where is the water of relax-
 ation near the bosom of the holy
 Fathers. You who broke the flam-
 ing sword and [181] compas-
 sionately gave Paradise back
 to the man crucified with You,
 remember me also in Your king-
 dom, for I, too, have been cruci-
 fied with You, having nailed my
 flesh through fear of You and
 having feared Your judgments.

τῆ ὀδῶ μου, μηδὲ εὐρεθείη κα-
τενώπιον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν σου ἢ
ἀμαρτία μου, εἴ τι σφαλεῖσα διὰ
τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν,
ἐν λόγῳ, ἢ ἔργῳ, ἢ κατὰ διάνοιαν
ἤμαρτον, ὃ ἔχων ἐπὶ γῆς ἐξουσίαν
ἀφιέναι ἀμαρτίας, ἄνες μοι· ἵνα
ἀναψύξω, καὶ εὐρεθῶ ἐνώπιόν σου
ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματός μου,
μὴ ἔχουσα σπῖλον ἐν τῇ μορφῇ
τῆς ψυχῆς μου. Ἄλλ' ἄμωμος, καὶ
ἀκηλίδωτος προσδεχθείη ἡ ψυχὴ
μου ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ σου ὡς θυμίαμα
ἐνώπιόν σου.

(25) Καὶ ταῦτα ἅμα λέγουσα ἐπε-
τίθει τὴν σφραγίδα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς
καὶ τῷ στόματι καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ. Καὶ
κατ' ὀλίγον, ἢ τε γλῶσσα τῷ πυρε-
τῷ καταφρυγεῖσα, οὐκέτι διήρθρου
τὸν λόγον, καὶ ἡ φωνὴ ὑπενεδίδου.
Καὶ ἐν μονῇ τῇ τῶν χειλέων δια-
στολῇ, καὶ τῇ τῶν χειρῶν κινήσει,
τὸ ἐν προσευχῇ εἶναι αὐτὴν ἐγινώ-
σκομεν. Καὶ ἐν τούτοις τῆς ἐσπέ-
ρας ἐπιλαβούσης, καὶ φωτὸς [399]
εἰσκομισθέντος, ἀθρόον τὸν τῶν
ὀμμάτων διαστείλασα κύκλον, καὶ
πρὸς τὴν αὐγὴν ἀπιδούσα, ἔκδηλος
μὲν ἦν φθέγγασθαι τὴν ἐπιλύχνιον
εὐχαριστίαν προθυμουμένη· τῆς

Let the terrible abyss not sepa-
rate me from Your chosen ones;
let the Slanderer not stand in my
way or my sins be discovered
before Your eyes if I have fallen
and sinned in word or deed or
thought because of the weakness
of our nature. Do You who have
power on earth to forgive sins
forgive me so that I may be re-
freshed and may be found before
You once I have put off my body,
having no fault in the form of my
soul, but blameless and spot-
less may my soul be taken into
Your hands as an offering before
Your face.'

25. As she said this, she made
the sign of the cross upon her
eyes and mouth and heart, and
little by little, as the fever dried
up her tongue, she was no longer
able to speak clearly; her voice
gave out and only from the trem-
bling of her lips and the motion
of her hands did we know that
she was continuing to pray. Then,
evening came on and the lamp
was brought in. Macrina di-
rected her eye toward the beam
of light and made it clear that
she was eager to say the noctur-
nal prayer and, although her voice

δὲ φωνῆς ἐπιλειπούσης, διὰ τῆς καρδίας καὶ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν κινήσεως ἐπλήρου τὴν πρόθεσιν, καὶ τὰ χεῖλη πρὸς τὴν ἔνδοθεν ὀρμὴν συνεκινεῖτο· ὡς δὲ ἐπλήρωσε τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, καὶ ἡ χεὶρ ἐπαχθεῖσα διὰ τῆς σφραγιδος τῷ προσώπῳ, τὸ πέρας τῆς εὐχῆς διεσήμανε, μέγα τι καὶ βύθιον ἀναπνεύσασα, τῇ προσευχῇ τὴν ζῶην συγκατέληξεν. Ὡς δὲ ἦν τὸ λοιπὸν ἄπνους τε καὶ ἀκίνητος, μνησθεὶς τῶν ἐντολῶν, ἃς εὐθύς παρὰ τὴν πρώτην συντυχίαν πεποίητο, εἰποῦσα βούλεσθαι τὰς ἐμὰς τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτῆς ἐπιβληθῆναι χεῖρας, καὶ δι' ἐμοῦ τὴν νενομισμένην θεραπείαν ἐπαχθῆναι τῷ σώματι, ἐπήγαγον τῷ ἁγίῳ προσώπῳ νεναρκυῖαν ἐκ τοῦ πάθους τὴν χεῖρα, ὅσον μὴ δόξαι τῆς ἐντολῆς ἀμελεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν ἐπανορθούντων οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ προσεδέοντο, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν γίνεται ὕπνου, τοῖς βλεφάροις εὐκόσμως διειλημμένοι· τὰ τε χεῖλη προσφυῶς μεμυκῶτα, καὶ αἱ χεῖρες εὐπρεπῶς ἐπανακλιθεῖσαι τῷ στήθει, πᾶσά τε ἡ τοῦ σώματος θέσις αὐτομάτως κατὰ τὸ εὐσχημον ἄρμοσθεῖσα, οὐδὲν τῆς τῶν κοσμούντων χειρὸς ἐπεδέετο.

(26) Ἐμοὶ δὲ διχόθεν ἐγίνετο πάρετος ἡ ψυχὴ· εἰς τὸ φαινόμενον

failed her, with her heart and the movement of her hands, she fulfilled her desire and moved her lips in keeping with the impulse within her. When she had completed the thanksgiving and indicated that the prayer was over by making the sign of the cross, she breathed a deep breath and with the prayer her life came to an end. From then on, she was without breath and movement, and I recalled an injunction she had given me when I arrived, saying that she wanted my hands to be placed upon her eyes and the customary care of the body to be taken by me. So I placed my hand, deadened by grief, upon her holy face so as not to seem to disregard her request. Actually, her eyes required no [182] attention; it was as if she was asleep with her eyelids becomingly lowered; her lips were set naturally and her hands rested naturally on her breast and the whole position of her body was so spontaneously harmonious that there was no need for any arranging hand.

26. My soul was disquieted for two reasons, because of what

ἔβλεπον, καὶ τὴν ἀκοὴν διὰ τῆς
 γοερᾶς τῶν παρθένων οἰμωγῆς πε-
 ριηχούμην. Τέως μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἡσυ-
 χία [400] διεκαρτέρουν ἐκεῖναι,
 τῇ ψυχῇ τὴν ὀδύνην ἐγκατακλεί-
 ούσαι, καὶ τὴν τῆς οἰμωγῆς ὀρμὴν
 τῷ πρὸς αὐτὴν φόβῳ κατέπνιγον,
 ὡσπερ δεδοικυῖαι καὶ σιωπῶντος
 ἤδη τοῦ προσώπου τὴν ἐπιτίμησιν,
 μή που παρὰ τὸ διατεταγμένον
 αὐταῖς φωνῆς τινος παρ' αὐτῶν
 ἐκραγείσης, λυπηθείη πρὸς τὸ
 γινόμενον ἢ διδάσκαλος. Ἐπεὶ δὲ
 οὐκέτι κατακρατεῖσθαι δι' ἡσυχί-
 ας τὸ πάθος ἠδύνατο, τοῦ πένθους
 οἰονεὶ πυρός τινος ἔνδοθεν αὐτῶν
 τὰς ψυχὰς διασμύχοντος, ἀθρόως
 πικρός τις καὶ ἄσχετος ἀναρρήγνυ-
 ται ἤχος· ὥστε μοι μηκέτι μένειν
 ἐν τῷ καθεστηκότι τὸν λογισμόν,
 ἀλλὰ καθάπερ χειμάρρου τινὸς
 ἐπικλύσαντος, ὑποβρύχιον παρενε-
 χθῆναι τῷ πάθει, καὶ τῶν ἐν χερσὶν
 ἀμελήσαντα, ὅλον τῶν θρήνων
 εἶναι. Καὶ μοι δικαία πῶς ἐδόκει
 καὶ εὐλογος ἡ τοῦ πάθους ἀφορμὴ
 ταῖς παρθένοις εἶναι. Οὐ γὰρ (988)
 συνηθείας τινὸς ἢ τῆς κατὰ σάρκα
 κηδεμονίας τὴν στέρησιν ἀπωδύ-
 ροντο, οὐδ' ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον οὐ-
 δέν, ἐφ' ᾧ πρὸς τὰς συμφορὰς δυ-
 σανασχετοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι· ἀλλ'
 ὡς τῆς κατὰ Θεὸν ἐλπίδος αὐτῶν,
 καὶ τῆς τῶν ψυχῶν σωτηρίας

I saw and because I heard
 the weeping of the virgins. Until
 now, they had controlled them-
 selves and kept in check the grief
 in their souls and they had
 choked down the impulse to cry
 out for fear of her, as if they were
 afraid of the reproach of her
 voice already silent; lest, contrary
 to her order, a sound should break
 forth from them and their teach-
 er be troubled by it. But when
 their suffering could no longer
 be controlled in silence (their
 grief was affecting their souls like
 a consuming fire within them),
 suddenly, a bitter, unrestrained
 cry broke forth, so that my reason
 no longer maintained itself, but,
 like a mountain stream overflow-
 ing, it was overwhelmed below
 the surface by my suffering and,
 disregarding the tasks at hand,
 I gave myself over wholly to lam-
 entation. The cause of the maid-
 ens' grief seemed to me to be
 just and reasonable. They were
 not bewailing the deprivation
 of some ordinary bond or car-
 nal attraction or any other such
 thing for which one mourns. But,
 as if they were torn away from
 their hope in God or the salva-
 tion of their souls, they cried out

ἀποσχισθεῖσαι, ταῦτα ἐβόων καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς θρήνοις ἀπλωοφύροντο. Ἐσβέσθη, λέγουσαι, τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἡμῶν ὁ λύχνος· ἀπήρθη τὸ φῶς τῆς τῶν ψυχῶν ὁδηγίας· διελύθη τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν ἡ ἀσφάλεια· ἤρθη ἡ σφραγίς τῆς ἀφθαρσίας· διεσπάσθη ὁ σύνδεσμος τῆς σωφροσύνης· συνετρίβη τὸ στήριγμα τῶν ἀτονούντων, ἀφηρέθη ἡ θεραπεία τῶν ἀσθενούντων· ἐπὶ [401] σοῦ ἡμῖν καὶ ἡ νύξ ἀντὶ ἡμέρας ἦν, ἐν καθαρᾷ ζωῇ φωτιζομένη· νῦν δὲ καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα πρὸς ζόφον μεταστραφήσεται. Χαλεπώτερον δὲ παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας τὸ πάθος ἐξέκαιον αἱ μητέρα αὐτὴν καὶ τροφὸν ἀνακαλοῦσαι. Ἦσαν δὲ αὗται, ἃς ἐν τῷ τῆς σιτοδείας καιρῷ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐρριμμένας ἀνελομένη ἐτιθηγήσατό τε καὶ ἀνθρέψατο, καὶ πρὸς τὸν καθαρὸν τε καὶ ἄφθορον βίον ἐχειραγώγησεν.

(27) Ἐπεὶ δὲ πῶς καθάπερ ἐκ βυθοῦ τινος τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἀνελεξάμην, πρὸς τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκείνην κεφαλὴν ἀτενίσας, ὡσπερ ἐπιτιμηθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀταξίᾳ τῶν ἐπιθορβούντων διὰ τοῦ θρήνου, Πρὸς ταύτην βλέψατε, εἶπον μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ, πρὸς τὰς παρθένους βοήσας, καὶ τῶν παραγγελμάτων αὐτῆς ἀναμνήσθητε· δι' ὧν τὸ ἐν παντὶ

and loudly bewailed as follows: 'The lamp of our life has been extinguished; the light that directed the path of our souls has been taken away; the safety of our lives has been destroyed; the seal of our incorruptibility has been removed; the bond of our union has been demolished; the support of the feeble has been shattered; the care of the weak taken away. With you even our night was illuminated like day by the pure life, but now even the day is turned into darkness.' The ones who called her mother and nurse were more seriously distraught than the rest. These were those she had nursed and reared after finding them prostrate [183] along the highway at the moment of starvation and she led them to the pure and uncorrupted life.

27. But when I recalled my soul from the depths, gazing intently at the holy head, and, as if I were rebuked for the disorderly conduct of the women, I said: 'Look at her,' shouting at the maidens in a loud voice, 'and be mindful of the instructions she gave you for order and graciousness in everything. Her divine soul

τεταγμένον καὶ εὐσχημον παρ' αὐτῆς ἐπαιδεύθητε. Ἐνα καιρὸν τῶν δακρύων ὑμῖν ἡ θεία ψυχὴ αὕτη ἐνομοθέτησεν, ἐν τῷ τῆς προσευχῆς καιρῷ τοῦτο πράττειν παρεγγυήσασα· ὁ καὶ νῦν ποιεῖν ἔξεστι, τῆς τῶν θρήνων οἰμωγῆς εἰς συμπαθῆ ψαλμωδίαν μεταθεῖσης. Ταῦτ' ἔλεγον μείζονι τῇ φωνῇ, ὡς ἂν τὸν ἦχον τῶν θρήνων ὑπερηγήσαιμι. Εἶτα μεταστῆναι παρεκάλεσα μικρὸν ἐπὶ τὸν σύνεγγυς οἶκον, καταλειφθῆναι δέ τινας ἐξ αὐτῶν, ὧν ἡδέως ἐν τῇ ζωῇ τὴν θεραπείαν προσίετο.

(28) Ἐν ταύταις ἦν γυνή τις τῶν εὐσχημόνων, πλούτῳ, καὶ γένει, καὶ τῇ τοῦ σώματος ὥρᾳ, καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ περιφανείᾳ περιβλεπτος ἐν νεότητι γενομένη· καὶ συνοικισθεῖσά τινι τῶν ἐπὶ μείζονος ἀξίας, καὶ βραχὺν συνοικήσασα χρόνον, καὶ [402] ἐν νέῳ τῷ σώματι τῆς συζυγίας διαζευχθεῖσα, φύλακά τε καὶ παιδαγωγὸν τῆς χηρείας τὴν μεγάλην Μακρίναν ποιησαμένη, συνῆν τὰ πολλὰ ταῖς παρθένους τὸν πρὸς ἀρετὴν βίον παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκδιδασκομένη. Οὐετιανῇ δὲ ὄνομα τῇ γυναικί, ἧς ὁ πατήρ ἦν τῶν εἰς τὴν ὑπατοῦν συντελούντων βουλήν· πρὸς ταύτην εἶπον, ἀνεπίφθονον εἶναι νῦν γοῦν τὸν φαιδρότερον

sanctioned one moment of tears for us, commanding us to weep at the moment of prayer. This command we can obey by changing the wailing of our lamentation into a united singing of psalms.' I said this with a loud voice to drown out the noise of the wailing. Then, I bade them withdraw a little to their quarters nearby and to leave behind a few of those whose services she accepted during her lifetime.

28. Among these, there was a woman outstanding for her wealth and birth and the beauty of her body, and admired in her youth for her other attributes. She had been married to a distinguished man and, after having been with him for a short time, she was released from marriage while still quite young. She made Macrina the guardian and director of her widowhood, and, spending much of her time with the women, she learned from them the life of virtue. The woman's name was Vetiana, whose father was Araxius, one of the senators. I told her that now, at least,

ἐπιβαλεῖν κόσμον τῷ σώματι, καὶ λαμπραῖς ὀθόλαις κατακοσμησαί τὴν καθαρὰν ἐκείνην καὶ ἀκηλί-
δωτον σάρκα. Ἡ δὲ μαθεῖν ἔφη
χρῆναι, τί τῇ ἀγίᾳ περὶ τούτων
καλῶς ἔχειν ἔδοκιμάσθη· μὴ γὰρ
εὐαγὲς εἶναι παρὰ τὸ κεχαρισμένον
αὐτῇ τι παρ' ἡμῶν γενέσθαι πά-
ντως. Πάντως δὲ ὁ τῷ Θεῷ φίλον
τε καὶ εὐάρεστον, ἀκείνη καταθύ-
μιον εἶναι.

(29) Καὶ ἦν τις προτεταγμένη τοῦ
χοροῦ τῶν παρθενῶν ἐν τῷ τῆς δι-
ακονίας βαθμῶ, Λαμπάδια ὄνομα
αὐτῇ· ἡ ἀκριβῶς ἔφη γινώσκειν
περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ταφήν (989)
δεδογμένων ἐκείνη. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡρό-
μην αὐτὴν περὶ τούτων (παροῦ-
σα γὰρ ἔτυχε τῇ βουλευσεί), ἔφη
μετὰ δακρύων· Τῇ ἀγίᾳ κόσμος, ὁ
καθαρὸς βίος διεσπουδάσθη· τοῦτο
καὶ τῆς ζωῆς ἐγκαλλώπισμα, καὶ
τοῦ θανάτου ἐντάφιον ἐκείνη ἐστί-
τὰ δ' ὅσα πρὸς καλλωπισμὸν σώ-
ματος βλέπει, οὔτε ἐν τῷ τῆς ζωῆς
χρόνῳ προσήκατο, οὔτε εἰς τὴν
παροῦσαν χρῆσιν ἐταμιεύσατο·
ὥστε οὐδὲ βουλομένοις [403] ἡμῖν
ἔσται τι πλέον, τῆς εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο
παρασκευῆς παρούσης. – Καὶ οὐκ
ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς ἀποκειμένοις εὐρεῖν,
ἔφην ἐγώ, τῶν ἐπικοσμησαί τι

it was suitable to put brighter
raiment on the body and to adorn
with shining ornament that pure
and unsullied flesh. She replied
that it was necessary to learn
what decisions had been made
by the holy one about these mat-
ters, for it would not be right for
us to do anything to her contrary
to what would be pleasing to her.
But what was dear and pleasing
to God – was also desirable to her.

29. There was a certain woman,
a deaconess in charge of a group
of the women, whose name
was Lampadium, and she said
she knew exactly what Macri-
na had decided about her burial.
When I asked her about it (for
she happened to be [184] pres-
ent at our discussion) she re-
plied weeping: 'For the holy one,
the pure life was what she sought
as adornment; for her, this was
both the ornament of her life
and the shroud of death. She
had so little concern for dress
that she owned nothing dur-
ing her lifetime and stored none
away for the present situation,
so that, even if we desired it,
there is nothing more to use
than what is already here.' I said:

δυναμένων τὴν ἐκφορὰν; – Ποί-
οις, εἶπεν, ἀποκειμένοις; Ἐν χερ-
σὶν ἔχεις πᾶν τὸ ἀπόθετον· ἰδοὺ τὸ
ἱμάτιον, ἰδοὺ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἡ κα-
λύπτρα, τὰ τετριμμένα τῶν ποδῶν
ὑποδήματα· οὗτος ὁ πλοῦτος· αὕτη
ἡ περιουσία. Οὐδὲν παρὰ τὸ φαι-
νόμενον ἐν ἀποκρύφοις ἀπόκειται·
κιβωτοῖς τισὶν ἢ θαλάμοις ἠσφαλι-
σμένον. Μίαν ἀποθήκην ἤδει τοῦ
ἰδίου πλοῦτου, τὸν θησαυρὸν τὸν
οὐράνιον· ἐκεῖ πάντα ἀποθεμένη,
οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὑπελείπετο. Τί
οὔν, ἔφην πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐγώ, εἰ τῶν
ἐμοί τι πρὸς τὴν ταφὴν ἡτοιμασμέ-
νων προσαγάγοιμι, μήτι τῶν ἀβου-
λήτων αὐτῆ διὰ τούτου γενήσε-
ται; Οὐκ οἶεσθαι ἔφη, τοῦτο παρὰ
γνώμην εἶναι αὐτῆ. Προσέσθαι γὰρ
ἂν αὐτὴν καὶ ζῶσαν τὴν τοιαύτην
παρὰ σοῦ τιμὴν κατ' ἀμφότερα,
διὰ τε τὴν ἱερωσύνην, τὴν ἀεὶ τι-
μίαν αὐτῆ, καὶ διὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν
τῆς φύσεως· μηδὲ γὰρ ἀλλότριον
αὐτῆς τὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ νομίσαι. Διὰ
τοῦτο καὶ ταῖς σαῖς χερσὶ περικο-
σμηθῆναι τὸ σῶμα διεκελεύσατο.

'Is there nothing in the storage
closets to decorate the funeral
bier?' 'What closets?' she replied.
'You have everything she pos-
sessed in your hands. Look at her
dress, look at the covering of her
head, her worn sandals. This
is her wealth, this is her prop-
erty. There is nothing beyond
what you see put aside in hidden
places or made secure in treas-
ures houses. She recognized one
storage place for private wealth:
the treasury of heaven. There
she deposited everything and left
nothing behind on earth.' I said
to her: 'What if I brought some
of the things I had got ready
for the funeral? Would this be
against her wish?' She replied
that she did not think it would
be. 'For,' she said, 'if she were
alive, she would accept such
a gift from you for two reasons:
on account of your priesthood,
which she always honored, and,
on account of your kinship, she
would not have thought that what
belonged to her brother was not
also hers. It was for this reason
that she ordered her body to be
prepared by your hands.'

(30) Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐδέδοκτο, καὶ ἔδει περισταλῆναι ταῖς ὀθόναις τὸ ἱερὸν ἐκεῖνο σῶμα, διελομένοι τὴν σπουδὴν [404] ἄλλος ἄλλο τι περὶ αὐτὴν ἐπονοῦμεν. Καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν τὴν ἐσθῆτα τῶν ἐμῶν τινι προσαγαγεῖν ἐνεκελευσάμην· ἡ δὲ μνημονευθεῖσα Οὐετιανῆ, τὴν ἀγίαν ἐκείνην κεφαλὴν ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶ κατακοσμοῦσα, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὸν ἀνχένα τὴν χεῖρα ἤνεγκεν, Ἰδοῦ, φησί, πρὸς ἐμὲ βλέψασα, οἷος περιδέριαιος κόσμος τῆς ἀγίας ἐξήρηται. Καὶ ἅμα τοῦτο λέγουσα, ἐκλύσασα τὸν δεσμὸν ἐκ τοῦ κατόπιν, προέτεινε τὴν χεῖρα καὶ δείκνυσί μοι σιδήρεον τοῦ σταυροῦ τύπον, καὶ δακτύλιόν τινα τῆς αὐτῆς ὕλης· ἅπερ ἀμφοτέρω λεπτῆς ὀρμιᾶς ἐξημμένα ἐπὶ τῆς καρδίας διὰ παντὸς ἦν. Καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον· Κοινὸν γενέσθω τὸ κτῆμα. Καὶ σὺ μὲν ἔχε τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ φυλακτήριον· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀρκέσει ἡ τοῦ δακτυλίου κληρονομία· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς τούτου σφραγίδος ὁ σταυρὸς ἐγκεχάρακτο· ὃ ἑνατενίσασά, φησι πάλιν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἡ γυνή· Οὐκ ἀποσκοποῦσα γέγονεν ἡ ἐκλογὴ τοῦδε τοῦ κτήματος. Κοῖλος γὰρ κατὰ τὴν σφενδόνην ἐστὶν ὁ δακτύλιος, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐν τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς κατακέκρυπται· καὶ οὕτως ἄνωθεν ἡ σφραγὶς τῷ ἰδίῳ τύπῳ μνηύει τὸ ὑποκείμενον.

30. When this was decided upon and it was necessary for the sacred body to be dressed in fine linen, we divided the various tasks among us. I told one of my attendants to bring in the robe. Vetiana, whom I have mentioned before, was arranging that holy head with her own hands when she put her hand on her neck and said looking at me: 'See the necklace the holy one wore.' And, at the same time, she unfastened the chain, stretched out her hand, and showed me an iron cross and a ring of the same material. Both of these worn on a thin chain were always on her heart. And I said: 'Let us make [185] this a common possession. You take the protection of the cross, and the ring will be enough for me,' for on the seal of the ring a cross was carved. Gazing at it, the woman said to me: 'You have made a good choice, for the ring is hollowed out and in it is hidden a piece of the wood of life. And thus the seal of the cross on the outside testifies by its form to what is inside.'

(31) Ὡς δὲ καὶ περικαλυφθῆναι τῇ ἐσθῆτι τὸ καθαρὸν σῶμα καιρὸς ἦν, κάμοι τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην ἢ ἐντολὴ τῆς μεγάλης ἀναγκαίαν ἐποίησε· παροῦσα τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ συνεφαπτομένη ἢ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκείνης ἡμῖν κληρονομίας [405] κοινωνήσασα, Μὴ παραδράμης, φησὶν, ἀνιστόρητον τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγίας ταύτης κατορθωθέντων θαυμάτων. —Τί τοῦτο; ἔφην ἐγώ. Ἡ δὲ μέρος τι τοῦ στήθους παραγυμνώσασα, (992) Ὁρᾶς, ἔφη, τὸ λεπτὸν τοῦτο καὶ ἀφανὲς ὑπὸ τὴν δέρριν σημεῖον; Στίγματι προσέοικε διὰ λεπτῆς ραφίδος ἐγγενομένῳ. Καὶ ἅμα τὸν λύχνον ἐγγύτερον ἐποίησε τοῦ δεικνυμένου μοι τόπου. Τί οὖν, εἶπον, θαυμαστόν, εἰ ἀφανεῖ τινι σημείῳ τὸ σῶμα κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἔστικται; —Τοῦτο, φησί, τῆς μεγάλης τοῦ Θεοῦ βοηθείας μνημόσυνον τῷ σώματι λείπεται. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐφύει ποτέ τι κατὰ τὸ μέρος τοῦτο πάθος ἀνιάρων, καὶ κίνδυνος ἦν ἢ ἀνατμηθῆναι τὸν ὄγκον, ἢ πάντῃ καὶ πάντως εἰς ἀνήκεστον προελθεῖν τὸ κακόν, εἰ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν τόποις πελάσειεν· ἐδέετο μὲν ἢ Μήτηρ, φησί, πολλὰ καὶ ἰκέτευε παραδέξασθαι τοῦ ἱατροῦ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ὡς καὶ ταύτης ἐκ Θεοῦ τῆς τέχνης ἐπὶ σωτηρία τῶν ἀνθρώπων

31. When the time came to cover the body with the robe, the injunction of the great lady made it necessary for me to perform this function. The woman who was present and sharing the great assignment with us said: 'Do not pass over the greatest of the miracles of the saint.' 'What is that?' I asked. She laid bare a part of the breast and said: 'Do you see this thin, almost imperceptible, scar below the neck?' It was like a mark made by a small needle. At the same time, she brought the lamp nearer to the place she was showing me. 'What is miraculous about that,' I said, 'if the body has a small mark here?' She said: 'This is left on the body as a reminder of the great help of God. At one time, there was a painful sore here and there was the risk that if it was not cut out it would develop into an irremediable illness if it should spread to places near the heart. Her mother begged her to accept the doctor's care and implored her many times saying that the art of medicine was given by God to man for his preservation. But Macrina considered worse than the disease laying

καταδειχθείσης. Ἡ δὲ τὸ γυμνώσαι
 τι τοῦ σώματος ὀφθαλμοῖς ἄλλο-
 τρίοις, τοῦ πάθους χαλεπώτερον
 κρίνασα, ἐσπέρας καταλαβούσης,
 ἐπειδὴ τῇ Μητρὶ τὴν συνήθη διὰ
 τῶν χειρῶν ὑπηρεσίαν ἐπλήρω-
 σεν, ἐντὸς γενομένη τοῦ θυσια-
 τηρίου, παννύχιον προσπίπτει τῷ
 Θεῷ τῶν ἰάσεων· καὶ τὸ ἀπορρέ-
 ον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὕδωρ πρὸς τὴν
 γῆν ἀναχέασα, τῷ ἐκ τῶν δακρύ-
 ων πηλῷ, φαρμάκω πρὸς τὸ πάθος
 ἐχρήσατο· τῆς δὲ Μητρὸς ἀθύμωσ
 διακειμένης, καὶ πάλιν ἐνδοῦναι
 τῷ [406] ἱατρῷ παρακαλούσης, ἀρ-
 κεῖν ἔλεγε, πρὸς θεραπείαν ἑαυτῇ
 τοῦ κακοῦ, εἰ τῇ ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ ἢ Μη-
 τηρ ἐπιβαλεῖ τῷ τόπῳ τὴν ἀγίαν
 σφραγίδα. Ὡς δὲ ἐντὸς ἐποιήσατο
 τοῦ κόλπου τὴν χεῖρα ἢ Μητῆρ, ἐφ'
 ᾧ τε περισφραγίσει τὸ μέρος, ἢ μὲν
 σφραγὶς ἐνήργει· τὸ δὲ πάθος οὐκ
 ἦν. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο, φησί, τὸ βραχὺ
 σημεῖον καὶ τότε ἀντὶ τοῦ φρικτοῦ
 ἐωράθη ὄγκου καὶ μέχρι τέλους
 παρέμεινεν. Ὡς ἄν, οἶμαι, τῆς θείας
 ἐπισκέψεως μνημόσυνον εἶη πρὸς
 ἀφορμὴν καὶ ὑπόθεσιν τῆς διηγε-
 κοῦς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν εὐχαριστίας.

(32) Ἐπεὶ δὲ πέρασ εἶχεν ἡμῖν ἢ
 σπουδῇ, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐνότων πε-
 ριεκοσμήθη τὸ σῶμα, πάλιν φησὶν
 ἢ διάκονος, μὴ πρέπειν νυμφικῶς

bare part of the body to anothe-
 er's eyes, and one evening, after
 she had finished her usual tasks
 connected with her mother, she
 went inside the sanctuary and
 all night supplicated the God
 of healing, pouring out a stream
 from her eyes upon the ground,
 and she used the mud from her
 tears as a remedy for the disease.
 When her mother was earnestly
 distressed and asking her again
 to see the doctor, she said that
 there was a cure for her disease
 if her mother with her own hand
 would make the sign of the cross
 on the place. When the moth-
 er put her hand inside to make
 the sign of the cross on her [186]
 breast, the sign of the cross
 worked and the sore disappeared.
 But this,' she said, 'is a small
 token and was seen then instead
 of the terrible sore, and remained
 to the end as a reminder, I sup-
 pose, of the divine consideration,
 a cause and reason for unceasing
 thanksgiving to God.'

32. When our work was fin-
 ished and the body was adorned
 with what we had, the deaconess
 spoke again and said that it was

έσταλμένην αὐτήν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τῶν παρθένων ὀραῖσθαι. Ἄλλ' ἔστι μοι, φησί, τῆς μητρὸς τῆς ὑμετέρας τῶν φαιῶν πεφυλαγμένον ἱμάτιον· ὃ ἄνωθεν ἐπιβληθῆναι καλῶς ἔχειν φημί· ὡς ἂν μὴ τῷ ἐπεισάκτω διὰ τῆς ἐσθῆτος κόσμῳ, τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο κάλλος λαμπρύνοιτο. Ἐκράτει τὰ δεδογμένα· καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον ἐπεβλήθη· ἡ δὲ ἔλαμπε καὶ ἐν τῷ φαιῷ, τῆς θεῖας, οἶμαι, δυνάμεως καὶ ταύτην προσθείσης τὴν χάριν τῷ σώματι· ὥστε κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ὄψιν ἀκριβῶς αὐγὰς τινὰς ἐκ τοῦ κάλλους ἐκλάμπειν δοκεῖν.

(33) Ὡς δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐν τούτοις ἦμεν, καὶ αἱ ψαλμωδίαί τῶν παρθένων τοῖς θρήνοις καταμιχθεῖσαι περιήχουν τὸν τόπον, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐν κύκλῳ πανταχόθεν ἀθρώως τῆς φήμης διαχεθείσης, πάντες οἱ περιουκοῦντες ἐπὶ τὸ πάθος συνέρρεον· ὡς μηκέτι τὸ προαύλιον ἱκανὸν εἶναι τοὺς συντρέχοντας. Τῆς οὔν παννυχίδος, περὶ αὐτήν ἐν [407] ὑμνωδαίαις, καθάπερ ἐπὶ μαρτύρων πανηγύρεως, τελεσθείσης· ἐπειδὴ ὄρθρος ἐγένετο, τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῶν ἐκ πάσης τῆς περιοικίδος συρρῦέντων ἀνδρῶν ἅμα καὶ γυναικῶν, ἐπεθορύβει ταῖς οἰμωγαῖς τὴν ψαλμωδίαν· ἐγὼ δὲ, καίτοι γε κακῶς

not fitting that Macrina should be seen by the maidens dressed as a bride. She said: 'I have a dark mantle of your mother's which I think we should put over her, so that this holy beauty should not be made splendid by the extraneous adornment of the robe.' Her opinion prevailed and the mantle was put over her. But even in the dark, the body glowed, the divine power adding such grace to her body that, as in the vision of my dream, rays seemed to be shining forth from her loveliness.

33. While we were engaged in these activities and the maidens' psalm-singing, mingled with lamentation, resounded through the place, in some way the report spread about on all sides and all the people of the area began to rush in so that the vestibule was not large enough to hold them. There was an all night vigil with hymn-singing as is the custom in the case of the praise of martyrs, and, when it was finished and day dawned, a crowd of those who had hurried in from the entire countryside, men and women both, broke in on

τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς
 διακείμενος, ὅμως ἐκ τῶν (993)
 ἐνόητων ἐπενόουν, εἰ δυνατόν,
 μηδὲν τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ κηδεῖα
 πρεπόντων παραλειφθῆναι. Ἀλλὰ
 διαστήσας κατὰ γένος τὸν συρρύν-
 ντα λαόν, καὶ τὸ ἐν γυναιξὶ πλῆθος
 τῶ τῶν παρθένων συγκαταμίξας
 χορῶ, τὸν δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν δῆμον τῶ
 τῶν μοναζόντων τάγματι· μίαν ἐξ
 ἑκατέρων εὐρυθμόν τε καὶ ἑναρμό-
 νιον, καθάπερ ἐν χοροστασίᾳ, τὴν
 ψαλμωδίαν γίνεσθαι παρεσκεύασα,
 διὰ τῆς κοινῆς πάντων συνωδίας
 εὐκόσμως συγκεκραμένην· ὡς δὲ
 προῆει κατ' ὀλίγον ἡ ἡμέρα, καὶ
 ἐστενοχωρεῖτο πᾶς ὁ τῆς ἐσχατιᾶς
 τόπος τῶ πλῆθει τῶν παραστάτων,
 ὁ τῶν τόπων ἐκείνων διὰ τῆς ἐπι-
 σκοπῆς προεστῶς (Ἀράξιος ὄνομα
 αὐτῶ· παρῆν γὰρ σὺν παντὶ τῶ τῆς
 ἱερωσύνης πληρώματι) παράγειν
 ἡρέμα παρεκάλει τὸ σκήνωμα· ὡς
 πολλοῦ τε ὄντος τοῦ μεταξὺ δια-
 στήματος, καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους πρὸς
 τὴν ὀξυτέραν κίνησιν ἐμποδῶν γε-
 νησομένου· καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα λέγων
 προσεκαλεῖτο πάντας τοὺς τῆς ἱε-
 ρωσύνης αὐτῶ συμμετέχοντας, ὡς
 ἂν δι' ἐκείνων κομισθεῖη τὸ σῶμα.

(34) Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐδέδοκτο, καὶ
 ἐν χερσὶν ἦν ἡ σπουδὴ· ὑποβὰς τὴν

the psalmody with their cries
 of grief. Although my soul was
 distressed by my misfortune,
 I kept thinking, nevertheless, how
 it should be possible not to leave
 undone anything suitable for such
 an occasion. Separating the flow
 of people according to sex,
 I put the women with the choir
 of nuns and the men in the ranks
 of the monks. I arranged for
 the singing to come rhythmically
 and harmoniously from
 the group, blended well as in cho-
 ral singing with the common re-
 sponses of all. But as the day was
 advancing and the place was over-
 crowded by the multitude of peo-
 ple, the bishop of the region,
 whose name [187] was Araxius (he
 was present with the full compa-
 ny of his priests), ordered the bier
 to be brought forward immedi-
 ately, on the grounds that there
 was quite a distance to be cov-
 ered and the crowd would prevent
 the swift movement of the fu-
 neral procession. At the same
 time, he ordered all the priests
 who were with him to escort
 the bier themselves.

34. When this was decided
 upon and the activity begun,

κλίνην ἐγὼ, κάκεινον ἐπὶ τὸ ἕτερον μέρος προσκαλεσάμενος· ἄλλων τε δύο τῶν ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ [408] τετιμημένων, τὸ ὀπίσθιον τῆς κλίνης μέρος ὑπολαβόντων, ἦειν τοῦ πρόσω ἐχόμενος, βάδην, ὡς εἰκός, καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον ἡμῖν γινομένης τῆς κινήσεως. Τοῦ γὰρ λαοῦ περὶ τὴν κλίνην πεπυκνωμένου, καὶ πάντων ἀπλήστως ἐχόντων τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐκείνου θεάματος, οὐκ ἦν εὐπορον ἐν εὐκολίᾳ τὴν πορείαν ἡμῖν διανύεσθαι· προηγεῖτο δὲ καθ' ἐκάτερον μέρος διακόνων τε καὶ ὑπηρετῶν οὐκ ὀλίγον πλῆθος, στοιχηδὸν τοῦ σκηνώματος προπομπεῦον, τὰς ἐκ κηροῦ λαμπάδας ἔχοντες πάντες· καὶ ἦν τις μυστικὴ πομπὴ τὸ γινόμενον, ὁμοφώνως τῆς ψαλμωδίας ἀπ' ἄκρων ἐπὶ ἐσχάτους, καθάπερ ἐν τῇ τῶν τριῶν παιδῶν ὑμνωδίᾳ, μελωδουμένης. Ἐπτὰ δὲ ὄντων, ἢ ὀκτῶ τῶν διὰ μέσου σταδίων ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχατιᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν ἁγίων Μαρτύρων οἶκον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὰ τῶν γονέων ἀπέκειτο σώματα· διὰ πάσης σχεδὸν τῆς ἡμέρας μόλις τὴν ὁδὸν διηλύσαμεν. Οὐ γὰρ εἶα τὸ πλῆθος, τό τε συνερχόμενον καὶ τὸ αἰεὶ προσγινόμενον, κατὰ γνώμην τὴν πρόοδον γίνεσθαι. Ἐπειδὴ οὖν ἐντὸς τοῦ οἴκου κατέστημεν, ἀποθέμενοι τὴν κλίνην, τὰ πρῶτα εἰς προσευχὴν ἐτρεπόμεθα· ἡ δὲ εὐχή,

I went to one side of the bier and called him to the other, and two of the others, distinguished in rank, took their position at the opposite end. I led the way slowly, as was fitting, and we proceeded at a moderate rate. The people crowded around the bier and could not get enough of that holy sight, so it was not easy for us to pass. There was a row of deacons and attendants on each side of the funeral train, all holding wax candles; it was a kind of mystical procession, the psalmody continuing from beginning to end harmoniously, as is sung in the hymn-ody of the three boys. It was a distance of seven or eight stadia from the monastery to the House of the Holy Martyrs, where the bodies of our parents were at rest. We completed the journey with difficulty throughout most of the day, for the accompanying crowd and those who were always being added to our number did not allow us to proceed according to our estimate. When we were inside the gate of the House, we first put down the bier and turned to prayer, but the prayer was

θρήνων γίνεται ἀφορμὴ τῷ λαῷ.
 Τῆς γὰρ ψαλμωδίας κατασιγασθεί-
 σης· ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἱερόν ἐκεῖνο πρόσω-
 πον αἱ παρθένοι προσέβλεψαν· καὶ
 ἡ σορὸς ἤδη τῶν γονέων ἀπεκαλύ-
 πτετο, ἐν ᾗ καταθέσθαι δεδογμένον
 ἦν· μιᾶς τινος ἀτάκτως βοησάσης,
 ὅτι [409] οὐκέτι μετὰ τὴν ὥραν
 ταύτην τὸ θεοειδὲς τοῦτο προ-
 σβλέψομεν πρόσωπον· ὡς καὶ αἱ
 λοιπαὶ παρθένοι τὸ ἴσον μετ'αὐτῆς
 ἐξεβόησαν, σύγχυσις ἄτακτος τὴν
 εὐτακτον ἐκείνην καὶ ἱεροπρεπῆ
 ψαλμωδίαν διέχεε, πάντων πρὸς
 τὴν τῶν παρθένων οἰμωγὴν ἐπι-
 κλασθέντων. Μόλις δέ ποτε καὶ
 ἡμῶν τὴν σιωπὴν διανευόντων,
 καὶ τοῦ κήρυκος εἰς εὐχὴν ὑφηγου-
 μένου, καὶ τὰς συνήθεις ἐκβοῶντος
 τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ φωνάς, κατέστη πρὸς
 τὸ σχῆμα τῆς εὐχῆς ὁ λαός. (996)

(35) Καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸ πρέπον ἡ προ-
 σευχὴ πέρας ἔλαβεν, φόβος μέ-
 τις τῆς θείας ἐντολῆς εἰσέρχεται,
 τῆς κωλυούσης πατρὸς ἢ μητρὸς
 ἀνακαλύπτειν ἀσχημοσύνην. Καὶ
 πῶς, ἔφην ἐγὼ, ἔξω τοῦ τοιούτου
 γενήσομαι κρίματος, ἐν τοῖς τῶν
 γονέων σώμασι βλέπων τὴν κοινὴν
 τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ἀσχημο-
 σύνην· διαπεπτωκότων, ὡς εἰκὸς,
 καὶ διαλελυμένων, καὶ εἰς εἰδε-
 χθῆ καὶ δυσάντητον ἀμορφίαν

the starting point of lamenta-
 tion for the people. When there
 was a lull in the psalm-sing-
 ing and the maidens were look-
 ing at the holy face, as the tomb
 of our parents was being opened
 in which she was to be placed,
 one of them cried out saying that
 no longer would we look upon her
 divine face. The rest of the maid-
 ens joined her in her outburst and
 confusion drowned out the order-
 ly and sacred singing. Everyone
 wept in response to the wail-
 ing of the maidens. We nodded
 for silence and the leader guid-
 ed them to prayer by intoning
 the usual prayers of the Church
 and the people came to attention.
 [188]

35. When the proper ceremony
 was finished, the fear of the di-
 vine command not to uncov-
 er the shamelessness of father
 and mother came upon me.
 'How,' I said, 'shall I ward off
 such a judgment if I look upon
 the common shame of human
 nature in the bodies of our par-
 ents, since they have surely fall-
 en apart and disintegrated and
 been changed into a disgusting

μεταβληθέντων; Ταῦτα δέ μοι
 λογιζομένω, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Νῶε κατὰ
 τοῦ παιδὸς ἀγανακτήσεως ἐπιτει-
 νούσης τὸν φόβον, συμβουλευεῖ
 τὸ πρακτέον ἢ ἱστορία τοῦ Νῶε.
 Ἐπεκαλύφθη γὰρ σινδόνι καθαρᾷ,
 πρὶν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν γενέ-
 σθαι τὰ σώματα τῆ τοῦ πώματος
 ἐπάρσει, καθ' ἑκάτερον ἄκρον τῆς
 σινδόνης ἀντεισιούσης· καὶ οὕτως
 ὑποκρυφθέντων τῆ σινδόνι τῶν
 σωμάτων ἀράμενοι τῆς κλίνης τὸ
 ἱερὸν ἐκεῖνο σῶμα, ἐγὼ τε καὶ ὁ
 μνημονευθεὶς τῶν τόπων ἐπίσκο-
 πος, τῆ μητρὶ παρακατατεκλίναμεν,
 κοινὴν ἀμφοτέραις πληροῦντες
 εὐχὴν. Τοῦτο γὰρ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν
 ζωὴν συμφώνως ἀμφοτέροι τὸν
 Θεὸν ἤτοῦντο, ἀνακραθῆναι μετὰ
 τὸν θάνατον ἀλλήλοις [410] τὰ σώ-
 ματα, καὶ τὴν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐν τῆ
 ζωῆ κοινωσίαν μηδὲ ἐπὶ τῷ θανά-
 τῳ διαζευχθῆναι.

(36) Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα ἡμῖν τὰ ἐν τῆ
 κηδείᾳ νενομισμένα πεπλήρωτο,
 καὶ ἔδει τῆς ἐπανόδου γενέσθαι,
 ἐπιπεσὼν τῷ τάφῳ, καὶ τὴν κόνιν
 ἀσπασάμενος, εἰχόμην πάλιν τῆς
 ὁδοῦ κατηφῆς τε καὶ δεδακρυ-
 μένος, λογιζόμενος, ὅσου ἀγαθοῦ
 διεζεύχθη ὁ βίος. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν
 ὁδὸν ἀνῆρ τις τῶν ἐν στρατείᾳ
 λαμπρῶν, στρατιωτικὴν ἡγεμονίαν

and disagreeable formlessness?'
 As I was considering this, and
 Noe's anger against his son was
 rousing fear in me, the sto-
 ry of Noe indicated what ought
 to be done. Before the bodies
 came into view when the cover
 of the tomb was lifted they were
 covered from one end to the other
 by a pure linen cloth. When they
 were covered thus with the lin-
 en, the bishop I have mentioned
 and I lifted that holy body from
 the bier and placed it beside
 our mother, fulfilling the com-
 mon prayer of both of them. For
 this they had asked from God
 all through their life, that af-
 ter death their bodies should
 be together and that in death
 they should not be deprived
 of the comradeship they had had
 in their lifetime.

36. When everything was ac-
 complished and it was necessary
 to go back, I fell upon the tomb
 and kissed the dust and retraced
 my steps, downcast and tearful,
 thinking of the good of which
 my life had been deprived. Along
 the way, a certain distinguished
 military man in charge of a gar-
 rison of soldiers in a district

ἔχων ἐν πολίχνῃ τινὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Πόντον, ἧ Σεβαστόπολις ὄνομα, μετὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐνδαιτώμενος, ἀπήνησέ τε φιλοφρόνως κατ' αὐτὴν γενομένῳ, καὶ τὴν συμφορὰν ἀκούσας, καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκῶν (ἦν γὰρ δὴ τῶν ἐκ γένους ἡμῖν οἰκείων τε καὶ ἐπιτηδείων), προσέθηκέ μοι τι διήγημα τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν θαύματος, ὃ δὴ καὶ μόνον ἐγγράψας τῇ ἱστορίᾳ, καταπαύσω τὴν συγγραφὴν. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐπαυσάμεθα τῶν δακρῶν καὶ εἰς ὀμιλίαν κατέστημεν, Ἄκουε, φησί, πρὸς με λέγων ἐκεῖνος, οἶον, καὶ ὅσον ἀγαθὸν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης μετέστη ζωῆς. Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν, οὕτως ἄρχεται τοῦ διηγήματος.

(37) Ἐγένετό τις ἡμῖν ἐπιθυμία ποτὲ τῇ τε γαμετῇ καὶ ἐμοὶ καταλαβεῖν, κατὰ σπουδὴν, τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς φροντιστήριον. Οὕτω γὰρ οἶμαι χρῆναι, φησί, τὸν χῶρον ἐκεῖνον κατονομάζεσθαι, ἐν ᾧ τὴν διαγωγὴν εἶχεν ἡ μακαρία ψυχὴ· συνῆν δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ θυγάτριον, ἐν ᾧ τις ἐκ λοιμώδους ἀρρωστίας συνέβη περὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν συμφορὰ· καὶ ἦν [411] θέαμα εἰδεχθὲς, καὶ ἐλεινόν, παχυνθέντος τοῦ περὶ τὴν κόρην χιτῶνος, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πάθους ὑπολευκαίνοντος. Ὡς δὲ ἐντὸς ἡμεν τῆς θείας ἐκείνης διαγωγῆς,

of Pontus, called Sebastopolis, met us graciously when I arrived there and, hearing of my misfortune, he was greatly disturbed (for he was connected with our family through kinship and association). He told me the story of a miracle connected with Macrina and, adding only this to my story, I shall come to an end. When I had stopped crying and we stood talking, he said to me: 'Hear what a great and substantial good has been removed from human life,' and, speaking thus, he began his tale:

37. 'It happened that my wife and I were eager to visit the monastery of virtue (for that is what I think that place [189] should be called) in which the blessed soul spent her life. There was with us our little girl who was suffering from an eye ailment resulting from an infectious sickness. It was a terrible and pitiful thing to see her as the membrane around the pupil was swollen and whitened by the disease. As we entered the monastery, we separated, my wife and I,

διελόμενοι κατὰ γένος τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν τῶν ἐν τόπῳ φιλοσοφούντων, ἐγὼ τε καὶ ἡ ὁμόζυγος· ἐγὼ μὲν ἐν τῷ ἀνδρῶνι ἤμην, ὣν καθηγεῖτο Πέτρος ὁ σὸς ἀδελφός, ἡ δὲ τοῦ παρθενῶνος ἐντὸς γενομένη τῇ ἀγία συνῆν· συμέτρον δὲ διαγενομένου ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ διαστήματος, καιρὸν εἶναι τοῦ ἀποχωρεῖν τῆς ἐσχατιᾶς πάλιν ἐκρίναμεν· καὶ ἤδη πρὸς τοῦτο ἦν ἡμῖν ἡ ὁρμή, σύμφωνος δὲ (997) παρ' ἐκατέρων ἡ περὶ ἡμᾶς φιλοφροσύνη ἐγένετο. Ἐμοί τε γὰρ ὁ σὸς ἀδελφὸς μένειν ἐνεκελεύετο, καὶ μετασχεῖν τῆς φιλοσόφου τραπέζης· ἢ τε μακαρία τὴν ἐμὴν γαμετὴν οὐ μεθίει, ἀλλ' ἐν κόλποις ἔχουσα τὸ θυγάτριον, οὐ πρότερον ἔλεγεν ἀποδώσειν, πρὶν τράπεζαν αὐτοῖς παραστήσασθαι, καὶ τῷ τῆς φιλοσοφίας δεξιῶσασθαι πλούτῳ· φιλοῦσα δὲ, οἷα εἰκὸς, τὸ παιδίον, καὶ προσάγουσα τὸ στόμα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἐπειδὴ εἶδε τὸ περὶ τὴν κόρην πάθος, Ἐάν μοι, φησί, δῶτε τὴν χάριν καὶ τῆς τραπέζης ἡμῖν κοινωνήσητε, ἀντιδώσω μισθὸν ὑμῖν τῆς τοιαύτης ὑμῶν τιμῆς οὐκ ἀνάξιον. Τίνα δὲ τοῦτον, εἰπούσης τῆς τοῦ παιδίου μητρός; Ἔστι μοι φάρμακον, ἡ Μεγάλη φησίν, ὃ δυνατῶς ἔχει τὸ κατὰ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἰάσασθαι πάθος. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις, δηλώματός μοι

for I went to the men's quarters where your brother Peter was Superior, and she went to the woman's quarters to be with the holy one. After an interval of time, we thought it was the hour for us to go home. We were getting ready to leave, but a kindly remonstrance came to us from both quarters. Your brother urged me to remain and share the monastic table. The blessed one would not let my wife go, and said she would not give up my daughter, whom she was holding in her arms, until she had given them a meal and offered them the wealth of philosophy. She kissed the child as one might expect and put her lips on her eyes and, when she noticed the diseased pupil, she said: "If you do me the favor of remaining for dinner, I will give you a return in keeping with this honor." When the child's mother asked what it was, the great lady replied: "I have some medicine which is especially effective in curing eye diseases." When a message came to me from the women's quarters about this promise, we gladly remained and disregarded the urgent necessity of starting on our way.

παρὰ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἤκουτος τοῦ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἐκείνην καταμηνύσαντος, ἄσμενοι παρεμείναμεν· μικρὰ φροντίσαντες τῆς ἐπιγούσης ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ἀνάγκης. [412]

(38) Ὡς δὲ τέλος εἶχεν ἡ εὐωχία, καὶ πλήρης ἦν ἡμῖν ἡ εὐχή, τοῦ μὲν μεγάλου Πέτρου ταῖς οἰκείαις χερσὶν εὐωχοῦντος ἡμᾶς, καὶ φαιδρύνοντος, τῆς δὲ ἀγίας Μακρίνης, διὰ πάσης εὐπρεποῦς θυμηδίας τὴν ὁμόζυγον ἡμῶν ἀνιείσης οὕτω φαιδρύνοντες καὶ γεγηθότες, τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἐπανήειμεν, διήγημα τῷ ἐτέρῳ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐκάτερος ἐν τῇ ὁδοιπορίᾳ ποιούμενοι· κάγω μὲν διεξῆειν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρῶνος, ὅσα τε εἶδον, καὶ ὅσα ἤκουσα· ἐκείνη δὲ τὰ καθ' ἑκάστον ἐκδιηγουμένη, καθάπερ ἐφ' ἱστορίας, οὐδὲν ὤετο δεῖν, οὐδὲ τῶν μικρῶν παραλανθάνειν· ἀκολούθως δὲ πάντα καθάπερ ἐπὶ συζυγία τῆς συγγραφῆς διεξιοῦσα· ὡς κατὰ τὸ μέρος ἐγεγόνει ἐκεῖνο, ἐν ᾧ ἡ ὑπόσχεσις ἦν τῆς τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ θεραπείας, ἐγκόψασα τὴν διήγησιν, Τί τοῦτο, φησί, πεπόνθαμεν; πῶς τῆς ὑποσχέσεως ἡμελήσαμεν, τὸ ἐπαγγελθὲν ἡμῖν ἐκεῖνο ἐν κολλυρίῳ φάρμακον; Κάμοῦ συνδυσχεραίνοντος ἐπὶ τῇ ἀμελείᾳ, καὶ τινα διὰ

38. 'When the feasting was over and grace said (the great Peter, having entertained and cheered us with special graciousness, and the great Macrina, having said goodbye to my wife with every courtesy), we started the journey home bright and happy. Each of us told his own story on the way. I spoke of everything I had seen and heard in the men's quarters, and she told everything systematically, as in a history, and did not think it right to omit the smallest details. She was telling everything in order, as if going through a treatise, and when she came to the point at which the medicine was promised, interrupting the narrative she said: "What have we done? [190] How did we forget the promise, the medicine for the eyes?" I was annoyed at our thoughtlessness and quickly sent one of my men back to ask for the medicine, when the child, who happened

τάχους ἐκδραμεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ φάρμακον ἐγκελευσαμένου, βλέπει κατὰ τὸ συμβᾶν πρὸς τὴν μητέρα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ὃν τῆς τιθνουμένης τὸ νήπιον, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τοῦ παιδίου ἐνατενίσασα, Παύου, φησί, δυσχεραίνων ἐπὶ τῇ ἀμελείᾳ. Μεγάλη [413] τοῦτο τῆ φωνῆ ὑπὸ χαρᾶς ἅμα καὶ ἐκπλήξεως λέγουσα. Ἴδου γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐλλέλειπται ἡμῖν τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων· ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀληθινὸν ἐκείνης φάρμακον, τὸ τῶν παθημάτων ἰατικόν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκ τῶν εὐχῶν θεραπεία, καὶ ἔδωκε, καὶ ἐνεργὸν ἤδη γέγονε, καὶ ὑπολέλειπται τῆς κατὰ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἀρρωστίας οὐδοτιοῦν, τῷ θείῳ ἐκείνῳ φαρμάκῳ κεκαθαρμένον. Καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα διεξιούσα, αὐτὴ τε τὸ παιδίον ἐνηγκαλίζετο, καὶ ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἐνετίθει χερσί. Κἀγὼ τότε τὰ ἀπιστούμενα κατὰ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον θαύματα, τῆ διανοίᾳ λάβων, Τί μέγα, εἶπον, διὰ χειρὸς Θεοῦ τυφλοῖς τὰς ὄψεις ἀποκαθίστασθαι· ὅποτε νῦν ἡ δούλη αὐτοῦ, τὰς ἰάσεις ἐκείνας κατορθοῦσα τῆ εἰς αὐτὸν πίστει, κατειργασταὶ πρᾶγμα οὐ πολὺ τῶν θαυμάτων ἐκείνων ἀπολειπόμενον; Ταῦτα λέγων μεταξὺ λυγμῶ τὴν φωνὴν ἐνεκόπτετο, τῶν δακρύων ἐπιρρυσθέντων τῷ διηγῆματι. Τὰ μὲν οὖν παρὰ τοῦ στρατιώτου, ταῦτα.

to be in her nurse's arms, looked at her mother, and the mother fixing her gaze on the child's eyes, said: "Stop being upset by our carelessness." She said this in a loud voice, joyfully and fearfully. "Nothing of what was promised to us has been omitted, but the true medicine that heals diseases, the cure that comes from prayer, this she has given us, and it has already worked; nothing at all is left of the disease of the eyes." As she said this, she took our child and put her in my arms and I, also, then comprehended the miracles in the gospel which I had not believed before and I said: "What a great thing it is for sight to be restored to the blind by the hand of God, if now His handmaiden makes such cures and has done such a thing through faith in Him, a fact no less impressive than these miracles." ' This was what he told me, and tears fell as he spoke and his voice was choked with emotion. This is the story of the soldier.

(39) Ὅσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα παρὰ τῶν συνεζηκότων αὐτῇ, καὶ δι' ἀκριβείας τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν ἐπισταμένων ἠκούσαμεν, οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς οἶμαι προσθεῖναι τῷ διηγήματι. Οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τὰ ἑαυτῶν (1000) μέτρα τὸ πιστὸν ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις κρίνουσι· τὸ δὲ ὑπερβαῖνον τὴν τοῦ ἀκούοντος δύναμιν, ὡς ἔξω τῆς ἀληθείας, ταῖς τοῦ ψεύδους ὑπονοίαις ὑβρίζουσι. Διὸ παρήμι τὴν ἄπιστον ἐκείνην ἐν τῷ λιμῷ γεωργίαν· πῶς ἐκβαλλόμενος ὁ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν σῖτος οὐδεμίαν αἴσθησιν ἐποίει τῆς ὑφαιρέσεως, [414] ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ διαμένων ὄγκῳ, καὶ πρὶν διαδοθῆ ταῖς τῶν αἰτούντων χρείαις· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλα τούτων παραδοξότερα· παθῶν ἰάσεις, καὶ δαιμόνων καθάρσεις, καὶ ἀψευδεῖς προρρήσεις τῶν ἐκβησομένων· ἅπαντα τοῖς μὲν δι' ἀκριβείας ἐγνωκόσιν, ἀληθῆ εἶναι πιστεύεται, κἂν ὑπὲρ πίστιν ᾗ· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν σαρκωδεστέρων, ἔξω τοῦ ἐνδεχομένου νομίζεται, οἷ οὐκ ἴσασιν, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως, καὶ ἡ τῶν χαρισμάτων διανομὴ παραγίνεται· μικρὰ μὲν τοῖς ὀλιγοπιστοῦσι, μεγάλη δὲ τοῖς πολλῶν ἔχουσιν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν τῆς πίστεως. Ὡς ἂν οὖν μὴ βλαβεῖεν οἱ ἀπιστότεροι, ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ δωρεαῖς

39. I do not think it is wise to add to my story all the other details we heard from those who lived with her and knew her life accurately, for most men judge the credibility of what they hear according to the measure of their own experience, and what is beyond the power of the hearer they insult with the suspicion of falsehood as outside of the truth. Therefore, I pass over that incredible farming phenomenon at the time of the famine when, as the grain was given out in proportion to the need, the amount did not seem to grow smaller, but remained the same as it was before it was given to those asking for it. And after this, there were other events more surprising than these; the healing of disease, the casting out of devils, true prophecies of future events, all of which are believed to be true by those who knew the details accurately, amazing although they are. But for the material-minded, they are beyond what can be accepted. They do not [191] know that the distribution of graces is in proportion to one's faith, meager for those of little faith, great for those who have within

ἀπιστοῦντες· τούτου ἕνεκεν καθε-
ξῆς ἱστορεῖν περὶ τῶν ὑψηλοτέρων
θαυμάτων παρητησάμην, ἀρκεῖν
ἡγούμενος τοῖς εἰρημένοις περι-
γράψαι τὴν περὶ αὐτῆς ἱστορίαν.

themselves great room for faith.
So, in order not to do harm
to those who have no faith
in the gifts of God, I have decided
against enumerating the great-
er miracles, judging it sufficient
to end my work about Macrina
with what I have already related.

Appendix II. Sources on Eustathius the Philosopher

Eunapius

Vitae Sophistarum VI 5, 1-6, 5; 8, 3-9, 1, ed. G. Giangrande, 25-28; 32-33, transl. E. Wilmer Cave Wright, 393-401; 409-411.

VI 5. 1. Περὶ δὲ Εὐσταθίου καὶ ἀσεβές ἐστι παραλιπεῖν τὰ ἐς ἀλήθειαν φέροντα· παρὰ πάντων γὰρ συνωμολογεῖτο τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ὀφθῆναι καὶ εἶναι κάλλιστον, καὶ εἰς πεῖραν λόγων ἐλθεῖν δεινότατον, τό τε ἐπὶ τῇ γλώσση καὶ τοῖς χείλεσιν αἰμύλιον οὐκ ἔξω γοητείας ἐδόκει. καὶ τὸ μείλιχον καὶ ἡμερον ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις ἐπήνθει καὶ συνεξεχεῖτο τοσοῦτον, ὥστε οἱ τῆς φωνῆς ἀκούσαντες καὶ τῶν λόγων, παραδόντες αὐτούς, καθάπερ οἱ τοῦ λωτοῦ γευσάμενοι,

With regard to Eustathius, it would be sacrilegious to leave out what would convey the truth. All men were agreed that he was not only observed to be a most noble character, but also most gifted with eloquence when put to the test, while the charm that sat on his tongue and lips seemed to be nothing less than witchcraft. His mildness and amiability so blossomed out in what he said and gushed forth with his words, that those who heard his voice and speeches surrendered

τῆς φωνῆς ἐξεκρέμαντο καὶ τῶν λόγων. 2. οὕτω δὴ πολὺ τι τῶν μουσικῶν οὐκ ἀπέιχε Σειρήνων, ὥστε ὁ βασιλεὺς <μετεκάλεσεν> αὐτόν, καὶ τοί γε τοῖς τῶν χριστιανῶν ἐνεχόμενος βιβλίοις, ἐπειδὴ θόρυβος αὐτὸν κατεῖχε, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἀνάγκη τις ἐπέκειτο, καὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἤδη περιειργασμένου καὶ συντοξεύοντος, ὅς γε τὴν ἄκραν τὴν ὑπερκειμένην τοῦ θεάτρου καταλαβὼν ἀδοκῆτως καὶ ἐξαπιναίως, τὸ πολὺ πλῆθος τῶν θεωμένων συνετόξευσε καὶ διέφθειρε. 3. τούτων δὲ ὅμως κατεχόντων, οὕτως πάντες ἦσαν ἥρημένοι καὶ κατακεκλημένοι, ὥστε μὴ κατοκνησαί τινα Ἕλληνα ἄνθρωπον ἐς τὰ ὦτα τοῦ βασιλέως παραβαλεῖν καὶ τοί γε εἰώθεσαν πρότερον οἱ βασιλεύοντες τοὺς κατὰ στρατιὰν ἐπαινουμένους ἐπὶ τὰς πρεσβείας χειροτονεῖν, ἦτοι γε στρατοπεδάρχας ἢ ὅσοι γε μετ' ἐκείνους ἐς τὸ ἄρχεῖν ἐξηρημένοι. 4. τότε καὶ ἀνάγκης τυραννοῦσης, ὁ φρονιμώτατος ἀπάντων περιεσκοπεῖτο καὶ συνωμολογεῖτο Εὐστάθιος. μετεκλήθη τε οὖν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ αὐτίκα παρῆν, καὶ τοσαύτη τις ἐπὴν ἀφροδίτη τοῖς χεῖλεσιν, ὥστε οἱ συμβουλευσάντες τὴν πρεσβείαν δι' Εὐσταθίου

themselves like men who had tasted the lotus, and they hung on that voice and those speeches. So closely did he resemble the musical Sirens, that the emperor, for all that he was wrapped up in the books of the Christians, sent for him at the time when he was alarmed by the state of affairs, and was hard pressed by impending danger from the king of the Persians, who had once already laid siege to Antioch and raided it with his bowmen. For unexpectedly and on a sudden he seized the height that commanded the theatre, and with his arrows shot and massacred that great crowd of spectators. In this similar crisis all men were so held captive and enchanted by Eustathius, that they did not hesitate to commend a man of the Hellenic faith to the ears of the emperor; although the earlier emperors had been accustomed to elect for embassies men who had won distinction in the army, or military prefects, or men who were next in rank to these and had been selected for office. But at that time, at the imperious call of necessity, Eustathius was sought out and admitted

πεμφθῆναι, ἀξιωματῶν τε ἔτυχον
 παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ μειζόνων, καὶ
 πρὸς τὴν εὐνοίαν αὐτῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς
 ἐπεκλίνετο. 5. τούτων μὲν οὖν τινες
 αὐτῷ καὶ ἐθέλονται συνεξώρμησαν
 ἐπὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν, μείζονα
 διάπειραν θέλοντες λαβεῖν, εἰ καὶ
 πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔχοι τὸ αὐτὸ
 θελκτήριον ὁ ἄνθρωπος. 6. ὡς δὲ εἰς
 τὴν Περσῶν ἀφίκοντο χώραν, καὶ
 τοί γε τυραννικὸς καὶ ἄγριός τις
 Σαπώρης εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ἐσιόντας,
 ἦν τε ἀληθῶς, [καὶ] ἐξηγγέλλετο,
 ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπεὶ πρόσοδος Εὐσταθίῳ
 κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν πρεσβείαν
 ἐγένετο πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, τὴν
 τε ὑπεροψίαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι
 καὶ τὸ μείλιχον ἐθαύμασε, καὶ
 τοί γε πολλὰ ἐς κατάπληξιν
 τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μηχανησάμενος.
 7. καὶ ὡς ἡμέρως καὶ ἀλύπως
 διαλεγόμενου τῆς φωνῆς ἤκουσεν,
 καὶ τῶν ἐπιτρεχουσῶν κοσμίως
 καὶ εὐκόλως ἀποδείξεων, ἐξελθεῖν
 μὲν αὐτὸν κελεύει, καὶ ὃς ἐξῆει
 λόγῳ συνηρηκῶς τύραννον ὁ δὲ
 ἐπὶ τράπεζαν τε εὐθὺς διὰ τῶν
 θαλαμηπόλων εἰσεκάλει, καί,
 πρὸς τοῦτο ὑπακούσαντος (ἐώκει
 γὰρ εὖ πεφυκέναι πρὸς ἀρετῆς
 ῥοπῆν), ἀπήντησεν ἐπὶ τὴν θοίνην.
 8. καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος ἐγένετο, καὶ
 κατεκράτει τῷ λόγῳ τοσοῦτον, ὥστε
 μικροῦ τινὸς ἐδέησε τὸν Περσῶν

by general consent to be the most
 prudent of all men. Accordingly
 he was summoned by the em-
 peror, and came forthwith, and
 so potent was the charm on his
 lips that those who had advised
 that the embassy should be dis-
 patched in charge of Eustathius
 won greater consideration than
 before from the emperor, and he
 inclined more favourably towards
 them. Moreover, some of these
 men set out of their own ac-
 cord to accompany the embassy,
 because they wished to employ
 a still greater test, whether in his
 encounter with the barbarians
 Eustathius should prove to pos-
 sess the same power to enchant
 and persuade. When they arrived
 in Persia, Sapor was reported
 to be and actually was tyranni-
 cal and savage towards those who
 approached him; nevertheless,
 when Eustathius, for the embas-
 sy in general, was allowed access
 to the king, the latter could not
 but admire the expression of his
 eyes which was at once amiable
 and proudly indifferent, in spite
 of the many preparations that
 the king had devised in order
 to dazzle and overawe the man.
 And when he heard his voice

βασιλέα τήν τε ὄρθήν μεταβαλεῖν
 τιάραν καὶ τοὺς περιπορφύρους καὶ
 λιθοκολλήτους ἀπολυῖσαι κόσμους,
 καὶ τὸ τριβώνιον Εὐσταθίου
 μεταμφιάσασθαι· τοσαύτην τῆς
 τύχης ἐποιήσατο καταδρομὴν
 καὶ τῶν περὶ σῶμα κόσμων,
 καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτο κακοδαιμονίας
 τοὺς φιλοσωμάτων ἀνήγαγε.
 9. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἐκώλυσαν οἱ
 παρατυχόντες τῶν μάγων, γόητα
 εἶναι τελείως τὸν ἄνδρα φάσκοντες,
 καὶ τὸν βασιλέα συμπίσαντες
 ἀποκρίνασθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων·
 10. τί δήποτε ἄνδρας εὐτυχοῦντες
 τοιούτους, εἶτα πέμπουσιν
 ἀνδραπόδων πλουτούντων οὐδὲν
 διαφέροντας; τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν
 πρεσβείαν ἅπαντα ἦν ὑπὲρ ἐλπίδας.

conversing so equably and with
 no effort, when he heard him run
 over his arguments so modestly
 and good-naturedly, he bade
 him withdraw; and Eustathius
 went out, leaving the tyrant
 a captive to his eloquence. Presently
 he sent a message by his household
 officials to invite him to his table,
 and when he obeyed the summons,
 since the king seemed to him to
 have a natural bent for virtue,
 Sapor joined him at the banquet.
 Thus Eustathius became his companion
 at table, and by his eloquence
 won such influence over him that
 the king of Persia came within
 an ace of renouncing his upright
 tiara, laying aside his purple
 and bejewelled attire, and putting
 on instead the philosopher's
 cloak of Eustathius; so successfully
 did the latter run down the life
 of luxury and the pomps and
 vanities of the flesh, to such
 depths of misery did he seem
 to bring down those who loved
 their bodies. But this was prevented
 by certain magi who happened
 to be at the court, and kept
 asserting that the man was
 nothing but a mere conjuror; and
 they persuaded the king to reply

6. 1. Περὶ τούτου γε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι ἐς τὴν ἐμὴν ἱστορίαν συνέπεσεν, ὡς ἅπασα μὲν ἢ Ἑλλὰς ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν ἠύχοντο καὶ ἦτουν τοὺς θεοὺς τὴν ἐπιδημίαν· 2. καὶ αἶγε μαντεῖαι τοῖς περὶ ταῦτα δεινοῖς ἐς τοῦτο συνέβαινον. ὡς δὲ διημάρτανον, οὐ γὰρ ἐπεδήμει, πρεσβείαν παρ' αὐτὸν στέλλουσιν οἱ Ἑλληνας, τοὺς ἄκρους ἐπὶ σοφία κατὰ τὴν πρεσβείαν προελόμενοι. νοῦς δὲ ἦν αὐτοῖς διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς τὸν μέγαν Εὐστάθιον· 3. τί δήποτε ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς σημείοις τὸ ἔργον οὐκ ἀπήντησεν; ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας, καὶ τοὺς ὀνομαστοὺς ἐπ' ἐκείνοις καὶ πολυμνήτους ἀναθεωρῶν καὶ διακρίνων ἐβασάνιζε, καὶ συνηρώτα τό τε μέγεθος καὶ τὴν χροιάν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῶν σημείων, εἶτα μειδιάσας συνηθῶς πρὸς αὐτούς, ὡς ἤκουσε τὰ ὄντα (ψεῦδος γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἔξω θείου χοροῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγου ἴσταται), “ἀλλὰ ταῦτά γε” εἶπεν “τὴν ἐμὴν τὴνδε ἐπιδημίαν οὐκ ἐμαντεύετο.” 4. καί

to the Roman emperor by asking him why, when Fortune had bestowed on them so many distinguished men, they sent persons no better than slaves who had enriched themselves. And the whole result of the embassy was contrary to men's expectations.

In my researches concerning this man, I have come upon evidence of the following, namely that the whole of Greece prayed to see him and implored the gods that he might visit them. Moreover, the omens and those who were skilled to interpret them agreed that this would come to pass. But when they proved to be mistaken, for he did not visit Greece, the Greeks sent an embassy to him and chose for this embassy their most famous wise men. The purpose of their mission was to discuss with the renowned Eustathius this question: “Why did not the facts accord with these omens?” He listened to them, and then investigated and sifted the evidence of men who were famed in this science and had a wide renown, and cross-examined them, asking what was the size, colour, and shape of the omens. Then,

πού τι καὶ παρὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον
κατὰ γε ἐμὴν ἐφθέγγετο κρίσιν·
ἀπεκρίνατο γὰρ ὡς “μικρότερα ἦν
καὶ βραδύτερα τῶν ἐμῶν καλῶν
τὰ φανθέντα σημεία.” 5. Οὕτως
Εὐστάθιος ὁ τοσοῦτος Σωσιπάτρα
συνώκησεν, ἣ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἑαυτῆς
δι’ ὑπεροχὴν σοφίας εὐτελεῖ τινὰ
καὶ μικρὸν ἀπέδειξε. [...]

8. 3. ἔδοξε γοῦν αὐτῇ καὶ ἀνδρὶ
συνελθεῖν. καὶ ἀναμφίλεκτον ἦν
ὅτι ἐξ ἀπάντων ἀνδρῶν μόνος
Εὐστάθιος ἄξιος ἦν τοῦ γάμου. ἡ δὲ
πρὸς Εὐστάθιον καὶ τοὺς παρόντας
εἶποῦσα· “ἀλλ’ ἄκουε μὲν <σύ,>
Εὐστάθιε, συμμαρτυρούντων
δὲ οἱ παρόντες. παῖδας μὲν ὑπὸ
σοὶ τέξομαι τρεῖς, πάντες δὲ τὸ
ἀνθρώπινον δοκοῦν ἀγαθὸν
<οὐδὲν> ἀτυχήσουσι, πρὸς τὸ
θεῖον δὲ [οὐδὲ] εἶς. 4. καὶ σὺ
δὲ προαπολείψεις ἐμέ, καλήν
μεταλαχὼν λῆξιν καὶ πρέπουσαν,
ἐγὼ δὲ ἴσως κρείσσονα. σοὶ μὲν γὰρ
περὶ σελήνην ἢ χορεία, καὶ οὐκέτι

as his manner was, he smiled
at them, on hearing the true facts
(for as falsehood has no place
in the choir of the gods, so too
it has none in their utterance),
and said: “Nay, these omens did
not foretell this visit from me.”
Then he said something that
in my judgement was too high
for a mere mortal, for this was
his reply: “The omens revealed
were too trivial and too tardy for
such dignity as mine.” After this
the renowned Eustathius married
Sosipatra, who by her surpassing
wisdom made her own husband
seem inferior and insignificant.
[...]

Then she decided to marry. Now
beyond dispute Eustathius of all
living men was alone worthy
to wed her. So she said to him
and to those who were present:
“Do you listen to me, Eustathi-
us, and let those who are here
bear me witness: I shall bear you
three children, and all of them
will fail to win what is consid-
ered to be human happiness, but
as to the happiness that the gods
bestow, not one of them will fail
therein. But you will go hence
before me, and be allotted a fair
and fitting place of abode, though

λατρεύσεις καὶ φιλοσοφήσεις τὸ πέμπτον, οὕτω γάρ μοι φησιν τὸ σὸν εἶδωλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ σελήνην παρελεύση τόπον σὺν ἀγαθῇ καὶ εὐηνίῳ φορᾷ· 5. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἐβουλόμην μὲν εἰπεῖν τὰ κατ' ἐμαυτὴν," εἶτα ἐπισιωπήσασα τῷ λόγῳ βραχύν τινα χρόνον, "ἀλλ' ὁ ἐμός," ἀνεφθέγγετο, "θεὸς με κωλύει." 6. ταῦτα εἰποῦσα, Μοῖραι γὰρ οὕτως ἔνευον, τῷ τε Εὐσταθίῳ συνήλθε, καὶ τὰ λεχθέντα οὐδὲν διέφερε τῶν ἀκινήτων μαντειῶν, πάντα γὰρ ἐγένετο καὶ ἀπέβη καθάπερ γεγενημένα.

9. 1. Προσιστορήσαι δὲ τοῖς γεγενημένοις τάδε ἀναγκαίως εἶη· Σωσιπάτρα, μετὰ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν Εὐσταθίου, πρὸς τὰ αὐτῆς ἐπανελθοῦσα κτήματα, περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν Πέργαμον διέτριβεν· καὶ ὁ μέγας Αἰδέσιος θεραπεύων αὐτὴν ἡγάπα, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐξεπαίδευε.

I perhaps shall attain to one even higher. For your station will be in the orbit of the moon, and only five years longer will you devote your services to philosophy—for so your phantom tells me—but you shall traverse the region below the moon with a blessed and easily guided motion. Fain would I tell you my own fate also." Then after keeping silence for a short time, she cried aloud: "No, my god prevents me!" Immediately after this prophecy—for such was the will of the Fates—she married Eustathius, and her words had the same force as an immutable oracle, so absolutely did it come to pass and transpire as had been foretold by her.

I must relate also what happened after these events. After the passing of Eustathius, Sospatra returned to her own estate, and dwelt in Asia in the ancient city of Pergamon, and the famous Aedesius loved and cared for her and educated her sons.

Ammianus Marcellinus

Res gestae XVII 5, 15, ed. and transl. J. C. Rolfe, 338–339.

15. Hanc legationem nullo impetrato remissam,— nec enim effrenatae regis cupiditati responderi amplius quicquam potuit— post paucissimos dies secutus est Prosper comes et Spectatus tribunus, et notarius itemque Eustathius, Musoniano suggerente philosophus, ut opifex suadendi; imperatoris scripta perferentes et munera, enisuri apparatus interim Saporis arte quadam suspendere, ne supra humanum modum provinciae munirentur arctuae.

15. This embassy having been sent back without obtaining anything—for no fuller answer could be made to the king's unbridled greed—after a very few days it was followed by Count Prosper, Spectatus, tribune and secretary, and likewise, at the suggestion of Musonianus, the philosopher Eustathius, as a master of persuasion; they carried with them letters of the emperor and gifts, and meanwhile planned by some craft or other to stay Sapor's preparations, so that his northern provinces might not be fortified beyond the possibility of attack.

Res gestae XVII 17, 1–2, ed. and transl. J. C. Rolfe, 400–403.

14. 1. Hisce eisdem diebus, Prosper et Spectatus atque Eustathius legati ad Persas (ut supra docuimus) missi, Ctesiphonta reversum regem adiere, litteras perferentes imperatoris et munera, poscebantque rebus integris pacem, et mandatorum principis memores, nusquam ab utilitate Romanae rei maiestateque discedebant,

1. On these very same days Prosper, Spectatus, and Eustathius, who had been sent as envoys to the Persians (as we have shown above), approached the king on his return to Ctesiphon, bearing letters and gifts from the emperor, and demanded peace with no change in the present status. Mindful of the emperor's

amicitiae foedus sub hac lege firmari debere adseverantes, ne super turbando Armeniae vel Mesopotamiae statu quicquam moveretur. 2. Diu igitur ibi morati, cum obstinatissimum regem, nisi harum regionum dominio sibi adiudicato, obdurescentem ad suscipiendam cernerent pacem, negotio redierunt infecto.

instructions, they sacrificed no whit of the advantage and majesty of Home, insisting that a treaty of friendship ought to be established with the condition that no move should be made to disturb the position of Armenia or Mesopotamia. 2. Having therefore tarried there for a long time, since they saw that the king was most obstinately hardened against accepting peace, unless the dominion over those regions should be made over to him, they returned without fulfilling their mission.

Correspondence between Julian the Apostate and Eustathius

Julian, Letter 34 (43) To Eustathius the Philosopher

Ed. and transl. E. Wilmer Cave Wright, 136–139.

Εὐσταθίῳ φιλοσόφῳ.
Μὴ λίαν ἦ κοινὸν τὸ προοίμιον τὸν ἐσθλὸν ἄνδρα, τὰ δὲ ἐφεξῆς οἶσθα δήπουθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔχεις· οἶσθα μὲν γὰρ ἅτε λόγιος ὢν καὶ φιλόσοφος τὸ ἐπόμενον αὐτῷ, ἐμὲ δὲ ἔχεις φίλον, εἶπερ οὖν ἄμφω ἐσθλοὶ ἐσμεν. Ὑπὲρ γὰρ σοῦ τοῦτο κἂν διατειναίμην, ὅτι τοιοῦτος εἶ, περὶ δὲ ἐμαντοῦ σιωπῶ· γένοιτο δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους αἰσθῆσθαι καὶ ἐμοῦ

To Eustathius the Philosopher. Perhaps the proverb “An honest man”—is too hackneyed. I am sure you know the rest. More than this, you possess it; for, rhetorician and philosopher as you are, you know the words that come next, and you possess me for a friend, at least if we are both honest men. On your behalf I would strenuously maintain

τοιούτου. Τί οὖν ὡσπερ ἄτοπόν
τι λέγων κύκλω περίειμι, δέον
εἰπεῖν· ἦκε καὶ σπεῦδε καί, τὸ
λεγόμενον, ἵπτασο; Πορεύσει δέ
σε θεὸς εὐμενῆς μετὰ τῆς Ἐνοδίας
παρθένου, καὶ ὑπουργήσει δρόμος
δημόσιος ὀχήματι, βουλομένῳ
χρησασθαι, καὶ παρίπποις δυσίν.

that you are in that category,
but about myself I say noth-
ing. I only pray that others may
find by experience that I also am
honest! You ask why I go round
in a circle as though I were going
to say something extraordinary
when I ought to speak out? Come,
then, lose no time; fly hither,
as we say. A kindly god will speed
you on your way with the aid
of the Maiden of the Cross Roads
and the state post will be at your
disposal if you wish to use a car-
riage; and two extra horses.

Eustathius the Philosopher, Letter To Julian

Julian, Epistula 83 (Bidez 36), ed. and transl. E. Wilmer Cave Wright, 290–293.

Ἰουλιανῶ Εὐστάθιος φιλόσοφος.
Ὡς ὠνησέ γε τὸ σύνθημα ἡμῶν
μελλῆσαν· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ τρέμειν
καὶ δεδιέναι, φερόμενον ἐπὶ τῆς
δημοσίας ἀπήνης καὶ περιπίπτοντα
κραιπαλῶσιν ὀρεωκόμοις καὶ
ἡμιόνοις ἀκοστώσαις καθ' Ὅμηρον
δι' ἀργίαν τε καὶ πλησμονήν, καὶ
ἀνέχεσθαι κονιορτοῦ καὶ φωνῆς
ἀλλοκότου καὶ ψόφου μαστίγων,
βαδίζειν ἐπὶ σχολῆς περιέστη
μοι δι' ὁδοῦ συνηρεφοῦς καὶ

What an advantage it was for
me that the token came late! For
instead of riding, in fear and
trembling, in the public carriage
and, in encounters with drunken
mule-drivers and mules made res-
tless, as Homer says, from idleness
and overfeeding, having to en-
dure clouds of dust and a strange
dialect and the cracking of whips,
it was my lot to travel at leisure
by a road arched over with trees
and well-shaded, a road that

ἐπισκίου, πολλὰς μὲν κρήνας,
 πολλὰς δὲ ἐχούσης καταγωγὰς
 ἐπιτηδείους τῇ ὥρᾳ μεταξὺ τὸν
 πόνον διαναπαύοντι, ἵνα ἂν μοι
 φανείη κατάλυσις εὐπνοῦς τε
 καὶ ἀμφιλαφῆς ὑπὸ πλατάνοις ἢ
 κυπαρίττοις τισὶ τὸν Φαῖδρον ἐν
 χερσὶν ἔχοντι τὸν Μυρρινούσιον ἢ
 ἕτερόν τινα τῶν Πλάτωνος λόγων.
 Ταῦτά τοι, ὦ πάντα θεία καὶ ἱερὰ
 κεφαλή, ἀπολαύων τῆς ἐλευθέρως
 ὁδοιπορίας, ἄτοπον ὑπέλαβον
 τὸ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο κοινώσασθαί σοι
 καὶ ἀποσημῆναι.

had numerous springs and resting-places suitable to the summer season for a traveler who seeks relief from his weariness on the way; and where I always found a good place to stop, airy and shaded by plane trees or cypresses, while in my hand I held the Phaedrus or some other of Plato's dialogues. Now all this profit, O beloved, I gained from the freedom with which I travelled; therefore I considered that it would be unnatural not to communicate this also to you, and announce it.

Julian, Letter 35 (44) To Eustathius the Philosopher

Julian, Epistula 83 (Bidez 36), ed. and transl. E. Wilmer Cave Wright, 290–293.

Εὐσταθίῳ φιλοσόφῳ.
 Χρῆ ξεῖνον παρεόντα φιλεῖν,
 ἐθέλοντα δὲ πέμπειν Ὅμηρος
 ὁ σοφὸς ἐνομοθέτησεν· ἡμῖν δὲ
 ὑπάρχει πρὸς ἀλλήλους ξενικῆς
 φιλίας ἀμείνων ἢ τε διὰ τῆς
 ἐνδεχομένης παιδείας καὶ τῆς περὶ
 τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας, ὥστε οὐκ ἂν
 μέ τις ἐγράψατο δικαίως <ὡς> τὸν
 Ὅμηρου παραβαίνοντα νόμον, εἰ
 καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖόν σε μένειν παρ' ἡμῖν
 ἡξίωσα. Ἀλλὰ σοι τὸ σωματίον

To Eustathius.
 "Entreat kindly the guest in your house, but speed him when he would be gone." Thus did wise Homer decree. But the friendship that exists between us two is stronger than that between guest and host, because it is inspired by the best education attainable and by our pious devotion to the gods. So that no one could have fairly indicted me for

ιδῶν ἐπιμελείας πλείονος δεόμενον,
ἐπέτρεψα βαδίζειν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα,
καὶ ῥαστώνης ἐπεμελήθην τῆς
πορείας· ὀχήματι γοῦν ἕξεστί σοι
δημοσίῳ χρῆσασθαι. Πορεύοιεν δέ
σε σὺν Ἀσκληπιῷ πάντες οἱ θεοὶ
καὶ πάλιν ἡμῖν συντυχεῖν δοῖεν.

transgressing the law of Homer if I had insisted that you should remain still longer with us. But I see that your feeble frame needs more care, and I have therefore given you permission to go to your own country, and have provided for your comfort on the journey. That is to say, you are allowed to use a state carriage, and may Asclepius and all the gods escort you on your way and grant that we may see you again!

Libanius

Epistula 123, ed. R. Förster, vol. 10, 124–125, transl. S. Bradbury, 187.

Εὐσταθίῳ.

1. Οἱ λέγοντές με πλεῖστον
ἀφεστάναι λόγων ἐμοὶ μὲν ταῦτα
φθέγγονται, σοὶ δὲ ἀντιλέγουσιν.
ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδεπώποτε ἐμαυτὸν
ἡγησάμην ῥητορικόν, σὺ δ'
οὐδεπώποτέ με ἐπαύσω τοῦτο
καλῶν. 2. εἰ δὴ σὺ μὲν θεῖος καὶ
τοῦτό φασιν οἱ θεοί, μάχονται
δ' ἐκεῖνοι τῇ ψήφῳ τῇ σῆ, τίνες
ἂν εἶεν, σκόπει. θαυμάζω δὲ
αὐτῶν εἰ ἐμὲ μὲν ἡγοῦνται τύχη
μὲν ἠνθηκέναι πάλαι, γήρᾳ δὲ
ἀπεσβηκέναι νῦν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐξ
ἀφανείας πολλῆς νυνὶ σοβοῦντες

To Eustathius.

1. Those who say that I fall far short of eloquence say the same thing that I do, but they contradict you. I never believed myself to be an orator, but you never ceased to call me that. 2. If you are 'godlike' (the gods say this is so) and those men fight against your judgement, consider what sort of men they might be. Moreover, I'm amazed at them if they're convinced that in the past I nourished by luck but have now been utterly

οὐκ οἴονται τύχη κεχρησθαι τῇ
 μικρὸν ὕστερον ἀποπτησομένη. 4.
 ἐμὲ μὲν οὖν τούτων οὐδὲν δύναται
 δάκνειν, εἰ δὲ ἤλγουν, εἶχον ἄν,
 ὅθεν ἄν παραμυθίαν ἀγάγοιμι.
 πολλοῖς γὰρ ἐμοῦ βελτίοσι τὰ
 τοιαῦτα ἐπέθετο στόματα, σοὶ καὶ
 τῷ σῷ διδασκάλῳ καὶ τῷ 'κείνου
 καὶ ἔτι γε τῷ 'κείνου. 4. σὺ μὲν οὖν
 ὡς ἄν φιλοσόφων ὁ δοκιμώτατος
 εὐχου τῇ Δίκῃ μεταβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς
 τὸν τρόπον, ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς ἄν τις τῶν
 ἀμαθῶν ὁ σκαιότατος αἰτῶ τὴν
 αὐτὴν θεὸν <έν> τοῖς ἴσοις αὐτοῦς
 διατηρῆσαι τρόποις.

extinguished by old age, while
 they don't believe that they them-
 selves, now strutting about after
 long obscurity, aren't enjoying
 a bit of luck that will flit away
 after a little while. 3. Well, none
 of these remarks can really dig
 at me, and if I were aggrieved, I'd
 have a source from which to draw
 consolation, for such mouths
 have attacked many men better
 than I - you and your teacher and
 his teacher and even his teacher
 as well. 4. So you, as the most dis-
 tinguished of philosophers, pray
 to Justice to change their charac-
 ter, while I, as the most perverse
 of ignoramuses, will ask the same
 goddess to preserve them in their
 same attitudes.

Appendix III. Sources on Eustathius of Sebastea

Socrates Scholasticus

HE II 43, 1-6, GCS NF I, 180, transl. NPNF II 2, 72-73.

Εὐστάθιος δὲ ὁ τῆς ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ Σεβαστείας οὔτε εἰς ἀπολογίαν ἐδέχθη, διότι ὑπὸ Εὐλαλίου τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς καὶ ἐπισκόπου Καισαρείας τῆς ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ ἤδη πρότερον καθήρητο, ἐπειδὴ ἀνάρμοστον τῇ ἱερωσύνῃ στολὴν ἠμφίεστο. Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι εἰς τόπον Εὐσταθίου Μελέτιος κατέστη ἐπίσκοπος, περὶ οὗ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν. Εὐστάθιος μέντοι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ δι' αὐτὸν γενομένῃ ἐν Γάγγραις τῆς Παφλαγονίας συνόδῳ κατεκρίθη, διότι μετὰ τὸ καθαιρεθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ κατὰ Καισάρειαν συνόδῳ πολλὰ παρὰ

Eustathius bishop of Sebastia in Armenia was not even permitted to make his defense; because he had been long before deposed by Eulalius, his own father, who was bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, for dressing in a style unbecoming the sacerdotal office. Let it be noted that Meletius was appointed his successor, of whom we shall hereafter speak. Eustathius indeed was subsequently condemned by a Synod convened on his account at Gangra in Paphlagonia; he having, after his deposition by the council

τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς τύπους ἔπραττεν. Γαμεῖν γὰρ ἐκώλυεν καὶ βρωμάτων ἀπέχεσθαι ἐδογματίζεν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὺς μὲν γεγαμηκότας τοῦ συνοικεσίου ἐχώριζεν, καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐκτρεπομένους ἐπ' οἰκίας τὴν κοινωνίαν ποιεῖσθαι ἀνέπειθεν, δούλους τε προσχήματι θεοσεβείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἀφίστα. Αὐτός τε φιλοσόφου σχῆμα φορῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας αὐτῷ ξένη στολῆ χρῆσθαι ἐποίει, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας κείρεσθαι παρεσκεύαζεν. Καὶ τὰς μὲν ὠρισμένας νηστείας ἐκτρέπεσθαι, τὰς κυριακὰς δὲ νηστεύειν ἐδίδασκεν, ἐν οἴκοις τε γεγαμηκότων εὐχὰς γενέσθαι ἐκώλυε, καὶ πρεσβυτέρου γυναῖκα ἔχοντος, ἦν νόμῳ λαϊκὸς ὦν ἠγάγετο, τὴν εὐλογίαν καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν ὡς μῦθος ἐκκλίνειν ἐκέλευεν. Καὶ ἄλλα πλεῖστα παραπλήσια τούτοις ποιοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ διδάσκοντος σύνοδος, ὡς ἔφην, ἐν Γάγγραις τῆς Παφλαγονίας συναχθεῖσα αὐτόν τε καθεῖλεν καὶ τὰ δόγματα αὐτοῦ ἀνεθεμάτισεν. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐγένετο.

at Cæsarea, done many things repugnant to the ecclesiastical canons. For he had 'forbidden marriage,' and maintained that meats were to be abstained from: he even separated many from their wives, and persuaded those who disliked to assemble in the churches to commune at home. Under the pretext of piety, he also seduced servants from their masters. He himself wore the habit of a philosopher, and induced his followers to adopt a new and extraordinary garb, directing that the hair of women should be cropped. He permitted the prescribed fasts to be neglected, but recommended fasting on Sundays. In short, he forbade prayers to be offered in the houses of married persons: and declared that both the benediction and the communion of a presbyter who continued to live with a wife whom he might have lawfully married, while still a layman, ought to be shunned as an abomination. For doing and teaching these things and many others of a similar nature, a Synod convened, as we have said, at Gangra in Paphlagonia deposed him, and anathematized

his opinions. This, however, was done afterwards.

Sozomen

HE III 14, 31-37, GCS 50, 123-124, transl. NPNF II 2, 293-294.

(31) Ἀρμενίοις δὲ καὶ Παφλαγόσι καὶ τοῖς πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ οἰκοῦσι λέγεται Εὐστάθιος ὁ τὴν ἐν Σεβαστεία τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιτροπεύσας μοναχικῆς φιλοσοφίας ἄρξαι, καὶ τῆς ἐν ταύτῃ σπουδαίας ἀγωγῆς, ἐδεσμάτων τε, ὧν χρῆ μετέχειν καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι, καὶ ἐσθῆτος, ἧ δεῖ κεχρηῆσθαι, καὶ ἡθῶν καὶ πολιτείας ἀκριβοῦς εἰσηγητὴν γενόμενον, ὡς καὶ τὴν ἐπιγεγραμμένην Βασιλείου τοῦ Καππαδόκου Ἀσκητικὴν βίβλον ἰσχυρίζεσθαι τινὰς αὐτοῦ γραφὴν εἶναι. (32) λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῆς ἀκριβείας εἰς παραλόγους ἐπιτηρήσεις ἐκπεσεῖν παν τελῶς ἀπαδούσας τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν νόμων. (33) οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν μὲν τοῦ ἐγκλήματος ἐξαιροῦνται, ἐπαιτιῶνται δὲ τινὰς τῶν αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν ὡς γάμῳ καταμεμφομένους καὶ ἐν οἴκοις γεγαμηκότων εὐχεσθαι παραιτούμενους καὶ τοὺς γεγαμηκότας πρεσβυτέρους ὑπερφρονοῦντας καὶ ἐν κυριακαῖς ἡμέραις νηστεύοντας καὶ ἐν οἰκίαις

It is said that Eustathius, who governed the church of Sebaste in Armenia, founded a society of monks in Armenia, Paphlagonia, and Pontus, and became the author of a zealous discipline, both as to what meats were to be partaken of or to be avoided, what garments were to be worn, and what customs and exact course of conduct were to be adopted. Some assert that he was the author of the ascetic treatises commonly attributed to Basil of Cappadocia. It is said that his great exactness led him into certain extravagancies which were altogether contrary to the laws of the Church. Many persons, however, justify him from this accusation, and throw the blame upon some of his disciples, who condemned marriage, refused to pray to God in the houses of married persons, despised married presbyters, fasted on Lord's days, held their assemblies in private houses,

ἐκκλησιάζοντας καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους
καθάπαξ ἀμοίρους τῆς βασιλείας
τοῦ θεοῦ ἀποφαινομένους καὶ τοὺς
κρέα ἐσθίοντας βδελυττομένους καὶ
χιτῶνας μὲν συνηθεῖς καὶ στολὰς
μὴ ἀνεχομένους ἀμφιέννυσθαι,
ξένη δὲ καὶ ἀήθει ἐσθῆτι χρωμένους
καὶ ἄλλα πλεῖστα νεωτερί ζοντας.
(34) ἐκ τούτου δὲ πολλὰς γυναῖκας
ἀπατηθείσας καταλιπεῖν τοὺς
ἄνδρας· εἴτ' ἐγκρατεύεσθαι μὴ
δυνηθείσας μοιχείαν ἀμαρτεῖν·
τὰς δὲ προφάσει θεοσεβείας τὴν
κεφαλὴν ἀποκείρασθαι καὶ ἀλλοίως
ἢ γυναικί πρέπει, ἀνδράσι δὲ
σύνηθες ἀμφιέννυσθαι. (35) διὰ
δὴ ταῦτα τοὺς πλησιοχώρους
ἐπισκόπους συνελθεῖν ἐν Γάγγραις
τῇ μητροπόλει Παφλαγόνων καὶ
ἄλλοτρίους αὐτοὺς ψηφίσασθαι
τῆς καθόλου ἐκκλησίας, εἰ μὴ κατὰ
τοὺς ὅρους τῆς συνόδου ἕκαστον
τῶν εἰρημένων ἀποκηρύξωσιν.
(36) ἐντεῦθεν δὲ λόγος Εὐστάθιον
ἐπιδεικνύμενον, ὡς οὐκ ἀυθαδείας
ἐνεκεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς κατὰ θεὸν
ἀσκήσεως εἰσηγοῖτο ταῦτα καὶ
ἐπιτηδεῦοι, ἀμεῖψαι τὴν στολὴν καὶ
παραπλησίως τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱερεῦσι
τὰς προόδους ποιήσασθαι. τοιοῦτος
δὲ τὰ περὶ τὸν βίον ὑπάρχων
καὶ ἐπὶ λόγοις ἐθαυμάζετο· τὸ
δὲ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ἐγένετο λέγειν
μὲν οὐ δεινός (οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν περὶ

denounced the rich as altogether
without part in the kingdom
of God, contemned those who
partook of animal food. They
did not retain the customary
tunics and stoles for their dress,
but used a strange and unwont-
ed garb, and made many other
innovations. Many women were
deluded by them, and left their
husbands; but, not being able
to practice continence, they fell
into adultery. Other women, un-
der the pretext of religion, cut
off their hair, and behaved oth-
erwise than is fitting to a wom-
an, by arraying themselves
in men's apparel. The bishops
of the neighborhood of Gangræ,
the metropolis of Paphlagonia,
assembled themselves together,
and declared that all those who
imbibed these opinions should
be aliens to the Catholic Church,
unless, according to the defini-
tions of the Synod, they would
renounce each of the aforesaid
customs. It is said that from that
time, Eustathius exchanged his
clothing for the stole, and made
his journeys habited like oth-
er priests, thus proving that he
had not introduced and practiced
these novelties out of self-will,

τούτου ἐπιστήμην ἐξήσκητο), τὸ δὲ ἦθος θαυμάσιος καὶ πείθειν ἱκανώτατος, ὡς καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἐκπορνευομένων ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν μεταπειῖσαι σώφρονα καὶ σπουδαῖον βίον ἀναλαβεῖν. (37) φασὶ γοῦν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα τινὰ καὶ γυναιῖκα κατὰ θεσμόν ἐκκλησίας παρθενίαν προσποιουμένους καὶ εἰς ταύτων συνιέναι διαβαλλομένους σπουδάσαι τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμιλίας παῦσαι· ἀποτυχόντα δὲ μέγα ἀνοιμῶξαι καὶ εἰπεῖν, ὡς κατὰ νόμον ἀνδρὶ συνοικοῦσα γυνή τοὺς περὶ σωφροσύνης λόγους ἀκούσασα αὐτοῦ συνουσίας ἀπέσχετο, ἧς γαμεταῖς θέμις πρὸς ἰδίου ἀνδρας κοινωνεῖν, τοὺς δὲ παρανόμως συνουσιάζοντας ἀλλήλοις ἀσθενῆ ἀποφῆναι τὴν αὐτοῦ πειθῶ.

but for the sake of a godly asceticism. He was as renowned for his discourses as for the purity of his life. To confess the truth, he was not eloquent, nor had he ever studied the art of eloquence; yet he had admirable sense and a high capacity of persuasion, so that he induced several men and women, who were living in fornication, to enter upon a temperate and earnest course of life. It is related that a certain man and woman, who, according to the custom of the Church, had devoted themselves to a life of virginity, were accused of cohabiting together. He strove to make them cease from their intercourse; finding that his remonstrances produced no effect upon them, he sighed deeply, and said, that a woman who had been legally married had, on one occasion, heard him discourse on the advantage of continence, and was thereby so deeply affected that she voluntarily abstained from legitimate intercourse with her own husband, and that the weakness of his powers of conviction was, on the other hand, attested by the fact, that the parties above mentioned persisted in their illegal course.

HE IV 24, 9, GCS 50, 180, transl. NPNF II 2, 320.

Εὐσταθίου δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ὡς ἠνίκα
 πρεσβύτερος ἦν προκατεγνώκει
 αὐτοῦ Εὐλάλιος ὁ πατήρ καὶ τῶν
 εὐχῶν ἀφώρισε, ἐπίσκοπος ὢν
 τῆς ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ ἐκκλησίας
 Καισαρείας, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐν
 Νεοκαισαρείᾳ τοῦ Πόντου
 ὑπὸ συνόδου ἀκοινωνήτος
 ἐγένετο καὶ ὑπὸ Εὐσεβίου τοῦ
 Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπισκόπου
 καθήρεθη ἐπὶ διοικήσεσιν αἷς
 ἐπετρέπη καταγνωσθεῖς, ἔπειτα
 δὲ ὡς οὐ δέον διδάσκων τε καὶ
 πράττων καὶ φρονῶν ἀφῆρεθη τῆς
 ἐπισκοπῆς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Γάγγραις
 συνελθούτων, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἐν
 Ἀντιοχείᾳ συνόδου ἐπιτοκίας
 ἤλω· καὶ ὅτι ἀνατρέπει ἐπιχειρεῖ
 τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς ἐν Μελιτινῇ
 συνελθοῦσι καὶ πλείστοις
 ἐγκλήμασιν ἔνοχος ὢν δικαστῆς
 ἡξίου εἶναι καὶ ἑτεροδόξους τοὺς
 ἄλλους ἀπεκάλει.

Eustathius, they said, was deposed because, when a presbyter, he had been condemned, and put away from the communion of prayers by Eulalius, his own father, who was bishop of the church of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia; and also because he had been excommunicated by a council held at Neocæsarea, a city of Pontus, and deposed by Eusebius, bishop of Constantinople, for unfaithfulness in the discharge of certain duties that had devolved upon him. He had also been deprived of his bishopric by those who were convened in Gangrœ, on account of his having taught, acted, and thought contrary to sound doctrine. He had been convicted of perjury by the council of Antioch. He had likewise endeavored to reverse the decrees of those convened at Melitina; and, although he was guilty of many crimes, he had the assurance to aspire to be judge over the others, and to stigmatize them as heretics.

Basil**Letter 1 To Eustathius the Philosopher (358)**

Ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 3–5, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 1, 3–7.

Εὐσταθίῳ φιλοσόφῳ.

Ἀπειρηκότα με ἤδη πρὸς τὰς
παρὰ τῆς τύχης ἐπηρείας, παρ'
ἧς αἰεὶ τι πρὸς τὸ μὴ συγγενέσθαι
σοι ἐμπόδιον γέγονε, θαυμαστῶς
πως ἀνεκαλέσω καὶ παρεμυθήσω
τοῖς γράμμασι. Καὶ γὰρ πως ἤδη
καὶ κατ' ἐμαντὸν ἔστρεφον μὴ
ποτε ἀληθές ἐστι τὸ παρὰ τῶν
πολλῶν θρυλούμενον, ὅτι ἀνάγκη
τίς ἐστι καὶ εἰμαρμένη ἢ καὶ τὰ
μικρὰ καὶ τὰ μείζω τῶν ἡμετέρων
ἄγουσα, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐδενός ἐσμεν
οἱ ἄνθρωποι κύριοι· ἢ, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο,
τύχη τις πάντως τὸν ἀνθρώπινον
ἐλαύνει βίον. Καὶ τούτων πολλὴν
συγγνώμην ἔξεις τῶν λογισμῶν,
ἐπειδὴν τὰς αἰτίας ὑφ' ὧν εἰς
αὐτοὺς προήχθη μάθης. Ἐγὼ
κατέλιπον τὰς Ἀθήνας κατὰ φήμην
τῆς σῆς φιλοσοφίας ὑπεριδῶν
τῶν ἐκεῖ. Παρέδραμον δὲ τὴν
ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλιν ὡς οὐδεὶς
Ὀδυσσεὺς Σειρήνων μέλη. Καὶ τὴν
Ἀσίαν ἐθαύμασα μὲν, πρὸς δὲ τὴν
μητρόπολιν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ καλῶν
ἠπειγόμεν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέλαβον
τὴν πατρίδα καὶ σὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ

To Eustathius, the Philosopher.

At a time when I was at last dis-
heartened by the spite of what
men call Fortune, which has al-
ways put some obstacle in the way
of my seeing you, you revived
my spirit and consoled me won-
derfully by your letter. For I was
just turning over in my mind
the popular saying, and wonder-
ing if it were not perhaps true,
that the power which directs
our affairs both great and small
is a certain Necessity or Fate,
while we human beings have
in ourselves authority over noth-
ing; or if not this, that it is a kind
of chance at all events that drives
on the lives of men. You will be
very indulgent with me for har-
bouring these thoughts when
you learn the reasons why I was
drawn to them. Owing to the re-
pute of your philosophy, I left
Athens, scorning everything
there. And I hastened past
the city on the Hellespont as no
Odysseus ever avoided Sirens'

μέγα ὄφελος ζητήσας οὐχ εὖρον,
 ἐντεῦθεν μοι λοιπὸν αἱ πολλαὶ καὶ
 ποικίλαι ἀφορμαὶ τῶν ἀδοκῆτων
 ἐπιγεγόνασιν κωλυμάτων. Ἡ γὰρ
 ἀσθενεῖν πάντως ἔδει καὶ διὰ
 τοῦτο ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν
 ἐῶαν βαδίζοντι συναπαίρειν μὴ
 δύνασθαι, ὁψὲ δέ ποτε μυρίοις
 πόνοις τὴν Συρίαν καταλαβόντα
 οὐκ ἔχειν συνεῖναι τῷ φιλοσόφῳ
 πρὸς Αἰγυπτίους ἀπάραντι.
 Πάλιν οὖν ἔδει Αἰγυπτὸνδε ἰέναι,
 δολιχὴν ὁδὸν ἀργαλέην τε, καὶ
 οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα τὸ σπουδαζόμενον
 ἔχειν. Ἄλλ' οὕτω δύσεως ἦν ὥστε
 ἢ τὴν ἐπὶ Πέρσας βαδίζειν ἔδει
 καὶ συμπροϊέναι εἰς ὅτι μήκιστον
 τῆς βαρβάρων (ἦλθες γὰρ κάκεισε,
 τοσαύτη τις ἦν φιλονεικία τοῦ
 δαίμονος), ἢ αὐτοῦ καθῆσθαι ἐπὶ
 τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὅπερ οὖν καὶ
 συνέβη. Δοκῶ γάρ μοι, εἰ μὴ ὥσπερ
 τι θρέμμα θαλλῶ προδεικνυμένῳ
 ἐπόμενος ἀπηγόρευσα, ἐπέκεινα ἂν
 σε καὶ Νύσης τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἐλθεῖν
 ἀγόμενον, καί, εἴ τι ἔσχατον τῆς
 καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης χωρίον,
 καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιπλανηθῆναι. Καὶ
 τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; Ἀλλὰ τὸ
 τελευταῖον νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς
 χώρας διάγοντι συγγενέσθαι οὐκ
 ἐξεγένετο, μακραῖς ἀρρωστίαις
 ἐξαιρεγομένῳ· αἶ, εἰ μὴ τοῦ γε
 λοιποῦ μετριώτεροι γένοιτο, οὐδὲ

songs. And though I marvelled
 at Asia's wonders. I hurried on
 toward the mothercity of her glo-
 ries. Yet when I reached the fa-
 therland, and searching there for
 you, my great help, found you not,
 from that time on and ever since
 I have encountered many varied
 experiences which have put un-
 expected obstacles in my way. For
 either I had to be sick and con-
 sequently to miss seeing you. or
 I found myself unable to join you
 as you set out for the Orient; and
 when at last by innumerable toils
 I arrived in Syria, I could not be
 with my philosopher, who had
 set out for Egypt. So, once more,
 I was obliged to go to Egypt,
 "a long and weary way," and not
 even there could I have my desire.
 Nay, so love-sick was I that I was
 compelled either to take the road
 to Persia and go with you as you
 advanced to the uttermost limits
 of the land of the barbarians—
 for indeed you went even thith-
 er, so obstinate was the demon
 who kept us apart—or else take
 up my abode here at Alexandria.
 This last is what I actually did.
 For if I had not grown weary
 of following you as a lamb fol-
 lows the shepherd's stall held out

κατὰ τὸν χειμῶνα τῆ λογιότητί σου
 συνεσόμεθα. Ταῦτα οὐχ εἰμαρμένης
 ἔργα, ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς εἴποις; Ταῦτα
 οὐκ ἀνάγκης; Ταῦτα οὐχί, μικροῦ
 δεῖν, καὶ τοὺς τῶν ποιητῶν ἐπὶ
 Ταντάλω μύθους ὑπερεβάλετο;
 Ἄλλ', ὅπερ ἔφην, ῥάων γέγονα
 τοῖς γράμμασι καὶ οὐκέτι ἐπὶ τῆς
 αὐτῆς εἰμι γνώμης. Φημί δὲ χρῆναι
 διδόντι μὲν τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῷ Θεῷ
 χάριν εἰδέναι, ταμιευομένῳ δὲ μὴ
 δυσχεραίνειν. Καὶ δὴ οὖν καὶ ἡμῖν,
 εἰ μὲν παράσχοι τὸ συνεῖναί σοι,
 ταῦτ' ἄριστά τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἥδιστα
 ἠγησόμεθα. Εἰ δὲ ἀναβάλοιτο,
 πράως οἴσομεν τὴν ζημίαν. Ἄμεινον
 γάρ που πάντως ἢ ὡς ἂν ἡμεῖς
 προῖδοίμεθα διοικεῖ τὰ ἡμέτερα.

before it, I really think that you would have been driven on and on even beyond Indian Nyssa, or, if there is an uttermost spot of our world, that you would have wandered even there. But why need I tell the whole long story? Coming last of all to the end of it. though you are now staying in your fatherland, it has not been granted me to be with you, since I have been kept away by long periods of sickness; and if these do not soon become more moderate, we shall not be able to be with Your Eloquence this winter, either Is not all this the hand of Fate, as you yourself would say, and the work of Necessity? Have not these things almost surpassed even the poet's tales about Tantalus? But, as I said, I have been put at ease by the receipt of your letter, and I no longer hold the same opinion. I now say that I ought to give thanks to God when He giveth benefits, and not be vexed with Him when He dispenseth them grudgingly. So, therefore, if He should grant that we be with you, we count it at once the best and the most pleasing gift; but if He 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.

Letter 79 To Eustathius bishop of Sebaste (371)

Epistula 79, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 180–181, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 2, 87–89.

Εὐσταθίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Σεβαστείας
 Καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δέχεσθαι τὰ γράμματα
 ἤδριν τὸν πόνον ὃν ἔχεις ὑπὲρ
 πάσης ψυχῆς, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ ὑπὲρ
 τῆς ἡμετέρας ταπεινώσεως, διὰ
 τὸ προβεβλήσθαι ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι
 τούτῳ, καὶ δεξάμενος δὲ παρὰ
 τοῦ αἰδεσιμωτάτου Ἐλευσινίου
 τὰ γράμματα καὶ αὐτὴν αὐτοῦ
 τὴν παρουσίαν θεασάμενος
 ἐδόξασα τὸν Θεόν, τὸν τοιοῦτον
 παραστάτην καὶ συνασπιστήν, διὰ
 τῆς πνευματικῆς βοθηείας, ἐν τοῖς
 ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἀγῶσι χαρισάμενον
 ἡμῖν. Γινωσκέτω δὲ ἡ ἀνυπέρβλητός
 σου θεοσέβεια μέχρι νῦν προσβολὰς
 μὲν τινὰς παρὰ τῶν μεγάλων
 ἀρχόντων ἡμῖν γεγενῆσθαι,
 καὶ ταύτας σφοδράς, τοῦ τε
 ἐπάρχου καὶ τοῦ περὶ τὸν κοιτῶνα
 διαλεχθέντων ἰδιοπαθῶς καὶ ὑπὲρ
 τῶν ἐναντίων· τέως δὲ ἀτρέπτως
 ἡμᾶς πᾶσαν προσβολὴν ὑπομεῖναι
 τῷ ἐλέει τοῦ Θεοῦ, τῷ χαριζομένῳ
 ἡμῖν τὴν συνεργίαν τοῦ Πνεύματος

To Eustathius bishop of Sebaste
 Even before receiving your letter, I was fully aware of the toil which you undergo for every soul, and especially for our own Humility, because you must bear the brunt in this conflict; and when I received the letter from the most reverend Eleusinius, and saw his very presence before me, I glorified God, who, through His spiritual help, has blessed us with such an assistant and comrade-in-arms in our battles for the Faith. Let your unsurpassed Godliness rest assured that up to the present time some attacks, and these violent ones, have been made upon us by high dignitaries, since both the Prefect and the High Chamberlain have spoken from peculiarly personal motives in favour of our enemies; but so far we have fearlessly sustained every attack through God's

καὶ ἐνδυναμώσαντι ἡμῶν δι' αὐτοῦ
τὴν ἀσθένειαν.

mercy, which is blessing us with
the assistance of the Spirit, and
through Him has strengthened
our weakness.

Letter 119 To Eustathius bishop of Sebaste (372/373)

Ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 23-25, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 2, 241-245.

Εὐσταθίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Σεβαστείας.
Καὶ διὰ τοῦ αἰδεσιμωτάτου καὶ
εὐλαβεστάτου ἀδελφοῦ Πέτρου
προσφθέγγομαί σου τὴν ἀγάπην
παρακαλῶν σε ὡς διὰ πάσης
προφάσεως καὶ νῦν προσεύχεσθαι
ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα μεταβαλλόμενος
ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπευκτοῦ τούτου καὶ
βλαβεροῦ τρόπου γένωμαι
ποτε ἄξιος τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ
Χριστοῦ. Πάντως δέ, κἄν ἐγὼ
μὴ λέγω, διαλεχθήσεσθε πρὸς
ἀλλήλους περὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς
καὶ γνωρισθῆναι ποιήσει σοι τὴν
ἀκρίβειαν τῶν πεπραγμένων, ὥστε
μὴ παραδεχθῆναι ἀβασανίστως
τάς πονηράς καθ' ἡμῶν ὑπονοίας
ἃς εἰκὸς κατασκευάζειν τοὺς
καὶ παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ φόβον
καὶ παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων
ὑπόληψιν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐξυβρίσαντας.
Οἷα γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐνεδείξατο ὁ
γενναῖος Βασίλειος ὃν ἀντὶ
φυλακτηρίου τῆς ἐμῆς ζωῆς παρὰ
τῆς σῆς εὐλαβείας ὑπεδεξάμην

To Eustathius bishop of Sebaste
I address you, my dear friend,
through my most reverend and
pious brother Peter, urging you
on every occasion and especially
now to pray for me, that, being
transformed from this present
abhorrent and harmful nature,
I may one day become worthy
of the name of Christ. But assur-
edly, even if I do not speak, you
and he will converse with one
another about our affairs, and
he will make known to you every
detail of what has happened,
so that you may not admit with-
out investigation the base sus-
picions against us, which these
men are likely to trump up, who,
regardless of the fear of God or
of our reputation among men,
have heaped insults upon us. For
what sort of charges the noble
Basil has brought against us,
the man whom I received from

ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ εἰπεῖν αἰσχύνομαι, εἴσει δὲ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον παρὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν διδαχθεῖς. Καὶ τοῦτο λέγω οὐκ ἐκείνον ἀμυνόμενος (εὐχομαι γὰρ αὐτῷ μὴ λογισθῆναι παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου), ἀλλὰ βεβαίαν μοι τὴν παρὰ σοῦ ἀγάπην μείναι ἡμῖν διοικούμενος, ἣν φοβοῦμαι μὴ διασαλεύσωσι ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς τῶν διαβολῶν ἃς εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς κατασκευάσαι εἰς ἀπολογίαὶν τοῦ πταισματος. Ὅπερ δ' ἂν κατηγορήσωσιν ἡμῶν, ἐκεῖνο παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἀγχινοίας ἐξεταζέσθωσαν εἰ ἐνεκάλεσαν ἡμῖν ἢ τὴν διόρθωσιν τοῦ ἀμαρτήματος οὗ νῦν ἡμῖν ἐπάγουσιν ἐπεζήτησαν ἢ ὅλως φανερὰν ἑαυτῶν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς λύπην κατέστησαν. Νῦν δὲ ἐν φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ τετιμημένοις ἀγάπης ῥήμασιν ἀμύθητόν τινα δόλου καὶ πικρίας βυθὸν τῆς ψυχῆς συγκαλύπτοντες διὰ τῆς ἀνελευθέρου σιωπῆς ἐφάνερωσαν. Ἐφ' ᾧ ὅσον μὲν προξενοῦμεν τὸν γέλωτα τοῖς ἀεὶ τὸν εὐλαβῆ βίον ἐν τῇ ἀθλίᾳ ταύτῃ πόλει βδελυσομένοις καὶ τέχνην πρὸς τὸ πιστευθῆναι καὶ σχηματισμὸν εἰς ἀπάτην τὸ πλάσμα τῆς ταπεινοφροσύνης διαβεβαιουμένοις ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι, πάντως, κἂν ἡμεῖς μὴ διηγησώμεθα, γνώριμον τῇ συνέσει σου· ὡς μηδὲν

your Reverence as a guard of my life, I am indeed ashamed to say; but you will know every detail on being informed by our brother. And this I say, not to avenge myself upon this Basil (for I pray that it may not be laid to his account by our Lord), but to make sure that your love for me shall abide steadfast, since I fear that these men may shake it by the exaggerated slanders which they have probably trumped up in defence of their error. But whatever accusation these persons may bring against us, let them be examined by you with all your acumen as to this—first, whether they have brought a formal complaint against us, secondly, whether they have sought the rectification of the error for which they now attack us, and, finally, whether they have made their grievance against us entirely clear. But as the case now stands, though they conceal within their souls, under their beaming countenances and their counterfeit expressions of affection, a depth of treachery and bitterness that defies description, yet through their ignoble flight they have made their grievance manifest.

ἐπιτήδευμα οὕτως ὑποπτον εἶναι
 πρὸς κακίαν λοιπὸν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα
 ὡς τὸ ἐπάγγελμα τοῦ ἀσκητικοῦ
 βίου. Ὅπως δὲ χρὴ θεραπευθῆναι
 τῆς σῆς ἂν εἶη συνέσεως φροντίσαι.
 Τὰ γὰρ παρὰ Σωφρονίου
 συνερραμμένα ἐγκλήματα ἡμῖν
 οὐκ ἀγαθῶν ἐστὶ προοίμια, ἀλλ'
 ἀρχὴ διαιρέσεως καὶ χωρισμοῦ
 καὶ σπουδῆ τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐν ἡμῖν
 ἀγάπην ἀποφυγῆναι. Ὅν ὑπὸ τῆς
 σῆς εὐσπλαγχνίας παρακαλοῦμεν
 κατασχεθῆναι ἀπὸ τῆς βλαβερᾶς
 ταύτης ὀρμῆς καὶ πειραθῆναι τῇ
 παρ' ἐαυτοῦ ἀγάπῃ κατασφίγγειν
 μᾶλλον τὰ διιστάμενα ἢ τοῖς
 πρὸς διάστασιν ὠρμημένοις
 συνεπιτείνειν τὸν χωρισμόν.

How much sorrow they have brought upon us in this matter, and how much occasion for ridicule they have furnished to those in this unhappy city who constantly express their contempt for the pious life and assert that our pretended practice of chastity is but a trick to get ourselves trusted and a pose intended to deceive, assuredly all this, even if we refrain from stating it, is well known to your sagacity; and the result is that no mode of life is so suspected as vicious by the people here as is the profession of asceticism. How these things should be remedied would be the proper concern of your sagacity to devise. For the charges concocted against us by Sophronius are not a prelude of good things, but a beginning of division and separation and an incentive to the cooling even of the charity within us. We urge that this man be restrained by your kindness of heart from this hurtful impulse of his, and that your affection rather strive to tighten that which is falling apart and not to increase the tendency to schism in those who are eager for disagreement.

Letter 223 Against Eustathius of Sebaste (375)

Ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 8–17, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 287–313.

Πρὸς Εὐστάθιον τὸν Σεβαστηνόν.
 Ἰ. Καιρός, φησί, τοῦ σιγᾶν
 καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ λαλεῖν, τοῦ
 Ἐκκλησιαστοῦ λόγος. Οὐκοῦν καὶ
 νῦν, ἐπειδὴ αὐτάρκης ὁ τῆς σιωπῆς
 ἐγένετο χρόνος, εὐκαιρον λοιπὸν
 ἀνοῖξαι στόμα εἰς φανέρωσιν
 τῆς ἀληθείας τῶν ἀγνοουμένων,
 ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἰὼβ πολὺν
 χρόνον τὰς συμφορὰς ἤνεγκε
 σιωπῆ, αὐτῷ τούτῳ τὴν ἀνδρείαν
 ἐπιδεικνύμενος τῷ ἐγκαρτερεῖν
 τοῖς δυσφορωτάτοις πάθεσιν. Ὅτε
 δὲ ἰκανῶς ἐν τῇ σιωπῇ διήλθε καὶ
 διέμεινε ἐν τῷ βάθει τῆς καρδίας
 ἀποστέγων τὴν ἀλγηδόνα, τότε
 ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα ἐφθέγγετο ἐκεῖνα
 ἃ πάντες ἴσασι. Καὶ ἡμῖν τοίνυν
 τρίτον τοῦτο ἔτος τῆς σιωπῆς
 ζηλωτὸν ἐγένετο τοῦ προφήτου
 τὸ καύχημα λέγοντος: Ἐγενόμην
 ὡσεὶ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἀκούων καὶ
 οὐκ ἔχων ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ
 ἐλεγμούς. Διὸ ἐναπεκλείσαμεν τῷ
 βάθει τῆς καρδίας ἡμῶν τὴν ἐκ τῆς
 συκοφαντίας ἡμῖν ἐγγινομένην
 ὀδύνην. Τῷ ὄντι γὰρ συκοφαντία
 ἄνδρα ταπεινοῖ καὶ συκοφαντία
 περιφέρει πτωχόν. Εἰ οὖν τοσοῦτον
 τὸ ἐκ τῆς συκοφαντίας κακὸν ὥστε

Against Eustathius of Sebaste.
 Ἰ. “A time to keep silence, and
 a time to speak,” reads the pas-
 sage of Ecclesiastes. So now also,
 since the time for silence has
 been sufficient, it is quite in sea-
 son to open my mouth to reveal
 the truth of what is unknown.
 For 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 un-
 bearable 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.
 So in our case also this year has
 been a third year of silence in em-
 ulation of the prophet who made
 the boast: “I became as a man
 that heareth not: and that hath
 no reproofs in his mouth.”
 Wherefore we have locked within
 the depth of our heart the pain
 that arises within us from calum-
 ny. For truly calumny humbleth

καὶ τὸν τέλειον ἤδη (τοῦτο γὰρ διὰ τῆς προσηγορίας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὁ Λόγος αἰνίσσεται) κατὰ γιναι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕψους, καὶ τὸν πτωχόν, τουτέστι τὸν ἐνδεῶς ἔχοντα τῶν μεγάλων δογμάτων (καθὼς καὶ τῷ προφήτῃ δοκεῖ λέγοντι. Ἴσως πτωχοὶ εἰσι, διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀκούουσι, πορεύσομαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀδρούς, πτωχοὺς δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὴν σύνεσιν ἐνδεῶς ἔχοντας λέγων, καὶ ἐνταῦθα, δηλονότι), τοὺς οὐπω κατηρτισμένους τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον, οὐδὲ εἰς τὸ τέλειον ἐφθακότας τῆς ἡλικίας μέτρον (τούτους περιφέρεισθαι καὶ σαλεύεσθαι ἢ παροιμία φησίν), ἀλλ' ὅμως ὥμῃ χρῆναι σιωπῇ φέρειν τὰ λυπηρὰ ἐκδεχόμενός τινα δι' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἐπανόρθωσιν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ κακία τινί, ἀλλ' ἀγνοία τῆς ἀληθείας ἡγούμην ἐκεῖνα καθ' ἡμῶν εἰρήσθαι. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὀρῶ τῷ χρόνῳ συμπροϊοῦσαν τὴν ἔχθραν καὶ μὴ μεταμελομένους ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς λαληθεῖσι, μηδ' ὅπως τὰ παρελθόντα ἐξιάσαιντο ποιουμένους τινὰ φροντίδα, ἀλλ' ἐπεξεργαζομένους καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς σκοπὸν συντεταγμένους ὃν ἐνεστήσαντο, κακῶσαι ἡμῶν τὴν ζωὴν καὶ χρᾶναι τὴν ὑπόληψιν παρὰ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μηχανώμενοι, οὐκέτι μοι τὸ τῆς σιωπῆς ἀσφαλές

a man, and calumny troubleth a poor man. If, therefore, the evil resulting from calumny is so great that it forthwith degrades from his height both the perfect man (for this is what Scripture intimates by the name "man") and the poor man, that is, he who lacks the great teachings (as it seems also to the prophet who says: "Perhaps these are poor, therefore they shall not hear..., I will go to the great men," meaning by "poor" those lacking in understanding; and here clearly he means those who have not yet perfected the inner man, and have not reached the full measure of their age; these the proverb speaks of as being made distraught and tossed about); nevertheless I thought that I ought to bear my pains in silence, awaiting some rectification through their very actions. For I believed that not at all out of any malice, but from ignorance of the truth had these words been spoken against us. But now that I see that their enmity advances with the time, and that they do not repent of what was said in the beginning, and that they do not give any consideration as to how they

καταφαίνεται. Ἄλλ' εἰσηλθέ
 με τὸ τοῦ Ἡσαίου λέγοντος·
 Ἐσιώπησα, μὴ καὶ ἀεὶ σιωπήσομαι
 καὶ ἀνέξομαι; Ἐκαρτέρησα ὡς ἡ
 τίκτουσα. Γένοιτο δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ
 τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ σιωπῇ μισθὸν δέξασθαι
 καὶ λαβεῖν τινα ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγμοῖς
 δύναμιν, ὥστε ἐλέγξαντας ἡμᾶς
 ξηρᾶναι τὸν πικρὸν τοῦτον τῆς
 καθ' ἡμῶν ῥυείσης ψευδηγορίας
 χεῖμαρρον, ὥστε ἂν εἰπεῖν καὶ
 ἡμᾶς· Χεῖμαρρον διῆλθεν ἡ
 ψυχὴ ἡμῶν, καὶ τό· Εἰ μὴ Κύριος
 ἦν ἐν ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ ἐπαναστῆναι
 ἀνθρώπους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ἄρα ζῶντας
 ἂν κατέπιον ἡμᾶς, ἄρα τὸ ὕδωρ ἂν
 κατεπόντισεν ἡμᾶς.

3. Τούτου γοῦν ἔνεκεν θεασάμενός
 τινος ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος ζηλοῦν τὰ
 ἐκείνων ἐπιχειροῦντας, ἐνόμισά
 τινα βοήθειαν εὐρηκέναι πρὸς
 τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν, καὶ
 ἀπόδειξιν ἐποιούμην τῶν ἀφανῶν
 τὰ ὁρώμενα. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἄδηλα τὰ

might make amends for the past,
 but that they strive anew and
 are now rallied for the original
 purpose that they entered upon
 scheming to ruin our life and
 to defile our reputation among
 the brethren, no longer is the se-
 curity of silence evident to me.
 But there came to me the passage
 of Isaias who says: "I have kept si-
 lence; shall I always be silent and
 suffer? I was patient as a woman
 in labour." But may it so be that
 we both receive the reward for
 silence, and obtain some strength
 for the refutation, so that by re-
 futing we may dry up this bit-
 ter torrent of falsehood that has
 flowed against us, so that we too
 may say: "Our soul has passed
 through a torrent," and, if it had
 not been that the Lord was with
 us, when men rose up against us,
 verily they had swallowed us up
 alive, ... verily the waters had
 swallowed us."

3. On this account, then, having
 perceived some in my fatherland
 trying to imitate the example
 of those men, I believed that I had
 found an aid to my own salvation,
 and I considered the things that
 were seen as indications of things

ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ ἐκάστου ἡμῶν,
 ἡγούμην αὐτάρκη μηνύματα εἶναι
 τῆς ταπεινοφροσύνης τὸ ταπεινὸν
 τοῦ ἐνδύματος, καὶ ἤρκει μοι πρὸς
 πληροφορίαν τὸ παχὺ ἱμάτιον
 καὶ ἡ ζώνη καὶ τῆς ἀνεψήτου
 βύρσης τὰ ὑποδήματα. Καὶ πολλῶν
 ἀπαγόντων με τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς
 συνηθείας, οὐκ ἠνειχόμεν ὀρῶν
 αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἀπολαυστικοῦ βίου τὸν
 καρτερικὸν προτιμῶντας, καὶ διὰ
 τὸ παρηλλαγμένον τῆς πολιτείας
 ζηλοτύπως εἶχον πρὸς αὐτούς.
 Ὅθεν οὐδὲ τὰς περὶ τῶν δογμάτων
 διαβολὰς προσιέμην, καίτοι πολλῶν
 διαβεβαιουμένων μὴ ὀρθὰς ἔχειν
 περὶ Θεοῦ τὰς ὑπολήψεις, ἀλλὰ
 τῷ προστάτῃ τῆς νῦν αἰρέσεως
 μαθητευθέντας τὰ ἐκείνου λάθρα
 κατασπείρειν διδάγματα· ὧν ἐπειδὴ
 οὐδέποτε αὐτήκοος ἐγενόμην,
 συκοφάντας ἡγούμην τοὺς
 ἀπαγγέλλοντας. Ἐπεὶ δὲ λοιπὸν
 ἐκλήθημεν εἰς τὴν προστασίαν τῆς
 Ἐκκλησίας, τοὺς μὲν παραδοθέντας
 ἡμῖν φύλακας καὶ σκοπευτὰς
 τοῦ βίου, ἐν προσποιήσει
 δῆθεν βοηθείας καὶ κοινωνίας
 ἀγαπητικῆς, σιωπῶ, ἵνα μὴ δόξω ἢ
 ἄπιστα λέγων ἐμαυτὸν διαβάλλειν,
 ἢ πιστευόμενος μισανθρωπίας
 ἀφορμὴν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἐμποιεῖν.
 Ὅ καὶ ἐμοὶ μικροῦ συνέβη, εἰ
 μὴ με ταχὺ προκατελάβοντο οἱ

that were invisible. Since, there-
 fore, the secret thoughts of each
 of us are unknown, I thought
 that lowliness of dress was suf-
 ficient evidence of lowliness
 of mind; and sufficient for my
 full assurance was the thick cloak
 and the girdle and the sandals
 of untanned hide. And although
 many were trying to lead me
 away from companionship with
 them, I did not suffer it, see-
 ing that they preferred the life
 of endurance to that of pleasure;
 and because of the strangeness
 of their state of life, I was jealous
 for their honour. Wherefore I did
 not admit even the accusations
 about their teachings, although
 many had insisted that they had
 no orthodox conceptions about
 God, but being made disciples
 by the champion of the present
 heresy, they were covertly dis-
 seminating his teachings; and
 since I had never been an ear-wit-
 ness of them, I considered those
 who made these reports slan-
 derers. But when, afterwards,
 we were called to the leadership
 of the Church, as to those who
 were given to us as sentinels
 and spies of our life, under pre-
 text forsooth of assistance and

οἰκτιρμοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Μικροῦ γὰρ εἰς τὴν κατὰ πάντων ἐξέπεσον ὑποψίαν, οὐδὲν ἠγούμενος εἶναι παρ' οὐδενὶ πιστόν, ἐκ τῶν δολερῶν πραγμάτων τὴν ψυχὴν πεπληγμένος. Ἄλλ' ὁμως ἐδόκει τέως εἶναι τι ἡμῖν σχῆμα τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνηθείας. Καὶ προβολαὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο ἡμῖν περὶ δογμάτων ἅπαξ καὶ δῖς, καὶ ἐδόξαμεν μὴ διακρίνεσθαι συμφωνήσαντες. Ὡς γὰρ εὕρισκον ἡμᾶς τὰς αὐτὰς ἀφιέντας φωνὰς περὶ τῆς εἰς Θεὸν πίστεως, ἃς παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἤκουσαν παρ' ἡμῶν (εἰ γὰρ καὶ τᾶλλα ἡμῶν στεναγμῶν ἄξια, ἀλλ' ἐν γε τοῦτο τολμῶ καυχᾶσθαι ἐν Κυρίῳ, ὅτι οὐδέποτε πεπλανημένας ἔσχον τὰς περὶ Θεοῦ ὑπολήψεις, ἢ ἐτέρως φρονῶν μετέμαθον ὕστερον. Ἄλλ' ἦν ἐκ παιδὸς ἔλαβον ἔννοιαν περὶ Θεοῦ παρὰ τῆς μακαρίας μητρὸς μου καὶ τῆς μάμμης Μακρίνης, ταύτην αὐξηθεῖσαν ἔσχον ἐν ἐμαντῶ. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλα ἐξ ἄλλων μετέλαβον ἐν τῇ τοῦ λόγου συμπληρώσει, ἀλλὰ τὰς παραδοθείσας μοι παρ' αὐτῶν ἀρχὰς ἐτελείωσα. Ὡσπερ γὰρ τὸ αὐξανόμενον μεῖζον μὲν ἀπὸ μικροῦ γίνεται, ταῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν ἑαυτῶ, οὐ κατὰ γένος μεταβαλλόμενον, ἀλλὰ κατ' αὐξησιν τελειούμενον. οὕτω

affectionate communion, I am silent, that I may not seem to bring slander upon myself by saying the unbelievable, or, if believed, to engender in those who believed an occasion of hatred for mankind. And this had almost happened to me, if the mercy of God had not speedily forestalled me. I almost fell into suspicion of everybody, thinking that there was nothing trustworthy in anyone, because my very soul had been stricken by their treacherous wounds. But yet, for a time, we seemed to have some semblance of intimacy with them. And we had discussions about doctrinal matters once or twice and we were thought not to be at variance, having agreed in words. But when they found that while we made the same declaration concerning our belief in God as they had heard at all times from us — for granted that the rest of our actions are worthy of lamentation, yet this one matter I dare make boast of before the Lord, that I never held erroneous opinions about God, or, being otherwise minded, unlearned them later. Nay, the conception of God which I received

λογίζομαι ἐμοὶ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον διὰ
 τῆς προκοπῆς ηὔξησθαι) ***
 ὥστε ἐρευνάτωσαν μὲν τὸ ἐαυτῶν
 συνειδός, ἐνθυμείσθωσαν δὲ τὸ
 τοῦ Χριστοῦ δικαστήριον, εἴ
 ποτε ἄλλο τι ἤκουσαν παρ' ἡμῶν
 παρ' ὃ νῦν λέγομεν, οἱ νῦν ἡμᾶς
 διαθρυλήσαντες ἐπὶ κακοδοξία,
 καὶ ταῖς στηλιτευτικαῖς ἐπιστολαῖς
 ἅς συνέγραψαν καθ' ἡμῶν πᾶσαν
 περικτυπήσαντες ἀκοήν. Ὅθεν καὶ
 ἡμεῖς πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγκην ἤλθομεν
 τῆς ἀπολογίας ταύτης.

in childhood from my blessed
 mother and my grandmother Ma-
 crina, this, developed, have I held
 within me; for I did not change
 from one opinion to another
 with the maturity of reason, but
 I perfected the principles hand-
 ed down to me by them. For just
 as the seed, in developing, be-
 comes larger instead of small, but
 is the same in itself, not chang-
 ing in kind but being perfect-
 ed in development, so I consider
 that also in me the same doc-
 trine has been developed through
 progress, and what now is mine
 has not taken the place of what
 existed in the beginning. There-
 fore, let them examine their own
 consciences, let them reflect
 on the judgment-seat of Christ,
 if ever they have heard anything
 else from us contrary to what
 we now say—those who have
 now made common talk of us
 on the charge of heterodoxy and
 have deafened all men's ears with
 the letters of invective which
 they have composed against us.
 Wherefore we also have come
 to the necessity of this pres-
 ent defence.

4. Ἐγκαλούμεθα γὰρ τὴν εἰς Θεὸν βλασφημίαν οὐτε ἀπὸ συγγραφῆς ἢ προεβαλλόμεθα, ἢ ὅσα ἀγράφως ἀπὸ στόματος ἀεὶ ἐν τῷ φανερωῷ ταῖς Ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ διελέχθημεν. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ μάρτυς εὐρέθη ὁ λέγων παρ' ἡμῶν ἀκηκοέναι τι τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐν παραβύστῳ φθεγξαμένων. Πόθεν οὖν κρινόμεθα, εἰ μήτε συγγράφομεν ἀσεβῶς, μήτε δημηγοροῦμεν ἐπι βλαβῶς, μήτε ἐν ταῖς κατ' οἶκον ὁμιλίαις τοῦς ἐντυγχάνοντας διαστρέφομεν; Ὡ τοῦ καινοῦ δράματος. «Ὁ δεῖνα, φησὶν, ἐπὶ τῆς Συρίας ἔγραψέ τινα ὡς οὐκ εὐσεβῶς· σὺ δὲ ἐπέστειλας αὐτῷ πρὸ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν καὶ πλειόνων. Κοινωνὸς ἄρα σὺ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου κατηγορήματα καὶ σὰ γινέσθω.» Ἄλλ', ὦ φίλε τῆς ἀληθείας ἄνθρωπε, ὁ τὸ ψεῦδος γέννημα εἶναι τοῦ διαβόλου δεδιδασκόμενος, πῶς ἐπέισθης ἐμὴν εἶναι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐκείνην; Οὐ γὰρ ἀπέστειλας, οὐδ' ἠρώτησας, οὐδὲ παρ' ἐμοῦ, τοῦ δυναμένου σοι τάληθες εἰπεῖν, ἐδιδάχθης. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐμὸν τὸ γράμμα, πόθεν δῆλον ὅτι τοῦτο τὸ νῦν σοι ἐμπεσὸν σύνταγμα σύγχρονον τοῖς ἐμοῖς γράμμασι; Τίς σοι ὁ εἰπὼν ὅτι εἴκοσιν ἐστὶν ἐτῶν ἢ συγγραφὴ αὕτη; Πόθεν

4. For we are charged with blasphemy against God, although we cannot be convicted from a work that we ourselves have hitherto published about faith, nor from such unwritten spoken words as we have ever openly uttered to the churches of God. Nay, not a witness has been found who says that he has heard anything impious from us when we have spoken in private. Why, therefore, are we brought to judgment, if we neither compose anything impious, nor preach anything harmful, nor in conversations at home pervert those who meet with us? Oh, strange fabrication! So and so, it says, in the region of Syria, has written certain things irreverently; and you wrote to him twenty years and more ago. You, then, are an accomplice of the man, and let the charges against him be against you also. But, my dear man of truth, who have been taught that deceit is begotten of the devil, how have you been convinced that that letter is mine? For you did not write, neither did you ask, nor were you informed brine, the one able to tell you the truth. But even

δὲ δῆλον ὅτι ἐκείνου ἐστὶ τοῦ
 ἀνθρώπου τὸ σύνταγμα πρὸς ὃν καὶ
 ἢ παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐπιστολὴ διεπέμφθη;
 Εἰ δὲ κάκεῖνος ὁ συγγραφεὺς κάγῳ
 ἐκείνῳ ἐπέστειλα καὶ χρόνος εἷς
 τῶν τ' ἐμῶν γραμμάτων καὶ τοῦ
 συγγράμματος, ὅτι παρεδεξάμην
 αὐτὸ τῆς διανοίας καὶ ἔχω ἐν ἐμαυτῷ
 ἐκεῖνο τὸ φρόνημα, τίς ἢ ἀπόδειξις;

5. Ἐρώτησον σεαυτὸν· ποσάκις ἡμᾶς
 ἐπεσκέψω ἐπὶ τῆς μονῆς τῆς ἐπὶ
 τῷ Ἰριδι ποταμῷ, ὅτε δὲ συμπαρῆν
 μοι ὁ θεοφιλέστατος ἀδελφὸς
 Γρηγόριος τὸν αὐτόν μοι τοῦ
 βίουσκοπὸν διανύων; Εἰ ἤκουσάς τι
 τοιοῦτον ἢ ἔλαβες ἔμφασιν μικρὰν
 ἢ μείζονα; Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Εὐσινόης,
 ὅτε, μετὰ πλειόνων ἐπισκόπων
 μέλλοντες ὄρμαῖν ἐπὶ Λάμψακον,
 προσεκαλέσασθέ με, οὐ περι-
 πίστεως ἦσαν οἱ λόγοι; Οὐχὶ δὲ
 πάντα τὸν χρόνον ὅσοι ταχυγράφοι
 παρῆσαν ἐμοὶ ὑπαγορεύοντι τὰ
 πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν; Οὐ τῶν σῶν
 μαθητῶν οἱ γνησιώτατοι πάντα
 μοι τὸν χρόνον συνῆσαν; Οὐ τὰς

if the letter is really mine, yet
 how is it evident that this work
 which has now fallen into your
 hands is of the same time as my
 letter? Who is the person who has
 told you that this treatise is twen-
 ty years old? And how is it evi-
 dent that the work belongs to that
 man to whom the letter from me
 was also sent? But even if that
 man is the writer, and I sent
 a letter to him, and the time
 of my letter and his writing
 is one, what is the proof that I ac-
 cepted it as a belief and hold that
 opinion within myself?

5. Ask yourself: How often did
 you visit us in the monastery
 on the river Iris, when, moreo-
 ver, our most divinely-favoured
 brother Gregory was present with
 me, achieving the same purpose
 in life as myself? Did you ever
 hear any such thing? Did you re-
 ceive any suggestion of it, small
 or great? And how many days
 did we spend in the village oppo-
 site, at my mother's, living there
 as a friend with a friend, with
 conversation astir among us both
 night and day? Were we found
 to hold any kindred thought
 in our minds? And when we set

ἀδελφότητος ἐπισκεπτόμενος καὶ
διανυκτερευῶν αὐταῖς ἐν ταῖς
προσευχαῖς, λέγων καὶ ἀκούων
ἀεὶ τὰ περὶ Θεοῦ ἀφιλονείκως,
οὐκ ἀκριβεῖς παρεῖχον τῆς ἐννοίας
ἐμαντοῦ τὰς ἀποδείξεις; Πῶς οὖν ἢ
ἐν τοσοῦτῳ χρόνῳ πείρα ἐλάττων
ἐφάνη τῆς οὕτω σαθρᾶς καὶ
ἀδρανοῦς ὑπονοίας; Τίνα δὲ ἔδει
πρὸ σοῦ μάρτυρα εἶναι τῆς ἐμῆς
διαθέσεως; Τὰ ἐπὶ Καλχηδόνοιο
λαληθέντα ἡμῖν περὶ πίστεως,
τὰ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ πολλάκις, τὰ
πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς Καισαρείας ἐν τῷ
προαστείῳ, εἰ μὴ πάντα σύμφωνα
παρ' ἡμῶν; Εἰ μὴ πάντα ἀλλήλοις
συμβαίνοντα; Ἐκτὸς τοῦ, ὅπερ
εἶπον, ἐκ προκοπῆς τινα αὐξήσιν
ἐπιθεωρεῖσθαι τοῖς λεγομένοις,
ὅπερ οὐχὶ μεταβολὴ ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ
χειρόνος πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον, ἀλλὰ
συμπλήρωσις τοῦ λείποντος κατὰ
τὴν προσθήκην τῆς γνώσεως. Πῶς
δὲ κάκεινο οὐκ ἐνθυμῆ ὅτι πατήρ
οὐ λήψεται ἀμαρτίαν παιδός, οὐδὲ
υἱὸς λήψεται ἀμαρτίαν πατρός,
ἕκαστος ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἀμαρτίᾳ
ἀποθανεῖται; Ἐμοὶ δὲ οὔτε πατήρ
ὁ παρὰ σοὶ διαβαλλόμενος οὔθ'
υἱός. Οὔτε γὰρ διδάσκαλός μου
γένονεν οὔτε μαθητής. Εἰ δὲ δεῖ
τὰς τῶν γεννησάντων ἀμαρτίας
ἐγκλήματα τοῖς τέκνοις γίνεσθαι,
πολὺ δικαιότερον τὰ Ἀρείου κατὰ

out at the same time to visit,
the blessed Silvanus, did not our
journey include discussions on
these matters? And at Eusinoe,
when you, about to set out for
Lampsacus with several bish-
ops, summoned me, was not our
conversation about faith? And
all the time were not your short-
hand writers present as I dictated
objections to the heresy? Were
not the most faithful of your dis-
ciples in my presence the whole
time? While visiting the brother-
hoods, and spending whole nights
with them in prayer, always
speaking and hearing opinions
about God without contention,
did I not furnish precise proofs
of my own mind? How, then, did
the experience of me for so long
a time appear of less account
than so rotten and feeble a sus-
picion? And who rather than
you ought to have been a witness
to my disposition of mind? Ask
yourself about the things said
by us about faith at Chalcedon,
those often expressed at Her-
aclea, those previously spoken
in the suburb of Caesarea, were
they not all in harmony on our
part. Were they not all consist-
ent with one another?—with

τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ γίνεσθαι
καὶ εἴ τις Ἀέτιον ἐγέννησε τὸν
αἰρετικόν, ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ
πατρὸς ἀναβαίνει τοῦ παιδὸς
τὰ ἐγκλήματα. Εἰ δ' οὐ δίκαιον
ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἐγκαλεῖσθαι τινὰ,
πολλῶ δὴ πού δικαιοτέρον ἡμᾶς
ἐπὶ τοῖς μηδὲν ἡμῖν προσήκουσι
μὴ λόγων ἔχειν εὐθύνας, εἴ γε καὶ
ἡμαρτον ὅλως, εἴ τι καὶ γέγραπται
αὐτοῖς ἄξιον κατακρίσεως.
Συγγνώμη γάρ μοι ἀπιστοῦντι
τοῖς κατ' αὐτῶν λεγομένοις,
ἐπειδὴ ἢ κατ' ἐμοῦ πείρα τὸ
πρὸς συκοφαντίαν εὐκόλον τῶν
κατηγορούντων συνίστησι.

this exception, as I have already said—that through progress a certain amplification is witnessed in what we say, which is not a change from worse to better, but is a completing of that which was lacking, according to the increment of our knowledge. But how can you fail to bear this also in mind, that “the father shall not bear the iniquity of the son, nor the son shall bear the iniquity of the father,” but each in his own iniquity shall die? But for me, he who is being slandered by you is neither father nor son. For he was neither my teacher nor disciple. But if the iniquities of the parents must become charges against their children, it is much more just that the deeds of Arius should be against his disciples; and in the case of him who begot Aetius, the heretic, that the charges of the son should revert upon the head of the father. But if it is not just that anyone be accused on account of these, surely it is much more just that we should not undergo correction on account of those who have nothing to do with us, even if they sinned utterly, even

6. Καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ἀπατηθέντες καὶ νομίσαντες ἐμὲ κοινωνὸν εἶναι τῆς γνώμης τῶν συγγραψάντων ἐκεῖνα τὰ Σαβελλίου ῥήματα ἅπερ αὐτοὶ περιφέρουσιν, ἐπὶ τὴν κατ' ἐμοῦ διαβολὴν ἦλθον, οὐδ' οὕτω μὲν ἦσαν συγγνώμης ἄξιοι, πρὸ ἐναργῶν ἀποδείξεων εὐθύς ταῖς βλασφημίαις βάλλοντες καὶ τιτρώσκοντες τοὺς μηδὲ συνδιατρίψαντας, ἵνα μὴ εἴπω ὅτι καὶ τοὺς εἰς τὴν ἄκραν αὐτοῖς φιλίαν συνδεδεμένους, καὶ ὅτι ἀπόδειξις τοῦ μὴ Πνεύματι ἄγεσθαι Ἁγίῳ τὸ ψευδεῖς ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς τὰς ὑπολήψεις. Πολλὰ δεῖ μεριμνῆσαι καὶ πολλὰς ἀγρύπνους νύκτας διενεγκεῖν, καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν δακρύων ἐκζητῆσαι παρὰ Θεοῦ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, τὸν μέλλοντα φιλίας ἀδελφοῦ διατέμνεσθαι. Εἰ γὰρ οἱ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἄρχοντες, ὅταν τινὰ τῶν κακούργων θανάτῳ καταδικάζειν μέλλωσιν, ἐφέλκονται τὰ παραπετάσματα, καλοῦσι δὲ

if something has been written by them worthy of condemnation. For pardon must be granted me if I disbelieve what is said against them, since my personal experience shows the inclination of accusers toward calumny.

6. For even if they were deceived, and really thought that I was party to the opinion of the men who wrote those words of Sabellius which they themselves are carrying about, when they first began to slander me, not even so were they worthy of pardon, since before they had clear proofs they immediately attacked us with blasphemies and wounded us who had done them no harm—not to add, who were bound to them in the closest friendship, and that a proof of their not being guided by the Holy Spirit is that they hold notions among themselves that are false. For about many things must he be solicitous and many sleepless nights must he spend, and with many tears must he seek the truth from God, who intends to sever himself from friendship with a brother. For if the magistrates of this world, when they are about to pass judgment of death

τοὺς ἐμπειροτάτους πρὸς τὴν
 ὑπὲρ τῶν προκειμένων σκέψιν,
 καὶ πολὺν ἐνσχολάζουσι χρόνον,
 νῦν μὲν τοῦ νόμου τὸ αὐστηρὸν
 ὀρῶντες, νῦν δὲ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς
 φύσεως δυσωπούμενοι, καὶ πολλὰ
 στενάζαντες καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην
 ἀπολοφυρόμενοι πάνδημοι
 πᾶσι γίνονται πρὸς ἀνάγκην
 ὑπηρετοῦντες τῷ νόμῳ, οὐ κατ'
 οἰκείαν ἡδονὴν ἐπάγοντες τὴν
 κατάκρισιν· πόσω χρῆ πλείονος
 σπουδῆς ἄξιον ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ
 μερίμνης καὶ τῆς μετὰ πλειόνων
 βουλῆς τὸν μέλλοντα φιλίας
 ἀδελφῶν ἀπορρήγνυσθαι τῆς
 ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ βεβαιωθείσης;
 Ἄλλὰ μία ἐπιστολὴ καὶ αὐτὴ
 ἀμφίβολος. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν εἴποις
 ἐκ τῶν τῆς ὑπογραφῆς συμβόλων
 αὐτὴν ἐπεγνωκέναι, ὅς γε οὐπω
 τὴν πρώτως γραφεῖσαν, ἀλλὰ
 τὴν μεταγραφεῖσαν εἰς χεῖρας
 ἔλαβεν. Ἐξ ἐνὸς τοίνυν γράμματος
 καὶ τούτου παλαιοῦ. Εἴκοσι γὰρ
 ἔτη ἐστὶν εἰς τὸν νῦν χρόνον ἀφ'
 οὗ γέγραπται τι πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα
 ἐκεῖνον. Ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξύ τούτῳ
 χρόνῳ οὐδένα τοιοῦτον ἔχω
 μάρτυρα τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως
 καὶ τοῦ βίου, ὡς τοὺς νῦν
 ἐφεστῶτάς μοι κατηγόρους.

upon any malefactor, draw aside
 the veils, and call the most ex-
 perienced to the examination
 of the matters at hand, and spend
 much time, now viewing the strin-
 gency of the law and now, show-
 ing consideration for their com-
 mon human nature, after many
 sighs and bewailing the necessity,
 become in the eyes of all serv-
 ers of the law through necessity,
 not bringing on the condemna-
 tion in accordance with their own
 pleasure, of how much care should
 he consider the matter worthy,
 and of study and of counsel with
 a greater number, who is about
 to break off from a friendship
 from brethren which has been
 strengthened by long time? But,
 one letter and that dubious! For
 they could not say that they recog-
 nised it from the marks of the sig-
 nature, since they received into
 their hands, not what was written
 originally, but a copy of it. There-
 fore, my case rests on one letter,
 and that an old one. For it is twen-
 ty years to the present time since
 anything was written to that man.
 And for this intervening time
 I have no such witness to my pur-
 pose and life as those who now
 appear as my accusers!

7. Ἄλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ χωρισμοῦ αἰτία, ἑτέρα δέ ἐστι τῆς διαστάσεως ἡ ὑπόθεσις ἣν ἐγὼ λέγειν αἰσχύνομαι, καὶ ἐσίγησα δὲ πάντα τὸν χρόνον, εἰ μὴ τὰ νῦν πεπραγμένα ἀναγκαίαν μοι καθίστη διὰ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν λυσιτελὲς τῆς ὄλης αὐτῶν προαιρέσεως τὴν φανέρωσιν. Νομιζέτωσαν οἱ χρηστοὶ ἐμπόδιον αὐτοῖς εἶναι πρὸς τὴν τῆς δυναστείας ἀνάληψιν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς κοινωνίαν. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὑπογραφῆ τινι πίστεως προελήφθησαν ἣν ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς προτεínaμεν, οὐκ αὐτοὶ ἀπιστοῦντες αὐτῶν τῷ φρονήματι, ὁμολογῶ γάρ, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὑπονοίας ἃς πολλοὶ τῶν ὁμοψύχων ἡμῶν ἀδελφῶν εἶχον θεραπεῦσαι βουλόμενοι, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς ὁμολογίας ἐκείνης δόξῃ αὐτοῖς ἐμπόδιον ἀπαντᾶν πρὸς τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν νῦν κρατούντων παραδεχθῆναι, ἀπέιπαντο τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς κοινωνίαν, καὶ ἡ ὑπόθεσις τῆς ἀπορρήξεως, τὸ γράμμα τοῦτο, ἐπενοήθη. Σημεῖον δὲ τῶν λεγομένων ἐναργέστατον, ὅτι, ἀποστήσαντες ἡμᾶς καὶ συνθέντες τὰς μέμφεις ἃς ἠβούλοντο καθ' ἡμῶν, πρὶν ἡμῖν ἀποστεῖλαι τὰ γράμματα περιέπεμπον πανταχοῦ. Ἐπτα γὰρ πρότερον ἡμέραις τοῦ

7. And yet the letter is not responsible for the parting, but there is another pretext of the separation, which I am ashamed to mention; and I would have been silent for all time if their recent deeds did not make the disclosure of their entire purpose incumbent upon me for the good of the many. Our excellent friends have decided that communion with us was a hindrance to their recovery of dominion! And when they were forestalled by an outline of faith which we offered them—not because we ourselves mistrusted their mind (for I confess it), but merely because we wished to allay the suspicions against them which most of our brethren of like mind held—in order that nothing from that confession might seem to meet them as an obstacle to their being accepted by those now in power, they have renounced communion with us; and as an excuse for the break this letter was devised. And a very clear proof of what we are saying is that they, after denouncing us and composing such complaints against us as they wished, before communicating with us sent the letter around everywhere.

εἰς τὰς ἐμὰς ἀφικέσθαι χεῖρας ἐφάνη ἢ ἐπιστολή, οἱ ἐξ ἐτέρων διαδεξάμενοι ἐτέροις ἔμελλον παραπέμπειν. Οὕτω γὰρ ἐπενόησαν ἕνα ἐνὶ παραδιδόναι, ἵνα ταχεῖα αὐτῆς κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν γένηται ἢ διάδοσις. Καὶ ταῦτ' ἐλέγετο μὲν ἔτι τότε παρὰ τῶν σαφέστατα ἡμῖν τὰ ἐκείνων ἐξαγγελλόντων. Ἐκρίναμεν δὲ σιωπᾶν, ἕως ἂν ὁ ἀποκαλύπτων τὰ βαθέα σαφεστάτοις καὶ ἀναντιρρήτοις ἐλέγχους δημοσιεύσῃ τὰ κατ' αὐτούς.

Indeed, seven days before it came to my hands the letter appeared in the possession of others; and these, having received it from others, were on the point of sending it to still others. For thus they contrived that one should pass it on to another, in order that the distribution might take place quickly for them throughout all the land. And although these facts were being related even at that time by those who were bringing us the clearest reports of their notions, yet we were determined to keep silence until He who discloses the hidden things should make public their actions with the clearest and most undeniable evidence.

Letter 244, 9 To Patrophilus, Bishop of the Church at Aegae (376)

Ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 82–83, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 471.

Ἀρείω κατηκολούθουν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μετέθεντο πρὸς Ἑρμογένην τὸν κατὰ διάμετρον ἐχθρὸν ὄντα τῆς Ἀρείου κακοδοξίας, ὡς δηλοῖ αὐτῆ ἢ πίσις ἢ κατὰ Νίκαιαν παρ' ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκφωνηθεῖσα ἐξ ἀρχῆς. Ἐκοιμήθη Ἑρμογένης, καὶ πάλιν μετέστησαν πρὸς Εὐσέβιον,

They followed Arius in the beginning; they changed to Hermogenes, who was diametrically opposed to the infamous teachings of Arius, as the creed originally proclaimed by that man at Nicaea shows. Hermogenes fell asleep, and again they changed

ἄνδρα κορυφαῖον τοῦ κατὰ
 Ἄρειον κύκλου, ὡς οἱ πειραθέντες
 φασίν. Ἐκεῖθεν ἐκπεσόντες, δι' ἃς
 δήποτε αἰτίας, πάλιν ἀνέδραμον
 εἰς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ πάλιν τὸ
 Ἄρειανδον ὑπέκρυπτον φρόνημα.
 Παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν ἐπισκοπήν,
 ἵνα τὰ ἐν μέσῳ παραλείπω, ὅσας
 ἐξέθεντο πίστει; Ἐπ' Ἀγκύρας
 ἄλλην, ἑτέραν ἐν Σελευκείᾳ,
 ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, τὴν
 πολυθρύλητον, ἐν Λαμψάκῳ
 ἑτέραν, μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν ἐν Νίκῃ
 τῆς Θράκης, νῦν πάλιν τὴν ἀπὸ
 Κυζίκου, ἧς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐκ
 ἐπίσταμαι, τοσοῦτον δὲ ἀκούω
 ὅτι τὸ ὁμοούσιον κατασιγάσαντες,
 τὸ κατ' οὐσίαν ὁμοιον νῦν
 περιφέρουσι καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸ
 Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα βλασφημίας μετ'
 Εὐνομίου συγγράφουσι.

to Eusebius, the chorus leader
 of the Arian circle, as those who
 have had experience of him say.
 Falling away from this man for
 some reason or other, they again
 ran back to their fatherland, and
 again concealed their Arian sen-
 timents. Arriving at the epis-
 copacy—to pass over the events
 of the interval—how many creeds
 they have set forth! At Ancyra
 one, another at Seleucia, another
 at Constantinople, the celebrated
 one, at Lampsacus another, after
 this the one at Nice in Thrace,
 now again the one at Cyzicus.
 Of this last I only know so much
 as what I hear—that having sup-
 pressed “consubstantiality” they
 now add “like in substance,” and
 they subscribe with Eunomi-
 us to the blasphemies against
 the Holy Spirit.

Letter 263, 3 To the Westerners (377)

Ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 123–124, transl. R. J. Deferrari, vol. 4, 93–97.

Ἔστι τοίνυν εἷς τῶν πολλῶν
 ἡμῖν κατασκευαζόντων λύπην,
 Εὐστάθιος ὁ ἐκ τῆς Σεβαστείας
 τῆς κατὰ τὴν μικρὰν Ἀρμενίαν, ὃς
 πάλαι μαθητευθεὶς τῷ Ἀρείῳ, καὶ
 ὅτε ἤκμαζεν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας

Now one of those who caus-
 es us much sorrow is Eustathi-
 us of Sebaste in Lesser Arme-
 nia, who, taught of old by Arius
 at the time when Arius flour-
 ished at Alexandria, as the author

τὰς πονηρὰς κατὰ τοῦ Μονογενοῦς
 συνθεῖς βλασφημίας ἀκολουθῶν
 ἐκείνῳ καὶ τοῖς γνησιωτάτοις αὐτοῦ
 τῶν μαθητῶν ἐναριθμούμενος,
 ἐπειδὴ ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ,
 τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ
 Ἐρμογένει τῷ Καισαρείας κρίνοντι
 αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ κακοδοξίᾳ ὁμολογίαν
 ἔδωκε πίστεως ὑγιοῦς. Καὶ
 οὕτω τὴν χειροτονίαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
 δεξάμενος Εὐστάθιος μετὰ τὴν
 ἐκείνου κοίμησιν εὐθὺς πρὸς τὸν
 ἐπὶ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως
 Εὐσέβιον ἔδραμεν, οὐδενὸς
 ἔλαττον καὶ αὐτὸν τὸ δυσσεβὲς
 δόγμα τοῦ Ἀρείου πρεσβεύοντα.
 Εἴτα ἐκεῖθεν δι' ἃς δήποτε αἰτίας
 ἀπελαθεῖς ἐλθὼν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς
 πατρίδος ἀπελογήσατο πάλιν·
 τὸ μὲν δυσσεβὲς ἐπικρυπτόμενος
 φρόνημα, ῥημάτων δέ τινα
 ὀρθότητα προβαλλόμενος.
 Καὶ τυχὼν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, ὡς
 ἔτυχεν, εὐθὺς φαίνεται γράψας
 ἀναθεματισμὸν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου
 ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀγκύραν γενομένῳ
 αὐτοῖς συλλόγῳ. Κάκειθεν ἐπὶ τὴν
 Σελεύκειαν ἐλθὼν ἔγραψε μετὰ τῶν
 ἑαυτοῦ ὁμοδόξων ἅ πάντες ἴσασι.
 Ἐν δὲ τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει
 συνέθετο πάλιν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν
 αἰρετικῶν προταθεῖσι. Καὶ οὕτως
 ἀπελαθεῖς τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς διὰ τὸ
 ἐν τῇ Μελιτηνῇ προκαθηρῆσθαι

of those wicked blasphemies
 against the Only-begotten, fol-
 lowing him and being num-
 bered among his most faithful
 disciples, on returning to his
 own country, gave a confession
 of sound faith to the most bless-
 ed bishop Hermogenes of Cae-
 sarea, who was judging him on
 the charge of false doctrine. And
 having thus received ordination
 at his hands, after the decease
 of the latter, he ran to Euse-
 bius of Constantinople, a man
 who himself less than no one
 sponsored the impious doctrine
 of Arius. Then after being driv-
 en for some cause or other from
 that place, he returned and made
 a defence again before the peo-
 ple of his own country, conceal-
 ing his impious sentiments and
 screening himself behind a kind
 of orthodoxy of words. And when
 he somehow obtained the bishop-
 ric, he seems immediately to have
 written an anathema of con-
 substantiation at their synod
 convened at Ancyra. And going
 thence into Seleucia, in con-
 junction with those who held
 the same opinions as himself, he
 did what all know. And at Con-
 stantinople he again agreed with

ὁδὸν ἐαυτῷ τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως
ἐπενόησε τὴν ὡς ὑμᾶς ἄφιξιν. Καὶ
τίνα μὲν ἐστὶν ἃ προετάθη αὐτῷ
παρὰ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου ἐπισκόπου
Λιβερίου, τίνα δὲ ἃ αὐτὸς συνέθετο
ἀγνοοῦμεν, πλὴν ὅτι ἐπιστολὴν
ἐκόμισεν ἀποκαθιστῶσαν αὐτόν,
ἣν ἐπιδείξας τῇ κατὰ Τύαναν
συνόδῳ ἀποκατέστη τῷ τόπῳ.
Οὗτος νῦν πορθεῖ τὴν πίστιν
ἐκείνην ἐφ' ἧ ἔδέχθη καὶ τοῖς
ἀναθεματίζουσι τὸ ὁμοούσιον
σύνεστι καὶ πρωτοστάτης ἐστὶ τῆς
τῶν Πνευματομάχων αἱρέσεως.

the proposals of the heretics. And
when he had accordingly been
expelled from his episcopacy on
account of his former deposi-
tion at Melitine, he conceived
of the visit to you as a means
of restoring himself. And what
it was that was proposed to him
by the most blessed bishop Li-
berius, and what it was that he
himself agreed to, we know not,
except that he brought back a let-
ter restoring him, by display-
ing which at the synod of Tya-
na he was restored to his place.
This man now tries to destroy
that creed on the basis of which
he was received, and he asso-
ciates with those who anath-
ematize consubstantiation,
and is the leader of the heresy
of the pneumatomachi.

Appendix IV. The Council of Gangra

The synodical letter

Epistula synodica, ed. P. P. Joannou, 85–89, transl. O. L. Yarbrough, 449–451.

Συνοδικὴ ἐπιστολή

Κυρίοις τιμιωτάτοις ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ
συλλειτουργοῖς Εὐσέβιος, Αἰλιανός,
Εὐγένιος, Ὀλύμπιος, Βιθυνικός,
Γρηγόριος, Φιλητός, Πάππος,
Εὐλάλιος, Ὑπάτιος, Προαιρέσιος,
Βασίλειος, Βάσσοσ, οἱ συνελθόντες
εἰς τὴν κατὰ Γάγγραν ἁγίαν
σύνοδον, ἐν κυρίῳ χαίρειν.

Ἐπειδὴ συνελθοῦσα ἡ ἁγιωτάτη
σύνοδος τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐν τῇ κατὰ
Γάγγραν ἐκκλησίᾳ διὰ τινὰς [86]
ἐκκλησιαστικὰς χρείας, ζητουμένων

The synodical letter

Eusebius, Aelian, Eugenius,
Olympius, Bithynius, Gregory,
Philetus, Pappus, Eulalius, Hypa-
tius, Proaeresius, Basil, and Bas-
sus, convened in [450] holy synod
at Gangra: to their most honored
lords and fellow ministers in Ar-
menia, greetings in the Lord.

Inasmuch as the most holy syn-
od of bishops, having convened
in the church at Gangra on ac-
count of certain pressing matters

καὶ τῶν κατ' Εὐστάθιον, εὕρισκε
πολλὰ ἀθέσμως γινόμενα ὑπὸ
τούτων αὐτῶν τῶν περὶ Εὐστάθιον,
ἀναγκαίως ὥρισε καὶ πᾶσι φανερὸν
ποιῆσαι ἐσπούδασεν εἰς ἀναίρεσιν
τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κακῶς γινομένων.

καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ καταμémφεσθαι
αὐτοῦς τὸν γάμον καὶ ὑποτίθεσθαι,
ὅτι οὐδεὶς τῶν ἐν γάμῳ ὄντων
ἐλπίδα παρὰ θεῶ ἔχει, πολλαὶ
γυναῖκες ὑπανδροὶ ἀπατηθεῖσαι
τῶν ἑαυτῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀνεχώρησαν
καὶ ἄνδρες τῶν ἰδίων γυναικῶν,
εἶτα ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ μὴ δυνηθεῖσαι
ἐγκρατεῖν ἐμοιχεύθησαν, καὶ
διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην ὑπόθεσιν
ὠνειδίσθησαν· εὕρισκοντο δὲ καὶ
ἀναχωρήσεις ἐκ τῶν οἴκων τοῦ
θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ποιούμενοι,
καταφρονητικῶς διακείμενοι
κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν ἐν
τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ ἰδίᾳ συνάξεις
ποιούμενοι καὶ ἐκκλησιάσεις
καὶ διδασκαλίας ἐτέρας, καὶ τὰ
ἄλλα κατὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ
κατὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· [87]
ξένα ἀμφιάσματα ἐπὶ καταπτώσει

of ecclesiastical business, when
the affairs concerning Eustathius
were also investigated, discov-
ered that many things were being
done unlawfully by Eustathius's
followers, it has out of necessi-
ty established guidelines [con-
cerning these things] and has
hastened to make [them] known
to all in order to put an end
to the things being done evilly
by him.

For as a result of their condemna-
tion of marriage and their en-
joining that no one who is mar-
ried has hope before God, many
married women, being deceived,
have withdrawn from their own
husbands, and men from their
own wives. Then afterwards,
not being able to control them-
selves, the women have commit-
ted adultery. And for this reason,
they have fallen into reproach.
Moreover, they were found to be
promoting withdrawal from
the houses of God and the church,
[and] disposed contemptuously
against the church and the things
[done] in the church, have es-
tablished their own assemblies,
churches, different teachings,
and other things in opposition

κοινότητος τῶν ἀμφιασμάτων
 συνάγοντες· καρποφορίας τε τὰς
 ἐκκλησιαστικὰς τὰς ἀνέκαθεν
 διδομένας τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἑαυτοῖς
 καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἀγίοις
 τὰς διαδόσεις ποιούμενοι· καὶ
 δοῦλοι δεσποτῶν ἀναχωροῦντες
 καὶ διὰ τοῦ ξένου ἀμφιάσματος
 καταφρόνησιν κατὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν
 ποιούμενοι· καὶ γυναῖκες παρὰ
 τὸ σύνηθες ἀντὶ ἀμφιασμάτων
 γυναικείων ἀνδρικὰ ἀμφιάσματα
 ἀναλαμβάνουσαι καὶ ἐκ τούτων
 οἰόμεναι δικαιούσθαι· πολλὰ
 δὲ ἀποκείρονται προφάσει
 θεοσεβείας τὴν φύσιν τῆς κόμης
 τῆς γυναικείας· νηστείας τε ἐν
 κυριακῇ ποιούμενοι καὶ τῆς
 ἀγιότητος τῆς ἐλευθέρας ἡμέρας
 καταφρονοῦντες καὶ τῶν νηστειῶν
 τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τεταγμένων
 ὑπερφρονοῦντες καὶ ἐσθίοντες,
 καὶ τινες αὐτῶν μεταλήψεις κρεῶν
 βδελυττόμενοι· καὶ ἐν οἴκοις
 γεγαμηκότων εὐχὰς ποιεῖσθαι μὴ
 βουλόμενοι καὶ [88] γινομένων
 εὐχῶν καταφρονοῦντες καὶ
 πολλάκις προσφορῶν ἐν αὐταῖς
 ταῖς οἰκίαις τῶν γεγαμηκότων
 γινομένων μὴ μεταλαμβάνοντες·
 καὶ πρεσβυτέρων γεγαμηκότων
 ὑπερφρονοῦντες καὶ τῶν
 λειτουργιῶν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν
 γινομένων μὴ ἀπτόμενοι· καὶ

to the churches and the things
 [done] in the church. They wear
 strange dress to the downfall
 of the common mode of dress;
 ecclesiastical funds that have
 always been given to the church
 they distribute to themselves and
 their followers, as if [they were
 making distributions] to saints;
 slaves withdraw from their mas-
 ters and, because of their strange
 dress, despise their masters;
 contrary to custom, women put
 on male dress in place of wom-
 en's, thinking they are justified
 by this; and many [women], under
 pretext of piety, cut off the nat-
 ural growth of feminine hair;
 they observe fasts on the Lord's
 day and despise the holiness
 of the free day and, condemning
 the fasts ordained in the church-
 es, they eat [during these fasts];
 some of them loathe the eating
 of meat; they do not wish to make
 prayers in the homes of married
 persons and despise such prayers
 when they are made; frequently
 they do not participate in the ob-
 lations taking place in the very
 houses of married persons; they
 condemn married presbyters;
 they do not engage in the litur-
 gies when performed by married

τάς συνάξεις τῶν μαρτύρων
καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ συνερχομένων καὶ
λειτουργούντων καταγινώσκοντες·
καὶ πλουσίων δὲ τῶν μὴ πάντων
τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀναχωρούντων
ὡς ἐλπίδα παρὰ θεῷ μὴ ἔχόντων·
καὶ πολλὰ ἄλλα ἃ ἀριθμῆσαι
οὐδεὶς ἂν δυνηθεῖη· ἕκαστος γὰρ
αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ κανόνος τοῦ
ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ ἐξῆλθεν, ὡσπερ
νόμους ἰδιάζοντας ἔσχεν· οὔτε
γὰρ κοινὴ γνώμη αὐτῶν ἀπάντων
ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ὅπερ ἂν
ἐνεθυμήθη, τοῦτο προσέθηκεν
ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ
ἑαυτοῦ βλάβη.

Διὰ οὖν ταῦτα ἠναγκάσθη ἡ
παραγενομένη ἐν Γάγγραις
ἁγία σύνοδος καταψηφίσασθαι
αὐτῶν καὶ ὄρους ἐκθέσθαι,
ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ εἶναι τῆς [89]
ἐκκλησίας· εἰ δὲ μεταγνοῖεν καὶ
ἀναθεματίζοιεν ἕκαστον τούτων
τῶν κακῶς λεχθέντων, δεκτοῦς
αὐτοῦς γίνεσθαι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
ἐξέθετο ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἕκαστον,
ὃ ὀφείλουσιν ἀναθεματίσαντες
δεχθῆναι. Εἰ δὲ τις μὴ πεισθεῖη
τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν, ὡς αἰρετικὸν
αὐτὸν ἀναθεματισθῆναι καὶ εἶναι
ἀκοινωνητον καὶ κεχωρισμένον
τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ δεήσει τοὺς
ἐπισκόπους ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν

presbyters; they deplore the as-
sembly of the martyrs and those
who gather and conduct ser-
vices there. For each of [451]
them, upon leaving the rule
of the church, became, as it were,
a law unto himself. For there
is not a common opinion among
the whole lot of them, but each
puts forward whatever he thinks,
to the slander of the church and
to his own harm.

Because of these things, the holy
synod convened in Gangra was
compelled to vote in condem-
nation of them and to set forth
definitions, to the effect that
they are outside the church. But
if they repent and anathema-
tize each of the things recounted
as evil, they will be acceptable.
And to this end the holy syn-
od has set forth everything they
must anathematize in order to be
received. But if anyone should
not comply with the things listed
[herein], such a one is anathe-
matized as a heretic and will be
excommunicated and separated

εὐρισκομένων παρ' αὐτοῖς
τοιούτον παραφυλάξασθαι.

from the church. And it will be necessary for the bishops to be on guard against such behavior in all things discovered among them.

Canons

Canones, ed. P. P. Joannou, 89–99, transl. O. L. Yarbrough, 451–454.

A. Περὶ τῶν βδελυσομένων τῶν
νόμιμον γάμον.

Εἴ τις τὸν γάμον μέμφοιτο, καὶ
τὴν καθεύδουσαν μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
αὐτῆς, οὕσαν πιστὴν καὶ εὐλαβῆ,
βδελύσσοιτο ἢ μέμφοιτο, ὡς ἂν μὴ
δυναμένους εἰς βασιλείαν εἰσελθεῖν,
ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. [90]

Canon I.

If anyone censures marriage, and loathes or censures the faithful and pious woman who sleeps with her husband, claiming she is not able to enter the kingdom, let such a one be anathema.

B. Περὶ τῶν βδελυσομένων
τὴν κρεωφαγίαν.

Εἴ τις ἐσθίοντα κρέατα, χωρὶς
αἵματος καὶ εἰδωλοθύτου καὶ
πνικτοῦ, μετὰ εὐλαβείας καὶ
πίστεως, κατακρίνοι, ὡς ἂν διὰ τὸ
μεταλαμβάνειν ἐλπίδα μὴ ἔχοντα
σωτηρίας, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

Canon II.

If anyone condemns those who with reverence and faith eat meat that is without blood, has not been sacrificed to idols, and is not strangled, claiming that because of their partaking they are without hope, let such a one be anathema.

Γ. Περὶ δούλων τῶν ἐν
χριστιανισμοῦ προφάσει τῶν
οἰκείων δεσποτῶν ἀφηγιώντων.

Εἴ τις δούλον προφάσει θεοσεβείας
διδάσκοι καταφρονεῖν δεσπότην

Canon III.

If, under pretext of piety, any-one teaches a slave to despise his

καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν τῆς ὑπηρεσίας, καὶ μὴ μετ' εὐνοίας καὶ πάσης τιμῆς τῷ ἑαυτοῦ δεσπότη ἐξυπηρετεῖσθαι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. [91]

Δ. Περὶ τῶν διακρινομένων ἀπὸ γεγαμηκότων κοινωνῆσαι πρεσβυτέρων. Ἐἴ τις διακρίνοιτο παρὰ πρεσβυτέρου γεγαμηκότος, ὡς μὴ χρῆναι λειτουργήσαντος αὐτοῦ προσφορᾶς μεταλαμβάνειν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

Ε. Περὶ τῶν τὰς ἐν ἐκκλησίαις συνάξεις εὐτελιζόντων. Ἐἴ τις διδάσκει τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ εὐκαταφρόνητον εἶναι καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ συνάξεις, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

ς. Περὶ τῶν τὰς λειτουργίας ἔξω τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ποιουμένων. Ἐἴ τις παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἰδίᾳ ἐκκλησιάζοι, καταφρονῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας [92] ἐθέλοι πράττειν, μὴ συνόντος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

master and to withdraw from service and not to serve his master to the utmost with good will and all honor, let such a one be anathema.

Canon IV.

If anyone separates himself from a married presbyter, claiming that it is not necessary to partake of the offering when he is celebrating, let such a one be anathema. [452]

Canon V.

If anyone teaches that the house of God and the assemblies held in it are readily despised, let such a one be anathema.

Canon VI.

If anyone assembles outside the church on his or her own initiative and, despising the church, desires to perform church functions in the absence of a presbyter who conforms to the judgment of the bishop, let such a one be anathema.

Z. Περὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν
καρποφοριῶν τῶν παρὰ γνώμην
τοῦ ἐπισκόπου.

Εἴ τις καρποφορίας ἐκκλησιαστικὰς
ἐθέλοι ἔξωθεν τῆς ἐκκλησίας
λαμβάνειν ἢ διδόναι παρὰ
γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἢ τοῦ
ἐγκεχειρισμένου τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ
μὴ μετὰ γνώμης αὐτοῦ ἐθέλοι
πράττειν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

H. Περὶ τῶν εἰς πτωχοὺς
καρποφοριῶν δίχα τοῦ
ἐπισκόπου γινομένων.

Εἴ τις διδοῖ ἢ λαμβάνει
καρποφορίαν παρεκτὸς τοῦ
ἐπισκόπου ἢ τοῦ ἐπιτεταγμένου εἰς
οἰκονομίαν εὐποιίας, καὶ ὁ διδοὺς
καὶ ὁ λαμβάνων ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. [93]

Θ. Περὶ τῶν παρθενευόντων ὡς
βδελυσομένων τὸν γάμον.

Εἴ τις παρθενεύει ἢ ἐγκρατεύει,
ὡς βδελυκτῶν ὄντων τῶν γάμων
ἀναχωρήσας καὶ μὴ δι' αὐτὸ τὸ
καλὸν τῆς παρθενίας ὄνομα,
ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

I. Περὶ τῶν ἐν
παρθενίᾳ ἐπαιρομένων.

Canon VII.

If anyone wishes to receive or give church funds outside the church, contrary to the will of the bishop or the one entrusted with such matters, and wishes to act without his consent, let such a one be anathema.

Canon VIII.

If anyone, except the bishop or the one commissioned with the stewardship of alms, gives or receives funds, let the one giving and the one receiving be anathema.

Canon IX.

If anyone practices virginity or self-control, withdrawing from marriage as if it were a loathsome thing and not because of the inherent beauty and sanctity of virginity, let such a one be anathema.

Canon X.

Εἴ τις τῶν παρθενευόντων διὰ
τὸν κύριον καταπαίρετο τῶν
γεγαμηκότων, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

If any of those who practice
virginity for the Lord's sake
acts arrogantly toward those
who are married, let such a one
be anathema.

ΙΑ. Περὶ τῶν τὰς ἐπὶ πτωχῶν
ἀγάπας ἐν γέλωτι θεμένων.
Εἴ τις καταφρονοίη τῶν ἐκ πίστεως
ἀγάπας ποιούντων καὶ διὰ τὴν
τιμὴν τοῦ κυρίου συγκαλούντων
τοὺς [94] ἀδελφούς, καὶ μὴ θέλοι
κοινωνεῖν ταῖς κλήσεσι διὰ
τὸ ἐξευτελίζειν τὸ γινόμενον,
ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

Canon XI.

If anyone despises those who
hold love feasts out of faith and
invite the brothers out of honor
for the Lord, and does not wish
to accept invitations out of dis-
dain for what is done, let such
a one be anathema.

ΙΒ. Περὶ τῶν περιβολαίῳ
χρωμένων καὶ καταφρονούντων
τῶν βήρους φορούντων.
Εἴ τις διὰ νομιζομένην ἄσκησιν
περιβολαίῳ χρῆται, καὶ ὡς ἂν ἐκ
τούτου τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἔχων
καταψηφίζοιτο τῶν μετ' εὐλαβείας
τὰς βήρους φορούντων καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ
κοινῇ καὶ ἐν συνηθείᾳ οὔσῃ ἐσθῆτι
κεχρημένων, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

Canon XII.

If, because of presumed asceti-
cism, any man wear the peribo-
leum and, claiming that one has
righteousness because of this,
pronounces [453] judgment
against those who with rever-
ence wear the berus and make use
of other common and customary
clothing, let him be anathema.

ΙΓ. Περὶ γυναικῶν τῶν
ἀμφιάσμασιν ἀνδρῶν κεχρημένων.
Εἴ τις γυνὴ διὰ νομιζομένην
ἄσκησιν μεταβάλλοι τὸ ἀμφίασμα
καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰωθότος γυναικείου

Canon XIII.

If, because of presumed as-
ceticism, any woman change
her clothing, and in place

ἀμφιάσματος [95] ἀνδρεῖον
ἀναλάβοι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

of the clothing customary for
women adopt that of men, let her
be anathema.

ΙΔ. Περὶ γυναικῶν τῶν τοὺς ἰδίους
ἄνδρας καταλιμπανουσῶν.

Canon XIV.

Εἴ τις γυνὴ καταλιμπάνοι τὸν
ἄνδρα καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν αὐτοῦ
ἐθέλοι, βδελυσομένη τὸν γάμον,
ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

If any woman abandons her
husband and wishes to with-
draw from marriage because she
loathes it, let her be anathema.

ΙΕ. Περὶ τῶν ἐν προφάσει
εὐλαβείας περιορῶντων τὰ τέκνα.

Canon XV.

Εἴ τις καταλιμπάνοι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ
τέκνα καὶ μὴ τεκνοτροφοῖ καὶ
τὸ ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτῷ πρὸς θεοσέβειαν
τὴν προσήκουσαν ἀνάγοι, ἀλλὰ
προφάσει τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἀμελοῖη,
ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. [96]

If anyone abandons his or her
own children and does not pro-
vide for them and, as far as possi-
ble, rear them in accordance with
the proper piety, but under pre-
text of asceticism neglects them,
let such a one be anathema.

Ις. Περὶ τῶν ἐν προφάσει εὐλαβείας
περιορῶντων γονέας.

Canon XVI.

Εἴ τινα τέκνα γονέων, μάλιστα
πιστῶν, ἀναχωροῖ προφάσει
θεοσεβείας καὶ μὴ τὴν καθήκουσαν
τιμὴν τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἀπονέμοι,
προτιμωμένης δηλονότι παρ' αὐτῶν
τῆς θεοσεβείας, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

If, under pretext of asceticism,
any children abandon their par-
ents, especially [if the parents are]
believers, and do not bestow on
them the honor that is their due,
that is to say, shall prefer piety
to them, let them be anathema.

ΙΖ. Περὶ γυναικῶν προφάσει
εὐλαβείας ἀποκειρομένων.

Canon XVII.

Εἴ τις τῶν γυναικῶν διὰ νομιζομένην θεοσέβειαν ἀποκείροιτο τὴν κόμην, ἣν ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς εἰς ὑπόμνησιν τῆς ὑποταγῆς, ὡς ἂν παραλύουσα τὸ πρόσταγμα τῆς ὑποταγῆς, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

ΙΗ. Περὶ τῶν ἐν

κυριακαῖς νηστευόντων.

Εἴ τις διὰ νομιζομένην ἄσκησιν ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ νηστεύοι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. [97]

ΙΘ. Περὶ τῶν τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς νηστευόντων νηστείας.

Εἴ τις τῶν ἀσκούντων χωρὶς σωματικῆς ἀνάγκης ὑπερηφανεύοιτο καὶ τὰς παραδεδομένας νηστείας εἰς τὸ κοινὸν καὶ φυλαττομένας ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας παραλύοι, ἐπικυροῦντος ἐν αὐτῷ τελείου λογισμοῦ, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

Κ. Περὶ τῶν τὰς μαρτύρων βδελυσομένων συνάξεις.

Εἴ τις αἰτιᾶται ὑπερηφάνῳ διαθέσει κεχρημένος καὶ βδελυσσόμενος τὰς συνάξεις τῶν μαρτύρων ἢ τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς γινομένας λειτουργίας καὶ τὰς μνήμας αὐτῶν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. [98]

If, because of presumed asceticism, any woman cuts her hair, which God gave as a reminder of [her] subjection, under the impression that this annuls the ordinance of subjection, let her be anathema.

Canon XVIII.

If, because of presumed asceticism, anyone fasts on the Lord's day, let such a one be anathema.

Canon XIX.

If any of those practicing asceticism without bodily necessity behaves arrogantly and sets aside the traditional fasts commonly kept by the church, claiming that one's perfect power of reasoning undermines the validity of these fasts, let such a one be anathema. [454]

Canon XX.

If, assuming an arrogant disposition and loathing, anyone condemns the assemblies [in honor?] of the martyrs or the services held in them [martyria?] and in memory of [the martyrs], let

Ἐπίλογος

Ταῦτα δὲ γράφομεν οὐκ ἐκκόπτοντες τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς ἀσκεῖσθαι βουλομένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς λαμβάνοντας τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς ἀσκήσεως εἰς ὑπερηφάνειαν καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀφελεστέως βιούντων, ἐπαιρομένους τε καὶ παρὰ τὰς γραφὰς καὶ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικούς κανόνας καινισμοὺς εἰσάγοντας. Ἡμεῖς τοιγαροῦν καὶ παρθενίαν μετὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης θαυμάζομεν, καὶ ἐγκράτειαν μετὰ σεμνότητος καὶ θεοσεβείας γινομένην ἀποδεχόμεθα, καὶ ἀναχώρησιν τῶν κοσμικῶν πραγμάτων μετὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης ἀποδεχόμεθα, καὶ γάμου συνοίκησιν σεμνὴν τιμῶμεν, καὶ πλοῦτον μετὰ δικαιοσύνης καὶ εὐποιΐας οὐκ ἐξουθενοῦμεν· καὶ λιτότητα καὶ εὐτέλειαν ἀμφιασμάτων δι' ἐπιμέλειαν μόνον τοῦ σώματος ἀπερίεργον [99] ἐπαινοῦμεν, τὰς δὲ ἐκλύτους καὶ τεθρυμμένας ἐν τῇ ἐσθῆτι προόδους οὐκ ἀποδεχόμεθα· καὶ τοὺς οἴκους τοῦ θεοῦ τιμῶμεν, καὶ τὰς συνόδους τὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὡς ἀγίας καὶ ἐπωλεῖς ἀποδεχόμεθα, οὐ συγκλείοντες τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ πάντα

such a one be anathema.

Epilogue.

We write these things not to cut off those in the church of God who wish to practice asceticism according to the Scriptures but [to cut off] those who undertake the practice of asceticism to the point of arrogance, both by exalting themselves over those who lead a simpler life and by introducing novel ideas that are not found in the Scriptures or in the writings approved by the church.

For this reason we admire virginity [when practiced] with humility and we approve of self-control [when practiced] with dignity and piety; we also approve of withdrawal from worldly affairs [when it is done] with humility; and we honor the noble union of marriage; we do not disdain wealth [when used] with righteousness and [the giving of] alms; we praise plainness and frugality of dress, with simple concern only for the body; but we do not approve of going about in lascivious and effeminate dress; we honor the house of God and we approve of the meetings

τόπον τὸν ἐν ὀνόματι θεοῦ
οἰκοδομηθέντα τιμῶμεν, καὶ τὴν
ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ
σύνοδον κοινὴν εἰς ὠφέλειαν τοῦ
κοινοῦ ἀποδεχόμεθα· καὶ τὰς καθ’
ὑπερβολὴν εὐποιίας τῶν ἀδελφῶν
τὰς κατὰ τὰς παραδόσεις διὰ
τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς
γινόμενας μακαρίζομεν, καὶ πάντα,
συνελόντα εἰπεῖν, τὰ παραδοθέντα
ὑπὸ τῶν θείων γραφῶν καὶ τῶν
ἀποστολικῶν παραδόσεων ἐν τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ γίνεσθαι εὐχόμεθα.

held in them as holy and ben-
eficial, not limiting reverence
to the houses but honoring every
place built in the name of God;
and we approve the communal
meeting in the church of God
for the benefit of the commu-
nity; and we bless the brothers’
abundant good works on be-
half of the poor, because they
are performed in accordance
with the traditions [established]
by the church; and, to sum up,
we pray that the things transmit-
ted by the divine Scriptures and
the apostolic traditions be done
in the church.

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Abbreviations

- CCL – *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina*, Turnhout, since 1954.
- CSCO – *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, Louvain and Washington DC, since 1903.
- CSEL – *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Wien, since 1866.
- GCS – *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller*, Leipzig, since 1987.
- GNO – *Gregorii Nysseni Opera*, ed. W. Jaeger, Leiden, since 1958.
- HE – *Historia Ecclesiastica*.
- NPNF – *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, Series I, vol. 1-14, ed. Ph. Schaff; Series II, vol. 1-14, ed. Ph. Schaff, T. Wace, Edinburgh, New York 1886-1900.
- PG – *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca*, vol. 1-161, ed. J. P. Migne, Paris 1857-1866.
- PL – *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina*, vol. 1-222, ed. J. P. Migne, Paris 1878-1890.
- SC – *Sources Chrétiennes*, Paris, since 1942.

